

Master Thesis

**Immigration framing in France and in the United Kingdom: does the newspapers' political ideology has an influence?**



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## 1. Introduction and Research Question

According to Frontex, in 2015, approximately 1,8 million migrants, mostly fleeing the war in Syria, arrived at the borders of Europe. Immigration became consequently a salient topic in Europe and a top priority for officials. Indeed, according to an opinion survey realized by the European Commission in the Autumn 2015, immigration was seen by far as the largest problem facing the EU: 58% of the European citizens surveyed considered immigration as the most important issue (Eurobarometer EC, 2015). We observe an increase of 20 percentage points since the survey made in spring of the same year. In May 2016, it remained a central problem with 48% of European citizens considering it as a major issue (Eurobarometer EC, 2016).

As this issue came to be the major concern for European citizens, one may wonder how do people get their ideas about immigration? Rens Vliegenhart (2018) argued that “mass media determine to a considerable extent when and what citizens learn about the immigration issue” (p. 82). Indeed, scholars have shown that media frames shape the audiences’ frames i.e. how citizens perceive certain issues (Iyengar, 1991). Media frames are defined as the “words, images, phrases, and presentation styles speakers”, such as a media outlet or a politician, “uses when relaying information about an issue or an event to an audience” (Haynes et. al, 2016, p.15). Based on political communication studies, Vliegenhart (2018) claims that mass media is the most important source of information for the general public and he adds that its opinions, attitudes and behaviors are strongly affected by it. More specifically to our case, media have an impact on immigration attitudes and related behaviors in several European countries (van Klingereren et al., 2015). Overall, media are key resources for officials and the public to make sense of unfolding events and take appropriate action. Gerstlé (2002) claims that, as media renders stakes visible and public, its main effect lies in its ability to build the criteria according to which citizens evaluate the governments. Indeed, many scholars underlined the various roles media can play from drawing and sustaining public attention to particular issues, modifying the discourse around a policy debate or informing the public. Media is not a homogenous entity and we observe differences among outlets on how they report about immigration. For instance, when some media outlets report that immigration is a threat for the economy, other news outlets focus on the human rights and the necessity to integrate

migrants (Fryberg et. al, 2012). In communication and social sciences, focusing on one aspect of an issue is called framing. Thus, it appears that media news reporting is not totally objective and free of judgment, as opposed to the views of certain scholars who argue that norms of fair and balanced reporting, according to which journalists give equal weight to the different opinions, define media reporting. Moreover, with the development of the commercial press, aiming at making money rather than defending political causes, journalists started to be seen as a neutral arbiter of political communication whose aims were to provide information and analysis free from any political orientation. Indeed, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), by the late nineteenth century, “people considered that the journalist was standing apart from particular interests and causes, providing information and analysis “uncolored” by partisanship” (p. 26). In the same vein, some scholars claimed that the role of ideologies in media representations became minimal (A. Dirikx and D. Gelders, 2010) and others even observed a “death of ideology” (Fukuyama, 1992) in modern societies.

However, critical scholars opposed this idea and showed that news are not totally objective as they incorporate political values (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Indeed, they claim that media does not “simply reflect the world, but also organizes and delivers specific narratives through its practices” (Schena, Almiron and Pineda, 2018, p.17). More precisely for the case of immigration, academic literature underlined the subjective portraying across media outlets. For instance, Firmstone et. al (2007) underlined the stereotyping of migrants in certain media which may, in turn, result in prejudice and discrimination against them, as well as the rejection of cultural diversity. In the same vein, Lord Leveson indicated in a report (2012) that some news outlets in the United Kingdom manifested a continual clear view on the harm migrants cause, and guaranteed that any coverage of immigration would fit within this narrative (Report CoE, 2017). According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), the incorporation of political values in reporting news can arise from various influences, from the “routines of information gathering to the shared ideological assumptions of the society” (p. 26). More precisely regarding the latter influence, they add that scholars found that distinct political tendencies persist among European newspapers. Overall, scholars agree largely on the fact that media outlets, i.e. the press, television, radio and the internet, are the main places where ideological struggles over meaning take place (Hall, 1985). For instance, in the United

States, studies showed a clear difference of ways of portraying immigration policies across liberal and conservative newspapers (Haynes et al., 2016; Fryberg et. al, 2012).

Given the impact media have over the public's perceptions and opinions over immigration, I seek in this thesis to examine the influence of the media outlets' political ideology on the ways they portray this issue. More precisely, this thesis investigates this relationship in two countries, France and the United Kingdom, in order to test the generality of the findings about the American press portraying of this particular issue. Thus, those considerations lead us to our research question: *to what extent does the political ideological leaning of a newspaper has an impact on the ways the debate over immigration is framed?*

Therefore, the thesis has three objectives. First, this thesis aims at filling a research gap regarding the role of political ideologies in influencing European cross-outlet differences in their portraying of immigration. Indeed, in the European field of research, most of the existing literature looking at political ideology and immigration coverage focused on the volume, and not on the content. Moreover, the few studies focused on the variations in the portraying of immigration have focused on specific immigration policies in the United States (Haynes et al., 2016, Fryberg et. al, 2012). Thus, the analysis of the broad issue of immigration is very limited in general. It is interesting to examine this phenomenon in Western Europe as immigration became a top priority issue in the recent years and raised policy questions while provoking strong emotional responses (Benson, 2013). The similarities with the U.S. are that immigration is a highly debated topic in all those countries and thus makes it a good extension. Indeed, in The United States, immigration had been a very contested and debated policy issue since the 2000s (Haynes et. al, 2016). In France, far-right parties base their discourse on the claim that immigration is threatening the economy as well as the security of the nation (Joris et. al, 2018). In the UK, studies demonstrated that British citizens were concerned by the influx of migrants (Joris et. al, 2018). Moreover, in all those countries, immigration policies were adopted in 2016 and thus showing the importance of the issue in the political debate. The interesting differences will be that political divisions are stronger in Europe than in the U.S. We know that political divides along the left-right spectrum are strong in Europe and thus we can expect newspapers to be clearly influenced by this divide maybe more than in the U.S.

Second, this thesis aims at comparing two countries that have different market systems: liberal for the UK and politically polarized for France. Thus, it will be interesting to unravel from our findings if the journalistic field impact the degree to which the press is influenced by its political orientation. Finally, this thesis aims at contributing to the theoretical debate by combining two approaches on media framing: one focusing on issue-frames and the other one focusing on style frames.

Conducting research on the influence of political ideologies on ways of portraying is socially relevant since the way media frame immigration plays a vital role in how the public perceives migrants. In turn, as we have established previously, media influence public opinion and the citizen's attitudes (Vliegenthart, 2018). Thus, knowing the impact ideologies have on news portraying is important. People are influenced by what they read, and examining to what extent articles are objective or biased is necessary to have a clear judgment of the event or issue at stake. Also, media by shaping perceptions can lead to success or failures of policies. For instance, Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) demonstrated in their study of news coverage about immigration in Germany that the frequency and tone of coverage affected anti-immigration attitudes. Moreover, Vergeer et al. (2000) found that the exposure to Dutch news outlets characterized by negative reporting on immigrants increased the ethnic threat perception. Therefore, it appears as crucial to understand how immigration is framed in the media and which factors can explain variations in the portraying of immigration. In this section, we will start by developing the literature aiming at describing how immigration is framed and then we will display the different explanations suggested by researchers regarding the variations of this portraying, over time, across countries but also across media outlets.

To answer the research question, we divided this thesis into several chapters. In chapter 2, we will present the literature review, which contains a review of critical literature on the links between immigration framing in the media and the influence of the media outlets' political ideology. From this section will flow the theoretical framework presenting the hypothesis and the causal mechanisms. In chapter 3, the research methodology that we will use to answer our research question is outlined. Regarding the research design, we will conduct a mix of qualitative and quantitative research based on multiple case study design. Regarding the research methodology, we will perform a content analysis of articles to establish the salience of specific aspects of

immigration as well as analyze the presence of style frames. We will do so for two daily quality newspapers in France, as well as in the UK: one being left oriented and the other right oriented. In chapter 4 and 5, we will analysis and discuss the results of the qualitative content analysis in order to answer the research question and examine the validity of the hypothesis. In chapter 6, we will conclude and explore the implications and limitations of this study.

## 2. Literature review

A review of the past literature on media framing and more specifically on the media framing of immigration, as well as a review of the potential explanations of variations of framing is crucial to our understanding. As we focus on the role played by the political ideological leanings of newspapers, we will explore more in detail the concept of political ideology in the field of. Therefore, the literature review will, in the first place, explore the concepts of media framing. In the second place, the literature review will explore the research on the media framing of immigration. Lastly, we will focus on the political ideology of newspapers as an explanation of variations in framing of immigration.

### 2.1. Media framing

Scholars have debated for a long time regarding the idea that media does not only reflect the world, but also delivers a specific narrative through its practices. Empirical evidences have shown that media deliver to the audiences a particular picture of the public debate (Golding, 1977). The idea that media produce certain narratives and emphasize certain aspects of a debate can be linked to the concept of media framing. Before going further in developing this idea, we should have a clear understanding of what is understood by the use of the concept of framing. Framing is part of the agenda theories (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002), which demonstrate that crucial elements in political conflicts are the mastering of the definition of the problem as well as the control of the events (Lefebvre, 2013). Scholars claim that a problem tend to exist in the political sphere only if it is mediatized. Thus, the influence of media lies in its ability to structure the concerns and knowledge of the citizens. Scholars have established the role of media in the process of problem

construction. The core idea of is that the activity of agenda setting, that is putting a specific problem on the political agenda, extends itself in framing and priming (Gerstlé, 2002). Problem framing refers to the definition of a problem, situation or stake in order to orientate the interlocutor towards a particular interpretation. This study adopts the definition of framing advanced by Entman (1993):

“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.”  
(p. 52).

According to Entman (1993), the framing of the information gives the more salient interpretation of it, i.e. it makes one piece of information more striking, memorable. By presenting the problem in a certain way and focusing the audience on salient pieces of information, the signification of the problem is affected (.). Thus, framing can become a tool useful in order to make an aspect of a problem more salient and thus orientate the audiences' perceptions.

Various elements play a role in framing: schemata, frame packages, framing devices and reasoning devices (Van Gorp, 2007). Understanding their role is crucial to comprehend the findings of frame analysis. First, schemata are described as mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide the individual's processing of information. Second, according to Gamson and Lash (1983), a frame is a media package consisting of two elements. First, it consists of framing devices i.e. elements by which the frame can be identified such as metaphors, lexical choices, visual images. Second, it consists of reasoning devices which are explicit and implicit statements that deal with justifications, causes and consequences. These two devices are connected to the four functions of framing: defining a problem, assigning responsibility, passing a moral judgement and reaching possible solutions (Entman, 1993). Those devices can be clear, but if is not explicitly stated in the news text, then it will be evoked by the frame message during the interpretation process of the reader (Van Gorp, 2005). According to Robert Entman (1993), frames are manifested “by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.” Thus, one can say that through frame, a latent message is constructed from the journalist towards



the receiver, representing a suggestion to understand the news message in accordance with the idea. As such, a frame is meta-communicative: it ‘gives the receiver instructions or aids in his [or her] attempt to understand the message included within the frame’ (Bateson, 1972: 188). In this study, we focus on the “problem definition” function of the frames. Thus, this approach differs from attempts to identify frame “packages” that incorporate the three other elements as one rarely discovers such fully developed frames in news articles (Benson, 2013).

We talk about “framing effect” when a frame affects the individual’s frame in thought (Kinder and Sanders, 1996). Studies have demonstrated that news frames have an impact on the ways citizens make sense of political issues (Iyengar, 1991). Indeed, by organizing information, by giving analysis of events, by introducing opinion and interpretations and giving context, frames impact the understandings of citizens regarding issues.

Frames are an inherent part of the news process. Besides drawing attention of the public to specific topics and thus setting the agenda, mass media have a crucial role in framing issues in the sense that they offer interpretations to the audiences. Tucker (1998) wrote that frames are “highly ritualized symbolic structures embedded into media content” (p. 143). These frames, as part of the media structure and content, control the flow of information to the audience. Media frames are, according to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (p. 143). By focusing on certain aspects of an issue, media provide messages which contain specific associations rather than others. In the process of framing, concepts are associated with discourse (Nelson et. al, 1997). Mediatization can lead to put issues on the agenda. Media contribute to constructing reality, to frame it, to construct and hierarchize questions which are brought to public and political matters. Indeed, many studies establish the role of media in the complex process of constructing problems. (Lefebvre, 2013). Mediatization can lead to put issues on the agenda and thus create the problem. The construction of public problems is the root of public action. Tuchman (1978) equates the framing process to looking through a window. He argues that mass media establish the frames of reference that audiences, that is readers or viewers, use to make sense of and debate public events. Media frames are also used as working routines for journalists that enable them to identify and classify information easily (Gitlin, 1980).

In the news coverage, we find several categories of media frames. On one hand, most of the research on framing have focused on generic news frames such as the economic frame or the conflict frame (Neuman et al., 1992). They can be applied to many different issues. On the other hand, some research has focused on issue frames which are applied in relation to specific issues (Nelson and Oxley, 1999). They capture the essence of an issue, and are thus not easily transportable to another issue. They allow to highlight different dimensions of a policy or issue. Issue-specific frames are often used in media content analysis and fit best our purpose. Iyengar develop other categories of frames such as episodic and thematic frames or equivalency frames. The latter ones not dealt with in this thesis, we will not develop on those. Regarding the former category, episodic frames can be defined as frames presenting specific example, case studies or event-oriented reports. According to Valkenburg and Semetko (2000, p. 95), we find an episodic frame in articles where “a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” is brought. On the other hand, thematic frames present an issue in a broader context using generalities and abstractions (Haynes et. al, 2016).

We have established the idea that media outlets are not neutral, do not simply reflect the world but provide specific narratives about issues. In that sense, media tend to frame issues. We will see in the following section how media describe immigration and then we will display the different explanations provided by scholars regarding the variations in the coverage of immigration.

## 2.2. [Media and the debate on immigration](#)

As established previously, the ways news outlets portray an issue, an especially immigration, can have major consequences on the public but also on the government. Indeed, media influence public opinion and the public attitudes and thus potentially can lead to the success or failure of a policy.

[Broad overview of the literature on Immigration in the media](#)

*Describing immigration framing in the media*

A first strain of literature aims at describing and identifying the frames used in the immigration debate. Most studies take an “issue-specific” approach (de Vreese, 2005) by which they identify frames specific to the topic as explained previously. In their analysis of the coverage of Dutch national newspapers from 1999 until 2004, Roggeband and Vliegthart (2007) identified five frames such as the *emancipation frame*, focusing on the empowerment of minorities through education and labour, and the *islam-as-a-threat frame*. After conducting research and reading through many studies, Benson (2013) listed the ten main immigration frames, categorized into victim frames, hero frames or threat frames. He claimed that those frames are “culturally available” (Beckett, 1996) for use by different actors in France and in the United States and “thus provide a common ground for comparative analysis” (p. 6). As we will see more in detail in the following section, Benson (2013) argues that dominant frames change over time and across types of media outlets.

#### *Explaining variations of immigration coverage*

A second strain of literature aims at explaining the variations in coverage of the debate of immigration. Differences in portraying occur over time, across countries but also across media outlets (Vliegthart, 2015).

First, variations in the portraying of immigration can occur due to temporal variations (Vliegthart, 2015). Empirical research demonstrated that variations in immigration numbers over time do not affect the framing of immigration (Vliegthart and Boomgaarden, 2007) but by policy changes and focusing events. Indeed, Lawlor (2013) looked at the volume and the tone of coverage of immigration over fourteen years in Canada and discovered that the coverage of immigration was driven by focusing events. Moreover, several scholars indicated that the 9/11 and terrorist attack in London and Madrid led to a shift in the framing towards threat-framing (Vliegthart and Boomgaarden, 2007; Roggeband and Vliegthart, 2007).

Second, variations in the portraying of immigration can also occur across countries. The main explanation lies in the structural characteristics of the context in which reporting happens. Researchers such as Koopmans et. al, (2005) have shown that national policies and configurations determine the discourse opportunities and therefore the content of coverage. They claim that, as

opposed to France, German immigrant policies, which emphasize that it is not an immigrant country, led to an important amount of claims made by minorities relating to connection to their home country.

Third, variations in immigration framing can occur across media outlets. Scholars have demonstrated that media do not report in the same way about political issues. In short, the media outlets coverage is not homogeneous. Different explanations were put forward regarding variations in the framing and portraying of immigration as scholars looked at different characteristics of media outlets to explain those variations. We can distinguish three main explanations. First, some scholars were interested in the role of location to explain differences in immigration framing. Branton and Dunaway (2009) found in their study that newspapers situated closely to the US-Mexico borders were more likely to portray immigration negatively. However, some scholars found indicate limits to this explanation. Indeed, Andrea Lawlor (2015) found in her comparative study of Canada and the United States that the framing of immigration by local and national newspaper is largely similar. Other scholars were interested in the divide between “popular” and “quality press”. For instance, Roggeband and Vliengenthart (2007) found that, in the Netherlands, the popular newspaper *Algemeen Dagblad* tends to use more frequently the frame “Islam-as-a-threat” whereas the quality newspaper *de Volkskrant* is more likely to use the multicultural frame.

Finally, and more importantly for our study, scholars were interested in the impact of the media outlets’ political orientation. Theoretical explanations have been developed to understand the potential impact of the news outlets’ political ideology on their immigration framing. Haynes et al. (2016) underlined two main theoretical explanations for those variations. First, the “economic” explanation is based on the idea that coverage of immigration is the reflection of the target audiences’ preferences of media outlets (Branton and Dunaway, 2009). Thus, this explanation suggests that media outlets will frame immigration according to their ideology to comply with their consumer preferences (Arnold, 2004; Hamilton, 2004). This explanation is based on two key assumptions. Based on information-processing research, the first key assumption is that newspapers readers prefer to read news that are consistent with their views (Fiske, 1995). The second key assumption is that media outlets are economically motivated and thus are mindful of the preferences of their audience and try to cater to those preferences whenever possible (Hamilton, 2004). Second, some scholars focused on the role of selection bias. According to their findings,

variations in coverage across news outlets is the result of choices made by journalists and editors (Haynes, 2014). Journalists, when choosing stories or news, are biased and thus tend to follow the ideology of their media outlet without being necessarily aware of it.

Empirical studies centered on this topic have been led in the United States and in Europe. Overall, the main finding is that the framing of the issue of immigration or immigration policies varies importantly across media outlets whether they are conservative, liberal or mainstream. The idea is that according to the ideology of the newspaper, certain aspects of the debate on immigration will be emphasized and certain style frames will be used. First, some scholars looked at the use of issue-specific frames to pinpoint the importance of the ideology in their representation of immigration (Haynes et al., 2016; Fryberg et al., 2012). Fryberg et al. (2012) focused their research on the anti-immigration debate in the U.S. and based their hypothesis on a theoretical combination of Political Conservatism and Integrated Threat Theory. The idea is that the threat perceived linked to immigrants is likely to be transformed into uncertainty and fear. In turn, those feelings are translated into conservative beliefs. Therefore, they demonstrated in their study that conservative newspapers were more likely than liberal ones to frame arguments against the bill in terms of economic and safety threats. In the same vein, Van Gorp (2005) focused on the portraying of the asylum and found in his analysis of the Belgian press coverage that the ideological background of the news outlets, conservative or progressive, had an impact on the framing of asylum. Indeed, he showed that tolerant reporting, i.e. reference to the victim frame, was more likely to be present in the progressive, left-leaning press. Finally, Benson (2013) indicated that specific issue-frames correlate with advocacy of one position on the debate over immigration. He claims that frames that relate to civil rights concerns, or “victim” and “hero” frames according to his terms, correlate with pro-immigration arguments whereas threat frames with anti-immigration advocacy.

Apart from the use of issue-specific frames, some scholars looked at the use of style frames. They found that, depending on the political ideology of the media, the use of specific frame styles, episodic or thematic, will vary. By looking at this variable, Haynes et al. (2016) demonstrated that liberal newspapers tend to use more episodic frames than conservative ones. Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud (2015) sustain this argument in their comparative study of France, Norway and the United States. They found that, overall, the elite-left news outlets put more emphasis on human cases than the other newspapers. One explanation they propose, based on Benson’s study (2013),

is that the elite-left news outlets tend to be supportive of more liberal immigration policies and thus are likely to use human frames to show support to immigration. Other scholars look at the tone of coverage and argue that left-wing newspapers would tend to portray immigration in a positive way as opposed to right-wing news outlets.

We have seen that, among several explanations advanced by critical scholars regarding the fact that news outlets frame immigration differently, the influence of news outlets' political orientations will be our focus. In the following section, we will present the concept of political ideology and we will review the literature regarding the variations of its importance across countries.

### 1.1. The media outlets' political ideology

According to several studies, such as the ones from Shoemaker and Reese (1996) and Tuchman (1978), several factors have been identified as potential influences on how journalists frame a given issue such as social norms and values, pressures of interest groups and ideological or political orientations of journalists. The last influence, ideology, has been retained as central by many scholars. Indeed, they argue that media outlets, editors or journalists have biases, preferences and ideological views that influence media stories, that is both the selection and the framing of stories (Reber and Chang 2000). Edelman (1993) argues that the selection of frames is often "driven by ideology and prejudice" (p. 232). Ideology is considered, in the context of research on media and ideology where the focus is on the underlying images of society they produce, as a "system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgments about that world". More specifically, according to Freedman (2003), political ideology can be defined as:

"A set of ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values that (1) exhibit a recurring pattern, (2) are held by significant groups, (3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy and (4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community" (p. 32)

Thus, it is argued that media are channels through which various competing messages are carried (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003). Theoretical approaches have a different understanding of the relationship between political ideologies and the media. On the one hand, the Political Economy of Communication considers media as a tool for ideological manipulation (Herman and Chomsky, 2010). The main *raison d'être* of the media would be to perpetuate the economic, social and political system (Golding, 1977). On the other hand, the Cultural Studies perspective claims that, as the media is embedded in the dominant power sphere because of its close relations with the state, the news on the daily routine deliver ideological messages (Hall, 1973). Moreover, empirical studies have demonstrated the ideological role of the press. For example, studies showed the ideological role of newspapers such as The New York Post and the Washington Times in the service of the American right at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Brock, 2005).

The idea that media represent clear political ideologies is less accurate nowadays. Indeed, party-press parallelism, i.e. the idea that media outlets are aligned with particular political parties and represent their views in the public sphere, is less common today. Still, Hallin and Mancini (2004) claim that media are differentiated politically and are associated with broad political tendencies. They coin this phenomenon “political parallelism” and state that its main indicator is the media content in the sense that “media reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting” (p. 28). In European countries, the political orientations of the newspapers tend to be defined according to the right-left spectrum (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). For instance, they indicate that, in France, the major daily newspapers such as Le Monde and Le Figaro reflect broad political tendencies from the left-center to the right-center.

Even though the majority of the newspapers have a certain political orientation, some scholars argue that the degree to which political leanings are present in news outlets differ among media systems. For instance, they underline the fact that media outlets in some countries have distinct political orientations, e.g. Germany, whereas in other they do not. The scholarly literature underlined two main circumstances under which ideologies are likely to play an important role in media coverage: a strong link between the press and the political field and a competitive journalistic field at the national level. Regarding the first circumstance, Hallin and Mancini (2004) have demonstrated that the relation between the media and politics are highly dependent on the journalistic structures i.e. on the characteristics of the newspaper market. Thus, they argue that the patterns of relationship between the political and media system vary a lot across countries. On the

one hand, countries belonging to the Polarized Pluralist Model, such as France, are characterized by a high political parallelism, i.e. a strong association between media outlets and general political tendencies. as well as a press “marked by a strong focus on political life [...] and a tradition of advocacy journalism” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 73). Thus, media in those countries tend to “reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 28). On the other hand, countries belonging to the Liberal Model, such as the U.S, are characterized by a more neutral commercial press. One main characteristic of media outlets is the professionalization of journalists who are characterized by their “objectivity” and political neutrality (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). In the middle-ground we find the Democratic Corporatist Model (e.g. Germany) which is characterized as a mix of the two other models. According to this account, one could argue that ideologies play a very different role according to the country under study. However, empirical studies contradict this argument as for example, as demonstrated previously, the portraying of immigration in the United States, categorized as part of the liberal model here by Benson (2013) was clearly politically orientated across news outlets (Fryberg et. al, 2012; Haynes et. al, 2016). Thus, one could argue that political ideology is present and influential regarding the issue of immigration in every country.

Regarding the second circumstance, some scholars found that depending on the competitiveness of the journalistic field, ideologies will be more or less used by media outlets (Benson and Hallin, 2007). In countries where we observe a strong competition between newspapers at the national level, the ideology is used by media outlets as a form of product differentiation (Benson and Hallin, 2007). For instance, they found that, in France, newspapers tend to use their ideology to differentiate themselves and attract more readers. However, it should be noted that some counter views regarding the idea that competitive journalistic fields lead to differentiation strategies among news outlets exist. Indeed, among high-prestige national news outlets in France and the U.S, it has been shown that competition tends to lead to a homogenization process among newspapers rather than a differentiation one in both countries (Benson, 2013).

## 1.2. Counter views

Even though many studies underline the link between political ideology and media portraying of issues such as immigration, some studies claim that the political ideology/leaning of a news outlet



is not a determinant of the media framing. In her comparative study on immigration in Canada and in the United Kingdom, Lawlor (2015) found that the left-right ideological divide does not affect the use of frames among news outlets.

### 1.3. Assessment of this literature

From this literature, we can assess that the ways of portraying the debate over the issue of immigration varies importantly among countries but also among news outlets. More specifically regarding the variations among media outlets, several explanations have been put forward in the scholarly debate: the impact of the location of the newspaper, the type of newspaper or the ideology of the newspaper. In this thesis, we decided to focus on the last explanation mainly because it has not been applied to many cases yet and further research on this topic could be undertaken. Moreover, in terms of social relevance, it appears as important to pinpoint whether newspapers are closely linked to their ideologies when covering an issue as we have established that media outlets have a major impact on the public. As immigration became a highly debated issue in European countries since the “refugee crisis” in 2015, we can expect from this literature review that the ways media outlets report on this issue will be influenced by their ideological leaning.

In our review of the literature on the portraying of immigration and the influence of ideologies, we observed that most of the studies were within-case studies and very few cross-case comparisons had been undertaken on this topic. Indeed, very limited literature regarding the potentiality divergences in the political orientations’ influence across countries exist. This is an interesting question as we have seen in our section on political ideology and the media, authors pinpointed that, even though most of the newspapers are politically oriented, the political ideology can have more or less influence according to the journalistic field or media system. Thus, it appears interesting to compare countries in order to unravel whether all countries are similar in terms of political ideology’s impact or not. We want to unravel, from our findings, the degree to which media outlets in different countries follow their ideological identity.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

In this study, the goal is to test the generality of the findings according to which newspapers are likely to frame the immigration debate according to their political orientation but also to extend the research by comparing the results in two countries. More precisely, we want to test whether right-wing and left-wing newspapers use different issue frames and different style frames to portray immigration. Also, we would like to test whether the degree of the impact of the political orientation varies across countries. The dependent variable is the variation in the framing of the debate on immigration among news outlets. The independent variable is the media outlets' political ideology.

For that, we will develop two case studies: we analyze the ideological standpoint of French and British newspapers and their representation of immigration. Based on our findings, we will then compare those two case studies. More precisely, we want to answer three research questions:

- (1) Is the ideology of the newspaper related to the newspaper's choice to emphasize threat or civil rights frames?
- (2) Is the ideology of the newspaper linked with the use of either human interest frames/episodic frames or thematic frames?
- (3) To what extent the difference in the journalistic field across countries plays a role in the extent to which the news outlets' political orientation influences the framing of immigration?

Based on previous studies conducted in the U.S. and in Europe, we develop more specific hypothesis. Studies found that newspapers emphasize aspects of the debate on immigration by using issue-specific frames linked to their ideology. That is, they portray the issue of immigration by using issue-specific frames which are either focused on threats or on civil rights concerns. More precisely, studies found that conservative/right-wing newspapers tend to frame immigration as a threat whereas liberal/left-wing newspapers tend to frame it as a civil right concern. In line with these findings, we formulate the following hypothesis:

**H1a:** The elite-right newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Figaro and the Times) are more

likely to use threat frames than elite-left newspapers (Le Monde and The Guardian) in the same countries

**H1b:** The elite-left newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Monde and The Guardian) are more likely to use civil right concerns frames than elite-right newspapers (Le Figaro and the Times) in the same countries

Studies demonstrated that variations in the frequency of the use of episodic frames and thematic frames exist across news outlets. Scholars found that episodic frames tend to be used more frequently by elite-left newspapers than elite-right news outlets (Haynes et. al, 2016; Figenschou and Thorbjornsrud, 2015). Episodic frames relate to the presence of real-life stories whereas thematic frames relate to the presence of statistical values. Thus, we formulate the following hypothesis:

**H2a:** The elite-left newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Monde and The Guardian) are more likely to use episodic frames than elite-right ones (Le Figaro and the Times) in the same countries.

**H2b:** The elite-right newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Figaro and the Times) are more likely to use thematic frames than elite-left newspapers (Le Monde and The Guardian) in the same countries

From our findings, we will try to answer a conditional hypothesis and this is the moment when our comparison between our two case studies, France and the UK, comes in. From the condition that the newspapers appear to be influenced by their political orientation in the two countries, we will wonder to what extent the journalistic field impact the extent to which their portraying is divided along their political orientation. As we have established previously, some scholars believe that the journalistic field of a country has an impact regarding the importance of the ideology in portraying issues. However, empirical studies have demonstrated that this theory does not necessarily hold as newspapers in countries in which we expect news reporting to be balanced and facts-centered, such as the U.S., have portrayed immigration along ideological divides. In our case, France and the UK tend to have different journalistic fields. The British tend to be close to the American one. From the empirical finding, we would like to compare France and UK's findings in order to develop knowledge on this question. We would hypothesize that differences in journalistic field

does not impact the degree to which newspapers are influenced by their political orientation in the framing of immigration. Thus, we formulate the following hypothesis:

**H3:** The portraying of immigration in the British and the French newspapers will be to similar degree influenced by their political orientation

### 3. Research Design

#### 3.1. Operationalization

This thesis examines whether the media outlet's political ideology influences the ways they portray the issue of immigration in different countries. For that reasons, it identifies the ways media outlets emphasize certain aspects of the debate over immigration in four different news outlets from two countries. Thus, the concepts of media framing and political ideology are important for this thesis. Based on the literature, ideological and political orientation of journalists and media outlets have been identified as a factor determining which aspects of a debate are emphasized (Shoemaker and Reese (1996) and Tuchman (1978)).

#### Political ideology

For the purpose of this study, the concept of political ideology is operationalized into core aspects. This form of operationalization was inspired by the work of Schena, Almiron and Pineda (2018) who developed an instrumental methodology to determine the political ideology or orientation of a newspaper and thus to be able to link newspapers articles to the underlying images of society they portray. It is interesting to look at core aspects because classical ideological categories can have different meaning to different publics and in different countries. For example, the conservative-liberal divide, typical of the United States, might not have the same meaning in the French and British political fields. Indeed, the term liberal is perceived as progressive in the US but as centrist in the UK (Schena, Almiron and Pineda, 2018). Still, some scholars argue that conservatism characterizes right-wing ideology in several European countries and in the United States and that liberalism characterizes left-wing orientations in the Western world (Aspelung,

Lindeman and Verkasalo, 2013). For the sake of clarity, we will refer to right-wing and left-wing ideologies.

Each ideology has different core aspects. Regarding the core aspects of the right-wing ideology, several studies identified the core aspects of resistance to change, acceptance of inequality, tradition and organic society (Jost et. al, 2003; Thorisdottir et. al, 2007. Schena, Almiron and Pineda (2018) add that, as the idea of social stability is crucial, the values of authority and hierarchy are central. Regarding the left-wing ideology, scholars identified the core aspects of open-mindedness, mental flexibility, justice, tolerance and endorsement of social and economic equality (Aspelung, Lindeman and Verkasalo, 2013; Schena, Almiron and Pineda, 2018). Moreover, Bobbio (1996) states that “the left favors greater equality while the right sees society as inevitably hierarchical” (p. 40).

#### Media framing

Regarding media framing, which is the second concept in which we are interested in, we will operationalize it according to two variables. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), a few criterion have to be met to distinguish framing in written communication. They claim that there must be first an issue or event, then attitude(s) towards that issue or event, third the creation of a scheme usually guided by academic and/or popular literature and finally sources for content analysis.

The first variable is the dominant issue frame. As defined previously, issue frames capture the essence of an issue and emphasize one aspect of an issue. Based on the literature (Fryber et. al, 2012; Benson, 2013; Haynes et. al, 2016), we pinpointed several issue frames relating to immigration. Most of those studies categorized frames into two broad categories: the threat frames and the civil rights frames. As mentioned previously, threat frames underline the ways immigration provokes problems for society. Civil rights frames, on the other hand, relate to frames that emphasize the vision of immigration as a benefit for the society or migrants as victims.

The second variable used to operationalize media framing is the style frame. If present in the article, it can take the value of episodic frame or thematic frame.

We will develop in this section how we can link issues frames and the core aspects of the left- and right-wing ideologies. On the one hand, researchers have demonstrated that the core aspects of the right-wing ideology resonate into motives to reduce uncertainty and threat (Jost et. al, 2003). For instance, maintaining the traditions is a way of reducing the fear of the unknown and permits to stick with what is certain (Thorisdottir et. al, 2007). Evidence also suggest that needs for order and for security are linked to right-wing ideology (Thorisdottir et. al, 2007). For instance, the issue frame “threat to national cohesion” relates to right-wing core aspect of tradition and more precisely to the ideological marker “national identity” (Schena, Almiron and Pineda, 2018). On the other hand, researchers found that the core aspects of left-wing ideology resonate into more openness and equality (Thorisdottir et. al, 2007) and thus into the civil right frames. For example, the frame “democratic values” can be linked to core aspects of equality and open-mindedness. Thus, as we will develop previously, we would expect newspapers that are defined as liberal to be more likely to use the civil rights concerns frames and the newspapers that are defined as conservative to be more likely to use the threat frames.

### 3.2. Multiple case study design

In order to answer the central research question “, this research uses a quantitative approach and multiple case study design. The goal of this research is to extent the field of application of an established theory according to which the political ideology of a media outlet impacts the ways immigration is portrayed. The case study design has become the norm in social sciences because it “allows for focused and detailed analysis” (Benson, 2013, p. 2). Case studies are used to test theories (Toshkov, 2016) and thus provide a relevant design for our research. More precisely, case studies are relevant to examine whether observed effects are realized according to the hypothesized causal mechanism. Within each country, we compare conservative and progressive newspapers. To do so, we use the most similar system design (MSSD 1) in each case study. We take similar newspapers in all respects except the explanatory variable, i.e. the political identity of the newspaper in order to test its impact on the dependent variable i.e. the ways immigration is portrayed. In our study, we compare newspapers in the two countries and then compare the results.

if conservative newspapers have different results from progressive newspapers, then the explanatory variable is relevant. Indeed, if the outcomes are different among newspapers, then the hypothesis that the main variable is causally important can be retained as we receive empirical support that our key explanatory variable makes a difference. On the other hand, if the outcomes are similar among conservative and liberal newspapers, then the explanatory variable is not necessarily relevant.

However, it is a weak design in the sense that it does small measurement errors and random variability can lead to wrong conclusions. Thus, the single case studies, or within-case studies, should be combined with a cross-case comparison to overcome those limits as they enhance the robustness of the conclusions deriving from the study (Robson, 1993). Thus, in our research, we analyze two countries that serve as two case studies: France and the UK. The goal of this comparison is to pinpoint whether there are differences among media markets regarding the importance of the ideologies in portraying immigration. The cases are similar in terms of importance of immigration, but seem to differ in terms of the use of political ideology to differentiate. Thus, it will be interesting to see if we can pinpoint in variations regarding the ideological divide and we expect papers in the UK to be less ideologically divided. Combining both designs allow to use the strengths of both: the validity brought by the single case study and the reliability of measurement and operationalization of case comparison, as well as allowing to uncover causal mechanisms.

Regarding the method, a mix of qualitative and quantitative research was conducted to examine whether the political orientation of the news outlets has influenced the framing of immigration. More precisely, qualitative content analysis of the framing of immigration was conducted in order to unravel which aspects of immigration were emphasized, as well as what style frames were used to display those aspects in each newspaper. The phenomenon of immigration was selected because it is a highly mediatized topic, as well as highly political issue. The input of this research is qualitative data, i.e. articles, and the output is statistical results showing frequencies. The statistical results of this research aim at testing the theory according to which newspapers frame immigration according to their political orientation. More precisely, we aim at examining the validity of several hypothesis. First, we want to analyze the hypothesis according to which right-wing newspapers tend to frame immigration in terms of threat whereas left-wing newspapers in terms of civil rights

concerns. Second, we want to unravel whether right-wing newspapers tend to use more thematic frames and left-wing newspapers more human interest frames to portray immigration. Finally, we want to test a conditional hypothesis which relies on our findings according to which the French press would be more ideologically divided than the British press. Hence, political orientation is the independent variable and the portraying of immigration is the dependent variable.

### 3.3. Methods of data gathering

#### Case selection

##### *France and the UK*

This study aims at testing the generality of the findings of Benson (2013), Fryberg et. al (2012) Van Gorp (2005) and Haynes et. al (2016). We chose to compare two countries because literature on the influence of ideology on portraying of issues has underlined the fact that its degree of influence varies across countries. Indeed, Dirikx and Gelders (2010) found, in their comparative study of climate change coverage, a relationship between the ideological culture and the media coverage in France but not in the Netherlands. Thus, this finding shows that not in all countries necessarily ideologies have an influence on how issues are portrayed. Thus, we selected two European countries where the issue of immigration has historically been important but have seldom been a subject of immigration communication studies in order to examine the relationship between the ideological cultures and newspapers' portraying of immigration: France and the United Kingdom.

In France, the press has been historically characterized as being strongly linked with politics (Dirikx and Gelders, 2010). Indeed, Hallin and Mancini's (2004) claim that France belongs to the Polarized Pluralist Model which is defined by strong politicization of the press. The ties between journalists and political actors are close. French journalism is characterized by a mix of facts and personal opinion and by the emphasis on commentary. Thus, news outlets in France tend to clearly "reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting" (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 28).



The UK is categorized as a liberal country in Hallin and Mancini's (2004) comparative model of media systems. In those countries, they claim that the development of the commercial press led to the unfolding of a "fact-centered discourse" (Chalaby, 1996), or in other words a more neutral commercial press. Indeed, commercial press put the emphasis on news at the expense of political arguments or commentary. Also, they add that the important professionalization of journalists in the liberal countries led to more informational and narrative styles of writing as opposed to commentary. Even though the British press is still linked to politics, scholars observe that the political orientations are especially characteristic of the tabloid press (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). For instance, regarding the portraying of immigration, scholars found that in the UK (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) tabloid newspapers tend to take strong political stands in their reporting and more precisely a negative approach. Indeed, Hallin and Mancini (2004) add that the tabloid press is "more likely to reject constraints of objective reporting" (p. 211) whereas quality papers, on the other hand, tend to be "more subtle in their style" (p. 211).

Overall, the two countries are similar, so we can expect the political ideology to play a role but to a different degree.

#### *Elite-right and elite-left newspapers*

As we use the most similar system design (MSSD1), we selected for each country two very similar newspapers in all regards, except their political orientation on the right-left spectrum. In the process of selecting the newspapers, we had to control for other potential explanatory variables, as mentioned in the literature review: the type of newspaper and the location.

First, we controlled for the type, or in other terms prestige, of the newspaper. Thus, to put aside the potential influence variation in the type of newspaper could have on immigration portraying, we selected "quality newspapers". "Quality newspapers" are characterized by "extensive political and economic comment, which have relatively small but well-educated and influential readership" (Carvalho and Burgess, 2005, p.1460). We decided to analyze the quality press, and not tabloids for example, because of the important role it plays in public affairs. Indeed, scholars have demonstrated that the quality press sets the agenda, is read by the politicians and policy makers and also influences the public culture regarding what is considered as legitimate and acceptable to say or not. The second reason that led to choosing quality newspapers, besides their political role,

is that tabloid newspapers are not common in France as opposed to the UK. Second, we controlled for the location variable by selecting similar newspapers in terms of location. Thus, we selected daily national newspapers published in the same zone. Third, for the purpose of our study, we had to select newspapers ideologically opposed. Based on our literature review, we chose newspapers according to their position on the left-right spectrum. Even though research on the specific ideology of newspapers is in general restrained, we can find some indicators of certain ideology preferences (Benson and Hallin, 2007). Finally, as the goal of the study is to capture general trends in portraying of immigration, relying on news “leaders” on both sides of the spectrum appears to be relevant to unravel accurate tendencies (Jerti and Barabas, 2011). Therefore, to show the potential influence of political ideologies on news portraying, we selected the “leader” elite-left and the “leader” elite-right newspaper in each country. The main indicator to pinpoint a “leader” newspaper is its circulation i.e. the number of copies sold each month. Thus, we chose newspapers that are the most circulated for each country.

Based on all those considerations, in France, we selected Le Monde and Le Figaro. They are characteristic of the quality press (Robert, 2011) and are the “leader” newspapers as they are the two most circulated daily newspapers in France (Le Monde, 2006, Robert, 2011). Indeed, during the period 2017-2018, Le Figaro’s monthly circulation average was equal to 308 953 and Le Monde’s monthly circulation average was equal to 283 678 (ACPM, 2019). Moreover, they are both daily national newspapers and their zone of publication is located in Paris (Robert, 2011). Regarding the ideological orientation, Le Monde was chosen as the left-wing quality newspaper as it is described as liberal in the social and political sense, leftist and internationally oriented (Albert, 1990; Fisher and Merrill, 1980). Le Figaro was chosen as the right-wing quality newspaper as it characterized as center-right, proclaims a strong adherence to freedom in the economy and in the thoughts and has a conservative audience (Albert, 1990).

For the UK, we chose The Times and The Guardian. They are the “leader” quality papers, The Times with a monthly average of 440 558 circulations according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (Press Gazette, 2018) and The Guardian with a monthly average of 137 089 circulations (Press Gazette, 2018). Moreover, they are both national newspapers based in London. Finally, The Times was chosen as the right-wing newspaper as it is characterized as a conservative paper committed to the “establishment” and to the sovereignty of tradition institutions (Carvalho,

2007). The Guardian was chosen as the left-wing quality newspaper as it is characterized as liberal, social democratic, leftist and as putting the emphasis on values of equity and solidarity (Carvalho, 2007, Carvalho and Burgess, 2005). Thus, as the newspapers are very similar in almost all respects, quality press, high daily circulation and location except their political ideology, our comparison is expected to be valid.

#### Unit of analysis and unit of observation

In this thesis, each news article about immigration serves as the unit of analysis. Hence, the number (N) of articles that have been gathered from the four different news outlets represent the unit of analysis. Here, we consider a news article as a written piece of work about immigration published by the four news agencies analyzed.

The unit of observation is the period under examination, i.e. a period of three months from September the 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 to December the 1<sup>st</sup> 2015. We chose this time frame for several reasons. First, this period was chosen because the debate over immigration became preponderant in European countries. Indeed, as established previously, the topic was highly mediatized during the Fall 2015 and the public opinion was highly concerned about this issue, as reported by the European Commission Barometer (2016). Thus, we expect, as this period represents a critical moment on the debate over immigration, that the news outlets' ideological preferences would be more clearly used in their portraying of immigration.

#### Methods of data collection

In the first place, secondary sources, such as academic literature and previous studies, were consulted in order to gather information about the topic analyzed and to pinpoint the relation between media coverage and political ideology. Also, secondary sources were used to develop our methodology. Then, regarding our media content analysis, we used the online newspapers databases Factivia to collect the online articles. However, this database did not provide articles from Le Monde. Thus, we used the online website from Le Monde to retrieve the articles. As the

access to articles was limited, we had to get a subscription to the news agency.

Regarding the process of data collection of the news article, I followed the same protocol for all four news outlets. The word “immigration” was typed in the search engines for the four news agencies. The time-period under examination, from the 01/09/2015 to 01/12/2015, was applied to the search engines of all the four agencies websites. It should be underlined that only online articles were selected and the printed version were not analyzed. In our analysis, we did not take into consideration duplicates of articles, as well as articles where immigration was only mentioned, but was not the central topic of the article. In total, 135 articles were collected and analyzed, 36 from Le Figaro, 33 from Le Monde, 38 from the Guardian and 28 from The Times.

### 3.4. Methods of data analysis

A mix of qualitative and quantitative content analysis

To investigate our expectations, this thesis engages with a qualitative media content analysis as a main research method, but also with a quantitative method regarding the way of displaying the results, in order to answer the main research question: *to what extent does the political ideological leaning of newspapers have an impact on the ways the debate over immigration is framed?*

Neuman (1997) defined a content analysis as “a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The ‘content’ refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The ‘text’ is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication” (Neuman, 1997, pp. 272–273). He adds that content analysis can be carried out with interviews, speeches, media articles, TV programs and magazines. Weber (1990) claims that the basic idea of coding process in content analysis is to classify substantial quantities of text into a small number of content categories.

Content analysis was used primarily as a “quantitative research method with text data coded into explicit categories and then described using statistics” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). However, content analysis can either be quantitative or qualitative. According to Groeben and

Rustemeyer (1994), the two methods are similar as they both aim at systematically describing data through coding. They both can involve frequency counts in the presenting of the findings and the quality criteria are similar in both methods (consistency and validity). Still, they both have specific features that make them different. The quantitative method is focused on manifest meaning whereas the qualitative method is also applied to “latent and more context-dependent meaning” (Schreier, 2013, p.5).

Regarding the process of content analysis, scholars claim that the first step at the basis of the content analysis is the hypothesis formulation. According to Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2014), “a hypothesis is an explicit statement predicting that a state or level of one variable is associated with a state in another variable” (p. 44). Qualitative content analysis is broken down into several steps (Schreier, 2013). First, the researcher should build a coding frame which is defined as a device that translates and organizes data into categories (Poole and Folger, 1981). This coding frame will allow to lead the coding process and the analysis of content. The first step in building this frame is to select the material that will be analyzed. For that, a sample from the population should be selected as well as a specific time-period to be examined. Then, the research should generate the main categories and sub categories. For that, the researcher can work in a concept-driven way or in a data-driven way. The first way refers to the deductive approach and thus means grounding the categories on previous knowledge such as a theory or prior research. In that case, the frames derived are pre-defined and the researcher measures the presence of those operationalized categories in its data. The other way refers to the inductive approach and refers to extracting frames from the text, or in other words deriving categories from the text through analysis (De Vreese, 2005). As argued by De Vreese (2005), most researchers use the deductive approach. The main reason is that inductive method is limited by its reliance on small samples making the results not generalizable. Some scholars claim that categories derived from the concept-driven method should be completed with data-driven categories. Once the categories and sub-categories are established, the researcher should define them. This step consists in three essential elements, as indicated by Schreier (2013): “a category name, a description of what is meant by that name and positive examples”. The second main step is the pilot phase i.e. the moment when the coding frame is tried out on part of the material. This step allows to test the applicability of our frame to our data in terms of the extent to which the categories describe appropriately the material and concepts. Also, it allows to potentially identify other categories. The following steps are the main analysis phase

in which all the material is coded and then the presentation of the findings. The findings can be presented in qualitative style: the findings can serve as a starting point and can be examined for patterns and cooccurrences for instance. The findings can also be presented in quantitative ways by “reporting coding frequencies, percentages or inferential statistics such as chi-square analysis” (Schreier, 2013, p.15).

Regarding the ways of conducting content analysis, the research has two options: machine coding or human coding. In the case of machine coding, the researcher would have to create a large set of key words that prove the presence of a specific variable in the text. According to Macnamara (2005, p. 7), it is an “easier” method but it “makes mostly arbitrary associations between words and phrases”. In the case of human coding, the researcher would have to create a scheme which allows him to be more flexible and add new variables or remove others based on the findings. The advantage of human coding is that it allows to grasp “the context of the content” (Macnamara, 2005, p. 8), as opposed to computer coding. Indeed, Jerti and Barabas (2011) claim that “in many instances, the research question demands that the researcher make a qualitative judgment about a news story or political text, such as the extent to which it emphasizes political strategy over substance or whether facts are accompanied by contextual information. In this situation, human coding often is preferred because the coding task involves some sort of interpretive judgment about a political text” (p. 9). Overall, human coding allows greater flexibility by giving a chance to make changes during the analysis. However, this flexibility can undermine the validity of the research and takes an extensive amount of time.

To guarantee that the results of the content analysis are reliable, the researcher should check for inter-coder reliability. Indeed, Neuendorf (2002) claims that “there is growing acknowledgement in the research literature that the establishment of intercoder reliability is essential, a necessary criterion for valid and useful research when human coding is employed” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 142). If the result produced by the inter-coder reliability test show that the output of the content analysis are reliable, then the findings of the content analysis can be exposed and examined.

### *The process*

In this thesis, we try to analyze whether the political ideology of news outlets influences the ways

they portray the issue of immigration. Put simply, our main hypothesis is the following: elite-right newspapers are likely to use different frames (issue and style frames) than elite-newspapers to portray immigration.

Following the steps of a qualitative content analysis, we started by selecting our material to be examined. Our population is newspapers and our sample is composed of four newspapers, two right-wing and two left-wing quality newspapers. We selected *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* for France and *The Guardian* and *The Times* for the UK. The time-period to be examined goes from the 01/09/2015 until the 01/12/2015. Then, we started to build the coding frame by generating the categories. For that, we first used the deductive approach and we grounded our categories on prior research on the portraying of immigration in newspapers. This approach fits best our purpose as the goal of our study was to extend the field of application of an established theory. The different categories of this variable were constructed before conducting the content analysis and are based on the works of Fryber et. al (2012), Benson (2013) and Haynes et. al (2016). Each category was then defined and operationalized according to the theory and previous studies. The content analysis was conducted manually through a coding frame for all the articles analyzed in the thesis. As said previously, human coding was chosen because it allows to grasp “the context of the content” (Macnamara, 2005, p. 8), as opposed to computer coding. More precisely, we used a qualitative content analysis for our coding strategy as it fits best our purpose. Indeed, the main reason behind this choice is that issue frames are more accurately identified using this type of coding as it can be difficult to distinguish some frames by only using keyword search strategy. For example, when searching for keyword such as unemployment, we would not have been able to differentiate between economic cost or economic benefit. Moreover, style frames can only be coded by using a qualitative strategy. Then, the pilot phase was conducted over a two-weeks period in order to test our coding frame and we kept the same categories. Finally, we presented our results in a quantitative way using statistics.

### 3.5. Coding frame explanation

#### *The coding frame*

In this section, we will explain the coding frame in detail. On the first hand, regarding the issue frames, we should clarify that we chose to look for the dominant frame of the article, and not several frames, due to practical reasons. As this thesis is focused on unravelling the most salient aspect of immigration in every news outlets, only one issue frame per article should be identified. Thus, one value is assigned to each article. The main difficulty was to identify one salient aspect per article when they were tackling various ones. The categories were deducted from previous studies that examined the ways news outlets frame immigration (Benson, 2013, Fryberg et. al, 2012 and Haynes et. al 2016). From those studies, we pinpointed nine frames commonly used to portray immigration. We argue that those nine issue frames represent a broad overview of the aspects related to immigration. Those frames can be separated into two broad categories: civil rights frames and threat frames which are displayed in the Table 1.

**Table 1. Immigration issue frames**

<b>Frames (9)</b>	<b>Discursive indicators</b>
<b>Civil rights Frames</b>	
Victims	Immigrants are victims of racist/xenophobic crimes or hate crimes; immigrants face discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity, culture or religion; immigrants are the victims of human rights violations
Democratic values	Necessity to treat immigrants according to human rights standards; to respect basic democratic principles and human rights regarding immigrants



Benefits of multiculturalism	Immigrants bring positive differences to a society. positive to include diverse cultures in the overall society
Integration	Immigrants adopt with enthusiasm mainstream cultural customs and civic obligations
Economic Benefit	Immigrants contribute to economic growth; take jobs that citizens will not or cannot do.
<b>Threat Frames</b>	
Economic threat	Immigrants steal Europeans' jobs
Threat to public safety	Immigrants commit crimes; potential consequences are terrorism, violence, drug problems
Threat to welfare	Immigrants abuse government social services programs; impose an unfair burden on taxpayers
Threat to national cohesion	Immigrants alter the cultural balance by undermining the host country's culture or national identity; impossible conciliation of different cultures

More precisely, we will display in the following how each issue-frame was identified in the articles and then we will display the criteria according to which the style frames, if present in the articles, were identified.

Regarding the first content-variable, the first value it can take is the “victim” frame. It was identified in articles where the focus is put on racist attacks migrants face. For example, Tina Vasquez wrote about the racism she experienced increasingly in the U.S. after D. Trump’s elections (Vasquez, 2015). Moreover, this frame was reported as present in articles that underline the limits of the immigration system which treats immigrants in an inhuman way as well as in

articles that emphasize the issue of human trafficking. For instance, Felicity Lawrence wrote an opinion piece in *The Guardian* and focused on the allegations of human trafficking in the Irish fishing industry (Lawrence, 2015).

The frame “democratic values” can be found in articles that underline the importance to treat people equally and thus migrants according to the human rights standards and principles. For instance, in the *Guardian*, Lauren Wroe argued that as regardless of borders, all people have rights and valuable lives that have to be protected and thus migrants as well (Wroe, 2015).

The frame “benefit of multiculturalism” was identified in articles in which the journalist reports on arguments made by officials or civil society actors regarding the positive aspects of introducing other cultures in the host countries.

The frame “economic benefit” was identified in articles where the journalist reports on arguments made by political leaders or business groups according to which migrants are a necessity for the economy. For instance, Andrew Sparrow in the *Guardian* states Simon Walker, the director general of the Institute of Directors, when he said that immigrants help to fill skill shortages and do not steal jobs (Sparrow, 2015). Also, we identify this frame in opinion articles based on academic studies that present immigration as a benefit for the economy. For example, in *The Times*, Simon Nixon makes the claim based on several economists’ works that immigration is positive for the European economy and would bring rapid benefits (Nixon, 2015).

The frame “economic threat” is identified in article reporting statements made by officials claiming that immigrants and especially low-skilled immigrants take the jobs of the citizens. For example, in an article of *The Times*, Richard Ford states an official of MigrationWatch UK who claims that immigration should be limited because low skilled migrants are in very high proportions (Ford, 2015).

The frame “threat to public safety” is present in articles that emphasize the risks linked to immigration. More specifically, this frame is found in articles that link immigration to terrorism in the sense that the control at the borders is inefficient letting terrorist enter the territory. In Le

Figaro, Jean-Jacques Mével emphasizes the risk that terrorist can arrive in European countries by hiding in the flows of migrants (Mével, 2015). Also through officials such as in The Times quoting a senior member of the Bavarian conservatives Hans-Peter Friedrich "It is totally irresponsible that now thousands flow uncontrolled into this country and you can only guess how many of these are Isis fighters or Islamist sleepers. I hope this will not lead to a rude awakening." (David Charter Berlin, 2015). Also, some journalists develop stories in which immigration is linked to hyper violence. Story about an "armed gang of Afghan" accused of shooting two farmers (John Simpson, 2015)

The frame "threat to welfare" is also identified in articles where analysts or economic experts underline the unpreparedness of a country to welcome migrants and thus their impossibility to integrate the working force and thus relying on help of the state. For instance, in Le Figaro, Charles Wyplosz states a professor of economy who argues that France as opposed to Germany is unprepared to integrate migrants in the workforce. And thus, it costs a lot in terms of housing e.g. (Wyplosz, 2015)

Finally, the frame "threat to national cohesion" is traced in articles that emphasize the risk of an alteration of the cultural balance of the country with especially a growing importance of Muslim culture, the impossible conciliation of such different cultures, the complicate association of Islam with democracy. For instance, in Le Figaro, Eric Zemmour states a testimony of someone who argue that inter-culturality is impossible (Zemmour, 2015). Also, this frame is identified in articles focusing on the unwillingness of migrants to adapt to the culture of the host country. For example, in an opinion article of The Times, Brian Scott argues that recent migrants do not want to adopt the British customs and the way of life (Scott, 2015). Also by interviewing a professor of population studies who said that "New migrants can be in daily contact with their friends back home and can continue to consume all the cultural practices of that country. I am not sure that this necessarily contributes to integration." (Richard Ford, 2015)

Second, we will focus on the style of the frame to operationalize media framing. Based on Haynes et. al's work (2016), a frame can be either episodic or thematic. As established previously, an "episodic frame" is a way of displaying an "issue by providing a specific example, case study or

event-oriented report” (Gross, 2008, p. 171). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) claim that an episodic frame is found when “a human face or an emotional angle” is added to “the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (p. 95). A “thematic frame” on the other hand is a “way of presenting an issue in a broader context, using generalities and abstractions” (Haynes et. al, 2016, p. 16). The following is an example of an episodically framed article from the *The Times* (episodic terms in bold):

“Ms Petry, a mother of four who is married to a priest, told **The Times** that her three years in Britain made her realize that it was "completely normal to be proud of your country" and gave her the confidence to oppose "open" immigration policies which she thinks puts the German way of life at risk. (Smith and Charter, 2015).

We can contrast it with a thematic example retrieved from *The Times* which presents immigration in a more generic style and abstract style by using numbers:

“A record 2.1 million European Union nationals are working in Britain while hundreds of thousands arrived to seek work over the past year. As employment rose by 448,000, three out of four of those jobs went to migrant EU nationals” (Ford, 2015)

Thus, we consider an immigration news as episodic when it tends to focus on real-life stories of particular individuals or families and as thematic when the focus is put on statistics such as numbers of jobs attributed to migrants (Haynes et. al, 2016).

### *The codification process*

The coding sheet created for this thesis was inspired from previous research on media framing. For this research, we created a codification sheet including all the variables established for our analysis. Each column of the sheet covers the examination and codification of one news item. The variables 1-3 were created to provide information about the articles and the variables 4 and 5 help to answer the research question as presented in the Table 2.

**Table 2. The codification sheet**

	<b>1. News outlet</b>	<b>2. Date</b>	<b>3. Code</b>	<b>4. Dominant issue frame</b>	<b>5. Frame style</b>
<b>Article</b>					
<b>Article</b>					
<b>Article</b>					

Regarding the codification process, the first variable is named “news outlet” and was designed to identify the news agency that each article was retrieved from. Numbers from 1 to 4 were assigned as values in order to indicate the news outlet name. Hence, number 1 was assigned to Le Figaro, 2 to Le Monde, 3 to The Times and 4 to the Guardian. The second variable, date, was created to register the publication date of each article. It consists of 8 digits in the form of DD.MM.YYYY. The third variable, code, was constituted to facilitate the identification of each news item under examination. The variable consists of 5 digits that represent various elements of the article. The first digit show the number of the news agency (N) that the article has been retrieved from and thus it can take a value from 1 to 4 according to the news outlet. The second and third digit represent the day of publication (DD) and the fourth and fifth the month of publication (MM). Apart from those four variables that provide information about the texts, two variables named “dominant frame” and “frame style” were established. The “dominant frame” variable can take nine values based on the categories established previously. The values the variable can take are the following: 1. Racism, 2. Democratic values 3. Benefits of multiculturalism, 4. Integration 5. Economic Benefit 6. Economic threat 7. Threat to public safety 8. Threat to welfare 9. Threat to national cohesion. The “frame style” variable can take three values: 0. Absent, 1. Episodic and 2. Thematic. The values for each variable are presented in the Table 3.

**Table 3. The values of each variable**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Values/Codes</b>
1. News outlets	1 = Le Figaro 2 = Le Monde 3 = The Guardian 4 = The Times
2. Date	DD.MM.YYYY
3. Code	NDDMM
4. Frame Style	0 = Absent 1 = Episodic 2 = Thematic
5. Dominant Frame	1 = Victim 2 = Democratic values 3 = Benefit of multiculturalism 4 = Integration 5 = Economic benefit 6 = Economic threat 7 = Threat to public safety 8 = Threat to welfare 9 = Threat to national cohesion

### 3.6. Use of SPSS

We used the IBM SPSS Statistics software to complete the quantitative part of the thesis since it allows to execute statistical analysis. Indeed, this software helps to transform data into frequencies and statistical results which are the purpose of this thesis. As mentioned previously, the input is qualitative data (articles) and the output looked for is the frequencies and statistical result. We created four different output sheets for each news outlets to acquire results per outlets that could

be then compared. We will describe the way the program SPSS was used to get the output. First, the variables were inserted to the “variable view” form of the program for each of the output sheet. For each variable, we wrote down the name of it in the “name” column. Then, in the “type box”, we changed only for the date variable the way it was listed from numeric to date option. The width box remained intact. The decimals box was reduced to 0 since this analysis employs integral numbers as values. Then, each variable was described shortly in the label box. The values were filled according to the table in the “value” box. The rest remained unchanged.

Since this was prepared, the values written down in the codification sheets were manually reported into the four output sheets in the “data view” of the program.

Finally, when the data were all transferred in the program, we analyzed them in the form of descriptive statistics, which are cross-tables in the case of this thesis. There we used only the variable 5 “dominant frame”.

### 3.7. Validity and reliability

A test on reliability is needed in order to ensure that the results are reliable: In order to increase the reliability of a qualitative content analysis, a sample of content should be examined by several coders (Macnamara, 2005). This procedure allows to limit the impact of the subjective judgment of one coder on the results. Thus, we decided for our study to ask a second reader to cross-examine the results of the codification process. Precisely, the second coder coded for 30 articles randomly selected in total which represents approximately 20% of the total number of articles. The goal of this process was to establish the level of agreement among the coders regarding the dominant issue frame, as well as the presence of a style frame (or absence) present in articles to portray immigration. To establish the inter-rater reliability, we used the Krippendorff’s alpha (KALPHA) method. The level of agreement between the two coders was 0,942. Therefore, as “the range of the lowest acceptable level of reliability coefficients usually is between 0,80 and 0,903” (Wang, 2011, p.18), we can say that the results of this thesis can be perceived as reliable.

## 4. Empirical Findings

In this chapter, we report the findings of our content analysis for each case study.

### 1. Issue-frames

In this section, we will analyze our findings (Table 4 and 5) regarding the issue-frames and compare them with our hypothesis.

**Table 4. Immigration framing in the four media outlets: issue frames**

News outlet Dominant Frame	Le Figaro (N=36)	Le Monde (N=33)	The Guardian (N=38)	The Times (N=28)	Total (N=135)
Racism	0	0	<b>55,3%</b>	7,1%	17,0%
Democratic values	2,8%	<b>60,6%</b>	13,2%	3,6%	20,0%
Benefit of multiculturalism	0	3,0%	<b>7,9%</b>	0	3,0%
Integration	2,8%	<b>6,1%</b>	0	0	2,2%
Economic benefit	13,9%	21,2%	18,4%	<b>32,1%</b>	<b>20,7%</b>
Economic threat	<b>5,6%</b>	3,0%	2,6%	3,6%	3,7%
Threat to safety	19,4%	0	2,6%	<b>32,1%</b>	3,7%
Threat to welfare	<b>16,7%</b>	0	0	0	4,4%
Threat to national cohesion	<b>38,9%</b>	6,1%	0	21,4%	16,3%

**Table 5. Frequency of the use of positive and threat frames in the four media outlets**

News outlet Dominant frames	Le Figaro (N=36)	Le Monde (N=33)	The Guardian (N=38)	The Times (N=28)
Positive frames	19,5%	93,9%	94,8%	42,9%
Threat frames	80,5%	6,1%	5,2%	57,1%



**H1a:** The elite-right newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Figaro and the Times) are more likely to use threat frames than elite-left newspapers (Le Monde and The Guardian) in the same countries

**a. France**

We did find a significant difference in the use of threat frames across Le Figaro and Le Monde. Overall, Le Figaro used a threat frame in 80,5% of the articles whereas Le Monde in only 6,1%. More precisely, Le Figaro framed immigration in as a “threat to national cohesion” in 38,9% of the articles studied, as a “threat to safety” in 19,4%, as a “threat to welfare” in 16,7% and as an “economic threat” in 5,6% of the articles studied. Le Monde, on the opposite side, used threat frames to portray immigration to a very limited extent. Indeed, the frame a “threat to national cohesion” was present in 6,1% articles and the “economic threat” frame in 3%, the two other threat frames have not been mentioned. Thus, the hypothesis according to which the elite-right newspapers in France (Le Figaro) tend to use more threat frames than elite-left newspapers (Le Monde) holds for France.

**b. The United Kingdom**

We found also in the UK a difference in the use of threat frames across political opposed newspapers (The Times and The Guardian). Overall, The Times used threat frames in 57,1% of the articles whereas The Guardian in 5,1% of the articles. More precisely, The Times used three threat frames to portray immigration but only one was extensively used. In the articles retrieved from The Times, immigration was framed as a “threat to national cohesion” in 21,4% of the articles studied, as a “threat to safety” in 3,6% and as an “economic threat” in 3,6%. In our sample, the threat to welfare had not been used. The Guardian, on the other hand, used threat frames to a very limited extent. Indeed, the frame “threat to safety” was present in 2,6% articles and the “economic threat” frame in 2,6% as well. We observe that the use of the frame “threat to national cohesion” causes the biggest difference between the two newspapers. Thus, the hypothesis according to which the elite-right newspapers in the UK (The Times) tend to use more threat frames than elite-left newspapers (The Guardian) also holds for the UK.

**H1b:** The elite-left newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Monde and The Guardian) are more likely to use civil right concerns frames than elite-right newspapers (Le Figaro and the Times) in the same countries

**a. France**

We did find a significant difference in the use of civil rights frames across Le Figaro and Le Monde. Overall, Le Monde used civil rights frame in 93,9% of the articles whereas Le Figaro in 19,5%. More precisely, in the newspaper Le Monde, the “democratic values” frame was present in 60,6% of the articles, the “economic benefit” frame in 21,2%, the “integration” frame in 6,1% and the “benefit to multiculturalism” frame in 3%. On the opposite side, in Le Figaro, the “economic benefit” frame was present in 13,9% of the articles, the “democratic values” frame and the “integration” frame were respectively present in 2,8% of the articles. Thus, we can say that the hypothesis holds for France.

**b. The United Kingdom**

We found also a difference in the use of civil rights frames across The Times and The Guardian. Overall, The Guardian used civil rights frames in 94,8% of the articles whereas The Times in 42,9% of the articles. To be more precise, in the newspaper The Guardian, the “racism” frame was present in 55,3% of the articles, the “democratic values” frame in 13,2% and the “benefit to multiculturalism” frame in 7,9%. On the opposite side, two civil rights concerns frames were used in The Times to a limited extent. The “racism” frame was present in 7,1% of the articles and the “democratic values” frame was present in 3,6% of the articles. However, we observe that this hypothesis does not hold regarding the frame “economic benefit”. We observe that The Times has the higher percentage, 32,1%, against 18,4% for the Guardian. In the UK, we observe that overall the hypothesis holds, as The Guardian used more civil rights frames than The Times, but regarding the specific frame of economic benefit it does not.

## 2. Style frames

In this section, we will analyze our findings (presented in the Table) regarding the style frames and compare them with our hypothesis.

**Table 6. Immigration framing in the four media outlets: style frames**

News outlet	Le Figaro (N=36)	Le Monde (N=33)	The Guardian (N=38)	The Times (N=28)
Style Frame				
Episodic frame	5,6%	18,2%	47,4%	28,6%
Thematic frame	5,6%	18,2%	18,4%	17,9%

**H2a:** The elite-left newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Monde and The Guardian) are more likely to use episodic frames than elite-right ones (Le Figaro and the Times) in the same countries.

Le Monde used episodic frames in 18,2% of the articles as opposed to 5,6% in Le Figaro, and The Guardian used episodic frames in 47,4% of the articles whereas The Times in 28,6%. Thus, we can say that the hypothesis is confirmed in both cases.

**H2b:** The elite-right newspapers in France and in the UK (Le Figaro and the Times) are more likely to use thematic frames than elite-left newspapers (Le Monde and The Guardian) in the same countries

Le Figaro used thematic frames in 5,6% of the articles whereas Le Monde in 18,2% of the articles. The Times used thematic frames in 17,9% of the articles whereas The Guardian in 18,4%. Thus, from our findings we can say that this hypothesis does not hold.

## 5. Discussion

Media can have an important impact on people's opinions, attitudes regarding immigration but also regarding politics by influencing the support or opposition regarding immigration policies. The ways media portray immigration has been extensively studied across countries. However, the factors that explain the variations in ways of presenting immigration have been less studied. Studies of the European press but mostly of the American one suggest that the political ideology or orientation of a news outlets impacts the ways in which that medium portrays immigration. Scholars found that the ideology is linked with the use of specific issue-frames, as well with the use of specific style frames. Even though some authors argue that characteristics of the media system impact to what extent media outlets will be linked to their ideology, research found that even in countries such as the U.S. where politics are not necessarily strongly linked to politics, immigration tend to be portrayed along ideological lines. Thus, in this thesis, we wanted to test the generality of the findings of the American press according to which outlets frame immigration differently and in specific ways regarding their political orientation. For that we conducted two case studies in European countries: France and the UK. Our findings correspond with the theoretical explanations that we formulated. Indeed, we found that the link between ideology and immigration reporting is present in other countries than the U.S. press since we observed those links within both countries France and the UK. Indeed, the theory according to which elite-left newspapers and elite-right newspapers frame immigration differently applies to France and to the UK.

Based on those findings, we would like to see if our third hypothesis holds:

**H3:** The portraying of immigration in the British and the French newspapers will be to similar degree influenced by their political orientation

This hypothesis does not hold as we found a clear ideological divide in the French press but not in the British elite-right newspaper. Le Figaro used threat frames to a very clear extent (80,5%), as opposed to positive frames (19,5%). Le Monde used positive frames in 93,9% of the articles, whereas used threat frames in only 6,1% of the articles. In the British press, this hypothesis holds

for elite-right newspaper but not for the elite-left newspaper. Indeed, we found in the British press that the ideological preferences are not extensively present in the elite-right newspaper (The Times) but is clear cut for the elite-left newspaper (The Guardian). Indeed, the distinction is not clear in The Times and the use of frames is more balanced. Indeed, we found that The Times used positive frames in 42,9% of the articles and 57,1% of threat frames. However, we found in the British press that the ideological is clear for the elite-left newspaper (The Guardian) but not as clear for the elite-right newspaper (The Times). The Guardian used positive frames in 94,8% of the articles whereas used threat frames in only 5,2% of the articles. However, the distinction is not as clear in The Times and the use of frames more balanced. Indeed, we found that The Times used positive frames in 42,9% of the articles and 57,1% of threat frames. More precisely, we observe from our findings that the frame most used by The Times is the “economic benefit” frame which was expected to be a left-wing frame. Thus, one may wonder what could have influenced The Times, a right-wing newspaper to use extensively this frame to portray immigration if not its political orientation? The first potential explanation relates to the dominance of the market in the UK (Benson, 2013). The idea is that in countries where the market is dominant in the media sphere we observe that frames related to the economic benefit or as coined by Benson the “good worker” frame tend to be used more extensively to frame immigration. Thus, one can argue that ideologies do not allow to explain the framing of immigration in all its aspects.

## 6. Conclusion

This thesis analyzed the media portraying of immigration in four newspapers in two countries France and the UK in order to unravel the influence of their political ideological leaning. In other words, this study aimed at examining whether the political orientation of newspapers is a factor to take into consideration when studying immigration coverage. We also decided to compare the findings of our two case studies in order to unravel whether the degree to which newspapers portray immigration according to their political orientation varies across countries. Political influence on framing of immigration had been not been studied extensively in general, and especially not in the European press. The results showed that the political orientation of the newspapers have an impact on how they frame immigration. Still, we observe that the coverage in the British press is not as clearly influenced by the political ideology as opposed to the French press.