

Hostile or Helpful: The Media's Portrayal of Immigrants in California and Ireland

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of the MA in Journalism & Media Communications, is my own; based on my personal study and/or research, and that I have acknowledged all material and sources used in its preparation. I also certify that I have not copied in part or whole or otherwise plagiarized the work of anyone else, including other students.

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Abstract

Immigration has become an issue of controversy and debate across Europe and The United States. Since the early 1990s, the increase of immigration and anti-immigrant propaganda in California and Ireland has resulted in pressures exerted on citizens and immigrants to find a way to integrate into a more multicultural society. Linguistic labels applied to news media can evoke judgment and shape citizen attitudes depending on the labels attributed to immigration and immigrants in the public discourse. This study employs mixed-methods content analysis to analyze the frames implemented by Californian and Irish media in their portrayal of immigration through the medium of online newspapers. To conclude whether the portrayal of immigration was harmful or helpful, this study includes a systematic analysis of articles from four online newspapers in the time between January 2019 and June 2019. The analyzed data is from *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Irish Independent*. The findings reveal that the current framings of immigration in both Ireland and California give a positive portrayal of immigration in the media that may aid in shaping how citizens react to future discussions on immigration and undocumented immigrants. The study concludes with a discussion of the limitations and possibilities for future research.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Journalists worldwide are expected to serve as the watchdogs of society by monitoring government conduct and using the media as a platform to provide information and promote discussion within the public. The representation of immigrants in mass media has changed with the evolution of media, reporting techniques, partisan and mainstream bias, and news values. Within the new media landscape, television is the most dominant news source alongside online newspapers, radio, and social media. Television and newspaper trends related to immigration vary in the narrative, opinion, use of terminology, and spokespeople throughout news reporting. Understanding the selection of newsworthy content made by journalists is an essential factor in accessing the coverage, absence, and representation of immigrants. Within the studies of "migration," "immigration" is referred to in the American Heritage Dictionary to the activity of "entering and settling in a region or country to which one is not native." Academic studies of immigration generally focus on permanent geographic relocations across political boundaries. Thus, differentiating immigrants from groups such as temporary migrant laborers, tourists, business visitors, and international students (Luibheid, 2014).

Anti-immigrant sentiment has become a significant political issue in many countries across the globe. The politicization of immigration intensifies in both the United States and Europe with the onset of the global financial crisis and lowered employment opportunities. The difficult historical, ethno-racial, political, cultural, and economic conditions that forge immigration policy makes immigration hard to address constructively (Schuck, 2017). Newspaper headlines frequently include the national implications of immigration. It is an ordinary occurrence when global news media cover stories of national identity, separation, increased competition, immigrant crime, disease, military unity, welfare costs, and resource scarcity. The constructed and diffused labels attributed to immigrants by public discourse can shape both public opinion and public policy. The portrayal of immigrants in the news media is mostly unexplored, and critical examination is required to ensure that the media reports objectively on the topic of immigration. The limited

research available on the media's portrayal of immigrants in both Ireland and California suggests the need for more conclusive research as immigration rates continue to rise in The United States and Europe.

In the early 1990s, both legal and illegal immigration accelerated to its most significant increase, coinciding with a recession, collapsing house prices, and natural disasters. Following the decades of prosperity after the depression and war years, Americans often felt entitled to personal material comfort and government services and protections. As a convenient set of outsiders, immigrants arrived during a time of misfortune in the United States. Prosperity, decline, and immigration exaggerated in California; the Golden State had been a place where the working man could enjoy a good life full of opportunities. From late 1989 through 1994, California residents lived through painful calamities that came at the peak of the state's popularity and success. There was an economic boom, and its sports teams prospered in contrast to the rest of the nation. The decline began with the third game of the 1989 World Series between the Oakland A's and the San Francisco Giants, when the violent Loma Prieta earthquake shook the stadium taking sixty-seven lives, flattening two freeways, and causing 7 billion dollars in property damage. This tragedy marked the beginning of California's period of despair. The following years would consist of a devastating series of natural disasters, major economic collapse, and civil unrest.

Heavily publicized in the news, the growing number of unauthorized immigrants seemed to become a symbol of the loss of control. No reports of valid data or credible estimates of the amount of illegal immigration were available until the Johnson study in 1996 (Myers, 2007). The perceived trends and opinions on immigration during that time emphasize the violation of legality, damage to social order, and population growth. The fluctuations in views from the early 1990s to 2020 result from the context of current events, media coverage on political debates on legislation for immigration reform, racial tolerance, political allegiance, and social identity. The importance of immigration to the economy is stressed and recognized in California. However, the

prevailing emphasis on skilled immigrants in California's tech community and the growing cultural diversity within its cities perceivably has not been matched by a similar concern for immigrant rights in the public eye.

Similar to California, Ireland saw an increase in immigration during the 1990s. The rise in immigration was a result of rapid economic growth from national partnership agreements embracing government, employers, trades unions, agricultural interests, and the community and voluntary sector, stabilized industrial and social relations, and the investment that the state had made in education in the 1970s and 1980s (Mac Éinrí, 2007). Ireland had become a desirable investment location and a place for work in information technology and pharmaceuticals. The rise in immigration was partly from other European countries and partly from the significant increase in non-European immigrants, including workers on short-term work permits, students, and asylum seekers. In the period between 1995 and 2004, 486,300 people moved to Ireland, while 263,800 people emigrated, resulting in net immigration of 222,500. "Ireland has, therefore, been faced with the difficulties of constructing immigration and integration policies against a background of a rapidly changing picture, limited experience, an often less than positive attitude towards difference, and a largely mono-cultural tradition" (Mac Éinrí, 2007).

Immigration to Ireland also encouraged a change in the perceived trends and opinions of the public. Several cases involving the exploitation of migrant workers led to concerns that migrant labor may be leading to the displacement of Irish workers and pressure on wages. The effects of a high level of immigration are visible across the geographical, economic, social, religious, and cultural landscapes of Ireland. The nature of policy changes and public concern with cases of exploitation led to a recognition that a more comprehensive regime was needed that includes a path to permanence, integration, and family reunification (Kuhling and Keohane, 2007). Ireland's immigration regime is market and employer-driven and is a quick and responsive way for the economy to cope with rapid growth. It is a desirable model to follow; however, The challenges

immigrants and the receiving society face are changing as immigration continues, and the consensus on immigration in the public sphere reveals a variety of contradicting and competing discourses. Therefore, migration is regarded as a long-term issue and is no longer transient as the population of mixed-ethnic backgrounds increases in both Ireland and California.

Against this background, the current study focuses on the framing analysis of online news articles about immigrants in the landscape of Irish and Californian media during six months between January 2019 and June 2019. This research aims to explore the perceived image of immigrants and immigration in four major newspapers, two in Ireland, two in California by analyzing their patterns, frequency, topics, and framing. Chapter two examines the conditions that forge immigration policy and sets out the broad context for understanding these conditions focusing on history, past and current immigration levels, administration, politics, and economic impact. This chapter also includes prior studies on news coverage of immigration and reviews on any perceived attempts to influence public opinion and policy. Section three consists of a description of content analysis relating to relevant methodological literature and its uses within the current research. The study explores four research questions: How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their framing of immigration? How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their treatment of immigration stories? Are they episodic or thematic? Are there different underlying tones in California and Ireland's online newspapers on the coverage of immigrants and immigration? How does the portrayal of immigration in Californian and Irish media differ? The following chapters will discuss the analyzed data and conclude with a report on the findings on this study as well as future research suggestions subject to the specifics of immigration policy in both Ireland and California.

Chapter two: Literature Review

This chapter examines the conditions that forge immigration policy and sets out the broad context for understanding these conditions focusing on history, immigration levels, administration, politics, and economic impact in both California and Ireland. It also includes prior studies on news coverage of immigration and reviews on any perceived attempts to influence public opinion and policy. The categories within this chapter include the immigration boom, immigration policies, ethnic minorities and racism, and immigration and the media. The categories will provide a clearer understanding of the trends seen throughout the collected data, and their direct relationship to this study will be apparent in later chapters.

Before moving to the next section on the history of the immigration boom, it is essential to note the historical definition of migrants v. immigrants and how the standard definition can apply to migrants in both America and Ireland. Galvez (2014) notes that the word “migration” was initially used in early sixteenth-century French to refer to human movement across space. Early usages date to the period of European conquests and colonization of the Americas and extend to the naturalistic usage of the term in the twentieth century relating to bird, butterfly, and salmon. Migration is used as a general term that includes different types of movements, including immigration, emigration, and flows within a nation. Galvez’s (2014) chapter on Migration in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* discusses the selective use and narrowing of the term migration. It relates it to the preoccupation in the United States with national security, borders, and regulation. She found that from the viewpoint of receiving nations, immigration is a problem that is to be regulated by the authority of the nation while migration remains unregulated and unplanned (Galvez. 2014). This definition is applied to the history of migration and the usage of the term to delegitimize migrants and their motivations concerning people of different ethnic backgrounds.

Galvez (2014) uses Europeans passing through Ellis Island and Mexican workers as an example of immigrant status v. migrant status assumed to, and subject to forcible return or deportation. Luibheid (2014) elaborates further on Galvez's (2014) definition of migration, in her chapter on Immigration in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Luibheid (2014) points out, the subcategory "immigration" within the studies of migration, stating, "Emigrate and immigrate are used only of people and imply a permanent move, generally across a political boundary." The link between immigration control and national sovereignty, as well as the growth of immigration policies, define "the immigrant" and associated regimes of identification, surveillance, rights, and constraints.

The Immigration Boom

Within this study, one of the most notably essential pieces of information is the history of immigrants in California and Ireland, as well as the current estimated immigrant population and immigration rate. A big part of the portrayal of immigrants in the media lies with how and when the country first experienced significant waves of immigration. Discussed in the introduction chapter of this study is one of the most pivotal waves of immigration that both California and Ireland faced during the early 1990s. There are a large number of academic books and papers on the history of immigration in both countries. The Migration Policy Institute tabulations of the US Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics (Migration Policy Institute, 2020), suggests that the United States attracts the most significant number of immigrants in the world. These immigrants join society through avenues such as legal permanent residency, citizenship, or by seeking humanitarian protection, all of which is readily apparent in the media coverage within the platforms of television, radio, and newspapers.

As mentioned in the earlier chapter, in the early 1990s, both legal and illegal immigration within California accelerated to its most significant increase, coinciding with a recession, collapsing house prices, and natural disasters. Between the years 1965 and 2011, approximately thirty million new immigrants entered the United States (Gerken, 2013). Immigration in the United States had its most pronounced effects in six states, with more than three-quarters of immigrants entering in the 1980s located in New York, Florida, California, Texas, Illinois, and New Jersey (Passel and Fix, 1994). From the colonial period until the late twentieth century, immigration reforms have highlighted the political, economic, and social criteria within classic liberal notions of citizenship that have influenced historical exclusions in American immigration laws (Gerken, 2013).

According to the American Immigration Council (2020), more than a quarter of California residents are immigrants, and more than half of all immigrants in California are naturalized citizens. Over two million US citizens in California live with at least one undocumented family member, California is home to over 186,000 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients, and one in three workers in California is an immigrant (Immigrants in California, 2020). In an analysis of the US Census Bureau's (2019) American Community Survey 1-year data for 2018, it details that 10.6 million immigrants (foreign-born individuals) comprised twenty-seven percent of the population, including 5.3 million women, 4.9 million men, and 421,025 children. The American Community Survey conducted by the US Census Bureau represents the population as of July 1 of each year. It collects information on topics including the year of immigration, country of birth, and year of citizenship.

Information published in "State-Level Unauthorized Population and Eligible-to-Naturalize Estimates," Center for Migration Studies data tool, reveals that as of 2018, 5.6 million immigrants had become naturalized. The Center of Migration Studies of New York (CMS) is a research and policy institute established in 1964 devoted to immigration, international migration, and public

policies. The Department of Homeland Security's US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) (2019) dataset mentions that as of 2019, 186,120 active DACA recipients lived in California. Since 2012, 722,800 people received DACA. The US Census Bureau's (2019) American Community Survey 1-year data states that 6.6 million immigrant workers comprised 33 percent of the labor force in 2018. Immigrants make up a vital portion of California's labor force in a range of occupations, contribute billions of dollars in taxes, add billions of dollars to the economy as consumers, and generate billions of dollars in business revenue. Anti-immigrant sentiment increasingly grows as natives notice the benefits immigrants receive from welfare allowances and health care services that American citizens could be receiving. Garand, Xu, and Davis (2017) support this statement by mentioning that the overrepresentation of immigrants as recipients of welfare programs is representative of immigrants being more likely to be a part of the welfare system. Also, mentioning that the connection between Americans' immigration attitudes and welfare may be due to immigrant stereotypes as well as racial and ethnic diversity (Garand, Xu, and Davis, 2017). The relationship between immigration and racial and ethnic diversity will be discussed later in this chapter.

Immigration in Ireland also boomed from the significant economic growth from the mid-1990s. The key to this growth was from national partnership agreements embracing government, employers, trades unions, agricultural interests, and the community and voluntary sector, stabilized industrial and social relations, and the investment that the state had made in education in the 1970s and 1980s (Mac Éinrí, 2007). Foreign direct investment between the United States and Europe played a significant role in the rapid economic growth within the Republic of Ireland (Prasad, 1987). Foreign direct investment (FDI) is an investment in the form of ownership in a business located in one country by an individual or firm in another country.

With the increased globalization of business and the development of the Single Market, Ireland's FDI inflow grew into the main characteristic of its economy. According to the official website of

the European Commission (2017), a single market refers to "the EU as one territory without any internal borders or other regulatory obstacles to the free movement of goods and services. A functioning single market stimulates competition and trade, improves efficiency, raises quality, and helps cut prices ". In the mid-1950s, FDI was a significant key in providing enough jobs to counteract the decreasing number of agricultural jobs in rural areas (Ruane and Gorg, 1997). Ireland embarked on the FDI oriented development strategy since the 1950s and continued to converge on common European living standards toward the end of the 1980s, expanding with the US tech boom (Prasad, 1987). The FDI inflows during that time, and onward is one of the main reasons why Ireland may be considered a productivity bridge between the United States and Europe. US manufacturing firms in Ireland import more of their materials from the US than other firms in the country, and employment in US companies accounted for more than half of the employment within foreign-owned firms in Ireland (Ruane and Gorg, 1997). They export more of their gross output into the EU, thus suggesting that they serve as a channel for materials and technology from the US to Europe (Prasad, 1987).

The expansion in labor demand in Ireland drew in hundreds of thousands of workers from all over the world. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mac Éinrí (2007) identifies that the rise in immigration was partly from other European countries and partly from the significant increase in non-European immigrants, including workers on short-term work permits, students, and asylum seekers. By refocusing its energy on becoming a prosperous "Celtic tiger" economy, Ireland became a desirable country for immigration, which remedied long periods of emigration and depopulation (Handoll, 2006). The challenges of irregular migration have inspired controversial steps to counterpart certain aspects of the effects of the rise in immigrants. The relationship between the historical austerity, flow of immigration, and continued change in the movement and beliefs of people in Ireland transform and implicate the portrayal of immigrants in Irish media (Handoll, 2006).

The Central Statistics Office (CSO) is Ireland's national statistical office, which collects and analyzes statistics about Ireland's people, economy, and society. CSO statistics provide an accurate picture of Ireland's economic and social performance and informs decision making across different areas such as health, welfare, economy, and the environment. The CSO's (2019) population and migration estimates for 2019 measured the amount of immigration, emigration, and net migration starting in April of every year to April of the next year. This information concluded that in April 2018, Ireland had a total population of 4,857,000, including 90,300 new immigrants, and 56,300 new emigrants, with a net migration of 34,000. By April 2019, Ireland had a total population of 4,921,500, including 88,600 immigrants and 54,900 emigrants, with a net migration of 33,700. The CSO also mentions that of the 88,600 people who immigrated to Ireland between April 2018 and April 2019, 26,900 are estimated to be Irish nationals. Of the 54,900 people who emigrated from Ireland, an estimated 29,000 are Irish nationals. In April 2019, 622,700 non-Irish nationals resided in Ireland, making up 12.7 percent of the population. The history of immigration flows and immigration levels in both Ireland and California has impacted immigration policies to react to economic conditions and concerns regarding national security, national identity, race, gender, religion, and sexuality. The interconnectivity between immigration reform, welfare reform, and the growing concern with terrorism will be discussed later in this chapter.

Immigration Policies

The introduction of immigration policies stems from the historical definition and movements of immigrants in the US and Ireland. It is essential to note the fundamental changes in the immigration policies of both countries when studying the portrayal of immigrants in the media. Many media platforms are politically charged and can be biased based on a political party or the country's government policies (Schroeder, 2018). This portion of the current chapter will give a brief overview of the changes in immigration laws in The United States and Ireland. Lubheid's

(2014) research findings confirm that it is essential to understand that immigration control illegalizes particular migrants with state power. Schroeder (2018) also adds to the previous statement by mentioning that there is an ongoing relationship between the production of knowledge and governance, which means that immigration policies play a big part in the representation of immigrants in the media in the form of activism.

Over the last three centuries, US immigration laws have seen many changes. The following US and California state laws are some of the significant Immigration legislation that has passed over the years. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (INA) reorganized the structure of immigration law and has been amended over the years to help raise the number of permanent visas given out every year (Passel and Fix, 1994). The Immigration Act of 1990 was a significant revision of laws regulating legal immigration and created the Commission on Immigration Reform (CIR), which reviewed and assessed the impact of high levels of immigration on all segments of US society (Passel and Fix, 1994). In 1996, the House passed The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), which instituted a bar on immigrants returning to the US without proper documentation and required people fleeing from persecution to apply for asylum status within one year (Passel and Fix, 1994). The IIRAIRA was passed two years after California's Proposition 187, which restricted undocumented immigrants from accessing public benefits (later repealed in 2014).

The Legal Immigration Family Equity (LIFE) Act and LIFE Act Amendments of 2000 allowed immediate relatives of US citizens and Green Card holders approved to adjust their status to permanent residency. Regardless of if they previously entered the country illegally (Green Card through LIFE Act, 2009). The September 11, 2001 attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, the USA PATRIOT Act passed in the name of national security, which empowered the attorney general to detain and deport noncitizens with little judicial review. Subsequent laws in the following years responded to concerns about illegal immigration, terrorism, border control,

admissions eligibility, and immigrant employment. Since the year 2000, the government introduced new bills, an extensive amount of laws were enacted, and vetoed and resolutions were adopted.

Most of the earliest attempts to regulate immigration focused on specific groups of people that were deemed undesirable (Gerken, 2013). Gerkin (2013) mentions that this attempt at regulation is rooted in the state of the economy, the social climate, and race and gender relations. Congress would come to the unapologetic conclusion of choosing whom they would allow and exclude based on whether the group would further the advancements of the state and preserve national unity (Gerken, 2013). Early immigration laws relied heavily on whether a prospective immigrant had committed a crime, violated a social norm, or belonged to a particular racial group, and they were granted or denied access based on one or more of these factors.

Current immigration policies in the US are detailed, extensive, and frequently amended to align with the economic, social, and political climate of the time. Martin (2017) sets out the broad outlines of the current US policy. He includes the most pressing issues on the US immigration agenda, starting with legal permanent residents, temporary workers, and unauthorized migration. Similar to Martin, Passel, and Fix (1994) state that US Immigration policy should entail three different sets of rules, each of which are governed by different legislation, involve a different network of bureaucracies, guided by different goals, and results in immigrants with different characteristics. The sets of rules are as follows: those that govern legal immigration (including sponsored admission for work and family), those governing humanitarian admissions such as refugees and asylum seekers, and those that govern illegal entries (Passel and Fix, 1994). These categories are notably crucial in media portrayal as they are the deciding factors on how immigrants will be portrayed and perceived by media and the public.

Immigration laws in the US have progressed from exclusions to a claimed non-discriminatory system. To become a permanent resident in the United States, an individual must apply for a Green Card (Permanent Resident Card), which will give you official immigration status, entitles you to rights and responsibilities, and will allow you to apply for citizenship. An individual can apply for a Green Card if they are eligible under the following categories: Family or relative sponsorship, employment sponsorship, special immigrant, refugee or asylee status, human trafficking or crime victims, and victims of abuse. They may also apply if they resided continuously in the US before January 1, 1972, and through other country-specific categories (Green Card Eligibility Categories, 2017). In January 2018, California Attorney General Xavier Becerra, alongside 21 other attorneys general, secured the first nationwide preliminary injunction. This injunction required US Citizenship and Immigration Services to resume accepting requests to renew DACA protections, which allow individuals to remain and work in the United States legally. The US's national immigration laws are essential in that they impact the lives of immigrants and help frame the media's portrayal of immigrants on news platforms (Coutin, 1996).

In this study, it is also vital to mention recent California laws in place to protect immigrants' civil and labor rights. On June 18, 2020, the landmark Supreme Court decision on DACA ruled against the Trump Administration's attempt to end DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) (Status of California's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Litigation, 2020). It held that they acted illegally. The DACA program was created in 2012 to shield young undocumented immigrants who arrived before age sixteen and lived in the US since June 15, 2007, from deportation (Status of California's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Litigation, 2020). The Trump administration's stance on strict immigration reform and tackling border issues is one of the most commonly discussed topics within the time frame of this study. His 2016 election campaign promised to build a wall at the US southern border with Mexico to combat illegal immigration and drug imports. In February 2019, President Donald Trump declared a state of emergency over the situation. The remainder of the year and into 2020, the news media focused on the crisis on the US-Mexico border. Also, focusing on the piling costs associated with the border wall, as well as

the growing concern of the declared emergency measures being an ecological and humanitarian disaster.

Since 1996 California has made strides toward a more pro-immigrant transformation through the following laws whose descriptions are provided by the Office of Attorney General Xavier Becerra (California Laws Protecting Immigrants' Civil Rights, 2017). California's Transparency and Responsibility Using State Tools (TRUST) Act effective January 1, 2014, states that if a local law enforcement agency chooses to comply with a voluntary ICE detainer request, they must convict the individual of specific crimes. The continued detention cannot violate any federal, state, or local laws and policies included in the US Constitution. California's Immigrant Victims of Crime Equity Act effective January 1, 2016, requires local and state law enforcement agencies, judges, prosecutors, and other officials must within ninety days, certify the helpfulness of immigrant crime victims as a part of the federal U visa certification.

California's Racial and Identity Profiling Act (AB 953) effective January 1, 2016, requires law enforcement agencies to collect and report data on complaints alleging racial or identity profiling, expanded the definition of racial and identity profiling, and mandates the creation of the Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board to help eliminate racial and identity profiling and improve diversity and racial identity sensitivity in law enforcement (California Laws Protecting Immigrants' Civil Rights, 2017). In February 2019, California Governor Gavin Newsom and Attorney General Becerra challenged the illegal diversion of taxpayer dollars for the 2019 fiscal year with a multistate lawsuit in the district court of Northern California against the Trump administration's construction of the unauthorized wall along the US-Mexico border. In June 2019, the district court ruled in favor of Newsom and Becerra, and in June 2020, the US Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled that it was an illegal overreach of executive authority.

Within this study, it is also important to note that California is a sanctuary state which limits its cooperation with federal immigration enforcement agents to protect immigrants from deportation. The California Values Act, SB-54, signed by Gov. Jerry Brown in 2017, prohibits state and local police from asking arrested people about their immigration status, notifying federal agents on jail release dates of immigrants, and holding immigrants beyond the scheduled release date for immigration personnel (California Laws Protecting Immigrants' Civil Rights, 2017). Not included are Immigrants charged with serious crimes. In a sanctuary city or state, the police release arrested immigrants after posting bail, cleared charges, or completed jail time while a non-sanctuary city or state will hold the person until they are picked up by ICE. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is a federal law enforcement agency created in 2003 under the US Department of Homeland Security with an eight billion dollar budget devoted to three operational branches including Homeland Security Investigations (HSI), Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO), and Office of the Principal Legal Advisor (OPLA) (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2020). Before SB-54, California passed the Transparent Review of Unjust Transfers and Holds (TRUTH) Act, which would ensure that law enforcement agencies provide individuals within their custody with necessary due process and information about their rights if federal immigration authorities seek to contact them. The next section will be discussing immigration policies in Ireland.

Similarly to California and the US, different categories can apply to immigration in Ireland. These categories include those who come into Ireland from other EU countries, immigrants from the rest of the world, and refugees seeking asylum. Countries within the European Union (EU) and European Economic Area (EEA) are a part of a single market that allows free movement for their citizens (Countries in EU, EEA & single market, n.d.). According to the European Commission, "The single market refers to the EU as one territory without any internal borders or other regulatory obstacles to the free movement of goods and services." ("The European single market," 2017). Although Switzerland is not in the EEA, it has an agreement that extends the single market to include it. The Irish Naturalization and Immigration Service (INIS) mentions that there are twenty-

eight countries within the European Union and three countries included in the EEA ("Countries in EU, EEA & single market"). Nationals of the thirty-one member states are allowed to move freely between one another. Therefore, citizens of the countries included within the single market do not need visas or special permission to visit, work, or stay in Ireland. Immigrants from the rest of the world need a visa or permission to work, study, or live within Ireland, and refugees seeking asylum must first arrive in Ireland and claim asylum at the Irish border.

Ireland's immigration systems have become more complex over time and with the expansion of the EU. Research by Mullally (2010) indicates that Ireland has maintained a strict division between international and domestic legal orders, including the common and general principles of international law. Resistance to international law is evident and limits the impact of international law in its domestic legal system. With the exceptional growth of EEA and non-EU nationals coming to Ireland, meeting domestic labor needs while limiting Irish worker displacement is a debate discussed concerning Irish Immigration laws (Loyal and Quilley, 2018).

In comparison to US immigration policies, Irish legislation seems to be flexible in the provision of visas and residence permits. It is also important to note that illegal immigration is not as rampant in Ireland when compared to the United States, mostly due to its geographical location. Ireland can hold a high level of control over its territory and immigration as an island with natural borders. As mentioned earlier, international laws and human rights obligations such as Article 33 of the UN Convention concerning the removal and return of asylum seekers back to a country where they may be in danger or persecuted constrains Ireland. In response to individuals escaping immigration restrictions by making entry into Ireland more difficult, constraining membership rules and increasing the threshold for naturalization and citizenship (Loyal and Quilley, 2018). State expulsions and Direct Provision hold an instrumental and communicative function. In their study, Loyal and Quilley (2018) mention that the idea, threat, and use of deportation are necessary signaling devices used to broadcast the message that Ireland is not

easily overcome or persuaded. Ireland is a liberal democratic republic; therefore, such claims of using deportation or tightened naturalization and citizenship laws as a signaling device may seem to be problematic on the topic of universal suffrage and other specific rights and freedoms. This problematic tendency will be discussed further within the analysis chapter of this study.

"Permission to remain," or a residence permit, is granted by the Department of Justice and Equality, consisting of a stamp in an individual's passport. The increase of immigration introduced the majority of domestic immigration law in Ireland based on various legislative acts, including the Immigration Acts 1999 and 2004, while domestic asylum and protection law derives from the Refugee Act, 1996 amended to date (Quinn, 2008). The Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2008 entailed a new legislative framework for the asylum determination procedure and other protection claims (Mullally, 2010). The International Protection Act 2015 came into effect on December 30, 2016, as a significant development in international protection, reforming the system for determining applications and introducing a single application procedure. The new law reduced waiting times for asylum applications and increased the states' power in enforcing deportation.

Concerning the new Irish law mentioned above, it is crucial to give a basic definition of Ireland's Reception and Integration Agency as the mention of Direct Provision is vastly included in the Irish media landscape between January 2019 and June 2019. The Reception and Integration Agency is a division in Ireland's Department of Justice and Equality who monitor and help arrange accommodation and any other necessary services that asylum-seeking refugees under the Direct Provision system may need. They have been under increased scrutiny in the Irish media since the publishing of the Nasc's (2018) McMahon Report (2015) and Beyond McMahon (2018) which called for the "ambitious, systematic, and accountable overhaul of direct provision informed by people who have experienced or are in the system. Two prevalent discourses that prevailed from the studies mentioned previously on immigration law are the economization and securitization,

the practice of using resources with maximum effects, and conceptualizing immigration as a security threat. In her study of anti-immigrant attitudes, Rustenbach's (2010) results indicate that key predictors of anti-immigrant attitudes are interpersonal trust, education level, foreign direct investment, and political variables. The next section will be discussing the correlation between the securitization of migration and racism portrayed in the media-fueled by politics and fear.

Ethnic Minorities and Racism

One of the most misrepresented groups in the media is ethnic minorities. Categorizing immigrants as a potential security threat often stems from personal vulnerability to victimization. The idea of immigrants being a security threat magnifies when politicized and covered in the media landscape. In his research, Lubheid (2014) mentions that histories of (neo) colonialism, economic inequality, racism, and (hetero) sexism shape immigration on a global scale. The theory of cultural marginality can be used as a framework to explore the concepts of cross-culture conflict and cultural tension. Huntington (2014) contends that no common global culture exists objectively; therefore, nations from different historical civilizations are often in conflict with each other because each society forms specific identities based on their different religions, customs, history, and language. A lack of common factors on which to build trust may enforce anti-immigrant and racist sentiments from natives against immigrants who are considered ethnic minorities (Huntington, 2014).

In contrast to the previous statement, feeling a form of cultural affinity may aid in pro-immigrant attitudes. In Allport's (1954) research, he found that groups who experience discrimination develop sympathy for groups who also received discrimination. Thus, being a member of an ethnic minority or having immigrant family members can strengthen cultural affinity. California and Ireland are both largely multicultural due to the influx of immigration over recent years.

The US has a nationalist framework that privileges normative heterosexuality, which naturalizes the important hierarchies highlighting patriarchal order and ascribes value to whiteness (Painter and Qian, 2016). In the US, Anti-miscegenation laws were grounded in the history of slavery to enforce racial segregation by criminalizing interracial sex and marriage. Painter and Qian (2016) discuss this topic well, stating that social, financial, and human capital are essential for immigrants' integration into American society. They also mention that race and ethnicity are an essential predictor of wealth as immigrant racial and ethnic wealth inequality resembles the pattern of racial and ethnic minority groups that were native-born US citizens (Painter and Qian, 2016).

The status of languages in US society has a long history of being influenced by identity, ethnicity, social class, and race (Jones-Correa, 2007). The role of the English language focuses not only on multilingualism as a positive resource but also on the ideology of "English Only," American identity erasure, and the reluctance of immigrants wanting to learn or speak English (Talbot and Atkinson, 2003). Lack of teaching capacity is often mistaken for lack of motivation. Talbot and Atkinson (2003) mention state that "English Only" sentiments may be fueled by race and ethnicity, and such movements are not mainly about the English language but language as a form of linguistic imperialism. Jones-Correa (2007) explains that in the problematic history of race relations within the US, the narrative of race and immigration intersects. He correlates race relations and immigration by pointing out that for eighty-five percent of the immigrants in his study that met the definition of racial and linguistic minorities, incorporation into American life did not focus on the pursuit of ethnic solidarity and personal strife. But instead as segregation against the background of historical racial exclusion (Jones-Correa, 2007). In comparison to the US, the preservation and enforcement of Irish language have not appeared to be a divisive issue in elections or immigration-related topics.

The USA's declaration of "war on terrorism" after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, encouraged the escalation in the militarization of law enforcement and reduced privacy protections worldwide. This outrage over the terrorist attacks led to the view of Muslims, people who appear Middle-Eastern, and other immigrants as a potential threat to national security (Welch, 2006). McCulloch (2002) asserts that by linking increases in the coercive capacities to acts of violence such as terrorist attacks, governments exploit fear, anxiety, and paranoia, leaving opponents of government policies such as journalists, activists, public figures, academics, and politicians vilified and censored. Alsultany (2013) mentions that sympathetic portrayals do the ideological work of justifying discriminatory policies by concluding that the inclusion of positive representation is limited to being patriotic or victimized. Included within the analysis chapter are Instances of victimization and patriotism concerning the media gathered in this study.

In his research, Payne (1998) discusses the obstacles that racial and ethnic minorities face in Ireland as racism increases fueled by the influx of asylum seekers and illegal refugees. He mentions that foreign doctors in Ireland often get targeted and attacked by racist attitudes. Peatling's (2005) "The Whiteness of Ireland Under and After the Union" mentions the opposite view, relating the Irish to non-white, colonized groups because of the Irish people's history of genocide, slavery, and starvation. He argues that there are problems that come with Irish people identifying with other non-white oppressed groups because it is difficult for Irish Individuals who are currently alive to relate to a past of deprivation and colonization immediately. Both Payne and Peatling's views are important and relevant to the depiction of ethnic and racial minorities in Ireland. They are related to Harrington's (2005) findings in which he mentions that there is a common practice in Ireland to deny that there is a problem with racism. In June 2004, voters in the Republic of Ireland chose to endorse a constitutional amendment that deprived children born on Irish soil of their right to automatic citizenship. Harrington (2005) considers that this referendum, as well as the verbal and physical hostility that immigrants face, is a result of racial discrimination and prejudice.

The denial of racism is also deemed accurate for Americans, as immigrants in both countries often take the blame for bringing hostility and unacceptance on themselves. The previous statement is supported by Nelson, Adams, and Salter's (2013) research, which shows that group differences in the perception of racism reflect the dominant group's denial and extent of past racism. This blame can be due to their apparent poverty or wealth, religion, cultural practices, and their inability to adjust to American and Irish ways of life. Immigrants indeed arrive in the US and Ireland with different levels of education, socioeconomic status, and social networks related to the country. Rustenbach's (2010) research findings confirm that although the variables listed above held an influence on anti-immigrant attitudes, the sheer number of immigrants receiving discrimination or economic variables as a whole were not consistently associated with anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe.

Immigration and the Media

The media hold a crucial role in constructing and diffusing the representation of immigrants and how people perceive and understand immigration. History, immigration policies, ethnicity, and race are all important factors in how the media covers issues on immigration and immigrants. Media framing of immigration influences public judgment and has a selective function to focus on certain aspects of reality while pushing other ideas back (Lecheler and de Vreese, 2013). In order for a story to be eligible, it needs to follow the specific news values deriving from positivity found in frames such as victimization and patriotism (Alsultany, 2013) or negativity associating immigrants with criminal activity and the problems associated with immigration (Hassel, 2015). Negative framing often constructs through the misuse of words such as illegal immigrants, the racialization of crime, stereotypes, "otherness," and elite sources that encourage dominant moral and political values (Hassel, 2015). Research on the discourses of immigrants and immigrant-ethnic groups in newsprint media from different geographical locations has grown significantly. A large number of studies have examined the media framing of immigration in the

US, while only a small number of studies examined the discourse of immigration in Irish media. This section aims to identify recent research which the findings of this study will further build upon later in the chapters.

In his research comparing American and French media from the early 1970s through 2006, Benson (2013) found that US media served as a public forum for in-depth immigration debates over the past forty years with a shift in coverage from global economy and jobs to racism, humanitarian concerns, and national security. Also noting that unaffiliated individuals and government officials are sources for media coverage. These conclusions were made based on his content analysis of articles from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times*. The conclusions depicted how immigration issues became highly politicized through the media's emphasis on the lived experience of individual immigrants, and blunt investigative reports about government agencies. His study did not capture the prominence of the topic of immigration in the media related to the recent social climate, specifically within California and Ireland. However, it is still relevant and serves as a framework that the current study further builds on.

In another study on the media coverage of immigration and white partisanship, Hassell (2015) found that news stories in *The New York Times* revolving around immigration are primarily negative, focused on Latinos, and attentive to the negative policy issues associated with immigration. The findings from his content analysis validate the claim regarding the predominance of the immigrant threat narrative and its effects on the partisan beliefs of the US public by locating patterns in the content and frames used in immigration news articles. The three different types of framing he highlights are relevant to the broader understanding of the current study. First, mentioning that framing can alter the way an issue is perceived by privileging one aspect of a problem over another, secondly, framing can alter group imagery associated with an issue leading to evaluations based on attitudes toward a group and not the issue itself. Thirdly

the framing can affect the evaluation of an issue by altering the tone of coverage to be positive or negative (Hassell 2015).

A study conducted by McAuliffe, Weeks, and Koser (2017) on "the comparative analysis of print and online media reporting on migrants and migration in selected countries" had contradictory findings to Hassell (2015). Through qualitative content analysis of media articles and quantitative modeling, they found that the depiction of immigration and immigrants in print and online media was predominantly through a humanitarian lens in all countries with media reporting framed in a national security context concerning irregular migration. In comparison, migration issues discussed in each country discussed migration issues linked to factors such as political cycles and processes (McAuliffe et al., 2017). Although the evidence in this research highlights the nature of migration discussions occurring within the media in the selected countries, and not specifically Ireland or the US, overall, it adds to the existing body of work related to immigration in the media.

According to a study by Estrada, Ebert, and Lore (2016) on the media coverage of restrictive immigration legislation and the maintenance of symbolic boundaries within the US, the authors noted that media largely reinforces symbolic boundaries attributed to coverage of arguments that opposed and favored restrictive immigration policies. They also mention that the media's coverage of exclusionary legislation ignored the voices of immigrants while the effects of the legislation for nonimmigrants were focused on, perceivably resulting in discrimination (Estrada et al., 2016). The portrayal of immigrants as a threat aids in the legitimacy of the criminalization of undocumented immigration through fear-mongering to draw boundaries between immigrants and natives (Estrada et al., 2016). Their findings indicate that a consequence of improving news industry readership maintains the symbolic boundary between immigrants and nonimmigrants. In conclusion, this study and its limitations can aid future research that investigates the way symbolic boundaries between immigrants and nonimmigrants vary by local context and if these

boundaries translate into social boundaries or the coverage of themes varies based on the time it is published within.

Relative to this study, Branton and Dunaway (2009) conducted a study examining how the geographical proximity to the US-Mexico border influenced newspaper coverage of immigration issues in California. Similar to Hassell (2015), Branton and Dunaway (2009) mention agenda setting and the effect that media coverage can have on political attitudes and the public perception of immigration-related issues. Three aspects of California news media coverage of immigration-related issues focus on: the volume of coverage featuring Latinos, the volume of negative coverage, and the volume of coverage related to illegal immigrants (Branton and Dunaway, 2009). The findings conclude that the pattern of coverage related to immigration issues by media organizations closer to the border generates a higher volume of articles and, therefore, is economically motivated. Research conducted by Branton and Dunaway (2009) attempts to link geographic context and economic theories of news coverage to aid in the understanding of local media coverage on the specific topic of immigration and may help build a better understanding of the current study focusing on California and Ireland.

Similar to the research conducted by Harrington (2005), Burroughs (2015) study on the discursive representations of “illegal immigration” in the Irish newsprint media focuses on the denials of racism in the attempt to defend discreet negative statements on the topic of immigration. In her study, Burroughs (2015) concentrated on articles from *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Examiner*, *The Irish Independent*, and *The Sunday Tribune*. Her analysis concluded that the Irish media references illegal immigration with a theme focused on controlling illegal immigration in the Irish and European context. Although, the study noted that there were positive depictions of immigration-related content, the negative assertions reflected in the use of language often disseminated inaccurate information to justify practices of state control over illegal immigration and immigration policies. The intentionality of inaccurate information in Irish media is debatable.

Nonetheless, it is essential to note the possibility of it contributing towards the legitimized practices of exclusion and inequality towards migrants labeled as "illegal" in Ireland.

The common trend that has emerged from the previous research studies mentioned within this section is that the media often frames immigration-related news coverage selectively based on immigration legislation, ethnocentric bias, geographic context, and the bias of their source of the material. The studies found that future research should not only continue to study the changing patterns in immigration-related media coverage concerning time but also to examine the positive and negative framing of news content related to public perception. The current study builds on the above researchers' immigration framing research and sets out to apply it to four newspapers from Ireland and California (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Irish Independent*). The study lends support to the effects of immigration-related media framing on public perception by identifying a common pattern of coverage and the potential problems associated with such coverage in both states. The following chapter outlines the proposed research questions and methodological procedures carried out to perform this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for this mixed-method content analysis study, including qualitative and quantitative research on the media's portrayal of immigrants in California and Ireland. This approach accurately analyzes the news coverage given to immigrants in California and Ireland as it allows for in-depth answers to the research questions proposed in the study; How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their framing of immigration? How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their treatment of immigration stories? Are they episodic or thematic? Are there different underlying tones in California and Ireland's online newspapers on the coverage of immigrants and immigration? How does the portrayal of immigration in Californian and Irish media differ? Stenius (2017) mentions that the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods deepens the understanding of processes, attitudes, and motives. Margrit Schreier's (2012) *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice* outlines the types of content analysis used in this research, including the purpose, process, and product. The research plan, procedure, and method, analysis method, challenges, and ethical concerns regarding the current study are primary components of this chapter.

Research Plan and Procedure

The following steps layout the research plan and procedure for this academic dissertation: Collection, the organization, and preparation of data for analysis; conduction of quantitative analysis; thorough reading of all relevant and acquired data; identification of relevant themes and interpretations of meanings; conduction of qualitative analysis; comparison of qualitative and quantitative analysis; and drawing a conclusion based on the results of research. Over three weeks, news coverage related to immigrants in four news outlets online were analyzed, including two American and two Irish sources; *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Independent*. The content collected is comprised of news articles from January 2019 through June 2019. The three-week collection period and sufficient sample size

allowed an in-depth exploration of the research acquired to draw a meaningful conclusion without wasting time and resources.

Media articles were selected using purposive sampling and random stratified sampling. This sampling method was the best option because not all online news media platforms provided reliable term-based searches. *The San Francisco Chronicle* had a date-based search and a useful search engine that allowed media articles to be selected if they referred to words and topics. The electronic database ProQuest was used for the articles in *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Irish Independent*. The topics and words included in this study for searches are as follows: (a) immigration, immigrants, or immigration policy; and (b) racism against immigrants and news content that included the use of the term “illegal immigrant” or “illegal immigration.” The exact ProQuest database search information to recreate this study is provided in appendix C. The same search was applied to *The San Francisco Chronicle* archives without the ProQuest publication IDs. After conducting a systemic collection of articles across each online news platform within the three-week data collection period, articles were compiled based on all dates that immigration-related stories appeared. Refer to appendix B for an example of the Excel spreadsheets created. They were then sorted into weekdays to create two constructed weeks for each online media outlet. In Riffe, Lacy and Fico’s (2005) *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*, it mentions that this sampling method allows the generalization of the findings within this study to the immigration-related news content of the whole year instead of the six months within 2019.

Research Method

Content analysis is a standard method in media studies. Quantitative content analysis is a systematic and objective analysis of any text, including, but not limited to, newspaper articles, books, television clips, and adverts (Davies and Mosdell, 2006). Qualitative content analysis, in

comparison, aims to investigate less systematic concepts of meaning and association with an in-depth focus on each text (Berelson, 1952). A mixed-method approach was ideal for this research. Within the short three-week period of data collection, the applied quantitative methods allowed an analysis of a more significant number of examples of news articles by applying the same criteria to each text. In contrast, the qualitative methods helped uncover trends and established a foundation of deep insights into the context and motivation of the collected data. The limitations of one type of data are balanced by the other to provide an improved understanding.

Concerning the study, the following information highlights the purpose, process, and product of mixed-method content analysis according to the findings of Schreier (2012). Purpose of mixed-method content analysis: The quantitative methods used helped to develop themes based on how many times relevant information occurs in data and qualitative methods used developed themes to highlight the underlying meaning of data portions. Process of mixed-method content analysis: The quantitative methods used Identify relevant data, coding, and counting easily identifiable evidence in and statistically analyzing data to address the posed research question. In contrast, the qualitative methods included examining the text, including context and background, generating themes to represent the underlying meanings, and using the themes to address the posed research question. The product of mixed-method content analysis includes separated context-free results within the quantitative methods used and detail dense context-bound results about the circumstances that formed the data analyzed within the research.

Rourke and Anderson (2004) mention the importance of persuading readers that evidence and theoretical rationale support the inferences drawn from the content analysis procedure. In Rourke and Anderson's (2004) *Validity in Quantitative Content Analysis*, they list the procedures for making a sound-validity argument, which will be used in this research to show the perceived image of immigrants in American (California) and Irish media. There are three sections, with the first being observation (testing and measurement). Testing, according to Crocker and Aligna

(1986), is a standard procedure for collecting a sample of behavior from a specified domain. The second section consists of constructing a coding protocol in which Rourke and Anderson (2004) say the first step in development is to identify the purpose of the coding data and its use. Section three requires the establishment of the validity of inferences derived from the testing procedure and determining relevance and representativeness.

This study will also incorporate the six steps documented by Hansen (1998), which include information from the above sections mentioned by Rourke and Anderson (2004) but more in-depth. In Hansen's (1998) *Mass Communication Research Methods*, he mentions the six steps to follow when conducting a quantitative content analysis. The first step is defining the research problem, which is the media's portrayal of immigrants in California and Ireland; is it hostile or helpful? The selection of the media and sample is the second step. The media and sample in this study are four different online news media outlets, including *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Independent* and the sampling period will be three weeks. Step three is defining analytical categories; The definition of immigrants mentioned by Galvez (2014) and Luibheid (2014) in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. Davies and Mosdell (2006) mention the importance of giving operational definitions of all of the elements of your research questions and hypothesis. The previous chapter of this study, Chapter two: Literature Review, includes the definitions for elements of this research.

Step four is the construction of a coding schedule in which a short pilot study was conducted at the beginning of the research before the actual study began. In this brief three-day period, the potential findings of the analysis included all relevant information needed to gather the necessary information successfully within the following three-week data accumulation period from each online newspaper. The pilot study included coding schedule information such as the type of article (news, feature, or opinion), the length of the article, the name of the news outlet, and the keywords used in headlines. The three days included counting the number of news

articles collected and relevant adjustments made to include all articles or a suitable smaller sample size. The pilot study data is in the analysis and discussion chapter of this research study.

Step five is plotting a coding protocol, schedule, and checking reliability. Wilson (2019) states that pilot tests of the coding protocol conducted on a sample of studies help to identify problem items and lack of fit between the coding categories and the characteristics of the final studies. As mentioned above, a short sample study before the actual study started inspired adjustments based on the results of the pilot coding schedule. Studies can be coded on paper coding forms or directly into the computer in a database program such as File Maker Pro and Microsoft Access (Wilson, 2019). Although paper coding forms have the advantage of being easy to create and use, this study utilized Microsoft excel spreadsheets to eliminate the need to transfer data from paper to computer. No previous mathematical experience or extensive knowledge in statistical configurations was required; Microsoft excel aided in computing statistical data gathered from the research in this study, saving both time and effort.

Step six includes data preparation and analysis. The designed sampling method matches the objective of the research study based on the success of the pilot study. The sampling technique for content analysis involving print requires the consideration and analysis of editorial stance, target audience, publication dates, and circulation (Davies and Mosdell 2006). Publications often have political or social stances that may affect the portrayal of immigration, and intended readership will affect their coverage on immigration and immigrants appealing to a particular set of beliefs or attitudes and also in the type of coverage. The regularity of the published text may affect content in the depth of coverage in daily newspapers compared to newspapers released on weekends (Davies and Mosdell, 2006). This study focused on online news publishing platforms; therefore, it was not drastically affected by the regularity. However, publication dates were a marker to file data from each online newspaper and the reoccurrence of keywords and prominent trends across all platforms on each day noted. Looking at the keywords in the articles

and the headlines, highlights the prominent trends in opinion, narrative, and use of terminology weaved throughout the articles concerning immigrants and immigration.

The coding sheet constructed consists of two sections; one is analyzing the medium and one concerning the proposed research questions. The first section analyzes when and where (date and time of post and the publication it appeared in), prominence (word length and position in the publication), and context. The next section includes simple counts (speakers, sources, themes, and messages), linguistic modifiers (recurring labels for immigrants and immigration-related issues, and language of the headline), and imagery (Davies and Mosdell, 2006). In this study, the coding explicitly details how California and Ireland differ and align in their portrayal of immigration-related reporting. This information links up with the various structural conditions within the media industry, the specific media outlet which reports the articles, the potential populations reading the articles, and the prominent trends in each article.

This study is to serve as an informative piece to reflect on the differences in the representation of immigrants in Irish and Californian media. It sheds light on immigration-related media framework for students and those who travel to the United States and the Republic of Ireland as immigrants and those who are interested in learning more about news values. It also provides background information on how the portrayal of current government policies relate and contribute to the perceived image of immigrants in the media. The concept of framing is present in mass communication theory, with the sole purpose being the essence of an issue, the presentation to an audience, and its influence on how that information is processed. The frequent use of this framing theory was first put forth by Goffman (1974) in *Framing Analysis*, where he states that people interpret what goes on around them in their primary framework. The two distinctions that help people interpret data within the primary framework are natural and social. Natural frameworks identify events as physical occurrences not related to social forces. "Social frameworks, on the other hand, provide background understanding for events that

incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being.", says Goffman (1974).

Media framing analysis focuses on how a topic is presented in the media, how the issue is selected and why, and the impact it has on the audience's actions and perception. This type of framing manifests in words, phrases, quotes, and images that shape representation of an issue by omitting specific elements, specific placement, and attaching emotion. Multiple factors can influence this process, including the type of media, a journalist's personal bias and opinions, editorial position, organization, politics, and various other conditions. News framing is dependent on sources, their availability, and their specific attributes. In this study, the media frames are a dependent variable with a wide range of factors that influenced the way that the media outlets chosen in this study framed the topic of immigration and immigrants. In his research, Van Gorp (2005) conceptualized and reconstructed two frames using the issue of illegal immigration and asylum (e.g., the victim, the threat) instead of general or issue-specific frames. His research focuses on the tonality and related stereotypical tendencies of the coverage in which migrants are depicted in mass media, providing insight about keyframes that construct the portrayal of immigrants as victims and as a threat to the well-being of the host country. To code for this frame, the following criteria applied: the main focus of the text as stated or implied, and the general tone and the impression given to the reader after exposure. This framework will be applied to the current study and discussed further in the next chapter alongside the findings and discussion. The list of questions used for coding is listed in appendix A.

Ethical Issues and Potential Challenges

The ethical principles that would generally apply during research, including confidentiality, voluntary participation, knowing the risks and benefits involved in participation, consent, right to withdraw, and anonymity, did not apply to this study as the content analysis used within the

research did not involve outside participants. The goal of this research is to provide the target audience with non-biased conclusions and findings on the internet specific ethical research questions formed while remaining objective. Before beginning the research, the potential challenges that may have slowed down or created problems in this study were lack of news coverage, too much data to analyze due to the massive influx of articles, and deciphering language while remaining objective and non-biased. In order to avoid these challenges, time management was an essential factor per the three-week data collection period. Discarding opinion pieces, letters, and editorial commentaries eliminated personal views and offered more accurate results.

Although the data collection period and the number of articles produced within six months did not turn out to be the most significant potential challenge within this study, many other factors did make the research process more difficult. It was collecting and organizing articles in a way that would be easy to go back and analyze that proved to be the most time-consuming aspect of this study as well as the use of a database such as Microsoft Excel. While Excel was a quick way to document each article, the technical skills needed to design the data entry form was generally more difficult. Each online newspaper provided an archive of articles to aid in the research. However, after conducting the pilot study, it was apparent that *The San Francisco Chronicle* has the most efficient archive search engine. Collecting articles from *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Independent*, and *The Los Angeles Times* through their web archives was time-consuming and inefficient because they did not provide the specific search options needed for this study. This inefficiency led to the use of the ProQuest database to collect the articles for the final study. There was careful consideration in the possible extension of the three-week data gathering period to increase the overall sample size. This extension would give more power to detect differences and decrease uncertainty. The pilot study found that the research portion of this study should extend to five weeks to allow a lower margin of error and smaller effect size. This extensive research included nationalities and religion within the same time frame of January 2019 to June 2019 to explain better the specific attitudes toward immigrants from different

origins and faiths. The following are the topics and words included: (a) Polish, Chinese, Brazilian, African, Pakistani, Indian, Afghan, Latino, and Lithuanian; and (b) Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish (including Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Judaism). Including only articles directly relating to Ireland and California, excluding duplicates, opinion pieces, commentaries, debates, and letters. The larger overall sample size deemed beneficial to the framing of individual articles within the study.

This methodology is not suggesting that the statistical analysis of the data will be a reliable predictor of immigration representation within the public sphere on a large scale. However, the strong correlation between the trends related to immigration news coverage in Irish and Californian media within a six-month time frame is a valuable insight to consider in improving the understanding of immigration in the context of objective reporting within the medium of online news articles. The advantages of using content analysis include unobtrusive data collection, transparency, and replicability. Analyzing data without the involvement of outside participants reduces researcher bias. The systematic procedure is easily replicable by other researchers with access to the appropriate sources and time. The adopted methodology may prove to be valuable to other scholars and students within the context of a variety of different subjects relating to mass communication. The next chapters will analyze and discuss the findings discovered through the methodological procedures applied within this study.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion

The purpose of this mixed-method content analysis was to explore the media framing and perceived image of immigrants and immigration in four major newspapers, two in Ireland, two in California by analyzing their patterns, frequency, length, topics, and framing. This chapter includes a discussion of key findings related to online news articles about immigrants in the landscape of Irish and Californian media during six months between January 2019 and June 2019. These findings and discussion chapters will outline the data gathered and aim to answer the following four research questions: How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their framing of immigration? How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their treatment of immigration stories? Are they episodic or thematic? Are there different underlying tones in California and Ireland's online newspapers on the coverage of immigrants and immigration? How does the portrayal of immigration in Californian and Irish media differ? The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of this study.

Findings

The first collection of the articles from the pilot study conducted resulted in 1,103 articles, including opinion pieces, commentaries, debates, and letters. Within the 3-day trial period, 81 articles including the topics and words (a) immigration, immigrants, or migrants; and (b) racism against immigrants and news content that included the use of the terms "illegal immigrant," "illegal immigration" or "illegal alien" were collected. Table 1A below includes a detailed breakdown of the articles that were collected for the pilot study based on the criteria mentioned above.

Pilot study articles collected for analysis			
City/State/Country	Newspaper	Political Orientation	Number of articles
San Francisco, California, USA	The San Francisco Chronicle	Left-Center Bias	533
Los Angeles, California, USA	The Los Angeles Times	Left-Center Bias	405
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Times	Left-Center Bias	108
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Independent	Right-Center Bias	57

Table 1A. Pilot study articles collected for analysis

Based on the findings of the pilot study, it would have taken approximately six weeks to conduct a thorough study, including all 1,103 articles. In consideration of the first 3-week time frame of the current study, the final collection of the articles from The San Francisco Chronicle archives and the ProQuest database resulted in 411 articles after being trimmed down to eliminate duplicates, discarding opinion pieces, commentaries, debates, and letters. The topics and words included in this study for searches were as follows: (a) immigration, immigrants, or migrants; and (b) racism against immigrants and news content that included the use of the terms "illegal immigrant," "illegal immigration" or "illegal alien." Table 1B below includes a detailed breakdown of the articles collected for the analysis based on the criteria mentioned above.

Final sample of articles collected based on immigration-related labels			
City/State/Country	Newspaper	Political Orientation	Number of articles
San Francisco, California, USA	The San Francisco Chronicle	Left-Center Bias	185
Los Angeles, California, USA	The Los Angeles Times	Left-Center Bias	106
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Times	Left-Center Bias	76
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Independent	Right-Center Bias	44

Table 1B. Final sample of articles collected based on immigration-related issues

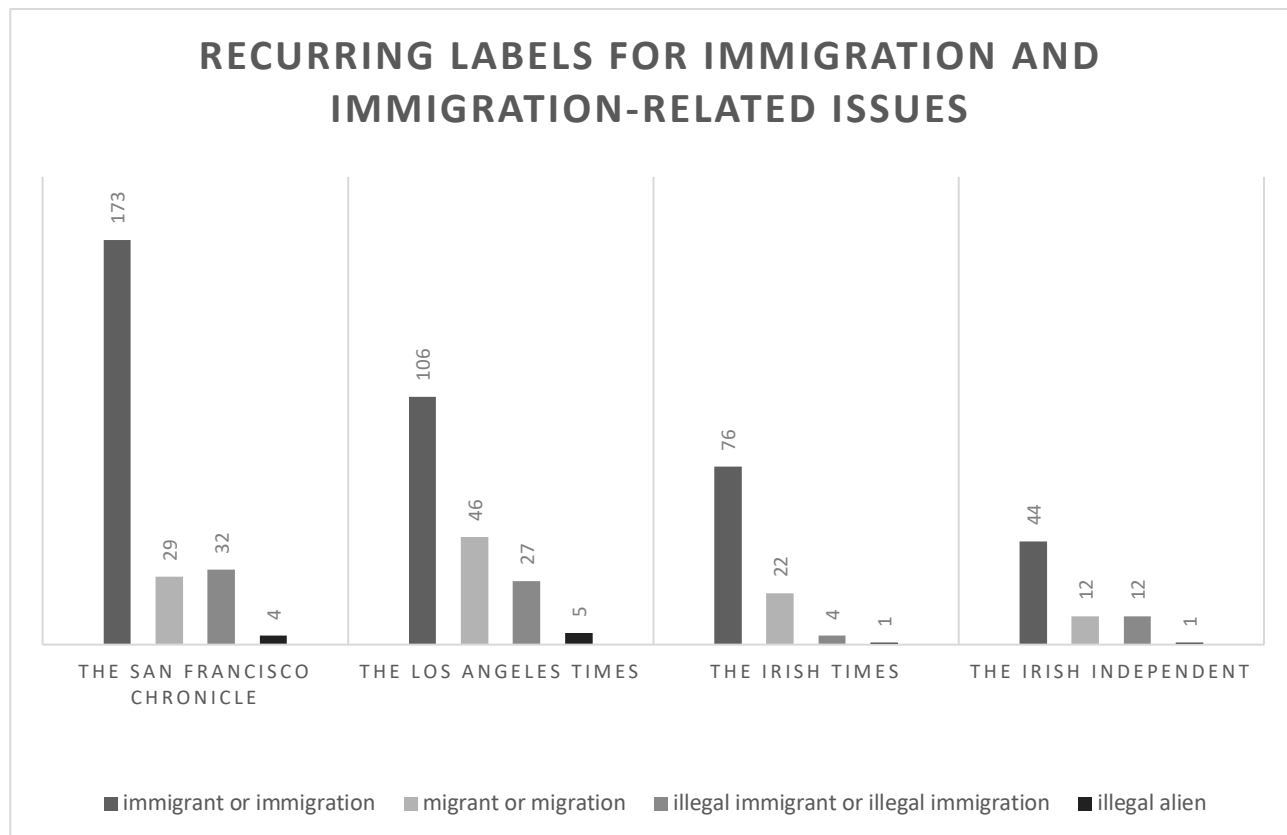


Figure 1A. Recurring labels for immigration-related issues

Linguistic modifiers (recurring labels for immigrants and immigration-related issues and language of the headline) are documented in Figure 1A above. The occurrence of the terms immigrant or immigration appeared a considerable amount of times in comparison to the terms migrant or migration. The use of the word illegal about immigrants or immigration or aliens was more prominent in the California newspapers than in the Irish newspapers based on the size of each specific sample. However, when applied to the entire collection of articles, the use of the word illegal to describe immigration and immigrants was highest in *The Irish Independent* with 27%, second is *The Los Angeles Times* with 25%, third being *The San Francisco Chronicle* with 17% and lastly *The Irish Times* with 5%. Looking at the keywords in the articles and the headlines highlighted the prominent trends in opinion, narrative, and use of terminology weaved throughout the articles concerning immigrants and immigration.

For precision and comparison purposes, a second study, including nationalities and religion within the same time frame of January 2019 to June 2019, was carried out to explain better the specific attitudes toward immigrants from different origins and faiths. The initial three-week study was extended to five weeks to complete this secondary research. The topics and words included in the second study for searches were as follows: (a) Polish, Chinese, Brazilian, African, Pakistani, Indian, Afghan, Latino, and Lithuanian; and (b) Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish (including Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Judaism). Only articles directly relating to Ireland and California were included in this study, excluding duplicates, opinion pieces, commentaries, debates, and letters. A total of 296 articles were included in the secondary study. Table 2A below includes a detailed breakdown of the articles that were collected for the analysis based on nationality and religion.

Final sample of articles collected based on nationality (N) and religion (R)				
City/State/Country	Newspaper	Political Orientation	Number of articles (N)	Number of articles (R)
San Francisco, California, USA	The San Francisco Chronicle	Left-Center Bias	64	28
Los Angeles, California, USA	The Los Angeles Times	Left-Center Bias	62	57
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Times	Left-Center Bias	21	17
Dublin, Ireland	The Irish Independent	Right-Center Bias	22	25

Table 2A. Final sample of articles collected based on Nationality and Religion

The most commonly mentioned nationalities and religions were an indicator of the historical and cultural factors that are important in explaining attitudes towards immigrants. It is important to note that within the collection of articles from Californian newspapers, the term African was predominantly used to describe African Americans, while in the Irish newspapers, the term African was used to describe African immigrants. News stories relating to Muslim and Jewish people were focused on the most in all four newspapers in comparison to those who practice Hinduism and Buddhism. Figures 2A and 2B on the next page detail the number of times a specific nationality or religion was discussed within the collected articles.

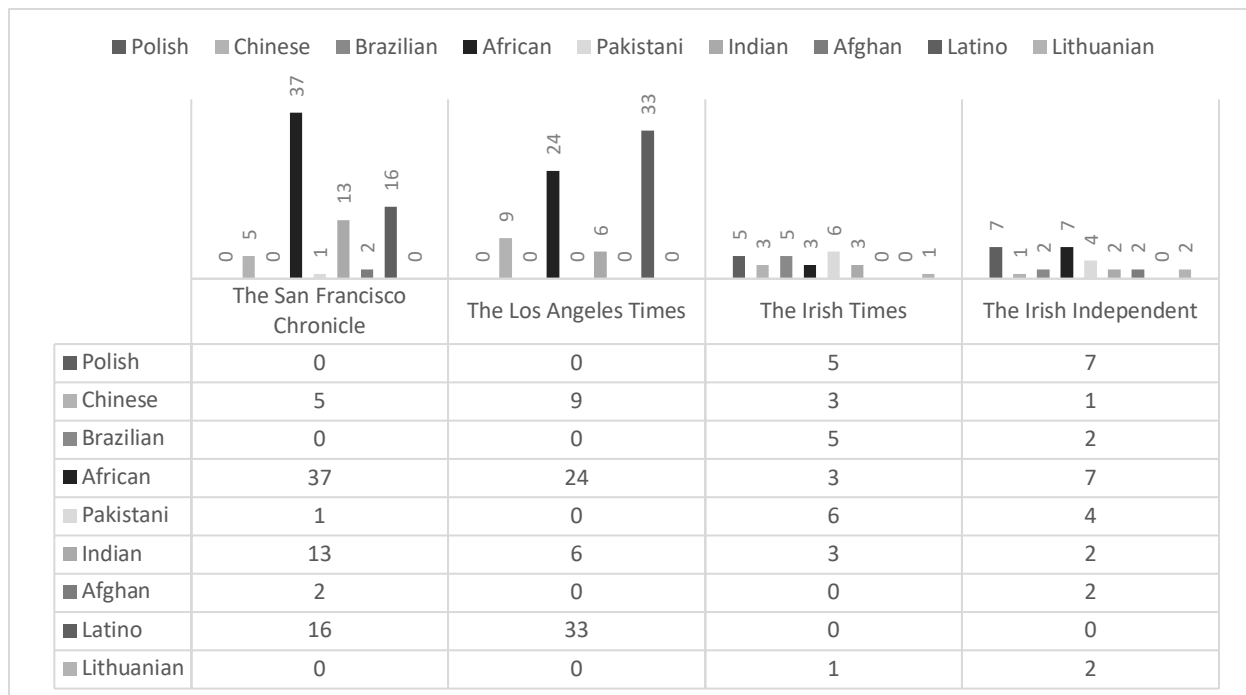


Figure 2A. Nationality

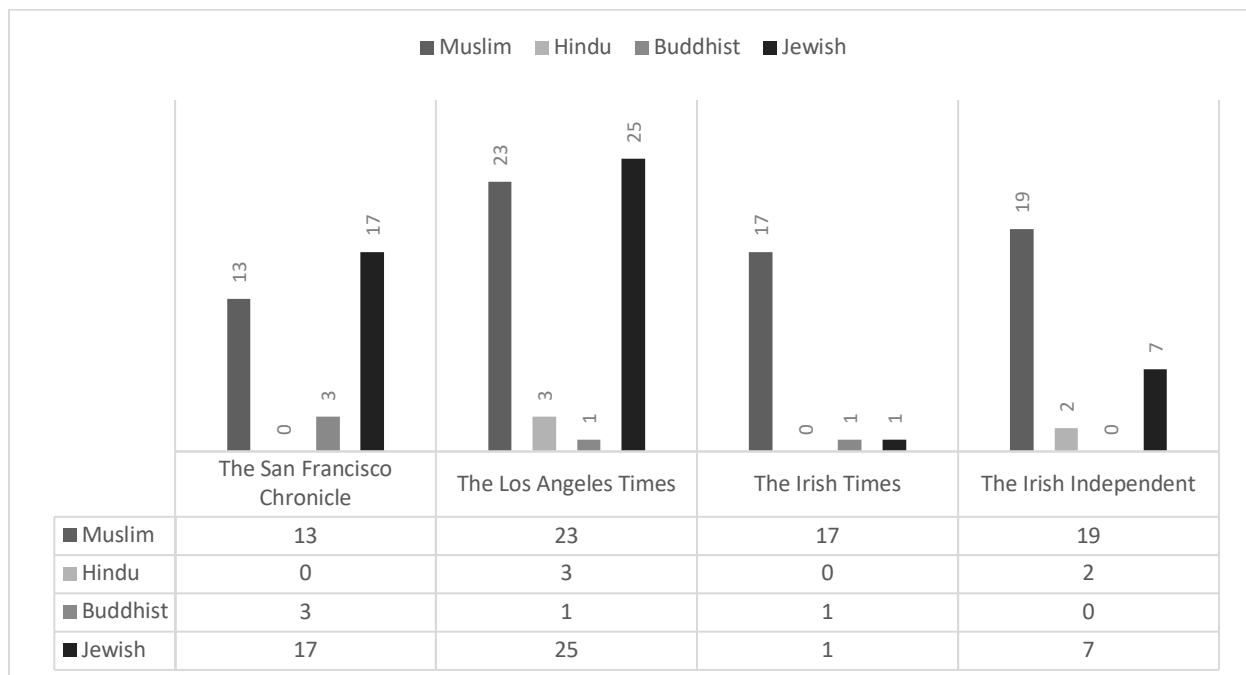


Figure 2B. Religion

The framing of the articles is notably important within the Newspapers' choice in linguistic modifiers as well as on the topic of nationality and religion as it helps the media reinforce specific attitudes catered to or against immigration and immigrants based on the group's perceived media identity. There were two frames utilized in this study, the victim frame, the threat frame, and a neutral frame. The focus of this framing method was the tonality and related stereotypical tendencies of the coverage in which migrants are depicted in mass media, providing insight about keyframes that construct the portrayal of these immigrants as victims and as a threat to the well-being of the host country. The following criteria were applied to attribute frames to an article: the stated or implied main focus of the text and the general tone and impression given to the reader after exposure. In some articles, more than one frame was present; the most predominant one was recorded. Visual frames were not recorded because the electronic archives did not provide an image with each article. Table 3A and Figure 3A below present the recording of the two different news frames used for the research.

Frames based on nationality (N) and religion (R)						
Newspaper	Positive victim (N)	Positive victim (R)	Negative threat (N)	Negative threat (R)	Neutral (N)	Neutral (R)
The San Francisco Chronicle	38 (59%)	20 (71%)	6 (9%)	1 (4%)	20 (31%)	7 (25%)
The Los Angeles Times	27 (44%)	23 (40%)	4 (6%)	5 (9%)	31 (50%)	19 (33%)
The Irish Times	12 (57%)	12 (71%)	7 (33%)	5 (29%)	2 (10%)	0 (0%)
The Irish Independent	10 (45%)	12 (48%)	3 (14%)	8 (32%)	9 (41%)	5 (20%)

Table 3A. Frames based on nationality and religion

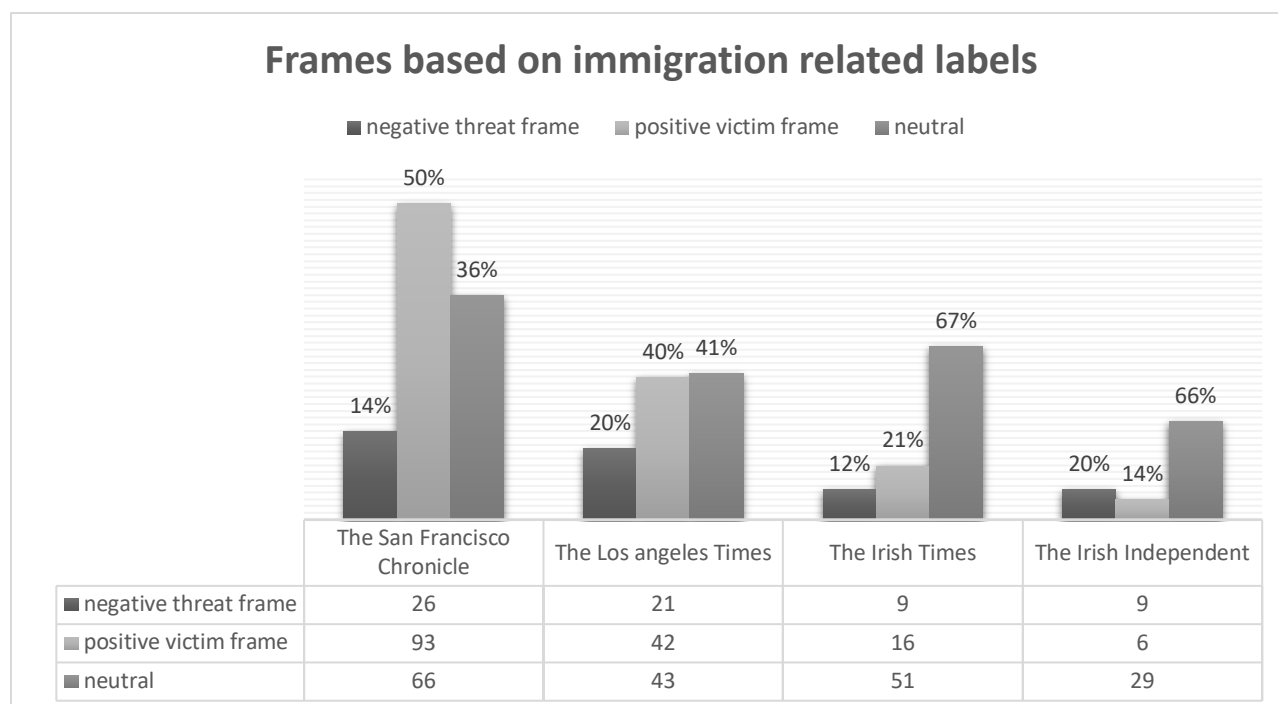


Figure 3A. Frames based on immigration labels

Based on the data in Figure 3A, *The San Francisco Chronicle* had the highest percentage of positive framing and tone based on all of the immigration-related labels mentioned earlier in this section. In contrast, *The Los Angeles Times* had the highest percentage of negative framing and tone. Both Irish newspapers had the highest percentage of neutral framing and tone throughout the articles in comparison to articles within the two Californian newspapers.

Analysis of Representations in The San Francisco Chronicle

The San Francisco Chronicle often focused on personal narratives from immigrants and community members regarding the coverage of immigration as well as quotes from California politicians. A human-interest angle was present in 50 % of articles; *The San Francisco Chronicle* sought after people from immigrant families and state politicians to discuss their experience and opinion on immigration and issues relating to the political climate of the time. A news article by Tal Kopan and Tatiana Sanchez (2019), quoted San Francisco Mayor London Breed, "It is

unconscionable that the federal administration is targeting innocent immigrant families with secret raids that are designed to inflict as much fear and pain as possible," she said, "Here in San Francisco, we will always demonstrate our values of diversity and inclusiveness by being a sanctuary city that stands up for all our residents and neighbors." The cultural aspect of immigration was also a notable focus with coverage directly mentioning how it affects US citizens who immigrated to California, and the importance of the treatment of immigrants and immigration-related topics relating to the community.

An episodic approach to framing was used in the news stories by *The San Francisco Chronicle* with immigration, nationality, and religion framed through a victim lens. They focused on providing immigrants and members of the community with a voice, and the overall tone was positive. The portrayals of immigration-related issues were presented through specific events that served as an anecdote to illustrate the broader issue or the stories of affected people who serve as a symbol of the issue of immigration. Most articles were about Latino immigrants and Muslim immigrants facing racism and discrimination. Racism against people who practice Judaism was also prominent; however, not on the topic of immigration. Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric regarding the issue of immigration has been one tied closely to building a wall against the US-Mexico border, characterizing undocumented immigrants as criminals, job stealers, and threats to national security. One article focused on the stories of Latino immigrants in California, offering their perspectives on immigrant life in the United States after Donald Trump came into office as the President. "We come here to work and to give a better future to our kids. We want to live in peace," says Floricel Ramos, an undocumented immigrant from Mexico with three U.S.-born children, "It's frustrating that people like the president criminalize us for being here." (Sanchez, 2019b). This statement and those similar to it in other articles, respond to anti-immigrant rhetoric, racism, and discrimination against Latino people and other minority groups, appealing to emotion and building empathy.

Articles with threat framing had a negative tone overall. For example, the articles primarily featured crime-related cases such as rape, murder, and terrorism with stories of perpetrators and quotes from government agencies such as ICE. The issues were framed mainly as an individual problem rather than a societal-level problem. San Jose Mayor Sam Liccardo is quoted in an article about a murder case involving an undocumented immigrant in San Jose, California. "In contrast, the current county policy of ignoring detainer requests for individuals arrested for strike offenses and convicted of multiple felonies undermines public safety and violates common sense," Liccardo said in a statement. "I hope we can restart this conversation to make progress where we all agree: We can both keep our city safe from violent criminals and protect our law-abiding immigrant community" (Sanchez, 2019a). Although anti-immigration quotes from immigration enforcement agencies and President Donald Trump were present, there were always opposing pro-immigration views included in each article.

The other majority of neutrally framed news stories in *the San Francisco Chronicle* focused on US immigration policies, state and local elections, and California immigration laws, including well-informed ideas, diverse sources, and statistical data. These articles relied heavily on government agencies, nonpartisan think tanks, and elected officials from different political parties. The articles were informative, repeating facts from external sources on the 2019 political climate and economy. Overall, the majority of articles in *The San Francisco Chronicle* focused on immigration as both a political and social issue. The articles played a significant role in informing the public on the political process and broadening the perspective on immigration-related issues past politics to include human interest in order to seek change within the state of California. A critical analysis of what immigration means for the state of California and the United States was an overarching theme included within most articles.

The stories examined in *The Los Angeles Times* covered immigration reported in politics and news with a strong focus on Latino immigrants, border control, and Donald Trump. Many articles pushed Trump's message, discussing his policies and how they would affect the state of California in general and, more specifically, Southern California. State officials were also mentioned repeatedly, but most news headlines reported on what Trump was doing or saying concerning immigration; some major headlines read: "Trump delays immigration sweeps. Here's why California police say they won't take part," "As Trump and his wall push Mexico away, California aims to pull it closer," "California hits back as Trump threatens to 'dump' immigrants in 'sanctuary cities,'" and "Slamming Trump's 'political theater,' California Gov. Gavin Newsom pulls National Guard from border" (Smith, 2019; Ulloa and Luna, 2019a; Ulloa and Luna, 2019b; Winton, 2019). "Trump" was a keyword repeated within many headlines, including these with many being emotionally loaded and left-leaning.

Similar to *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times* presented its news coverage on immigration in an episodic manner. It focused on specific events and topics such as political speeches, court cases, and proposed legislation. Sources that were commonly used were the US Customs and Border Protection agency, the US Department of Justice, and quotes from government representatives. The tone across the articles was mostly positive and neutral, with 20% of immigration-related articles with a negative threat frame, 4% more than *The San Francisco Chronicle*. The increase in the negative threat frame could be an outcome of immigration being viewed as a whole instead of in parts by examining both the positives of immigration and ramifications of illegal immigration. Many articles gave two-sided perspectives with multiple sources when reporting on controversial topics such as immigration detention centers and state sanctuary laws.

The Los Angeles Times is in closer proximity to the US-Mexico border than *The San Francisco Chronicle*. It includes reports on stories from cities in Southern California with conservative political views such as Huntington Beach. One article reported on a request from two residents of Huntington Beach's Oak View neighborhood to reconsider a ruling that exempted the city from complying with state-mandated legal protections for undocumented immigrants being released from police custody. "The court's order and the city of Huntington Beach's actions have caused significant harm to the residents of Huntington Beach," said Attorney Sameer Ahmed, "We are hopeful that the order will be overturned on appeal and the important California values of diversity, inclusion and supporting and protecting our invaluable immigrant communities will be upheld in Huntington Beach and across the state" (Vega, 2019). Many articles such as the one quoted took on a human-interest angle with opinions from community members and immigrants, similar to *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

Overall, the discourse on immigration focused heavily on Latinos and Muslims, addressing local policy initiatives and immigration-related enforcement issues. Community response and the impact of different policies on the immigrant community were also a notable theme present in a majority of the articles. The supportive commentary included many democratic elected leads, such as Governor Gavin Newsom, legal professionals, and immigrant voices. Like *The San Francisco Chronicle*, immigrant depictions were sympathetic, with positive portrayals of immigrants coexisting with a sufficient volume of neutrally framed policy coverage. Again, a critical analysis of what immigration and means for the state of California and the United States was an overarching theme included within most articles.

Analysis of Representations in The Irish Times

Unlike the previously mentioned California newspapers, news stories in *The Irish Times* took a thematic approach in reporting with nationality, religion, and immigration-related issues being presented through information about systemic causes, trends, and consequences. Many news

stories contained a neutral tone, with a noticeable favorability in the “control” of illegal immigration for national security and economic growth. The prevalence of coverage within the news articles focused on events with the categories of people often quoted and properly sourced government officials, members of the community, and local non-governmental organizations.

In *The Irish Times* articles, immigrants were more likely to be referred to by their nationality and religion in comparison to the California newspapers. The lack of anti-immigration political parties and anti-immigrant rhetoric within the articles highlighted the importance of integration and the marginalization of anti-immigration elements. Articles with an overlying positive tone often victimized immigrants of different nationalities and religions. They provided empathetic personal views of community life and increased Islamophobia in Irish society influenced by international news from Anglo-American media. One article about the Kilkenny Muslim community from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Africa involving the rejected plan of building a new Islamic cultural center mentions the Muslim communities concern, "I feel like people don't know enough, and that's why they're rejecting us. If they knew more, there wouldn't be a problem" (O'Connell, 2019). The article also provides an alternative view which supports the idea Kilkenny is an inclusive city and community in which most local people are welcoming and supportive despite not being fully educated on Islamic practices.

Articles about immigration-related issues that included a negative tone and threat frame comprised of only 12% of the total gathered, but increased to 29% and 33% when nationality and religion were applied. Still, reporting remained relatively objective in comparison to the negative tones present in articles from *The San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Los Angeles Times*. The theme across negative articles was immigration fraud, murder, rape, and radical Islamic beliefs connected to terrorism. The negative connotations within the reporting were not linked directly to anti-immigrant views and racism or discrimination against any particular religion or nationality of people. An example of this is an article written by Colm Keena (2019) on the capturing of Isis

sympathizer and Islamic state fighter who immigrated from Belarus to Dublin. Alongside the mention of the negative aspect of Islamic radicalism, the article quotes other non-radical Muslims, mentioning that organizations such as Isis have more to do with politics than the religion itself, “No religion encourages people to kill each other. It is not the organizations or the people in them, it is hidden hands that encourage people to kill” (Keena, 2019).

Local news was covered with minimal loaded words in headlines such as “Society to meet on new rules for migrant cases” and “High Court clarifies procedure for asylum cases and immigration” (Edwards, 2019a; Edwards, 2019b). International news occasionally used loaded words, sometimes directed at Donald Trump, such as “Trump vows to strengthen border: US president claims Latin American countries are sending criminals to US” (Lynch, 2019). This headline aligns Trump’s views on border control, with Latino immigrants being viewed as criminals. Immigration discourse overall focused heavily on a positive portrayal of legal immigration and the integration of different nationalities and religions in Ireland. Including a neutral portrayal of immigration-related to policies, enforcement, national security, and naturalization practices; and a negative portrayal of immigrants on an individual basis when related to criminal activity and terrorism.

Analysis of Representations in The Irish Independent

Similar to *The Irish Times*, news stories in *The Irish Independent* take a thematic approach when reporting on immigration-related issues mentioning the systemic causes, trends, and consequences. In an article about the general debate of immigration-related issues affecting Ireland, it includes the coverage of different immigration-related issues and their causes and effects on the economy, population, and work sectors (O'Brien, 2019). The article included sourced statistical data and information as the primary source. News reporting carried an overall neutral tone when reporting on immigration at 66% and a positive tone when reporting on religion and nationalities within the context of immigration. Similar to the articles collected from *The Irish Times*, the lack of anti-immigration political parties and anti-immigrant rhetoric within

the articles highlighted the importance of integration and the marginalization of anti-immigration elements with a noticeable favorability in the "control" of illegal immigration for national security and economic growth.

Unlike the three previously mentioned newspapers from California and Ireland, *The Irish Independent* uses emotionally loaded wording in headlines. When covering world news, the US government and specifically, Donald Trump, was covered with a critical tone. Including headlines such as "Now Trump fires Secret Service chief in 'purge' of security team," and "Sex trainer 'with evidence on Trump' deported by Thailand" (Kaewjinda, 2019; Rampton, 2019). While Local news was reported with minimal bias and loaded words such as "Tóibín's new party calls for immigration debate" (Larkin, 2019).

Articles with an overlying positive tone often victimized immigrants of different nationalities and religions and provided empathetic personal views of community life, "I've never felt different. You get the odd racist person in school who are just trying to bully you and be racist and not be nice. They are that person for a reason, but 90 percent of always felt welcome wherever I went" (*'Not every Irish person believed in the IRA, not every Muslim is an extremist who wants to kill people,'* 2019). Articles showing government support of different religious communities were also noted. An example of this is Ian Begley's (2019) article, which mentions Taoiseach Leo Varadkar showing his support at the Dublin Sikh Festival by wearing a blue headscarf to commemorate Sikhs around the world and in Ireland.

Like *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Independent's* Immigration discourse overall focused heavily on a positive portrayal of legal immigration and integration of different nationalities and religions in Ireland. It also included a neutral portrayal of immigration-related to policies, enforcement, national security, and naturalization practices; and a negative portrayal of immigrants on an

individual basis when related to criminal activity and terrorism. A critical analysis of what immigration means for the Irish economy, workers, immigrant community members, actions of political parties, and the discussion of government policies was an overarching theme included within most articles.

Discussion

News reporting on immigration has a challenging appeal filled with attachments to the economy, history, class conflict, language, and ethnic conflict. The offered angles provide journalists and scholars with a variation of topics to analyze to help aid the public with a deeper understanding of issues surrounding immigration. The four publications examined in this project– *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Irish Times*, and *The Irish Independent*– have different approaches to framing immigration but share many similarities. In determining whether stories used an episodic frame that focuses on specific events that serve as an anecdote to illustrate broader issues or with a thematic frame focusing on providing information about systemic causes, trends, and consequences, it found that California newspapers preferred an episodic framing of immigration. In contrast, Irish newspapers focused more on thematic framing.

The four newspapers shared a common way of reporting immigrants as victims, threats, and neutral entities based on the tone and context of the article. The Irish and Californian newspapers examined in this study develop an empathetic human-interest angle within positive toned articles, painting immigrants as victims or patriotic members of the community. The negative toned articles focus on immigrants as a threat on an individual basis and not as a whole, and neutral-toned articles provide basic coverage on politics and immigration policies. They relied heavily on providing commentary from the public as well as political figures on hard topics such as terrorism and the enforcement of immigration policies.

The San Francisco Chronicle focuses mainly on immigrant perspectives, especially those individuals who are directly affected by the enforcement of immigration policies and negative portrayals of immigration by the United States President. The newspaper is slightly left-leaning; all statewide elected officials are Democrats, and the city of San Francisco is explicitly known for being a sanctuary city with a pluralist culture and liberal politics. Because it is a publication in the San Francisco Bay Area, *The San Francisco Chronicle* must adopt an empathetic and positive human-interest angle when reporting on immigration-related issues for the benefit of such a diverse population in the surrounding counties. Benson (2013) found that US media served as a public forum for in-depth immigration debates over the past forty years with a shift in coverage from global economy and jobs to racism, humanitarian concerns, and national security with unaffiliated individuals and government officials included as sources for media coverage. He suggests that immigration issues have become highly politicized through the media's emphasis on the lived experience of individual immigrants, and blunt investigative reports about government agencies (Benson, 2013). The findings of this study built on Benson's (2013) research, further highlighting the media's emphasis on the lived experience of individual immigrants and blunt investigative reports on government agencies such as ICE.

The Los Angeles Times also focus heavily on the immigrant experience but stood out slightly in striving to include opposing perspectives on immigration and outlining policies implemented to enforce more substantial border control. It utilized diverse story angles and more external sources, giving readers a more in-depth analysis of the effects immigration has with cities located close to the US-Mexico border. Hassell (2015) found that news stories in the New York Times revolving around immigration are primarily negative, focused on Latinos, and attentive to the negative policy issues associated with immigration. The focus on Latinos was also readily apparent in news stories from *The Los Angeles Times*, validating the claim regarding the predominance of the immigrant threat narrative and its effects on the partisan beliefs of the US public by locating patterns in the content and frames used in immigration news articles. Similar to Hassell (2015), Branton and Dunaway (2009) build upon agenda setting and the effects of

immigration media coverage. Contrary to their conclusion, that the pattern of coverage related to immigration issues by media organizations closer to the border generates a higher volume of articles and, therefore, is economically motivated, *The San Francisco Chronicle* provided 32% more articles mentioning immigration than *The Los Angeles Times*. However, it is notably essential to mention that geographic context did provide a slight change in border-related reporting and the inclusion of broader sources within local media coverage.

The Irish Times and *The Irish Independent* focused more on giving an objective view on immigration in Ireland and Europe but often covered American politics with a critical tone based on the event that was covered. Immigration often links to different stereotypes directly related to people of different nationalities and religions. The way that Irish media portray immigrants and immigration is significant within this study because media and public perception are representative of media from around the world, not just limited to Ireland. The abundance of coverage on US media in *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Independent* indicates that American news media has a significant effect on anti-immigrant rhetoric and public perception. The USA's declaration of "war on terrorism" after the terrorist attacks on 9/11 encouraged the increase in the militarization of law enforcement and reduced privacy protections in Ireland and worldwide. Donald Trump's political rhetoric with an emphasis on criminal activity as a result of illegal immigration may also affect the Irish media's perspective on immigration coverage. However, this study does not prove this claim. Further studies on the specific topic of the relationship between Irish and American media may prove this to be true.

Similar to the research conducted by Harrington (2005), Burroughs' (2015) research concludes that the Irish media references illegal immigration with a theme focused on controlling illegal immigration in the Irish and European context. Burroughs (2015) mentions that articles often include positive depictions of immigration-related content with negative assertions reflected in the use of language used to justify practices of state control over illegal immigration and

immigration policies. The findings within this study align with Burroughs (2015) in that articles concerning illegal immigration to Ireland often included negative threat framing with the addition of positive supporting commentary from community members and Irish politicians. Contrary to Burroughs (2015), this study did not find, however, that negative assertions reflected in the use of language towards specific crime committing individuals further legitimized practices of exclusion and inequality towards migrants labeled as "illegal" in Ireland.

Mentioned earlier in the literature is the agenda-setting process through which news articles select the issues they cover. The agenda-setting process can affect how much weight and importance of individuals in the public place on them (Hassell, 2015). Framing can alter the way an issue is perceived by privileging one aspect of a problem over another, altering group imagery associated with an issue leading to evaluations based on attitudes toward a group and not the issue itself (Hassell, 2015). It also affects the evaluation of an issue by altering the tone of coverage to be positive or negative (Hassell, 2015). The media shapes people's opinions and ideas based on the specific themes and narratives present within the provided news coverage. Within the four newspapers analyzed in this study, there is a vast amount of mostly positive news coverage on liberal politicians, liberal views, and immigrant inclusiveness. The significant and impactful commentary presented within the articles and stories carries significant media power to form major perceptions of immigration within California and Ireland. Although it is apparent that illegal immigration has is linked to threats to public safety in some instances, the collection of articles does not prove that the media may bias the public towards anti-immigrant views. The current framings of immigration in both Ireland and California leave a positive perception of immigration and may shape how citizens react to future discussions on immigration and undocumented immigrants.

Limitations

The research conducted in this study is an attempt to contribute to a better understanding of the perceived image of immigrants and immigration in Ireland and California through the medium of newspaper coverage. There are significant limitations that come along with research, including this one, that place restrictions on the methodology and conclusions. Within this study, the first limitation is time. The study looks at articles from January 2019 to June 2019. The reason for this date is related to the growing anti-immigrant rhetoric put forward by Donald Trump and the opposing pro-immigrant rhetoric put forward by California's elected state officials concerning border control during this period. By selecting a date linked to events that could shape the public's perception of immigration, it provided room for more analysis on the topic. While some may find that the time selected was restricted to the political climate in the United States without consideration of the political climate in Ireland, it is arguable that American news heavily influences the Irish public perception on immigration-related issues. The time may also be considered too short in the conduction of a thorough analysis that represents the portrayal of immigrants and immigration in Irish and Californian media on a generalized large scale. Here, the representation of immigrants in newspapers is a sufficient period in order to conduct a study that represents how the portrayal of immigration relates to specific trends on a small scale to improve the understanding of immigration in the context of objective reporting within the medium of online news articles.

Another limitation is the number of articles collected and used in the study. Ideally, all news articles, including opinion pieces, commentaries, debates, and letters, would be covered. However, to remove editorial bias and personal bias, only news pieces are included. The addition of other newspapers from California and Ireland would also aid in research. However, the study only focuses on two well-recognized newspapers from both countries to avoid confusion and less in-depth analysis of the increase in acquired data. The selection of frames could also be considerably inconclusive even though the study employs methods used by other researchers and scholars. Some may argue that the comparison between Irish and Californian media

representation of immigration is narrow without the inclusion of other European countries since immigration policy closely links to the European single market. However, the task would be more demanding and require a more extended research period. Lastly, the study does not include information on how the public perceives the portrayal of immigration in Irish and Californian media and how it shaped their opinions on past, current, and future immigration-related issues. It would be an excellent addition alongside the findings of this study but would not be available unless the information gatherable in person from both countries.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This comparative study on the portrayal of immigration in the landscape of Irish and Californian media during six months between January 2019 and June 2019 explores the perceived image of immigrants and immigration in four major newspapers, two in Ireland, two in California by analyzing their patterns, frequency, topics, and framing. The data answers four research questions: How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their framing of immigration? How do California and Ireland's online newspapers differ in their treatment of immigration stories? Are they episodic or thematic? Are there different underlying tones in California and Ireland's online newspapers on the coverage of immigrants and immigration? How does the portrayal of immigration in Californian and Irish media differ? The data shows that all four newspapers use similar threat, victim, and neutral framing and that editorial political tendencies do not significantly affect the reporting style implemented when reporting on local and world news. California newspapers take an episodic approach to reporting, while Irish newspapers report with a more thematic approach.

The treatment of immigration stories is also similar in both Ireland and California in that a human-interest angle is apparent across all articles with a strong emphasis on inclusion and diversity. Journalists in California were more inclined to report on specific immigration-related events or stories about immigrants that appealed to conflict, drama, and, most importantly, emotion. In comparison, journalists in Ireland inclined to report what immigration and means for the Irish economy, workers, immigrant community members, actions of political parties, and the discussion of government policies with a focus on emotion but significantly less drama and conflict.

Overall, the study found that the portrayal of immigrants in both Ireland and California was more positive than it was negative. Often, labeled as a liability to national security and identity within

many governments that recently took a hard line on immigration policies, it appears that journalists in Ireland and California have not played into the typical stereotypes and misrepresentation of immigrants. Criticism that immigrants are often portrayed with or perceived as were mentioned as public or political opinions on an individual basis and followed with opposing pro-immigrant commentary. All four newspapers made sure not to attach negative connotations to immigration, and criminal behavior was not generalized to an entire group of people.

President Donald Trump's repeated emphasis on Latino criminal behavior and terrorism linked to Muslim immigrants in the US media across all platforms is undeniable. The mention of Islam and Muslims when reporting on immigrants in Ireland was also readily apparent. Readers may be accustomed to seeing the association of terrorism and criminal behavior to specific nationalities of people and those who practice religions that are not inherently native to the country before large scale immigration. California journalists focused on talking about the welfare and inclusion of both legal and undocumented immigrants to promote the enrichment and strengthening of communities through diversity. The dramatic emphasis on immigrants being valued, respected, and celebrated members of society could be due to the political climate of the time and Trump's dehumanization of undocumented immigrant families and children. Irish media gave a sentiment of solidarity towards immigrants from politicians and community members that were not equally apparent in California newspapers. This sentiment of solidarity could be perceived as a more positive portrayal of immigrants as a whole, painting them as a generalized group of individuals who are making an effort to be integrated into Irish life. In conclusion, the portrayal of immigrants and immigration in both California and Ireland is positive rather than harmful.

While this study has built upon past research and shown that the portrayal of immigrants and immigration in California and Irish Media could be a positive one, future studies are needed to continue monitoring the media in both countries to prove whether the results of this study are

consistent or evolving. Future studies related to this topic could include more in-depth mixed-method content analysis, including images, and sample a broader range of media, such as television and radio, to produce more generalized findings and the related deep-rooted issues. Interviews with citizens could also be utilized in future studies to explore how different framing and tones in news coverage influence their opinions on immigration. Interviews with journalists in California and Ireland could also help examine the influences and approaches implemented by reporters when writing immigration stories. As the always growing role of the media in shaping public perception pairs with the changing challenges immigrants and the receiving society face, future research on the portrayal of immigration in the media must continue to help promote a more comprehensive understanding of the topic.

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Appendices:

Appendix A: List of questions related to identifying media frames

Positive Victim frame:

- 1) Does the article include quotes and personal stories from immigrants?
- 2) Does the article focus on the suffering of immigrants?
- 3) Does the article present immigrant-related issues with sympathy or empathy?
- 4) Is the article portraying immigrants as victims in a specific way?

Negative Threat frame:

- 1) Does the article portray immigrants or immigration as a threat?
- 2) What kind of threat? (national security, terrorism, individual security, criminal activity, welfare system, or national identity)
- 3) Is the term "illegal" used to describe immigrants or immigration negatively?

Neutral Frame:

- 1) Is the article seemingly objective in its portrayal of immigration-related issues?
- 2) Does the information within the article only include facts, and are these facts supported with evidence?

Appendix B: Example of Excel spreadsheets

LIST OF ARTICLES FROM SF CHRONICLE: immigrants or immigration or illegal immigration or illegal alien or migrants

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 1/1/2019- 6/30/2019

DATE	KEYWORDS	SECTION	HEADLINE	Tone	WORDCOUNT	URL
6/30/19	immigration	Main News	Diverse array of candidates elevates Dems	Neutral	1278	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1746220FD4C8AB60&p_docnum=2&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/29/19	immigration, immigrants, illegal	Metro	Supreme Court to hear case on DACA	Positive	1004	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1745CDDAE32FAAB8&p_docnum=4&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/29/19	immigrants, illegal	Metro	Dems want to include noncitizens	Positive	493	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1745CDDAE32FAAB8&p_docnum=5&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/29/19	immigration	Metro	Trump official joins Dems to hear valley farmers' beefs	Positive	860	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1745CDDAE32FAAB8&p_docnum=8&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/28/19	migrants	Business	Trump threats rattle bean world	Positive	482	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=174579509A14560&p_docnum=11&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/28/19	immigration	Main News	Court blocks census query on citizenship	Neutral	1221	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=174579509A14560&p_docnum=13&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/27/19	immigration	Main News	Democrats' first shot at making first impression	Neutral	965	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1745240EAE5905540&p_docnum=15&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/26/19	immigrants	Metro	Judge allows suit claiming Medi-Cal bias to proceed	Positive	524	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1744D08FB36CD800&p_docnum=17&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/23/19	immigration, immigrants, illegal	Main News	Trump delays immigration raids, requests bipartisan plan	Positive	688	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1743D36E6D1634B0&p_docnum=23&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/23/19	immigrants	Metro	State's ballot measures put voters at odds with courts	Neutral	1262	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=174427CF858010D0&p_docnum=26&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/22/19	immigration, immigrants, illegal	Metro	S.F. a likely target in migrant raids	Positive	980	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1743770FC69CF9&p_docnum=28&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/21/19	illegal immigration	Main News	Appeals court skeptical on Trump wall funding	Neutral	615	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1743C273EA514080&p_docnum=31&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/20/19	immigration, immigrants, migrants	Metro	White House seeks to overturn sanctuary law	Neutral	520	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1742D8121082A388&p_docnum=32&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/20/19	immigrants	Metro	Trump's tax law could help state aid working poor	Neutral	1026	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1743C273F1C9877&p_docnum=34&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/19/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	Schaaf slams Trump threat of deportations	Positive	733	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17428381DA2CB0&p_docnum=35&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/19/19	immigration	Metro	Judges cry foul at conditions of immigrant minors	Positive	442	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17428381B4CE3428&p_docnum=37&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/19/19	immigration	Metro	Feds allow brothers in U.S. for transplant	Positive	865	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17428381CB0F38F8&p_docnum=38&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/19/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	Pro-Trump caravan rolls through Marin County	Negative	639	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17428381C2A250&p_docnum=39&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/19/19	immigrants	Metro	S.F. officials decry census form cuts	Positive	505	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17422D01EF854498&p_docnum=41&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/16/19	immigration, immigrants, illegal	Business	Mexicans fear tariffs could halt work visas	Positive	1390	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1741D930D476D0B8&p_docnum=44&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/16/19	immigration, immigrants	Main News	Executive action key for Harris	Positive	1242	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=174186940CD5030&p_docnum=45&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/15/19	immigration	Metro	Dying man's brothers may get wish granted	Positive	390	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17413233AC5A99B0&p_docnum=52&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/13/19	immigration	Metro	Asylum seeker's kin file claim against ICE	Positive	673	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17408972FA804F8&p_docnum=54&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/10/19	immigrants	Metro	State budget deal on health coverage	Neutral	620	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173F8C529CCFB58&p_docnum=60&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/10/19	immigrants	Main News	Ride-hail hours, flexibility drive workers to stay	Positive	1529	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173FDEF3AC62D6B&p_docnum=62&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/8/19	immigration	Metro	Harris seeks to help dying man's kin get travel permits	Neutral	397	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173EE32CBB3F4D8&p_docnum=65&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/7/19	immigration	Main News	Visas denied to donors whose brother needs their lifesaving bone marrow	Positive	1056	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173EE32C5D5050&p_docnum=66&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/6/19	immigration, immigrants, migrants, illegal	Main News	State's House Republicans not opposing tariffs	Positive	1002	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173E3AD3FB32C130&p_docnum=68&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/6/19	immigration, migrants	Business	H-1B visa approvals plunged 10% last year, feds say	Neutral	500	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173E3AD40041CBC0&p_docnum=69&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/5/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	Sanctuary policy stands pat	Neutral	795	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173E3AD422B27249&p_docnum=71&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/4/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	A 'Galahad' who merited own grill	Positive	1165	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173D6E4813AACD7F0&p_docnum=75&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/1/19	immigrants	Main News	Mexico tariffs would jolt state	Neutral	1184	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173C94F39F3D40E0&p_docnum=86&s_dlid=DL01200706
6/1/19	immigration	Main News	Democrat hopefuls pitch the faithful	Neutral	1138	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173C94F39E5E1028&p_docnum=87&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/31/19	migrants, illegal	Main News	Trump plans tariffs to pressure Mexico over crossings	Neutral	393	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173C9ED0C7A6D8D8&p_docnum=88&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/31/19	illegal immigration	Main News	Building blocked during appeal	Neutral	499	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173C9ED09E96E6F0&p_docnum=89&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/31/19	immigrants	Main News	The politicians' handbook for visiting San Francisco	Neutral	1240	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173C94F3AC971D8&p_docnum=92&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/30/19	illegal immigration	Metro	White House moves to suspend judge's border wall ruling	Neutral	459	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173BEC35B7238E08&p_docnum=93&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/29/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	Immigrant makes his mark at UCSF	Positive	1119	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173BEC355A7E1028&p_docnum=95&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/25/19	illegal immigration	Main News	Border spending blocked in court	Neutral	810	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173A448E92A801C8&p_docnum=106&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/25/19	migrants, immigration	Main News	Republican lawmaker adds more delay on disaster relief	Neutral	618	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=173A448E08A1060&p_docnum=107&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/24/19	migrants, immigration	Main News	U.S. Senate OKs disaster relief package	Neutral	708	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739F1F637494260&p_docnum=108&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/23/19	immigration	Metro	'American Taliban' fighter from Marin released from prison	Negative	1306	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739F1F664200818&p_docnum=109&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/22/19	immigration, immigrants, illegal	Metro	Asylum granted to Bay Area mother	Neutral	574	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739476FC78A5FC8&p_docnum=110&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/22/19	immigration, immigrants	Metro	Women accuse ICE contractor of cruelty	Positive	497	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739476FC0947C0&p_docnum=111&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/22/19	immigration	Metro	State sues feds over funds for high-speed rail	Neutral	679	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739476FA3D25960&p_docnum=113&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/22/19	immigration	Metro	Trump's 6th appointee to Appeals Court confirmed	Neutral	463	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=1739476FB1A7C6D8&p_docnum=114&s_dlid=DL01200706
5/19/19	immigration	Metro	Saga of police leak of Adachi death report to journalist	Neutral	3093	search/wel/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=17394A562DA4D00&p_docnum=118&s_dlid=DL01200706

Appendix C: ProQuest database search information

The Irish Independent:

- pubid(27149) AND mainsubject(immigrants or immigration or "illegal immigration" or "illegal alien" or migrants)
- pubid(27149) AND ft(Polish or Chinese or Brazilian or African or Pakistani or Indian or Afghan or Latino or Lithuanian)
- pubid(27149) AND ft (Muslim or Hindu or Buddhist or Jewish)

The Irish Times:

- pubid(27283) AND mainsubject(immigrants or immigration or "illegal immigration" or "illegal alien" or migrants)
- pubid(27283) AND ft(Polish or Chinese or Brazilian or African or Pakistani or Indian or Afghan or Latino or Lithuanian)
- pubid(27283) AND ft(Muslim or Hindu or Buddhist or Jewish)

The Los Angeles Times:

- pubid(2044848) AND mainsubject(immigrants or immigration or "illegal immigration" or "illegal alien" or migrants)
- pubid(2044848) AND ft(Polish or Chinese or Brazilian or African or Pakistani or Indian or Afghan or Latino or Lithuanian)
- pubid(2044848) AND ft(Muslim or Hindu or Buddhist or Jewish)