FRAMING IMMIGRATION: THE IMPACT OF 9/11 AND THE LONDON TRAIN BOMBINGS ON THE PORTRAYALS OF IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION IN THE PRINT MEDIA

By

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The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in the U.S. and the London train bombings in Great Britain increased the salience of immigration in those countries (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson 2002). It has been proposed that this increased attention, to the extent that it was largely negative, would *decrease* the relatively high level of tolerance toward immigrants that characterized the 1990s (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson , 2002). Building on these ideas, this project uses frame analysis to investigate the impact of 9/11 and the London train bombings on the portrayal of immigration and immigrants in the print media of both the United States and Great Britain. Two newspapers from the U.S. (i.e., *the New York Times* and *USA Today*) and two from Britain (i.e., *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*) were chosen for analysis based on their large circulation. A total of 659 articles were examined: 221 in *the New York Times*, 256 in *USA Today*, 68 in *The Sun*, and 314 in *the Daily Mail*. The articles were selected from the time periods six months before and after 9/11 and six months before the London train bombings. As Scheufele (2000) notes, changes in the description of a situation might affect how audience members interpret the situation. Thus, it is important to

analyze the changes in the framing of immigration and immigrants in order to understand the potential impact on how the public views the issue. The analysis found a sharp change in the frames used after 9/11 in both the U.S. and Britain, with immigrants more likely to be connected to terrorism as well as a call, particularly in Britain, for increased border security. The London train bombings did not have an impact in the U.S. portrayal of immigration or immigrants, but in Britain, there was an increase in labeling immigrants as terrorists and/or criminals.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Seven days after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 the following text was printed in an article on immigration in the British newspaper *The Daily Mail*:

> If you have Pounds 10,000 to pay a people smuggler, you are more or less guaranteed to gain access to this country, even if it takes several attempts. Many in the latest wave of illegal immigration are from Afghanistan and Iraq. Many may genuinely be fleeing persecution, but among their number, almost certainly, will be fanatics whose purpose is to keep an eye on their innocent compatriots and to link up with elements who mean this country harm. (Sept. 19, 2001, Pg 2)

The theme of connecting illegal immigration to terrorism had begun. Though each of those involved in the terrorist attacks had entered the country legally, those with political interests in enforcing border control saw an opportunity to connect potential terrorism with maintaining border security.

The events of 9/11 and later the London train bombings that occurred on July 7, 2005, brought the spotlight back to issues of immigration, especially in the United States and other Western industrialized countries, such as Great Britain. The attack on the World Trade Center was seen as an attack on Western democratic values because of its symbolic importance of issues concerning trade, especially within countries that share similar Euro-Atlantic economic and political values. Those responsible for the attacks or at least those responsible for carrying out the attacks, all entered into the United States legally. According to Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) this would lead to a souring of the public attitudes towards immigration and immigrants.

The 1990s saw a trend towards more favorable views of immigration; but as a result of the September 11, 2001 “attack on America,” attitudes towards immigration were expected to change (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002). The expectation was

that the public would once again turn to a protectionist stance towards immigration, leading to a desire for fewer immigrants. This is in line with Poole (2002) who stated that commentators, both politicians and journalists, argued that the events of 9/11 signaled that the world had changed irrevocably and that a new world order would be established in the aftermath.

Prior to 9/11 studies on attitudes towards immigrants tended to find that education and socioeconomic status had the greatest impact, though these varied by country. While the U.S. and Britain have differing histories of immigration, they tended to have similar attitudes towards immigration levels and immigrants themselves. According to Simon (1999) countries that have major differences in policies and histories of immigration share many similar attitudes and beliefs about the number of immigrants admitted each year and of the immigrants themselves. Most respondents to surveys in the U.S. and Great Britain want their countries to admit fewer immigrants and place more restrictions on immigrants of color (Simon 1999). Some of the most frequent complaints about immigrants concern the economy and the fear that immigrants take away jobs from native workers. Those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder are often believed to be the most susceptible to the labor market competition of immigrants because low-wage and low-skill native workers share occupational characteristics with today's immigrants (Borjas and Freeman, 1992; Alba 2005). Thus, not only are those on the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder more likely to desire decreased levels of immigration because they fear that there will be an increase in competition for their jobs, but also for fear of wages dropping due to an overabundance of unskilled labor.

On the other hand, those higher up on the socioeconomic ladder tend to be more tolerant of immigrants. It has been found that higher levels of education, income and occupational prestige are positively correlated with receptivity to immigration (Schissel, Wanner, and Frideras 1989; Epenshade and Hempstead 1996). Chandler (2001) argues that income and occupational prestige may only play a minor role with education playing a much more prominent role, not because of labor market competition but because of an increase in multiculturalism on college campuses. There is likely a combination of effects going on here, but for the most part it appears that at least in the U.S. there is a connection between socioeconomic status and attitudes concerning immigration.

While individual socioeconomic status plays a role in the U.S., McLaron and Johnson's (2003) look at British attitudes suggests that group interests rather than self interests play a greater role in shaping attitudes concerning immigration. They found that while higher levels of education does increase tolerance for immigration, economic self-interest does not play a significant role (McLaron and Johnson 2003). What appears to be more important is the perceived impact of immigration on the national economy as a whole. While Britons may not fear for their own jobs, they do seem to be concerned that immigrants will take the jobs of their fellow citizens, which appears to have the greatest impact on their attitudes towards immigration and immigrants (McLaron and Johnson 2003).

Education is the one link that each of these studies share. However, it is unclear whether education itself brings about the increased tolerance or if the increase in socio-economic opportunities that education opens up is at the heart of the tolerance. It is

likely a combination of both, with the education process itself, especially post-secondary education, having an effect on attitudes towards immigration as well as a perceived decrease in competition from immigrants at the higher levels jobs that education can open up.

The analysis by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) of the likely public attitude changes after the 9/11 attacks were based on theories of threat, group conflict, and identity. Threat plays the greatest role in attitudinal changes, and also triggers group conflict, which in turn affects national as well as group identity (Hogg, 2001; Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998; Givens & Luedtke 2005). "Specifically, tangible threats to one's personal well-being and conditions of antagonistic interdependence produce negative attitudes and actions directed at members of the threatening group"(Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson, 2002). Under these conditions, immigrants are more likely to be viewed as outsiders, and as potentially carrying out additional terrorist attacks.

The changes in attitudes noted by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) were also likely to carry over into the realm of public discourse and media portrayals of immigration as well, because members of the media are not immune to either public opinion or the changes in threat, group conflict, and identity. Not only are they susceptible to the same triggers that Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) discuss, but they also must take into consideration their audience as well as who is giving them their information. If the opinion of the audience has changed and the journalists have not, there may be disequilibrium in what the reader expects to read and what they are presented with in the given story. This could lead to the general audience looking elsewhere for their printed news.

The same attitudinal changes expected by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) after the events of 9/11 can be applied to the London train bombings. Even Muslims who are second generation citizens in Britain are seen as outsiders (Poole 2002). Thus even though those responsible for the London train bombings were British citizens, they would still be seen as outsiders committing a terrorist act, which would likely lead to feelings of threat and increased group conflict similar to what Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) predicted for the U.S. after 9/11. Also, for reasons noted previously, a change in portrayals of immigrants in the print media was likely as well.

This research project will look at how immigration and immigrants were portrayed before and after 9/11, and the London train bombings. More specifically, this research looks at what changes took place in the media portrayal after 9/11 and the London train bombings. As will be discussed in the following sections, the media have influence over what the public and the political elites are paying attention to, and therefore it seems timely to look at how immigration is portrayed comparatively.

1.1 A Brief History of Immigration to the United States and Great Britain

International migration patterns underwent a major shift after World War II and the ensuing reconstruction projects in Western Europe, decolonization, formation of the Iron Curtain, and the unprecedented growth in the United States economy (Pettigrew 1998, Bonilla-Silva 2000, Durand et. al. 2001). Each of these factors played a role in which countries would become sending countries, which would become receiving countries, the views of the host countries towards those immigrating, and the nature of the immigration laws put in place by receiving countries.

The United States has a long history of immigration. Many scholars argue that it was founded by immigrants and much of the population growth that occurred in its early

years as well as the early 1900s was primarily from immigration (Brubaker 2001). However, others argue that the U.S. was founded by colonists with a colonialistic mentality. They did not look to live peacefully with the indigenous people already living in the area, they looked to conquer and spread across the land. The U.S. was further shaped by later immigrants, but the initial founders are better thought of as colonialists rather than immigrants.

Massey (1995) notes three main stages of twentieth century immigration to the United States: the classical wave from about 1901-1930, a long hiatus from 1931-1970, and non-European migration that began in earnest around 1970 and continues today. Between 1901 and 1930 nearly 19 million people immigrated to the United States and the vast majority came from Europe (Massey 1995).

The "long hiatus," as Massey puts it, began with the onset of the Great Depression and continued on through the end of World War II. It ended with the emergence of immigrants from Latin America and Asia as the new driving force behind immigration to the U.S. It is often forgotten that the Great Depression was not simply a problem within the U.S. economy but a worldwide economic downturn. With unemployment rates in the U.S. and many Western countries surpassing 25%, economic opportunity was no longer a viable pull factor. During this period yearly immigration dropped to roughly 185,000 per year and the share entering from Latin American and Asian countries grew dramatically (Massey 1995). By the last decade of the hiatus only 30 percent of all immigrants were from European countries (Massey 1995).

The current era of immigration's main characteristic has been the large numbers of non-European immigration. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 eliminated

quotas of national origin which in turn led to increased immigration from non-European countries. The postwar economic boom combined with reconstruction efforts in Western Europe led to a decrease in immigration from Europe that coincided with increased demand from economic growth. This led to pressure for Immigration reform, and to the 1965 elimination of quotas and new emphasis on family reunification.

The boom period of the 1950s and 1960s gave way to the economic downturn of the 1970s. Hardest hit were the areas where manufacturing which due to migration patterns in Western Europe hit immigrants in urban areas the hardest (Geddes 2004). This was true in the U.S. as well where the economic downturn disproportionately affected the African American community and left those who lost their jobs with the shift from a manufacturing to service economy were left competing with immigrants for "low-skill" work. It is against this backdrop that we see a shift from the recruitment of immigrants to grow and expand economies to a more nationalistic and ethnocentric view of ethnic immigrants "flooding" into receiving countries.

Immigration to Western Europe did not begin in earnest until after World War II. The first wave of immigrants to Western Europe and Britain were mainly from Southern Europe and northern Africa (Freeman 1992). They entered Western Europe and Britain as guest workers to help with reconstruction. These workers were expected to be temporary guest workers, who would help rebuild Western Europe, earn extra money and return to their countries of origin. This did not happen, however, and most of the migrants stayed in the countries they had migrated to after forming a new life for themselves. This was not a problem while the economy was expanding and jobs were

plentiful, but when the “oil crisis” hit, economies slowed and the need for migrant labor decreased (Freeman 1992).

This downturn in the economy quickly led politicians to call for a tightening of immigration policy. Politicians quickly saw the problem of immigrants and other “non-citizens” as employees in jobs that had become increasingly competitive (Pettigrew 1998). Public fears over jobs being taken by “foreigners” quickly led to more restrictive immigration policies in countries throughout Western Europe.

Immigration in Western Europe has become increasingly politicized over the last decade. Efforts to curtail immigration have led to the notion of “Fortress Europe” (Bade 2004). Many countries in Western Europe have enacted laws to curtail immigration and many have officially claimed to be non-immigration countries, effectively saying that they will no longer welcome immigrants into their countries (Semyonov and Gordzeisky 2008). With immigration on the increase during the late 1980’s and early 1990’s and with the elimination of internal borders the isolation of a “Fortress Europe” from unwanted immigrants has gained momentum. This momentum has intensified since the end of the cold war with the threat of mass immigration from former communist countries (Bade 2004; Semyonov and Gordzeisky 2008).

Many immigration fears have stemmed from sensationalized stories of immigrants “flooding” into a country. Not only have the news media exaggerated the number of immigrants entering various Western European countries, they have also sensationalized the threat of immigration from former communist countries. Though this mass immigration has yet to materialize, it has nonetheless become a perceived lingering threat.

The sensationalization of immigration by the media has helped shape public opinion against immigration. While immigrants make up only seven percent of the total population of Great Britain 66 percent of Briton's believe too many (Simon and Lynch 1999). This climate of restricting immigration has led to an increase in undocumented workers. This unforeseen consequence has been the primary reason why illegal immigration has become one of the top political issues in Britain (Simon and Lynch 1999).

The history of immigration to the U.S. and Great Britain is intertwined, due to the large numbers of immigrants from Western Europe (including Great Britain and Ireland) to the U.S. The post WWII reconstruction period in Britain led to a need for workers which dried up the immigration pool for the U.S. This in turn led to U.S. interests seeking out immigrants from other regions of the world. Britain initially relied on immigration from European countries that were the least affected by the war and from its colonial subjects in northern Africa. However, with the oil crisis of the mid-70s, public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration soured throughout Europe and the U.S. (Pettigrew 1998). This led to an increase in "far right" and nationalistic political parties in Europe and of neo-conservatism with its own brand of nationalism and ethnic backlash in the United States (Omi &Winant 1986, Pettigrew 1998, Bonilla-Silva 2000, Joppke 2004, Geddes 2004, Kofman 2005).

1.2 Race and Ethnicity in the "New Immigration"

The "new" immigration to the United States from Latin America and Asia, unlike immigration from Europe in the twentieth century, will likely be continuous rather than periodic (Massey 1995). This has the potential consequence of keeping ethnic immigration continuously in the public spotlight. Ethnic European immigration provoked

negative public opinion, especially from those who were competing with them for jobs (Lee 2005). However, historical events (e.g. World War I, The Great Depression, and World War II) cut immigration down to a trickle and gave society time to absorb and assimilate them into society. However, Massey (2005) sees this as not likely to happen with current immigration trends.

Historic breaks in European migration to the U.S. allowed second and third generation migrants to gain socioeconomic mobility and move out of the major immigration hubs. As the second generation gained competency in English and earned educational credentials they gained socioeconomic mobility. This allowed them to move out of the ethnic communities and into the middle-class white neighborhoods that were building up throughout the nation during the postwar economic boom. The socioeconomic achievement and assimilation in turn, decreased levels of negative attitudes towards the second and third generations (Alba and Nee 2003). Durand and Massey (1992) sees this disbursement and assimilation as less likely to happen because as immigrants continue to enter into the ethnic communities and the constant stream of immigrants encourages maintenance of the native language rather than English. This makes socioeconomic mobility more difficult to achieve and may lead to perpetual disparities between whites and new immigrants which in turn will lead to continued negative attitudes.

Unlike race scholars dealing with inequalities and racism between whites and blacks in American society, those who look at the new racial and ethnic composition of immigration tend to worry more about assimilation such as Massey's previously noted concerns. Patterns of linguistic assimilation for immigrants from Latin America and Asia

have been similar to those of past European ethnics. English becomes the favored language through successive generations (Alba and Nee 2003). While the first generation may prefer to speak their native language, second generations often have high levels of bilinguism. Thus contrary to Massey's fears, Asians and Latinos are learning English at similar rates to their European immigrant counterparts despite the constant flow of immigrants (Lee 2005).

Massey also predicted that geographic concentration of immigrants would lead to problems of non-assimilation and this does not hold up under examination. Only the most recent newcomers live in ethnic enclaves (Alba and Nee 2003). Latino immigrants leave immigrant enclaves in the traditional gateway communities of the Southwest and integrate into the population as a whole. Between 1990 and 1996, the percentage of Latino immigrants living outside of the Southwest doubled from 10% to 21% (Alba and Nee 2003).

Assimilation has led to a growth in the multiracial population, of the U.S., as a result of intermarriage between whites and people of Latin American and Asian origin (Lee & Bean 2004). As a result Jennifer Lee and Frank Bean see racial and ethnic lines blurring, especially for Asian Americans and Latinos, as can be seen by increases in the number of individuals claiming a multi-racial background in census data. Patterns of intermarriage and multiracial identification are not similar across all groups. Latinos and Asians are more likely than African Americans to intermarry and are also more likely to report a multiracial identification (Lee 2005). These different rates suggest that while racial boundaries may be fading, they are not disappearing at the same pace for all

groups. How these rates for Asians and Latin Americans are interpreted has important implications for ones outlook on race relations:

> If we consider Latinos and Asians as discriminated against racial minorities, closer to blacks than whites in their social disadvantages, then their high levels of multiracial identification suggest that racial border lines might be fading for all nonwhite groups. Latinos and Asians look more, however, like immigrant groups whose disadvantages derive from their not having had time to join the economic mainstream, but who soon will. (Lee and Been 2004)

The high levels of intermarriage and multiracial reporting among Latin Americans and Asians signal an experience and trajectory different from that of African Americans. Their situations do not necessarily indicate that similar assimilation can be expected among African Americans. This suggests that there is room for a theoretical model which incorporates both the ongoing assimilation of Asian Americans and Latin Americans and the continued segregation and non-inclusion of blacks within white dominated society.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva attempts to bridge the gap between the ongoing assimilation of Asians and Latin Americans and the continued non-inclusion of blacks in his article *From Bi-Racial to Tri-Racial: Towards a New System of Racial Stratification in the United States.*

> My basic claim, unlike the romantic predictions of assimilationists or the racialized pessimism of Anglo-Saxonists is that all this reshuffling denotes that the biracial order typical of the United States is evolving into a complex and loosely organized triracial stratification system similar to that of many Latin American and Caribbean nations (Bonilla-Silva 2004).

This tri-racial system will be made up of whites (made up of “traditional” whites, new “white” immigrants and in the near future totally assimilated white Latinos, lighter-skinned multi-racials, and other subgroups), “honorary whites” (made up of most light-

skinned Latinos, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Asian Indians, Chinese Americans, and most Middle Eastern Americans) and the “collective black” group (made up of blacks, dark-skinned Latinos, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Filipinos, and Laotians). In such a system, honorary whites will act as a buffer, similar to the middle class in an economic system (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Such a racial system will appear to be more pluralistic and exhibit more racial fluidity than the order it is replacing, however

> This new system will serve as a formidable fortress for white supremacy. Its “we are beyond race” lyrics and color-blind music will drown the voices of those fighting for racial equality (“why continue talking about race and racism when we are all Americans?”) and may even eclipse the space for talking about race altogether. (Bonilla-Silva, 2004)

Thus Bonilla-Silva explains the increase in assimilation among Latin Americans and Asian Americans as well as the discrimination and exclusion that still exists between whites and African Americans and as some of the darker skinned Latin American and Asian ethnicities.

Now that we have an understanding of the fears and realities of racial and ethnic immigration in the U.S. it is time to turn our attention to Great Britain. Racism in the European context began as a way of justifying colonialism and the exploitation of lands that contained groups of people who were deemed to be culturally inferior:

> Here the viciousness of the violent structures necessary to uphold the system were hidden just below the tranquil façade of settlement but at the same time buried beneath European self-image, far from view: wars, seizures, chains and whippings, disease, human auctions, but also the dehumanizing rationalizations, and state edicts (Goldberg 2006).

In other words, racism was always “over there” and where “over there” was depended on what colonial empire one was speaking of. In order to justify colonialism and the exploitation that accompanied it, countries of Western Europe, (including Great Britain)

had to create a moral reason for controlling and using the resources of the land that other groups of people controlled. To get public support behind colonialism the government and elites used scientific and religious arguments as to why Africans, Asians, Latin Americans, and people of Middle Eastern decent were morally and culturally inferior and thus unworthy of whatever natural resources their lands held. They were "otherized" to the extent that the only use they played for Europeans was as manual labor to harness the natural resources of the land that would then be exported back to the colonizing countries.

Colonialism began its deconstruction after World War I. The process accelerated with the end of World War II and the devastation inflicted in most Western European countries. However, negative attitudes towards colonized groups remained very high (Bovenkerk et. al. 1990). It is not surprising that these negative attitudes towards former colonial subjects continued because they were ingrained in British society for centuries. They were not going to simply disappear because of a change in policy or because the colonized people fought back for their independence.

Historically, the framework for thinking through race in a European context has been in dualistic terms: anti-black racism following from a history of colonialism usually in the form of keeping Eastern European whites and blacks out; and anti-Semitism as shown in the long history of exclusion culminating in the holocaust (Goldberg 2006). Much to the chagrin of those who argued that the 1960s and 1970s that racism and its ideologies had been eliminated in Western Europe, the "race myth" has gained renewed support (Bonilla-Silva, 2000).

> It is being suggested once more that the origin of long-standing and emergent and economic and cultural problems are the result of the

> presence of groups who do not 'belong" to the nation state by virtue of biological, social, and/or cultural characteristics that they are thought to posses inherently (Bovenkerk et. al. 1990).

It has been publicly acknowledged that the growth in immigration from the post World War II years through the 1970s and the consequential attempt to cut back on immigration has led to the expression of hostility and resistance which has commonly taken a racist form (Bovenkerk et. al. 1990).

With the end of the British colonialist empire came large numbers of immigration from formerly colonized areas that were predominantly non-white and distinctly non-European (Bovenkerk et. al. 1990). This led to a series of changes in citizenship laws in order to prevent former colonies from entering into Great Britain. In order to understand the later laws concerning citizenship we must first look at the laws that were in place at the end of World War II. The British Nationality Act of 1948 established the status of Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies. There was little if any difference between those living in the UK and those living in member colonies, who could enter and leave Britain at any time (Morris 1998). As a result of fears surrounding the influx of Commonwealth citizens from Africa and Asia, Britain passed the Immigration act of 1971 which stated that only those with "sufficiently strong links" to the British Islands had the right to live and work in Great Britain (Morris 1998). Finally, the British Nationality Act of 1981 established the current system determening who can become a British Citizen.

While the criteria for becoming a British citizen has not changed since 1981, there have been reforms concerning how immigrants gain citizenship.

> The British reforms have come on two levels. First, there are changes in the actual rules and regulations regarding the acquisition of citizenship. In

> particular there has been the specification of language tests for naturalization, and the introduction of citizenship ceremonies and oaths. Second, there are changes in the discourse; in particular, citizenship is now being described as an important value and identity (Kymlicka 2003).

The British government is pushing for the internalization of citizenship by individuals in what it says plays a vital role in ensuring "cohesion" and "integration" (Kymlicka 2003). These changes have been controversial, and some critics accuse the government of abandoning a commitment to multiculturalism and replacing it with the goal of assimilation (Brubaker 2001).

1.3 The Impact of Terrorist Attacks on Opinion and Media Coverage

According to Soroka (2003), "The mass media is the primary conduit between the public and policy makers; Policy makers follow the media trends in public opinion, and the media are the public's primary source of information on what the policy makers are doing." Thus, the media not only affect what issues get the most attention, but also the content of the information on a given issue and how that content is framed. Ansolabehere, Behr and Iyengar's (1991) work shows that the media, through framing issues in different ways, can have an effect on public opinion. His work adds to the understanding of the changes in framing following the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings because of their potential impact on public opinion.

According to Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) looking at public opinion towards immigration is important for three main reasons. First, public attitudes are likely to influence public policy. Secondly, public attitudes may reflect day to day behaviors by individuals, which will have an impact on the success and satisfaction of immigrants, and for the social climate in the host nation. Finally, these attitudes also impact national identity, and determining who is considered a member of the national in-group.

Because of the rhetoric about a “change in the status quo” after 9/11, public attitudes towards “out-groups” and immigrants likely had an impact on how the media portrayed immigrants and immigration, particularly those of Middle-Eastern descent (Poole 2002). Both Britain and the U.S. have many immigrants of Middle Eastern descent. Thus, it seems likely that the attack on the World Trade Center, which was seen by many U.S. allies as an attack not just on the U.S. but also on Western “ideals,” will lead to changes in attitudes towards immigration and immigrants (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson 2002). These changes have been seen in the past with the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the internment of Japanese immigrants and citizens of Japanese descent. Nearly everyone of Japanese descent was treated as though they were potential spies and/or subversives (Omi and Winant, 1986). This fear of subversion and the state authority used to prevent it was similar to the fear of Muslims and the condemnation of an entire group of people as potential spies/terrorists.

Similarly, the impact of the London train bombings was likely to not only affect Great Britain, but also the United States. Those who claimed responsibility for the attacks blamed Britain’s role in Iraq and Afghanistan where Britain had steadfastly remained allied with the United States in the “war on terror.” Thus, the impact of having an ally attacked during a time of war would likely have an impact on attitudes towards immigration and immigrants in the U.S. In all likelihood, the media coverage of each of these events was extensive in each country, also directing attention and helping shape the attitudes of those reading their publications. Public attitudes change over time, as do events which play the most formative role in attitude formation. While those issues

previously stated may have been influential in the formation of opinions in the past, 9/11 brought about new levels of concern about terrorism.

1.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

This research project centers on how widely circulated newspapers in the United States and Great Britain have framed immigration and immigrants in their respective countries. Using multiple time periods allows for comparisons in the levels of change between each country after the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings. This will allow us to analyze the impact of 9/11 on the portrayal of immigration and immigrants in Great Britain, and conversely the impact of the London train bombings on the portrayal if immigration and immigrants in the U.S.

The first question raised in the current project is: Are there differences between the way immigration and immigrants are portrayed in the U.S. and Great Britain? As each country has a very different history of immigration, there may be differences in how immigration is portrayed in the media prior to 9/11 and the London train bombings. Being a settler nation, the U.S. was built and populated by immigrants and their descendants. On the other hand, Great Britain was historically a net exporter of immigrants until after World War II, when the country needed immigrant workers for its reconstruction projects and, after that, to continue its robust economic expansion. Thus, each country's unique history could play a role in how immigration and immigrants are portrayed.

The question of differences in the ways immigration and immigrants are portrayed can be answered in multiple ways depending on the time period or periods of interest. The focus here is, on the one hand, whether or not there is a difference in the portrayal of immigrants and immigration and on the other hand, what factors explain those

differences. For example, is there more of a focus on illegal immigration in one country over the other or do they share similar levels of this frame? Are there any frames that show up in one country and not the other? Which frames, if any, "dominate" in one country?

The above question lead to several hypotheses concerning how immigration and immigrants are framed in each country and the changes that may occur as a result of the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings. The first hypothesis deals with how immigration was portrayed in each country prior to the events of 9/11. This represents a type of baseline from which we will be able to examine the changes that followed the terrorist events.

> Hypothesis 1: For the 6 months prior to 9/11 the framing of immigration and immigrants will be focused more on problematic frames such as negative impacts on the economy, use of state funds on immigration, etc. in Britain than in the U.S.

This hypothesis is predicated on the differing histories of immigration in the U.S. and Britain with Britain having a more recent and "turbulent" history (Geddes 2004).

The following set of hypothesis concern the effects of the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings on media framing.

> Hypothesis 2: There will be an increase in the number of articles concerning immigration and immigrants after the terrorist attacks in both the U.S. and Great Britain.
>
> Hypothesis 3: After 9/11 and after the London train bombings, there will be an increase in the number of articles framing immigration as a "law and order" issue as well as a decrease in articles framing immigration in economic terms.
>
> Hypothesis 4: There will be an increase in negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants after the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings.

Hypothesis 5: There will be greater levels of negative framing in the 6 months prior to the events of the London Train bombings than the 6 months prior to 9/11.

These five hypotheses lay out the expectations for the changes in the portrayal of immigration and immigrants in each country. The expectations are that there will be a more negative turn in the media portrayal as well as a shift in "concerns" about immigration. The expectation is that prior to 9/11 most of the concern about immigration was economic whereas post 9/11 a shift towards law-and-order and issues of terrorism will be seen.

After the analyzing of the effects that the events had on framing of immigration and immigrants it is important to look at the comparative aspect of the research. Comparing how each country's media changed or did not change their portrayals of immigration as a result of the terrorist attacks provides an interesting insight into how much of a "collective threat," as Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) put it, each country saw immigration and immigrants after the terrorist attacks in their respective countries. These hypotheses concern the differences in changes of media framing between each country.

Hypothesis 6: There will be a greater change in media framing of immigration following 9/11 in both the U.S. and Great Britain than following the London train bombings.

Hypothesis 7: The changes in framing will be similar in each country after 9/11 but the London train bombings will have more of an impact in British newspapers than those in the U.S.

Hypothesis 7 deserves an additional mention for the expectation in differences between the U.S. and Britain. This difference is expected not only because of the magnitude of 9/11 but because it led to the "war on terror" and the accompanying media coverage

that made it seem as though the next terrorist attack was right around the corner. There was a heightened sense of awareness due in part to both the U.S. and British governments and the media. There was also already a shift in the media talking about terrorism and "securing our borders" in most western countries as a result of 9/11 so the impact of the London train bombings on media portrayals of immigration will likely be different as a result.

While this research is primarily a comparative analysis between the U.S. and Great Britain, it is important to look at within country comparisons, as well. So the next question is: Are there differences, in framing, between newspapers in each country in how immigrants and immigration are portrayed? Including multiple newspapers from each country allows for a more complete analysis of the themes in the press and the different views that people are exposed to in each country.

1.5 The Next Steps

Immigration continues to be a major political issue that, after the events of 9/1l and the London train bombings, became more salient in the public mind (Entman 2004). Public opinion turned more negative towards immigration and immigrants and, according to Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002), anti-immigration groups began pushing for legislation lowering immigration levels, as well as placing constraints on the social benefits that immigrants could receive.

Using newspaper data collected the six months before the events of 9/11 and six months following 9/11, I will look at how portrayals of immigration changed after 9/1l and the London train bombings. I will look at the two most circulated newspapers, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (2000, 2002) and the World Association of Newspapers (2000,2002), in the United States and Great Britain: *The Daily Mail* and

the *Sun* in Great Britain, and the *USA Today* and *The New York Times* in the U.S. These represent the newspapers that have the largest audience and provide insight into how the media portrays immigration and immigrants in a national setting.

CHAPTER 2
MEDIA AND SOCIETY

Newspapers and other segments of the mass media play an important role in informing the public. This is especially true in the civic and political arenas as noted by Altschull (1995) “The decisions made by people in the voting booths are based on the information made available to them, and that information is provided primarily by the news media.” Thus, the news media are indispensable to the survival of democracy. The news media wields the power to shape what events are deemed important, and produce news coverage of them; they also have the power to deny coverage to those they deem “not newsworthy.” This power can be used as a means of social control through limiting dissent and access to potential news stories that may prove problematic for the elites who fund and run the large media conglomerates.

The ability of the news media to provide an element of social control should not be surprising considering that, as stated previously, the news media plays an important role in informing the public. According to Risser (1998), language has been the chief instrument of social control as long as human beings have communicated with one another. Thus, the “power” of the press lies in its ability to control the flow of information downward from what those at the top choose to release to those at the bottom. Even in the internet age, this is still predominantly true as according to Nielson (2008) the top news sights are either corporate owned or independent sights that do not produce news but instead aggregate news stories and link to predominantly corporate owned media. This has important implications for the societal belief of the importance of media for a robust democracy.

2.1 Media and Democracy

The news can be found everywhere and is generally respected; it is difficult to find someone who would be willing to say that the news is not good for them. They may disagree with what is being said by a given news media outlet, but there is still the underlying belief that being informed is an overall benefit to the public. Altschull (1995) asks the question “who would deny it is an American's duty to be informed?” This is echoed by Gurevitch and Blumler's (1990) assertion that “we can say with a large measure of certainty that one of the primary assumptions held by American citizens is that democracy thrives in part because of the information disseminated by the news media.” They take this a step farther when laying out the functions and services the media provide a democratic state:

1. Surveillance of the sociopolitical environment, reporting developments likely to impinge, positively or negatively, on the welfare of citizens.

2. Meaningful agenda-setting, identifying the key issues of the day, including the forces that have formed and may resolve them.

3. Platforms for an intelligible and illuminating advocacy by politicians and spokespersons of their causes and interest groups.

4. Dialogue across a diverse range of views, as well as between power holders (actual and prospective) and mass publics.

5. Mechanisms for holding officials to account for how they have exercised power.

6. Incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved in the political process.

7. A principled resistance to the efforts of forces outside the media to subvert their independence, integrity, and ability to serve the audience.

8. A sense of respect for the audience member, as potentially concerned and able to make sense of his or her political environment. (Gurevitch and Blumler (1990)

While these goals are noble, they often come in direct competition with the political and economic power structure which they are ostensibly empowered to watch over. According to Gurevitch and Blumler there are four main obstacles to achieving the eight functions they lay out.

The first obstacle Gurevitch and Blumler note is that there may be tradeoffs and conflicts among democratic values themselves. For example, the aim of serving the public by catering to its immediate interests is likely to conflict with the aim of providing what the public needs to know. Second, political communication is often distanced from the circumstances and perspectives of ordinary people. The messages come from those who are demonstrably unequal to the recipients and thus the structure of political communication shows a division between those pushing stories to the media from the top and the bystanders, i.e. consumers of media below. Thirdly, not everyone who reads and/or watches the news are politically informed, and thus political messages can be vulnerable because they must compete for the limited time and space available within the news media. Finally, the media can pursue democratic values only in ways that are compatible with the political and economic environments in which they operate. In other words they must know their audience as well as those that write the checks. There is substantial pressure from elites for newspapers to on the one hand advocate and publicly promote each of these aspects and on the other to maintain the status quo and to do what it takes to promote the highest possible levels of readership and not upset potential advertisers and sources. These obstacles can hinder the ability of the news media from serving a democratizing function, limit dissenting viewpoints, and possibly prevent the media from serving the public interests.

How well the media in a society is serving its public is dependent on the perspective that one takes when examining the media. According to Croteau and Hoyne (2000) there are two ways of analyzing and critiquing the media, the market model, and the public sphere model. The market model treats the media like all other goods and services and argues that as long as there is healthy competition that the market forces will lead to the media meeting the public's needs (Croteau and Hoyne 2000). From this perspective the general public is thought of as potential consumers. They are not only consumers of the media itself but also of the goods and services that advertisers, which pay most of the bills as well as provide profit for most media outlets, push on the general public through the mass media. This is especially true in the newspaper industry which receives approximately 80% of all revenue through advertising (Altschull 1995).

In contrast to the market model, the public sphere model argues for an open mass media system that is widely accessible, and information should flow freely (Croteau and Hoyne 2000). It is important in a democratic society for citizens to participate in civic life, and thus it is important to have a well informed citizenry. Fundamentally, the public sphere model views people as citizens rather than consumers, and contends that the mass media should serve these citizens rather than target potential customers (Croteau and Hoyne 2000). There are some societal needs that simply cannot be met through the market laws of supply and demand; access to information being one of them.

Because of the view that access to information should not be determined based on the laws of supply and demand, under the public sphere model, media content

should not be treated as another product (Croteau and Hoyne 2000). From this perspective, revenue and profits should not be the sole indicator of a healthy media industry. Croteau and Hoyne (2000) take this a step further and argue that markets themselves are undemocratic:

> Markets work by a "one-dollar, one-vote" mechanism. Thus, despite rhetoric to the contrary, markets are inconsistent with democratic assumptions. In markets, profits are the measure of success and money is the measure of clout. The more money you have, the more influence you have in the marketplace.

Thus those news producers with more money and capital will continue to do what it takes to maintain the flow of dollars to their coffers. Those that control the flow of money and capital, namely the investors in the corporations which own the largest media outlets and the advertisers, have much more clout concerning news production than do those that read and watch the news. Thanks to the business models of most media outlets, the advertisers pay much more for ad space than the purchaser of a newspaper or the viewer of a news program pays it is more difficult for individuals to "vote with their wallet." Their vote tends to be much smaller proportionately than those who invest and advertise giving them much less power within the media institution.

2.2 The "Power" of the Press

Since most news media outlets are for profit businesses, it is important to maximize the number of subscribers, which increases advertiser revenue, and makes owners happy. In order to do this, it is important to avoid taking sides politically, and to give equal weight to the truth claims of each of the major political parties (Altschull 1995). This "objectivity" has been spread and accepted so widely that by now it has become part of the public's belief system. However, as it operates in the capitalistic society of the U.S. and other industrialized countries, objectivity turns out to be bias

towards the safeguarding the status quo against any pressures for change (Altschull 1995).

Thanks to “objectivity” often times both sides to a given issue must be presented, unless those that manipulate the media require one side to be dominant over another. But as long as both sides are presented and neither side is placed ahead of the other, then there is little room to challenge the status quo. Dissent is permitted and often encouraged, however:

> Its limits are proscribed, and the counterbalancing orthodoxy is assured a voice, not only a voice but the most powerful voice, because orthodoxy is represented by the powerful, whose command of financial resources and of newsworthy authority assures it of dominance in the press. (Altschull 1995).

This is why much of the dissent in the mass media is largely criticism of individuals and not institutions. Thus we have criticism of individual corruption within the political and economic sphere, but generally there is little said about the institutions themselves and how they may make it easy for a politician to become corrupted. The promotion of dissent against individuals while ignoring institutions, aids in the maintenance of the status quo and hinders progressive change. This type of control over who gets the microphone and who does not, along with the belief that this type of system is “objective” and therefore beneficial aids in marginalizing those who would push for social change.

This type of control through the news media is generally invisible to those it controls because of the widespread belief in the “independence” of the press (Altschull 1995). The American news media seem to be operating independently and even occasionally challenging power. However, most news industries serve multiple masters: owners, advertisers, and the individuals who purchase their product. Thus,

any given producer must avoid alienating any of the three masters, especially those who control the paychecks of those reporting the news.

Many in the media, and in the public, see the media as having a special social responsibility to be objective and inform the citizenry, this includes giving voice to dissent, social justice, and social change. However, Max Weber saw that "no authority has wanted its press to practice just any kind of social responsibility; what was wanted was the kind of social responsibility that suited a particular conception of the social order and acted as a medium of social control" (Hardt 1979). In the US with "freedom of speech" codified in law the most painless method for the government to ensure that the press "behaves" is through manipulation; the gentle direction of publishers, editors, and reports into the promotion of the status quo.

As the news media becomes increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few large conglomerates, it becomes easier for government to manipulate, as well as, for the owners to push their own agenda through their media publishers. Thanks to increasing lobbying power that media owners have, they can push for favorable legislation that suit their needs, and the government, in turn can use favorable legislation and regulation, to push for its agenda in the media (Croteau and Hoyne 2000). As Altschull (1995) points out, however, this is in direct contrast to one of the perceived functions of the media, that of being a watchdog of the government and business.

The idea of the news media as a watchdog over the government and corporate interests is one of the central concerns of those who analyze the media (Gurevitch and Blumler (1990). According to Altschull (1995):

> Of all the paradoxes, none is more intriguing than the inconsistency in the principle of watchdoggery. Anyone who studies the press finds himself or

> herself confronted almost with a belief system that accepts the press as an institution whose reason for existence is wrapped up in the idea that it serves the public by acting as a watchdog...The principle of watchdoggery notwithstanding, the literature about the press is also filled with recognition the relationship between press and power is less adversarial than symbiotic.

If in fact press and power need each other, what becomes of the principle of watching over the government and power? The idea of a symbiotic relationship between power and the press cannot be reconciled with the belief in a free and independent press.

In order to hide this symbiotic relationship it has been beneficial for both those in power and the press itself to promote the idea of an independent press. In fact, many journalists believe that influences outside of the “newsroom” affect what gets printed and in a study by Pew Research (2000) 40% of journalists and editor admitted to self-censoring by avoiding a story or softening the tone of stories. More than one-third of those surveyed said they censored themselves because of personal or career concerns. This indicates that reporters and editors recognize the influence of outside forces on their stories and what they can “get away with” publishing without direct interference with their careers.

How do we reconcile this censorship with the public's “right to know?” According to Croteau and Hoyne (2000), “from the perspective of the media industry, the often cited phrase 'the public has a right to know' gets flipped on its head to: 'the public has a right to know what we think it should know.'” Thus through self-censorship, news producers limit what news is made available to the public, as well as puts the news that maintains the status quo in a more favorable light It is important to remember thought, that only 40% of those surveyed in the Pew report admitted to self-censorship or

"softening" of a story which leaves the question what about the other 60%? A partial answer to this is what Altschull (1995) refers to as "spin doctors and media managers."

Spin doctors and media managers are people who work for the government or corporations to help shape favorable opinions/images of the government/corporate agenda. The role of these agents is to both "hide political reality by talking about it" and to give the public the opposite impression: "that it understands everything clearly" (Hallin 1991). Thus it can be argued that media managers provide information to journalists that promote the status quo in ways that mask that those in power are influencing the media. One of the primary ways this is done is through access to information. Oftentimes the media manager is the only "official source" available to the media, or they have within their power to make other sources available.

If not for the reliance on easily accessible sources for news production, media m managers would have a much more difficult time with their jobs. However, with the consolidation of media outlets which has led to an increased emphasis on profits, journalists rely increasingly on official sources as resources for investigative journalism decline due to the push for higher profits (Crouteau and Hoyne 2000). This increase in the use of official sources allows the media manager to not only manipulate through the information provided by sources, but to "strong-arm" journalists and news organizations by threatening to remove access to those sources. Thus there is an incentive to portray events in the way that those in power want them portrayed. This also makes it more difficult for dissenting voices to be heard. Altschull notes that those who have the resources, meaning money and/or power, to get heard will, and as ones resources

decline so does one's ability to be heard. The journalists go along with what is available, and the market forces are at work.

2.3 Media and Public Opinion

It is widely believed the media have the power to shape public opinion and the creation of policy. Many writers and commentators have said so; the vast majority of the public believes it (Graber 2000). Patrick O'Hefferman (1991) argues that it is obvious that the mass media operating "independent of the government" have "become a significant force shaping our cultural and political future." Altschull (1995) argues, however that this belief in the media shaping public opinion is a faulty one, instead he offers the following:

> It is not the media that shape public opinion. It is rather the holders of power who shape public opinion by using the media as their agents. If the media were to attempt to move public opinion into a position contrary to what is desired by the holders of power, the power holders would counterattack.

In other words, the media is a powerful *tool* wielded by the political and economic elites to shape public opinion on matters important to them. This sentiment is echoed by Ladd and Lenz (2008) in their analysis of the media influence in Great Britain during the 1997 elections. They concluded that the reason for limited fluctuation of political preference was "stable elite communication flows, rather than any inherent durability of public preferences, are the likely source of the consistency and relative moderation found in many democracies." Thus only when elite preferences change is there likely to be a shift in public opinion.

Not only do elite preferences help shape public opinion, but public opinion polling is shaped by those same elites as well (Lewis 2001). Polling is an expensive endeavor and is available only to those who have the resources to pay for it. This leads to the

question of whether or not public opinion polls are measuring what the public thinks, or the ability of institutions to tell people what to think. Blumer (1948) gave one of the earliest critiques of this new field of research, in which he argued that polls do not measure opinion, but instead create it. The argument is that public opinion questionnaires are so scripted that the pollster has defined public opinion within the questionnaire itself before the actual questioning has even begun.

In addition to the problems associated with scripting in public opinion questionnaires, there is the problem of attempting to be objective. Similarly to the news media business, polling "objectively" aids in the maintenance of the status quo. As Barthes (1974) argued "the appearance of objectivity in public opinion polls enhances their ideological power. Public opinion polls are generally presented in a way that promote the idea that polling gives the public a voice, thus the appearance of a democratic benefit. However, as Siune and Kline (1975) argue, creators of polls are likely to share similar ideological views as media professionals and political leaders. As Lewis (2001) notes:

> The political economy of polling tends to favor the powerful, specifically those, including the corporate media, with the resources to use the technology, while a variety of ideological/professional frameworks push media professionals toward a selection and interpretation of polls that reflect the broad thrust of elite (rather than popular opinion).

From this perspective public opinion is constructed rather than gathered, and it is constructed using the framework of the elite. The public is not asked its opinion on issues or candidates, they are asked to select from a pre-approved list of candidates and/or issues usually ignoring those that are considered conflicting with popular elite discourse.

Not only are the candidates and issues pre-selected for the respondent, but the wording of the questions themselves tend to be constructed from the perspective of political and media elites (Siune and Kline 1975). This leads to problems of inclusion, not from a sampling standpoint, but from the ability of all respondents to understand what the question is getting at, as well as the ability to give an informed opinion based on that understanding. The potential for public opinion polls to be used in a truly informative and democratic way is thus reduced. Lewis (2001) argues that not only do opinion polls marginalize those that do not have the education or social understanding to adequately respond to the polls, but the "public" itself becomes a device that binds society's subgroups into one undifferentiated lump. Society and its disparate groups are homogenized due to the limitations of the tightly scripted polling, which limits potential responses and potential dissent; the status quo is reinforced.

The status quo is reinforced not only because of the way questions are asked and who is asked, but also by how the results are presented. The media's influence stems from its role in the representation of public opinion. According to Lewis (2001) the media, through the selective interpretation and reporting of poll results present a unified consensus for issues most concerning elites. While the media may present a consensus Lewis (2001) argues:

> This is not consensus, but instead the *appearance* of consensus, one that a selective reading of opinion polls has helped manufacture. Elite groups and political parties may have succeeded in "capturing public opinion" *but only in the narrow terms in which public opinion is usually defined and described.*

An important point to this is that the terms in which public opinion is defined and described are those passed down from the elites and through the way the news media present the polling information. Despite the evidence that public opinion

"consensus" is not organic but rather constructed, public opinion can have a tangible impact on issues, such as immigration. (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson 2002).

2.4 The Relevance of Public Opinion

According to Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) there are three main reasons why public attitudes toward immigration are important. The first reason is that public attitudes are likely to influence public policy. Publicly elected officials take the concerns of their constituents seriously, especially on issues on which there is fairly broad public consensus. A second reason is that these attitudes may reflect day to day behaviors by individuals, which will have an impact on the success and satisfaction of immigrants and for the social climate in the host nation. Finally, these attitudes also impact national identity and who is, and who is not, considered a member of the national in-group. Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) argues that these three reasons why public attitudes are important likely increased in significance post 9/11.

Attitudes toward immigration in the United States have fluctuated throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. There are conflicting studies on what the trends in attitudes towards immigration were prior the September 11, 2001 "Attack on America." According to Buck (2003) between 1964 and 1999 the general public attitudes favoring lower levels of immigration increased over time, however, Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) argue that the 1990s saw a trend towards more favorable views of immigration. Even with these conflicting arguments it is difficult to argue against Esses views that as a result of the September 11, 2001 "Attack on America," attitudes towards immigration are expected to change. The expectation was that the public would once again turn to a protectionist stance towards immigration, leading to a

desire for fewer immigrants. This is in line with Poole (2002) who stated that commentators, both politicians and journalists, argued that the events of 9/11 signaled that the world had changed irrevocably and that a new world order must be established in the aftermath.

Even prior to 9/11 studies on attitudes towards immigrants tended to find that education and socioeconomic status had the greatest impact, though these varied by country. While the U.S. and Britain have differing histories of immigration, they tended to have similar attitudes towards immigration levels and immigrants themselves. According to Simon (1999) countries that have major differences in policies and histories of immigration share many similar attitudes and beliefs about the number of immigrants admitted each year and of the immigrants themselves. Most respondents to surveys in the U.S. and Great Britain want their countries to admit fewer immigrants and place more restrictions on immigrants of color (Simon 1999). Due to the events of 9/11, and the countries of origin of those who committed the acts, it would be even more likely that greater restrictions on immigration would be desired.

The analysis by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) of the likely public attitude changes after the 9/11 attacks were based on theories of threat, group conflict, and identity. Threat plays the greatest role in attitudinal changes, and also triggers group conflict, which in turn affects national as well as group identity (Hogg, 2001; Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998). "Specifically, tangible threats to one's personal well-being and conditions of antagonistic interdependence produce negative attitudes and actions directed at members of the threatening group"(Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson, 2002).

Under these conditions, immigrants are more likely to be viewed as outsiders, and as potentially carrying out additional terrorist attacks.

The changes in attitudes noted by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) were also likely to carry over into the realm of public discourse and media portrayals of immigration as well, because members of the media are not immune to either public opinion or the changes in threat, group conflict, and identity. If the opinion of the audience has changed and the journalists have not, there may be disequilibrium in what the reader expects to read and what they are presented with in the given story. This could lead to the general audience looking elsewhere for their printed news.

In addition for the potential of the general audience to look elsewhere, if the news media is not living up to advertisers' expectations of promoting patriotism in the aftermath of the attacks, news outlets risk alienating their primary sources of income. Thus pushing stories concerning the virtues of "Americanism" and the perceived problems of people from other countries becomes a necessity to stay within the bounds of popular discourse and maintain audience and advertiser funding. At the same time, the media keeps the issue fresh in the minds of the citizenry, which in turn leads to increasingly negative views of immigrants and immigration (Poole 2002).

The issue of immigration, however, presents a special set of problems when it comes to making a connection between public opinion and public policy. One recent review of the literature by Cornelius and Rosenbaum (2005) notes that general public responses towards immigration are characterized throughout the industrialized world by opposition to existing immigration levels and negative attitudes towards the most recent cohort of immigrants. Thus most would argue that immigration laws would become

more restrictionist and laws dealing with already existing cohorts of immigrants would be punitive towards immigrants, such as not allowing naturalization, denying access to social services, etc. However, immigration has become more politicized in recent decades and political parties are staking out different preferences on how to deal with immigration (Lahav 2004, Breunig & Luedtke 2008).

Freeman's (2001) approach to this issues brings to light the complexities of pulling together all of the disparate groups that oppose immigration and the powerful interests, namely big businesses that rely on cheap labor, that support immigration. Freeman refers to this as "client politics" and argues that immigration policies will be more expansive that what popular opinion would expect, and this is because the concentrated benefits facing pro-immigrant backers, and the correspondingly diffuse incentives of the public's anti-immigration opinion. The incentives against immigration is sufficiently diffuse because the arguments against immigration run the gamut from negative cultural changes, driving down of wages, issues of national sovereignty and pressures on social services. It is difficult to form a broad based cohesive collective movement around such a list of concerns. While coordinating may be problematic there are those that argue that the internet has made it easier to coordinate those with similar interests.

2.5 The Internet age and the Potential Democratization of the News

The internet has shown the potential to expand the availability of national and international news to those interested in seeking it out. No longer must one wait for the newspaper to arrive on their doorstep or go to the corner store to pickup the USA Today or New York Times for national news. By typing a few words in a browser, making a few clicks of the mouse, people from around the world have access to local, national,

and international news. Redner (2004) makes the argument that the internet makes more information available to a greater number of people more easily and from a wider array of sources than any instrument of information and communication in history.

Many see the internet as a valuable tool that allows for the democratization of the news. For decades the primary source of the news has been from corporate owned outlets that have pushed an elite agenda that has attempted to limit dissent and maintain the status quo (Altschull 1995). For some scholars, however, the internet has opened up new avenues for dissent and progressive action:

> Emergent technologies and communities are interacting as tentative forms of self determination and control "from below." Today's internet citizen activists organize politically around issues of access to information, capital globalization, imperialist war, ecological devastation and other forms of agency in the ongoing struggle for social justice and a more participatory democracy. (Marcuse 2001)

From this perspective, the internet has opened the doors of democracy that had previously been closed to those at the bottom. Alternatives to what has often been labeled as the "mainstream media" abound, including those that actively seek out and promote reader input and comments.

The ability for those accessing web-sites to provide their own feedback is one of the central features of many movement oriented websites. This makes organization much easier and promotes participation. Kahn and Kelner (2005) argue that there has now been a new cycle of internet politics, which has consisted of the implosion of media and politics into popular culture. This has resulted in unprecedented numbers of people using the internet and other technologies to produce original instruments and modes of democracy (Kahn and Kelner 2005). While the internet has made activism and organization of movements easier, most members of a given society are not activists

and are not likely to use the internet for those purposes. This, however, does not mean that people will not be accessing information on the internet, but it does affect the information they are likely to access.

From the perspective of those accessing news on the internet, while the availability of hundreds of sources of information are available, the more traditional media giants tend to dominate in the virtual world (McChesney 2001). While it is true that just about anyone can start up an internet "news site" for relatively modest sums of capital, the reality is that with the millions of internet sites available, they are likely to get lost in the mass. According to McChesney (2001) it is clear now that the internet will probably not spawn any new commercially viable media entities; the media giants will rule the roost; indeed the internet is encouraging even greater media concentration, not to mention convergence. One can see this by simply typing the word *News* into Google where seven of the ten front page results are from major news conglomerates such as Fox News, ABC News, CNN, MSNBC, etc. Two of the three non-conglomerates are from news aggregators Google news, and Yahoo news. Only one of the ten was from outside the realm of "mainstream media" and that is the Drudge Report, which is a fairly independent conservative news aggregator with very little if any news reporting. This is hardly the democratizing of the news media that many had hoped for.

This convergence, however, should not come as a surprise. Rather than new sources of news coverage gaining traction, the already existing big media outlets simply went online. According to the Nielson 2008 rankings, the top 10 news sights visited were:

1. drudgereport.com
2. Daily Kos

3. Fox News Digital Network
4. CNN Digital Network
5. AOL News
6. Yahoo! News
7. MSNBC Digital Network
8. ksl.com
9. Breitbart.com
10. Google News

Of those top visited news sites, only Daily Kos is a non corporate affiliated news producer, and that is stretching the term “news producer” to its limits. The rest are either corporate media outlets, such as CNN and AOL news, or sites that aggregate the news from various other, mainly corporate, news sites, such as Yahoo news and Google news which are themselves corporate entities.

The lack of non-corporate enterprises in the most viewed news websites should not come as a surprise, after all, many of these corporate entities simply place online what they already have in the print or television media. This, however is not the only reason, and McChesney (2001) made the following list of six reasons why the media giants had up to that point, and would likely continue, to hold a majority of the internet news readers. Those six reasons were:

1. The giant media firms are willing to take losses on the Internet that would be absurd for any other investor to assume.

2. The media giants have digital programming from their other ventures that they can plug into the Web at little extra costs.

3. To generate an audience, the media giants can and do promote their websites incessantly on their traditional media holdings, to bring their audiences to their online outlets.

4. As the possessors of the hottest “brands,” the media firms have the leverage to get premier locations from browser software makers, ISPs, search engines, and portals

5. With their deep pockets, the media giants are aggressive investors in start-up internet media companies. Some estimates have as much as

one-half the venture capital for Internet content start-up companies coming from established media forms.

6. To the extent that advertising develops on the Web, the media giants are positioned to seize most of these revenues. McChesney (2001)

With the exception of number six on the list, most of the reasons that the McChesney gave in 2001 held through to the present. The losses that the big media corporations were willing to endure gave them a head start above the competition before the large boom of advertising that could promote stable sources of income for more independent outlets.

While corporate media has not monopolized internet news to the extent that they did with newspapers and television, they do produce most of the news content viewed on the internet. Though drudgereport.com is the most viewed news site, it produces no news itself, but instead links to other online content, the vast majority of which are corporate owned outlets. Even Kahn and Kellner (2005) who argued that the internet provides for a democratization of dissent and activism acknowledge that:

> The political reality of the internet is a complex series of places that embody reconstruction models of citizenship and new forms of political activism, even as the internet itself reproduces logics of capital and becomes co-opted by hegemonic forces.

The ability to promote activism and progressive dissent is there, however, getting heard in the mass of web-pages can be daunting. However useful the internet has become for organizational purposes, it has a long way to go before corporate media loses its near monopoly on news content.

2.6 Concluding Thoughts

The public generally sees the media as serving a democratic function of disseminating information to the public that leads to informed decisions concerning

views on public policy, elections, etc. Those within the news media itself often find themselves believing this as well, however, this perception is a mask of reality. While the news media may portray what they do as objective and neutral, the reality is that this objectivity has problematic consequences for the idea of an informed citizenry (Altshcull 1995). Neutrality marginalizes dissent and thus promotes the status quo. That which falls outside the acceptable realm of elite discourse tends to fall outside of the realm of what is deemed "newsworthy."

The pressures placed on news production by elites are at odds with the concept of a free and independent press. It is an error to proclaim the independence of the press, to fail to recognize that the news media are agencies of someone else's power. This power can and has been used as a means of social control. This social control is often invisible to those it is controlling, however, because it is the result of the myth of the press as objective actors. The myth has been shown to be so deeply ingrained in the social consciousness that those who argue against this myth themselves become marginalized.

The marginalization of dissent is the result of elite desires to maintain the status quo, and is aided by the fact that most major news outlets are owned by a select few corporations which have the resources and ability to pressure the news agencies they own into what is "news." The large corporate conglomerates thus wield an incredibly large amount of influence over what news is viewed. This unfortunately has not change in the internet age which still sees corporate media dominate news production despite the general ease of entry for smaller groups and individuals to enter the marketplace.

This lack of true competition, especially from voices outside of corporate America, leads to a fundamental lack of open dialogue and exchanges of ideas (Croteau and Hoyne 2001).

CHAPTER 3
METHODS

The underlying expectation of this project is that public attitudes would shift as a result of the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings; that is, that the more accepting attitudes that had hit their peak with the "booming" economy of the late 1990's would turn more negative (Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson 2002). It makes intuitive sense that newspapers would follow suit, to avoid alienating their readers. Because advertising dollars are based on circulation, newspapers have a vested interest in printing articles that their readers want to read. So, if the majority of the population's attitudes towards immigration have turned negative, then it is likely that this has happened within the print media as well.

These events were selected because the attacks were conducted by people considered to be "foreigners." Thus, their impact on the ways in which immigrants are presented in the media is important. Other than word-of-mouth and friends/family, the media are the primary source of information people receive about what is going on in society. The U.S. and Great Britain are good cases to look at how print media portrayals changed after these events because they have both had acts of "terrorism" occur within their borders. They also share a common language and allies when it comes to foreign policy since World War I. Since terrorism is considered a foreign policy issue, it is likely that the impacts of terrorist attacks on the U.S. will be influential in the print media in Great Britain as well, and the London train bombings will be influential in the print media in the U.S.

3.1 Study Design

This study examines the two most widely circulated newspapers in each country in 2000 as well as 2005. These newspapers were chosen solely for their rank in terms of circulation. Circulation is used to determine the newspapers used in an effort to look at how immigration and immigrants are framed in the newspapers reaching the largest number of readers in each country. The position of each newspaper in circulation rankings did not change during the timeframe of 6 months prior to 9/11 and 6 months following the London train bombings. In the United States, the two top newspapers by circulation were the *USA Today* (with an average daily circulation of 1.7 million), and *The New York Times,* which averaged about 1 million per day. In Britain, the top newspaper was *The Sun* (with an average daily circulation of 3.7 million) and *The Daily Mail* (with 2.4 million).

The time periods examined were six months before 9/11/01 and six months after, and six months prior to the London train bombings as well as six months after. The date range consists of March 2001 through March 2002 for measuring the changes before and after 9/11, and January 2005 through January 2006 for measuring the changes before and after the London train bombings. Using four newspapers from two different countries allows for both within and between country analyses.

This study follows the same logic as that of Segvic (2005) who looked at three newspapers in Croatia over an eleven year timeframe during which there were times of war and political pressure on the media. Segvic used framing theory to look at media portrayals of the government during this period as did Roggenband and Vliegenthart (2007) in their study that examined how immigration was framed in public discourse between 1995 and 2004 in five Dutch newspapers. This takes the analysis a step

further by looking at newspapers in two countries, and while the time period is not as extensive, using the specific periods around the terrorist attacks allows for the examination of any changes which took place in the media.

The analysis will begin with comparing the dominant views of immigration in the two selected newspapers from each country in the six months before 9/11. From here the countries can be compared by looking at the totality of newspaper articles during the time period and by combining the articles and analyzing their differences. Comparing the totality of the newspaper can give insight into how the media of each country portray immigration, as well as the relative salience of the issue by comparing how many articles were published.

3.2 Framing

Erving Goffman wrote the first work on the theoretical concept and potential analytical uses of framing in his book *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Goffman's work is grounded in what he referred to as dramaturgical sociology, a subfield of symbolic interactionism. He notes that human actions are dependent upon time, place, and audience (Goffman 1959). In other words, to Goffman, the self is a dramatic effect emerging from the immediate scene being presented. Within this framework the individual's goal is to gain acceptance of the audience through manipulation. In a similar vein, it can be argued that the purpose of media presentation is to gain acceptance from the largest possible audience through carefully manipulated texts or images to gain the largest audience or in the cases of editorials to push whatever agenda they have set.

According to Goffman (1974), individuals' interactions with society are governed by a primary framework that provides meaning to events that would otherwise be

meaningless: these events are generally interlinked by what he refers to as “strips of activity.” Thus, individuals have pre-established frames of reference which they have accrued and altered throughout their lives to make sense of events. This intuitively makes sense, since it is difficult to imagine going into every interaction, even with strangers, without some form of a reference to guide those interactions. For example, when you go into a store with the intent to purchase goods or a service, we know to bring money to pay for such goods and services because we have learned from a very young age that it requires some form of currency whether paper, coin, or plastic to leave a store with whatever you intended on obtaining from the store. Goffman’s theoretical framework of framing laid the groundwork for future research into how those who produce media stories frame issues for consumption by the general population.

Frame theory, frame analysis, and framing “work” have a long tradition within the media research area of sociology as well as within the social movement field. According to Norris (1995), those actors within social movements or those who are working against social movements attempt to affect interpretations of reality amongst various audiences because they believe, rightly or wrongly, that meaning is prefatory to action. This stems from the symbolic interactionist perspective in which Blumer stated that “human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings things have for them” (Blumer 1969).

From this perspective, meanings are derived, and transformed, via social interaction and are subject to different interpretations. Meaning does not spring from the object of attention because objects have no intrinsic meaning. Instead, meaning is negotiated, contested, modified, articulated, and rearticulated (Blumer 1969). Gamson

(1989) takes this a step further noting that facts have no intrinsic meaning but gain meaning by being embedded in a frame or storyline that organizes them emphasizing some while completely ignoring others. Taking these conceptions of meaning along with Goffman's *Frame Analysis,* many scholars have studied reality construction and rhetorical processes within social movement literature as well as media studies within sociology (Gamson 1989).

According to Gamson (1992) Goffman's concept of the frame maintains a useful balance between structure and agency; on the one hand events and experiences are framed, and on the other hand, we frame events and experiences. Goffman (1974) also calls attention to the fragility in frames in use and their vulnerability to tampering. He refers to individuals' changing meanings of frames based on new information as "keying," and those who attempt to change meanings by giving false impressions to others he refers to as "fabricating." This vulnerability of the framing process makes it a focal point of potential struggle. By analyzing media content those participants in symbolic contests, whether they be social movement actors or elites attempting to maintain the *status quo*, measure their success or failure by how well their preferred meanings or interpretations are doing in various media arenas (Gamson 1992).

Thus the theoretical value in framing lies in the ability of actors to shape their preferred meaning into the messages sent within the contested realm of the media which is expected to play a role in shaping individuals interpretations of events. According to Goffman (1974), people have preconceived frames which allow them to interpret the world, so the question arises, how do the frames that have been shaped within the media interact and/or alter the existing frames of individuals receiving the

media messages? They key to this is the idea that the most effective media frames are those that fit into already existing cultural frameworks of the message receivers (Gamson 1989). There is limited, if any, ability for recipients of news to respond to news stories in a way that would allow for meaning making in the interactionist perspective. So, the framing of news events, in order to be most effective, is likely to be relatively similar to existing cultural frames concerning whatever issue is being presented. Scheufele (2000) notes that the importance of framing rests in the assumption that changes in the wording or description of a situation might affect how audience members interpret the situation. This ability to change the perceived meaning of a story within the media by simply changing the wording demonstrates the ease of manipulation that Goffman and Gamson wrote about as well as the desire for social movement actors and political elites to shape the messages projected through the media.

The affect of simple wording changes on the way individuals' process information can be seen clearly in Kahneman and Tversky's (1984) work. They note that when deciding whether or not to take a risk, the way a proposition was phrased had an effect on how individuals responded, for example, when asked a question on hypothetical treatment types for the flu. If the possible treatments were framed in survival terms people were more likely to pick them than if they were presented in terms of mortality, even if mathematically each response had the same chances for people to live or die. Any changes that take place in wording are going to have different effects based on whether or not they occur within the individuals preexisting meaning structures or schemas; if a newspaper report was published that did not exist within an individual's

preexisting schemas, it would likely be discarded as irrelevant to their views on the subject at hand (Scheufele 1999). This can be seen clearly in Kahneman and Tversky's example where each of the responses was in the realm of existing meaning of surviving or dying as a result of disease.

Individuals' information processing occurs within the aforementioned preexisting meaning structures. Scheufele (1999) describes three dimensions of news processing: active processing, reflective integrating, and selective scanning. Each one of these has repercussions for how individuals will interpret and/or ignore changes in framing on the part of media producers. First Scheufele describes active processing as an individual actively seeking out multiple sources of news based on the assumption that the mass-media in general are incomplete, slanted or in some other way biased by the individual communicating the news. Reflective integrating is the act of thinking about the information obtained from the mass media, or discussing it with others to understand fully what has been learned. Finally, selective scanning refers to individuals only seeking out information relevant to them.

The theory of framing suggests that journalists commonly work with news frames to simplify, prioritize, and structure the narrative flow of events; news frames also bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and stereotyped images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting events and/or issues (Norris 1995). Reporters can "tell it like it is" within a limited time-frame, in the case of television news, or word-count, in the case of newspaper stories, by sorting key events or elements of the story by drawing on "reservoirs" of familiar stories to cue readers (Norris 1995; Pan and Kosicki 1993). While seemingly a trivial idea on its face, the idea of being able to convey the essential

components of a given event in as few words as possible can be of importance when considering the motives behind how events are framed. Most newspapers, especially those the majority of the population read, are for-profit organizations and the less space an article takes up in the paper, the more advertising space become available or the more space there is for another article that someone may find interesting and further promote the newspaper. By using existing cultural knowledge to frame the information in a given article in this way, the producer of the story can ensure that the news receivers will be able to fit the story into their existing knowledge.

Scheufele (2000) recognizes five influences over how journalists frame a given issue: social norms and values, organizational pressures, journalistic routines, pressures of interest groups, and ideological or political orientations of the journalist. From this perspective, newspapers and other media have the ability to put a certain 'spin' on what is being reported to lead the reader to see the problem or political issue in a certain light. For example, a newspaper article may state all of the negative aspects of illegal immigration, such as the "fact" that illegal immigrants are breaking the law by entering without documentation, but not mention the benefits that they provide, such as the economic benefits to corporations from the cheap labor that illegal workers provide.

This ability to shape the way news is presented allows the media to influence public opinion by framing issues in ways that can be either beneficial to immigrants or create greater anti-immigrant sentiment. Van Gorp (2005) explains this relationship as "the linkage between, on the one hand, the journalistic approach of shaping the news within a frame of reference and according to a latent structure of meaning and, on the other hand, the stimulation of the public to adopt these frames and to view reality from

the same perspective as the journalists do." When the public adopts those frames which the media have presented, the media have exercised their influence over public opinion.

In forming these frames the media have the ability to not only effect the presence or absence of an idea, but can also emphasize one aspect at the expense of others. According to Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) this is subtly done in order to not alienate their audience: "The subtlety of framing is in the way it can construct reality, impact interpretations, and influence the audience responses and opinions toward a particular event after the event enters the public agenda." In this way framing not only affects the salience of an issue, but also the audience's perceptions. Norris (2004) notes that these frames can become so dominant within the discourse over a given issue that they come to be seen as natural and inevitable, with contradictory information discounted as failing to fit preexisting views.

Within the theoretical framework of interactionism and framing, Scheufele (2004) specifies three branches of framing research: the communicator approach, the public discourse and social movement, and the media effects approach. The communicator approach, or frame-building, looks both at the processes involved by the individual framing the information, such as studies on the act of newspaper reporters frame a story, and the frames themselves. The public discourse or social movement approach has a macro approach and looks at which political actors can get their frames into the media, and in this sense the media is seen as the "carrier" for the frames of others. Finally, the media effects approach examines how media framing influences attitudes, emotions and decisions of media recipients.

It is important to note that the three areas of framing research are not mutually exclusive. Framing research can, and does look at any combination of these areas of interest. For example one can use the communicator approach as well as the public discourse and social movement approach by analyzing the frames themselves while also examining which group, social movement actors, government, etc., are attempting to push the given frames and determine who is doing a better job at getting their message to the public. One can also look at specific frames and analyze how they influence public opinion and determine which group is influencing the public through their frames. So while the typology is useful to classify previous research, it should not be used as a pigeonhole for all research into the area of frame analysis.

As noted previously, Schuefele (2004) breaks down framing research into three different types of framing research, and in this study I am interested in studying the media frames in the newspaper coverage of immigration in the United States and Great Britain both before and after the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings, which falls within Schuefele's communicator approach. Research into how issues are framed within a given political discourse, such as that of immigration, is useful for understanding the information that people are receiving within the media.

3.3 The Data and Analyzing the Data

The unit of analysis is the individual article. There are a total of 659 articles to be analyzed, with 277 printed in American newspapers and 382 printed in British newspapers. There were 56 articles from the *USA Today*: 14 printed six months before 9/11, 16 printed six months after 9/11, 11 printed six months before the London train bombings and 15 printed six months after the London train bombings. For the *New York Times* there were 221 articles: 58 printed six months before 9/11, 69 printed six

months after 9/11, 49 printed six months before the London train bombings and 45 printed six months after the London train bombings. Of the 382 articles printed in Britain, 68 of them were from *The Sun* with 21 of them printed before 9/11, 10 printed after 9/11, as well as 21 printed before the London train bombings and 16 printed after. *The Daily Mail* printed a total of 314 articles for analysis: 81 were printed before 9/11, 64 were printed after 9/11, as well as 93 printed before the London train bombings and 76 printed after. The term "immigration" was used to search for articles in the database. If the key term was used in the headline, abstract, or first paragraph, the article was included for use. This is similar to the method used by Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) for article collection in their data analysis about the framing of the Iraq War.

Also, similar to Dimitrova and Stromback (2005), this project will exclude articles that are shorter than 400 words or are letters to the editor/reader feedback. However, unlike their work, it will be using editorials. It is important to take a brief moment to explain why editorials are included, especially considering many editorials are not written by the staff of a given newspaper, but instead by syndicated writers who may get published in many different newspapers throughout the country. Often these writers are included in order to present dissenting opinions, as seen in the *USA Today* where the editors of the paper present their opinion on a given topic and bring in a guest writer to write an opposing view. Editorials are included for two reasons. First, they are often written by members of the editorial board of the given newspaper in addition to syndicated writers. There is usually some mixture of both. So they are representative of the thoughts of individuals who are responsible for what gets published in the given newspaper. Second, even if none of them were written by editors of the newspapers

they represent, they would still be included because their readers are likely reading them. They are part of the printed text in the newspaper, and while the newspaper may not be endorsing a given view by including it, they are providing that information and the analysis by the given commentator to their audience. Unless it is spelled out explicitly, such as with the *USA Today* and their "opposing" viewpoints for whatever the daily topic is, the reader has no real way of knowing whether the paper supports or dissents with a given writer's viewpoint and thus the mere presence of the article, in this case editorial, becomes important because it is part of the paper.

For case selection purposes, one could ask the question "if you are using editorials from outside the newspapers writing pool why not include letters to the editor/reader feedback?" After all they are opinions that the newspapers publish and people have the option of reading. While it is true that people have the option of reading these letters to the editor, the reader knows that they are the thoughts and opinions of readers and not the writers of the articles they look to for information and/or entertainment. For this reason, letters to the editor are not included: they simply are not likely to have the same influence over readers as actual articles written within the framework of the news media (Dimitrova and Stromback 2005).

Snow and Benford (1988) note that during times of public debate about an issue, there are three representations of an issue that takes place: diagnosis, prognosis, and call for action or a rationale for inaction. Using this framework, coding has been set up similar to that of Roggenband and Vliegenthart (2007) who broke coding down into categories of diagnosis. Each category represented a part of the framing process and when taken cumulatively the pieces fit into a specific framework identical to those that

Snow and Benford (1988) labeled as representations of diagnosis, prognosis, and call for action/inaction. They also added the category of "standing" looking at who was given a voice within articles, such as who was interviewed or where the reporter received their statistics, because they note that standing, or having a voice is contested terrain (Roggenband and Vligenthard 2007). Breaking down articles in this way to code them follows from Entman's (1993) definition of a frame that determines the problem being looked at in the text, the reason the problem is occurring, the moral evaluation and the treatment recommendation.

Roggenband and Vligenthard's (2007) used the above mentioned elements of frames and created an analytic framework consisting of a coding scheme with a set of sensitizing questions for each element (see Appendix 1). The first category looks at voice and standing asking if there is a specific actor being given a prominent position within the article and follow up questions concerning who the individual represents or what information they are providing. The second category of diagnosis is concerned with what is considered the problem, why it is considered the problem and the causes of the problem. The third category looks at prognosis, or potential "solutions" to the problem. Lastly is the call for action, or inaction, discussing who has the responsibility for acting on the perceived problem and what actions should be taken.

The sensitizing questions in Appendix 1 have been used to code the positions of the dimensions mentioned above into the frames used to portray the issue of immigration and immigrants in the U.S. and Great Britain. Each of the articles concerning immigration from *The USA Today, the New York Times, The Sun,* and *the Daily Mail* are coded. As I have coded these on my own, it is important to check for

reliability in order to ensure that others who would be interested in replicating this research would not get wildly differing results.

This project uses the same reliability tests as Soroka (2003) and Dimitrova and Stromback (2005): Holsti's inter-coder reliability test. Since this requires more than one coder, a second coder was recruited and 10 percent of the total articles were randomly selected for each of us to code and determine how similar our coding was using Holsti's (1969) formula:

$$\mathbf{IR = 2M/(N_1 + N_2)}$$

In this equation M equals the number of agreements between the coders and N_1 is the total number of coding decisions made by coder one and N_2 is the number of coding decisions made by coder two. As Van Gorp (2006) noted, due to the fact that coding for inductive frame analysis requires a certain level of freedom to interpret the implicit meanings of the news texts, it is highly unlikely that inter-coder reliability will reach levels of content analysis (that is, analysis focused on counting frequencies of words). It is possible, however, to refine the codebook to allow less subjectivity. Removing all of the subjectivity in order to increase inter-coder reliability will harm the project. Van Gorp (2006) changed their coding procedures until they reached a level of .70, and this project followed the same path.

The first step in the process of examining intercoder reliability, after selecting the ten percent sample, consisted of each coder using the sensitizing questions from appendix 1 on each article. This was done in order to determine who was given a voice/standing, what the author considered to be the "problem," what, if any, was the prognosis or potential solution to the problem, and finally whether or not there was a call

for action. The answers to these questions enabled the coders to create categories of frames that were used, or overriding themes which the articles could be sorted into for analysis.

In order to establish the final frames that would be used, the frames that each coder found from their independent coding were analyzed to determine overlap and flesh out the final frames. This was done in order to ensure that the frames were narrow enough to maintain relevance, and overlap was kept to a minimum to ensure that each category was distinct. However it was also important to not have so many categories and overall frames as to be meaningless. Each frame had to encompass a broad enough meaning that there were not an excess of frames with a minimal number of articles within each category. After looking at each coder's frames and combining/expanding them, the following six frames were created:

Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat Frame

In this frame, immigrant culture, education, and skill sets are seen as the problem. From this perspective most immigrants are seen as poorly educated, non-skilled workers who are taking jobs that could be done by native workers and suppressing wages for native workers in "low skilled" areas of employment. They are also seen as not willing to learn English and being unwilling to assimilate to "American" culture. From this perspective border control is important, especially to keep out undocumented workers who are feared to "leach" from the social services while providing limited benefits to society.

Immigration Restriction Frame

In this frame immigration laws are portrayed as too lax, and the borders as too porous. Family reunification is seen as problematic and allowing too many unskilled workers into the country, and border security is seen as lax. America and Britain have lost control of their borders and it has become too easy for potential terrorists to enter. Solutions to this problem include building a fence between the U.S. and Mexico, making it more difficult to

get Photo identification, and cracking down on employers who hire undocumented workers.

Internal Control Frame

This frame problematizes the way immigrants are handled by various government agencies once they have entered the country either legally or illegally. The government is often portrayed as being lax when it comes to keeping track of immigrants and much of the emphasis is on the perceived lax oversight of those overstay visas and/or do not maintain their visa requirements. Questions are also raised concerning what to do with asylum seekers and those who use “loopholes” such as marrying to stay in the country. In both the U.S. and Britain, it was framed as necessary to increase government scrutiny on immigrants already in the country and to make it easier to deport those who have expired visas or entered the country illegally.

Victimization Frame

Articles using this frame generally depicted an event in which an immigrant or group of immigrants was the victim of exploitation and/or tragedy. These frames looked at the problems associated with immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, precarious position within society. Human trafficking and smuggling was also included in this frame. From this perspective it is the governments responsibility to ensure that immigrants have at least minimum standards of living as well as to prosecute those seen as exploiting immigrants.

Multicultural Frame

This frame sees cultural diversity as an asset that enhances the quality of society. These frames often focus on the benefits immigrants bring, both economically, and culturally. They also emphasize the need to reduce inequality and exploitation. From this perspective policies should be put in place to ensure full participation in politics, the labor market and education to enable socioeconomic mobility as well as a political voice within government.

Immigrants as Criminal/Terrorist Frame

This frame emphasizes the potential and sensationalizes already occurring crimes involving immigrants. This frame tends to focus predominantly on undocumented immigrants and portrays them as an increased risk to commit crimes. From this perspective law enforcements hands get tied when dealing with immigrants because of imposed restrictions from government that gives “special treatment” to immigrants. The proposed policy changes include automatic deportation for arrests and increased

tracking of immigrants from certain countries that are known to "harbor terrorists."

After determining the frames that would be used for the project, the coders reanalyzed the newspaper articles to determine which frame they fell into. The coders agreed on 72 out of 93 of the articles for an intercoder reliability score of .77 (for a breakdown of the frames used see Table 3-2). As noted previously Van Gorp (2006) were aiming for an intercoder reliability score of .70 or above, so .77 is adequate for ensuring a high level of reliability.

3.4 Potential Problems and Solutions

Selection bias and description bias represent two of the most often cited methods of media bias in newspaper coverage. Much of the research pertaining to this has stemmed from work in the social movement field: more specifically, from within the protest and agenda building subfields. While this project's research interest does not focus on social movements or have a focus on events (such as protests) selection and description bias must be addressed as an area of concern when dealing with any newspaper research (Earl 2004).

Selection bias, from the perspective of newspaper coverage of social events, stems from the fact that newspapers do not report on all of the events that actually occur. This leads to newspaper reports not being representative, but instead, structured by factors such as competition over space, reporting norms, and editorial concerns (Earl 2004). While selection bias involved in newspaper coverage of events has been shown to affect which events get covered, what effect can be expected in the current research project? When attempting to determine the possible selection bias in comparison with previous studies on the subject, it is important to note that the selection bias previously

studied has focused on events, whereas this research project does not. While there are events involved, those events are not what are being studied. The impact of these events on the portrayal of immigration and immigrants is being examined.

It is much more likely that the form of selection bias faced in this project will be of the more traditional sort (i.e. on the part of the researcher and the newspapers articles selected for inclusion). Previous newspaper research was criticized for relying on indexes of events provided by the newspaper publisher or private sources: however these resources could vary in many ways, such as inclusiveness, thoroughness, and consistency (McCarthy 1996).

The best way to avoid selection bias of newspaper articles is to simply look at every article printed in the area of interest over a given period of time. While this is the most time and resource intensive method, it is also the method least likely to miss articles of interest. There are several ways to accomplish this. One can inspect, usually on microfilm depending on the timeframe and number of papers involved, each newspaper printed within a given time period. This is the most time consuming method. One can also do as Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) did and use a database such as LexisNexis using keywords to filter relevant articles. While this is much less time consuming it introduces the possibility of filtering out potentially relevant articles.

Now that the issues concerning selection bias have been addressed, description bias must be taken into account. “Description bias concerns the veracity with which selected events are reported in the press, and is also a concern when using newspaper data” (Earl 2004). Findings suggest that “hard news” (the who, what, when, and where) are mostly subject to errors of omission, while “soft news” (impressions and inferences)

are subject to multiple sources of bias (McCarthy et. al. 1999). Once an event receives media attention those involved in the event are often portrayed in a way that reporters believe will appeal to the largest audience.

Description bias of news events is problematic for those studying those events. However, it does open up the opportunity to study the news portrayals themselves, and this is the perspective that this project takes. Researchers looking at description bias in the social movement field point out that description bias leads to difficulty in thoroughly analyzing whatever aspect of social movement they are researching (Smith 2001). This is similar to the argument used for the problems associated with selection bias in that both are most problematic for those who are researching the social movement because their other options for data are limited or nonexistent. However, the frame analysis framework that this project uses has the built-in expectation that there is description bias within any news field.

Selection bias can affect research looking at specific events by simply not covering them as well as describing the events and focusing on details that the researcher is not interested in. The biggest problem arises when the researcher is looking at an issue that has no other readily available sources of data, such as specific protest events associated with a social movement. If an event happened and there is no newspaper record of it, then the study will have issues of selection bias because the researcher will not have access to data of an event that occurred.

Selection bias on the part of the selection process of gathering the articles poses more of a dilemma to this research project that that of the selection bias involved by the newspaper journalists on what to cover. Using a keyword search in an online database

is the most time and resource efficient method of gathering newspaper data. While this method does leave open the possibility of excluding some newspapers related to immigration and immigrants, it is not likely to leave out articles that deal directly with the issue at hand; those most likely to be filtered out are those that deal tangentially with the issue.

3.5 Conclusion

Using 889 articles from the *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, *The Sun*, and *The Daily Mail*, frame analysis is used to determine how each of the newspapers, as well as each of the countries portrayed immigration before and after 9/11. Using inductive frame analysis, this project investigates how the print media are linking certain idea elements together into frames as well as examining what, if any, differences there are between the newspapers of each country, as well as the differences, if any, between the countries themselves.

Table 3-1. Number of Newspaper articles in each newspaper.

Newspaper	Before 9/11	After 9/11	Before LTB	After LTB	Total
USA Today	14	16	11	15	56
New York Times	58	69	49	45	221
The Sun	21	10	21	16	68
The Daily Mail	81	64	93	76	314
	174	159	174	152	659

Table 3-2. Number of articles for each frame by country.

Frame	United States	Britain	Total
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	8	10	18
Immigration Restriction	12	10	22
Internal Control	17	4	21
Victimization	4	5	9
Multicultural	9	1	10
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	3	10	13

CHAPTER 4
PORTRAYAL OF IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS PRIOR TO 9/11

As can be seen in Table 4-1, the New York Times printed almost four times as many articles dealing with immigration than did the USA Today. A likely reason for this is that while the New York Times, while a national publication, has its roots in a city with a large immigrant population, and the New York Times provides a large amount of local coverage and content. Unfortunately, there are so few articles from the USA Today during this time period that it is difficult to make comparisons between the two newspapers; however, the overall frames can still be analyzed as can the general tone of the articles from each newspaper. I will be looking at each frame and how they are used in the newspapers, as well as at which frames were used most frequently.

The primary takeaway for the lone article in the USA today concerning "immigration as a threat" is the author's desire to keep the article "neutral." While the entire article deals with increased levels of immigration and the resultant population growth that has stemmed from the increase, the author uses the "pro/con" method of discussing the outcomes of the population growth. This method opens the door to push the views of people, like one man interviewed for the article states: "The census confirms what people suspected: Immigration is out of control. There's a cost to losing control of your borders" (USA Today provide date). This allows the reporter to appear "objective," but through this apparent objectivity the status quo is maintained and immigration is still held to be a "problem."

The New York Times had three articles that used the "immigration/immigrants as a threat" frame. One article of interest was actually not dealing with U.S. immigration, but instead was looking at British immigration and the internal debate about immigration

restriction and “broken borders.” The only person quoted in the article was a conservative spokesperson who believes that those seeking asylum need to be deterred:

> The opposition Conservatives' spokeswoman on immigration said today that” the fact is the asylum system has been out of control ever since this government came into office” and that there were no “serious deterrents” to discourage those seeking to enter Britain. (The New York Times 9/3/01)

It is important to note that she did not say that only people deemed “fraudulent” asylum seekers should be deterred, but implied that all asylum seekers should be deterred. The article portrays Britain's immigration system as lax and too lenient on “phony” asylum seekers, though neither the author, nor those interviewed ever mention what distinguishes a legitimate asylum seeker from a “phony” asylum seeker. While the article centered on immigration concerns in Britain, it was framed in a way that portrays asylum seeking and immigration negatively.

Of the four total articles that problematize immigration and immigrants, an article written on August 5th 2001 was the most direct. It was an article discussing a local New York town that had an anti-immigration gathering. They gave voice to a California based anti-immigration group called Citizens for Immigration Reform and one of their leaders had this to say “They are willing to sell our sovereignty to the highest bidder, and we all know who the highest bidder is: Mexico.” Even the individual interviewed as an opposing view only problematized injecting national issues of immigration, rather than promoting the benefits that immigrants were bringing to the area. The article ends with a sympathetic tone towards the views of the residents of the small town noting:

> The conflict over illegal immigrants that has roiled Farmingville over the past three years reflects the demographic shifts occurring across the country as Hispanics settle in communities long unaccustomed to immigrants. (New York Times 8/5/2001)

In other words, it is not the residents' faults for holding such ethnocentric views; they are merely reacting to an increase in Hispanic immigrants moving to their small town.

The increase in immigrants has also lead to those who want to restrict immigration, and "take back our borders," through pressuring the government to enact policies to further limit legal immigration in the U.S. and border security to prevent undocumented immigrants from entering the U.S. The "Immigration Policy" frame was the most prominent in the New York Times and second most used in the USA Today. When the newspapers are looked at collectively, the policy frame was the most used.

There were a total of four articles using the "immigration policy" frame in the USA Today. These articles all dealt with a visit from then Mexican President Vicente Fox, the purpose of which was to discuss undocumented migration from Mexico. The USA today primarily discussed the differences between policy goals of Democrats and Republicans in drafting new immigration laws. Voice and standing were given exclusively to government officials in each of the articles. One article quoted then President Bush as saying: "I strongly believe that if someone is willing to work, and someone's looking for a worker and can't find anybody, we ought to facilitate the two hooking up." This was an effort to promote his "guest worker" program which would allow companies to hire immigrants for as long as they were "needed," with the expectation that they would return to their country of origin when their employment ended.

Immigration groups were not given a voice, likely because they would not praise a guest worker program, which would be little more than "renting" labor rather than facilitating legal immigration. Thus, there were only different sides of the governmental

debate presented. One author also promoted a USA Today poll indicating that "28% of those polled support making it easier for illegal immigrants to become citizens, while 67% said it should not be easier"(USA Today 8/31/2001). This was a poll responding to then President Bush's floating of a proposal that would allow some illegal immigrants working and paying taxes to become permanent legal residents rather than second class citizens. The USA Today noted that:

> When administration officials first floated the plan earlier this summer, it ran into strong resistance from Republicans on Capital Hill. Many GOP lawmakers, such as Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, flatly opposed legalizing illegal immigrants. (USA Today 8/31/2001)

Each side of the debate was presented as having legitimate concerns, so, once again, objectivity promoted keeping the status quo in place. It was even speculated that it was unlikely that there would be any significant legislation during that year.

The New York Times also covered President Fox's trip to the U.S. In an article dated September 5th 2001 titled *Mexico Takes Small Steps to Improving its U.S. Ties,* however, the author presented Mexico as a problematic actor in the immigration debate who is only now attempting to help fix the "problem." Once again, the only outside voices mentioned are those of government officials whose job it is to make the administration look as positive as possible for a given issue.

When looking at the specific policies, and potential changes to immigration laws during this period, the New York Times painted the idea of "amnesty" for undocumented immigrants as politically problematic:

> Allowing the more than three million Mexicans living in the United States illegally to earn permanent lawful residency is an idea packed with political, economic, and even foreign policy risks...Given these hurdles, why are Mr. Bush and Mr. Fox trying to strike a deal over what would be one of the biggest changes in immigration policy in the past quarter-century? (The New York Times 4/21/2001).

Not only does the author not discuss potential benefits associated with the legalization of undocumented workers, but makes an erroneous assertion that the proposition would be one of the biggest changes to immigration policy while ignoring the history of granting amnesty in 1986 to undocumented workers, similar to what was being discussed.

Other articles looked at the complexity of current immigration laws and how they can affect families and communities in negative ways. One article looked at the problems associated with current policies and noted the importance of reform. The author described conditions where some members of a family would be in the U.S. legally, and others illegally, as well as the problems with increasing border security, which tends to have the effect of fewer immigrants returning to their home country for fear of not being able to get back in the U.S.

The “internal control” frame was the second most used frame between the U.S. newspapers. This frame focused on government policies concerning immigrants already in the U.S. The articles in the USA Today centered primarily on immigrants who were attempting to get married before their visas expired so that they could remain in the U.S. One article led with the sentence: “Love is in the air. Or maybe it's the looming deadline for Section 245 (I) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (USA Today 3/27/2001). This implies that those immigrants who marry American citizens are only doing so to have a legal reason to remain in the U.S. Those favoring stricter immigration control were given standing and voice when the author interviewed Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, who had this to say: “It's remarkable how many people are falling in love to the tune of immigration law. It's

enough to bring a tear to your eye" (USA Today 3/27/2001). Two of the three articles dealing with internal control were about the marriage law deadline.

The third article concerned a drop in the demand for H-1B visas for workers employed in technological fields. This decline in demand followed a congressional increase in the number of visas available and, once again, Dan Stein was quoted: "There is an overall lack of demand and complete non-justification for the increase" (USA Today 3/21/2001). The executive director of a group promoting immigration restriction is frequently given voice while those promoting the benefits of immigration are not. This frames the issue in a way that only one side is heard and promoted.

There were a total of 20 articles using the "internal control" frame in the New York Times, and was the second most used frame in the U.S. newspapers. This indicates that much of what was on America's mind related to immigration policies and policies involved with determining how immigrants already in the U.S. would be treated. Unlike the USA Today which had two of its three articles dealing with marriage visas, the New York Times only had one of its 19 dealing with this issue. They did problematize the hiring of illegal workers by businesses in their article. The author notes that "Suffolk County legislators have spent the past year grappling with the problem of day laborers who are in the country illegally" (New York Times 8/29/2001). This paints the picture of immigrants being a problem that is nearly "unsolvable," rather than looking at ways to incorporate those immigrants into the community.

Incorporating immigrants into the U.S. through naturalization and citizenship was also a (regular? major?) theme from the New York Times, as was a court battle over the detention of undocumented immigrants:

> Despite the promise of the Statue of Liberty, non-citizens have rarely been treated as constitutional equals in this country. Yet in two surprising decisions handed down last week, the Supreme Court has come close to recognizing that immigrants are persons entitled to the same basic constitutional protections that apply to citizens. In doing so, the court broke from its own ignoble history of slighting immigrants' interests and may well have embarked on a new era in immigrants' rights. New York Times 7/1/2001

Those sentiments were also echoed in an article titled *At the Heart of Liberty*, which portrayed immigrant rights as an integral part of inclusion. Articles concerning this issue represented almost half of all of the "internal control" articles and tended to present the issue of expanded rights for immigrants in a positive light. These expanded rights may also play a role in curbing the victimization of immigrants, especially of undocumented immigrants.

The "victimization" frame was used only four times total, once in the USA Today and three times in the New York Times. Each of the articles presented immigrants in a sympathetic light, and often the status quo was blamed for allowing the victimization to occur. The articles often noted the inability of undocumented workers to take their grievances to the local authorities for fear of deportation.

The articles using the "victimization" frame were some of the few that gave voice to immigrant rights groups like the Human Rights Watch:

> Many diplomats, foreign business people and officials of international organizations bring in foreign domestic workers on special visas, and some of these workers are forced to work in difficult or even slave like conditions. They may risk losing their immigration status and deportation if they leave their employers. (USA Today 6/14/2001)

The "victimization" frame was the only frame used where immigrant rights were seen as beneficial, and working conditions of immigrants was pushed to the forefront. This is

important because it portrays immigrants as part of American society rather than as outsiders who happen to reside in the U.S.

The New York Times presented three articles concerning victimization, two of which focused on the problems associated with attempting to get to the U.S. especially for those without the proper documentation. They looked at not only the physical dangers associated with crossing over more remote parts of the U.S. Mexico border, but also the potential economic harm for those who would attempt to defraud families of immigrants looking to get their loved ones into the U.S.

One article presented a case where families paying money to a company offering to cut through the red tape of immigration found the company building empty and their money gone. Once again, an immigrant's rights group was given voice and noted that "This happens in the immigrant communities all the time."(New York Times 09/01/2001) The authors note that those here illegally are especially fearful of coming forward because of deportation fears. The author presented immigrants and undocumented workers as the victims of others preying on their inability to navigate the cumbersome immigration laws, which was the approach taken in each of the articles dealing with the "victimization" frame.

Another frame showing immigrants in a predominantly positive light was the "multicultural" frame. This frame was generally used to show the benefits of immigrants to the U.S. through labor and culture, and was also used to point out the demographic changes associated with immigration. One example is an article printed in the USA Today which presents immigrant workers as a necessity to a thriving economy, especially for larger cities:

> The major source of labor that Pittsburgh, unlike other cities, has not been able to tap: the nation's growing supply of immigrants. If immigrants are the lifeblood of American cities, as Census 2000 indicates, Pittsburgh could use a transfusion...The wave of Hispanic and Asian immigration that is restocking cities across the USA is bypassing Pittsburgh. (USA Today 4/3/2001)

This article, as well as another present in the USA describes immigrants as the life blood of most of the U.S.'s major cities. They note that immigrants are key to maintaining population and economic growth in these cities and that effort should be made to ensure that immigrants are welcomed.

The New York Times has similar articles reporting on the “renaissance” that has resulted from the economic benefits of a large immigrant population in the city, but the paper also examined more of the political aspects associated with local immigration. The New York Times also reported on the courting of the immigrant vote by politicians and the expanded political power that Hispanic immigrants have within the city. These articles portray the growing Hispanic population in a positive light, and optimistically promote the fact that the “Latino Heartland” would be electing its first Hispanic council member.

The New York Times, pointed out the exaggerations of those who fear that whites as a group will become a racial minority in America:

> In recent weeks, reporting and commentary that misinterpret early census results have been persistently misinforming the nation about its ethnic and racial composition. The misinformation is dangerous, since it fuels fears of decline and displacement among some whites, anxieties that are not only divisive but groundless. The Center for Immigration Studies, for example, a think tank in Washington, recently warned that by the middle of the century non-Hispanic whites will cease to be a majority and that "each group in the new minority-majority country has longstanding grievances against whites."

> These articles and too many others have failed to take account of the fact that nearly half of the Hispanic population is white in every social sense of this term; 48 percent of so-called Hispanics classified themselves as solely white, giving only one race to the census taker. (New York Times 5/8/2001)

This article appears to be attempting to do two things at once. First it is pointing out the fact that many whites see Hispanics (even white skinned Hispanics) as "different" enough to not be considered white, but, at the same time, assuage white fears of losing their dominant position in society. The author attempts to show whites that they are not in any real danger of losing the cultural, political, educational, and economic dominance over minorities. The author is also implicitly arguing that if European whites become more accommodating to other groups with white/lighter skin, then it will be easier to maintain a dominant position in society. Thus, rather than treating these potential allies as outsiders and as a threat, they should be more welcoming.

Overall, the dominant frames were "immigration policy," and "internal control," followed closely by the more positive multicultural frame. The "immigration policy" frame tended to focus on what were portrayed as problematic and inefficient immigration measures. Immigration restriction groups and government officials were the predominant voices in this frame, providing a skewed view of the immigration debate that did not include a voice for immigrants or for immigrant groups. As Altschull (1995) and Crutal (2000) indicate, leaving out voices is oftentimes a way of promoting an agenda. Not only is what the author writes about an issue important, but what they ignore as well. Ignoring certain voices shapes how individuals are going to interpret and connect with the written article because only one aspect of the issue may be heard.

When it came to policy issues and control of immigration/immigrants, the articles tended to frame pro-control and anti-immigrant groups more favorably. Those articles

that used the multicultural and victimization frames tended to portray immigrants/immigration more positively by pointing out that cities across the country were seeing population and economic growth thanks to immigrants. The articles also pointed out recruitment efforts by cities that had been left out of the immigration boom, showing that immigration is desirable. However, the two U.S. newspapers presented frames that problematized immigration more frequently than those that promoted its benefits, and thus readers were more likely to read articles that promoted more negative views of immigration.

4.2 Newspaper Portrayals in Britain

In the lone article using the "immigration as a threat" frame in The Sun, portrayed "illegal" immigrants as a growing threat "The number of illegal immigrants in Britain is at least one million, and rising, an official warned last night"(The Sun 11/10/2001). The use of the word "warned" indicated that undocumented immigrants posed a threat. The author also goes on to refer to undocumented workers as "illegals," which conjures images of criminality and threats to "law and order." The article portrays undocumented immigrants as a growing threat that the government is not doing enough to keep Britain safe.

The Daily Mail used the "immigration as a threat" frame more frequently and also in a more direct way. In an article about Tuberculosis, immigrants are directly blamed for increased rates of the disease:

> LIKE A deadly spectre in the night, tuberculosis has returned to haunt us. The disease, known as 'the white plague' because of the deathly pallor that comes over its victims, has crept silently back into our cities - and especially London.
>
> Unpalatable though it may be to admit, the disease is being ushered back into this country by immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers from around

> the world. Yet no politician or health authority apparently dare say so - for fear of being accused of racism. Daily Mail 7/7/2001

This portrayal paints immigrants as a much more direct threat. They are no longer a threat in the abstract, but bringers of disease. Thus, immigrants are shown as posing a much more direct threat to society and as a segment of the population to be avoided.

Another article in the Daily Mail described immigrants as though they were a "flood" threatening to wash away Britain:

> HOWLING and cheering, they massed at the top of the railway embankment. This was the remarkable scene at the French mouth of the Channel Tunnel at the weekend as 100 asylum seekers made the most determined bid yet to breach security. They launched themselves in wave after wave against the puny obstacles set in their path, hell-bent on reaching the Chunnel and Britain beyond. (The Daily Mail 7/10/2001)

This imagery of immigrants as a "flood" is a common one. (Santa Ana 1999). Immigrants are not just seen as a threat because of numbers, but as threats to security, and the use of the phrase "breach security" implies that the barriers to entry that are used are a type of self defense used to keep out "enemies," and promotes an "us versus them" mentality. Creating a dichotomy of insiders/outsiders generally leads to a desire to restrict levels of immigration (Esses, Dovildio, and Hodson 2002).

The "immigration policy" frame was the most used frame in the British newspapers, indicating that immigration policy was the primary immigration related concern. The concern from the Daily Mail is not only that immigration is too easy, but that the entire system is broken:

> They are part of the human tide which shows that immigration to this country is now utterly and dangerously out of control. This seemingly unstoppable surge of migrants is a damning indictment of the impotence and incompetence of a British ruling class that has presided over an immigration system now on the verge of complete collapse. (Daily Mail 9/4/2001)

It is interesting to note that the newspaper is railing against the “ruling class.” Generally, as Altshell (1995) discussed, newspapers do not go after the elites or government officials because they tend to be valuable sources of information, and access to them can be withdrawn. Most of the animosity is drawn from the way the asylum system is handled:

> In the UK the number of asylum seekers rose from 5,700 in the whole of 1988 to more than 7,000 a month for January and February 2001. In 2000, 97,000 people claimed asylum in the UK. This is in a country which since 1962 has claimed to pursue a policy of 'would-be zero immigration'. So whatever happened to the policy? (Daily Mail 9/4/2001)

The Daily Mail frequently accuses asylum seekers as “asylum shoppers” portraying them as individuals looking for the country that has the right mix of “ease of entry” and access to social welfare benefits. The writers generally portray as having an “asylum crisis” where those who seek asylum and are denied have no repercussions for staying anyway. The articles generally use the asylum system as a way to push for further immigration restrictions.

The Sun echoed similar sentiments and gave the opposition Tory candidate the opportunity to push for tighter immigration controls and condemn undocumented immigration:

> The Tory leader will say: "Britain is the target of a miserable, violent and often tragic multibillion pound trade in asylum seekers. He says under Labour the asylum system has become "chaotic, unfair and ineffective." Mr Hague, 40, will attack the crisis that has turned us into Europe's No1 immigration target. (The Sun 8/1/2001)

Only those in favor of decreasing immigration, and making it more difficult to seek asylum are given a voice in any of the articles examined. There was no talk of expanding rights of immigrants or creating a climate more accepting of immigration.

Instead terms like flood, crisis, wave, etc. are used to paint Britain under a type of siege that can only be solved by creating more barriers to entry.

Portraying immigration and asylum seeking in such a negative light, it is not surprising to see how hey frame the internal controls that immigrants face once inside Britain. Once again the primary debate concerns asylum seeking and what to do with those who are denied asylum, but choose to stay illegally. Many of the Daily Mail's articles dealing with this frame push for the deportation of as many as possible and generally praise efforts of deportation:

> 'snatch squads' are to be set up to arrest large numbers of bogus asylum seekers and help speed their removal from Britain. Three teams totalling 60 immigration officers with police support if necessary will begin operating across London early next year. More squads will be introduced later across the UK. Their task is to meet Home Secretary David Blunkett's target of deporting 30,000 failed asylum seekers each year.
>
> The Tories have called for a regime copying the Australian system of locking up all immigrants who claim asylum until their cases are decided. (Daily Mail 8/30/2001)

The desire to deport those denied asylum is a common theme in the Daily Mail. One author, however, takes this a step farther. The author notes the difficulty in deporting failed asylum seekers that have dispersed into Britain:

> But Britain is already Europe's most popular asylum destination. No wonder, when enforcement of the law is a sick joke. Despite Government promises of tough action, most 'refugees' can count on staying on, even if their claims are bogus. More than 43,000 were told to leave last year, but fewer than 9,000 went home. What then is to be done?
>
> Other EU nations have set up secure reception centres and voucher schemes without provoking a public outcry. The liberal Dutch manage to examine and deport around 20 per cent of their asylum applicants within a day or two. Meanwhile, Australia refuses to accept Afghans stranded off Christmas Island. Such responses may provoke some unease in traditionally hospitable Britain. But isn't our country's perceived softness making a bad situation worse? (Daily Mail 8/3/2001)

Not only is deportation deemed important, but “reception” centers are seen as a potentially beneficial option. Thus in order to prevent asylum seekers from disbursing into Britain and thus more difficult to deport, detention centers are seen as a possible solution.

Unlike the Daily Mail, The Sun focused mainly on how other countries deal with immigration control at the macro level. They did do a three part series on what it is like to try to enter Britain both legally and illegally, what happens once the immigrant has arrived, and finally what happens once the individual has been granted or denied asylum. Voice is given primarily to immigrants and potential immigrants and essentially allows the immigrants interviewed to tell their story about what they have gone through. These articles paint a much more humane picture of what life for immigrants is like once inside Britain.

The “victimization” frame was used infrequently in each of the newspapers but was the most frequent to give a humanitarian face to immigration. These were generally stories of exploitation, and sometimes tragedy for those attempting to enter Britain without documentation. One of the tragic stories described what happened to fifty eight Chinese undocumented immigrants:

> Fifty-four men and four women suffocated during the six-hour ferry crossing from Zeebrugge in Belgium to Dover. Two men survived and went on to give chilling testimonies in court about their ordeal.
>
> The Chinese criminal Snakehead gangs who organise the trade, exploiting the dreams of poor peasants hoping for a better life in Britain, will have made Pounds 1.2million.
>
> There is a well-established local tradition of 'toudo' or 'escape across the sea' to lands where, they are told, life is easy and wages high. For those who cannot afford to pay the Pounds 20,000 fee, the obliging Snakeheads

> offer loans, supposedly repayable from their immense earnings in their new lives. Daily Mail 04/06/2001

While these types of articles describe the deplorable conditions often faced by those attempting to enter the country, there is nothing mentioned concerning how current laws promote these types of clandestine attempts at entry.

It is interesting that in one instance many of those writing about immigration condemn the system as too lax on undocumented immigration and failed asylum seekers, and then at the same time tell the stories of those who get caught in the middle because of the difficulty in legally entering the country. None of the authors note that the victimization would decrease if there were not so many barriers to entry that set up black markets for both people and jobs.

Not only are the conditions for those attempting to enter the country generally poor, but the working conditions for those who enter are poor as well.

> Dubbed Job Street, up to 40 men start turning up there at around 6.30am in a bid to be given work that can pay a paltry Pounds 10 a day. Some are refugees who are banned from working for six months on arrival in this country and have to survive on Pounds 36 a week in handouts. Some are illegal immigrants who have slipped the net and work on the black market. Others are legitimate refugees who simply cannot find jobs. The Sun 5/2/2001

They show the problems associated with the exploitation of immigrant labor, especially undocumented labor, but fail to talk about what would make the situation better. They are careful to portray those who exploit and smuggle as the problem, and the immigrants as victims, but they do not talk about the role of immigration policy itself. The supply is seen as the problem, rather than the demand, not only for a better life by immigrants but of the labor market seeking out cheap labor.

The “multicultural” frame was the second most used frame in the British newspapers, indicating that racial matters are an ongoing issue in British society, especially in the ongoing immigration debate. It is important to note that of the twenty-eight articles that used the “multicultural” frame only one was an outwardly pro-immigration article that described the need for immigrants:

> The flaw isn't in having immigrants. With our ageing population, lower birth rate, and the level of abortions, we are fast running out of young people to fill jobs, create wealth, pay taxes, and meet our social security bills for the elderly and disabled. We need immigrants. Those who say we don't are in for a shock. If we don't bring in thousands of young able foreigners, then we won't be able to pay the pensions our "white" population thinks it's entitled to. It's as simple as that. A fact, which if dodged, means real problems, not for foreigners, but for the rest of us. The Sun 7/10/2001

This was the only article that focused primarily on the benefits of immigration and the need to have immigration in order to continue to have economic growth in the face of low birthrates for British citizens. Several articles mentioned the “British race” and indicated that it was under attack from asylum seekers that do not know what it means to be British.

The overwhelming majority of articles, twenty-three out of twenty-eight, dealing with multicultural or racial issues were attempting to show anti-racism as a larger problem in Britain than racism. The longest serving member of the Commission For Racial Equality wrote an article for the Daily Mail indicating that anti-racist actions were demeaning to those seeking office:

> AS A former member of the Commission for Racial Equality, I am shocked, but not surprised, at the cynical way in which the CRE has quite deliberately chosen to make race an issue in the forthcoming General Election, by asking all parliamentary candidates to sign an anti-discrimination pledge.
>
> So I know what I am talking about when I say that I fear the increasingly blatant and biased meddling in which the CRE has recently indulged, since

> it first asked all parliamentary candidates to sign a pledge that they would not play the race card, will do yet more damage to race relations - and could actually incite racial hatred. (Daily Mail 7/6/2001)

From this perspective, requesting a pledge not to bring up issues of race, and to push for candidates to not use race/ethnicity in a negative way will somehow do more damage to race relations. The only way this would seem to be plausible is if there are those who do not make such a pledge and then use race/ethnicity as a way of creating an "us versus them" dichotomy. In this case it would be understandable that racial tensions would rise.

Many of the authors argue that people who favor lower levels of immigration are being portrayed as racist and/or xenophobic. This goes along with the idea of anti-racism being a larger problem than actual racism in the sense that there is a fear that if they espouse negative views about immigration, immigrants, or asylum seekers they will be labeled racist or xenophobic. This fear is expressed pointedly in one Daily Mail article that stated "as we have witnessed time and again, anyone who dares to voice fears about asylum is demonized as a racist by New Labour, yet as this paper has often argued, this issue is not about race."(Daily Mail 05/01/2001) The idea that the conservative movement is demonized for their efforts to restrict immigration is a constant one within the multicultural frame.

Only the Daily Male had articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame. They predominantly focused on individual acts of crime while using the fact that the perpetrator was an immigrant as a major component of the story. One example involved a case of fraud:

> A NIGERIAN who was deported from Britain for deception returned under another name to cheat his way to an estimated Pounds 250,000 in credit card fraud and housing benefit claims. He returned within months and was

> given 'leave to remain' by immigration officials after marrying a British citizen.
>
> One Tory MP last night suggested the fraudster had made a 'laughing stock' of Britain by being able to steal from the taxpayer twice over. Gerald Howarth, a senior member of the Home Affairs Select Committee, said: 'This man will now cost us Pounds 25,000 a year to be housed in one of our prisons. Once again the taxpayer foots the bill. (Daily Mail 8/4/2001)

This fits in with the often held belief that immigrants are a drain on social recourses, only from this perspective, living off the goodwill of the government was not enough, they stole from those in the community as well. By focusing on the fact that the perpetrator was an immigrant, the article emphasizes a connection between immigration and crime. In addition, the article notes that he had been deported, but allowed to return after marrying a British citizen, which places blame on a "broken system" that is perceived to be easily manipulated.

4.3 Comparisons

When looking at the articles printed in each newspaper, one of the first noticeable differences is the larger number of articles dealing with immigration in the British newspapers. There were over one-third more articles dealing with immigration in British newspapers than in the U.S. newspapers. This can at least partially be attributed to the fact that there was an election in 2001 in Britain and immigration was a often debated topic during the election. Many of the articles in the Daily Mail were directly attempting to paint the government as lax on immigration and portraying the government as incompetent on the issue. They were often giving voice to the conservative Tory opposition party on the issue of immigration much more frequently than Labour.

In addition to the differences between countries in the number of articles, there were differences between the two newspapers of each country as well. In each country

there was one newspaper that printed articles concerning immigration much more frequently than the other. In the U.S. it was the New York Times printing articles about immigration nearly four times more frequently than the USA Today, and in Britain, the Daily Mail immigration articles were printed nearly four times more frequently than The Sun. As noted previously, in the U.S. context much of the difference can likely be traced to the fact that the USA Today is a truly national newspaper that does not have any desire to cover local issues of a given city, state, or region. The New York Times, however, while a national newspaper, does have a large amount of local coverage in a city and region that is known for having a large immigrant population and thus more coverage of immigration issues. Unfortunately, there is not a similar explanatory reason for the differences between the Daily Mail and The Sun. The Sun is the most widely read paper in Britain, and it could be that they determined that their readers were less interested in election coverage, and immigration coverage, than other issues.

The "immigration policy" frame was the most frequently used in both countries. In the U.S. most of the discussion concerned ongoing negotiations between Mexico and the U.S. about how best to deal with undocumented immigration as well as an internal debate about how best to deal with the undocumented immigrants already in the U.S. For the "immigration policy" frame, government sources were the only voices given to the debate. They generally pushed favorably for then President Bush's policy agenda. In the British newspapers, however, the government policies regarding immigration were usually portrayed as problematic and often as "broken." The Labour party was in control of the government, but the opposition Tory party were often quoted and given voice to their objections concerning immigration. The Daily Mail in particular, frequently

described immigration and immigrants as tides, floods, etc, and as breaching security, creating an aura of outsiders penetrating barriers and “invading.”

While the issue of undocumented migrants crossing the “open” Mexico/U.S. border was predominant in the policy debate in the U.S. the issue of asylum dominated the debate in Britain. The issue of asylum was the most discussed topic in all of the articles concerning immigration in Britain. Where the U.S. 2000 mile border with Mexico and how best to keep people from crossing it into the U.S. illegally, asylum “shopping” was a similar concern in Britain. Britain was seen as an easy target for those seeking a country who would allow them to stay even if they were denied asylum. Both The Sun and Daily Mail derided the Labour party for being “soft” on asylum seekers often referring to the government as an asylum in the clinical sense.

The U.S. newspapers gave an increased voice to those opposing immigration in the articles dealing with the “internal control” frame. They interviewed the head of an organization pushing for lower levels of immigration and against the proposal of amnesty for those who had been in the U.S. illegally. Amnesty was treated as an unprecedented idea even though it had been granted in the past to millions of undocumented immigrants, and was the one realm of policy in which the newspaper presented oppositional voices. Similarly, in the British newspaper, the idea of undocumented immigrants staying in Britain was treated as a repudiation of the government for allowing it to continue. The “internal control” frame also consisted of some complementary articles about government policies of deporting undocumented immigrants and failed asylum seekers. Policies pushing for stricter enforcement were encouraged and praised, especially in the Daily Mail. Internal control was one frame in

which opposition was voiced against then President Bush's policies concerning how best to deal with undocumented workers already in the U.S.

There were no bigger differences between the U.S. and British newspapers than how the articles that used a "multicultural" frame depicted multiculturalism and the different ethnicities of immigrants in each country. The articles dealing with multiculturalism in the U.S. were all describing the different ways immigrants of the past and current immigrants have shaped the U.S. and provided economic boons for major metropolitan areas. They go so far as to note that many of the Midwestern cities that had continued to see population growth were going out of their way to appear immigrant friendly in order to boost their population and economies. Where U.S. newspapers used the frame to promote the good that immigration and immigrants bring the U.S., the Daily Mail and Sun used the frame in a much more negative way.

Those that fell under the multicultural frame in British newspapers would better be described as anti-multiculturalism. Those that explicitly discussed multiculturalism treated it as a problem dividing Britain rather than something beneficial for immigrants and British citizens. The very idea of multiculturalism is treated as a threat to British society, and the one article that describes the benefits of immigration to an aging British population, viewed multiculturalism as creating animosity. The frame was also used to promote the idea of anti-racism being a larger problem than racism. The articles generally argued that charges of racism are used to frequently and that when the issue is raised it is generally for political gain. They often argue that Britain is "the most accepting country in the world" and that most charges of racism are attempts to stifle debate about immigration.

The “immigration as a threat” and the “victimization” frames were used at similar levels in both countries and in similar ways, however only the Daily Mail used the Immigrants as criminals frame. These portrayals tended to take individual criminal acts and use the fact that an immigrant was the perpetrator as part of the central core of the story. This promoted the idea of tying criminality to immigration. While not used frequently, the idea of immigrants as criminals promotes being fearful of immigration and immigrants, and can be damaging for immigrants and how people interact with them on a regular basis.

4.4 Conclusions

As expected there were differences in the portrayal of immigrants in the U.S. and British newspapers. The British newspapers were more likely to use the negative frames associated with immigration, the immigrants/immigration as a threat frame and the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame. This is partially explained by the general elections that were going on during this time, and the roll that immigration policies played in the election. However, it does not explain all of the differences in negativity towards immigration between the U.S. and Britain.

Looking at the articles using the “multicultural” frame can be useful for understanding the differences between the countries as well. In the U.S. the “multicultural” frame was generally promoting the benefits that immigrants bring to the U.S. and their role in the population and economic growth of many metropolitan areas that had once been in decline. In Britain, however, multiculturalism was seen as much more problematic and immigrants were more frequently accused of not being British enough. The most frequent argument was that in order for immigrants to be successful

and for racial and ethnic tensions to subside, immigrants had to want to “be British,” and the authors frequently argued that this simply was not taking place.

Table 4-1. Number of Articles that Use Each Frame In the USA Today and New York Times

Frame	USA TODAY	New York Times	Total
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	1	3	4
Immigration Policy	4	20	24
Internal Control	3	20	23
Victimization	1	3	4
Multicultural	5	12	17
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	0	0	0
Total	14	53	67

Table 4-2. Number of Articles that Use Each Frame In The Sun and the Daily Mail

Frame	The Sun	Daily Mail	Total
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	1	5	6
Immigration Policy	4	28	32
Internal Control	6	16	22
Victimization	3	5	8
Multicultural	7	21	28
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	0	6	6
Total	21	81	102

CHAPTER 5
PORTRAYAL OF IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS AFTER 9/11

This chapter will look at the changes in the portrayal of immigration and immigrants during the six months after 9/11. In a post 9/11 world it is expected that there will be increased negativity towards immigrants and immigration as well as increased usage of the frames that have negative connotations: the immigration/immigrants as a threat frame as well as the immigrants as terrorists/criminals frame. Those frames center around the idea of immigrants being potentially dangerous to American society, and thus it would be expected that their use would increase after 9/11.

In addition, it is expected that the number of articles dealing with immigration will increase as well as a result of the attacks being carried out by immigrants. While the U.S. was the target of the attacks, it is likely that Britain will see an increase as well because of the large number of Muslims living in Britain. With a large Muslim population it is likely that articles will raise the possibility of an attack in Britain due to the view of the 9/11 attacks being against "Western culture" of which Britain has much in common with the U.S.

5.1 U.S. Comparisons

The total number of articles using the "immigration as a threat" frame declined in the two U.S. newspapers from four before 9/11 to only one after, as seen in Table 5-1. The lone article was in the New York Times and looked at the issue of unions and undocumented immigrants. The lead paragraph framed the question negatively:

> SHOULD organized labor reach out to the undocumented worker, even immigration as a force that depresses wages and threatens to reverse the movement's hard-won gains in higher wages, greater benefits and improved work conditions? (New York Times 9/28/2001)

The way the opening paragraph frames the issue, there are only problems associated with recruitment and unionization of undocumented immigrants. From the authors perspective if the unions do recruit undocumented immigrants, they will be viewed suspiciously, or they can view undocumented workers suspiciously and as threats to the gains of organized labor. The article noted the rift between different unions and concerning recruitment of undocumented immigrants. Some unions favor recruitment as a way to boost their numbers and assist the assimilation of immigrants. Others, however, view immigration and immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants as a threat to wages, and even entire industries:

> Big business loves mass immigration, because it rationalizes the labor market, he declared. From the free-market point of view, the American worker is vastly overpaid. Open borders bring immigrants here who are happy to do your work for far less money. In the past, they've put entire industries out of business. Meatpacking used to be a good job; now, it's all done by immigrants and pays miserably. Why do you think that The Wall Street Journal editorializes in favor of open borders? (New York Times 09/28/2001)

Voice was given to both sides of the debate, as there were union leaders quoted who were in favor of recruiting undocumented immigrants. By quoting individuals from both sides of the argument, the author appears to attempt neutrality, however, the article frames the issue negatively from the beginning, and with its emphasis on giving both sides voice enables the status quo to be maintained. The lone article that used the "immigration as a threat" frame was similar to the articles printed prior to 911 using the same theme; those that used the "immigration policy" frame were not.

The differences between pre 9/11 articles using the "immigration policy" frame and post 9/11 articles were especially notable in the New York Times. Prior to 9/11 most of the articles dealt with the immigration debate between the U.S. and Mexico, and how to

deal with undocumented immigration. After 9/11 the frame turned into a debate on the best way to keep terrorists out and how to protect the U.S. borders. A New York Times article also notes the differences in how closed borders advocates changed tactics after 9/11:

> Groups that fiercely opposed allowing illegal immigrants to become legal residents have recast their arguments to fit the new situation. Before the attacks, they argued that ineffective border controls and tracking systems had allowed illegal immigrants from Mexico to overrun the nation. Hours after the attacks, a leading anti-immigration group, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, started to transform the argument. It issued a statement from its executive director, Dan Stein, who said, "The nation's defense against terrorism has been seriously eroded by the efforts of open-borders advocates, and the innocent victims of today's terrorist attacks have paid the price." (New York Times 9/24/2001)

The articles do not challenge the idea that the defense against terrorism has been hampered by those interested in an immigration system that promotes freer movement of people. They only gave voice to those who were against open-borders. The author went so far as to claim that “In the last few years there has been an open-door policy toward foreign visitors and workers considered vital to the American economy” (New York Times 9/24/2001). This, however, ignores that in 1996 congress passed a bill increasing border enforcement including increases in the number of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) agents, increasing surveillance along the U.S. And Mexico border, as well as the building of several hundred miles of fencing along the same border. The inclusion of closed-border advocates as well as the misleading argument concerning a perceived open-border implies that in order to prevent future terrorist attacks the borders must be locked down.

In addition to articles concerning border control, which newspapers generally implied that borders security was important and gave voice to proponents of such

policies, there were also article which challenged the governments stance on other aspects of immigration policy. One article discussed criticism from an array of interest groups from across the political spectrum:

> The Bush administration's plan to rewrite immigration and surveillance laws after last week's terrorist attacks drew new criticism today from both the left and the right after a detailed analysis showed the plan would also create sweeping federal powers to gather evidence and share it within the government.
>
> More than 150 groups across the political spectrum, from the American Civil Liberties Union on the left to the Gun Owners of America and the Rutherford Institute on the right, joined in a statement calling on Congress to avoid hasty action on antiterrorism legislation in response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. (New York Times 9/21/2001)

While it is unlikely that those on the left of the political spectrum disagreed with the potential policy changes for the same reasons as those on the right, it is important to note the framing of the issue as opponents presenting a unified front against then President Bush's policy agenda. One of the reasons that this push-back was likely possible was the opposition from groups from both the left and right questioned the policy changes. Thus, the author, while possibly alienating potential sources within the government, may gain access to sources from other areas, which in turn allowed for the framing of the presidents agenda negatively.

In contrast to the New York Times which focused on policy changes in the aftermath of 9/11, the USA Today focused on the stress that immigration laws place on immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants and how the system allowed immigrants to be exploited. The events of 9/11 and proposed policy changes, such as border enforcement, increased difficulties in obtaining visas, etc, were not mentioned in any of the articles that focused on immigration policy. One article looks at immigrants

working as domestic maids, nannies, and cooks, and how the current immigration system allows them to be exploited:

> A USA TODAY investigation revealed this week that hundreds of immigrants are being exploited as virtual slaves for unscrupulous employers. Some suffer abuse and sexual assault.
>
> More than 130 years after slavery in the United States was supposedly banned, ending this behind-closed-doors exploitation of foreign workers is long overdue. (USA Today 11/21/2001)

The comparison of exploited workers and slavery shows how problematic the author saw the immigration laws and their failure to protect workers from exploitation. One interesting omission from the article as well as the other articles dealing with this issue was the lack of acknowledgment that undocumented workers are at an even greater risk of exploitation due to the fear of deportation. They do not mention that most laws dealing with the rights of immigrants are written for documented immigrants making it easier to exploit those who are undocumented. This omission was likely due to the fact that undocumented immigrants were deeply unpopular and that after 9/11 there was a push to close the borders and to make greater efforts to block the entry of undocumented workers.

The number of articles using the "internal control" frame increased by nearly fifty percent and became the most used frame in the two U.S. newspapers. Like the articles in the "immigration policy" frame, those in the "immigration control" frame shifted focus after 9/11. Prior to 9/11 articles were focused on more traditional concerns of immigrants in the U.S., especially how best to deal with undocumented immigrants. However, after 9/11 there was a shift to securing not just our borders, but the interior of the country as well. This was all in response to government policies designed, and

pushed for by interest groups to ensure that there were no longer potential terrorists in the U.S.

Both the New York Times and USA Today printed articles, both positively and negatively, discussing the policies being used to investigate immigrants who had faulty immigration papers. This was the primary issue discussed in the two newspapers along with changes in the INS. The New York Times printed several articles that gave voice to immigrant rights groups whom were concerned over the use of immigration laws as a "dragnet" to investigate immigrants from primarily Middle Eastern countries. In one article dealing with the treatment of those detained the New York Times author interviewed an American Civil Liberties Lawyer whom was critical of the new policies:

> "Generally in the past, when immigration violations like overstaying your visa or working without authorization were enforced, it was without detention," Lucas Guttentag, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Immigrants' Rights Project, said. "Usually no bond was required, and anyone who agreed to leave the country voluntarily was allowed to leave promptly. Now there is strict enforcement in a selective and discriminatory way against people from the Middle East who are denied bond and detained for lengthy periods, even after they've agreed to leave. (New York Times 02/03/2002)

Similarly to many of the articles using the "immigration policy" frame, where there were several articles gave voice to those critical of the governments policies, nearly all of the articles using the internal control frame quoted critics or those that has misgivings about the policies being used.

While most of the articles focused on immigration and civil liberties of those immigrating from the Middle East, there were also articles that looked at the impact of the new policies and laws on immigrants from Mexico and Latin American countries. These articles generally portrayed immigrants in a sympathetic way and pointed out the increased uncertainty that many, especially undocumented, non-Middle Eastern

immigrants faced. One article in the New York Times noted the added fears of Mexican immigrants who had entered the U.S. prior to 9/11:

> The whole nation has been anxious this past month, but for millions of Mexican immigrants around the country there have been added fears. Roundups of illegal immigrants in Colorado and tough enforcement of immigration laws at workplaces in Oregon have led to anguished, and apparently unfounded, concerns that the government is cracking down on Hispanic workers in response to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.
>
> Its like we're in purgatory, Olga said in Spanish. We don't know if we're staying or leaving. (New York Times 10/15/2001)

The article also looked at the economic problems caused by 9/11 in industries with large numbers of immigrants, such as tourism. The author notes that the terrorist attacks also gave opponents of immigration a new argument against undocumented workers:

> Ms. Calzada has learned how the attacks have emboldened some anti-immigrant groups. After ski resort owners invited her to address a Sept. 20 gathering in Snowmass, Colo., she received a letter from Mike McGarry, a leader of a group that opposes growth in Mexican Immigration, warning that it would be "grossly inappropriate" for a Mexican official to speak in public after the murderous destruction caused by illegal aliens. (New York Times 10/15/2001)

Similarly, an article in the USA Today noted that many immigrants from Mexico attempted to keep a low profile because of a “fear of the harassment that some Arabs and other Muslims in the USA have met since the attacks.” (USA Today 10/18/2001) This article depicted immigrants as potential victims to those who were fearful after 9/11.

The “victimization” frame, while not used frequently in the period prior to 9/11 was used even less, once, after 9/11. This was to be expected, however, as the perception of immigrants was likely to shift post 9/1l (Esses, Dovildio, and Hodson 2002). The events of 9/11 made it more difficult to be sympathetic to the plight of immigrants and the concern over other aspects of immigration policy also likely

squeezed out the more humanizing articles concerning immigration and immigrants. Not surprisingly the lone article about victimization also concerned the anti-terrorism activities that were taking place immediately following 9/11. The article dealt with a specific case of the government arresting and detaining a man for eight weeks on immigration charges. The article portrays the actions of the government in a very negative light:

> In the nearly 8 weeks that he was detained on immigration charges, Ali Al-Maqtari was screamed at by federal agents, lied to, and cut off from his lawyers, according to testimony Tuesday before the Senate Judiciary Committee. They question whether the civil liberties of aliens and others are being violated by the INS' immigration dragnet and other anti-terror policies implemented by Attorney General John Ashcroft since Sept. 11. USA Today 12/5/2001

Once again, there was a portrayal of consensus across the political spectrum for the handling of those detained after 9/11. Individuals from both major political parties were quoted as having reservations about the way the detainees had been dealt with, as well as the methods used for taking them into custody.

Usually, as Altchul (1995) notes, articles about major issues quote individuals from different sides of the debate in order to appear neutral which in turn does not push one side, and contributes to the maintenance of the status quo. In the case of this article, however, talking out against the administration and their policies concerning the detainment of certain immigrants, along with the one sided presentation appears to be an effort to return to what had in the past been the status quo. At the very least, it appears that the authors and those they quoted wanted to slow down and examine the changes in policy that had taken place and were using a personal story to humanize the situation.

The “multicultural” frame had the largest drop in usage out of all of the frames going from seventeen before 9/11 to none afterwards. The “multicultural” frame is the only frame not used in the time period after 9/11. This is likely due to the effect of the attacks on attitudes and views of immigration and immigrants. Due to 9/11 American citizens were more likely to view immigrants as a threat and view them suspiciously rather than as an integral part of society that bring economic and cultural benefits with them. (Esses, Dovildio, and Hodson 2002) This in turn makes it less likely for newspapers to do stories about the positive impacts of immigration because their readers are not likely to be receptive to that message.

Whereas the “multicultural” frame went from seventeen before 9/11 to zero after, the “immigrants as criminals and/or terrorist” frame increased from zero before 9/11 to twenty in the time period after 9/11. This frame represented 40 percent of the total articles from the USA Today and was the most used frame from that newspaper after 9/11. One of the USA Today articles discusses the fact that some foreign airliners were not participating in programs designed to prevent terrorists from entering the country, and then goes on to note that:

> Fifteen of the 19 terrorists blamed for the Sept. 11 attacks applied for visas at U.S. consulates in Saudi Arabia, claiming to be Saudi citizens. Since the U.S. State Department doesn't consider Saudis much of an illegal-immigration problem, the visas were granted with minimal checks. (USA Today 11/5/2001)

This reminder that fifteen of the individuals responsible for the 9/11 attacks were legal visitors to the United States helps to further incite fear of immigrants, especially immigrants from Middle Eastern countries. The readers are never reminded that of the millions of immigrants who enter the U.S. Every year only

nineteen were believed responsible for 9/11. Without that reminder, the reader is left to interpret how likely immigrants are to be a threat.

In a similar article in the USA Today the reader is not left to interpret how likely immigrants are to be a threat, but instead are told that the government views immigrants who have overstayed their visas are a threat. The article focuses on the government's use of immigration laws to arrest and detain potential terrorists. The number of immigrants detained as part of the 9/11 investigation and terrorism prevention is emphasized:

> There now are 1,087 detainees being held at undisclosed locations across the nation, including about 60 who have been arrested since Ashcroft's second terrorism warning on Monday. That's an increase from 655 held Oct. 10. The jump in detentions is the clearest sign yet that federal officials are using immigration violations to prevent possible terrorism rather than for simply rounding up suspects in the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon.
>
> On Wednesday, Ashcroft announced that the government would be depending even more on tighter immigration laws to ward off future terrorist attacks as part of a major reorganization of federal law enforcement priorities. (USA Today 11/1/2001)

This is an excellent example of the government itself framing the issue of terrorism and immigrants as potential terrorists. Simply reporting on what the government was doing connected terrorism with immigration, especially illegal immigration. Newspapers did not give any dissenting arguments against using immigration laws to detain individuals, primarily of Middle Eastern decent, as potential terror suspects. They instead emphasized the amount of individuals detained which gives the impression that any individuals who overstay their visas or enter the country without proper documentation are potentially terrorists and a threat to society.

The New York Times used government sources and reports as well. Similar to the USA Today, the New York Times reported on government efforts to curtail immigrants from overstaying visas and to deport those who had:

> Justice Department officials said today that a new effort to find and deport people who have fled to avoid previous deportation orders would begin with tracking several thousand men from Muslim and Middle Eastern countries that have Al Qaeda presences. The officials said although the men from Muslim and Middle Eastern countries constituted a small fraction of those who have ignored deportation orders, they would be the initial focus of efforts to locate evaders and expel them.
>
> Terrorist attacks by Al Qaeda within the United States are a continuing threat to Americans, the Justice Department said tonight in a statement. We will continue to focus investigative, intelligence-gathering and enforcement operations on individuals in the U.S. from countries with highly active Al Qaeda networks to protect Americans. (New York Times 01/09/2002)

Using government sources the New York Times gave voice to those promoting the profiling of individuals from Muslim and Middle Eastern countries despite their low percentages of those overstaying their visas. The article sends the message that it is acceptable to treat people differently based on their country of origin. Not only is the government condoning it through its actions, but the reporters are implicitly condoning it by not giving opposing viewpoints.

A second article in the New York Times takes the issue of cracking down on immigrants overstaying their visas a step further by quoting critics that the government was not moving fast enough on the issue. From this perspective, the immigration system was too broken to monitor immigrants properly and was hampering anti-terrorism efforts. The author implies that despite the 9/11 attacks, the INS is not moving fast enough:

> In placing the Justice Department on a wartime footing, Attorney General John Ashcroft has ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to

> lead the charge in ferreting out potential terrorists among the nation's illegal immigrants. But on the ground, the order is being translated into reality at a glacial pace, if that, critics say.
>
> Even though at least three of the Sept. 11 hijackers were in the country illegally, the immigration agency has not been culling its files of other people here on expired visas, saying that the pool is too big to make it a useful tool in finding terrorists. (New York Times 11/12/2001)

The only critics to be given voice in the "immigrants as terrorists" frame were those arguing that the government was not pushing forward fast enough. Those remaining in the U.S. on expired visas were the problem, and in order to prevent future terrorism, they needed to be deported, especially those from Middle Eastern countries. These articles imply that immigrants from certain parts of the world pose a threat to national security, and that it is acceptable to treat them differently than other immigrants, not to mention citizens.

5.2 British Comparison

When looking at Table 5-2 one notices a sizable decline in the number of articles dealing with immigration from 102 in the six months before 9/11 to 74 in the six months following 9/11. The likely reason for the decline was the national general election that took place in June of 2001. Immigration was a major issue in the election and thus there were more newspaper articles discussing immigration policies.

The number of articles using the "immigration/immigrants" as a threat frame declined by half from six in the time period before 9/11 to three after, and each of them were from the Daily Mail. This drop is likely due to a shift in how reporters talked about the threat of immigration after 9/11, as more of the potential threat from immigration could have been seen as terrorism related, and this can be seen in the large increase of articles using the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame.

The authors that used the “immigration as a threat” frame used similar arguments against immigration after 9/11, and much of the writing was used to push the debate on immigration to the right and against the Labour party:

> However, whatever his motives, Mr. Blunkett should be congratulated on having the courage to say certain things that no Labour minister would, until recently, have dared to utter. His comments reveal that at last, Labour recognises that mass immigration threatens the peace and stability of our country and the happiness of our citizens.
>
> But to achieve any results will require far more willpower, toughness and dynamism than I suspect this Home Secretary is prepared to show. Sadly, such willpower is unlikely to be found until the problem reaches much worse proportions. (Daily Mail 02/09/2002)

The author argues that mass immigration threatens the peace and stability of Britain, but does not say why he believes this to be the case, and he implies that the government knows this as well, but chooses to ignore the issue. From this perspective, not only do immigrants take jobs and resources from British citizens, but also destabilizes society and threatens to bring about lawlessness. The author implicitly encourages his readers to view immigrants as lawbreaking “savages” who do not belong in Britain. This argument also points the finger at the government for not enacting policies to further restrict immigration and reduce the number of immigrants already in the country.

Articles using the “immigration policy” frame declined in number as well, from 32 prior to 9/11 to 29 after. This decrease was likely due to the end of the June 2001 election cycle. Whereas the Daily Mail articles that used the “immigration as a threat” frame were constantly rebuking the government, the one of the articles from The Sun which used the “immigration policy” frame was an opinion piece by David Blunkett who

was, at the time, the Secretary of State for the Home Department in Britain, which is in charge of immigration and citizenship within Britain. He espoused on the importance of immigrants learning what it means to be British:

> When people apply for citizenship, we will expect them to learn about British society and its institutions. They will be given packs to study and go on new courses that combine language lessons with teaching about our society. People will then need to show they can speak the language reasonably well and have grasped the basics of citizenship. This means they can participate fully in our society - helping them get a job and access public services. (The Sun 2/7/2002)

From Mr. Blunkett's perspective, immigrants need to be provided the opportunity to assimilate into British society. This is vastly different than what several other British reporters have discussed. As has been shown, many view immigration as a problem in and of itself, which no amount of assimilation will take care of. This can be seen in the immigration as a threat frame and the article sited, lack of assimilation is not the problem, mass immigration is, and it needs to be stopped. It is good to see Mr. Blunkett's perspective as well as an article that does not blame most, if not all, of Britain's social problems on immigrants.

On the other hand, the articles using the "immigration policy" frame tended to discuss ongoing efforts to tighten border security and increased deportations of failed asylum seekers and other undocumented immigrants. Most of the articles were less critical of the government than before 9/11, and the two most likely reasons for this are: the elections were over, and the government was actively attempting to have greater immigration enforcement as can be seen in this Daily Mail excerpt:

> A RADICAL crackdown on the growing scandal of bogus marriages will be launched by David Blunkett this week. The Home Secretary will unveil new laws to stop foreign nationals entering into sham weddings aimed at allowing them to stay in Britain. Immigration officials estimate that 10,000 marriages a year are staged purely to help immigrants get UK passports.

> The urgency was underlined last September when two sisters were jailed for bigamously marrying a record 24 men between them. (Daily Mail 2/4/2002.)

The article uses a sensationalized story, two women marrying 24 men, in order to paint the issue as not just phony marriages, but those that would marry to gain citizenship as even bigger potential criminals in marrying multiple partners. The emphasis is on the need to prevent people from getting married to become citizens or to stay in Britain and get passports.

Though Mr. Blunkett's efforts to curtail "sham" marriages and fine those who transport undocumented workers into the country were supported by the authors at the Daily Sun, they also did their share of blaming the government in other aspects of the immigration debate. The rhetoric concerning asylum seekers continued to be derogatory towards both the government, and asylum seekers:

> BRITAIN is still the favourite target of asylum seekers wanting a new life in Europe.
>
> Despite a supposed Government overhaul of the asylum system, a devastating United Nations survey showed more refugees select and reach Britain than any other European country.
>
> 'Whatever new moves are put in place the asylum seekers simply find ways around them. The system remains stacked in favour of those who wish to abuse and misuse. (The Daily Mail 2/2/2002)

While one could consider the fact that Britain is the top destination for asylum seekers as a good thing, by noting that there must be beneficial reasons to want to be in Britain rather than another European country, asylum seeking is seen as problematic. The author does not see people entering Britain as a sign of the prosperity of the country but rather as an issue of laws being too lax. The author does not bother to distinguish between failed asylum seekers and those who are still pending

approval/disapproval, he lumps them together to argue that all asylum seekers find ways around new laws designed to keep them out. From this perspective asylum seekers should consider themselves lucky to even be able to apply for asylum, and the government should ensure that few applications should be granted.

Articles using the "internal control" frame declined as well from 22 prior to 9/11 to 11 after. This was a much larger drop off than that of the "immigration policy" frame. Because the "immigration policy" frame included border control issues, it likely benefited from increased fears of immigration following 9/11 which would have kept the issue of border security at the forefront of the nation's attention. Similar to before 9/11 the main focus of the internal control frame dealt with what to do with asylum seekers awaiting government approval/denial and asylum seekers who had been denied.

Several of the articles looked at newly constructed detention centers for asylum seekers. These facilities were primarily for those who had been denied asylum and were awaiting deportation. Most of the Daily Mail articles that discussed these detention centers viewed them as a positive step in cracking down on failed asylum seekers:

> Herb Nahapiet, managing director of UK Detention Services, said: 'The centre is modern and comfortable.' The facility, at Harmondsworth, West London, is part of a Pounds 140million building programme to increase the number of rejected asylum seekers who can be locked up before they are thrown out. David Blunkett hopes that increasing the numbers held in detention from around 1,500 now to 3,000. (The Daily Mail 10/5/2001)

The article continues on to lay out the government plans to increase the number of failed asylum seekers deported. This is a stark contrast to the articles mocking the government for its failure to slow down the number of asylum seekers entering the

country each year. The Daily Mail is supportive of the efforts to increase deportation as well as detaining asylum seekers.

While the Daily Mail was supportive overall of government efforts with the detention centers, there were some articles that argued the centers were too "luxurious." One article compared the then newest detention center to a luxury hotel:

> EUROPE'S biggest asylum detention centre was unveiled yesterday by David Blunkett, offering facilities that would not be out of place in a luxury hotel. Almost 1,000 illegal immigrants awaiting deportation will be able to enjoy video games, satellite TV, two gyms, weighttraining rooms, outdoor five-aside football pitches, volleyball and basketball. The twin rooms, which are cleaned daily with fresh sheets twice a week, all have en- suite shower and toilet… many Britons will envy the facilities on offer. (The Daily Mail 01/18/2002)

The implication is that those who are being detained for deportation are living better than many British citizens, and thus more money is being wasted on those that are deemed unworthy. Emphasizing the benefits provided to those being detained and not the detriments, such as restricted freedoms and stress related to uncertainty about when/if they will be deported. Living behind 20 foot high concrete walls and uncertainty weigh more heavily on those who are behind those walls than weather or not they can lift weights and/or play volleyball. These concerns are not mentioned, and none of those detained in these facilities are interviewed to describe the actual living conditions on the inside.

There was not much use of the "victimization" frame in the period after 9/11, only one articles used the frame as opposed to eight in the time period before 9/11. There was likely much less sympathy for immigrants post 9/11 and thus less of a demand for articles concerning the victimization of immigrants. Due to the framing of 9/11 as not just an attack on America but an attack on "western ideals" it was likely that there would

be a fear instilled in other Western democracies and thus hard to sympathize with immigrants that may have been victimized (Esses, Dovildio, and Hodson 2002).

The Only article using the "victimization" frame was from the Daily Mail. There was no real pattern and there was no overlap, each of the articles discussed different incidents or issues. The Daily Mail article discussed the use of "mules," individuals who smuggle drugs in their bodies, usually by swallowing them, and how British gangs have no problem risking immigrants' lives to get their drugs into the country. The article was much more focused on the drugs and gang violence than the immigrants whose lives are risked as a result.

No frame had a larger drop after 9/11 than the "multicultural" frame which went from 28 during the time period before 9/11 to 11 after 9/11. Once again, the June 2001 elections are primarily responsible for this. The issue of race relations and immigrant assimilation were contentious issues during the election; at least they were in the two British newspapers being examined. At the time much of the debate surrounded the perceived problems with anti-racism and how it affected public discourse over issues of multiculturalism and immigration. There was also much discussion concerning weather or not there is a "British race" and what the characteristics of said British race were.

While there were a couple of articles dealing with the perceived problems associated with anti-racism and what some authors called the "racism industry," most of the articles dealt with the need for integration and the need for the government to push for integration and assimilation. The idea that immigrants should be more "British" and that this would be a remedy for racism was common as seen in this excerpt:

> Mr Blunkett said while racism against Asians and other ethnic minorities had to be opposed, immigrants also had a duty to reach out to mainstream British society.
>
> He told the Independent on Sunday: 'We have norms of acceptability and those who come into our home should accept those norms. 'We need to be clear we don't tolerate the intolerable under the guise of cultural difference.'
>
> 'If we are going to have social cohesion we have got to develop a sense of identity and a sense of belonging.' Mr Blunkett said a forthcoming White Paper on immigration would set out plans to encourage immigrants to learn English. (The Daily Mail 12/10/2001)

What mainstream British society is, the readers are not told, they are simply suppose to know for themselves, as apparently are the immigrants themselves. The implicit claim is that immigrants do not want to be British, that they only come for the benefits of living in Britain, but have no desire to be citizen participants in society. The articles discussing assimilation were in agreement that this would reduce racial tensions, and they were supportive of placing the burden of integration on the immigrants themselves without discussing the role that British citizens play in the process.

Three articles using this frame took this a step further and argued essentially that immigrants "must learn to be British" or they should not be granted citizenship and could possibly be deported for failure to learn to be British. These authors were generally very favorable to the changes being proposed to citizenships and new government policies essentially forcing assimilation. They did not question the feasibility of any of the proposals including this one that was quoted in a Daily Mail article: "They will also have to promise not to live in 'enclaves' cut off from the general population." (The Daily Mail 11/3/2001) How such a promise or requirement would be enforced is never questioned in any article. Would there be government intervention on behalf of immigrants to guarantee that immigrants that want to move out of enclaves and into

other neighborhoods will not face barriers to entry? It is likely, judging from some of the articles described, that most of the authors would be against such government intervention on behalf of immigrants, so it is unclear how such a requirement would work.

The only frame to increase the number of articles using it was the "immigrants as terrorists/criminals frame". This frame increased from six, all in the Daily Mail, in the time period before 9/11 to 18 in the period after 9/11. This frame represented the second most used frame during the post 9/11 time period. This increase was expected as a result of the discussion of immigration as it related to potential terrorism and the fear brought about as a result of 9/11. The terrorism/criminals frame was the most used by The Sun, representing 70 percent of the articles printed that dealt with immigration, indicating the importance of the frame during the post 9/11 time period.

One of the more reactionary articles in The Sun that discussed used the "immigrants as terrorists" frame said the following:

> Sun readers believe terrorists could join the hordes of asylum seekers getting into Britain through the Channel Tunnel and have called for the Government to close it.
>
> IT surely must be time now for the UK to close its borders to all asylum seekers in light of the dreadful events in the US. If Britain is sticking by America on this issue then we can no longer accommodate the Afghans and others who treat our country as easy pickings and violate our neighbours in such a horrendous way. (The Sun 9/14/2001)

This was an interesting article because the author notes that "Sun readers" believe that terrorists could enter the country hidden within the "hordes" of asylum seekers attempting to gain entrance into Britain. While it would be expected that initial reactions would be fear of a potentially similar attack in Britain, the implication here is that Britain and its citizens should be fearful that potential terrorists could easily cross into Britain

due to its lax border enforcement. Not only that but the government should no longer allow immigration from Afghanistan because they attacked the U.S. even though none of the hijackers that took part in 9/11 were from Afghanistan. It may be understandable for the general population to show fear and distrust in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, but for those, such as reporters, who are expected to be thoughtful and see multiple angles of a given issue, articles like this should be seen as a disappointment of irrational thought.

Reports of Al-Qaeda linked immigrants being rounded up were also prevalent in The Sun, with implications that there were many more that the government had not yet detained. These articles focused on the fact that those arrested were believed to be potential terrorists and had links to Al-Qaeda, as seen in the following excerpt:

> Immigration officers, backed by armed police, launched simultaneous raids on addresses in London, Luton and the West Midlands. Those arrested are believed to include London-based Muslim cleric Abu Qatada, 40. Last month Pounds 180,000 was frozen from an account run by the father of four, who has been described as a European envoy for Osama bin Laden's al-Qa'ida network… after three hours of questioning one man -a North Moroccan arrested in Birmingham -was FREED without charge and told he could continue living in Britain. (The Sun 12/20/2001)

The articles covering the arrest and detention of possible terrorists, using immigration law, was supported by the authors and none of them questioned the “round up” and most appeared to be looking forward to further arrests. They often noted that these men were told that they could leave Britain and return to their country of origin, or they would remain locked-up and their immigration lawyers would not be given much of the evidence against them because it was deemed too sensitive. This non-disclosure was never questioned by the authors and they never suggested the possibility that this could lead to innocent people incarcerated with little-to-no ability to challenge their detention

due to not having full access to the evidence against them. Once again, the newspaper did not challenge the government in its harsh treatment of immigrants, but rather encouraged said treatment.

Whereas The Sun failed to challenge government detentions, and the accompanying lack of due process, the Daily Mail pushed for these detentions and deportations. They were not only supportive, they chastised what they referred to as liberal obsessions with multiculturalism as a problem potentially holding back the government from acting forcefully enough as the following excerpt notes:

> If we are in a war we must start behaving as though we were. HAD somebody said, in October 1939, that Hitler had a point, or had started to disseminate his propaganda, such a person would have been on the first boat to the internment camps on the Isle of Man.
>
> The likes of Qatada and Al-Siri must expect the same treatment. Because of the liberal obsession with multiculturalism we have lost an important distinction. It is one thing to tolerate other faiths and their expression, which we must and we do. It is quite another to allow the furtherance of faith to become a front for activities aimed at destroying the British state and the Christian culture of our civilisation. If the public is not to be panicked into believing there are ruthless enemies in our midst then these men must be interned. (The Daily Mail 10/21/2001).

This is strong and yet vague rhetoric that compares Hitler's movement in Germany to one of the largest religions in the world of which a large population lives in Britain. The author is not clear on just who should be interned, should it be everyone from certain Mosques should be interned, those that espouse what are perceived as "radical" beliefs, anyone that has come in contact with those perceived to have "radical" beliefs? The author is never clear only that certain people, many of which are likely shown to be immigrants, should be interned for the safety of British society or else the country would remain in a state of panic.

5.3 Comparisons

When looking at Tables 5-1 and 5-2 one of the first things noticed is that the number of articles dealing with immigration is larger in the US than in Britain. Looking back at Tables 4-1 and 4-2 reminds us that this is the opposite of what occurred during the time period prior to 9/11. Not only did the U.S. newspapers print more articles about immigration than did British newspapers, but the US newspapers increased the number of immigration articles from 67 to 85, an increase of 27 percent, while their was a decline in the number of immigration related articles in Britain from 102 to 74, a decrease of 27 percent. The increase in the number of articles written about immigration in the two U.S. newspapers was likely a result of 9/11 and the resultant questioning of immigration and visa policies due to the immigration status of those that carried out the attacks. The decline in articles dealing with immigration in the two British newspapers was likely due to the end of the 2001 election cycle during which time immigration and multiculturalism were widely debated topics. Had it not been for the events of 9/11 it is likely that there would have been even fewer articles printed as many of the articles written dealt with immigration policy changes that resulted from the 9/11 attacks.

The policy changes, both actual and proposed, in the U.S. and Britain brought about shifts in the way the newspapers of each country supported and criticized the policies of their respective governments. In the U.S., the newspapers had been giving voice primarily to the government spokespersons for their proposed policy changes prior to 9/11. During the time period after 9/11, however, the newspapers began quoting opposition groups and immigrant rights groups. These groups that had been left out of most of the debate in the two U.S. newspapers were given a voice once the

policies of the Bush administration changed focus from potential amnesty programs and guest worker programs to stricter border control and increasing the obstacles to obtaining visas.

On the other hand, the two British newspapers went from bashing the Labour Party's immigration policies before 9/11 to becoming more supportive of the policies being proposed and implemented after 9/11. Prior to 9/11 the two British newspapers portrayed the government as incompetent when it came to immigration policies. After the events of 9/11, however, the government came out with policies to detain failed asylum seekers as well as crackdowns on those suspected of having ties with Al-Qaeda. The newspapers were both supportive of this and often pushed for further restricting immigration and curtailing the freedoms of those seeking asylum in Britain. The British newspapers no longer gave voice to oppositional groups, as they did during the pre-9/11 time period, and generally gave government officials several quotes. The Sun went so far as to print and opinion piece by David Blunkett, the man in charge of immigration and asylum in Britain,

Whereas the "immigration policy" frame had been the dominant frame in both the U.S. and Britain prior to 9/11, after 9/11 the frame remained dominant in Britain, but the "internal control" frame became the most used frame in the U.S. newspapers. The "internal control" frame in both countries focused primarily on the detention of immigrants; there were differences between the countries on how this was portrayed. In the U.S., both the USA Today and New York times there were articles that gave voice to opponents of the new governmental policies of using immigration laws targeting Middle Eastern men to question them about non immigration related topics related to terrorism.

The U.S. newspapers, even when not directly quoting someone critical of the Bush administration's policies, often questioned the feasibility and appropriateness of the steps being taken. The USA Today went so far as to write a piece discussing the effects of the new immigration policies, which had ostensibly been put in place to prevent future terrorist attacks, on immigrants from Mexico. They wrote about the fear than many immigrants from Mexico felt due to the abrupt change in U.S. policy concerning immigration and feared that they would be caught up in the "dragnet" that had been targeting immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

There were no such articles written in the British newspapers. Most of the articles were supportive of the government's crackdown and the governmental efforts to increase the number of deportations. The articles in the Daily Mail, there were none in The Sun that used the internal control frame, were supportive of the government opening up detention centers to house rejected asylum seekers. Some of the articles did embrace the policy of placing asylum seekers in detention centers while at the same time arguing that those asylum seekers were being treated too kindly and that the detention centers were too "luxurious."

Both countries had a significant drop in the use of the "multicultural" frame. This was to be expected, however the drop in the U.S. newspapers was much sharper than the drop in the British newspapers. In the U.S. newspapers the frame was used only 2 times compared to 17 prior to 9/11, a decrease of 88 percent, and in Britain the drop was 28 to 11 for a 61 percent decrease. One of the main reasons for the bigger drop in the U.S. use was the way it was used prior to 9/11. Prior to 9/11 the multiculturalism articles discussed the benefits of having a diverse society, and the push for cities that

had population declines attempting to attract immigrants to promote growth. This, however, was not as interesting of a topic after 9/11. In a post 9/11 world, diversity was no longer seen as a plus, but instead as a problem associated with possible future terrorist attacks. No longer were there articles about cities recruiting immigrants, but rather about the decrease in jobs available to immigrants in the aftermath of 9/11.

The type of articles dealing with multiculturalism changed in Britain as well. Prior to 9/11 the articles were dominated by those who saw anti-racism as the real problem that caused racial disharmony. After 9/11 there was a push for forcing immigrants into assimilation, only instead of assimilation, they touted it as "learning to be British." These articles pushed for an end to ethnic enclaves and "loyalty oaths." From this perspective the problem of racism was in the hands of immigrants who refused to integrate into society, rather than the possibility of a society not willing to let immigrants integrate into it.

The "immigrants as terrorists/criminals" frame was the only frame to increase in Britain, and saw the largest increase of all the frames in the U.S. The use of the frame was similar in each country. In the U.S. the federal government was given voice, and often the newspaper did not present contrasting opinions. The articles were mainly about the government treatment of immigrants after 9/11 and how their policies were targeting those who overstayed their visas, especially those from Middle Eastern countries. The implication being that anyone from those countries was considered enough of a threat to not grant them the leeway that had been allowed for the decades prior to 9/11. Implicit in all of the articles was that the government was doing what it could to combat terrorism and those that they detained were enough of a threat as

potential terrorists to warrant their detention or deportation. British author sentiments were similar to that of the U.S. The articles were primarily reporting on the roundup of potential Al-Qaeda suspects. They emphasized that those arrested were Muslim, non citizens, and that there would likely be more arrests of potential subjects.

Table 5-1. Number of U.S. Articles Post 9/11 Using Each Frame by Newspaper

Frame	USA Today	New York Times	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	0	1	1	1%
Immigration Policy	4	24	28	33%
Internal Control	4	29	33	39%
Victimization	1	0	1	1%
Multicultural	1	1	2	2%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	6	14	20	24%
Total	16	69	85	

Table 5-2. Number of British Articles Post 9/11 Using Each Frame by Newspaper

Frame	The Sun	Daily Mail	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	0	3	3	4%
Immigration Policy	3	26	29	39%
Internal Control	0	12	12	16%
Victimization	0	1	1	1%
Multicultural	0	11	11	15%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	7	11	18	24%
Total	10	64	74	

CHAPTER 6
PORTRAYALS BEFORE THE LONDON TRAIN BOMBINGS

This chapter will look at how immigration and immigrants were framed during the six months prior to the London train bombings. It is expected that the use of terrorism in the frames will decrease in both countries, and that the use of the immigrants as criminals/terrorists will decrease as well. This is because the events of 9/11 had occurred more than four years previously and it is expected that the discussion of immigration and immigrants will have shifted back towards pre-9/11 debates. On the other hand, it is not likely that the discussion would have shifted completely back to pre-9/11 arguments, and thus it is expected that there will be more use of terrorism within the frames and of the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame than during the time period six months prior to 9/11.

6.1 U.S. Portrayals

As seen in Table 6-1, there were more articles written about "immigration as a threat" (seven) compared to the time period following 9/11, one. This was due to a shift of focus from terrorism and how best to keep the country safe from another terrorist attack to issues associated with undocumented immigration. Undocumented immigration and the problems associated with it were the main topics of the articles that used the "immigration as a threat" frame. During this period, it was argued that illegal immigration was a threat rather than all immigrants.

The New York Times was the only U.S. newspaper to use the frame, and they used it to examine both national arguments against illegal immigration and more local/state examples as well. They generally gave both sides of the debate a voice in the articles. However, the most of the quotes and interviews that framed undocumented

immigrants as a threat and problem were officials from government, both federal and state. One example is from an article discussing the issue of immigrants and undocumented immigrants in a small town in New York:

> On April 15, Mr. Boughton asked the state to deputize state police officers, a move considered in other suburban cities with high immigration. The mayor has said that as many as 15,000 of the city's immigrants are illegal. He has also moved to restrict overcrowded apartments and tighten controls on large backyard volleyball games organized by Ecuadoreans', for whom volleyball is a national passion. City officials say the games grow into raucous parties with gambling, prostitution, drugs and alcohol sales and disrupt once-quiet neighborhoods. (New York Times 5/25/2005)

The emphasis is on the problems associated with immigrants and the estimate of illegal immigrants, without including how many total immigrants live in the city, which implies that illegal immigrants represent a problem. While the mayor of the town was given voice, others were as well. However, those immigrants interviewed for the article did not have the advantage of a large institution, namely public government, to lend credence to their arguments.

Another New York Times author was more direct in his perception of problems associated with undocumented immigrants. Rather than using quotes from others to emphasize the problems, he himself argued the problems more directly:

> And with illegal immigration have come problems. Day laborers have flooded the streets, unlicensed contractors have been on the rise and houses and apartments have become overcrowded, with many no longer meeting building code standards. Last year more than 10 percent of those arrested in Suffolk County were illegal aliens. (New York Times 12/13/2005)

The implication here is that undocumented immigrants are a threat to public safety. They are causing safety violations with their lifestyles of living with other immigrants, as well as leading to an increased level of crime. There were no immigrants or immigrant rights groups given voice. The author actually mocks immigrant rights groups as

carelessly calling those who are against undocumented immigrants racist or xenophobic.

While the “immigrants/immigration as a threat” frame looked primarily at undocumented immigrants, the “immigration policy” frame focused primarily on the ongoing debate of comprehensive immigration reform. The “immigration policy” frame was the most used in the U.S. and nearly half of the articles written on immigration, 24 out of 60, used it. Most of the articles looked at then President Bush's proposed policies of immigration reform and the reactions to them. This was a dramatic shift away from the policy discussions following 9/11 that focused on the best way to keep potential terrorists out of the country. In the period prior to the London Train Bombings the emphasis shifted from keeping terrorists out to keeping undocumented immigrants out.

The USA Today had articles discussing the issue, and the flaws with the current immigration system. Four of the five articles were from daily debates that give a USA Today author the opportunity to give their opinion on an issue, and then an outside commentator is allowed to give a rebuttal. In one of the oppositional pieces, Tom Tancredo, then a congressman in Colorado was given the opportunity to discuss then President Bush's proposal for immigration. It is important to note that Tom Tancredo is one of the most known voices of the anti-immigration movement and held undocumented immigrants in very low regard. Thus it should not be surprised that he had this to say about a part of the proposal that would grant many undocumented immigrants a so called “pathway to citizenship”:

> The proposal is wrongheaded. It offers amnesty to 12 million to 15 million illegal aliens in our country, about 75% of them Mexican. This won't solve our illegal alien crisis. In fact, it will only encourage more people to cross our borders illegally to wait for the next amnesty. Why is that hard to grasp?

> There is another way to deal with the illegal aliens already here. It is called law enforcement. If we started enforcing our labor laws seriously, illegal jobs would dry up as employers raised wages to attract legal workers.
>
> The intelligent way to set up an honest guest-worker program is to first secure our borders and then set up a mechanism for people to come for temporary jobs legally. No matter how generous any legal work-permit system may be, there still will be millions more who will take advantage of our open borders if we let them. (USA Today 3/24/2005)

The implication is that no matter what the U.S. does for immigrants, whether it be granting amnesty or creating a guest worker program, it will not be enough for those who would be willing to take advantage of the generosity of the U.S. From this perspective, immigrants, and especially immigrants from Mexico, are simply looking to take advantage of the U.S. rather than the U.S. taking advantage of them through cheap labor that keeps the prices of goods and services affordable for the middle class. The USA Today, while writing their own piece in favor of the proposals, also never emphasized the benefits that immigrants bring, the author simply looked at the border as being a "problem" and viewed President Bush's proposals as the best way to "fix" the problem. From both perspectives unchecked immigration is a problem, they just had different views on how to solve it.

The New York Times discussed President Bush's proposals as well, but they also looked at issues surrounding the borders and the potential problems. One article in particular connected policies concerning border control and potential risks for terrorism. The author argued that little policy progress has been made since 9/11:

> After the Sept. 11 attacks, it was shocking to learn how easily the hijackers entered the country. What is shocking today is how little progress has been made in securing our borders. Terrorists may well be entering the country by crossing from Mexico or Canada. But it is just as likely that they are coming in the way the Sept. 11 hijackers did: at airports, slipping through the Swiss-cheese security system now in place. Among the areas that need to be attended to are these:

1. More Resources at the Borders: A growing number of non-Mexicans are crossing over the Mexican border.

2. Better Means of Tracking People Who Overstay Their Visas -- One of the biggest sources of illegal immigration is people who enter the country legally but decide not to leave.

3. Tougher State ID Requirements -- The Sept. 11 hijackers obtained 13 driver's licenses. The rules need to be re-evaluated, so non-citizens cannot get such high- quality identification.

(New York Times 3/21/2005)

While these are all to be done in the name of preventing terrorism, their biggest impact will be on immigrants and potential immigrants with no ties to terrorism. The author does not discuss how these efforts to limit potential terrorism will affect immigration and immigrants. However, he does state that border enforcement should be the top priority. There are no competing voices allowed in the article and one is left with the impression that the government does not take border security seriously and that until the government does take it seriously, any immigrant is a potential terrorist.

The "internal control" frame also saw a significant shift from debates on what to do about potential terrorists already in the country to a debate on what rights and/or benefits undocumented immigrants already in the U.S. should have. No longer were articles about the polices of the Bush administration of targeting Middle Eastern men for deportation for overstaying their visas. The new debate was over granting undocumented immigrants drivers licenses, what benefits, if any, undocumented immigrants should be eligible for, and the deportation of both undocumented immigrants and failed asylum seekers who had their applications rejected.

The lone article using the "internal control" frame in the USA Today discussed the fact that many states were looking at the issues of state benefits and drivers'

licenses for undocumented immigrants. They also noted that there were proposals in support of expansive policies in some states and exclusive policies in others:

> Some states are moving to restrict the rights of illegal immigrants, while some may expand them. The activity in state capitols mirrors efforts in Congress to grapple with the nearly 11 million illegal immigrants now estimated to be living in the USA
>
> About 30 other states also are considering driver's license legislation. Most measures would restrict driving privileges for illegal immigrants. The debate extends to Congress, which is likely this month to pass the Real ID Act, which would bar states from issuing driver's licenses to illegal immigrants. (USA Today 5/2/2005)

The author does not discuss the potential impact this will have on both legal and undocumented immigrants. It does not go into detail about what would be the requirements to prove that an immigrant was in the country legally. It also does not talk about the problems of ensuring that people driving cars understand how to drive a car properly, which is the point of a driver's license. Voice is given to immigrant rights groups; however, they are superficial quotes about the problems associated with treating undocumented immigrants differently rather than dealing with the concrete issue of how this will impact people on a day to day basis.

While there were articles in the New York Times that also dealt with the drivers license and benefits issue, they also looked at the issue of deportation, as well. Many of the articles that dealt with deportation looked at specific instances. There was one, however, that looked at the issue of individuals being held pending deportation, but having no place to be deported to. The article looked at one specific instance of a Somalian man who was ordered to be deported, but Somalia was unwilling to repatriate him. The author places this example in a broader context facing many Somalians:

> Though he is among only a handful of Somalis who are jailed while awaiting expulsion, about 4,000 of his countrymen also face imminent deportation --

> most because of failure of their asylum applications -- if the government can get them back home. And the issue is hardly limited to Somalis. The Catholic Legal Immigration Network, using data from the Department of Homeland Security, counted 1,225 immigrants from more than 100 countries in long-term detention, like Mr. Jama, as of March. Thousands more ordered deported live under parole like supervision and could be expelled at any time. (The New York Times 6/4/2005)

This example is one of the few sympathetic portrayals of immigrants and the consequences of current immigration policy. This is one article where both immigrants and immigrant rights groups were given a voice to denounce how the asylum system in the U.S. works. The article is also one of the few that did not in turn give voice to the government even though it was government policies that had put many immigrants in the position of effectively being in "limbo."

The New York Times also printed multiple other articles that dealt with deportation, and gave specific examples of individuals and families being returned to countries that had often been long forgotten. It is important to mention these because they, like the article cited previously, gave voice to immigrants in a way that most of the policy debates do not. They give another perspective that most Americans do not have the opportunity to read about or see on the evening news. Unlike most other articles in the U.S. the government is portrayed as being at fault for treatment of immigrants, especially those seeking asylum. This is not nearly as common in articles using other frames, with the exception of the victimization frame which was rarely used post 9/11, and thus deserves to be pointed out when immigrants are framed as people simply looking to make a living and raise their families.

In each of the time periods previously discussed, six months prior to 9/11 and six months after, the "victimization" frame had been the only frame that portrayed immigrants in a predominantly positive way. During the time period before the London

train bombing, however, there were no uses of the “victimization” frame in either newspaper. This can be seen in one of two ways. First, it is possible that there were simply no stories to be told of immigrants being victimized or any tragedies that happened to immigrants in the U.S. If this was the case, then that is a positive development in immigrant relations. However, it seems unlikely that nowhere in the U.S. was there a case brought to the public's attention that involved the victimization of an immigrant.

The second potential explanation for the lack of articles using this frame is a perceived lack of audience for articles discussing this issue and/or a lack of authors willing to write such a story. Likely it is a combination of both, since newspapers are in the business to make money, they are likely to write about what they think their audience wants to read. The authors themselves also have to take the initiative to find stories that sell. During this time period, it does not appear that they were interested in working to find these types of stories.

Authors from both U.S. newspapers did write more articles dealing with multiculturalism than they did following 9/11. The articles that used the “multicultural” frame talk about immigration differently than did those prior to 9/11 and the two that used it after 9/11. Prior to 9/11 and after 9/11 the articles that used the “multicultural” frame looked at how immigrants were helping cities grow and how they were positively impacting cities that had been economically stagnant for years. During the period before the London train bombings, however, the articles that are using this frame are primarily looking at the demographic changes rather than the benefits of immigrants to economic growth and culture.

Both oarticles in the USA Today discussed the fact that immigrants tended to be younger than U.S. citizens and one article argued that this was creating a generational a racial divide. With whites making up larger percentages of older Americans:

> The influx of newcomers, driven largely by Hispanics, is taking the country far beyond the traditional red-state/blue-state split between Republicans and Democrats that has preoccupied the nation in recent years. It is forming sharp age and race divisions: The old are mostly white, and the young are increasingly Hispanic, Asian and other minorities.
>
> Because immigrants are younger and generally have more children, they're becoming a larger part of the nation's younger population. At the same time, the white population is aging. (USA Today 6/9/2005)

Taking the straight demographic outlook and not including, as articles in previous time periods did, the benefits that immigrants bring leaves the reader unclear as to the impact these demographic changes are having. It feeds into the fear of white Americans of European descent that they are somehow losing their dominant position in society. Articles focusing exclusively on the demographics do little, if anything, to challenge the idea that immigration has negative consequences, and in turn pushes the idea that immigrants and "minority" groups are somehow taking over. Nowhere mentioned is the fact that, without immigration and immigrants having higher birthrates than whites, the country's population would stagnate (and along with it the economy).

While the New York Times articles were similar to the USA Today's in looking primarily at demographic trends, especially in New York City, they did print one article that stood out. The article discussed the increased immigration from Africa and their impact on what it means to be "African American." The article is interesting because it looks at not only how many immigrants are entering, but also at their impact on the discussion of race in the U.S. as can be seen in the following:

> The movement is still a trickle compared with the number of newcomers from Latin America and Asia, but it is already redefining what it means to be African-American. The steady decline in the percentage of African-Americans with ancestors who suffered directly through the middle passage and Jim Crow is also shaping the debate over affirmative action, diversity programs and other initiatives intended to redress the legacy of slavery.
>
> The influx has other potential implications, from recalibrating the largely monolithic way white America views blacks to raising concerns that American-born blacks will again be left behind. "Historically, every immigrant group has jumped over American-born blacks," said Eric Foner, the Columbia University historian. "The final irony would be if African immigrants did, too." (New York Times 5/20/2005)

The authors portray African immigrants in a very positive light. They give voice to various organizations that have been formed to help African immigrants find work and education. This was also one of the few articles to note that, historically, in order to move up the ethnic/racial hierarchies in place immigrants have had to distance themselves from African Americans.

The number of articles using the “immigrants as terrorists/criminals” frame decreased dramatically from 20 during the six months following 9/11 to eight. In addition, the types of articles changed, as well. Just after 9/11, the articles focused almost exclusively on the terrorist aspect of the frame, during the period before the London train bombings, however, focuses more on crimes and criminal activities by immigrants than on the terrorist/potential terrorist angle.

There were three articles printed in the USA Today that used the “terrorists as criminals/terrorists” frame, two of which were focused on criminal activities and one used the terrorist angle. Two of the articles focused more on individual acts of crimes and the arrest of one man as a potential terrorist threat, but one article focused on criminality on a broader scale. This article focused on a nationwide gang known as MS-13 and its ties to immigrants:

> U.S. agents have arrested 103 immigrants during a two-month, nationwide crackdown on a Central American crime gang that is known for using machetes to sever the limbs of its enemies, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement announced Monday. The arrests of the alleged members of Mara Salvatrucha, or MS- 13, are part of an ongoing effort by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) against what has become one of the most violent gangs in the USA. MS-13 has thousands of members across the nation. (USA Today 3/15/2005)

The emphasis on the number of members the gang has ties gang activities to a large number of immigrants, as does tying the gang to immigrants. In addition the author refers to the gang as one of the most violent in the USA without saying why this is the case or the measure they used to come to this conclusion. However, referring to the gang in this way, and tying it to immigrants, implies that immigrants have the potential to be more violent than those born in the U.S. The author does not have to come out and say this, it is simplicity tied to the way these crackdowns are described.

The New York Times also printed an article about the gang arrests, and it was written in a similar fashion. There were also two articles that dealt with the arrest of two 16 year old girls on charges that they were potential suicide bombers. Both were from families who had immigrated, but overstayed their visas, however, the two girls were the only members of their families to be detained on those charges. The first article written on incident described the arrest as: “The latest run-in between immigrants, both legal and illegal, and federal officials who have become much more aggressive in acting against potential terrorist threats in the post-9/11 world”(New York Times 4/7/2005). The implication is that this is just something that immigrants will have to get use to, and it is often framed as the immigrants fault themselves for not having all of their immigration papers in order. This of course ignores all of the hoops one must jump through to keep in the good graces of immigration officials.

The second article looked at the girls' arrests in a more problematic way. This article gave voice to those who expressed anger at the girls' arrests:

> They have painted this picture of her as this person that is trying to destroy our way of life, and I know in my heart of hearts that this is bogus, said Ms. Carr, who welcomed the Guinean girl to her house daily and knows her family well. I feel like, how dare they? She's a minor, and even if she's not a citizen, she has rights as a human being. (New York Times 4/9/2005)

The author interviewed friends, classmates, and teachers as well all of which expressed a range of astonishment and anger. This article gave a face to all of the immigrants caught up in the frenzy of anti-immigration policies following 9/11. The author notes that these girls were not the only victims of the government policy to use immigration laws to apprehend and detain those thought to possibly have terrorist ties. This was discussed as well during the post 9/11 period, however, voice was not generally given to immigrants themselves or immigrant groups.

6.2 British Portrayals

As can be seen in Table 6-2 the number of articles discussing immigration increased significantly during the time period prior to the London train bombings. This is likely due to another general election, this time in May of 2005. Once again immigration was a highly debated topic and once again the newspapers were very anti-immigrant and anti-Labour. Whereas during the period after 9/11 the newspapers generally were supportive of government attempts to detain and deport failed asylum seekers and efforts to “secure the border.” During the election period, the newspapers were much more negative towards the government.

There was a large increase in articles using the “immigration as a threat” frame, from just 3 following 9/11 to 21 prior to the London train bombings. Portraying immigration as a threat to the economy and the “British way of life” was found in many

of the articles during the run-up to the election. Immigration was seen as especially problematic from an economic perspective, with one article arguing that increased immigration leads to a self-serving circle that leads to further increases in immigration, as seen in this excerpt from the Daily Mail:

> But the influx from latest study by the independent think-tank Migrationwatch claims the abroad will simply prove ' self defeating'. Raising the population simply adds to demand for more services and more labour, and in the end creates an 'insatiable demand for immigration', it says. The influx of cheap foreign labour also discourages employers from investing in Britain's own workforce - at a time when there are seven million economically inactive people in the UK, 1.5million of whom want to work, he added. Sir Andrew said: 'Employers are laughing all the way to the bank, but it is the taxpayer who foots the bill for the additional infrastructure required for the extra population as large scale immigration has a substantial impact of population growth and congestion.' (The Daily Mail 5/2/2005)

From this perspective even the economic growth created by immigration in problematic because it potentially leads to a further increase in the number of immigrants needed to fill the newly created jobs.

This is a very cynical view that essentially argues that the economic growth created by immigrants only benefits other immigrants. The article seems to argue that the population growth is a problem that will cost money to fix through expanded infrastructure, but it also fails to note that the expansion of infrastructure will further lead to more jobs and thus more tax revenue to pay for those projects and other social welfare benefits.

Most of the articles using the “immigration as a threat” frame do not argue that immigration growth leads to more jobs, which further leads to immigration growth. They simply argue that immigrants are a drain on public services and use more in social services than they pay in taxes. This is one of the main arguments used against asylum

seekers, who after 9/11 were increasingly housed in detainment centers. An article from The Sun summed up the arguments made by those who see immigration as a problem:

> THANK goodness someone has had the guts at last to stand up and say something sensible about immigration. This government has actively connived at the flood of bogus refugees in a calculated bid for cheap labour at any price. It has stood by and watched the face of Britain changing on the spurious pretext of human rights. It has ignored the dangerous spread of organized crime gangs who now run a vicious industry in vice, drugs and human bondage. A Labour government - a Labour government - is presiding over a new and repulsive slave trade we thought was abolished almost 200 years ago. (Daily Mail 6/3/2005)

The argument is that a desire for cheap labor coupled with a pretext of human rights has led to the "face of Britain" changing. There are no arguments or allowances made to the benefits of immigration, and only those who's goal is to lower immigration are given voice. From this perspective, immigration leads to increases in social problems, and these problems would not exist within Britain if not for "unchecked" immigration.

What to do to curb immigration, especially illegal immigration and asylum seekers, was a constant refrain in the articles using the "immigration policy" frame. Once again, there was an increase in the number of articles using the "immigration policy" frame, and this can be attributed to the June 2005 general elections. Immigration was a key issue in the election, as was the debate on how to curb immigration. The articles using the policy frame were generally negative towards the government, especially the Labour party, and more favorable to policies put forth by the opposition party, Tory's. Even when then Prime Minister Blair suggested tighter immigration controls he was labeled as being a political opportunist as can be seen in this excerpt from the Daily Mail:

> TONY BLAIR threw himself wide open to charges of hypocrisy yesterday as he tried to persuade worried voters that he is cracking down on illegal immigration. Rattled by the Tory success in pushing the issue up the election agenda, the Prime Minister delivered his first ever set-piece speech on the subject. But he shamelessly plundered the Tories' language - and even some of their policies - in an extraordinary 35-minute performance in Dover. Mr Blair listed an array of familiar measures aimed at curbing illegal immigration - including ID cards, the fingerprinting of visa applicants and using detention and electronic tagging on unfounded asylum applicants. (The Daily Mail 4/23/2005)

The author is arguing that Mr. Blair's tough talk on immigration was a “performance” and did not discuss the actual potential policy implications of national ID cards, fingerprinting visa applicants, or any of the other policy initiatives discussed. The author presumably likes the message of tighter controls on immigration and immigrants, however, it was clear that he did not like the messenger.

During the election when the government was given voice on immigration issues, it was often ridiculed by both the Daily Mail and The Sun, however the opposition Tory party was treated with more respect. Neither newspaper portrayed the restrictive immigration policies proposed by the Tory's as too conservative and never mentioned potential problems or costs associated with those policies. This can be seen in an article in the Daily Mail talking about the policy initiatives put forth during the election by the Tories:

> THE Tories would set up a special force to seal Britain's borders against terrorists and illegal immigrants, Michael Howard pledged yesterday. Seizing back control of the pre-election agenda, the Conservative leader accused Tony Blair of a 'total failure' to deal with asylum and immigration. He said senior police officers backed his idea of a national squad to tighten up the country's 'porous borders'. Mr Howard is also pledging that asylum claims will be processed offshore to deter people from coming to Britain. (The Daily Mail 3/30/2005)

Whereas several articles discussed the cost of asylum seekers, and immigrants to the government, nowhere in this article are the costs of these programs discussed. The ramifications of these programs are also not discussed. Issues such as where these potential offshore asylum processing centers would be located, and or how they would get the asylum seekers to those locations. These are questions that are not raised when discussing anti-immigration legislation, but are often brought up when discussing the current costs associated with immigration under the Labour party.

Not only are issues associated with costs discussed negatively, but the immigration itself was often referred to as being in "disarray." Even when Labour party "cracked down" on immigration, voice was given to the opposition parties in a way that did not occur when discussing opposition party policies. This can be seen in the following excerpt from The Sun:

> RATTLED Tony Blair finally acted to end the immigration crisis yesterday by barring unskilled foreigners from entry. After eight years of failing to confront a mounting mess, he said only key professionals in short supply will be allowed to settle here.
>
> Even they will have to prove they can speak English - and pass a "Britishness" test on our laws and customs. Mr Blair revealed curbs on non-EU workers as he unveiled Labour's five-year plan to control rising immigration. It includes an Aussie-style points system to "screen out" applicants who can contribute little to our economy.
>
> Shadow home secretary David Davis said: "This is the latest headline-grabbing initiative from a panic-stricken Government in the run-up to a general election. We've heard it all before. Why should we believe any of it now?" (The Sun 2/8/2005)

Thus, because immigration increased under Labour watch, they should not be trusted to decrease immigration despite the rhetoric of Mr. Blair. Once again, its not the policies that the authors have a problem with or portray in a problematic way but instead it is the Labour party and whether or not it can be trusted to enact those more restrictive

policies. The debate is not over whether or not the policy initiatives are a good idea, but instead over who is proposing said policies.

Of the 20 articles using the "internal control" frame, an increase from the 12 written after 9/11, seven of them focused on failed asylum seekers from Zimbabwe. Whereas generally the articles written in The Sun and Daily mail were supportive of deporting failed asylum seekers, the seven articles discussing the Zimbabwe case were either indifferent to the issue, or urging the government to allow them to stay. It is difficult to determine if this is because then Prime Minister Blair was pushing for their deportation and the authors took an oppositional view simply out of habit, or they genuinely believed that the failed asylum seekers should be allowed to stay. One article argues that the asylum system was designed for people like those from Zimbabwe fleeing political persecution:

> THROUGHOUT the great controversy over asylum-seekers, it has always been an article of faith that genuine refugees should be admitted to this country. The Huguenots, the Jews, the Ugandan Asians -- Britain has often given shelter to those who genuinely feared persecution. Yet Labour -- of all Governments -- is now slamming the door on them. The deportation of one such asylum-seeker, Crespen Kulingi, was stopped at the weekend -- at least temporarily -- after outraged protests from Labour MP Kate Hoey and others. (The Daily Mail 6/27/2005)

The author notes that genuine refugees should be allowed to stay and gain asylum, and points out that the Labour party in an effort to look "tough" on immigration and asylum seekers is making an example of the wrong people. This is one of the few cases where immigrants are portrayed in a sympathetic way, and the author recognizes that asylum for political refugees are important.

The second most common theme in the rest of the articles using the "internal control" frame was that of individuals and businesses being fined for hiring

undocumented immigrants. The articles note that while the law is designed for companies who employ large numbers of undocumented workers, families could face legal issues as well:

> FAMILIES who employ nannies without the proper immigration papers face heavy fines or even jail. They could be caught in a new crackdown on people who employ black market workers. The move is aimed at the companies, gang masters and agencies who hire thousands of illegal immigrants every year as cheap labour. But Immigration Minister Tony McNulty said it could also hit families who take on childminders without first checking they have permission to work in the UK. (The Daily Mail 6/23/2005)

In the articles discussing these types of fines and policies concerning employing undocumented immigrants were often followed up by quoting opposition party leaders arguing that it is not enough. Similarly to the articles printed using the previous two frames, the authors gave voice to opposition leaders more often than they did Labour party officials.

The "victimization" frame was used three times during the period prior to the London train bombings. While this was an increase from the period following 9/11, it was still the least used frame during this time period. This is likely due to the fact that it was an election year and the focus had been on "securing" the borders and getting immigration "under control." The focus had been on all of the perceived problems associated with immigrants rather than on the problems associated with being an immigrant, such as the potential to be exploited.

The focus of the articles using the "victimization" frame was child trafficking, as seen in the following excerpt:

> In a month the tally of overseas youngsters reaches almost 500. In a year the total runs into many thousands. And the shocking truth is that many of these children are being controlled by traffickers who have kidnapped them

from the streets or orphanages of the countries in which they were born. (Daily Mail 6/2/2005)

The articles discuss how children are taken from their home countries, either through kidnapping or through telling their parents how much better the child's life will be in Britain, only to be used for their access to asylum benefits. In addition to the articles discussing the failed asylum seekers from Zimbabwe, these three were some of the few articles dealing with immigration and immigrants that portrayed immigrants in a positive light. In these three articles, immigrant rights group were given a voice that they had not been given in other articles dealing with immigration policies, and the immigrants were treated as people rather than as a number, which was distinct change from the other articles.

The “multicultural” frame was the only frame to have a decrease in the number of articles using it. Similar to reasons behind the limited usage of the “victimization” frame, it is likely the decrease is a result of the general elections. While there was a general election going on during the period looked at prior to 9/11 and there were many more articles written using the “multicultural” frame, there was also a larger disconnect between the proposals by Labour and Tory leaders In the 2005 election Labour acknowledged immigration problems and proposed laws to curb immigration and promote the removal of failed asylum seekers. However, in the period prior to 9/11 much of the debate centered around whether or not wanting to curb immigration was racist, and whether or not the Tories were wanting to curb immigration because immigrants were coming from non-European countries. During the period before the London train bombings the focus was on increasing levels of immigration from

European countries which had only recently became part of the European Union, so there was much less talk about race and racism during the debate on immigration.

One of the articles raised the issue of “white flight.” White flight is the flight of more affluent whites from poorer minority areas. According to an article in the Daily Mail, this was happening:

> A GROWING race divide is separating Britain's cities from the surrounding suburbs and countryside, an analysis of migration showed yesterday. It found that white people are moving out of Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford while the ethnic minority populations of those cities are growing fast. It suggests that a worrying pattern of segregation is developing across the country between wealthier whites and minority groups, and that 'white flight' from cities is not merely a quirk thrown up by the constant population turnaround in London. (The Daily Mail 04/11/2005)

While the article goes on to argue that the increase in minority populations were the result of continued immigration, especially of spousal reconciliation. It notes more specifically that most marriages taking place in the major metropolitan areas are between men who had immigrated previously and women from their country of origin, which leads to an increased immigration due to the wife moving to Britain. While the article mentions white flight, it deals more with the growing immigrant population than it does with whites leaving those areas for the suburbs. This enables the authors to ignore the potentially problematic question: why are whites leaving? While the answer is likely a mixture of economics and negative attitudes towards minorities, the focus is solely on economics while avoiding the issue of race/ethnic relations. The emphasis is on the perceived problem of increasing immigrants in these areas rather than the white response to the increase.

Placing the blame on immigration and immigrants for issues of racial/ethnic tension was a common theme in the “multicultural” frame. The primary argument being

that native British people are not racist, they just want immigrants to act British, and most immigrants are refusing to do so. The articles portray immigrants as refusing to assimilate into British society, and they blame the government for allowing this to happen. One article in The Sun was little more than the mocking of the Boy Scouts for changing their pledge of allegiance which had been rewritten to be more "mulch-cultural." Scouts would "no longer have to swear allegiance to God and Queen, in case it offends minorities"(The Sun 6/17/2005). The implicit argument is that Britain is changing too much to appease multiculturalism and is losing its identity. The two British newspapers seem to view multiculturalism as problematic because from their perspectives there should only be one British culture, and immigrants should adapt to it. Anything else leads to disunity and racial/ethnic animosity.

What the authors discussing assimilation and immigrants desire to be part of the "British culture" fail to acknowledge is that they are also playing a role in "otherizing" immigrants by portraying them negatively. This makes it more likely that those immigrants who do attempt to assimilate and become "more British" will likely have a harder time doing so. The large proportion of articles using the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame is indicative of the "otherizing" of immigrants. The Daily Mail printed an excellent example of this process of otherizing immigrants as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> THE HORROR films are piled high on the market stall in South London. At £3 each, they are a bargain for those with an appetite for this particular kind of video nasty. But these are not Hollywood fiction. They are real. And what they show is terrified children, accused of being witches, being 'freed of their demons' at church exorcisms. Unbelievably, some of this frightening film footage was captured here in Britain. It records scenes which police

> believe are being repeated week after week at hundreds of new 'breakaway' churches serving African communities up and down the land.
>
> These churches peddle a mixture of evangelical Christianity and traditional African religions in an intoxicating -- and some say downright dangerous -- blend of fundamentalist worship.
>
> Here, it seems, children accused of being witches undergo exorcisms which leave them frightened or physically harmed in what is nothing less than ritual child abuse. (Daily Mail 06/17/2005)

This portrayal of immigrants as not only brutal but also as fundamentalists of a religion that promotes child abuse, pushes the reader towards an inability to relate to immigrants. After all, how does one relate to those who perform "ritual child abuse?" This creates an image of African immigrants as being something monstrous undeserving of empathy or understanding. After all, if members of this community terrorize their own children, what are they likely to do to British society?

The articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frames used the terrorist aspect less frequently than during the post 9/11 time period, which was expected as this time period was over three years after 9/11. There was more use, however, than the time period prior to 9/11 which was also expected because of the fact that terrorism was expected to be perceived as more of a threat years after the events themselves (Esses 2002). Several of the articles dealt with one specific case of a suspected terrorist who killed a police officer. These articles focused on the fact that the man was an illegal immigrant and suspected terrorist, however the articles generally did not paint immigrants with a broad brush based on his acts. However, one article discussing a change in policy that changed questions asked to those wanting to extend their visas did portray the process as allowing criminals to stay in the country:

> MIGRANT workers no longer have to reveal details of any criminal records or prison sentences when they apply to extend their visas, it emerged last night.
>
> Forms for foreigners seeking to extend their stay in Britain used to ask for full details of convictions and jail terms. But new forms introduced at the start of this month no longer have a section on criminal records. The change was criticized by the Conservatives last night. They stressed that 356,000 foreign workers and students from outside the EU were granted extensions to their visa - or 'leave to remain' - in Britain in 2003.
>
> These extensions are a crucial step towards being granted full British residency. Once a foreign worker has built up four years of ' continuous leave to remain' they are eligible to apply to stay in the UK indefinitely. (Daily Mail 3/22/2005)

The underlying implication is that without asking immigrants about their criminal history it will be impossible to distinguish between criminals and non-criminals. This portrayal could lead to individuals being more fearful of immigrants because of the heightened fear that those who commit crimes may not be deported. The article implies that immigrants will be more of a threat because criminals will have an easier time receiving visa extensions.

6.3 Comparisons

As can be seen in Tables 6-1 and 6-2, there were nearly twice as many articles dealing with immigration in the two British Newspapers. This is likely due to the general elections that were taking place in Britain during this time period. While each country had a debate going on about policies concerning immigration, the policies being discussed in the U.S. would have set a path for the legalization of millions of undocumented immigrants. In contrast, the policies discussed and being pushed for in the media, were those restricting immigration and deporting those who were undocumented. The articles in the Daily Mail and The Sun tended to be much more negative towards immigration and immigrants themselves.

The difference can be seen easily in the "immigration/immigrants as a threat" frame. In the two U.S. newspapers the articles using this frame were primarily about undocumented immigrants and their impact on local economies and increases in crime. The articles, while portraying immigrants negatively did give voice to immigrants themselves as well as government officials who were discussing the perceived problems. On the other hand several of the articles in the British newspapers portrayed all immigration as a problem. Two of the articles went so far as to imply that economic growth created by immigration was problematic because it would likely lead to further immigration. Several of the articles implied that if it took immigration to grow the economy, then little to no growth would be preferable to increased immigration. Many of the articles printed in the U.S. newspapers tended to recognize that without immigration growth would be stagnant, and economic growth was more important than fear of immigration.

There was also a much different tone between the two countries in the use of the "immigration policy" frame. There was much more of a policy "debate" discussed in the U.S., with individuals on both sides of the issue given voice, and allowed to promote their views and/or discuss why the opposing viewpoint was wrong. Both sides of the debate seemed to believe that the then current system was in need of reform, but the debate came on how best to achieve that reform. In the British newspapers, however, no voice was given to those who were in favor of loosening immigration restrictions, and the only voice given to the government were quotes that made the Labour party look bad on immigration issues. So while the Labour Party was given voice, they were generally given voice in a way that was mocking, and what followed was generally

overly critical of the government and immigration. Both sides of the debate were not given a voice, and the majority of the articles were not only anti-immigration, but anti-Labour. Immigration policy was used simply as an instrument to make the then current government look bad.

While the U.S. Showed a dramatic shift in the way articles used the "internal control" frame, the British newspapers did not show a similar change. The U.S. newspapers changed the focus from what to do with those perceived as potential terrorists to instead discussing various proposals restricting the benefits and access to legal identification by undocumented immigrants. There were few articles that dealt with deportation for undocumented immigrants, but several that discussed requiring proof of citizenship to obtain drivers licensees. In contrast, the British newspapers focused primarily on the fact that the government was behind its stated goals for monthly deportations. In addition even actions taken by the government to fine those who hire undocumented immigrants, the British newspapers argued that it was not enough. Thus, the newspapers tended to view the government as ineffectual in regards to dealing with the "illegal" immigrants living in Britain. The authors in the British newspapers were in favor of much harsher penalties, such as deportation, for undocumented workers than those in the U.S. who tended to discus denying access to drivers licenses and in state university tuition rather than deportation.

The articles using the "multicultural" frame had similar differences in the articles printed in the U.S. and Britain. In the U.S. Newspapers most of the articles dealt with the demographic changes that were occurring, and would be occurring in the future. These demographic changes were not discussed in a meaningful way, the raw numbers

were displayed but no discussion of potential benefits or problems occurred. The reader was left to form their own opinion on what impact the demographic changes would have. The British newspapers tended to not leave much room for the reader to form their own opinions. Most of the articles using the multicultural frame focused on the argument that high levels of immigration was leading to increased levels of racial/ethnic tension. This, it was argued, was because immigrants, especially those from Africa and the Middle East, were perceived to have little to no interest in becoming "British." This in turn leads those who are "British" to look down on those immigrants who refuse to assimilate. Thus, the problems of racial/ethnic tensions are primarily the result of immigrants rather than British citizens who view immigrants negatively. This form of "blaming the victim" is problematic because of the fact that in order to assimilate, the dominant group has to be willing to accept those attempting to do so.

Lastly, the use of the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame decreased by nearly half in the U.S. newspapers, but slightly increased, as did most frames, in Britain. The increase in Britain was similar in level to the overall increase in articles dealing with immigration, however the decrease in the U.S. was larger, proportionally, than the overall decrease in articles. This difference is likely due to the changes in focus. In the U.S. the focus became immigration policy and most of the arguments were policy related rather than looking specifically at immigrants themselves. In Britain, on the other hand, the elections and the predominantly anti-immigration push by the newspapers focused on all negative aspects of immigration including potential crime and terrorist acts. Because it was an election year, and immigration was such a large

issue during the election, the focus on immigrants as criminals was an easy way to attempt to shift public opinion on the issue.

Overall, there were significant differences in the portrayal of immigration and immigrants between the two countries. These differences were not only in the number of articles using each frame, but also within the frames themselves. In the U.S. The articles focused on debates going on in the policy realm whether it be border control issues, or what to do with the undocumented immigrants already in the U.S. In Britain, however, most of the focus was on ways the government was failing to restrict immigration and deport failed asylum seekers. There was not much debate as little to no voice was given to those who were in favor of immigration and/or increased levels of immigration. These differences indicate that the authors in the British newspapers carried overtly negative views towards immigration, and especially asylum/failed asylum seekers and were pushing for more conservative measures to deal with what they believed was an immigration system that was “out of control.”

Table 6-1. Number of Articles Using Each Frame Prior to the London Train Bombings

Frame	New York Times	USA Today	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	7	0	7	12%
Immigration Policy	19	5	24	40%
Internal Control	14	1	15	25%
Victimization	0	0	0	0
Multicultural	4	2	6	10%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	5	3	8	13%
Total	49	11	60	

Table 6-2. Number of Times Each Frame was Used Prior to the London Train Bombings

Frame	Daily Mail	The Sun	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	14	7	21	18%
Immigration Policy	28	5	33	29%
Internal Control	20	0	20	18%
Victimization	3	0	3	3%
Multicultural	9	1	10	9%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	19	8	27	24%
Total	93	21	114	

CHAPTER 7
AFTER THE LONDON TRAIN BOMBINGS

This chapter will look at how immigration and immigrants were framed during the six months after the London train bombings. Both countries are expected to see an increase in the number of articles that portray immigrants and immigration negatively. However, Britain is expected to have a larger increase due to the fact that the attacks occurred on British soil, and thus would likely have more of a negative impact. In the U.S. it is likely that we will see an increase in the use of the more negative frames such as immigrants/immigration as a threat and immigrants as criminals/terrorists. As was seen in Chapter 5, when 9/11 occurred, the British newspapers shifted their portrayals of immigration and immigrants. It is expected that the same will occur in the U.S. because as Esses (2002) noted, the U.S. and other western countries argued that 9/11 was an attack on "Western Democracy" and it is likely that the London train bombings would have been seen in the same way.

7.1 U.S. Portrayals

As can be seen in Table 7-1, the number of articles printed during the six months after the London train bombing was nearly identical to the six months prior to the London train bombings. This indicates that there was little, if any, impact on the discussion of immigration in the U.S. The number of articles remained stable for most frames, and the only large change was a decrease of articles using the multicultural frame from six down to one in the time period after the London train bombings.

There was a slight increase in the number of articles using the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame. Each of the articles using the this frame

focused on undocumented immigrants and potential security threats. A New York Times article discussed the economic impacts:

> FROM 1990 to 2000, the number of people working in the United States grew by more than nine million, or around 8 percent, from immigration alone. What effect did all those new foreign-born workers have on the wages of native-born Americans?
>
> The answer seems obvious at first. An increase in the supply of workers should push down wages, just as a bumper crop of wheat drives down wheat prices.
>
> That is exactly what some influential economic studies, notably by George J. Borjas at Harvard, have found. In a 2003 article, for instance, Professor Borjas calculated that immigrants had depressed the average wage of American-born workers by about 3 percent in the 1990's. (New York Times 11/3/2005)

The article did discuss alternate studies, which promoted the idea that wages generally only fell for those without a high school diploma and increased wages for everyone else. The Borjas study, however, was discussed at the end of the article and the overall tone of the article was that undocumented immigrants are economically harmful for some segments of U.S. citizens.

Most of the articles dealing with the “immigrants/immigration” as a threat frame were from the USA Today. Each of the articles discussed problems associated with undocumented immigrants, and some attempted to separate the bad immigrants (undocumented) from “good” immigrants. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

> The nation's immigrant population hit a record 35.2 million in March 2005, 2 1/2 times the number at the peak of the last great immigration wave of 1910, says Steven Camarota, author of the report. Immigrants make up 12.1% of the U.S. population, compared with 14.7% in 1910, the report says.
>
> The analysis shows that 31% of adult immigrants have not completed high school. A third lack health insurance. The findings raise serious policy questions, Camarota says: "Does it make sense to bring in so many people with relatively little education?

> Jeffrey Passel, demographer at the Pew Hispanic Center, a research group, says the data lump legal and illegal immigrants, which skews achievement numbers. "To conclude that our legal immigration is somehow admitting the wrong people is a leap of faith," he says. "The legal immigrants who've come in the last 10 years are better educated than the legal immigrants who came before." (USA Today 12/13/2005)

While the article gives voice to a group that supports immigration, that voice is used to emphasize differences between documented and undocumented immigrants in a way that portrays documented immigrants in a more positive way.

While nearly all of the articles using the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame looked at immigration in a national context, one article from the USA Today looked at the impact of immigration on the city of New Orleans. It discussed the impact of immigrant workers on the city and argued that the rebuilding efforts after Hurricane Katrina would lead to a demographically different city:

> Latino and immigrant advocacy groups note that immigrants are already headed for the Gulf region. Once these workers rebuild New Orleans, they may well stay, transforming the city's demographics and placing further burdens on social services. Indeed, the "New" New Orleans might someday resemble heavily Latino cities such as Los Angeles and San Antonio.
>
> The social costs of this scenario would be significant. The presence of large numbers of undocumented workers would further depress wages, fueling poverty. If Hispanics are seen as taking jobs from the African-American population, new tensions might arise. (USA Today 10/14/2005)

The author goes on to argue that the reconstruction efforts would bring light to "our broken immigration system." Why the system is broken, we are never told. According to the author, large numbers of immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, is likely to increase poverty and increase racial tensions. There is no discussion of any possible benefits immigrants could bring to the city, only a fearful response to demographic change.

The time periods of six months before and after the London train bombings took place when then President Bush was pushing for new immigration policies. He was considering the idea of "comprehensive" immigration reform, which meant increased border security, the creation of a guest worker program, and a way for undocumented immigrants to become legal citizens. Nearly all of the articles using the "immigration policy" frame focused on then President Bush's proposals, as well as public and political reactions to them.

There were only four articles in the USA Today that used the "immigration policy" frame, but this newspaper was responsible for publishing one of the few articles that did not deal primarily with the immigration reform proposals. The article focused on the decrease in international students at universities in the U.S., and primarily blames the decrease on policies adopted after 9/11:

> Rising U.S. tuitions, increased tension between much of the world and the United States and post-9/11-related immigration issues have all fed a decline in foreign student enrollment. The Institute of International Education (IIE), a New York-based non-profit group that tracks the data, expects the declines to level off. Nevertheless, its report released in November noted lingering concerns among foreign students about "difficulties in obtaining student visas," especially in scientific fields. (USA Today 1/6/2006)

This was one of the few articles that promoted the benefits of immigration, indicating that it is important to maintain a high level of international students. Voice was given to pro-immigration groups that argued for making it easier for international students to obtain visas.

One of the interesting aspects of how the "immigration policy" frame was used during this time period was the fact that not one article in either of the newspapers pushed the idea of border security over other aspects of the various immigration

proposals. This was interesting because there were conservative politicians such as Tom Tancredo were doing the opposite. They were pushing less for comprehensive reform, and more of a border security approach. However, while border security was not given primacy, the Republican Party was. There were seldom any Democrats given voice, and most of the time quotes were given from members of the Bush administration or from a speech given by then President Bush himself. The proposals by then President Bush were generally presented in a favorable way, as would be expected by Altschul (1995), since administrative representatives are generally the most available individuals for giving "official" responses and quotes for reporters.

There was one clear contrast to the trend of discussing then President Bush's "comprehensive" reform proposals. The New York Times printed an article that highlighted the push for much tougher restrictions on immigration presented by then congressman Tom Tancredo:

> But last week, the man denounced by critics on the left and on the right suddenly emerged as an influential lawmaker. Mr. Tancredo and his allies fought successfully to strip the measure of any language offering support for Mr. Bush's plan to provide temporary legal status for illegal immigrants working in the United States. And he helped win support for provisions that once seemed unthinkable to many lawmakers, like the construction of five fences across 698 miles of the United States border with Mexico. (New York Times 12/30/2005)

While Mr. Tancredo was given voice in the article, some of his opponents were quoted as well. A vice president at the National Council of La Raza was quoted as saying that the passage of Tancredo's bill was a "gesture to the xenophobic wing of the party" (New York Times 12/30/2005). The author, however, puts much more emphasis on the passage of the bill rather than on alternatives and reactions to it, which presents the bill

as favorable. This is problematic because it stripped out any potential benefits to immigrants and focused exclusively on keeping people out of the country.

While the "immigration policy" frame primarily looked at then President Bush's proposals, and the counter proposals by more hard-line politicians, there was no similar focus within the articles that used the internal control frame. Of the 19 articles that used the "internal control" frame, there were few that shared similar themes including articles dealing with using trespassing laws to incarcerate undocumented immigrants and articles looking at the use of multiple languages for drivers licensing tests. This is likely because the primary focus of the national immigration debate was on policies of controlling immigration rather than policies affecting immigrants already in the U.S.

There were two articles that looked at the use of trespassing laws to incarcerate/deport undocumented immigrants. They used phrases like "novel approach" and "tools against illegal immigrants" to describe this practice. One article bemoaned the loss of such "tools" when a judge decided trespassing laws were not a proper way to deal with immigration issues:

> A New Hampshire judge on Friday threw out a novel strategy that two police departments had tried to use to combat illegal immigration. The strategy involved charging illegal immigrants with criminal trespassing, and in the last few months such citations were filed against at least nine people, most of them Mexicans, in the towns of New Ipswich and Hudson. (New York Times 8/13/2005)

For this article, the city's police chief was given primary voice, and he was obviously disappointed that his policy was overturned by a judge. The article framed this in such a way as to imply that overruling such a policy was problematic and efforts by local police to deal with undocumented immigrants should be supported.

While the previous article dealt primarily with a problematic way of pushing undocumented workers out of a city in New Hampshire there was another article in the New York Times looking at how one town was attempting to be more proactive with its immigrant population. The mayor of New Haven, Connecticut, was looking at the idea of giving undocumented immigrants municipal identification cards. The article looked at reactions from both sides of the debate:

> Connecticut Citizens for Immigration Control, a group that has emerged this year in immigration debates in Danbury, West Hartford and elsewhere, opposes identification cards. "It's all inducing someone to reside in the United States, and that is illegal," said Paul Streitz, the director of the group, who lives in Darien. "If people in Mexico got word that New Haven was giving out ID cards, what's going to happen? More people are going to come."
>
> Advocates for the cards say otherwise. Echoing Mr. DeStefano and the New Haven police chief, Francisco Ortiz Jr., they say the cards would help integrate immigrants into community life, allow them to get library cards, sign leases and open bank accounts and deposit money, leaving them less vulnerable to robbery. They say the cards would give immigrants a comfort level with the police in discussing crime, rather than fearing deportation. (New York Times 10/8/2005)

The article portrays the potential program in a positive light, with the mayor of New Haven being quoted many times throughout the article, and others on the “pro” side of the issue receiving a voice as well. The prospect of giving undocumented immigrants identity cards was portrayed as being overall positive, and as a new approach to integrating undocumented immigrants into society.

On the other hand, the lone USA Today article looked at a lawsuit in Alabama attempting ban the use of foreign languages when administering drivers license exams. The article quotes individuals from both sides of the debate:

> "If somebody has come to this country knowing that English is the national language spoken here, they should expect ... to take the driver's license

> exam in that language," McAlpin says. He says drivers who can't read road signs in English endanger themselves and other motorists.
>
> She says she recognizes McAlpin's argument about safety but adds: "If they don't have time to learn English, then they won't have a license, and that could lead to unlicensed driving, which is probably a more significant safety problem than not knowing road signs." (USA Today 12/29/2005)

The individual arguing in favor of multi-lingual testing made did so based on safety concerns rather than fairness. This was interesting because she seems to recognize that basic fairness is not going to appeal to those who would be in favor of banning languages other than English. While she was at least partially responding to what someone else had said, it is likely that an issue of safety would be the most persuasive, argument given the high level of debate concerning immigration.

In the six months prior to the London train bombings there were no articles that used the “victimization” frame and, similarly, there was only one article using this frame in the six months after the London train bombings. This lack of usage is likely due to the ongoing debate in other areas, especially in the area of policy which were taking place during this period. In addition, there was increasing controversy over the levels of undocumented immigrants, who also happen to be the easiest to exploit, thus making it less likely that the issue of victimization would be raised.

The lone article was in the USA Today, and it focused on the children of undocumented immigrants. The article was notable not only because it was the only one to use the “victimization” frame, but because it referred to the children as being bullied, and the bully, it turns out, was the Republican Party:

> Republicans in the House of Representatives, searching for a solution to the immigration crisis, are considering a proposal to end birthright citizenship. These bullies are zeroing in on the children of undocumented workers. It is not enough to demonize the men and women who illegally enter this country in search of work. Now, politicians intend to punish their

> children. "There is a general agreement ... that citizenship ... should not be bestowed on people who are the children of folks who came into this country illegally," Rep. Tom Tancredo, R-Colo., told The Washington Times. (USA Today 11/25/2005)

Referring to one of the major political parties as bullies of children, goes against what has been typical in the U.S. articles examined thus far. This is also the first article in this time period to defend immigrants, children or otherwise. The author defended a portion of the immigrant population that generally has little or no voice pushing for their rights.

Similarly to the “victimization” frame, only one article used the multicultural frame. This is likely due to the fact that most articles that used the multicultural frame in previous time periods did so in a predominantly positive way. There was a shift after 9/11 and before the London train bombings to articles that focused predominantly on demographic changes rather than the benefits associated with a large immigrant population. The lack of articles using the “multicultural” frame is likely a continuation of this trend, in the sense that there appeared to be little desire to portray immigrants in a positive light during a period when many people were becoming increasingly hostile to immigration and immigrants.

The lone article was in the USA Today, and it focused on the benefits that a Hispanic judge would bring to the Supreme Court. The article notes that alternate perspectives from different cultural backgrounds would be a positive move:

> In Brignoni, the court held that "apparent Mexican ancestry" alone did not constitute legitimate grounds for the Border Patrol to conduct an immigration check. Even so, the court said, "the likelihood that any given person of Mexican ancestry is an alien is high enough to make Mexican appearance a relevant factor" in an immigration stop. In effect, the court declared a form of racial profiling constitutional. A Hispanic justice would have provided a useful perspective to the Brignoni reasoning. So here we

> are, 30 years later, and the nation's first Hispanic Supreme Court justice is a possibility. (USA Today 9/9/2005)

The author persuasively argues that a Hispanic justice would "open the eyes of justice" a bit further, and he suggests that a Latino justice would have given a different perspective for using "Mexican appearance" as an immigration check. If the author is correct, then a Hispanic justice would bring a fresh viewpoint to some of the issues that are likely to make their way to the Supreme Court, such as bilingual education, affirmative action, immigration, and workers' rights.

The "multicultural" frame was not the only one to focus on the judicial system, as half of the articles that used the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame discussed pending judicial cases against suspected terrorists. These articles did not focus on the fact that the individual on trial was an immigrant. The mention of the defendants being immigrants, especially in connection with terrorism, was likely to feed into the fears of many that believe immigrants pose a threat and are potentially dangerous (Esses et al. 2002). One of the articles in the New York times not only notes that the defendant of a terrorism trial was an immigrant, but made sure to also use the phrase "countryman" to describe an individual the defendant was allegedly aiding:

> A young Pakistani man tried to deceive American immigration authorities to help a known member of Al Qaeda enter the United States from Pakistan 18 months after the Sept. 11 attacks, a federal prosecutor said yesterday during closing arguments in the man's trial. The defendant, Uzair Paracha, knew that his countryman was a Qaeda operative because his father had told him so, said the prosecutor, Karl Metzner. (New York Times 11/22/2005)

The use of the term "countryman", in connection with terrorism, and Al Qaeda, reinforces the idea that immigrants from the Middle East should be treated suspiciously and any ties to their country of origin could be problematic. Only the prosecution is

given voice as the quotes are from questioning and statements made by the prosecutor, and thus readers are left with the impression of guilt.

Of those articles not focusing on judicial proceedings, there was only one article that even mentioned the London train bombings, and it did so only tangentially. The only article to mention the London train bombings discussed the fact that there had been several terrorist attacks since 9/11 in Western countries, but none in the U.S. The article did discuss the changes in border control and immigration policy since 9/11, implying that immigrants pose the largest terrorist threat and thus must be placed under extra scrutiny. Similarly, there was only one article that used the immigrants as criminals/terrorists frame that did not focus on terrorism. The article was also in the New York Times and focused on how illegal immigrants were playing a role in the need for the Village of Greenport, NY, to "restore order" to its streets:

> CAUGHT somewhere between gentrification, illegal immigration and its own wide-open Wild East past, the Village of Greenport is calling in Curtis Sliwa and the Guardian Angels to help restore order to its streets.
>
> The mayor, David E. Kapell, who proposed inviting Mr. Sliwa's group, said the village's chronic problems with street-level drug dealing, public drunkenness and unruly behavior appeared to be worsening. The village, which unlike most of the North Fork is economically, racially and culturally mixed, is home to 2,100 year-round residents and an unknown number of illegal immigrants. (New York Times 7/31/2005)

The author implies that undocumented immigrants are leading to a loss of order in the village and their own police force cannot deal with the additional residents. This has led to the need to "call in" an outside group to help restore order. The term illegal immigrant is used twice in the first paragraph discussing the problems that the town faces, indicating that the author sees illegal immigrants as part of the problem. This is

problematic because the author never provides information about who is actually responsible for the loss of order.

7.2 British Portrayals

Unexpectedly, the number of articles discussing immigrants and immigration decreased during the time period after the London train bombings. This, however, can likely be explained by the fact that during the six months prior to the bombings, there was a general election. Many of the articles during the time period of six months prior to the bombing dealt with the political aspects of the immigration debate, and focused on the perceived problems with the immigration policies of the Labour party which had been in control of the government for several years. This can be seen in table 8, where a one-third decline in the number of articles dealing with immigration policy is observable.

The number of articles using the "immigrants/immigration" as a threat frame also decreased significantly, from twenty-one articles during the period before the London train bombings to thirteen afterward. The May 2005 general elections are likely responsible for the larger number of articles using the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame. Many of the articles during the period before the London train bombings discussed immigration as "out of control" and many of the articles using this frame were political in nature, trying to portray Labour as "soft" on immigration.

Two main themes dominated the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame, the riots in France, and how they could lead to problems in Britain, and the release of demographic numbers showing that one million immigrants had entered Britain the

previous decade. One article from the Daily Mail took the opportunity of the French riots to blame Muslim immigrants for being hostile to the countries they have migrated to:

> In Britain, British Muslims turned themselves into human bombs last July to murder as many of their fellow citizens as they could. We are told this was because of the war in Iraq. But France was a principal opponent of that war and yet it is now being torched from Normandy to the Mediterranean.
>
> For every country, a different reason can be found to blame it for the attacks being mounted upon it. Yet the common factor is the hostility of Muslims to the countries in which they have settled. Even now Britain, France and the rest of Europe are still in varying stages of denial over Muslim unrest. (The Daily Mail 11/7/2005)

From this perspective, Muslims are not to be trusted, as they present a potential threat to the security of Britain, as well as that of other European countries. An additional implication is that Muslim immigrants do not desire to integrate into British society, but instead want to change the rules and laws of their host countries. There were no quotes from opposing viewpoints, and the author presents their view as though this is a commonly held belief and society would be better off if only the British government would recognize the problem.

Similarly, the article in The Sun portrayed Muslim immigrants as living outside of the British law. The author argues that the government allows immigration to go "unchecked," which implies that the more immigrants enter the country, the more likely there will be riots like those in France:

> PARIS suburbs are burning - while the French government looks on with impotent horror. Could it happen in Britain? After last week's explosion of racial violence in Birmingham, what is the evidence of a French connection?
>
> But Britain shares the same problems. Whole towns here are being transformed into ghettos governed by feudal systems beyond UK law. Recent riots in the Lozells area of Birmingham reveal the tinderbox tension between black and Asian communities.

> Police are braced for worse. Yet our Government allows immigration to go unchecked. It's running at record levels - with 500,000 newcomers arriving last year, not counting illegals. (The Sun 11/4/2005)

This type of article promotes uneasiness between British citizens and immigrants because immigrants are portrayed as lawless and ignorant of British laws. Arguing that towns are being governed by feudal systems implies that immigrants do not share the same values as British citizens. Feudalism is also likely viewed by most as a form of rule set aside hundreds of years in the past, and thus readers are likely to see Muslim immigrants as backwards and uncivilized.

In addition to the immigrant riots in France and the fear that they would spread to Britain, a report released by the government about the number of immigrants that entered the previous decade was widely reported. The number of immigrants had added 1.1 million people to Britain between the years of 1991-2001, and the newspaper articles discussing this trend reported on it in a way that portrayed immigration as a problem. Voice was usually given to opponents of immigration as seen in this article from the Daily Mail:

> Shadow Home Secretary David Davis said: 'While a certain amount of immigration may help the economy, it must be controlled. This is essential so as to not place any undue strain on our public service, housing and transport infrastructure or to harm social cohesion. 'Sadly, in Britain, Labour has lost control of the immigration system.' Sir Andrew Green, chairman of the Migrationwatch think-tank, said: 'We believe there is a growing realisation that immigration simply cannot continue at these levels. 'The rate of immigration has trebled, it will add 5million to the population over the next 30 years. This is not scaremongering. These are the Government's own figures. 'There is a democracy point here - 70 per cent of the population believe there are too many immigrants coming to Britain. (The Daily Mail 9/8/2005)

No voice was given to those who see immigration in a positive way, the author also never acknowledged the role that the media and politicians play in the public opinion

about immigration levels. The implication is that British citizens recognize the potential problems associated with immigration without the aid of politicians who are not doing enough about the issue.

The "immigration policy" frame was once again dominated by issues concerning asylum seekers, and how to curb the number of asylum seekers and the border control. The two are linked in most articles because many of the authors make the argument that better border control would lead to fewer asylum seekers. The border security arguments also primarily focused on terrorism and how the "failure to secure the border" was responsible for the London train bombings:

> YESTERDAY'S sickening atrocities were shockingly all too predictable. The former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Lord Stevens, warned long ago that they were 'inevitable'. Clearly, we do not know whether those responsible were foreign nationals or home-grown terrorists. But in the light of the clear danger from terrorists slipping into this country from abroad, the Government's failure to secure our borders defies belief.
>
> Because of the shambles of our immigration and asylum system and the chronic inability by successive governments to police it properly, the astonishing fact is that faced with an unprecedented threat to our security, the Government simply lost control of our borders. (Daily Mail 7/8/2005)

Thus, simply controlling the border could have prevented the bombings. This does not ring true, because, as the author noted, it was unknown whether those responsible were foreign nationals (in fact, they were not). The attacks would have likely happened no matter how much border security was in place. That argument, however, does not fit the conservative political rhetoric that immigration leads to potential terrorism, and, thus, the idea of border security was pushed instead.

The Sun also discussed the problems with border security and the link to potential terrorism. From one author's perspective, since the Labour party took over the government in 1997, there has been "anarchy" at the borders. At the time of writing, it

had been roughly eight years since Labour gained power, and this led to an increase in immigration which the author of this excerpt sees as an immigration disaster:

> What we have had since 1997, when Labour deliberately dismantled our borders, is anarchy. Who, precisely, does it benefit to allow hundreds of thousands of people we know nothing about to enter the country illegally and then stuff 25 different nationalities, often hostile towards each other, into an insanitary, dilapidated tower block in the London suburbs and then stick them on the welfare teat in perpetuity?
>
> Of course, much of it is to do with Labour's determination to eradicate any last vestige of Britishness -or rather Englishness. That's why we hand out passports like lollipops, even to would-be suicide bombers with jail time for violence and those with no historical ties or allegiance to our country. (The Sun 7/26/2005)

The author mocks the government for giving out passports like “lollipops” and argues that they give them to those with no allegiance to Britain. The author seems to imply that, in order to receive a passport, one should show allegiance; of course, this would translate into denying passports to business people, international students, and others who have no allegiance to the country. It is not likely that he meant people should prove allegiance before immigrating, but, instead, wanted to imply that people from certain countries are likely not to ever have such an allegiance. These are the immigrants that the general population should be wary of, and the government needs to do more to shut down immigration from countries that “promote terrorism.”

According to several authors, the most important method for regaining control of the borders is dealing with the asylum system and removing failed asylum seekers. While the articles were not pushing more conservative policies, as they had been during the period before the London train bombings with the elections occurring, they continued to deride Labour on their immigration policies. From this perspective, border

security involves “protecting” the borders, and the argument for this was made in the following Daily Mail article:

> LABOUR'S failure to protect Britain's porous borders was laid bare last night as the backlog of failed asylum seekers soared. Immigration staff have 285,000 cases to work through, but - despite the huge number of bogus refugees waiting to be kicked out - removals are falling. At the current rate, it will take 20 years to clear the backlog - even if there are no more arrivals.
>
> Yesterday, a Government report revealed only 14,906 failed asylum seekers were sent back in 2004, a fifth fewer than 12 months earlier. The situation remained desperate between April and June this year, according to yesterday's Home Office figures. (Daily Mail 8/24/2005)

The imagery used in talking about “protecting” Britain’s borders is that of a potential invasion. Combined with the perceived threat of terrorism from immigrants, this promotes a fear of immigrants and fosters an “us versus them” mentality. This mentality leads to the belief that the government should be expelling potential immigrants who are deemed as “failed” asylum seekers, rather than creating a hospitable environment for all immigrants. A distinction between “good” immigrants and “bad” immigrants, undocumented and failed asylum seekers, is also created by the argument that failed asylum seekers should be removed and those who remain are then deemed “illegal.”

What to do with those deemed “illegal” immigrants is the most prevalent theme in the articles that used the “internal control” frame. Two main themes were discussed in articles using the internal control frame. First, there were those that broadly discussed what to do with failed asylum seekers, as well as those not yet processed. The second main theme referred to specific cases of individuals and how the government has treated them, with sympathetic portrayals of those the authors seem to deem as worthy of being granted citizenship.

Articles talking about how to best deal with asylum seekers once in Britain were the most prevalent. There were articles describing programs to help successful asylum seekers mentors to assist them in gaining government aid and in finding employment. Also, multiple articles argued the government was not doing enough to remove failed asylum seekers, and that the government was essentially incompetent in keeping track of immigrants. One article mocked the government's efforts at keeping track of Polish immigrants:

> ONE handwritten advert in a newsagent's window and three local phone calls. That's all it took to track them down. Just 24 hours later, the Mail's search for Britain's 95 Polish plumbers was over. The Mail had sprung into action after Immigration Minister Tony McNulty risked national ridicule by insisting that just 90 plasterers, 45 roofers, 25 tilers -- and, of course, the 95 plumbers -- from countries in Eastern Europe were working in Britain. So we started our search for 'McNulty's 95'. After all, if we found them -- and the Government was proved right -- it could only mean one thing: at the moment we took our photograph there was not one Pole struggling with a burst pipe somewhere else in Britain. (The Sun 11/5/2005)

The authors went on to interview local plumbing businesses who argued that Polish plumbers were inferior to their British counterparts and that local shops spent much of their days repairing faulty jobs done by Polish plumbers. The authors described those that showed up as though they were pleasant albeit incompetent. While the point of the story was that the government did not do enough to keep track of immigrants, the underlying theme was that immigrants were simply not as skilled and/or competent as their British counterparts.

In contrast to the previous article, there were several articles that looked at specific instances of immigrants who were being forced to leave Britain, but perhaps should be allowed to stay. Asylum seekers from Zimbabwe were still being discussed in this time period, and authors were pushing to allow them to stay. While the authors

were calling for those from Zimbabwe to stay rather than return to a government that would likely treat them as traitors, other articles focused on individuals who should be allowed to stay because they would be "good citizens." One example can be seen in the following excerpt:

> BY any standards she is a credit to this country. Eleonora Suhoviy, 24, arrived from the Ukraine as a 13-year-old and taught herself English by reading Sherlock Holmes novels. She pursued her language skills as far as Oxford University, where she graduated with a 2:1, and now works tirelessly in an NHS cancer clinic. It is her ambition to become an intelligence officer in the Royal Navy.
>
> But the Home Office has other ideas. It wants to kick her out. While immigration officials fail miserably to locate and remove thousands of failed asylum applicants, they are doggedly pursuing the removal of Miss Suhoviy. Sarah Carr, for the Home Office, said: 'There are numerous students who pay to come to the UK to study who gain great academic success but they then return home. Miss Suhoviy's unlawful stay in the UK should not allow her to circumnavigate the rules and gain advantage.' (Daily Mail 11/25/2005)

From this perspective, only those who succeed on their own without any form of government assistance are the immigrants deemed to be worthy of receiving support for their asylum claims. Certain individuals are more worthy than others, and success appears to be the defining quality. This was one of the few articles supportive of immigrants, and there were even fewer that were supportive of immigration, in general, rather than in specific cases like the one described here.

Articles using the "victimization" frame also tended to portray immigrants in a sympathetic way. Or, more specifically, the articles portrayed the specific immigrants covered in the stories sympathetically. Immigrants, in general, were not discussed and the articles focused on specific cases of victimization. There were multiple stories written about the same events. The most widely discussed event was the shooting death of a Brazilian man. Most of the articles dealing with this event tried to "have it

both ways" in saying that the event was a senseless tragedy, but also that the man was at least partially to blame:

> The Home Office revealed that a student visa issued to Jean Charles de Menezes had expired more than two years ago, and an 'indefinite leave to remain' stamp in his passport was a fake. His false papers could provide a clue to why the 27-year-old ran from armed police when challenged last Friday. The question of whether he had anything to hide from police was raised on Monday, when the Home Office said he had overstayed his visa and was working here illegally, though at the time they were unable to give more details. (Daily Mail 7/29/2005)

Some articles appear to be grappling with how to best deal with the situation, whereas others attempted to bash the government's anti-terrorism policies for being partly to blame. Being sympathetic to an illegal immigrant seems to be against the grain, considering the negative tone that most of the articles talk about illegal immigrants. Because of this, there is an emphasis on the victim's immigration status, indicating that they were in the country "illegally." Thus, a conflict exists between the desire to emphasize anything the government does wrong and the desire to cast illegal immigrants in a negative light.

The second most discussed event was the death of twenty-one Asian men and women, and the trial of the "gangmaster" who was the leader of the cockle pickers. The articles tended to place the victims in a sympathetic way, without emphasizing their immigration status; however, to balance out this portrayal, the leader was presented as an immigrant criminal. The article emphasized the immigration status of both the victims and the leader:

> A CHINESE gangmaster told survivors of the Morecambe Bay tragedy to blame two of the VICTIMS, a court heard yesterday. Lin Liang Ren, 29, fled the scene as 21 cockle pickers drowned in rising tides, it was alleged.

> Chinese Ren sent the cocklers out in the dark and in appalling weather, the jury heard. But the men and women - all illegal immigrants - were caught out by fast moving tides in the bay in February last year, leaving 21 dead.
>
> Ren came to Britain in 2000 posing as a student. He rented various properties in Liverpool to house Chinese workers in overcrowded conditions and transported them to work. (The Sun 9/20/2005)

When the immigration status is raised, it leads the reader to the question "if they had not been in the country illegally, would they have died?" This tends to put at least some of the responsibility for this tragedy on the victims rather than acknowledging that being an undocumented worker places one in a position of being exploited. The argument for creating a situation where workers are not exploitable in this way is never mentioned in order to emphasize the more sensationalistic aspect of the story.

In previous time periods the British newspapers used the "multicultural" frame as a way to disparage multiculturalism rather than promote it. This trend continues in the period after the London train bombings. Most of the articles dealing with multiculturalism as the main theme portray it in a negative way and tend to argue that anti-racism policies and debates are a bigger problem than actual racism. The term political correctness is used with disdain, as is the term multiculturalism itself. In the articles printed during the six months after the London train bombings, multiculturalism was blamed for the riots in France as well as unrest in the British cities that arose during that time. An example of the rhetoric used can be seen in the following excerpt:

> The study published by the social policy think-tank Civitas claims the spread of 'intolerant and sanctimonious' political correctness had gained a 'vice-like grip', censoring public discussion of crucial issues. The Civitas report warns that political correctness is increasingly dominating schools, hospitals, local councils, the Civil Service, the media, private companies, the police and the forces.
>
> By encouraging multi-culturalism rather than racial integration, political correctness 'allowed the creation of alienated Muslim ghettoes which

> produce young men who commit mass murder against their fellow citizens', it is claimed. The report adds: 'Political correctness promotes the creation of a "victim mentality", discourages people from taking responsibility for their own lives, suppresses free speech and distorts public debate. 'By promoting the rights of criminals over their victims, [it] hinders law enforcement and leads to escalating crime.' (Daily Mail 1/3/2006)

Not one alternative voice was given to the Civitas report, which is interesting, considering that the report goes to great lengths to disparage the censuring of alternative viewpoints. Neither the author nor the cited quotes ever describe the way in which the rights of criminals are promoted over their victims. The assumption is also made that it is multiculturalism that is leading to a lack in racial integration. Alternative views, such as the mistrust of British citizens towards immigrants, may be leading to a lack of racial integration and the promotion of multiculturalism. The implication for these articles, as well as for the previous articles using this frame is that the British citizenry welcomes immigrants with open arms, but it is the immigrants themselves who do not want to become integrated into British society.

Not surprisingly, “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” was the most widely used frame during the period after the London train bombings. Most of these articles deal directly with the aftermath of the bombings and how the government “should have seen it coming.” The argument is that there are high levels of immigration from Middle Eastern countries, especially Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the government does nothing about the “hate speech” from certain mosques. There is also frequent use of the term Londonistan implying that London is being taken over by Muslims:

> 'I watched the emergence of what we now call Londonistan, tracking and trailing key figures in the murky world of extreme Islam that existed even a decade ago,' he says. 'I told the intelligence services of the terrorist threat from the systematic brain-washing of hundreds of disenchanted and often British-born young Islamic kamikazes in the thousands of mosques that were being established here. I informed them of the incendiary sermons by

> clerics that were turning young men into potential suicide bombers. 'I saw Richard Reid, the shoe bomber, at the Finsbury Mosque. And you know what these agents of the Crown told me? They said: "Leave him and them alone . . . they are free people here."' (Daily Mail 8/6/2005)

The implication is that Muslims are taking over London and other parts of Britain, spreading hate, and the government is either unable or unwilling to do anything about it. This unwillingness by the government ties in with the belief that multiculturalism is ruining Britain and political correctness is leading to an increased likelihood that crimes will be committed.

In a similar vein, the failure of government to control borders is seen as “an open door to terrorism.” Articles dealing with what is described as slack visa controls point out how easy it is to enter Britain from countries that have been labeled as potentially harboring terrorists. One article, in particular, emphasizes specific countries to the extent that the author implies that potential terrorists are entering the country daily:

> SLACK visa controls risk letting terrorists into Britain, a report by immigration experts warned yesterday. Visas have been dished out to tens of thousands of visitors from Algeria, Morocco and Pakistan WITHOUT interviews. Think-tank Migrationwatch UK warned immigration staff do not quiz visitors because they are overwhelmed by visa applications.
>
> Algeria is a known breeding ground for terrorists. Kamel Bourgass, right, who stabbed to death a cop during an anti-terror raid in Manchester, was a failed asylum seeker from Algeria. Astonishingly NONE of the 27,642 who asked for one was interviewed. Just 6,007 were refused. Migrationwatch chairman Sir Andrew Green said: "At a time when we have very real security fears it is completely unacceptable that large numbers of people are, in effect, being waved through." (The Sun 8/24/2005)

Articles like this increase the level of fear and anxiety about people from certain countries at a time when there is already a high level of these emotions. It treats everyone from Middle Eastern countries and/or predominantly Muslim countries as

potential terrorists. After all, if no one is being scrutinized, how is one to tell the terrorist or potential terrorist from the rest of the immigrant population from a given country?

The final theme from the "immigration as terrorists/criminals" frame is the idea that the government was not doing enough to deport suspected terrorists, or those who were seen as "promoting hatred." The government is portrayed as incompetent, and the question raised is: if other countries can kick "Islamic radicals" out, why can't we?" This can be seen in the following excerpt from The Sun:

> BRITAIN has failed to boot out one single preacher of hate -while the rest of Europe wages all-out war on ranting imams. After the London bombings, Tony Blair, below left, pledged a crackdown on radical clerics who poison the minds of Muslims. Home Secretary Charles Clarke claimed two weeks ago that action would begin "in the next few days".
>
> But Britain has not deported one hate crusader, while Italy, Spain, France, Germany and Holland have moved to kick out dozens of Islamic extremists. All are subject to the same human rights laws which Mr. Clarke claims are hampering his efforts. Britain's problem is that extremists can stay here if they lodge appeals while other countries kick them out first, forcing them to argue their case from abroad. (The Sun 9/10/2005)

Part of the problem with these types of articles is that there is generally not a distinction between immigrants and citizens. The author advocates removing them and does not discuss the potential process for removal or whether or not these individuals are in some stage of this process. This is problematic because the implication is that all Muslims are immigrants, or, at the very least, outsiders who do not wish to become part of British society. Very rarely is there anyone quoted as to how many individuals are radical Islamists." Without an understanding of how big or small such a problem is, readers are left to their imaginations and potentially, the perceived threat becomes much larger than the actual threat (Esses et al. 2002).

7.3 Comparisons and Conclusions

There were significantly more articles dealing with immigration in the British newspapers (92) than in the U.S. newspapers (60). This was to be expected, due to the London train bombings. What was unexpected, however, was the decrease in articles in the British newspapers (from 114 articles, before the London train bombings, to 92, after). This was unexpected due to the belief that there would be an increase in the discussion of immigration and immigrants following the train bombings. The decrease was likely due to the general elections that occurred during the time period before the bombings.

In the U.S. newspapers, undocumented immigrants continued to be the focus of the "immigration/immigrants as a threat" frame. The proportion of articles using this frame remained consistent increasing by one percent. This is not surprising, given that the political debate about immigration had seen little change during the yearlong period examined before and after the bombings. What is surprising, however, is that there is no mention of terrorism in any of these articles, given the fact that one of the U.S.'s closest allies was the victim of a terrorist attack.

It was also surprising to find that the proportion of articles using the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame declined in the two British newspapers. This is likely because the articles that would have been dealing with immigration as a threat were instead written in a way that framed immigrants as criminals/terrorists instead. Because of the attacks, instead of writing articles about the economic, social, cultural, etc. impact of immigration and immigrants, articles instead discussed issues related to terrorism. Similarly to the U.S., most of the articles that used the threat frame focused

on undocumented immigrants and those who had been denied asylum. In both cases, undocumented immigrants were seen as posing an economic and/or cultural threat.

As with the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame, there was little change in the use of the "immigration policy" frame, with a one article increase from before to after the London train bombings. The debate was continuing over then President Bush's immigration proposals, and there was little change between the time periods. There was an increased focus on the more conservative proposals that Republicans in the House of Representatives had passed, and their impact on the likelihood that then President Bush's proposals would be enacted.

In the British newspapers, there was a decrease in both the number of articles and the proportion of articles using the "immigration policy" frame. This was likely due to a combination of the general elections taking place during the time period before the bombings and with a focus on terrorism rather than policy issues. Before the bombings, the policy frame had been used primarily to attack Labour for not reducing immigration levels and promoting more conservative policies. After the attack, the shift was to new policies the government wanted to enact to fight terrorism, and how there was a need for more border enforcement. "Protecting our borders" became a major theme, and most policy discussion focused on limiting immigration from specific countries.

In the period prior to the London train bombs, the "immigration control" frame primarily focused on the rights and/or benefits undocumented immigrants in the U.S. should have. However, in the period after the bombings, there was no such focus. No more than two articles looked at any given topic, but most of the different articles tended to discus how city and state governments were dealing with undocumented immigrants

rather than looking at the national level. These ideas ranged from fining undocumented immigrants for trespassing to allowing undocumented immigrants access to legal identification to make their integration into the local community easier.

The British newspapers, on the other hand, went from focusing on detaining asylum seekers to the best methods for removing potential terrorists and/or those who were "preaching hatred." The articles did not only focus on terrorists, but tended to imply that immigrants from certain countries, especially Pakistan, Algeria, and Afghanistan, should come under extra scrutiny. Calls for increased deportation continued, and the articles that did not focus on the removal of potential terrorists, bemoaned the efforts of the government in deporting failed asylum seekers.

The "victimization" frame was used by only one article printed in the U.S. newspapers after the London train bombings; this, however, represented an increase from the period before. The article focused on the children of immigrants and the push by some Republicans in the Congress to repeal the automatic citizenship granted to children of immigrants born in the U.S. In the previous time periods examined, articles using the "victimization" frame had portrayed immigrants in a sympathetic way. According to Esses et al. (2002), sympathy for undocumented immigrants would likely shrink as a result of terrorist attacks. Thus, it is not surprising to have few articles post 9/11 that use the "victimization" frame.

A total of seven articles in the British newspapers used the "victimization" frame. They represented eight percent of the total articles, compared to two percent in the U.S. papers. While it is unlikely that authors writing for British newspapers were more sympathetic than those in the U.S., there were two major stories that happened during

this time period. First, there was the shooting death of an undocumented Brazilian immigrant and, second, the murder trial of a man accused of complicity in the drowning deaths of 21 undocumented Asian immigrants. All seven articles focused on these two events, and multiple articles portrayed the immigrants themselves as at least partially to blame rather than as victims.

There was a drop of five articles using the "multicultural" frame after the London train bombings in the two U.S. newspapers. The lone article discussed the potential benefits of a Hispanic justice on the Supreme Court. This was a change from the previous time period when the focus had been on demographic changes taking place in the U.S. and the role that immigration had played in those changes. There was very little discussion of the benefits of immigration and different ethnic perspectives.

In the British newspapers, the articles using the "multicultural" frame emphasized that multiculturalism and lack of assimilation was fracturing British society. This is a constant theme in all of the time periods only this time many articles were overly harsh of Muslims for not assimilating into British society. Blame for the terrorist attacks was laid squarely at the feet of multiculturalism and the failure of Muslims to assimilate. The assumption was that Muslims did not want to assimilate rather than the possibility that British citizens were not as accepting of Muslims as of the immigrants from other parts of Europe.

This idea of Muslims being a separate group residing within the borders of Britain but outside of its culture, society, and laws was also used within the "immigrants as terrorists/criminals" frame. For the first time, the "terrorists/criminals" frame was the most used frame in a time period. This is in line with our anticipation, due to the terrorist

attacks leading to increased fears and anxiety about immigrants and immigration. Terms such as Londonistan were used to portray Britain as being overtaken by potential terrorists. Of course, there were never definitive numbers about the number of suspected terrorists in Britain, thus heightening the fear of future attacks and the suspicion of all immigrants from Middle Eastern countries.

The proportion of articles using the "terrorists/criminals" frame was nearly three times as high in Britain (27%) than in the U.S. (10%). Not one article discussed the attacks in Britain, and only a couple mentioned the attacks at all. This was somewhat surprising, as there was already a heightened awareness of terrorism in the U.S. after 9/11 it was expected that this heightened awareness of terrorism would lead to an increase in the discussion of immigrants as potential terrorists. One explanation for the absence of discussing the London train bombings is the fact that, after 9/11, "securing our borders" became a prominent policy debate and this continued on to aspects of the immigration policy put forth by then President Bush. So, defending the borders to prevent a terrorist attack was implied in articles rather than outright connecting immigration to potential terrorism. Thus, the message was more covert compared to that of the British newspapers.

Overall, a change in discussion of immigration in the British newspapers occurred, which was missing in the U.S. newspapers. The latter continued to primarily follow the debate over potential changes in immigration policy with a focus on the "comprehensive immigration reform" proposals put forward by then President Bush. In Britain, however, the focus shifted from policies dealing primarily with issues of asylum to issues of terrorism. Every frame, except for the victimization one, had articles

focusing on terrorism. In addition, multiple frames, immigration/immigrants as a threat, multiculturalism, and the immigrants as terrorists/criminals frame, focused primarily on the terrorism theme.

Table 7-1. Number of Articles that use each frame in the U.S. newspapers after the London train bombings

Frame	USA Today	New York Times	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	7	1	8	13%
Immigration Policy	4	21	25	42%
Internal Control	1	18	19	32%
Victimization	1	0	1	2%
Multicultural	1	0	1	2%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	1	5	6	10%
Total	15	45	60	

Table 7-2. Number of Articles that use each Frame in the British newspapers after the London Train Bombings

Frame	Daily Mail	The Sun	Total	Percent
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	9	4	13	14%
Immigration Policy	20	2	22	24%
Internal Control	17	1	18	20%
Victimization	4	3	7	8%
Multicultural	7	0	7	8%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	19	6	25	27%
Total	16	76	92	

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION

As we have seen, the changes in the portrayal of immigration and immigrants changed significantly after 9/11 and to a somewhat lesser degree after the London train bombings. This chapter will look at these changes and how they fit the expectations of the hypotheses set out earlier. The differences in the overall presentation of immigrants in each country will also be examined. Lastly, I will discuss how the portrayal of immigration holds up to the democratic ideals of the media as set forth by Gurevitch and Blumler (1990), Altschull (1995), and Croteau and Hoyne (2000).

8.1 Discussing the Differences

The first research question asked whether or not there were differences in the way immigration and/or immigrants were portrayed in the U.S. and Britain. There are multiple ways to address this question: by looking at the number of articles using each frame; examining the differences in portrayals within each frame; and the differences in themes within each frame. Each of these differences will be studied in this section, along with potential reasons behind these differences and/or similarities.

Before looking at the number of articles using a given frame in each country, it is important to appraise the overall number of articles discussing immigration and immigrants in each country. As can be seen in Tables 8-1 and 8-2, the British newspapers published 40 percent more articles, in absolute terms, discussing immigration and immigrants than did the U.S. newspapers. The only time period where the articles about immigration printed in the American newspapers outnumbered those printed in British newspapers was the six months after 9/11.

Why would British newspapers be more likely to publish articles concerning immigration and immigrants at such a substantial rate over the U.S. newspapers? During two of the time periods, the period before 9/11 and that before the London train bombings general elections were held. During these periods, most of the articles in the British newspapers were political in nature, taking an anti-Labour position, especially on issues of immigration. The newspapers repeatedly pushed for harsher policies concerning immigration and immigrants, and blamed the Labour party for "losing control of the borders." The political environment likely led to more articles published during this time period because several of the articles pointed to immigration as one of the most important issues in the elections. This idea is also supported by the fact that the differences in the number of articles printed during these time periods that did not include a British general election were as expected.

The U.S. newspapers printed more articles in the time period following 9/11, while the British newspapers printed more articles in the period after the London train bombings. Both of these differences were expected due to the impact of the terrorist events in each country. In addition, whereas the number of articles in the U.S. newspapers decreased from 114 prior to the London train bombings to 92 after. This suggests that the British general elections had a greater impact on the coverage of immigration and immigrants than did the London train bombings, at least in terms of the number of articles printed.

As can be seen in Graph 1, as well as from Tables 8-1 and 8-2, there are large differences in the proportion of articles using different frames. Looking at Graph 1, one can see that in the British newspapers there is a steady climb from the least used

frames, to the most used frames. There is a difference of 16% between the two least used frames and the middle pair of frames and a 17% difference between the middle pair of frames and the two most frequently used frames. In the U.S., however, there is a 12% difference between the two least used frames and the middle pair of frames, and a much larger 47% difference between the middle pair of frames and the two most used frames. The proportion of articles using the most common frames is much larger in the U.S. (68%) than in Britain (50%).

All of these differences indicate a much narrower focus within the U.S. newspapers than in the British newspapers. The two most used frames in the U.S. were the immigration policy and internal control. Thus, in the U.S. context, policy discussions were more important than discussions of immigrants as criminals/terrorists or of immigration as a potential threat. It is important to note, however, that, during the time period after 9/11, the discussion turned to issues related to terrorism even in the policy and control frames. This was an important development because even in those frames that previously had not suggested a criminal and/or terrorist element in them, changed as a result of the events. Issues of "securing" the borders became more prominent, as did discussions within the internal control frame about what to do with those undocumented, as well as legal, immigrants suspected of being potential terrorists, or “terrorist sympathizers.” Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) expected this due to an increase in nationalistic sentiments as well as an increase in the fear of “outsiders.’

The fear of outsiders was also apparent in the British newspapers throughout different time periods. The U.S. and British newspapers both had “immigration policy”

as the most used frame; however, the second most used frame was the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists." Neither of these frames reached the same proportion as the most used frames in the U.S., but the higher use of the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame may suggest that there is a potentially larger degree of anxiety over immigration in Britain than in the U.S. Alternatively, it could be that the British newspapers were simply more open about their hostility towards immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, than was the case in the U.S. newspapers. The majority of the use of the policy frame concerned issues of granting and denying asylum, and what to do about the authors' view that Britain had become "soft" and/or a "target" for asylum seekers.

Asylum was a common theme within the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame, as well. Those who overstayed their visas, as well as those who remained in the country after having their asylum requests denied, were often portrayed as criminals. In addition, authors used the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame to "otherize" immigrants. Many of the articles noted that a large proportion of immigrants were from the Middle East and from countries with "known ties to terrorism." Thus, the authors are implying that most immigrants who were from the Middle East should be seen as suspects and as a potential threat to Britain.

The least used frames are the same in both the U.S. and British newspapers, with the "victimization" theme being the least present in each newspaper and the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame the second least frequently used. The portrayal of immigrants within the "victimization" frame was the most likely to have a sympathetic tone, if not entirely positive. The fact that authors used this frame the least indicates that, during the time periods examined, they were not willing to portray

immigrants in a sympathetic way. It is also interesting to note that while the U.S. has a much larger immigrant population, both numerically and proportionately, than does the U.K., the proportion of articles looking at specific instances of immigrants being victimized and/or exploited was twice as high in the British newspapers. This raises the questions of whether or not there are simply more instances of victimization in Britain or that the British newspapers were simply more likely to report on them. There were multiple high profile instances of victimization that received coverage in both newspapers and in multiple articles. So the larger number of articles could have simply been a matter of there being a greater demand for the sensationalized stories in Britain than in the U.S.

Authors used the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame in similar ways in both countries, though British newspapers used it more frequently (12%) than did their American counterparts (only 7%). Unlike the British newspapers, the "policy" and "internal control" frames were used to discuss actual policy proposals, by the Bush Administration, rather than as a way to promote anti-immigrant rhetoric by the conservative party. Thus, the "immigrants/immigration" as a threat frame and the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame were the only ones which were used exclusively as a way to promote explicitly negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants.

Each country's newspapers employed the immigrants/immigration as a threat frame as a way of portraying immigration and immigrants in a negative way. Though the language in the U.S. newspapers utilized less overtly anti-immigration language than that of their British counterparts, the themes utilized were the same. The

newspapers in both countries used demographic data to show that immigration was increasing at an “unsustainable” rate and portrayed the countries’ borders as “broken.” Each country’s newspapers also had a large portion of the articles focusing on the perceived problems associated with undocumented immigration. The British newspapers, in general, used more blunt language about the cultural impacts of increased immigration and the perceived threat to social stability caused by those cultural impacts. The U.S. articles, in contrast, repeatedly discussed economic and potential security issues related to a large number of immigrants entering the country each year. The articles focused less on social issues and more on the economic impact of immigration, especially that attributable to undocumented immigrants.

In each country, the “multicultural frame” is the middle category of frequency. In the U.S., the “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame is also in this point in the distribution of articles while in Britain, the “internal control frame” is included in the distribution point. Each country’s newspapers utilized the “multicultural” frame differently. In the U.S., especially during the period before 9/11, the newspapers employed the “multicultural” frame in a way that promoted the benefits of multiculturalism. Articles at that time examined the population growths in cities that once had been stagnant, and even went so far as to discuss the recruitment of immigrants to cities that had not benefited from an increased immigrant population. This changed after 9/11 with the “multicultural” frame discussing demographic shifts in a much more straightforward fashion and with less emphasis on the social impact of those changes.

In contrast, the British newspapers, throughout all of the time periods examined primarily portrayed multiculturalism in a negative way. Most of the authors saw multiculturalism as a problem that leads to immigrants not becoming part of the British society. From their perspective, immigrants should be welcoming British culture rather than attempting to maintain their own. In addition, authors saw racism as an overblown problem, and the journalists saw anti-racism policies as much more of an issue. The articles claimed that there could be no legitimate discussion of the impact that immigration was having on British society. This was due to the belief that conservatives were being called racist for pointing out what they saw to be cultural and social problems associated with high levels of immigration. Articles used the term "British race" in conjunction with anti-multiculturalism discussions. The general underlying theme in the British articles using the multicultural frame argued that liberal immigration policies and the push for multiculturalism undermined what it “means to be British.”

The “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame was the third most frequent. The “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame was not used at all before 9/11. After 9/11, however, more articles were published within the “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame than at any other time period; the frame was presented in much the same way as in the British newspapers. The frame was dominated by depictions of suspected terrorists being arrested. Their immigration status was discussed prominently. Authors focused primarily on Middle Eastern immigrants, though discussion of undocumented immigrants from Latin America appeared as well..

The “internal control” frame was the third most frequently utilized one in the British newspapers. Unlike the U.S. counterpart, the British newspapers did not

differentiate many themes within the frame. The “internal control” frame primarily focused on what to do with those whose asylum applications had been denied. Several authors saw this as one of the largest problems facing Britain, and they viewed the Labour party's handling of the issue as problematic. The majority of the articles argued that the Labour party did not do enough to deport failed asylum seekers, and that failed asylum seekers had it “too easy” within the existing immigration framework. The articles often mocked the government’s efforts at dealing with the issue, emphasizing the costs associated with detaining failed asylum seekers and the “lavish” conditions that asylum seekers had in the detention facilities.

Regarding the second research question, whether there were different impacts in each country after 9/11 and the London train bombings, this is a more difficult to answer. The general elections during both time periods before the events in question make it difficult to determine what impact the terrorist attacks had. The U.S. context, however, is much more straightforward due to the lack of potentially confounding factors such as a general election. There were substantial increases in the “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame. The number of articles using the “multicultural” and “victimization” frames also decreased, and these were the frames most likely to portray immigrants in a positive way.

8.2 Examining the Hypotheses

A total of seven hypotheses have been formulated, focusing on the expected changes in the frames used during different time periods after 9/11. Though the first hypothesis did look solely at the period six months prior to 9/11 with the expectation that this time period was likely to be different from the others due to the belief that 9/11 would impact the way immigration and immigrants were framed in each successive time

period. The other hypotheses focused on the comparisons between countries as well as changes after the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings within each country.

The first hypothesis had the expectation that many of the articles would focus on the negative impacts of immigration on the economy and use of government services., and in the U.S. context, however, this turned out not to be the case. While there were no articles that used the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame, there were only four that used the "immigrants as a threat" frame. Those articles that used the "immigrants as a threat" frame did focus on the economic impact of immigration, especially undocumented immigration. There were many articles, especially the 21 that used the "victimization" and "multicultural" frames, which portrayed immigrants and immigration in a sympathetic or even a positive way. The "multicultural" frame, of which there were 17 articles, often portrayed immigration as a positive force of economic growth for many areas that had previously been stagnant.

On the other hand, nearly half of the internal control debates focused on preventing undocumented immigrants' access to government services. The authors themselves generally were not pushing for restricted access, but they were reporting on those who would deny undocumented immigrants access to virtually all federal, state, and local services. The articles' authors have tended to give a voice to the harshest of anti-immigrant groups. While immigrant rights groups were often quoted, those that would deny immigrants access to services were typically given lengthier quotes and more space. Altschull (1995) and Risser (1998) argued that this control of the flow of information, with one group receiving a greater opportunity to spread its rhetoric, is one of the greatest "powers" of the press. Previous authors had focused on how the

government benefits from greater access to the media, but the same holds true for any group attempting to shape public opinion and/or public policy. Those who get their voice heard the most, often have a greater chance at swaying opinion to their cause.

In British newspapers, those groups who viewed immigration negatively, in addition to most of the authors, were nearly always the sole voice given in an article. The anti-immigrant groups were given almost exclusive opportunities to denounce immigration and the impact it was having on society. In addition, many of the authors, themselves, would overtly espouse their negative views of what they perceived to be "uncontrolled" immigration. Even frames which had been used in the U.S. to portray immigrants and immigration in a positive light, such as the "multicultural" frame, were used in Britain as a way to decry immigrants.

The six articles that used the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" frame focused on immigrants as a "flood" or a "wave" that battered at Britain's walls. These articles focused primarily on those wanting and waiting to get in rather than the impact of those already in the country. Instead of focusing on the actual impact of immigration, most of the articles emphasized almost exclusively the number of immigrants and that of "potential" immigrants attempting to gain entry into the country every day. Articles using the "internal control" frame were similar to those in the U.S. in that they focused primarily on preventing immigrants from accessing government services. The major difference between the articles using this frame in the two countries was the fact that the British articles generally only gave voice to those who were against immigration. The primary focus was on what anti-immigration groups and, often, the authors themselves wanted to see the government do to make Britain less hospitable to those

seeking asylum, and how to best deport failed asylum seekers. From their perspective, Britain had become too hospitable to potential asylum seekers, and the authors gave voice to those who would make seeking and gaining asylum more difficult.

While the newspapers in both countries, especially Britain, focused on issues that did not concern terrorism and/or crime, they both commonly portrayed immigrants and immigration in problematic ways. In the U.S., with the exception of the "victimization" and "multicultural" frames, the articles focused primarily on the impact of undocumented immigrants and how to limit undocumented immigration. Both sides of the debate were usually given a voice to promote their views. However, often those on the side of lowering immigration rates and preventing undocumented immigrants' access to services were given much more of a voice in a given article. British newspapers, on the other hand, were almost exclusively negative towards immigration and very rarely gave voice to supporters of increased levels of immigration and/or of immigrant rights.

The second hypothesis focused on the total number of articles rather than their content. The second hypothesis predicted that there would be an increase in the number of articles dealing with the issue of immigration during the period after 9/11. Looking at Tables 4-1, 4-2, 5-1, and 5-2, we can see that this was only partially supported. Overall, the number of articles printed decreased, from 174 during the six months prior to 9/11 to 159 articles during the time period after 9/11. The decrease was not the same for both countries; however, within the U.S. the total number of articles increased and in Britain they decreased.

As expected, the number of articles dealing with immigration in the U.S. increased following 9/11. The dramatic raise in the number of articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame, from zero, during the period prior to 9/11, to twenty, in the six months following 9/11, fueled the increase. Since 19 of the 21 perpetrators of 9/11 were legal immigrants, it was expected that talk of immigration would increase after the attacks. The "internal control" frame featured a large increase, as well, as the debate over what to do with potential terrorists came to the forefront of the immigration debate.

Unlike the U.S. newspapers, the British newspapers actually sustained an unexpected decrease in the number of articles printed after 9/11. During the time period six months prior to 9/11, there was a general election held in Britain, and two major political issues during the election were immigration and asylum. This makes it difficult to determine the impact that 9/11 had on the number of articles dealing with immigration because for four months during this period there was coverage of the elections. This, likely, increased the number of articles dealing with immigration, as immigration was seen as a major political issue in *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail*. Thus, the impact of 9/11 is difficult to determine, because one can only hypothesize that the number of articles would dealing with immigration would have been even lower had 9/11 not happened. This explanation is partially supported by the fact that many of the British articles after 9/11 discussed issues of terrorism and described the anxiety that many Britons felt with respect to the large number of Muslims living in Britain at the time.

The anxiety felt by both U.S. and British citizens following 9/11 and the London train bombings was at the heart of the third hypothesis, which stated that immigration would become portrayed as a "law and order" issue rather than an economic and/or cultural concern. The potential frames using a “law and order" theme are the “immigrants/immigration as a threat”, “immigration policy”, “internal control’, and ‘immigrants as criminals/terrorists” ones. While it would be expected that the “immigrants/immigration as a threat” and “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frames would have a “law and order” focus, the “immigration policy” and “internal control” also had a mix of “law and order” and “border control” themes in them as well.

In the U.S., the number of articles using frames that would likely have a "law and order” component to them increased in the period after 9/11. However, the “immigrants/immigration as a threat” frame decreased during the period after 9/11. This decrease was likely a result of the shift in themes from economic to potential terrorism, as the articles using this frame during the period prior to 9/11 focused on economic themes. While three of the four frames that contained "law and order" components increased, both of the frames that were the least likely to deal with "law and order," the “victimization” and “multicultural” frames, decreased dramatically from a combined 21 during the period prior to 9/11 to only three after. Thus, law and order became a much more visible component of the framing of immigration and immigration after 9/11.

In two of the four frames associated with "law and order" themes the number of articles decreased. The proportion of articles using both the “immigrants/immigration as a threat” and “internal control” frames decreased after 9/11; the “immigration policy” and “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” both increased. The overall proportion of articles

using the frames associated with "law and order" increased from 65% prior to 9/11 to 83% after.

In both countries, the internal control and immigration policy frames contained a large proportion of articles that used the "law and order" theme. For Britain, however, this was not much of a change as both frames prior to 9/11 had a large number of articles that focused on “law and order” and “border control” issues. For the U.S., however, the “policy” and “internal control” frames had smaller proportions of articles that used those themes. In the time period prior to 9/11, the policy debate had been over whether or not to grant amnesty to undocumented immigrants living in the U.S. and/or whether or not to have a guest worker program. After the attacks, however, the policy debate shifted to how to secure the borders. This fear was promoted and pushed by both the Republican-controlled government and anti-immigration groups. Government officials became a much more prominent source of information in the articles printed after 9/11, while the immigrant rights groups’ voices were further marginalized. This was likely the result of the increased anxiety predicted by Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002). This was expected to translate into an increase in the negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants during the periods following 9/11 and the London train bombings.

The increase in the negative portrayals of immigration and immigrants was predicted in hypothesis four, and this expectation was confirmed. The number of articles using the “immigrants as criminals/terrorists” frame printed in the U.S. newspapers jumped from zero, in the period before 9/11, to 20, in the period after. This frame became less visible in both number and proportion before the London train

bombings and once again following the London train bombings. This indicates that, during the six months after 9/11, there was, as expected, increase in the number of articles using the frame. The issue of immigrants as potential terrorists was a much more salient issue. This concern was not shared, however, when the London train bombings occurred in Britain. This finds an explanation in the very public debate over immigration policy that was occurring during this time period in the U.S. The events in Britain seem to have been overshadowed by the contentious debate that had already been taking place.

The number of articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame tripled after 9/11, from six to eighteen in the British newspapers. During the time period prior to 9/11, there had been no mention of potential terrorism. During the six months after 9/11, however, terrorism became the dominant theme. The focus also shifted towards immigrants from the Middle East and the belief that the government was not doing enough to deport those individuals the authors believed were promoting hate and "radical Islam." The authors often went so far as to print the names of specific individuals they believed should be removed from the country or kept under closer watch by the government for promoting "anti-British" views.

There was also a proportionate increase in the number of articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame after the London train bombings, and the proportion of articles using this frame, 27%, was at its highest point. This increase, however, was not as dramatic as the increase that occurred after the events of 9/11. One explanation for this is that the proportions after 9/11 and before the London train bombings were the same at 24%. This steady use of the frame might be attributed to

the rhetoric promoting fear of immigration during the elections that were taking place during the period before the London train bombings. In addition, due to the already high use of the frame, there was little room for a large increase in the use of the frame. This is in contrast to the low use of the frame prior to 9/11, when there was a much larger opportunity for increasing use of the frame.

The idea that there was less room for growth in the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame due to already elevated levels ties in with the fifth hypothesis, which stated there would be higher levels of negative framing during the six months prior to the London train bombings than in the six months prior to 9/11. This was expected due to the residual impact of 9/11. As Esses, Dovidio, and Hodson (2002) argued, changes in attitudes towards immigrants may fade over time, but it would take many years for this to occur. Thus, there would likely be higher levels of negative portrayals prior to the London train bombings as the weariness towards immigrants was still impacting the population.

The expectation of increased levels of negative framing prior to the London train bombings was supported in both the U.S. and British newspapers. In the U.S., there were overall fewer articles relating to immigration, but the proportion of articles using the overtly negative "immigrants/immigration" as a threat and "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frames increased from six percent prior to 9/11 to 25% prior to the London train bombings. In addition, the articles which used the two frames that could be used with multiple themes, the "immigration policy" and "internal control" ones, had an increased focus on immigration as having negative consequences. The articles using these frames increasingly had an "us versus them" theme when discussing the

immigration reform policies put forth by then president Bush and gave voice to anti-immigration groups and politicians. The attacks on 9/11 and the potential for terrorists to enter the U.S. were also stated in many articles as a way to push for increased border security. Thus, 9/11 became a weapon for anti-immigration groups to use in pushing forward their agenda.

Large increases occurred in the proportion of articles using the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" and "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frames in the British newspapers, as well. The change was even more dramatic in the British newspapers as they increased from 12% prior to 9/11 to 42% prior to the London train bombings. During this same period, the number of articles using the "immigration policy" and "internal control" frames decreased, but the articles using those frames did continue to put emphasis on the potential terrorists entering the country. In addition, there was a new focus within the "internal control" frame on the government's handling of individuals believed to be linked to terrorist organizations in other countries. Thus, while the portrayal of immigrants and immigration using the "policy" and "internal control" frames had been negative before the London train bombings, there was a shift in their portrayal, to a more fearful stance towards potential terrorism.

The idea of residual anxiety/fear towards immigrants and immigration after 9/11 plays into both hypotheses six and seven. Hypothesis six anticipated a greater overall shift in media framing after 9/11 than what was likely to take place after the London train bombings. Along these same lines, the London train bombings were predicted to have more of an impact in British newspapers than those in the U.S., whereas 9/11 was expected to have a similar impact in both countries. Each of these expectations center

on the belief that anxiety towards immigration and immigrants would have fallen back down to pre-9/11 levels.

Much of the previous discussion has examined of hypothesis six and seven, so only a brief discussion will follow. For the U.S. articles, the increase in negative framing towards immigrants after 9/11 has already been discussed, as has the large decrease in the positively associated "victimization" and "multicultural" frames. Looking at the time period before the London train bombings and after, however, shows that there was a slight decrease in the proportion of articles that used the "immigrants/immigration as a threat" and "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame, from 25% to 23%. This is in stark contrast to the large increase after 9/11. While the number of articles using the "immigration policy" and "internal control" frames did increase following the London train bombings, the various themes within those frames did not change. The articles continued to focus on the proposed immigration policy changes, as well as possible strategies concerning undocumented immigrants already in the U.S. Unlike the British newspapers following 9/11, there was no mention of the London train bombings in either the "internal control" or "immigration policy" frames. Thus, unexpectedly, there appears to be no change in the way immigrants were portrayed in the U.S. following the London train bombings. This was unexpected because hypothesis six predicted an increase in negative framing of immigration and immigrants following the London train bombings because of the increasing ties between the two countries in the "war on terror."

The London train bombings also appear to have had less of an impact on the portrayal of immigration/immigrants in the British newspapers than did 9/11. Similar to

the U.S. newspapers, the British newspapers slightly decreased their use of "immigration/immigrants as a threat" and "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frames. However, the proportion of articles using the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" did increase, following the London train bombings. So, there was a slight impact on the use of portraying immigrants as potential terrorists. The "internal control" frame continued to portray the government as soft on potential terrorists residing in Britain, and many articles in the "multicultural" frame implied that clerics preaching "radical Islam" were turning Muslims who had been born British citizens into potential terrorists. So, the rhetoric outside of the "immigrants as criminals/terrorists" frame became more negative following the London train bombings. However, the levels of anti-immigrant sentiment and immigrants as potential terrorists' rhetoric was already high, in the British newspapers, during the period prior to the London train bombings; thus, the impact of the bombings were lower than that of 9/11.

8.3 Media, Framing, and Immigration

It was interesting to examine not only how immigration was portrayed and framed, but also who was given a voice concerning a specific issue and who was ignored, as well as how this played out differently in each country. In the U.S., voice was often given to both sides of the immigration debate, with those in favor of lowering immigration rates and "fencing up the border" enjoying more coverage than immigrant rights groups. The media outlets appeared to be "hedging their bets," in that they expected there to be some sort of immigration reform bill passed, but they were unsure if it would be the comprehensive reform proposed by the president or the "seal off the borders" type proposed by more anti-immigrant politicians.

This type of shaping of public opinion by giving certain groups more of a voice than others is effective because of the widespread belief in the “independence” of the press (Altschull 1995). This is why officials from the Bush administration were the most often quoted outside sources in the majority of articles dealing with immigration policy and internal control. With freedom of speech codified in law, the most painless way for the government to shape opinion is to get its officials quoted in the press, preferably as the only source presented. In addition, those with anti-immigrant views, especially those outside of government, were given a more prominent voice than those pushing for more liberal immigration policies. As Crouteau and Hoyne (2000) discussed, there is an incentive to portray events in the way that those in power want them portrayed, which makes it more difficult for dissenting voices to be heard.

While "objectivity" was permitted prior to 9/11, and outside sources were given voice, following 9/11 the government became even more indispensible for sources relating to immigration policies. The symbiotic relationship suggested by Altschull (1995) came to the forefront, as the media relied more heavily on government sources for their information. This was especially true for those articles using the “internal control” frame following 9/11 because much of what was reported concerned government crackdowns on undocumented immigrants and those who were "in contact" with suspected terrorists abroad. The media were relying on the government accounts concerning why individuals were apprehended and/or deported, as well as what policy changes could be expected concerning immigrants. The reasoning behind this has to do with both the desire to maintain access to information the government was sharing and the fact that journalists rely increasingly on official sources of information due to

time constraints and the costs associated with investigative journalism (Crouteau and Hoyne 2000).

While the British newspapers used official sources for information, they were normally much more openly hostile to the information given. This was especially true during the election years, when both newspapers would overtly mock Labourists' efforts at controlling immigration. Both newspapers openly pushed for more restrictive immigration policies and the election of more conservative politicians. While there is a long tradition of endorsing election candidates in the U.S. newspapers, the pro- Tory rhetoric pushed by the British newspapers bordered on propaganda. This was very different from the U.S. newspapers often giving voice to multiple sides of an issue and uncritically quoting government officials.

The main explanation for this difference stems from Crouteu and Hoyne's (2000) expectation that reporters are beholden to those who pay their checks, even more so than to those who give them information. It is important to note also that there were very few quotes of government officials from interviews by the authors, as the vast majority were from press releases and/or secondary sources such as the BBC. This is important because according to Crouteu and Hoyne (2000) it should be expected that government spokespersons would be quoted often because of their frequent statements and the ease of simply quoting a press release than interviewing an individual. The authors had no problem pushing dissent past levels that Altschull (1995) predicted possible in most industrialized countries. It would be interesting to learn whether this was due to outside pressure that reporters often feel due to career concerns (Pew Research 2000) or if they achieved the journalistic positions they held within the

newspapers because of their views. In other words, did the reporters gave an account more conservatively about immigration because it was expected or had they been hired in their jobs because of their more conservative views?

From Gurevitch and Blumler's (1990) perspective, the British newspapers failed at performing all of the functions and services expected of the media in a democratic state. While they did identify the key issues of the day, they typically failed at promoting a dialogue across a diverse range of views. In the articles analyzed here, there was very little "dialogue" amongst different views and issues regarding immigration. One side of the debate dominated the discourse within both British newspapers. Those that viewed immigration as a net positive and would prefer to see those levels maintained or increased were very rarely given any voice. In addition, immigrants themselves were rarely given a voice. Most of the articles consisted of quoting the Tory party and agreeing with whatever agenda towards immigration they were pushing, and/or excoriating the Labour party as too soft on immigration. There were no alternatives or “diverse range” of views.

Due, in part, to the harsh political rhetoric put forth by the newspapers concerning the immigration debate, there was very little incentive for citizens to learn about and become involved in the political process, which according to Gurevitch and Blumler (1990), is an important aspect of the role the media should play. The authors by and large give little incentive to learn about immigration, they primarily give the readers incentives to be afraid of immigrants and angry about the level of immigration. This does not lead to a well informed electorate; instead, it leads to a fearful and reactionary electorate.

While the U.S. newspapers were not nearly as overtly antagonistic towards immigration as their British counterparts, they, too, had problems meeting Gurevitch and Blumler's expectations for the media's role in a democracy. The U.S. newspapers did a good job of "meaningful" agenda-sitting, and the forces that would likely resolve them. This was especially true prior to 9/11 and the time periods before and after the London train bombings. During these time periods, the most pressing issue was then President Bush's immigration proposals. In general, both newspapers provided platforms for a dialogue across a diverse range of views. That is not to say, however, that they gave each side an equal opportunity to present their views. Because of their attempted "objectivity" during those time periods, they did not provide mechanisms for holding officials accountable for their exercised power.

The newspapers simply relied heavily on official sources from the Bush administration and the Congress to hold those with power accountable. This increased following 9/11 when the authors often failed to hold the government accountable for the treatment of immigrants. Some authors would take the dissenting view that the government was acting out of fear and protectionism than rational policy. These authors were few, however, and most articles continued to get their sources from the government itself and often failed to challenge the punitive policies that immigrants were facing in the aftermath of 9/11.

8.4 Concluding Thoughts

This project aimed to determine what, if any, impact the events of 9/11 and the London train bombings had on the portrayal of immigration and immigrants in the U.S. and Britain. It turns out that there was a large shift in the portrayal of immigrants and immigration following 9/11 and little if any change following the London train bombings.

Each country, both before and after the attacks, displayed distinct patterns of discussing immigration.

The distinctions between the two countries were significant as the portrayal of immigration and immigrants differed in each country. Whereas in the U.S. the debate focused primarily on policy, in Britain it focused more on the potential threats to social stability. The policy debates in the U.S. context were often much more inclusive than their British counterparts. The debates focused on policies aimed at increasing immigration levels through a guest worker program as well as the desire of the Bush administration to legalize undocumented immigrants. On the other hand, the U.S. newspapers also tended to give more opportunities to those opposing immigration to voice their opinion. Much of the differences between the newspapers in the two countries seemed to boil down to the British newspapers printing being much more conservative articles, at least on issues concerning immigration.

The newspapers in each country also displayed different aspects of the social control mechanisms discussed in the theory section. The U.S. newspapers fell in line with the argument Altschul (1995) made concerning the issue of maintaining the "status quo." According to this theory, when both sides are given voice, it precludes any meaningful change. The US newspapers gave voice to both sides of the immigration debate on a more consistant basis than did their British counterparts. While one side often received more of a voice than the opposition, in the British newspapers it was rare, especially post 9/11 for pro-immigration or immigrant's rights groups to be given a voice in the debate.

This dominance of the anti-immigration groups in British newspapers ties into Croteau and Hoyne's (2000) argument that the often cited phrase "the public has a right to know" gets flipped to the "public has a right to know what we think it should know." When only one side of the story, or debate, gets told, the author and newspaper is presenting its agenda at the expense of the "whole" story. This form of self-censorship is different than what Croteau and Hoyne (2000) described. They argued that self-censorship was most common in determining what issues and stories get covered, not necessarily *how* they were covered as was the case in the British newspapers. Not only were alternative views not advanced, but when the newspapers discussed government policies and/or quoted government officials, the authors portrayed the government as weak on immigration and its policies as harmful to Britain.

This was a form of the concept Altuschull (1995) referred to as "watchdoggery." Watchdoggery is the idea that the media serves the public by acting as a watchdog over government and corporate interests. In the case of the British newspapers, they acted as a watchdog over the government's handling of immigration, at least for those who were supportive of more restrictive immigration policies. This role of watchdog over the government increased during the election periods as these were the periods when everything the government did was criticized. This should not be surprising as according to Newton and Brynin (2001) both *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* are conservative newspapers with a predominantly conservative readership. This implies that while Altuschull (1995) believed "wotchdoggery" to be a myth put forward by the media to appear to "look out for the common man" watchdoggery may be a real phenomenon that falls along ideological lines. In this case when two conservative

newspapers were discussing policies of a more liberal government they were likely to disparage those policies and those making them.

The two American newspapers, on the other hand, only occasionally served as a "watchdog" to the government. These instances happed after 9/11 and dealt with the Bush administration's handling of detainees and their use of immigration laws to detain "potential terrorists." Both the *USA Today* and *New York Times* printed articles discussing and criticizing the Bush administrations tactics in dealing with potential terrorists during this time period. However, those instances were exceptions and during other time periods and topics not dealing with detainees, both newspapers quoted government sources as well as anti-immigrant groups in order to give the impression of "balance."

During the time period after 9/11 the attempted "balance" faltered, and government officials discussing punitive enforcement of immigration laws were given voice while immigrant's rights groups were excluded. This was not surprising, however, as Esses, Dovidio and Hodson (2002) expected to see a shift in public opinion and as a result a shift in the discourse surrounding immigration. Journalists, editors, and publishers are people, who like the rest of the population are susceptible to these changes. Not only are they susceptible to the same triggers, but they must also take into account their audience as well as advertisers. If the opinion of the audience has changed, then those that control the flow of money will likely expect the reporting of the issue to change as a response. This would be done in an effort to avoid alienating the readership and maintain subscription levels.

Despite the post 9/11 shift in the portrayal of immigrants and immigration, and the push for more stringent immigration laws in the British newspapers, there were no significant changes in immigration law in the U.S. or Britain (Cornelius and Rosenbaum 2005). Freeman (2001) explains that this is due to the complexities of bringing together the disparate groups that oppose immigration. There are different groups with different reasons for why they want lower levels of immigration, and pulling these groups together to fight for the common cause of restricting immigration is difficult. On the other hand, the powerful interests, businesses that rely on cheap labor and support immigration, have a single issue to focus on, their desire to make the largest profit possible by using the least expensive available labor.

Thus, the newspapers can use a variety of explanations for why, in their opinion, immigration should be reduced, or give voice to those that want immigration reduced, they will have a difficult time pressuring for political change on the issue. However, as Breunig & Luedtke (2008) have discussed, immigration has become a more politicized issue in recent decades and political parties are staking out different preferences on how to deal with the issue. This may lead to continued efforts by newspapers such as *The Sun* and the *Daily Mail* to push for more conservative parties and even portray the Labour Party as soft on immigration in an effort to replace the Labour party with a party that shares their preferences on how to deal with immigration. This combined with their conservative readership is the likely reason behind the use of frames and themes portraying immigrants and immigration at higher rates than their U.S. counterparts.

When comparing the *USA Today*, *New York Times*, *The Sun*, and *Daily Mail*, it became clear that the British newspapers were markedly more anti- immigration than

their American counterparts. This was likely because the more conservative arguments regarding immigration tend to be in favor of increasing restrictions on immigration (Lahav 2004). Because the British newspapers examined fall into the conservative ideological spectrum, it is not surprising that they would espouse a desire for increased restrictions on immigration. On the other hand, the U.S. newspapers examined are often referred to as "the most influential newspapers" and "neutral" (in terms of political ideology) (Rojecki 2005). This is likely why both sides of the debate were often granted a voice in the debate as well as why there was little push for reforms. This pressure to continue a "neutral" stance precluded the authors from "taking sides."

The "neutral" label of the *USA Today* and *New York Times* did not preclude them from portraying immigration and immigrants in negative ways. Nearly 20 percent, of all articles analyzed portrayed immigrants as criminals/terrorists or as a threat to U.S. society. In addition numerous articles using the "immigration policy" and "internal control" frames used themes within the frames that portrayed immigrants negatively. In the more conservative British newspapers examined 32 percent of all articles portrayed immigrants as criminals/terrorists or as a threat to British society. This represents a 50 percent increase in the use of overtly negative frames in the conservative newspapers.

Overall, the changes after 9/11 fell in line with expectations. The changes in the British portrayals of immigration and immigrants after the London train bombings did as well, but the U.S. newspapers showed no changes that could be associated with the terrorist attacks. In addition, there was an overall difference in the portrayal of immigrants and immigration between the countries that could be seen throughout the

time periods examined. These differences likely reflect the ideological differences in both the newspapers themselves, but the readership of the newspapers as well.

We could also see the dependence the media has on governmental sources of information such as press releases, interviews by public officials and/or speeches by political leaders. Access to government officials was shown to be very important, especially in the U.S. newspapers. In order to maintain access to these government sources, newspapers must walk a fine line between potential dissent and not alienating those government officials that the reporters often rely heavily on (Croteau and Hoynes 2005). This brings into question the independence of the media. If the media must temper its coverage of the government and/or elected officials to maintain access to those officials then they cannot be truly independent. Both the USA Today and New York Times, with their reliance on government sources of information, showed themselves to be very dependent on the government and government officials.

The British newspapers, on the other hand, were very critical of the government, and very rarely quoted government officials, though they did often quote government press releases. They were much less critical of the Tory Party, who was not in power at the time, and often interviewed and quoted leaders from the Tories. This raises the question of if/when the Tories regain power in Britain, The Sun and/or the Daily Mail will continue to dissent against the government or look to maintain their ties to the leaders of the Tory Party. If they choose to dissent and potentially lose some access, then they could be seen as potentially independent, but if instead they choose to limit the dissent they will likely look similar to their U.S. counterparts.

Future research examining the changes in the portrayal of immigration, immigration policies, and immigrants themselves, based on the political party in power would be interesting, especially in the two British newspapers examined. I say especially in their cases because of the emphasis on disparaging the immigration policies of the Labour Party, and whether or not this would continue under a new regime. Would they remain the "watchdog" of the government, or would that end with the change in the party in office?

Figure 8-1. Comparison of the proportion of articles using the most used frames.

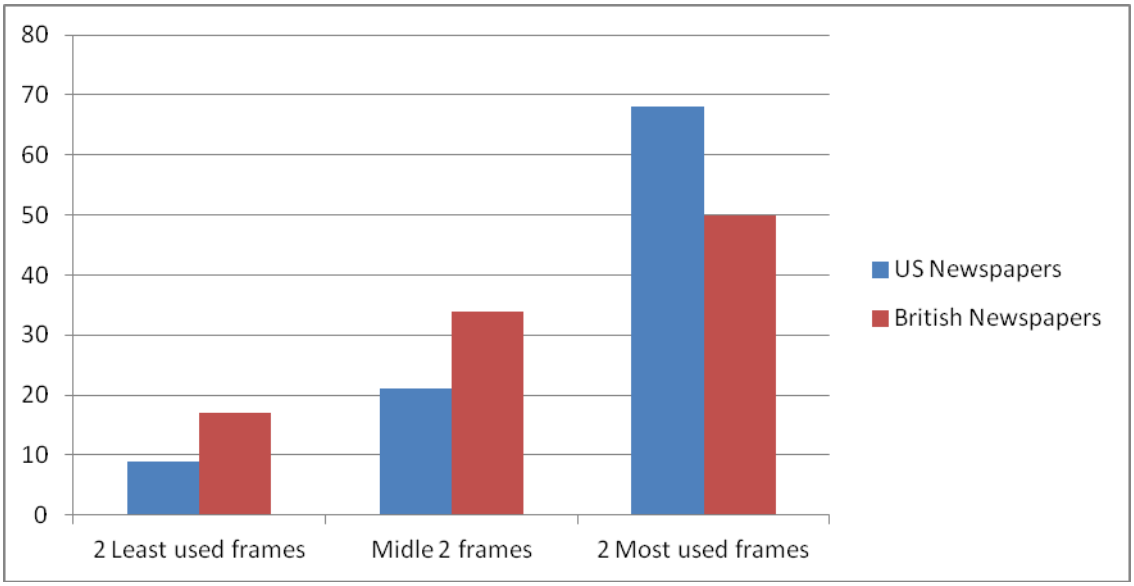

Table 8-1. Total Number of Articles Using Each Frame in U.S. Newspapers

Frame	USA Today	New York Times	Total	Percent of Total
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	8	12	20	7%
Immigration Policy	17	84	101	36%
Internal Control	9	81	90	32%
Victimization	3	3	6	2%
Multicultural	9	17	26	9%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	10	24	34	12%
Total	56	221	277	

Table 8-2. Total Number of Articles Using Each Frame in British Newspapers

Frame	The Sun	Daily Mail	Total	Percent of Total
Immigrants/Immigration as a Threat	17	31	48	12%
Immigration Policy	14	102	116	30%
Internal Control	7	65	72	19%
Victimization	6	13	19	5%
Multicultural	8	48	56	14%
Immigrants as Criminals/Terrorists	21	55	76	20%
Total	73	314	387	

APPENDIX
SENSITIZING QUESTIONS TO CODE FRAMES

Voice/Standing
Where is the information in the article coming from?
Reference: words/concepts and where they come from.
Reference: Documentation/statistics, and who provided them? Are alternatives presented?

Diagnosis
What is presented as the problem? Why is it seen as a problem?
Causality (What is seen as the cause of what?)
Who is seen as responsible for causing the problem?
Problem holders (Whose problem is it seen to be? Active/passive roles, perpetrators/victims, etc?)

Prognosis
What to do? Which action is deemed necessary and why?
Hierarchy/priority in goals (strategy/means/instruments)?
Attribution of roles in prognosis.

Call for Action
Is there a call for action or inaction?
Who is acted upon (target groups)?
Boundaries set to action and legitimization of non-action.

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