A Content Analysis of the 2014 Immigration Crisis Media Coverage: An Intergroup Threat Theory Approach on the Age of Immigrants

Carolee Lantigua
Syracuse University

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A Content Analysis of the 2014 Immigration Crisis Media Coverage: An Intergroup Threat Theory Approach on the Age of Immigrants

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Carolee Lantigua

Candidate for Bachelor of Arts and Renée Crown University Honors Spring 2017

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Capstone Project Advisor: _____
                                  Shana Gadarian, Associate Professor

Capstone Project Reader: _____
                                  Logan Strother, Political Science PhD Candidate

Honors Director: _____
                                  Chris Johnson, Interim Director

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to understand, through the intergroup threat theory, how the national and local press perceive unaccompanied minors through their media coverage. Using the 2014 immigration crisis, during which an exodus of unaccompanied minors crossed into the United States beginning in 2013, this paper investigates two central ideas: first, how does media coverage of young unaccompanied immigrants differ from the media coverage of non-minor immigrants? Second, how does spatial proximity to the American-Mexican border affect the tone of the media coverage young unaccompanied immigrants receive? I sampled two national newspapers and two local newspapers to interpret, via content analysis, how the intergroup threat theory shapes the media's coverage of young unaccompanied immigrants. This paper derived three main findings: first, regardless of locality, the media associates unaccompanied minors with fewer symbolic threats than non-minor immigrants. Second, national media associates immigrant minors with higher levels of positive and negative symbolic frames than the local media. Third, local media associates fewer symbolic and realistic threats with unaccompanied minors than the national media.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this paper is to explore how both migrant age and spatial proximity to the American-Mexican border shift the tone of news-media coverage on immigration-related topics.

The '2014 Immigration Crisis' is the name given to the exodus of unaccompanied minors originating predominantly from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras that crossed the American border in the summer of 2014. As one of the biggest immigration shocks in modern American history, this crisis has challenged American immigration protocol. In 2014, an average of 7,000 children—predominantly aged 15 and younger— were being apprehended per month. Although it is named the '2014 Crisis', a significant number of children crossed the border during the summer of 2016, showing that the exodus not only tends to be cyclical but is also far from over. Due to the large numbers of migrants and their young age, this exodus has challenged not only the morality of politicians and American immigration protocol, but also how news-media discusses immigration. Using the 2014 Immigration Crisis as a case study, this paper examines the effect of newspaper locality on media coverage of both the crisis itself and the sub-issue of unaccompanied minors.

In chapter one, this paper takes an in-depth look at previous studies to understand the current knowledge on the relationship between immigrant age, newspaper locality, and tone of coverage. There is a general pattern by the media to report on Latino immigration with a lot of negative stereotyping and hostility. This coverage is dangerous as it reinforces negative perceptions of immigration amongst individuals who rely on media coverage to inform their opinions on immigration. Countering this idea, however, is the notion of spatial proximity and its corollary effect on immigration coverage. There is a substantial body of work which shows that local media, due to exposure to immigrants, tends to cover them in a more positive light: a

promising premise for local coverage of unaccompanied minors. However, existing literature on immigration coverage of the DREAM Act and DREAMers shows that media coverage tended to be more positive about these children due to their age and their propensity for assimilation. With a particular focus on this sub-field, this paper tries to understand the media's response to child immigrants who enter the United States for reasons beyond their control.

In chapter two, I break down the underlying premise and framework of this paper. We can assume that news organization coverage is a response to the realities of constituent markets. This is to say, news articles are a byproduct of the individual journalist agenda; the organization as a business; and the demographic composition, fears, and ideologies of the communities they serve. With this assumption in mind, we can use the Intergroup Threat Theory to understand how media coverage of minors varies across national and local newspapers. The Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT)[1] is a psychological theory that explains why individuals may perceive immigrants as a threat and in turn react with hostility towards the group. The ITT allows us to interpret how negative stereotyping by the press can affect the levels of perceived realistic and symbolic threats an ingroup can form about an outgroup. According to the theory, 'realistic threats' are perceived threats to power, resources, and safety. 'Symbolic threats' are perceived threats to an identity, philosophy, morality, and values. Assuming that media markets are influenced by the realities of the markets they serve, we can expect that media coverage of immigrants will contain elements of symbolic and realistic coverage. Using the ITT, I expected that in general, coverage of unaccompanied minors would be more positive than coverage of non-minor immigrants. Second, I expected that coverage of all immigrants, including minors, would be more negative as media outlets got closer to the United States-Mexican border.

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[1] Intergroup threat theory was first explained as Integrated Threat Theory which consisted of four perceived threats; stereotyping, physical, symbolic, and intergroup anxiety. However, after reevaluation, the theory was simplified as stereotyping and intergroup anxiety leading to realistic and symbolic threats.

In the second half of chapter two, I explain how I tested these hypotheses. The study consisted of a content analysis of four newspapers: two national (The *Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*) and two local (*El Paso Times* and *The Houston Chronicle*). I collected a sample of 76 articles per newspaper for a total sample of 304 stories. All articles collected focused on immigration only. Analyzing the content of the articles allowed me to both draw inferences from media coverage of immigration, and to interpret the effect of constituent ideology and personal-contact on coverage-tone. The two national newspapers allow me to code coverage across two different political leanings (conservative and liberal), while the two local newspapers allow me to code differences in both an area that experienced a large influx of immigrants and unaccompanied minors and an area that saw many immigrants but few unaccompanied minors. Using a codebook of different immigration subframes (i.e., economics, security, culture, morality, etc.), I coded every type of frame present in a given article. The codebook also accounted for the tone of the subframe: in favor of immigrants, against immigrants, or neutral (both arguments presented for that frame). I also coded the main subject of articles, if articles mentioned minors or elections, and the overall purpose of the article. After coding the sample, I conducted a statistical analysis to uncover statistical relationships between the variables.

In chapter three I discuss the three major findings of this paper. First, regardless of locality, the media associates unaccompanied minors with fewer symbolic threats than non-minor immigrants. Second, national media associates immigrant minors with higher levels of positive and negative symbolic frames than the local press. Third, local media associates fewer symbolic and realistic threats in their coverage of unaccompanied minors than the national media.

To conclude, chapter four provides observations, possible future research opportunities, the nature and implications of these findings, and an explanation of the limitations of this framework. The conclusion continues with an exploration of new avenues for future research, particularly in the area of immigrant youth coverage and public opinion. Finally, the paper concludes with the implications of the national and local media serving unique markets and the consequences this coverage may have on public perception of both immigration at-large and of unaccompanied migrant youth.

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The "2014 Immigration Crisis," is the name the media gave to the exodus of

unaccompanied minors crossing the border from Central America in the summer of 2014. This

crisis shocked the United States in ways few other groups of migrants have before. In fact,

according to U.S Border apprehension data, the age of entry of these minors has progressively

gotten younger through the past couple of years, in 2014 alone there was an 112% increase in

children age 12 and under (Figure 1) entering the United States (Krogstad, Gonzales-Barrera, &

Lopez, 2014). While 2014 saw the largest apprehensions numbers, with an average of 7,000

child apprehensions per month—10,620 in the month of June alone— the influx of children

started as early as April of 2013. Officially, 2013 marked the beginning of an unusual surge of

unaccompanied minors originating from El Salvador, Guatemala, & Honduras entering the

United States. This surge in numbers led Central American children to become the largest Latino

group apprehended along the U.S-Mexico border during the 2014 fiscal year (Gonzalez-Barrera

& Krogstad, 2016). Due to their large numbers and young age of entry, this exodus tested the

infrastructure and legal capabilities of the United States government, politicians, and

communities across the border. Moore importantly, this exodus tested the morality of the United

States immigration protocol, and in turn the morality of how the media covers the topic of

immigration. With that in mind, this paper answers the essential question: How, given the age of

unaccompanied minors, does the media report on minor versus non-minor immigration?
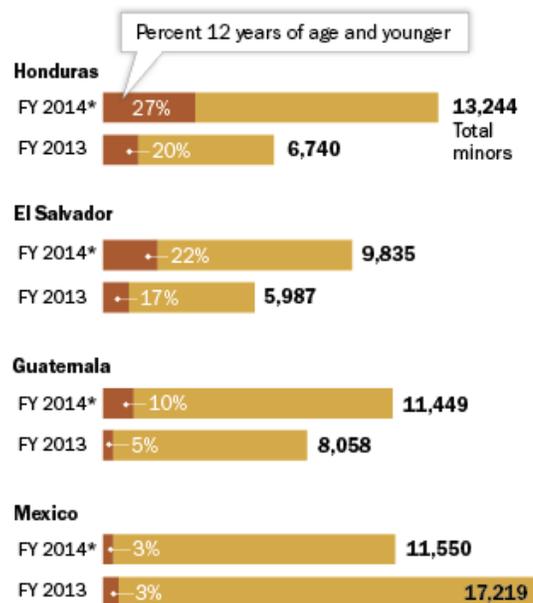
While the United States Southwest Border Patrol saw the highest number of

apprehensions in 2014 (68,541), apprehensions are still comparably high today. By the end of th

2016 fiscal year the Southwest Border Patrol apprehended approximately 59,700 children (U.S

Customs and Border Protection, 2016). These numbers are a reflection that the exodus not only

tends to be cyclical but is also far from over. The ongoing, dire situations within the sending

countries provide significant push-factors for these children to embark on a dangerous journey

through Mexico. The most cited factor associated with the exodus has been the rising number of

crimes and cartel violence occurring in the sending countries. For reference, until recently,

Honduras and El Salvador were globally ranked second and third, respectively, for high

homicide rates. These statistics beg the question of whether the claims of escaping violence and

persecution by drug cartels qualify these minors for refugee status at their time of appeal. The

statistics also raises the question of how the United States, the American press, and the American

public should handle this crisis.

Figure 1

Honduras Sends Largest Number of Unaccompanied Young Children to U.S.

Apprehensions of unaccompanied minors on the U.S.-Mexico border, by country of origin

Percent 12 years of age and younger

Honduras
FY 2014*   27%   13,244 Total minors
FY 2013   20%   6,740

El Salvador
FY 2014*   22%   9,835
FY 2013   17%   5,987

Guatemala
FY 2014*   10%   11,449
FY 2013   5%   8,058

Mexico
FY 2014*   3%   11,550
FY 2013   3%   17,219

Note: Fiscal Year 2013 is Oct. 1, 2012 - Sept. 30, 2013.
*Fiscal Year 2014 data is Oct. 1, 2013 - May 31, 2014.
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Enforcement Integrated Database records

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There has been a substantial amount of research on the relationship between immigration framing and its ability to shift the general public support, for better or for worse, on immigration (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Espenshade & Calhoun,1993). This paper inserts itself into the context of this dialogue. It is important to understand how the media chooses to report the age and refugee status of unaccompanied minors.[2] Furthermore, it is important to have an understanding of the perceived threats and stereotyping the media associates unaccompanied minors with, and the consequences these portrayals can have on the general public's perception of these children.

Using the intergroup threat theory as its framework, this paper assesses which frames the media associates unaccompanied minors with. The intergroup threat theory (ITT)[3] allows us to interpret how negative stereotyping by the press can affect the levels of perceived realistic and symbolic threats an ingroup can form about an outgroup. According to the theory, 'realistic threats' are perceived threats to power, resources, and safety. 'Symbolic threats' are perceived threats to an identity, philosophy, morality, and values (Stephan, 2012;2011; Busselle & Crandall, 2002, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2008). Based on this framework, this study addresses two central questions. First, how does media coverage of young unaccompanied immigrants differ from the media coverage of non-minor immigrants? And second, how does spatial proximity to the American-Mexican border affect the tone of media coverage young unaccompanied immigrants receive? Using the ITT theory, I arrived to the following two hypotheses: First, I

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[2] I am defining an unaccompanied minor the same as Bhabha & Schmidt (2006) and Ehrenreich, Tucker & Human Rights Watch Children's Rights Project (1997); unaccompanied minors are undocumented children age 18 and under who enter a country without a legal guardian and without proper documentation. This legal definition is also on par with the United States government definition of unaccompanied minors, however, how the media defines them could potentially be different. For the purpose of this study I will use the terms 'children,' 'minors,' and 'unaccompanied minors' interchangeably when describing the larger group.

[3] Intergroup threat theory was first explained as Integrated Threat Theory, which consisted of four perceived threats; stereotyping, physical, symbolic, and intergroup anxiety. However, after reevaluation it was simplified into stereotyping and intergroup anxiety leading to perceived realistic and symbolic threats.

expected that in general, coverage of unaccompanied minors would be more positive than coverage of non-minor immigrants. Second, I expected that coverage of all immigrants, including minors, would be more negative as media outlets got closer to the United States-Mexican border.

In exploring these hypotheses, I have broken this paper into four chapters. In chapter one, I share an analysis of previous studies to understand the current knowledge on the relationship between migrant age, spatial proximity, and tone of immigration coverage. In chapter two, I explain the intergroup threat theory as the framework and reasoning for my two hypotheses, followed by the breakdown and explanation of my research design. In chapter three, I reflect on and interpret the findings of this paper: first, regardless of locality, the media associates unaccompanied minors with fewer symbolic threats than non-minor immigrants. Second, opposite of my hypothesis, national media associates immigrant minors with higher levels of positive and negative symbolic frames than the local media. Third, local media associates fewer symbolic and realistic threats in their coverage of unaccompanied minors than the national media. To conclude, chapter four provides observations, future research opportunities, and the nature and implications of these findings.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review

Researchers have developed various psychological theories in order to understand why countries or groups of people could feel hesitant, wary, or outright scared of immigrants. Being part of a group—in this case, part of a national identity— means being psychologically rewarded: these rewards include feelings of belonging, acceptance, and support; and extends to tangible rewards such as formations of social norms, values, and systematic roles (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, groups and individuals will perceive changes in their environment differently based on perceived threats to their resources. Whether the threat is physical, also known as a realistic threat, or psychological, known as a symbolic threat, groups and individuals will react or not react accordingly: this mechanism is called the intergroup threat theory (Stephan, 2012;2011; Busselle & Crandall, 2002).

When it comes to media coverage, the intergroup threat theory helps us understand why the media's representation of immigrants as either a symbolic or a realistic threat can serve as an important opinion source for the general public. In other words, due to lack of real-interaction with unaccompanied minors, many in the general public will rely on media coverage to explain to them who these kids are, why they are entering the country, and what challenges they may present to the country.

On the other hand, when it comes to coverage of Latino immigrants the media already exerts a substantial influence on the general public in the form of negative stereotyping (Valentino, Brader & Jardinia, 2013) and by excluding Latino immigrants from mainstream representation. The media also tends to heavily focus on the cost and realistic threats of Latino immigration. These realistic threats include a number of associated stereotypes of which include

increased crime rates, trespassing, socioeconomic threats, social services burden, and increased numbers of human smuggling and trafficking. This depiction of Latino immigration is dangerous as an increased prevalence of these stereotypes and lack of representation can further exacerbate the perceived differences between the ingroups and the outgroups (Barreto et al., 2012; Greenberg et al., 1983; Mastro & Behm-Morazwitz, 2005; Ramírez Berg, 2002; Tukachinsky et al., 2011). Negative stereotyping and anxiety are already at play when Americans make an effort to learn about a group for whom they lack a substantiated and informed opinion on. In fact, "when details are simply absent, people 'fill in' the missing pieces with negative stereotypes"— pieces the media already covers negatively (Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). Furthermore, exposure to stereotyping and threatening intergroup messages can lead the general public to embrace attitudes that dehumanize immigrants (Atwell & Mastro, 2016), including immigrant youth.

Another side effect of negative stereotyping is a growth in prejudice. Prejudice is a response to a perceived group threat based on two factors: the size of the incoming group in relation to the dominant group and the economic circumstances of the individual (Quillian, 1995). Latino immigration tends to increase levels of prejudice among the general public due to their large numbers and the perceived negative impact they have on the American economy (Figure 1a). For this reason, prejudice also plays a role in the coverage unaccompanied minors receive. Prejudice towards unaccompanied minors will heavily depend on the number of children entering and the cost for the infrastructures to apprehend children.

Figure 1a

Six-in-Ten Republicans View Latin American Immigrants' Impact on U.S. Negatively

% saying that the impact of immigrants from Latin America on American society has been ...

- ■ Mostly positive
- ■ Neither positive nor negative
- ■ Mostly negative

	Mostly positive	Neither positive nor negative	Mostly negative
All	26	35	37
Republicans	13	27	58
Democrats	36	39	23
Independents	27	36	35
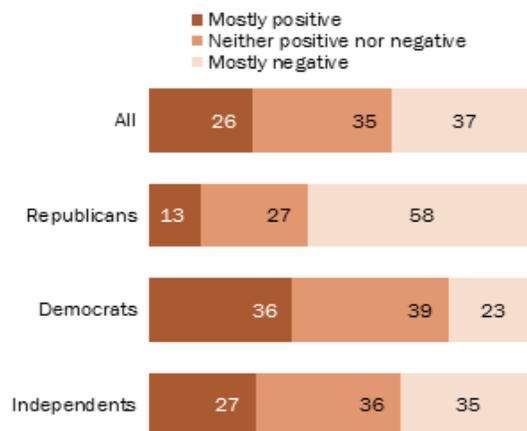
Note: Those who did not answer the question are not shown.

Source: Pew Research Center American Trends Panel survey conducted March 10-April 6, 2015 (N=3,147)

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While the media uses a lot negative stereotyping about immigrants, there is also an emphasis on the idea of 'differences from the norm,' which is another aspect of the intergroup threat theory. We can see these differences in the language the media uses to reflect immigrants as a threat to American culture. Although this language is less visible now, throughout history the media has often described immigrants as 'aliens' or 'illegal.' These "outsider terms" paint differences between ingroups and outgroups, setting an image of who belongs and who does not (Simons & Alexander, 1993). Similarly, though less common, the media has used the term 'anchor baby'[4] to describe young immigrants and unaccompanied minors. Recently, some media sources have reclaimed the term to describe unaccompanied minors entering the United States under refuge and later making claims for their parents to join them. The media or individuals can use this term to not only dehumanize children but also overshadow the reasons for their

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[4] Those who believe children born in the United States to undocumented migrant parents are conceived as a ploy to improve the probability of the parents attaining citizenship use the term 'anchor baby' (Ignatow & William, 2011).

immigration, putting the focus on the parents, in other words, adults who represent more realistic threats.

More so, this negative depiction is a tactic associated with boosting negative perceptions and strong public opposition towards immigrant groups (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). The media exacerbates hostile attitudes when they publicize scarcity of resources and blame immigrants for using or benefiting from the system (Esses et. al., 1998). Even when the media describes immigrants as migrating for reasons beyond their control—such as refugees seeking political asylum—when attached to negative realistic framing, or an image of competition, support for immigration tends to decrease (Esses, et. al, 1998).

On the other hand, coverage that includes positive symbolic frames, like cultural and ethnic ties, have been found to produce favorable attitudes towards immigrants as it reduces perceived differences between the groups (Espenshade & Calhoun,1993; Tajfel & Turner 1986). Similarly, when media coverage removes threats and differences the perceived intergroup threat of its audience diminishes. When the media covers Latino immigration as a means of economic benefit and describes them using positive attributes, like having high skill levels or being educated, the anxiety towards Latino immigrants diminishes considerably (Brader, et. al., 2008). In regards to unaccompanied minors, because of their age and size media coverage will also contains fewer symbolic and realistic threats. As the press covers undocumented minors with fewer stereotypes and more positive attributes, it is assumed the general public will have be more empathetic towards these children.

There is another fact to consider when thinking about coverage of immigration and unaccompanied minors: spatial proximity. There is a debate among social scientists on the effect of immigration salience and tone of coverage. One side of the argument states that greater

proximity to the border leads to higher salience of immigration stories in the media. As Latino immigration is the most prevalent near the border, they will have the greatest salience in coverage (Dunaway, et. al, 2010; Branton & Dunaway, 2009). Not only is media coverage of immigration among border states more salient, but it also proves to be more negative than the national immigration coverage (Branton & Dunway 2009;2008; Seate & Mastro, 2016). The combination of spatial proximity and negative coverage is dangerous as immigration salience can emphasize already held perceptions of local border citizens who experience the most competition from these migrants (Branton & Dunaway, 2009;2008; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998).

Exposure is the primary focus of the other argument. Some social scientists believe that the diversity and socio-economic composition of border communities lead to high levels of favorability towards immigrants (Branton & Jones, 2005). Although immigration is more prevalent along border states the exposure to immigrants serves as a counterbalance. In the case of local business owners or farmers that depend on immigration labor, their preferences for comprehensive immigration reform can increase (Branton & Jones, 2005).

Due to a large number of children crossing into border states, we assume that both arguments apply. Local news organizations cover more stories of unaccompanied minors than the national media simply because there is a heavier concentration of minors within the region. However, because border communities are in direct contact with these minors they also reflect more empathy towards immigrant youth. Adding to this conversation, this paper shows how exposure to high volumes of minor and non-minor immigrants changes the tone of local immigrant youth coverage.

While knowledge on media coverage of immigrant children is scarce, some scholars have studied the passing of the DREAM Act to better understand the media's perception of immigrant

Latino youth. Although promising, these studies of the DREAM Acts are marginal, a reminder that media coverage of immigrant youth is an area untouched in the research arena.

Despite the small pool of available research, social scientists have inferred that media coverage of immigrant minors is attached to various positive attributes. In fact, the media often uses sympathetic tones in their coverage of immigrants who come to the United States at a young age (The Opportunity Agenda, 2014). More interesting, media coverage of the Dream Act contained previously unused immigration coverage tactics including the use of exemplars.[5] The use of exemplars by the media have shown to increase or decrease the threats an audience may perceive from a group (Atwell & Mastro, 2016). In the case of the Dream Act coverage, exemplars often included a passing reference to DREAMers' young age of entry to the United States. The attention to the young age of entry alludes to a DREAMers' susceptibility to 'cultural codes of assimilation' or 'Americanness.' These associations often appeal to readers and help them create positive connotations about these migrant children (Chuang & Roemer, 2015).

The term 'DREAMers' also generates positive connotations, giving the illusion of hopefulness. For the most part, the media has portrayed DREAMers as eager to complete their education and become members and contributors to American society. Additionally, the media often reports the DREAMers' immigration status as "not their fault." It is also important to note that the media's use of DREAMer exemplars hardly mentioned the child's legal status as an identifier, a big difference from other immigrant groups who are often referred to as 'illegal' or 'undocumented' (The Opportunity Agenda, 2014; Cowan et. al., 1997).

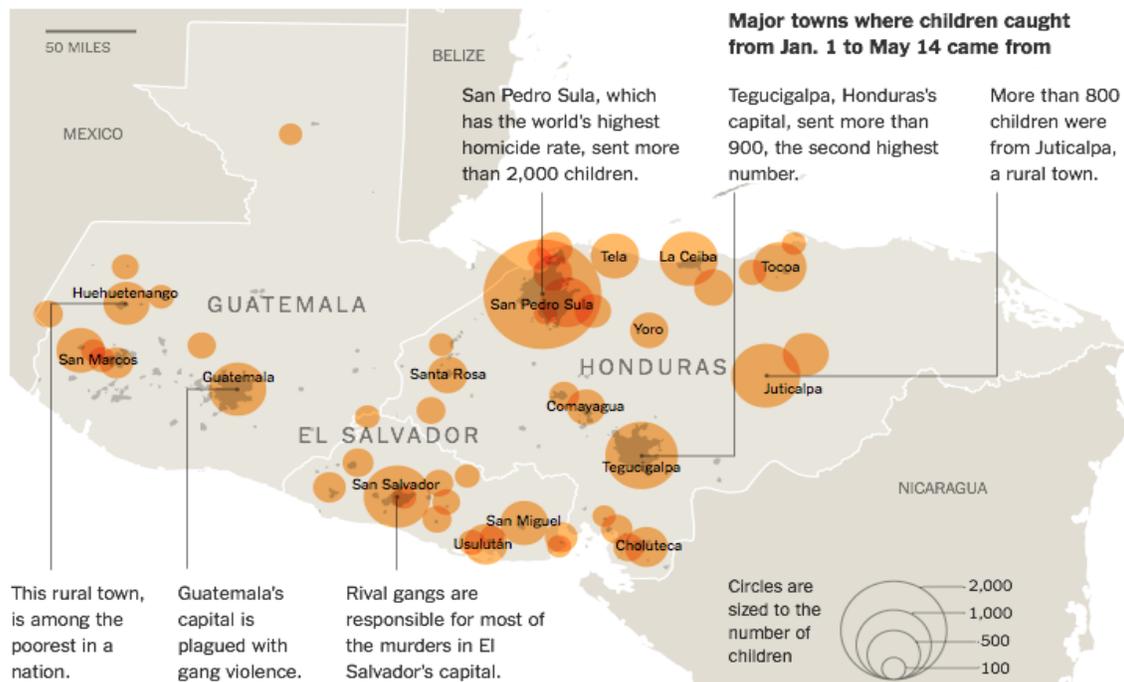---

[5] Exemplars are defined as 'a sample of incidents from a population of all occurrences that share particular characteristics.' These are most commonly used in the form of anecdotes, stories, or testimonials. (Tukachinsky et. al., 2011). They can be used from the perspective of individuals who've had personal experiences or interactions with immigrants or from the immigrants point of view.

When it comes to the 2014 immigration crisis, it is important to understand the context under which these children are migrating. While these minors are crossing the border illegally and without documentation, many still qualify for refugee status. In fact, the media already recognizes the vulnerability of these children by referring to them as 'unaccompanied minors.' This term helps creates the illusion of solitude and based on the frame spillover theory the use of the term 'unaccompanied' leads to empathetic reactions of these minors among readers as well.

The coverage of push-factors also plays a vital role in how individuals perceive unaccompanied minors. For example, the media attributes adult immigration to job hunting and family reunification (Marquez, 1997; Murrugarra, Larrison, Sasin, Marcin, & World Bank, 2011). Media coverage of child immigration push-factors, on the other hand, has yet to be intensely studied and understood. Early global data of immigrant minors report children expressing their motives for fleeing as fear of being recruited for terrorism and wars, civil unrest, child labor, and sexual slavery (Seugling, 2004). In the case of the 2014 Immigration Crisis these reasons hold true as the sending countries have suffered from the escalating drug and cartel wars in the region (Figure 2a). Unlike immigrating Mexican children who the media reports as searching for employment (Chavez & Menjivar, 2010) the media associates these unaccompanied minors a refugee crisis. This distinction is important, as the causes for fleeing can lead to different characterizations by the press within the receiving country (Chavez & Menjivar, 2010). This characterization explains why media coverage of unaccompanied minors as refugees contains fewer negative realistic threats.

Figure 2a

Q. Where are the migrant children coming from?

50 MILES

BELIZE

MEXICO

GUATEMALA

HONDURAS

EL SALVADOR

NICARAGUA

Major towns where children caught from Jan. 1 to May 14 came from

San Pedro Sula, which has the world's highest homicide rate, sent more than 2,000 children.

Tegucigalpa, Honduras's capital, sent more than 900, the second highest number.

More than 800 children were from Juticalpa, a rural town.

Huehuetenango

San Marcos

Guatemala

Santa Rosa

Comayagua

Tela   La Ceiba   Tocoa

San Pedro Sula

Yoro

Juticalpa

Tegucigalpa

San Salvador

San Miguel

Usulután

Choluteca

This rural town, is among the poorest in a nation.

Guatemala's capital is plagued with gang violence.

Rival gangs are responsible for most of the murders in El Salvador's capital.

Circles are sized to the number of children

2,000
1,000
500
100

When dealing with children's human rights, especially children who are pursuing safety, it can be tough to create policies for them as lawmakers are framing these policies around a population that lacks the physical strength to properly defend themselves. These children may not even have the development capabilities to understand their rights (Piwowarczyk, 2005; 2006). In regards to this crisis, one-third of the 63,700 pending cases (TRAC Immigration, 2014) had a lawyer representing an unaccompanied minor. This statistic means that around 60% of children stood or will stand in front of a judge trying to make a plea for refuge with little to no knowledge of the English language, much less of the American legal system. This predicament goes to show why the media's coverage of this phenomenon matters, as once again, the narrative helps shape political and public opinion on the treatment of these kids. For example, the media often describes female migrants with an image of victimhood and with rhetoric of powerlessness to find safety and security (The Opportunity Agenda, 2011). This rhetorical tactic has led readers

to be more empathetic towards these women; we expect the same response under coverage of unaccompanied minors. Unfortunately, tensions arise within the literature when powerlessness can also strengthen perceptions that immigrants, such as women and children, will be a social burden another version of realistic threats. The association to powerlessness is why symbolic threats are significantly lower in coverage of minors. Moreover, the association with social burdens is why coverage of unaccompanied minors still contains high levels of realistic threats.

CHAPTER TWO

Framework

The substantive foundation of this paper is based on a widely accepted empirical premise about news organizations and news-media content production.

Premise; The production of news media content is a byproduct of different influential factors. At the core, news content is a byproduct of individual journalists making individual level decisions on how stories are covered. Second, news content is the outcome of journalistic routines and objectivity. Third, news organizations are for-profit-businesses meaning the organizational structure should be taken into account when considering the end product. Most importantly, media organizations are heavily influenced by outside externalities such as markets and realities of the communities they serve (Reese & Shoemaker 2016). There is a symbiotic relationship in which external realities affect media coverage and media coverage affects external realities. For example, newspapers near the border will have more coverage of immigration due to the high number of immigrants in the area. Thus, we assume that news media content is a reflection of the different levels of influence within that organization. Therefore, media coverage is susceptible to the intergroup threat theory because at the center of both the hierarchy of influence and the ITT are the individual and the community.

Assuming this premises, this paper answers how variations in perception of threats in news organizations leads to distinct coverage of immigration, particularly when it comes to immigrant minors.

The intergroup threat theory helps us understand why some groups and individuals perceive immigrants as a threat while others may not. Similarly, ITT provides an explanation for

the different tones news organizations attribute to immigrants and unaccompanied minors. The theory states that individuals can perceive changes to their environment in two ways; realistically and symbolically, both of which can be triggered by negative stereotyping and intergroup anxiety (Stephan, Boniecki, Ybarra, Bettencourt, Ervin, Jackson, McNatt, & Renfro, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; 2012, 2011). In the case of immigration, individuals perceive realistic threats as targets against tangibles such as an individual's well-being, safety, politics, health, or economy (Kendall, 1998). Symbolic threats, on the other hand, are intangible and less quantifiable. Examples include threats towards an individual's morality, values, attitudes, beliefs, and standards (Oskamp, 2000). While the theory is used to identify an individual or group's behavior, we can also find these themes in the media's coverage of immigration and minors.

At this point, it is important to understand the differentiating factors between the two dimensions, particularly when it comes to coverage. The origins of symbolic and realistic threats are different. Realistic threats derive from an individual's fear of not being able to prosper or survive. Symbolic threats derive from an individual's fear of not being the dominant group particularly concerning culture or social status. This distinction is important as the origin of these perceived threats lead to very different responses and policy selection.

Intergroup threat theory provides an explanation for why there should be hostility towards adult immigrants, or in the case of this study, a lack of hostility towards unaccompanied minors. Social identity theory and realistic group conflict theory can help us understand the type of response Americans, and in turn the press, will take they feel threatened by minors.

Whether its communities across the border, Republicans, Democrats, Hispanic-Americans, or the American electorate, overall, individuals tend to group themselves through a type of identity. This self-categorization of 'us' vs. 'them' is done to push the idea of

distinctiveness. (Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Americans often perceive themselves as different from the immigrants arriving at the border, particularly when it comes to language and cultural practices. When a perception of threat against identity starts to grow, an example of social identity theory, preservation mechanisms to maintain this dominant status will take place within the ingroup. In this case, social identity theory suggests that Americans, the ingroup, will try to limit the opportunities of the immigrants or minors if they perceive the outgroup is too different from them.

Perceived symbolic threats towards immigration are also related to the notion of ethnocentrism. When it comes to immigrants, the language spoken, skin color, dress code, and religion can be factors that trigger the average American and the media to view migrants as different. Ethnocentrism is said to favor ingroups and create animosity towards the outgroup, in turn increasing hostility and anxiety towards the immigrant group (Kinder, & Kam, 2009; 2010). For example, the different language and cultural practices of other Latino migrants represents a form of symbolic threat to American culture and American identity, particularly to Americans who identify as White/Caucasian. As a result, social identity says individuals will pursue policies to remove differences or increase the power of the dominant group: removing bilingual educational programs, allowing immigrants to stay but not granting citizenship among other solutions.

On the other hand, realistic group conflict theory occurs when an ingroup perceives a threat towards their resources and tries to eliminate this menace by revoking the resources from the outgroup (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1996). In both theories, we can see that whether realistic or symbolic if Americans perceive a threat to be big enough they will try to stop the migrant group.

Because of their young age and refugee status, I did not expect the media to associate unaccompanied minors with the same high levels of symbolic and realistic threat as non-minor Latino migrants. I expected this because children present less of a physical and psychological threat than non-minor immigrants do. As shown by media coverage of DREAMers, the press already associates young age with assimilation-- an attribute the ITT theory ties to the symbolic dimension. Based on this reasoning, I expected the chances of media organizations attaching these children to negative symbolic frames--also known as symbolic threats--to be lower than non-minor immigrants.

Similarly, because these children are coming from crime-ridden countries and traveling a dangerous journey, I expected the media to associate these minors to positive symbolic frames. I still expect the media to attach a higher level of realistic threats to their coverage of unaccompanied minors. Because unaccompanied minors have overloaded detention centers and immigration courts, which does incur a certain monetary cost, I expect the levels of realistic threats in their coverage to be higher than the levels of symbolic threats.[6]

Therefore, using the intergroup threat theory, social identity theory, and realistic group conflict theory, I will analyze how a younger age lowers the perception of symbolic and realistic threat, and in turn change the tone, actions, and overall perception the media attaches to these children.

Hypotheses

Deciphering the media's use of framing, rhetoric, and salience when talking about unaccompanied minors is imperative in understanding the implications of negative or positive immigration coverage. Positive narratives of unaccompanied minors can influence the way the

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[6] Negative symbolic or realistic framing can also be described as symbolic and realistic threats.

American public thinks about this group as the anxiety around the issue of mass migration is expected to diminish (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). This study therefore asked two questions; first, how does coverage of young unaccompanied immigrants differ from the coverage of non-minor immigrants? Second, how does spatial proximity to the American-Mexican border affect the type of coverage young unaccompanied immigrants receive?

Based on the framework and drawing on the hierarchy of influence theory, this paper arrived at the following hypothesis:

1). In general, coverage of unaccompanied minors will contain more positive tones than coverage of non-minor immigrants.

2). Coverage of all immigrants, including minors, will contain more negative tones as media outlets get closer to the United States-Mexican border.

It is important to acknowledge this paper is not arguing all coverage of unaccompanied minors is positive, but rather coverage of young immigrants is less susceptible to elements of the intergroup threat theory and in turn less susceptible to negative coverage specifically.

Research Design

In a comparative cross-newspaper analysis this research examined how two national newspapers and two local newspapers within the United States portray unaccompanied minors and the topic of immigration at large.

This study used a quantitative content analysis to understand how the media uses rhetoric and tone to talk about undocumented minors. I chose to use a content analysis for its ability to examine concepts and analyze language use over time (Neuendorf, 2002). Using this method of analysis enabled me to conduct an in-depth study of the news coverage the '2014 immigration

crisis' and other immigration topics received before, during, and after the large exodus of minors. Furthermore, utilizing a content analysis approach allowed me to interpret patterns the media has used when talking about immigrant minors and other immigration topics.

For the analysis, this study looked at articles from four media outlets: two daily national newspapers and two daily Texan newspapers.

I chose *The New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* for the national news subgroup and the *El Paso Times* and the *Houston Chronicle* for the local news subgroup. I purposely chose the two national newspapers based on high circulation as well as the distribution of ideologies among its consumers.[7] Furthermore, both newspapers had the same distributing city; New York. Founded in 1851,*The New York Time* is one of the highest circulating newspapers in the country with 551,500 daily circulations and 1,200,000 Sunday circulations. Furthermore, the ideological level of the *New York Times* consumer is consistently more liberal than other similar newspapers (Mitchell, Gottfried, Kiley, & Matsa, 2014). The *Wall Street Journal*, founded in 1889, has a daily circulation of 1,321,827, and most of its consumers have a consistently centered ideology[8] (Mitchell, et. al., 2014).

I selected both Texan newspapers based on their level of circulation and proximity to key border apprehension zones along the Mexican-American border. With a daily circulation of 236,092, the *Houston Chronicle* (founded in 1901) is the second largest circulating newspaper in Texas, and the biggest newspaper in proximity to the Rio Grande Valley Border. The Rio Grande Valley Border Sector is considered the main point of entry and apprehension zone for

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[7] According to the Pew Research Center study the consistency of ideology of Wall Street Journal readers has a mix of readers with 41% being mostly conservative or consistently liberal, 35% being mostly or consistently conservative, and 24% are mixed ideology (Mitchell, et. al., 2014).

[8] Based on the ideological profiles of news sources audience produced by the Pew Research Center, the Wall Street Journal was the highest circulation national newspaper whose readers were on average more conservative or mixed than The New York Times readers.

unaccompanied minors. In the summer of 2014 approximately 56% (21,553 children) of all unaccompanied minor apprehensions occurred in the Rio Grande Valley sector (U.S Customs & Border Protection, 2014). On the other hand, the El Paso Border Sector witnessed the fewest number of child apprehensions with 11,154 total apprehensions. Based on these statistics, I selected the *El Paso Times* as my second local newspaper. *El Paso Times* is the seventh largest circulating newspaper in Texas with a daily circulation of 29,142. This comparison across border sectors allowed for a study of how contact and 'growing perceptions of threats' can affect the tone of media coverage.

To test the hypothesis, I collected all articles published the newspapers on the topic of latino immigration. I gathered articles from *The New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *El Paso Times* articles through the online ProQuest Newspaper database. The database was used to identify articles published between January 1, 2013-December 31, 2015 with the search terms "Immigrant OR Youth" AND "Unaccompanied OR Undocumented." I selected this timeframe to capture coverage of adult immigrants before, during, and after the crisis occurred. I collected the *Houston Chronicle* articles through the online NewsBank database, using the search term "immigrat* NEAR5 youth OR Children OR Adults OR Immigrants in All Text AND unaccompanied OR undocumented in All Text." I used these search terms to collect stories that focused mainly on unaccompanied minor as well as other immigration areas.

I excluded articles that focused on sports, book reviews, and immigration topics outside of Latin America/Mexico. The timeframe of the coverage resulted in a population of 1,398 items (including news stories, editorials, opinions/commentaries, and letters): 458 from *The New York Times*, 233 from the *Wall Street Journal*, 503 from the *Houston Chronicle*, and 504 from *El Paso Times*.

To make the data manageable and easily comparable, I selected four samples of 76 articles through a random selection from each subpopulation. Using the news media sampling procedure advised by Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, I used a combination of sampling techniques including 'random sampling' and 'stratification' (1993). After doing a stratification by newspaper I ran a random sampling through each subgroup. I derived a skip interval by dividing the total subpopulation over the desired sample size of 76--sampling began after the seventh article. The 304 articles are representative, with a confidence level of 95% and a 5% margin of error, of the views of immigration, expressed at large by articles published by other news media publication during the period from which the sample originated.

The original sample I selected was 98% accurate in terms of stories that addressed the topic of immigration and unaccompanied minors. The remaining 2% of the sample consisted of stories that barely mentioned the topic of immigration or briefly mentioned a political candidate suggesting reform. I removed and replaced the irrelevant stories with other stories which I gathered through another randomization process.

After I collected the sample, I developed a codebook to identify the favorability or unfavorability of the immigration coverage through the ITT. The codebook (see Appendix I) coded thematic frames as well as the purpose of the article.

The first segment of the codebook captured the characteristics of the articles. These characteristics included the type of source (news, feature, letter, editorial, op-ed/commentary), word length, page featured in, and the publication date. The codebook also captured any passing

references to unaccompanied minors—or cases in which the main topic was not minors—as well as any passing references to elections or campaigns.[9]

Additionally, the codebook captured the different subframes present in an article. In agreement with the intergroup threat theory framework, realistic frames are considered stories that contain subjects of economics, security, health, politics, jurisprudence, policy evaluation, law & order, and external regulations. Symbolic frames are stories that include topics of cultural identity, morality, equality, and public opinion. These individual topics will be referred to as subframes of the two larger symbolic and realistic frames. To capture the degree of favorability or unfavorability towards immigrants each subframe had the possibility of being coded on a 3-point ordinal scale where: 1 stood for "negative representation," 2 for "positive representation", and 3 for "neutral representation." If the subframe favored immigration or provided positive perceptions of immigrants, it was coded as positive; the inverse was true for negative stories. It is important to note that these are net positives, net negatives, and net neutrals. If an individual subframe had multiple tones, I coded the most prevalent tone.

To capture the levels of realistic and symbolic framing present within a story, I coded all subframes present in an article. I then divided each subtotal by the total possible number of subframes under the individual symbolic and realistic frames. There were nine subframes within the realistic frame, and four subframes within the symbolic frame.

Afterwards, I created a new ordinal variable for frames that were positive or neutral; I labeled this new variable "4." I merged these two tones because neutral coverage is believed to leave perceptions unchanged. Therefore, to interpret the data better, merging the two tones into a version of positive coverage seemed reasonable.

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[9] Due to the timing of these articles, I also coded whether the article mentioned the 2016 election as well as Mr. Trump's presidential candidacy announcement that occurred mid-2015.

Finally, the codebook concluded by capturing the purpose of the article. I modeled this section of the codebook after the "Identifying Media Frames and Frame Dynamics Within and Across Policy Issues" codebook (Boydstun & Glazier, 2013). Multiple studies have used this codebook, proving it effective in understanding the frames used to talk about various topics. I altered the modeled codebooks to best fit the theme of immigration and create my codebook.

Following the intergroup threat theory, **Table 1.1** and **Table 1.2** define each of the subframes under the realistic and symbolic frames. In accordance with the ITT, realistic subframes have tangible characteristics and symbolic subframes have intangible characteristics.

Table 1.1 Realistic Subframe Coding Scheme

Frame	Description
Economics	Text within the article that mentions the costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of immigrants and/ or unaccompanied minors entering the United States (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole).
Capacity & Resources	Text within the article that mentions the lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, human, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources for immigrants/unaccompanied minors.
Law & Order	Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, immigrants/unaccompanied minors breaking laws, finding loopholes, as well as any fines, sentencing and punishment towards this group. Also includes talks of granting amnesty, green cards, or other protection to either group.
Security & Defense	Text within the article that talks about threats to security, and protection of one's person, family, ingroup, nation, etc., (either immigrant, minor, or American). Generally, an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a citizens, group, and/or nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat.
Health & Safety	Text within the article that talks about healthcare access and effectiveness, as well as any illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects attached to immigrants/unaccompanied minors.
Politics	Text within the article that talks about any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base, mentions of political maneuvering, campaigning/elections. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party.
External Regulations & Reputation	Text within the article that talks about the United States' good or bad external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. Specially relations between Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, or Guatemala (but not limited too).
Policy Prescription and Evaluation	Text within the article that talks about particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective.

Table 1.2 Symbolic Subrame Coding Scheme

Frame	Description
Morality	Text within the article that mentions any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)—that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility to accept or reject immigrants/unaccompanied minors. This includes morality of helping immigrants escape from harm/providing sanctuary cities.
Fairness & Equality	Text within the article that talks about equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among citizens and immigrants/unaccompanied minors. Also the balance between the rights or interests of individual citizens or group compared to immigrants/unaccompanied minors. Arguments around fairness and equality focus on disparities of rights for immigrants (especially LGBT, women, and children). Equality of defense in court also qualifies
Cultural Identity	Text within the article that talks about social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s), as they relate to immigration (by immigrants or unaccompanied minors).
Public Opinion & Sentiments	Text within the article that talks about or makes references to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls when it comes to issues of immigration/unaccompanied minors.

I also coded the purpose of the articles. While not the goal of the paper, understanding under what intent the press wrote each article could help shed some light on the topics and arguments that they used. See **Table 1.3** for the response schemes and their definition. I modeled the response frames after the Center for International Forestry Research in 2012 (Alvarez, Freundt-Montero, Burga-Barrantes, & Postigo-Takahashi, 2012).

**Table 1.3 Unaccompanied Minors Response Frame Scheme**

Frames	Description
Diagnostic	Just describes problem. Identifies the crisis as a problem and often who or what is to blame for children migrating and entering the united states
Prognostic	Solution. Involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the immigration crisis, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan.
Symptomatic	Effects of problem. Main focus is to Identify why unaccompanied minors are a problem/why they're immigrating, often by discussing the consequences of a problem. Ex. Children are immigrating due to cartel recruitment; this can be dangerous for receiving communities due to violent prone children coming into the country.
Motivational	Action required. Going beyond the basic existence of the issue of unaccompanied minors and its causes and consequences, puts forward moral and motivational reasons why the speaker and/or others should be concerned about the problem and take action on it or ignore it. It tries to rally the reader behind a cause for helping or preventing unaccompanied minors from entering.

Finally, the codebook tracked the specific linguistic phrases used by the media to describe immigrant minors and non-minor immigrants. These terms in included "unaccompanied minors," "unaccompanied children," "illegal aliens," "child alien," "illegal alien minor," "Dreamers." On occasion, the media used terms that connected the minors to adults, such as "women and their children."

CHAPTER THREE

Article Characteristic

Figure 3.1

BREAKDOWN OF MAIN SUBJECTS OF ARTICLES IN PERCENTAGES (N=304)
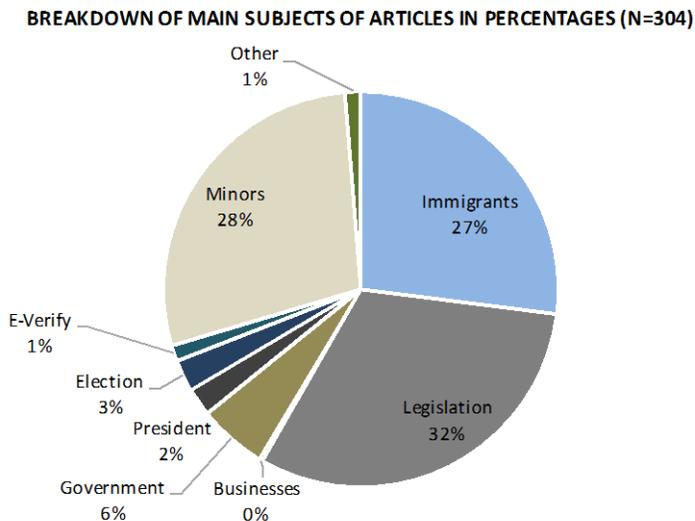
As Figure 3.1 shows, the sampled articles predominantly focused on three main subjects, 'immigration legislation' (32%), 'immigrant minors' (28%), and 'immigrants in general' (27%). It is important to note that while the subject of 28% of all sampled articles was child migration, 55.3% of all sampled stories referred to specific groups of child migrants, including DREAMers, unaccompanied minors, or traveling mothers with immigrant children. This high prevalence is a result of the selection timeframe where most immigration stories made a passing reference to the 2014 immigration crisis.

While I could only code for one main subject in the whole article, multiple subframes could appear within the story. Within the whole sample, Policy Evaluation was the most prevalent subframe (67%) and can be linked to the coded purpose of the stories which were heavily concentrated on diagnostic coverage; 86% for local media, 72% for national media. The coverage for both localities often focused on describing immigration or policies. Furthermore, I

expected the parallel in the use of the 'Policy Evaluation' subframe by the national and local

media as many of the story during this time revolve around how to mediate the 'crisis.'

Breaking down subframe prevalence by locality, the data shows national articles focused

heavily on 'Policy Evaluation' (70%) whereas local newspapers focused on the 'security'

subframe. The 'Law and Order' subframe had the second highest prevalence between both

newspaper localities. The different prevalence in subframes can be attributed to the focus of the

coverage. National media reported on the workings of national and local governments while

local media reported on the consequences of immigration.

Table 3.1: Prevalence of Subrames by Locality and Tone (Percentages)

Subframes	National Articles with Negative Subframes	National Articles with Positive Subframes	Local Articles with Negative Subframes	Local Articles with Positive Subrames
Capacity	23%	9%	27%	9%
Economy	21%	32%	9%	19%
Morality	7%	45%	1%	42%
Equality	4%	53%	5%	35%
Jurisprudence	13%	9%	11%	5%
Policy Evaluation	38%	32%	14%	47%
Law and Order	26%	40%	20%	42%
Security	20%	34%	18%	51%
Health	3%	5%	1%	5%
Cultural	7%	13%	2%	11%
Public Opinion	10%	14%	6%	7%
Politics	47%	7%	36%	1%
Interregulation	6%	4%	5%	6%

Table 3.1 breaks down the prevalence of each subframe based on their tone. The national

media covered the 'Politics' subframe the most negatively (47%) while covering the 'Equality'

subframe the most positively (53%). With over half of the national articles containing high levels

of positive equality framing, this reinforces the notion that attaching symbolic threats to

immigration coverage is hard. On the other hand, local media also covered 'Politics' the most

negatively (36%) while covering 'Security' the most positively (51%). The local media's use of

positive framing for 'Security' and 'Policy Evaluation' (47%) can be attributed to the high

prevalence of passing references to the unaccompanied minors. Among local coverage, stories

that did not revolve around unaccompanied minors still made passing references in order to make

a point. For example, in an immigration legislation centered *El Paso Times* article, the story

made a passing reference to unaccompanied minors through a 'border security' subframe. "While

there is no doubt that we can make our borders more secure, that is not an issue with this Central

American influx" (Seitz, 2014). The main purpose of the article was to report on immigration

reform, primarily how government officials were using 'funding for border security' as an

excuse for proper immigration reform. The article briefly mentions the high rates of

apprehensions by the current border security infrastructure and the fact that many in the influx

willingly have turned themselves in. By using the 2014 Immigration Crisis as a vehicle to

demonstrate the lack of danger posed by unaccompanied minors, the tone of the article shifted

positively. This finding is a reflection of the fact that not only does the presence of

unaccompanied minors shift tone, but that news organizations willingly use minors to make

arguments.

Figure 3.2

PERCENTAGE OF SYMBOLIC & REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT BY NEWSPAPER
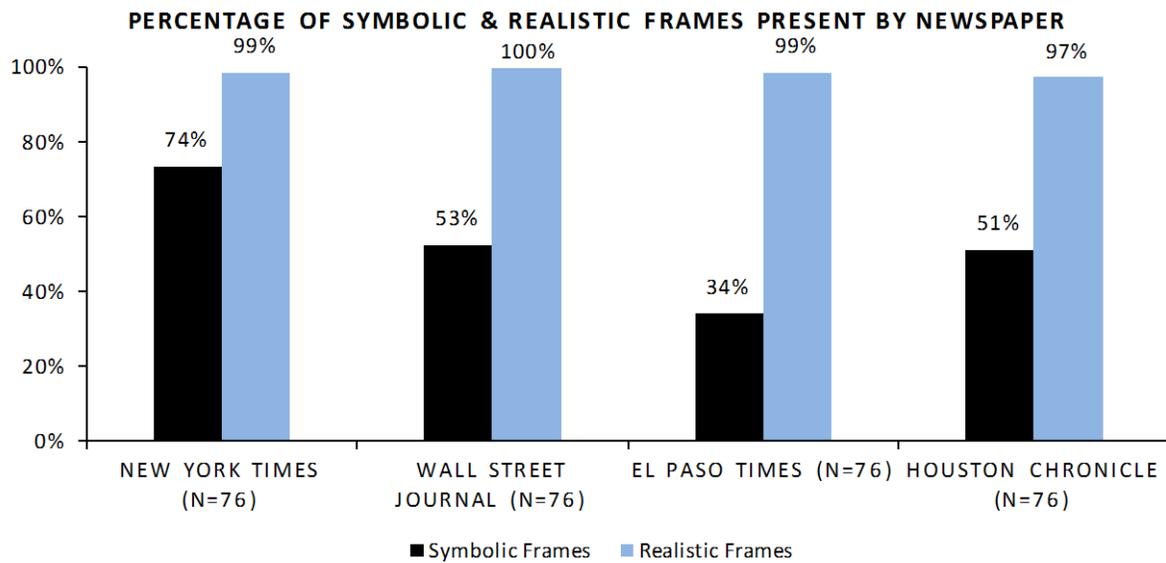
I turned to the intergroup threat theory to fully understand tone and the effects of unaccompanied minors being mentioned in an article. The theory allowed for an in-depth look at what attributes are specifically associated with immigration and unaccompanied minors. Breaking down the data by news organization, we see that regardless of tone, realistic frames were highly present across most, if not all, of the sources. All four newspapers used symbolic frames more sparingly. As Figure 3.2 shows, 74% of all *New York Times* articles had one or multiple symbolic frames present, while *El Paso Times* saw the least with 34%.[10] The big disparity across symbolic and realistic frames, both in general and across newspapers, is due to the numeric difference in subframes for each group; there were nine subframes under the realistic frame while only four subframes for the symbolic frame. Furthermore, because the most common subframe was policy evaluation, a realistic frame, other subframes present tended to be complementary, and by nature, also realistic.

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[10] It's important to note that a story could be coded for multiple subframes (9 realistic subframes and 4 symbolic subframes) therefore the total will not always equal 100.

Figure 3.3

PERCENTAGE OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT BY NEWSPAPERS

■ New York Times (n=76)   ■ Wall Street Journal (n=76)   ■ El Paso Times (n=76)   ■ Houston Chronicle (n=76)
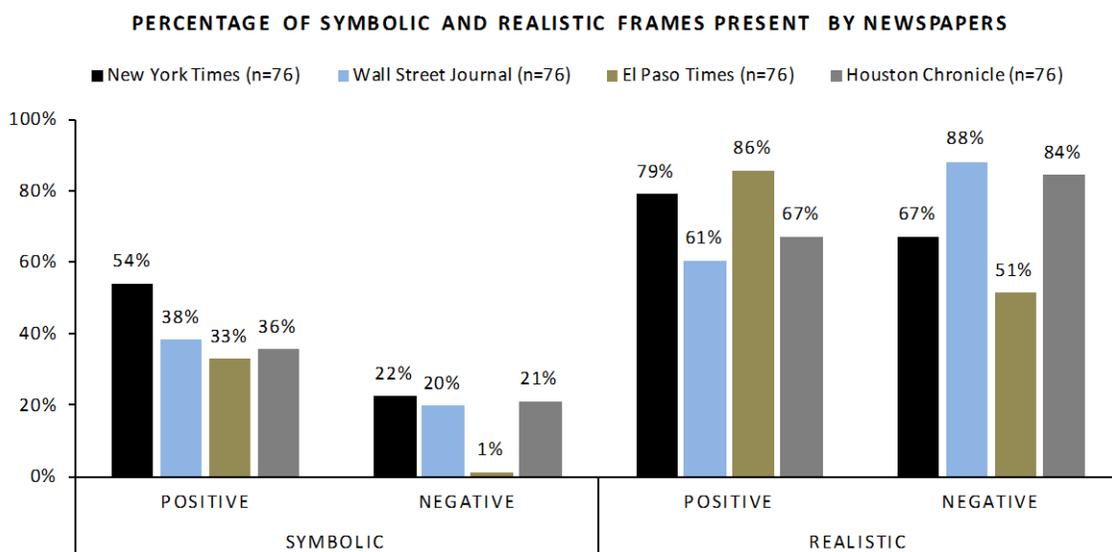
Figure 3.3 shows the breakdown of symbolic and realistic frames by tone for each newspaper. As expected, certain newspapers skewed the resultant group-level data. Figure 3.3 shows the breakdown of symbolic and realistic frames by tone for each newspaper, but when grouped by locality (as shown in Figure 10), this figure helps explain why national newspapers have a higher prevalence of negative realistic coverage. For example, 88% of the *Wall Street Journal* articles contained negative realistic frames, while only 67% of *New York Times* articles did.

The media's need for balanced coverage—using negative and positive commentary or opposing views—lead to a high presence of positive and negative frames. Within the local newspapers, the *Houston Chronicle* had the highest prevalence of negative realistic threats with over 84% of articles containing one or multiple frames. At the same time, the *Houston Chronicle* also led with the most positive realistic frames, once again a reflection of balanced coverage.

All articles containing symbolic frames followed a general pattern. As shown in Figure 3.3 all newspaper had a high prevalence of positive symbolic frames and significantly lower negative symbolic frames. *Houston Chronicle* articles, for example, contained about 1% of

negative symbolic frames. We can attribute this large difference to the subframes under the symbolic frame. Symbolic subframes, such as morality, equality, and values, are considerably harder to cover in a negative light when talking about unaccompanied children.

As I noted before, the media described minors in various ways: the most frequent term used to describe immigrant minors or the crisis was in fact "unaccompanied minors' (15%), followed by 'children' (13.5%) and a combination of children and families/mothers (5%). This is of particular importance as the term used to describe the minors often also signified the tone of the article. For example, even though coverage was overall more negative, *Wall Street Journal* articles that mentioned children were far more symbolically positive in their coverage "A party whose preoccupation is deporting children is going to alienate many conservatives, never mind minority voters" (n.a, 2014). With that said, the *Wall Street Journal* was the only media source to use the term 'illegal,' a term associated with extremely negative coverage.

Coverage of Unaccompanied Minors

Figure 3.4

PERCENTAGE OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES USED WITHIN ARTICLES THAT MENTIONED MINORS (N=304)
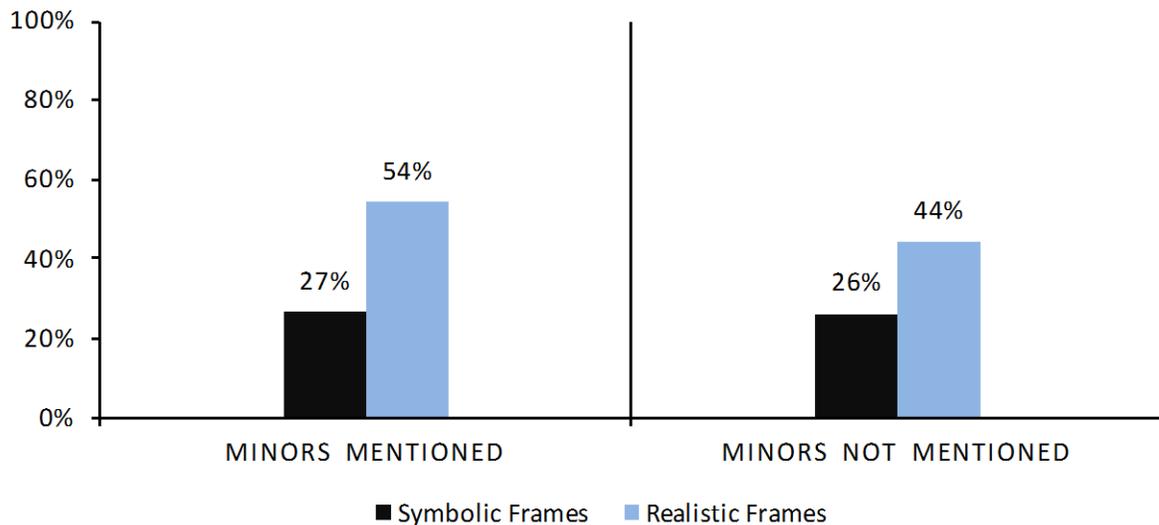
The first research question asked how coverage of unaccompanied immigrant minors differs from non-minor immigrant coverage. As seen in Figure 3.4, and coinciding with the general trend already explained, there is a higher presence of realistic frames than symbolic frames among coverage containing minors and coverage that does not. However, among articles that covered children, the media used realistic frames more (54%) than when they talked about non-minors (44%). Symbolic frames, on the other hand, were about the same for both groups at around 26%. This finding reflects the opposite of the hypothesis. The frame spillover effect (Engel, 2013) provides an explanation for the national media's widespread use of negative symbolic and realistic frames when covering minors. In 2014, President Obama proposed his plan to provide 11 million immigrants with a pathway to citizenship. Much of the 2014 Immigration Crisis coverage made passing reference to this policy proposal. More significant, a lot of the coverage attached to this proposal was negative and particularly driven by the national media. Because the national media associated the minors to other immigration topics that the press covered in a negative light, we witness the prevalence of negative framing.

Figure 3.5

PERCENTANGE OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT IN ARTICLES THAT MENTION CHILDREN
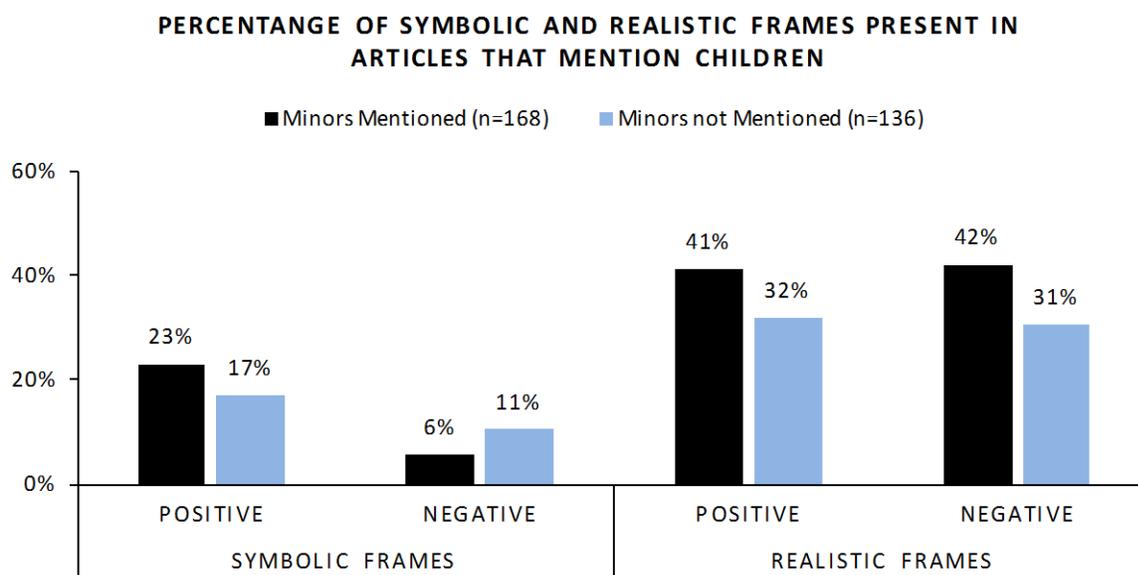
Figure 5 shows the tone breakdown of symbolic and realistic frames. The articles that mention minors have higher levels of positive realistic (41%) and symbolic (23%) frames than articles that do not mention children. With that said, 42% of articles that mentioned minors had one or more negative realistic frames. As previously explained, the high levels of negative realistic frames among national newspapers—particularly the *Wall Street Journal*--is the factor behind this figure.

Figure 3.6
NEGATIVE SYMBOLIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)	104	76%	32	24%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)	151	90%	17	10%	
Total (N=304)	225	74%	49	16%	P=.002

Chi Square: 9.997*

Figure 3.6 reflects the hypothesis. Only 10% of articles that mentioned minors had one or more negative symbolic frames, whereas 24% of articles that did not mention minors had negative symbolic frames. The probability associated with the chi-square statistic of 9.997 and p <0.05 indicates there is a statistically significant and strong relationship between the presence of negative symbolic frame in coverage that mentions minors. Therefore, we can reject the null hypothesis and say that there is, in fact, a relationship between the reference of immigrant minors and the presences of negative symbolic frames. Moreover, concurring with the hypothesis, this finding shows that when the media talks about minors they use far less negative symbolic frames than when media mentions non-minors. Once again, this shows the attachment of minors to morality, equality, public opinion, and cultural identity, which makes it harder to turn these frames negative.

Figure 3.7
POSITIVE SYMBOLIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)	84	61%	52	38%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)	98	58%	70	42%	
Total (N=304)	182	60%	122	10%	P=.554

Chi Square: 0.368

Figure 3.8
NEGATIVE REALISTIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)	43	32%	93	68%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)	40	24%	128	76%	
Total (N=304)	83	27%	221	73%	P=.129

Chi Square: 2.309

Figure 3.7 shows the results for the presence of positive symbolic frames among articles

that mention minors. Although the percentage of articles that mentioned and contained positive

symbolic frame was greater than articles that did not, the difference was not significant p=0.554

and not strong with a chi-square statistic of 0.368. Thus, we cannot reject the null hypothesis.

Similarly, Figure 3.8 shows no statistical relationship (p=0.129 > 0.5) between the presence of

minors and negative realistic frames.

Figure 3.9
POSITIVE REALISTIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED

| Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)	39	29%	97	71%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)	43	26%	125	74%	
Total (N=304)	82	27%	222	73%	P=.547

Chi Square: 0.362

As shown in Figure 9, the percentage of articles that mentioned minors with positive,

realistic frames (74%) was comparable to articles where minors were not mentioned (71%). This

finding indicates that the relationship between the presence of immigrant minors and positive,

realistic frames was not statistically significant (p=0.547 > 0.5). In agreement with Figure 3.4,

these findings show coverage of immigrant minors contains high levels of positive, realistic frames but also high levels of negative realistic frames. In other words, unaccompanied minors are not susceptible to coverage that is more positive. The Intergroup Threat Theory states threats are reinforced by influxes of an outgroup. I did not expect a high prevalence of positive realistic frame coverage by the media as there was a large volume of unaccompanied minors arriving in the United States. Media coverage of the crisis reflects this expectation and finding as they presented fears of realistic threats through coverage of the cost of detention centers, education, and security.

Location and Coverage of Unaccompanied Minors

Figure 3.10

PERCENTAGE OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT IN ARTICLES
THAT MENTION CHILDREN BY NEWSPAPER LOCALITY
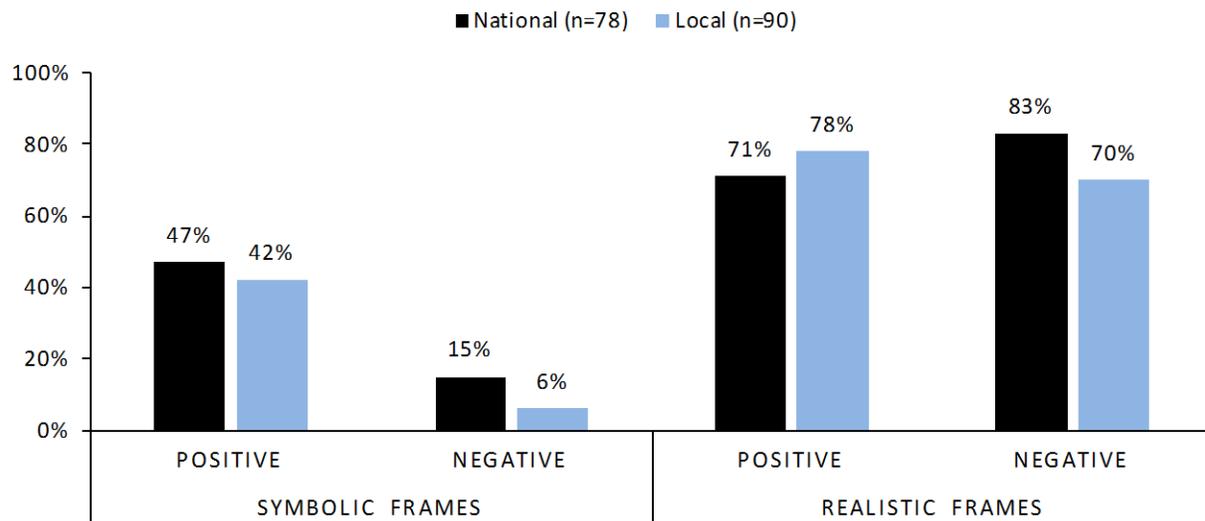
The second question examined how spatial proximity to the American-Mexican border affects the type of coverage young immigrants receive. As previously explained, there is a clear distinction between the presence of minors and the presence of symbolic and realistic frames; the same rule applies to newspaper locality and coverage of minors. When covering unaccompanied minors both the national and local newspapers use realistic frames at a higher rate than symbolic

frames (Figure 3.10). However, with a 13% difference[11] once again we see the national media

uses more negative realistic frames than the local media. The inverse is also true, as the local

press uses more positive realistic frames than the national media. In regards to symbolic frames,

while less prevalent in coverage of unaccompanied minors, when covered they are portrayed as

positive. Forty-seven percent of national articles that mentioned minors had one or more positive

symbolic frame. While 42% of local articles that mentioned minors had one or more symbolic

frame.

The pattern shows that the national media tends to cover unaccompanied minors with

more threats across both dimensions of the theory, while local media tends to cover minors more

positively across both dimensions.

For example, this *El Paso Times* abstract in its discussion of unaccompanied minors

shows positive symbolic framing by focusing on the need to end the politicization of suffering

children, and positive realistic framing by focusing on immigration statistics that emphasize a

decrease in border crossings:

> "...These statements are misleading and completely miss the mark. Never mind
> the issue of politicizing the suffering of children, or the fact that these children are not
> eligible for DACA, or that the Obama administration has deported vastly more
> immigrants than Bush and Clinton combined. While there has been a surge in
> unaccompanied minors at specific points along the Texas border, it is worth noting that,
> even with the recent increase, the Congressional Research Service reported that the
> overall number of migrants crossing the southern border of the United States without
> proper documents dropped 75 percent from 2000 to 2013."

Whereas this letter by Governor Bush published in the *Wall Street Journal*, shows an

example of negative realistic framing by emphasizing the removal of incentives that the author

suggests encourages people to break immigration laws, and negative symbolic framing through

the author's emphasis on the rejection of equality or sanctuary for children and their families:

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[11] Please note that the statistical analysis for these proved to not be statistically significant, however use of symbolic frame by local and national media was fairly close; $\chi^2(1, N = 304) = 3.396$, $p = .065$

"Next, we must aggressively remove the incentives that encourage people to break immigration laws. It is vital that we clearly communicate that there will be zero rewards for those who imperil the lives of children by sending them to the U.S. illegally. The children who have come here were provoked by adults and made to believe that crossing our border would be the key to their family's escape from a life of poverty or danger. That must end."

It is, however, important to acknowledge that when it comes to coverage of immigrant children, the presence of symbolic frames still tends to be more positive than negative across all newspapers. As asserted by the hypothesis, because symbolic frames deal with morality, public opinion, equality, etc., the coverage of immigrant children tended to be more positive because of their age. In the presence of minors, symbolic frames often referenced the 'moral compass of legislation' and 'proper legal representation for minors because they are vulnerable.' Furthermore, for most stories, it was important to take into account and mention that many of these children are fleeing danger and violence.

Figure 3.11

PERCENTAGE OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT IN ARTICLES THAT MENTION MINORS
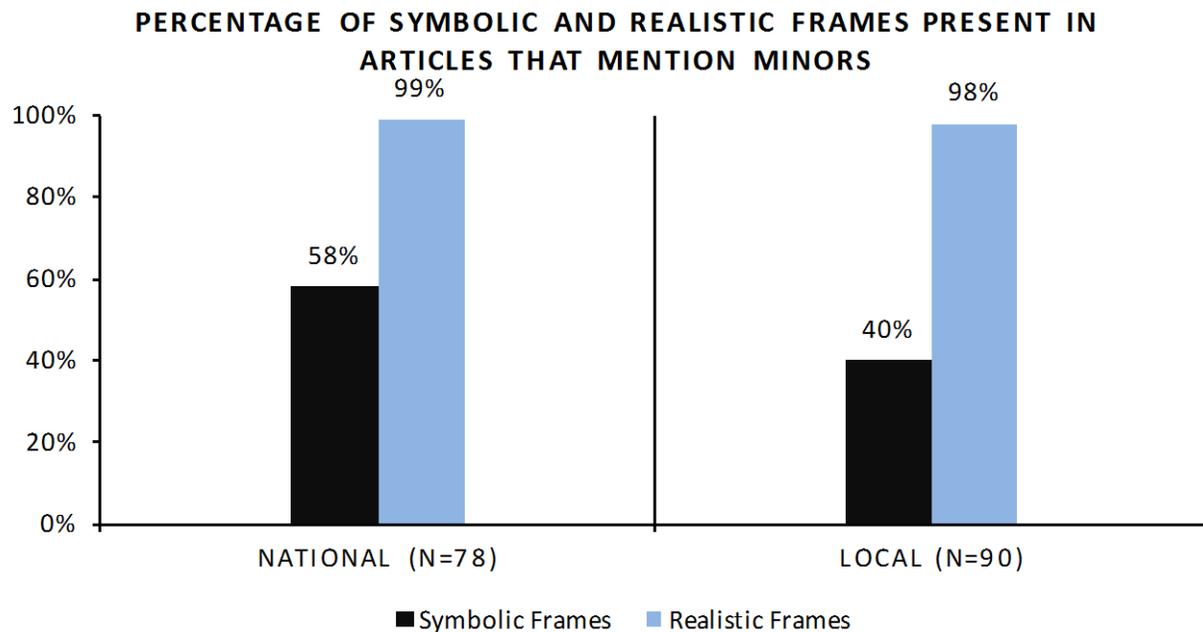
In terms of sheer numbers, local media mentioned immigrant children more (90 articles) than the national media that wrote 78 articles (**Figure 3.11**). Since the crisis affected border

communities the most, this finding is logical. When it comes to framing, both local and national media reported on realistic threats at a significantly higher rate; however, the national media (58%) covered symbolic frames more than the national media (40%).

Figure 3.12

BREAKDOWN OF SYMBOLIC AND REALISTIC FRAMES PRESENT BY NEWSPAPER LOCALITY
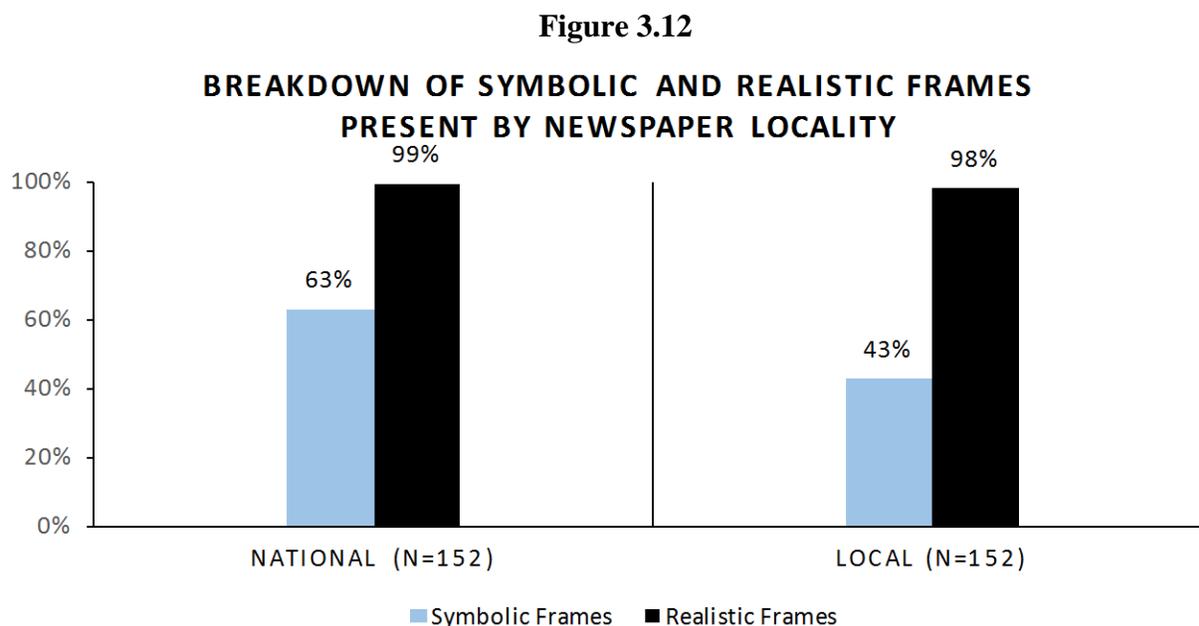
The results show that regardless of tone, local and national newspapers used realistic frames at a higher rate. Even more significantly, as Figure 3.12 shows, national articles had more symbolic (63%), and realistic (99%) frames present than local articles, where only 43% and 98% of all articles contained symbolic frames and realistic frames, respectively. The average word count explains this finding. National pieces--particularly skewed by *The New York Times*--were often longer than local newspapers, giving them more opportunity to cover in-depth more frames.

Figure 3.13
NEGATIVE SYMBOLIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED * NATIONAL vs LOCAL

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)					P=.293
National Articles	54	40%	20	15%	
Local Articles	50	37%	12	9%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)					P=.035*
National Articles	66	39%	12	7%	
Local Articles	85	51%	5	3%	
Total (N=304)					P=.019*
National Articles	120	39%	32	11%	
Local Articles	135	44%	17	6%	

Figure 3.13 shows the interaction between locality of the newspaper and the presence of negative symbolic frames in coverage of immigrant children. The difference between national and local articles which mention minors with negative symbolic frames is statistically significant χ^2 (1, N = 168) =1.104, p = 0.35 meaning we can reject the null hypothesis.

There is a relationship between the coverage of immigrant minors and the presence of negative symbolic frames based on an article's locality; however, opposite of the hypothesis, the relationship shows that local media uses less negative symbolic frames than national media. This finding implies that the local media sees less of a symbolic threat from these children that the national media. There is also a statistical significance between locality and negative symbolic frames, χ^2 (1, N = 304) = 5.474, p = 0.19, meaning we can reject the null as well; however, there was no statistical relationship between national and local articles that did not mention minors and the presence of negative symbolic frames, χ^2 (1, N = 136) = 1.104, p = .293, meaning we cannot reject the null hypothesis.

Figure 3.14
POSITIVE SYMBOLIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED * NATIONAL vs LOCAL

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)					P=.095
National Articles	41	30%	33	24%	
Local Articles	43	32%	19	14%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)					P=.158
National Articles	41	24%	37	22%	
Local Articles	57	34%	33	20%	
Total (N=304)					P=.035*
National Articles	82	27%	70	23%	
Local Articles	100	33%	52	17%	

The difference between national and local articles that don't mention minors and have one or more positive symbolic frame is not statistically significant χ^2 (1, N = 136) =2.780, p = 0.95 (Figure 14). This means we cannot reject the null hypothesis; however it still important to note that this relationship is marginal. Furthermore, there is no statistical significance when the media mentions minors, χ^2 (1, N = 168) =1.994, p = .158. Thus, we fail to reject the null in this case as well. Once again, however, there proves to be a strong relationship between the presence of positive symbolic frames and locality of the article, χ^2 (1, N = 304) = 4.436, p = 0.35.

Figure 3.15
NEGATIVE REALISTIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED * NATIONAL vs LOCAL

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)					P=.375
National Articles	21	15%	53	39%	
Local Articles	22	16%	40	29%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)					P=.043*
National Articles	13	8%	65	39%	
Local Articles	27	16%	63	38%	
Total (N=304)					P=.053
National Articles	34	11%	118	39%	
Local Articles	49	16%	103	34%	

The presence of negative realistic frames in articles that did not mention minors did not differ significantly based on location χ^2 (1, N = 136) =0.788, p = .375 (Figure 3.15). However, the presence of negative realistic frames in articles that did mention minors was significant, χ^2 (1, N = 168) =4.095, p =.043. Sixty-five percent of national articles that mentioned minors had negative realistic frames, whereas 63% of local articles that mentioned minors had a negative realistic frame. This implies, once again, that national media attributes a greater threat perception of unaccompanied minors than local media; however, considering the realistic threats these children present are more tangible in local communities, this finding reveals that the susceptibility to threat perception is greater across the national media. Furthermore, it is important to mention that while not significant, the locality of the article and the presence of negative realistic frames was marginal χ^2 (1, N = 304) =3.729, p =.053.

Figure 3.16
POSITIVE REALISTIC FRAME * MINORS MENTIONED * NATIONAL vs LOCAL

Minors Mentioned	Frame Not Present		Frame Present		X^2
	N	%	N	%	
Minors Not Mentioned (N=136)					P=.498
National Articles	23	17%	51	38%	
Local Articles	16	12%	46	34%	
Minors Mentioned (N=168)					P=.282
National Articles	23	14%	55	33%	
Local Articles	20	12%	70	42%	
Total (N=304)					P=.196
National Articles	46	15%	106	35%	
Local Articles	36	12%	116	38%	

Finally, as shown in Figure 3.16, the presence of positive realistic frames in articles that that mentioned (χ^2(1, N = 168) =1.152, p =.282) and did not mention minors (χ^2(1, N = 136) =1.670, p =.498) based on location was not significant. There was also no significance in locality χ^2(1, N = 304) =1.670, p =.196.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

This study produced three major findings. First, regardless of locality, the media associates unaccompanied minors with fewer symbolic threats than non-minor immigrants. Second, the national media associates unaccompanied minors with higher levels of positive and negative symbolic frames than the local media. Third, local media associates fewer symbolic and realistic threats with unaccompanied minors than the national media.

Future studies should look at what is it, specifically, about these minors that make the national media feel threatened by immigrant youth. While this paper asserts that age is the main factor, the political circumstances of unaccompanied minors, as well as their attachment to refugee status, could also have played a role in the tone of the coverage. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study through the 'frame spillover effect' the consequences media coverage of unaccompanied minors could have on other immigrant groups. In addition, taking into account the findings of this study, an experiment on how media coverage of unaccompanied immigrant youth shapes public opinion could be another possible research route.

It is important to note that this research did have limitations, particularly in the size of the sample, the number of newspapers used, and even the subframes used within each larger frame. Due to the complexity of immigration, many frames within the symbolic and realistic dimensions tended to merge. This study compensated for this problem by picking the most common frame, although this meant not capturing the proper tone of the article. Despite this shortcoming, the data still showed the media's ability to be more favorable and balanced towards a sub-population that is part of a broader and more negatively portrayed population.

Despite limitations, the implications of these findings are significant. This study revealed that although immigration legislation is complex, media coverage of unaccompanied minor legislation is just as if not more complex. As a UNHCR survey of 404 unaccompanied minors reported, 58% of respondents reported being "forcibly displaced because they suffered or faced harms that indicated a potential or actual need for international protection" (American Immigration Council, 2015). The unfortunate reality is that even though 72% of the children surveyed merited protection under American humanitarian law, a significant percentage of these children have gone without proper legal representation. In fact, out of of approximately 63,750 cases, less than 21,250 had legal representation (Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse, 2014).

The tensions, however, rise when we see that while many of these children do lawfully qualify for shelter and protection, there seems to be a disparity among the American public and media on the reasons they believe these kids are entering the United States. In a survey conducted by PRRI during the peak of the crisis, Democrats (83%), independents (66%), and Republicans (52%) believe unaccompanied minors should be treated as refugees. However, 42% percent of Republicans believe these unaccompanied minors should be treated as illegal immigrants (2014) which presents an even bigger divide. So how did we get here? As this study showed, different newspapers report varying levels of positive and negative symbolic and realistic frames, which can have an effect on their readers. As Page & Shapiro explained, "short-term movements in public opinion can largely be accounted for (and predicted) by quantitative analysis of what news, from what sources, appears in the mass media" (1992). Because partisanship plays a role on what sources the American public reads, we can infer that media did play a significant role in the response of the American public to the PRRI survey.

The presence of minors in an article tends to lower the presence of negative symbolic frames which is promising as it means media outlets tend to avoid presenting children in a negative way. However, as this study also showed, this is not to say that coverage of minors is more positive but rather less threatening.

Joan Konner, Dean of Columbia University Public Communication, once wrote "and journalism itself has changed. News organizations and some journalists have transformed from their traditional role as watchdogs of power into institutions of power themselves with an ability, indeed, a susceptibility, to abuse that power" (1997). With this in mind, the most important discovery of this paper comes in the form of newspaper locality. In contradiction with most literature, local media perceives undocumented immigrants with fewer threats than the national media. This contradiction raises a red flag. When communities that are expected to be affected by an exodus of immigrants feels less threatened than communities who might never even come across this outgroup, it is a reflection that a mechanism is at fault and that mechanism turns out to be the media.

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Appendix

CODEBOOK

1.1 Descriptive Variables

Article_ID
> Identity code assigned to each of the articles upon collection for easier tracking. The code should follow the format YEAR.MONTH.DAY.NEWSPAPER ABBREVIATION.

Newspaper
> Choose the code for the appropriate newspaper
1. New York Times
2. Wall Street Journal
3. El Paso Times
4. Houston Chronicle

Locality
1. National
2. Local

Page
> Add the page number in which the article begins

Date
> Add the date in which the article was published. Use the following format: YYYYMMDD ex. 20160903

Words
> Enter the word length of the article.

Type
> Choose a code for the type of article being analyzed
1. News
2. Feature
3. Letter
4. Editorial
5. Op-Ed

Passing
> Does the article only make a passing reference about unaccompanied minors?
1. Yes
0. No

Does the article only make a passing reference about elections or campaigns?
1. Yes
0. No

Main Subject

Code for the overall topic of the article. If there are various, go with the most prevelant.

1. Immigration in general
2. Legislations
3. Businesses
4. Government
5. Senators/Congressmen
6. President
7. Election
8. Local Government
9. E-Verify
10. Unaccompanied Minors
11. Other

1.2 Framing[12]

"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, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). For the following section, every frame regarding immigration, unaccompanied minors, or adult immigrants present in an article will be coded according to the number given.

Negative refers to frames that portray immigration/immigrants in a negative light, this includes policies that an immigrant would be against or would hurt an immigrant.

Positive refers to frames that portray immigration/immigrants in a positive light, this includes policies an immigrant would be in favor of or would help them

Neutral refers to frames that contain an equal or balanced argument that includes both negative and positive arguments.

Economic: The costs, benefits, or monetary/financial implications of immigrants/unaccompanied minors entering the United States (to an individual, family, community or to the economy as a whole). This also includes threat to the welfare system. This includes immigrants entering the United States for economic gains (ECON)

> 0. Frame is not present
> 01. Negative Frame Present
> 02. Positive Frame Present
> 03. Neutral Frame

Capacity and resources:

> The lack of or availability of physical, geographical, spatial, **human**, and financial resources, or the capacity of existing systems and resources for immigrants and/or unaccompanied minors. This can include physical resources including lack of, or willingness to supply, space in detention centers, courtrooms, and transportation vehicles. Human resources including lawyers/judges, troops, or any other type of service provider. Financial resources includes lack of funds. (Code: CAPACITY)

> 0. Frame is not present
> 01. Negative Frame Present
> 02. Positive Frame Present (more centers, lack of people filling jobs in farms)
> 03. Neutral Frame

Morality:

> Any perspective—or policy objective or action (including proposed action)—that is compelled by religious doctrine or interpretation, duty, honor, righteousness or any other sense of ethics or social responsibility to accept or reject immigrants/unaccompanied

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[12] Framing codes directly taken from the "Identifying Media Frames and Frame Dynamics Within and Across Policy Issues" codebook but adapted for this study.

minors. This includes morality of helping immigrants escape from harm/providing sanctuary cities. Arguments around helping children are also considered moral. (Code: MORALITY)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present (mention of humanitarian crisis, kids deserve good future)
03. Neutral Frame

Fairness and equality:

Equality or inequality with which laws, punishment, rewards, and resources are applied or distributed among citizens and immigrants/unaccompanied minors. Also the balance between the rights or interests of individual citizens or group compared to immigrants/unaccompanied minors. Arguments around fairness and equality focus on disparities of rights for immigrants (especially LGBT, women, and children). Equality of defense in court also qualifies. (code: EQUALITY)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Constitutionality and jurisprudence:

The constraints imposed on or freedoms granted to individuals, government, and corporations via the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other amendments, or judicial interpretation. This deals specifically with the authority of government to regulate, and the authority of individuals/corporations to act independently of government. (Code: JURISPRUDENCE)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Policy prescription and evaluation:

Main focus is policy evaluation. Particular policies proposed for addressing an identified problem, and figuring out if certain policies will work, or if existing policies are effective. Effectiveness of Obama's or state immigration laws/bills. (code: POLICYEVAL)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Law and order, crime and justice:
Specific policies in practice and their enforcement, incentives, and implications. Includes stories about enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals and law enforcement, immigrants/unaccompanied minors breaking laws, finding loopholes, as well as any fines, sentencing and punishment towards this group. Increases or reductions in crime by the presence of immigrants/unaccompanied minors. (Code: LAWORDER)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present (i.e minors finding loopholes)
02. Positive Frame Present (providing green cards)
03. Neutral Frame

Security and defense:
Security, threats to security, and protection of one's person, family, in-group, nation, etc. Generally an action or a call to action that can be taken to protect the welfare of a citizens, group, and/or nation sometimes from a not yet manifested threat by immigrants/unaccompanied minors. Focuses on possible security breaches by immigrants. Talks about border Security automatically falls under this category (Code: SECURITY)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Presen t(immigrants require protection)
03. Neutral Frame
04. Positive security of minors specifically/minors escaping harm/violence

Health and safety:
Any mentions of Healthcare access and effectiveness, as well as any illness, disease, sanitation, obesity, mental health effects attached to immigrants/unaccompanied minors. (Code: HEALTH)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Cultural identity:
The social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture(s),as they relate to immigration (by immigrants or unaccompanied minors). Note that any mention of border culture is positive. (Code: CULTURAL)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Public opinion and Sentiments:

References to general social attitudes, polling and demographic information, as well as implied or actual consequences of diverging from or getting ahead of public opinion or polls when it comes to issues of immigration/unaccompanied minors. (Code: PUBLICOPINION)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Political:

Any political considerations surrounding an issue. Issue actions or efforts or stances that are political, such as partisan filibusters, lobbyist involvement, bipartisan efforts, deal-making and vote trading, appealing to one's base, mentions of political maneuvering, campaigning/elections. Explicit statements that a policy issue is good or bad for a particular political party. (Code: POLITICAL)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present (inability to pass immigration reform, no cooperation)
02. Positive Frame Present (cooperative work within party for immigration reform)
03. Neutral Frame

External regulation and reputation:

The United States' external relations with another nation; the external relations of one state with another; or relations between groups. Specially relations between Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras, or Guatemala (but not limited too). (Code: INTREGULATION)

0. Frame is not present
01. Negative Frame Present
02. Positive Frame Present
03. Neutral Frame

Other frames: Any frames that do not fit into the above categories (Code: OTHER)

0. Frame is not present
15. Another frame is present, please specify if it is other.

1.2 Purpose[13]

This codes for the overall purpose of the article. How does it present the topic of immigration?

101. Diagnostic.
>   Just describes immigration. Identifies the crisis as a problem and often who or what is to blame for children migrating and entering the united states

102. Symptomatic.
>   Effects of problem. Main focus is to Identify why unaccompanied minors are a problem/why they're immigrating, often by discussing the consequences of a problem. Ex. Children are immigrating due to cartel recruitment; this can be dangerous for receiving communities due to violent prone children coming into the country.

103. Prognostic.
>   Solution. Involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the immigration crisis, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan.

104. Motivational.
>   Action required. Going beyond the basic existence of the issue of unaccompanied minors and its causes and consequences, puts forward moral and motivational reasons why the speaker and/or others should be concerned about the problem and take action on it or ignore it. It tries to rally the reader behind a cause for helping or preventing unaccompanied minors from entering.

105. Other.
>   Should only be used if it does not fit one of the above. However, most should fall within frames 1-4. Specify it if is other.

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[13] The frames were modeled after the Center for International Forestry Research in 2012, but altered to fit this study.