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Framing of Refugees in Spanish Newspapers

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Abstract

This study identifies the frames used in the representation of refugees by three major Spanish newspapers: *ABC*, *El País* and *El Mundo*. Using directed content analysis guided by predefined frames and summative content analysis, frames are ranked according to their presence in newspaper articles. After categorization, the frames are analyzed, and their usage compared and contrasted across all three newspapers. Analysis showed that refugees were mostly used as conduits for broader political debates across all newspapers. This study shows how representation of refugees are not always clear and may instead be used as conduits for broader discussions related to national media systems.

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1. Introduction

This thesis analyzed newspaper articles in Spain during the 2015 ““refugee crisis””¹ using qualitative content analysis. The study used previously defined frames to categorize newspaper articles from *ABC*, *El Pais* and *El Mundo*, three major Spanish newspapers (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011), into five frames that are commonly observed across different media framing studies (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). After categorization, the frames were analyzed and compared for differences and similarities in how the frames were used to represent refugees by the different newspapers. This chapter presents the background of the study, specifies the research questions, and describes the significance of the study. The chapter concludes with a schema of the thesis.

1.1 Background

The media plays a role in shaping culture but is also created and shaped by the culture of a particular environment (Wasilewski 2018). It is through the media that “material culture and social space, social interactions, and embodied practices, that identities come alive, invoke common histories to be told and establish the (constructed and shifting) boundaries of culture, common identities, and differences” (Howarth 2011). Media reports emphasizes different sets of objects like events, issues or actors (Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018). The emphasis on certain texts, or symbols like images, elevates information about an item (e.g. news events, issues) and are used “to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation and/or solution” (Entman 1993).

Selection and emphasis on particular aspects of perceived reality through communicative texts “in such a way as to promote particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation of the item described” is the definition Robert Entman gives to framing (Ibid). Through framing the communications media can present an issue in such a way as to influence the receiver’s thinking “by the presence or absence of certain keywords stock phrases, stereotyped imaged, sources of information” (Ibid). The study of

¹ “refugee crisis” is placed in quotations to show support of Chouliaraki and Zabrowski’s critical stance on the term see (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski 2017).

framing in media focuses on how frames are constructed and how they may, or may not, influence various aspects of society like public opinion, public policy, or attitudes towards outgroups like immigrants (Thorbjørnsrud 2015). Framing in media can influence and be influenced by the cultural milieu in which it finds itself. Therefore, frames can find themselves embedded in the context of a particular social group, like a nation.

Spain underwent demographic change during the end of the 20th century. By the beginning of the 21st century Spain transformed from an emigrating country to an immigrant receiving country (Igartua, Muñiz, and Cheng 2005). Although Spaniards had positive attitudes towards immigration by the end of the 20th century, these attitudes gradually changed and transformed immigration into a national “social problem” by 2010 (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011). The change of public attitudes towards immigration in Spain characterizes a phenomenon in which different actors participate in elevating a social practice into a social problem; the communication media features prominently in this transformation (Ibid). Media framing of immigration in Spain has taken a negative tone, often associating migration to negative subjects like crime, violence and competition amongst the native population for scarce resources like job opportunities (Igartua, Muñiz, and Cheng 2005; Muñiz et al. 2008; Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011; Igartua and Muñiz 2004). These depictions are also found in local press within the country (Fabregat, Medina-Bravo, and Meyers 2019).

During the transformation of the country’s demographics and with the rise of negative sentiment towards immigrants, an event arose that affected Spain and the European Union: a large influx of individuals fleeing civil war in Syria, and other conflict affected places, which has been labeled as the “refugee crisis” by numerous media outlets, governments, non-governmental agencies. The arrival of large numbers of people turned into a major policy issue in which the EU tried to create a program for a unified system for the reception and settlement of refugees (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski 2017). During this time the Spanish newspaper media presented the crisis as an issue that tested the EU’s solidarity and exposed the EU’s inability to build a framework necessary to process and distribute the surge of refugee claims. Spanish newspapers also reported on the Spanish individuals and autonomous region’s willingness to help settle the asylum seekers against the backdrop of the EU and the Spanish central government’s disagreement on asylum quotas and mismanagement of the issue.

1.2 Research Questions

Media plays an important role in framing of different issues through selection and salience of particular aspects of reality. The presentation of these frames has an impact on the way the receiver of the information processes the selected aspect of reality and how the receiver reaches a judgement on the causes of the problem and how the problem can be remedied. As stated earlier, different studies have shown that framing of immigrants in Spanish media take a negative tone by associating immigration with different subjects like crime and competition for scarce resources. These negative tones in media have been associated with transforming immigration into a social problem in different public opinion polls.

With aforementioned background, this study focuses on the way three Spanish newspapers covered the events during 2015 in which large numbers of people came to Europe during what many have termed the “refugee crisis”. Using five common frames found in numerous content analysis of national and cross-national media (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000), the following two questions guide this study of newspapers in Spain:

- R1: How do different frames rank in their usage in the representation of refugees in the three major Spanish newspapers?
- R2: What are the differences and similarities in how the newspapers use the frames to represent refugees?

1.3 Significance of Study

Over the past two decades various content analysis of media have used framing theory as a means of studying the types of frames used to relay different information and their effects on the receivers of information. The study of frames in representation of immigrants in media has focused on the salience of the subject (emphasis on subject) and the way framing plays a role in public opinion, perception of immigrants and public policy. Across European media outlets, immigrant portrayals have been associated with criminality and delinquency (Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018). This coverage differs based on the types of immigrants like irregular immigrants or asylum-seeking refugees (Ibid). Although it appears media framing of immigrants share some commonality across the European media, the way the frames are built and used may differ in specific national media contexts and within different newspapers (Ibid).

This study focuses on a refugees, one of the many categorizations of types of immigrant groups. The Spanish media represents the context in which the different framing of refugees are built. By studying a specific group of immigrants (e.g. refugees) in a specific national setting this project aims to add knowledge to the way frames are used by contextualizing the usage of frames in a specific setting adding a different point of view to the already available studies of different national media outlets. Contextualizing of the framing of refugees also adds knowledge on how media plays a role in communicating how national identities are built, contested and characterized within the space of national news media.

1.4 Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 of this study focuses on the literature review of the different frames found across different media studies of the representation of immigrants and the effects these frames have on different aspects of society. Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical framework of framing along with the limitations of the theory. Chapter 4 will delineate the methods and research design along with delimitation and limitations of the study. Chapter 5 examines the findings and illustrates how different newspaper narratives fit within the different frames. Chapter 6 analyzes the findings and finds similarities and differences in the usage of frames on representation of refugees. The last chapter will conclude the thesis and reflects on the significance of the findings and possible future investigations.

2 Literature Review

Framing in news media relays selected bits and pieces of reality and communicates these to the receivers of information. Studying the types of frames used in media showcases how presentation of different information are used to represent different issues, like immigration. When it comes to immigration, newspaper and television media create frames that represent immigrants in negative manners associated with security threats, involved with conflicts, crime and also as people who need to be protected yet controlled - as is the case with asylum seekers (Varjú and Plaut 2017; Thorbjørnsrud 2015; Lawlor 2015a; Eades 2019). These different frames appear in national and local media, with similarities found across borders (Lawlor 2015a). The effects of these frames on the receiver of information is varied. Several studies have shown that the effects of these frames on individuals or policy are varied and complex (Brouwer, van der Woude, and van der Leun 2017; Bos et al. 2016). This chapter will review the literature on frames and their effects. The first part will highlight the different frames found in the reporting of immigrants and the way content is analyzed to create these frames. For the second part of this chapter studies on the effects of frames on readers of information will be discussed.

2.1 Framing of Immigration in Media

There have been two major ways of studying frames used in media, inductively and deductively (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Through inductive analysis of media content, frames are built from the content itself as opposed to using pre-defined criteria. This inductive way of building frames and studying them uses different quantitative methods of analysis like word frequency, cluster analysis of words/phrases, multiple correspondent analysis, and automated code analysis. Qualitative inductive frame building relies on different coding methods like critical discourse analysis of content, iterative and deductive coding.

Using multiple variable analysis 17 frames were found to appear in Spanish news media when reporting on the issue of immigration (Igartua, Muñiz, and Cheng 2005). Igartua et al. analyzed the frames to position the newspapers in relation to the immigration issue and found that the position varied based on the political line of the newspaper (progressive or conservative) and the model of the newspaper (prestige press or sensationalist press). Similar studies using quantitative analysis of media content also showed positioning of immigration issues based on political line of the newspaper and the model of newspapers (Mancini et al. 2019; Tine Ustad

Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015; Wallace 2018) . When discussing the most common frames used by Canadian media when reporting on the Syrian “refugee crisis”, six frames were found to appear the most in the coverage of the crisis, with a conflict frame identified the most (Wallace 2018). In Wallace’s construction of the conflict frame, descriptions of the military conflict in Syria, ISIS and aid on the ground featured the most. In the research, Wallace found that although most newspapers (regardless of political lines or model of reporting) shifted their focus from portraying Syrian refugees as outsiders inside of Canada to “portraying refugees’ integration into Canadian life.”

Qualitative analysis of news content has found similar frames used to describe immigration in different media settings. In the framing of Illegal immigration and its discussion on why it’s a problem, newspapers and television in the United States mentioned crime as the most often negative consequence (Kim et al. 2011). Kim et al. mentions that because of the US Media’s for-profit model, associating crime with immigration may lead to higher ratings and more viewers. There seems to be little difference in the way regional and national media use framing in their reporting of illegal immigration in the U.S. even by media outlets that are in areas where immigration might have more of an influence, for example areas around the border (Ibid). This goes in line with similar studies that show that national and local news often use the same frames to stereotype immigrants (Fabregat, Medina-Bravo, and Meyers 2019; Lawlor 2015b).

Although there are many similarities in the findings between deductive and inductive framing analysis the conclusions reached by the different authors vary. For example, the way Kim et al. links media organization to the way specific media outlets represent immigration simplifies a complex issue. In countries where the for profit news organizations are not so prominent, like Norway, media framing of immigration often uses stories that try to catch and keep the attention of readers as well, even though the organization of the Norwegian model follows a less market oriented model than the U.S. (Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015). Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud compared different media outlets across three different nations and their use of the “Human Interest Frame”², a frame that is often criticized for

² Human interest frames were defined according to Holli A. Semetko and Patti M. Valkenbourg’s definition found in their work titled “Framing European Politics: A content Analysis of Press and Television News.” The authors describe the frame as putting a human face to the story or using adjectives that encourage the reader to experience an emotion.

oversimplifying the complexities of migration, often appearing in “journalistic techniques related to commercial, tabloid media, where the individual story is highlighted and the contextual information and background is largely ignored.” In their conclusion, the authors found that even though Norwegian press exist in a less “market-oriented model”, the Norwegian news outlets were the ones who used the most Human-interest frames when reporting immigration compared to more market oriented media outlets that exist in the US and France (Ibid).

Identification of different frames across the media has led to a call for a formation of reliable set of indicators to be used across media outlets in order to better study political and other topics of importance and the way they are framed (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Semetko and Valkenburg suggest that through a deductive approach it becomes easier to study large amounts of data across different news media outlets; they also identify five frames that have been recognized in various previous studies: conflict frames, human interest frames, economic consequences frame, morality frame and responsibility frame. They then go on to define the different frames, keeping parallel to Entman’s definition of frames as text that “define problems ...[and] diagnose causes” (Entman 1993, 52). With a clearer definition of types frames, it is possible to deductively identify the types of frames used in media representations of immigrants and, more specifically, refugees. Through this deductive process, it becomes easier to manage large amounts of content and to contextualize the way different frames are used in particular media environments. Several researchers have used Semetko and Valkenburg’s predefined frames in the study of representation of refugees across different countries (Abdelhady 2019; Abdelhady and Malmberg 2018) and in the analysis of certain frames across different national news outlets in the reporting of irregular migration (Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015).

2.2 Effects of Frames in the Reporting of Immigration

Media plays a role in selecting and presenting different parts of reality to the receivers of such information. But do the way certain issues are framed affect the way people think about the highlighted issues? Does certain framing of immigration affect the way people feel about or perceive immigrants? Also, do the different frames of immigration in media affect public policy or does public policy regarding immigration affect the framing of immigrants in media? These are all questions regarding the way media highlights certain issues and how the receivers of

information interpret these prepackaged sentiments of immigration in the form of the frames used to describe the phenomenon. Several studies have tried to answer these questions using qualitative and quantitative studies using content analysis along with ethnographic research, interviews, and surveys.

Frames that play into the stereotypes of Islam and Muslims as threats are thought to have a greater impact on public opinion (T. U. Figenschou, Beyer, and Thorbjørnsrud 2015). Based on this hypothesis, Figenschou et al. expected frames that portrayed Islam and Muslims as threats would have a greater impact than frames that offered “more abstract and complex descriptions” (p 67). Their study focused on the media portrayal of a “moral panic” in which “news series [focused] on the harassment of people believed to disrespect traditional Muslim norms” (p 65). The analysis followed responses to a news article published in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* on January 9th 2010 called “The Moral Police”. In the analysis of the responses to the news article three different frames were identified. The minority frame emphasized the moral police phenomenon as a problem amongst the Muslim population. The general social control frame added nuances to the first frame by emphasizing “this as an example of general, negative social control mechanisms present in all types of societies” (p 69). The last frame argued that the description of the story “was a campaign against the Muslim minority” (p 70). Next a survey was carried out to gauge whether respondents had heard about the concept of “moral police” and if the awareness of the term was linked to the media coverage. The last part of the project focused on an open-ended question asking the respondents to define the “moral police” problem (p 70 -71).

Three fourths of the respondents to the survey believed that the moral police “represented a problem for Norwegian society” (p 73). The researchers found that the introduction of a concept and issue by the media had an effect on the public’s awareness of the issue and that the range of opinions of the cause of the problem reflect the range of frames used by the media to portray the issue (p 75). The use of frames “that activate feelings, are more effective than frames that rely on cognitive cues” (p 75). These frames were tied to frames that were discussed in the beginning of the study that link Islam and Muslims as a threat to democratic societies. These attitudes are also linked to other studies mentioned in Figenschou et al. in which “public opinion on immigration and perspectives on race and ethnicity depend systematically on how the issues are framed in the media” (p 67).

These types of attitudes tied to the framing of ethnicities and immigration, particularly Muslim immigration, to threat frames have an influence on the way people react to the perception of these threats. Media framing has been tied to radical ways citizens of European countries react to perception of threat after media reports of violence thought to be caused by refugees or Muslim immigrants (Stürmer et al. 2019; Pred 2000). Stürmer et al. studied the way the German news framed the Cologne New Year's Eve sexual assault on women and found that the media's focus on framing the problem around the refugee suspect's Muslim culture "strengthened the relation between [individuals] feelings of symbolic threat as a result of Muslim immigration and their approval of radical responses"³. Analysis of new stories of rape in Swedish media often portray rapes that happen in Swedish disadvantaged neighborhoods populated by immigrants linked to the residents "foreign culture" of the residents (Bernhardsson and Bogren 2012). In Spain the increase of negative sentiment towards immigrants has been linked to the threat of immigrants to the population and Spanish identity that is exasperated by the salience of frames that link immigrants to crime and other unpopular phenomenon (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011).

The salience, reporting of certain issues, has an influence in setting the agenda in the discussion of issues within the public. Agenda setting and salience are part of Entman's definition of framing and the possible ways it affects the receivers of information. Whether salience and agenda setting by framing influences public perception of issues like immigration is still debated, especially when researching whether salience and agenda setting in news media frames influence public policy (Dekker and Scholten 2017; Brouwer, van der Woude, and van der Leun 2017).

³ The radical responses named in the article: trivialization of right wing violence, support for armed self-defense, and support for closing Germany's border to immigrants and foreigners.

3. Theory

This chapter discusses the theoretical frameworks used in this study of frames in Spanish newspaper's representation of refugees during the "refugee crisis" from the beginning of the 2015 to the end of the year. The chapter starts off by discussing the theoretical aspect of agenda setting and the importance of attribute agenda setting. A short discussion and definition of framing theory follows. The concluding subsection discusses why the different frameworks were used and how it helps when studying the representation of refugees in Spanish newspapers.

3.1 Defining Agenda Setting

In "The Convergence of Agenda Setting and Framing" Maxwell McCombs and Salma I. Ghanem discuss the essence of agenda setting theory and the history of the theory's application on the study of public opinion (Reese et al. 2001). McCombs and Ghanem reference the influence of Walter Lippman's observation that "much of the behavior underlying public opinion is a response to mental images of events, an imagined pseudoenvironment that is treated as if it were the real environment" (p 54) on the development of agenda setting theory and its congruence with framing theory⁴. Agenda setting becomes part of the imagined pseudoenvironment through salience; the media's selection of "pictures" of the world transferred to our heads (p 54). Because of the media's vast influence on the way we learn about the world, the media's portrayal of such world influences the way we think about the environment around us (p 55). Essentially the salience, or the way the media chooses what to present to us, affects what we think is important- "simply put, the media's agenda sets the public agenda" (p 54). Thus, through the media's creation of the pseudoenvironment, and its selection of certain topics or issues, salience becomes important in the setting of an agenda - "the degree of emphasis placed on the issues influence the priority accorded to these issues by the public" (p 55). McCombs and Ghanem mention that agendas are composed of several "elements" but are usually composed of social issues (e.g. poverty, elections, public opinion, and in this study's

⁴ Discussion of framing theory in its own subchapter follows this.

case, refugees and the “refugee crisis”) but can also be used, and have been used, in various other fields like advertisement and the study of institutions themselves (e.g. supreme court, EU).

McCombs and Ghanem discuss how the theoretical framework of agenda setting has been helpful in the study of the mass media impact on the public agenda (p 57) through discussion of the findings of several empirical studies that use the theory to discuss the concordance of the media and the public’s agendas. To put it simply, media affects the way the public perceives the importance of certain issues, but as the researchers point out through quoting Cohen “the mass media may not tell us what to think, they are stunningly successful in telling us *what to think about*⁵” (p 55). The authors go on to describe the different parts of agenda setting theory, salience of objects and the salience of attributes.

3.1.1 Attribute Agenda Setting

The authors discuss agenda setting theory as composed of two aspects of salience: object salience and attribute salience. Object salience itself is concerned more with the salience of the issue i.e. the object. For example, McCombs and Ghanem use the example of Iyengar and Simon’s study of the Persian Gulf Crisis as a means to differentiate between object and attribute salience: “When their survey respondents stated that the Gulf crisis was the most important problem facing the nation, we are dealing with the first level” (p 55). Attribute salience in this study was linked to the different options that could be taken when dealing with the crisis (e. g. diplomatic actions, economic actions, military actions). Here McCombs and Ghanem add context to the theoretical framework of agenda setting by discussing how the different elements of the theory can work at different levels when studying media effects. The authors mention how the second level of agenda setting, the attribute level, has the power to influence the way the audience *thinks* about issue, thus referring to Cohens quote from above – “they are stunningly successful in telling us *what to think about*”. Attribute agenda setting thus selects attributes of the object i.e. issue and may frame the way the media presents an issue to the general public; by highlighting certain attributes of the issue, the attribute salience becomes important on how the public may perceive a broader issue like immigration.

⁵ Emphasis added by the author of this study.

3.2 Defining Framing

Framing has entered “popular discourse” and has varied definitions apart from the definitions associated with the term in the study of mass communications (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). James W. Tankard writes in “The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media framing” that the broad definitions associated with the term has brought different perceptions to the importance of framing (Ibid p 72). On the other hand, Robert M. Entman mentions the term’s “scattered conceptualization” and the need “to suggest a more precise and universal understanding” (Entman 1993). Framing plays an important part in the creation of a reality by selecting pieces of information and presenting these pieces of information to the receiver – “framing essentially involves *selection* and *salience*”:

To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe, a point explored most thoroughly by Gamson. (Entman 1993)

Frames thus include but also exclude some aspects of reality which leads to the receiver of the information to have different reactions (Ibid 55). In this form, when framing is applied to the media, by selecting some aspects of reality and excluding others, the media is able to influence the receivers of the information, in this case the audience.

3.3 Discussion of Theoretical Frameworks

This subchapter discusses the defined theoretical frameworks that were used in this study. The section was created to separate the definition of the theories from the discussion, allowing for a clearer discussion of the merits of the theories, their drawbacks and the reasons why they were employed.

3.3.1 Merits of Agenda Setting Theory

In its simplest definition, agenda setting theory posits that media salience of topics influence’s the public’s perception of what is important- “the media selects the agenda, the

public follows it” (Reese et al. 2001). The theory explains how this happens because of the media’s importance on influencing how people learn and perceive the world. Through the creation of a “pseudoenvironment” the media presents to the audience a certain way of perceiving and learning about the world. This perception of reality itself doesn’t necessarily have to exist, and it doesn’t *need* to exist. The theory itself is not concerned with the nature of being but focuses instead on how the audience perceives the nature of being by how the media presents it to them. This becomes important when studying how agendas are set and what kind of attributes are related to the issues that are deemed important by way of salience and repetition. The theory also makes it possible to study the effects of agenda setting on the public (which has been touched upon in the literature review chapter).

In this study agenda setting becomes important in studying the way Spanish newspapers represent refugees. By writing about the issue/object (in this case the refugees) and by selecting and repeating certain attributes about the object (for example, the way institutions deal with the refugees) the continued reporting (salience) places the object in the minds of the audience. Agenda setting theory allows us to identify the object and deconstruct it to the attributes ascribed to the object. By doing this, it becomes possible to study the way attributes of an object affect not only the media’s effect on public agenda, but also whether certain attributes of the object affect how and what to think about the object.

3.3.2 Potential Problems with Agenda Setting Theory

One drawback of the theory is that it places an enormous emphasis on the effect of media on the audience or individual. The same simple definition of agenda setting theory assumes that the media directs the public agenda. Thus, agenda setting theory seems to disregard or deemphasize the audience’s role in influencing the media itself. The theory limits the individual’s agency and the collective’s influence on the media. Media reports are created by individuals (e. g. journalist, editors, photographers); by assuming that the reports created by the media are separate from the creators of the report, the creator’s individual preference for reporting on certain issues and the preference for selecting certain attributes are glossed over. The emphasis on media guiding the agenda also looks over the influence of the public on the type of issues that the media selects to emphasize. This becomes more important when considering media outlets that function within a market-oriented atmosphere in which readership

and ad revenue are important in maintaining media outlets like newspapers running. Perhaps, this drawback of the theory is what has led to different outcomes in studies of the effects of framing on the public and policy creation (Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015; Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018; Brouwer, van der Woude, and van der Leun 2017; T. U. Figenschou, Beyer, and Thorbjørnsrud 2015).

3.3.3 Merits of Framing Theory

One of the merits mentioned by James W. Tankard in “The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing” for the usage of frames in studying the media is that “the concept of framing can offer an alternative to the old objectivity and bias paradigm that was popular in mass communication research for years” (Reese et al. 2001). According to Tankard, framing is a more sophisticated approach “beyond notions of pro or con, favorable or unfavorable, negative or positive” (Ibid p 72). Through a more refined method of framing, as Entman proposes, it is possible to focus on how the media represents an issue or problem and its possible causes and solutions (Entman 1993). Selection of the problem and addressing its causes and solutions presents the reader with a prepackaged idea. A good example of the way a frame might work is if we consider it to be like a multiple choice question: the question presents the problem, but with only a limited predefined set of solutions, it becomes hard to contextualize a solution if the receiver of information can only choose between a set number of causes/solutions. Through this definition of framing, identification of problems and the solutions offered, a more complex and “sophisticated” way of studying the way media outlets present information to the receiver, as Tankard mentioned.

With a more precise definition of framing theory, different frames and their contextualization can be investigated. The case of framing of refugees in Spanish newspapers makes a useful application of framing theory by identifying different problems proposed by media that are represented to be caused by refugees or the “refugee crisis”. Applying the framing theory to how the frame is constructed enables one to research the way the framing of the problem is presented to the reader and the possible solutions or causes – “framing....includes similar functions : selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution”(Entman 1993). Framing adds another dimension to content analysis of refugees in Spanish newspapers by

adding a more sophisticated analysis than just referring to whether the newspaper article represents the refugees in a positive or negative way – “often coders simply tote up all the messages they judge as positive and negative and draw conclusions of the dominant meanings. They neglect to measure the salience of elements in a text and fail to gauge the relationships of the most salient frames to the audience schemata” (Ibid 1993 p57). Through usage of framing theory in the analysis of newspaper stories on refugees, this study is able to draw relationships between the frames used by newspapers on refugees and how they can tie into the readers “ideas that guide individuals processing of information (Ibid 1993 p 53).

3.3.4 Potential Problems with Framing Theory

The benefits afforded to the studying of media through framing theory can also be theory’s drawbacks. For example, the studies mentioned in the literature review in which different quantitative and qualitative analysis of content were used to identify frames, multiple frames are identified. The tools used to identify frames in news coverage can provide different frames within the same data. Applying defined frames deductively can make the researcher overlook other important details if the researcher goes into the data looking for a specific frame. This bias in individuals researching frames in media content can gloss over other important details or even find frames within data that may not exist (Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018).

3.4 Conclusion

Definitions of agenda setting theory and framing theory that were used in this study have been discussed in this chapter along with the merits and drawbacks of each theory. Agenda setting theory, specifically attribute agenda setting, along with framing theory gave this study a guided theoretical framework from which the study has proceeded. Through attribute agenda setting it becomes possible to identify different attributes ascribed to the object of study i.e. the reporting of refugees in Spanish media. The different attributes mentioned when talking about refugees merge with the concept of selection of issues described in framing theory. Through this merger of different but similar theories identification of attributes related to the object become easier to identify and contextualize in the Spanish newspaper’s reporting of refugees.

4. Methodology

This brief introduction outlines the chapter along with proposing the aims of the selected methods. The data collected for this study consisted of newspaper articles from three Spanish newspapers: *ABC*, *El Mundo* and *El País*. The cross-sectional data consisted of newspaper articles printed from the 1st of January to the last day of December 2015. Newspaper articles that spoke about the “refugee crisis” relating to Spain itself were selected while those that didn’t were taken out of the corpus⁶. Summative content analysis was used for an analysis and categorization of the newspaper articles. The aim of the study to rank the usage of specific frames in the representation of refugees in the three major Spanish newspapers and to identify differences and similarities in how the newspapers use the frames to represent refugees. The chapter is divided into the following subchapters: research design, data collection, categorization, delimitations and limitations, and reflexivity.

4.1 Research design

Summative content and directed content analysis were used to analyze the newspaper articles. A directed content analysis “ starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes” while summative content analysis “ involves counting and comparisons usually of keywords or content followed by interpretation of the underlying context” (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). For this study, five frames that were identified by Semetko and Valkenburg were used as guidance for analyzing the newspaper articles and for categorization (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). The articles were then counted to see which frames most were used in all newspaper articles, and also to observe which newspapers used which frames the most. Following the categorization and counting, a deeper analysis of the articles was conducted in order to find “underlying context” of attributes to interpret how the different newspapers contextualized the refugees. Thus, the study used simple quantitative data (count of frames) and a qualitative approach; data was categorized through a deductive approach.

⁶ This decision will be discussed in the “Delimitations and Limitations” subchapter.

4.2 Data Collection

The collection of data started by selecting three major⁷ Spanish newspapers: *ABC*, *El Mundo* and *El País* (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011). The three newspapers have been positioned ideologically: *ABC* conservative/right wing, *El Mundo* center left, *El País* progressive left (Ramos-Arroyo and Díaz-Campo 2019). A Boolean search was conducted through archives of newspaper articles in Nexis' Lexis online database. The word "refugiad" was used with a Boolean modifier "*" attached at the end⁸. The search was limited to articles that contained the word in the article headline. The search was also conducted to include only articles that were published between January 1st until December 31st 2015⁹. After all articles were gathered, articles were read and organized into two groups: newspaper articles addressing refugee issues outside or inside of the country. Articles that addressed refugee issues outside of Spain (e.g. articles about refugee camps in Jordan, articles discussing German political conflicts) were deleted from the initial corpus of data¹⁰. Next, the remaining articles were reread and editorials, other articles from sports sections or art sections were further removed from the corpus. In the end there were a total of 51 newspaper articles: 15 from *ABC*, 18 from *El Mundo*, and 18 from *El País*. After gathering the data, the newspaper articles were read and categorized into five different frames.

4.3 Categorization

Once selection of newspaper articles was completed, the newspaper articles were reread and categorized into five different frames. Categorization was carried out using a deductive method with five predefined frames. These five frames were frames that Semetko and Valkenburg found across different framing studies (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Semetko and Valkenburg identified these frames and constructed a list of questions for each frame. In this study the questions Semetko and Valkenburg created were used to identify whether a particular news article fit within a frame. If the article answered a majority of questions for a certain frame, that article was coded for that frame. A summary of the description of the five different frames follows.

⁷ According to daily circulation numbers in Spain.

⁸ See footnote 6.

⁹ See footnote 6.

¹⁰ See footnote 6

4.3.1 Responsibility Frame

In Semetko and Valkenburg's content analysis of European media, they identified five different frames that are commonly found across framing studies of media. One of these frames identified was the *responsibility frame* – “this frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, 96). The questions created to see whether this frame was present in a news story focus on attributing responsibility to a government/institution or individual, emphasis on solutions, or ability to alleviate the problem¹¹.

4.3.2 Conflict Frame

The next frame identified by the researchers was the conflict frame. This frame “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, 95; Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992). Neuman et al. found that the media draw upon a few central frames and that this frame was one of the most commonly used. The questions used for identifying the conflict frame deal with how the news story presents disagreement and reproach from different groups.

4.3.3 Human Interest Frame

Presenting a human face to a story and evoking emotions within a reader, the humanitarian frame identifies these qualities within news stories (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, 95 - 96). This frame has been used in other studies to compare and contrast the frames usage in media across different countries and also within different media systems (Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015). The questions used to identify this frame include whether there are personal narratives within the story or whether the story “employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000).

¹¹ The exact questions are found in the appendices section. Further explanation of questions can be referred to this attachment as more references will be made to them in the description of frames.

4.3.4 Economic Consequences Frame

This frame reports the problem and how it relates to the “economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, 96). The questions used to identify this frame focus on whether the news item speaks about not just present economic consequences, but also future ones. One of the questions developed by the researchers references whether acting or not acting upon the problem will bring consequences economically.

4.3.5 Morality Frame

The last frame addressed here identifies whether there is a “moral story” within the article. Because of the perception of the neutrality of journalists, moral stories usually contain quotes from religious authorities or any other authority that takes a moral standpoint when addressing the problem (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Questions asked to identify this frame revolve around moral messages, references to religion or god (Ibid 100).

4.4 Delimitations and Limitations

In this subchapter delimitations of the study along with limitations will be discussed. The chapter is divided into two parts: delimitations and limitations. The delimitations will discuss the choices made with regards to the framing of the study. Limitations will address issues with the selected methodology.

4.4.1 Delimitations

The first delimitation of the study was choosing Spain as the country for the study. Over the past 20 years Spain has changed from an emigrating country to an immigrant receiving county with most immigrants coming from Latin America and North Africa (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011). Negative sentiment towards immigration has elevated the issue to a social problem in the public’s mind (Ibid). With this background in mind, during the so-called “refugee crisis”, newspapers reported on Spain’s struggle with irregular migration along with the possibility of receiving refugees through a possible mandatory assignment quota ordained by the EU. These events placed the mind of the researcher of this study on Spain as a place where

framing of refugees in this particular context would reveal how newspapers bundled the issue to the readers.

Who reads newspapers in this digitalized, paperless world? The decrease of influence of traditional media on audiences may lead some to question the choice of the study to focus on major newspaper outlets. But even in the age of declining newspaper circulation, newspaper headlines manage to have an impact on social media (Roy et al. 2019). Previous studies mentioned in the literature review section also point towards salience of certain issues on the reader's mind, for example "moral police" (T. U. Figenschou, Beyer, and Thorbjørnsrud 2015) or radical responses towards refugees after a major reported event (Stürmer et al. 2019), are influenced by the salience of certain issues in newspaper media. In an increasing digital world and an increase in the decentralization of media outlets, newspaper outlets still play a major part in the way people think about the world. Newspaper headlines need to grasp the reader's attention in order to keep it.

The study was further delimited by a time frame and a word that had to appear in the headline. Newspaper articles that were published from January 1st to December 31st, 2015 were selected removing those that did not have the word "refugiad*" in the headline. The decision to only include articles within this time frame was done because it was thought to represent the height of the refugee "crisis" (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski 2017). The selection of this time frame also helped with producing a smaller sample size. The word "refugiad*" was chosen as the search term for many reasons. There are different framings of immigration in media reports along with different sentiment towards different immigrant groups encompassed by the term "immigrant"; different sentiments exist when describing immigrants, which depend on their legal status - refugees, asylum seekers or irregular migrants (Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018). Emerging research shows "the importance of disaggregating immigration as a category to focus more specifically on how various classes of immigrants are framed differently in news media, and a key difference is between immigrants and refugees" (Wallace 2018). For these reasons, this study used the term refugees to add to the research around frames used in Spanish media when representing refugees.

Newspaper articles that mentioned refugees outside of Spain and newspaper articles found in different sections of the newspaper (e.g. arts, editorials, sports) were not included in the study. In Dalia Abdelhady and Gina Malmberg's study Swedish representation of the "refugee

crisis”, they delimited their study to include only articles that referred to events or individuals inside of Sweden. This delimitation helped them “focus on a smaller sample of articles in order to better comprehend media representation within the boundaries of the nation state” (Abdelhady and Malmberg 2018). By focusing on articles that mention events or individuals inside of Spain, this study focuses on the way refugees are represented within this nation and whether the context of the nation affects the framing of refugees, focusing on the attributes that national media outlets attach to refugees. The decision to exclude different sections of newspapers also help in narrowing down the sample size. Another reason why not to include these sections was the fact that editorials are usually seen as opinions by contributors, thus it is made apparent to the reader that what is presented are based more on personal judgement.

The final delimitation deals with the frames selected for the categorization of the articles. Five frames were used that were previously used by Semetko and Valkenburg’s study. In this study researchers noted a variety of frames in various studies identifying five that are common throughout: conflict frame, economic casualties frame, humanitarian frame, morality frame and the responsibility frame. Because of the incorporation of a directed content and summative content analysis, it was necessary to have a theory or work from which to direct the analysis of the corpus of data. Semetko and Valkenburg’s five frames were an adequate beginning to analyze to newspaper articles collected.

4.4.2 Limitations

One of the limitations of the study was the retrieval of the newspaper articles from a digital archive. The way a newspaper article is presented to the reader is important, as it contains not only textual information, but also may include photos, graphs, etc. Where the newspaper articles are placed are also an important aspect when thinking about the effects the article has on catching the reader’s attention; an article appearing in the first page of a newspaper will catch the reader’s attention more than something buried further away inside the paper. The archive did not include any graphs or photos, and most of the time the archives did not mention where the newspaper article was found (page wise). By retrieving newspaper articles from a digital archive, the news story is removed from its context. As my anthropology professor used to tell us, what is the point of removing an artifact from a dig and placing it in a collection? Important

information is lost when an item is removed from its context. Something may seem important, but because we do not know where it comes from, who's to say that this object was important?

4.5 Reflexivity

When this study was started it seemed pretty straightforward, but the more the study dealt with theoretical frameworks, and with reading different studies of effects of frames, the researcher started reflecting on the influence of media on the selection of this particular topic for study. For example, when dealing with salience, how do I know if refugees are an important topic to study? Was it the highlighting and emphasis of the media on refugees and the ““refugee crisis”” having an influence on me as an individual in setting my own agenda?

During 2015 I was living in the United States, finishing my undergraduate degree. Almost every night refugees and the so-called crisis was brought up in different media outlets, even though these were happening across the world. At that time this issue seemed like an emergency that needed a solution, even though it was not directly affecting the country. With this in mind, I came to Sweden to begin my master's program in 2017. By then I was placed within the context of the crisis within a European context and to my surprise, I noticed that the issue itself had seemed to wane in importance because of decreasing coverage of the effects of refugee on the resettlement question. At this point in time, the media seemed more interested in focusing on the effects of refugees on the social fabrics of the societies in which the refugees had settled. To be honest, this change of discourse in the media also influenced my perception of what problems needed attention and I began to investigate the issues of segregation and integration in host societies. This began a period of reflexivity. In Bourdieu's work on reflexivity, he writes about thinking about one's one place and background in relation to the study of abstract ideas (Jane and Julie 2004). Because of my position within the host country, as an immigrant from a country like the United States and my affiliation with a major Swedish university, I have more epistemic clout when making statements and having them heard and taken seriously while other people may be affected by “epistemic injustice”(Fricker 2007) This may cause a problem in the reproduction of the media's salience of the “refugee crisis”; by writing about and researching this topic I may be reproducing the pseudoenvironment created by the media.

5. Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the categorization of the newspaper articles into five frames. The section starts off with the most used frame descending in order of appearance. Each subsection will give examples of the newspaper articles to show how they fit within the specified frame. All newspaper articles appear in Spanish, the translation was done by the writer of the study. In total, 51 newspaper articles were categorized. A chart is presented in Figure 1 with the number of frames used by each newspaper.

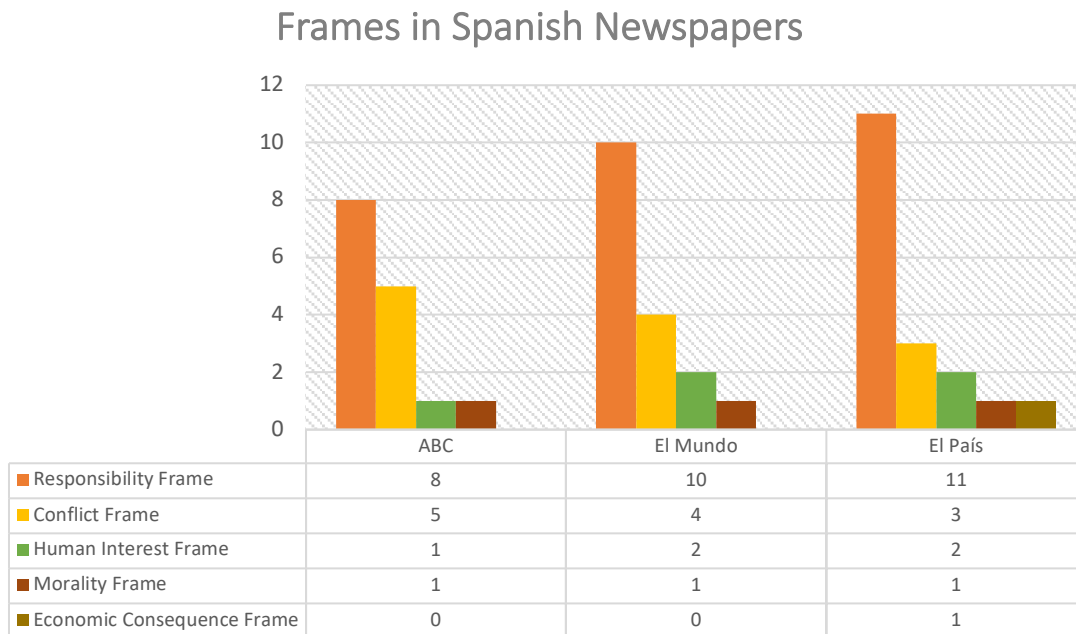


Figure 1

5.1 Responsibility Frame

After completing categorization of the newspaper articles, the responsibility frame was identified. This frame was used the most by all three newspaper publications. Out of the 51 newspaper articles analyzed, the responsibility frame was identified in 29 newspaper articles. *El País* used the frame the most out of all three newspapers with 11 out of 18 articles identified as

using the responsibility frame. El Mundo followed with 10 out of 18 articles using the frame. ABC used the frame in 8 out of 15 articles. In all of the newspapers, the responsibility frame was the most used out of all of the five frames.

The responsibility frame as defined by Semetko and Valkenburg attributes responsibility of the problem presented to either the government, individual or a group. In order to fit within this frame, the article was read, and questions were answered. The questions in Semetko and Valkenburg's study asks whether the problem is written in a way that attributes responsibility in solving the problem or whether the cause of the problem is attributed to any of the mentioned actors in the article. The following are examples of articles found to fit within the responsibility frame from the three newspapers.

Winter is Upon us....The entities that are working on the ground with refugees coming from Syria keep repeating this: in order to help these people that have left their home fleeing war we cannot wait for them to get here....conscious of the situation and not wanting to sit back and do nothing while the European Union argues over how to respond to this humanitarian drama, a group of 12 Catalan NGOs have united to send winter clothes to some of the zones were the refugees wait - *El País* "Abrigos para los refugiados"

In this article from *El País*, there is an urgency to help out the refugees stuck in the outside zones of the European Union. "Winter is upon us" begins the article, an imminent danger to those feeling war. Action needs to be taken, because the European Union has failed to respond to the "humanitarian drama". In light of the EU's responsibility failure, a group of Catalan NGOs step up to address the problem.

The executive seems uncomfortable in the last months with the arrival of a few refugees that have not always had open doors like they do now. Various autonomous communities and city councils have insisted for months in the need for a show of major solidarity in part by Spain (ABC 2015c).

This article from *ABC* mentions the different actors involved the resettlement of a “few refugees” in Spain. There is a call for responsibility from the central government “for a show of major solidarity”. Using the different levels of government as an example, the newspaper article does not explicitly call for a response from the central government but infers that the central government should take responsibility by only mentioning it as the one who can call for Spain to join in solidarity.

Among the first measures that will be implemented - *in the absence of knowing how, when and where the Syrians will come from* - is the hiring of conversation aides in native languages with mastery of Arabic to carry out intermediation work with families and pupils - *El Mundo* “Profesores de Arabe Para Mediar Con Los Refugiados”

El Mundo reports on an initiative from the Spanish Ministry of Education to create a group to better facilitate integration into Spanish society by refugees that are expected to arrive. In Spanish dashes replace the function of parenthesis in English; when additional information that does not change the meaning of the main sentence is presented, dashes are used instead. The dashes in this article also functions as an aside, in which the author delivers additional important information that maybe in the mind of the author and in readers: who is in charge of bringing the “Syrians”? The article mentions the *absence* of responsibility for the resettlement of refugees within Spain and the Spanish institutions readiness in absence of responsibility.

5.2 Conflict Frame

The conflict frame was the second most used frame out of all the news stories with a total of 10 news articles using it out of 51. *ABC* was the newspaper that used it the most in its articles with 5 out of 15 articles using it. *El País* used the frame in 3 out of 18 stories. In the case of *El Mundo*, the conflict frame was not the second most used frame; the conflict frame came out third with 2 articles out of 18 using the frame. The frame “emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions” along with sides reproaching mentioned between groups (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Examples of news articles that exhibit the conflict frame follow.

The Spanish Government continues to oppose this distribution because it believes that it does not take into account the high level of unemployment in Spain, which hinders the ability to integrate refugees. In addition, this new proposal raises the number of asylees that Spain should receive by more than 1,500. *ABC* “Llega a España un primer grupo de refugiados procedentes de Italia.”

In this article *ABC* reports on the Spanish government’s opposition with the EU in accepting a mandatory refugee quota that had been proposed for each country to accept. The article shows a conflict between governments i.e. Spain and the EU. This story refers to two sides of the story: the Spanish government’s explanation of why it couldn’t take in more refugees and the need for the EU to resettle refugees from areas like Greece and Italy which couldn’t cope with the amount of people that were arriving daily.

When the European Commission presented its 2015 Immigration Strategy two weeks ago, the Spanish Government, through its foreign minister, José Manuel García-Margallo, expressed his clear opposition.... Moreover, given that Denmark, the United Kingdom and Ireland will not participate... Spain will have to accept more than was initially thought. *El Mundo* “España Tendrá más Refugiados”.

Here the conflict features the European Commission and Spain’s foreign minister. Two sides of the story are presented: the ability for Denmark, the UK and Ireland’s non-participation in the EU’s settlement program and the effect this could have on Spain.

The reception of the refugees yesterday faced the Barcelona City Council against the Reception Committee which is composed of the Catalan Government, the Generalitat and other administrations. The [Reception] committee felt annoyed that the Government of Ada Colau presented its own reception scheme, with a Catalan vocation, ignoring the efforts of the Generalitat. *El País* “Choque entre Barcelona y la Generalitat por los refugiados”

The conflict between the mayor of Barcelona and the different members of the Reception Committee are highlighted. The Generalitat¹² appears to reproach the efforts by the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau. Ada Colau had created a special refugee council for the city without informing the Generalitat beforehand. The Generalitat had a system in place for the settlement of asylum seekers and was at odds with the city council's own plans. In many newspaper articles across the different newspapers, Colau was heralded for her willingness to use the Barcelonan resources to invite refugees into the city.

5.3 Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame was overall the third most used frame. Out of the 51 news articles, the humanitarian frame was identified in 7 articles. *El Mundo* used the frame in 4 out of the 8 articles. *El País* used the frame in 2 out of the 18 articles. *ABC* used the frame in 1 out of the 15 articles. This frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem” (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Semetko and Valkenburg write that the frame tries to personalize or dramatize the news. The following are excerpts from the newspaper articles that fit within the humanitarian frame.

More than fifty children do not take their eyes off the screen in an improvised movie theater. The animated film "Finding Nemo" is shown. Mohamadú, from Niger, is the only one of black race and the only one who understands fluently the dialogues in Spanish ... On the sidewalks a stall has been improvised to sell tobacco or sweets. ...Some of the residents return to the CETI by taxi from downtown Melilla after having made purchases in well-known clothing franchises, having spent the afternoon in a park in front of the beach, on the trail or having sat in a café. *ABC* “El día a día de los refugiados Los refugiados sirios sueñan con llegar a Europa”

¹² The Generalitat is the Catalunya institution of self-government which is composed of the parliament of Catalunya, the presidency and the executive council.

The excerpt of the story in ABC starts off with a scene of children watching a movie in a makeshift cinema inside CETI¹³. This particular story tells of the “day to day” of the immigrants and asylum seekers inside the center. It presents numerous human faces to the story, along with background information on some of the protagonists. Towards the end of the excerpt the story describes some of the activities that the Syrian refugees participate in order to “kill time”: shopping at “well-known” clothing franchises and spending the afternoons in leisurely activities while they wait for their asylum application to be processed.

Siham M. is confused and distraught. It has cost her, but she has finally managed to buy her ticket to get on the bus with her husband and her daughter to Paris. They have been told that on the German-French border, Syrians without visas are having difficulty crossing. They have decided to rent a taxi for 700 euros that will take them to Dortmund where their in-laws are waiting for them. "I am afraid that something will happen to us in France. We are refugees and after what has happened there ... We have been told that they will search us from top to bottom, that they will take our clothes off" *El País* “El restablecimiento de controles fronterizos en Francia pone en peligro el flujo de miles de refugiados que abandonan España rumbo al norte del continente.”

This excerpt gives a human face to the difficulties the refugees go through to get to the German-French border. The story quotes a woman, Siham, and her difficulties with buying a ticket to Paris as well as her uncertainty of what will happen to them in France. This particular story was published after the attacks in Paris that happened on November 13th 2015.

¹³ CETI is “Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes” (Temporary Residential Center for Immigrants). The following is a description of CETI (translated by writer): “CETI of Ceuta and Melilla are Public Administration establishments, conceived as devices of first provisional reception and intended to provide basic social services and benefits to groups of immigrants and asylum seekers who arrive at any of the Cities with Statute of Autonomy” (http://www.mitramiss.gob.es/es/Guia/texto/guia_15/contenidos/guia_15_37_3.htm).

5.4 Morality frame and Economic Consequences Frame

The last subsection will give examples of newspaper article excerpts that place the articles within the morality frame and the economic consequences frame. The two frames will be presented in one subsection because they represent the least used frames overall and the least frame used by each newspaper outlet. We start off with the morality frame. The morality frame is present in 4 out of 51 articles. *El Mundo* used the frame in 2 out of the 18 articles. *ABC* uses the frame in one article out of 15. *El País* uses the frame once out of 18 articles. The following are examples of the frame found in the articles.

“We want to launch a plea in favor of gender protection in the current crisis of emigration that has become a humanitarian crisis, in favor of migrant women, in general, many of them pregnant, "says the text. Therefore, they ask that women "can legitimately exercise the right of recognized asylum". *El Mundo* “100 madrileños se ofrecen para acoger a refugiados”

Semetko and Valkenburg write in their research that in the morality frame journalists opt for using direct quotations because of the need to present objective reporting. In this excerpt a moral statement is made about offering protection to pregnant women migrants and their legitimate right to asylum.

We must face the reception of refugees as a matter of all, as a unique moment for Europe to be saved from moral and social wreck. *El País* “Aylan y Europa”

In this article the picture of Aylan was mentioned. Aylan Shenu, was a three year old boy who drowned after his boat capsized trying to cross the Mediterranean on September 2 , 2015. Photos of his lifeless body were shown across the world. In this excerpt from *El País* a moral call to Europe is made by referencing Aylan.

The economic consequences frame was the least used frame overall. The frame was used only once out of the 51 articles. The only newspaper to use the frame was *El País*; it was used in one article out of 18. The following is an excerpt from the article.

We must take advantage of the arrival of refugees to expand social resources, both for the native population and for refugees who may arrive," said the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, yesterday. The mayor said from Leipzig (Germany) that

under no circumstances will aid policies aimed at refugees compromise the resources and services of the people of Barcelona. *El País* “Colau afirma que la ayuda a los refugiados no recortará el gasto social”

This newspaper article mentions the mayor’s reassurance to citizens of Barcelona regarding spending and social resources. The article posits an economic consequence frame; the frame in this instance is used to tell the readers that there will be no economic consequences, and that instead social services should be extended for everyone.

6. Analysis

In this section analysis of the different frames are conducted. As stated in the methodology section, summative content analysis “involves counting and comparisons usually of keywords or content followed by interpretation of the underlying context” (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Through directed content analysis using Semetko and Valkenburg’s five frames, the articles were categorized into the distinct frames. Using agenda setting theory, specifically attribute agenda setting, the newspaper articles were analyzed for each frame identifying common attributes. By combining both theories, it was possible to contextualize the framing of refugees. This chapter is divided into four subsections, each explaining the different themes found in some of the frames.

6.1 Administrative Responsibility: Failure of Authorities

The responsibility frame was the most used frame overall appearing in 29 out of 51 news stories. All three newspapers used this frame the most. Attributes that were used by the different newspapers included references to different level of authorities (e.g. the EU, Spanish central government), and the failure of these levels of government in solving the problem of the settlement of refugees. The clear difference between the newspapers becomes evident when the discussion of who was responsible for the problem was brought up.

ABC discussed the responsibility frame differently than the other two newspaper outlets. When reporting on who was responsible for the failure of the resettlement of refugees within Spanish borders, *ABC* places the blame on the European union. This newspaper made several references to solving the problem at a “global level”, “attacking the problem at the origin”, it was also one of the only newspapers to mention “trafficking mafias” as a source of the problem

because of the belief that mafias were taking advantage of the EU's failure at taking responsibility. The newspaper continued to mention how the EU's failure of taking responsibility and the EU's obligatory migrant quotas was placing Spain in a difficult position and that this would create problems later on with integration of refugees in the Spanish society.

This usage of framing lies in contrast with the usage of the frame in the other two newspapers, *El Mundo* and *El País*. *El Mundo* places the responsibility of the resettling of the refugees on the EU and the central Spanish government. One of the articles by *El Mundo* attributes the failure of resettling the refugees on the "slow moving European bureaucracy". In response to this failure though, the article mentions the organization of civil society and the willingness of the people to sign up to help refugees who had not yet arrived to Spain. In light of this citizen organization, *El Mundo* mentions how it hoped that the enthusiasm wouldn't fall on the deaf ears of the central government.

The usage of this frame to highlight the responsibility of resettling the refugees was also used to highlight the failure of the central authorities but was also contrasted with the solidarity of cities and individual citizens in their response to the resettlement issue. *El Mundo* and *El País* coupled the frame with stories about the building of a network of cities who were open to the reception of refugees like (e.g. Barcelona and Madrid) and the citizens enthusiasm in opening their homes to possible resettled refugees. This enthusiasm was even used as a call for the authorities to respond to their responsibilities: "The architects of this altruistic movement understand that their dedication, effort and solidarity is what has pressured the authorities to activate action protocols to take the reins of responsibility" (*El Mundo* "Carmena Ayuda al Refugiado").

Another difference in the usage of the frame by *ABC* can be read in two stories which focused on the arrival of the first resettled refugees in Spain. An excerpt from one of the stories is as follows:

Therefore, the objective is that, as soon as they rest, they begin the process of normalization of their lives: to learn the language and to integrate into their new environment...The most important thing will be that they become independent and autonomous after passing through reception centers or flats, where they can be

between six and nine months. *ABC* “Así será la vida de los nuevos refugiados llegados a España”.

In this responsibility frame, an episodic story is used, the arrival of the refugees, to highlight the individual’s responsibility of integration. In the story there is no mention of the government’s role of offering services to the new arrivals, or any of the problem’s that the individuals may face when resettling in a new society, instead the responsibility of integration and autonomy lies within the individual, the refugee. There is no mention of any other attributes that may affect the individual’s ability to integrate into Spanish society. This story contrasts with another integration story reported on by *El Mundo*:

Basma Dali, 25, another Syrian refugee who arrived in Spain in the middle of last year, also denounces the lack of resources and government assistance to integrate refugees. “Some NGOs helped us pay the rent for three months, ” she points out, gratefully. However, she points out that this aid does not cover other needs: “Neither integration into the community nor language learning or job search assistance” *El Mundo* “Los refugiados: “En España, ni integración ni idioma ni empleo”

In this example *El Mundo* directly quotes a Syrian refugee in order to highlight the difficulties refugees face in integrating into Spanish society. By quoting this individual, the responsibility of integration is placed squarely underneath that of the central government. Since the central government doesn’t provide much help, Basma, and many people like her, are unable to integrate into the community. The responsibility of integrating the refugee in this frame lies within the central government as opposed to the individual.

The responsibility frame used by all three newspapers share many commonalities. The three newspaper outlets place the responsibility of refugee settlement on higher level authorities. *ABC* focuses more on placing responsibility of the settlement of refugees in Spain on the European Union while *El Pais* and *El Mundo* place the responsibility on the Spanish central government and the EU. The former two newspaper also use the responsibility frame to highlight the authority’s failure in their responsibilities and contrast this failure with the

willingness and enthusiasm of citizenry, cities and autonomous communities to help the refugees.

The way the responsibility frame is used and where the responsibility of the problem is placed may have to do with the type of media organization that the newspapers belong to. The usage of responsibility frame may “suggest the importance and potential influence of political culture and context on the framing of problems and topics in the news”(Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). In previous studies mentioned in the literature review, political ideology, media systems and media environments influence the way newspaper’s report (Juan Carlos Checa and Ángeles Arjona 2011; Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015; Hallin and Mancini 2004). Newspapers in Spain have traditionally been associated with “a high degree of press politization” (Fernández-Quijada and Garcia 2013). *ABC* has been labeled a “monarchist” newspaper, with ties to the People’s Party : a traditionalist, conservative party in Spain (Ramos-Arroyo and Díaz-Campo 2019). The newspaper’s critique of the EU through the responsibility frame may be linked with the newspaper’s political ideology. *El País* has been denominated as a leftist, progressive and radical newspaper (Ibid). The different ways the newspapers use the responsibility frame could be influenced by political culture and context as mentioned by Semetko and Valkenburg.

When reviewing the responsibility of integration, *ABC* again uses the frame to signal the refugee as responsible for their own integration into the host society. The usage of episodic stories for the responsibility frame provide a limited space for nuances, this lack of information and focus on the individual may lead the reader to place responsibility on the individual for their condition (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000) as is the case in this article by *ABC*. *El Mundo* provides a more nuanced “thematic” article that points to other factors that can have an effect on integration, placing the responsibility of integration on the government. A focus on “episodic” stories like the one offered by *ABC* could have an impact in the way people see refugees especially if the refugees are unable to be “independent” or if they have a hard time finding employment; it may look as though refugees are at fault for their own “failures”. These episodic news stories influence the way people feel towards different types of categories of immigrants as mentioned before (Jakob-Moritz Eberl 2018).

6.2 Spain vs. EU

The conflict frame was the second most used frame overall. The conflict frame was used to highlight the conflict between Spain and the EU in dealing with refugee settlement across all newspapers. Although the conflict frame was used to highlight the disagreements between both parties, the way different attributes are used point towards a difference in attitudes towards this disagreement. For example, in most of the articles by *ABC*, the conflict between Spain and EU is covered by offering different contexts to why Spain was against obligatory refugee quotas. *ABC* frequently mentioned Spain's previous issues with "irregular" migrants coming into the country through its autonomous cities in the African continent (Ceuta and Melilla) and the Canary Islands and the EU's inability to take these migrations into consideration when distributing refugees. Another story, mentioned before in the findings section, mentioned the EU's unwillingness to take into consideration the country's high unemployment rate and the difficulties this already poses for the country and the complications this issue could pose to the integration of refugees. The way *ABC* writes differ to the other newspapers as well. When writing about the conflict between Spain and EU they used the first-person narrative: "the efforts our country already makes as an exterior EU border". When writing in the first-person narrative, it sounds as though the newspaper is talking for all its readers, giving it a feeling of advocacy journalism, which may have to do with the "polarized pluralistic model" of the media that is prevalent in the Iberia peninsula (Hallin and Mancini 2004).

El Mundo and *El País* usage of the conflict frame appears similar at first with that of *ABC*; the EU and Spain disagreeing over the obligatory quota system. Although the newspapers report on the conflict between the two actors, they also mention other protagonists in their stories. For example, *El País* brings in the PSOE, *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, the Spanish socialist party, into the conflict as well too highlight the left's disappointment with the Spanish government's unwillingness to accept more refugees.

The PSOE asks the Government to accept, at a minimum, the numbers of refugees asked by Brussels. The secretary general, Pedro Sánchez, stressed from Bogotá, that what is happening in Europe "is not a crisis only humanitarian, it is a crisis of solidarity," reports Javier Lafuente. For his part, the Socialist spokesman in Congress, Antonio Hernando, accused the Government of "being a tightwad" and

"haggling" in a "shameful" way the number of refugees that Spain should welcome.
El País "El Gobierno se escuda en la "presión migratoria" para rechazar a refugiados"

The way the three newspapers use the conflict frame again might differ because of the media environment in which they find themselves. The Iberian peninsula, Spain and Portugal, have been associated with the polarized pluralistic model in which "advocacy journalism persists" (Hallin and Mancini 2004). As mentioned before, this media environment influences the way other frames are used in other countries when dealing with immigration.

6.3 Worthiness and Generosity; The Human-Interest Frame

The human-interest frame was the third most used frame. This frame gives a human face to the issue, and tries to emotionalize the news (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Different studies have tried to link the human interest frame to declining quality of news reporting, although some research has shown that the employment of this frame actually gives a more complex, nuanced picture of issues like immigration by presenting a human element to the story (Tine Ustad Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud 2015).

In the articles in which the frame was found, there was a tendency for the article to have a higher word count than other articles categorized around different frames. For example, one of the longest articles by *ABC* employed a human-interest frame with 1700 words. The articles length gave it opportunities to give a human face to the refugees waiting for an asylum decision in one of Spain's autonomous cities found in the African continent. The article was able to discuss the problems faced by two sets of immigrants: "irregular" migrants and refugees. An example of the article was given in the findings section. Although the story gave a human face to the life of refugees inside an immigrant reception center, the examples given by *ABC* focused on the Syrians shopping tendencies, the way they went to cafes to "kill time" and their portrayal as migrants who had enough money to pay for people to take their children to school or pay a taxi to travel around the city. This description of the Syrian refugees was juxtaposed with that of a black "irregular" migrant who had no money but still managed to be fluent in Spanish. The story also quotes people working at the center saying how these new Syrian refugees "looked like they didn't come to Europe to work". The humanitarian frame employed in this article by

ABC ascribed different attributes to Syrian refugees at the reception center like economic status, purchasing power, and laziness. The usage of this frame to represent the refugees as entitled, and lazy ties into research mentioned in the literature review (Lawlor 2015a; Wallace 2018) in which some refugees are seen as taking advantage of the generosity of the host countries (Lindholm 2019). These kinds of stories attribute who is worthy of being protected and can lead to misconceptions of refugees and public attitude towards them.

In the excerpt shown in the findings section, *El País* uses the human-interest frame to tell a story of the plight suffered by Siham on her journey to Germany by way of France. In this story the refugee is seen as helpless and scared. The representation of the refugee in this human interest frame can also be found in the Swedish media context in which human interest frames that portray refugees as helpless and in need of protection can be used “to combat arguments on the undesirability of refugees as they attempt to make their stories intelligible and garner sympathy for their experiences with displacement” (Abdelhady and Malmberg 2018). Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud find in their study of human-interest frames that contrary to popular belief, the human-interest frame story adds more nuances and dimensions to the stories. In all of the human-interest frame stories by *El Mundo* this seems to be the case as they are the only stories to talk about refugees from other parts of the world besides Syria and they give background stories to the refugees lives before their migration.

6.4 Morality and Money

Morality and economic consequence frames were the least used frames. The morality frame appears in 4 stories. Semetko and Valkenburg mentioned how reporters usually quote other people when making moral judgements about the problem. This was the case in all of the moral frame stories. In *ABC* the newspaper quotes the king of Spain, affectionally called Don Felipe by the reporters, in order to make a moral statement on the need to treat refugees with humanity and to respect their human rights. *El Mundo* also quotes a lawyer in making a moral statement about the need to protect women refugees and their right for asylum. The only newspaper that did not seem to conform to Semetko and Valkenburg’s observation was *El País*. In the only article that featured the morality frame in *El País*, the reporter makes a call to Europe to unite and find its soul and follow the progressive values of the EU. As mentioned before, this type of reporting maybe in line with the self-proclaimed progressive ideology of the newspaper

(Ramos-Arroyo and Díaz-Campo 2019). The economic consequence frame was used once, but in a different manner than what Semetko and Valkenburg and other studies have shown. In the usage of the frame by *El País* the article focuses on how the mayor of Barcelona proposes to give social benefits to refugees and to extend the benefits already available to citizens of the city. This goes in contrast with different studies that report on the usage of the economic casualty frame to highlight the economic costs of immigrants and refugees.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to answer the two research questions asked in the beginning:

- R1: How do different frames rank in their usage in the representation of refugees in the three major Spanish newspapers?
- R2: What are the differences and similarities in how the newspapers use the frames to represent refugees?

The first research question was a simple one, to rank the usage of the five different frames in the representation of refugees, using Semetko and Valkenburg's predefined frames. The data collected was analyzed and categorized into the five different frames. Overall the most used frame across all newspapers was the responsibility frame. Followed by the conflict frame and humanitarian frame. The least used frames in all of the articles in the corpus of data were the morality and economic consequences frame.

This came as a surprise because of the various articles in the literature review that mention the framing of immigrants in negative ways, usually associated with negative social aspects like crime. Perhaps the abundance of the responsibility frame has to do with the perception of the nature of refugees as people who flee needing protection but also of a need to be cautious of them in order to control them to keep the continent safe (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski 2017).

The second research question was aimed at analyzing the ways the newspapers used frames to represent refugees within the context of the Spanish nation. The answer to this question is varied. It was noticed that the identification of the Spanish media as a "polarized pluralistic model" may influence the way different newspapers used the responsibility frame when reporting on refugees. The reported failure of the EU and Spanish central government in taking responsibility was contrasted with the resourcefulness and solidarity of the Spanish citizenry and the numerous local authorities. When speaking about integration, the newspapers differed on where the responsibility was placed, either on the individual or the government. The placement on the responsibility of integration was noticed to coincide with the usage of

“episodic” news items. Overall, the responsibility frame was not used to describe refugees, instead it was used as a conduit for the advocacy of different political ideologies.

The conflict frame was used in similar fashion to the usage of the responsibility frame. Most of the conflict reported when representing refugees was about conflict between the EU and Spain over the settlement of refugees. *ABC* placed special attention the Spanish side of the story, even using the first-person perspective when writing about the difficulties the Spanish government was facing. *El País* brought in a leftist perspective to the debate by naming different socialist party actors and their disgust for the central government’s inability to bring in more refugees than what was required of Spain from the EU. Here again in this frame, the refugee was used more as a conduit for newspapers on the reporting of different ideologies.

The humanitarian interest frame was one of the frames in which the refugee was not used directly as a conduit for political advocacy. Instead, in this frame it was noticed that the common portrayals of immigrants and refugees that had been found in other studies were present here as well. The depiction of Syrian refugees as lazy and with money to spend coincides with different studies that link refugees to people who want to take advantage of the host society. The portrayals of helpless refugees and their harrowing stories by *El País* also find common ground with other studies that have linked the portrayal of refugees as helpless as a means to show the reader that refugees should not be feared.

Overall the representation of refugees in Spanish newspapers showed how an issue like the refugee or ““refugee crisis”” can be used as conduit for newspapers to construct an image of the newspapers’ perception of the political landscape of a country. In constructing a pseudoenvironment through frames and agenda setting, the three major newspapers in Spain highlight how the media uses different issues like immigration to highlight political ideology or political undercurrents within a nations media system.

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Appendix

Questions used to identify frames. Used by Semetko and Valkenburg in their study of content analysis of press and television news. These questions were used for this study to categorize the news stories collected into the different frames.

Attribution of responsibility

Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue-problem?

Human interest frame

Does the story provide a human example or “human face” to the issue?
Does the story employ adjective or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empath-caring, sympathy or compassion?

Conflict frame

Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups- countries?
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

Morality frame

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

Economic frame

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expenses involved?
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?