Rochester Institute of Technology

RIT Digital Institutional Repository

12-18-2020

The Portrayal of African Immigrants: A Framing Analysis of Newspaper Coverage

Oluwatosin Arowosola
ooa3068@rit.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.rit.edu/theses

The Portrayal of African Immigrants: A Framing Analysis of Newspaper Coverage

Oluwatosin Arowosola

School of Communication

College of Liberal Arts, Rochester Institute of Technology

A Thesis presented

in partial fulfillment of the

Master of Science Degree in Communication

Degree Awarded:

December 18, 2020

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of

Oluwatosin Arowosola presented on November 20, 2020.

_____

Tracy Worrell, PhD
Professor
School of Communication
Thesis Advisor

_____

O. Nicholas Robertson, PhD
Assistant Professor
Department of Criminal Justice
Thesis Advisor

_____

Ammina Kothari, PhD
Associate Professor and
Director of Graduate Program
School of Communication

_____

Kelly Norris Martin, PhD
Associate Professor and
Director
School of Communication

Table of Contents

Abstract

Immigration has been an interesting subject to the public and a prominent issue that cannot be ignored. Issues such as immigration policies and reforms, fear of immigrants bringing crime, immigrants taking jobs from native-born families, and many more. With the growth of African immigrants increasing in the United States (Pew Research, 2017), and new immigration policies put in place in 2017 during the first year of President Trump's presidency, this study investigates how African immigrants are portrayed in *The New York Times* Newspaper. Using Framing theory, this study employed the content analysis method and examined newspaper articles published from 2017 to 2018 in *The New York Times* newspaper. The purpose of the study is to answer two interrelated questions: How are African Immigrants portrayed in the newspaper and How are topics about African immigrants framed in newspaper coverage? The study uses framing theory to check for media framing of African immigrants in the United States in the first year of President Trump's presidency. The result of the study shows that 40.82% of articles is passing negative tones on African immigrants, compared to 22.45% positive tones.

There is also a strong correlation between the tone of the article and the valence of the headline, therefore, even if you do not read the entire article, solely seeing the headline can still pass the negative tone.

Keywords: African Immigrants, framing, news coverage, media

The Portrayal of African Immigrants: A framing Analysis in Newspaper Coverage

The media plays an important role in disseminating news and promoting public awareness on pressing national issues. The media's influence extends beyond merely passing out information. Several studies find that the media plays a central role in communicating and what is happening to the public, making the public reliant on them (e.g. Philo, 2008; Philo, Miller, & Happer, in press). Media coverage has been able to influence the thoughts of people over certain issues, from the portrayal of women, violence on children, race and minority stereotyping, and many more (e.g. Silberstein, et al., 1986; Grossman, D., & Degaetano, G. 2014; Greenberg et al., 2002). Immigration has been an interesting subject to the public and it seems to be a prominent wedge issue in America. Immigration coverage has shifted over the years, from demographics, legal status, geographic location, to the overall impact of immigration (The integration of immigrants into American society, 2015). On average, 5% of Americans have mentioned immigration as the top political problem since 2001, but the number has jumped to 27% in 2019 (See figure 1). Data gathered by earlier studies (e.g. Rodgers & Thorson, 2000; Kim et al., 2011), suggests that news coverage about immigration has changed from jobs and human rights to issues such as threats to public order, terrorism, and criminality.

Most Important U.S. Problem, July 2019

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? [OPEN-ENDED]

	% Mentioning
Immigration	27
The government/Poor leadership	23
Race relations/Racism	7
Healthcare	7
Environment/Pollution/Climate change	4
Unifying the country	4
Economy in general	3
Poverty/Hunger/Homelessness	3
Ethical/Moral/Religious decline	3
Education	3
Lack of respect for each other	3

Issues receiving 3% or more mentions

GALLUP

Figure 1. Mentions of Immigration as Top Problem Surpass Record High (Gallop, 2019)

Over the years, immigration has transformed the demographics of developed countries, including the United States and has played a leading role in building what has become the most prosperous nation in the history of the world – With their indispensable contribution to America's economy for centuries (Denhart, 2017). The number of foreign-born individuals in the United States has doubled since 1950; Immigrants make up over 40% of the U.S. workforce in industries like farming, fishing and forestry, which contribute billions of dollars in taxes and contribute billions of dollars in taxes and add over a trillion dollars to the U.S. economy (American Immigration Council, 2019).

Media coverage contributes to the perception of immigrants (Haynes, Merolla, & Ramakrishnan, 2016), because the media is a powerful tool that often affects people's thinking, and it is important to note how immigrants are being portrayed. Theories such as agenda setting, priming, and framing demonstrate the power of the media and how the media can influence public

opinion and perceptions. According to Page and Shapiro (1983), the media influences public

opinion, which in turn influences policies especially on issues that are relevant and have high

visibility. Research has discussed how a person's behavior and interpretation of situations are

influenced by what they have been exposed to in the media (Lippman 1992). Framing theory states

that how the media portrays and represents an issue or phenomenon (in this case immigrants), can

influence how they are perceived. According to Entman (1993), framing is essentially the selection

and salience of a particular topic or issue, stating that "To frame is to select some aspects of a

perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote

a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment

recommendation for the item described" (p.52).

Research shows that two-thirds of Americans have a positive opinion about immigrants,

and feel that immigrants have positive impacts (such as increased economy, food, music, arts

amongst others) on the United States; however, they also fear the use of government resources by

illegal immigrants (Abramitzky et al., 2017). Alongside government resources, some believe that

the presence of immigrants results in increased competition for employment, housing, education

and other resources (Berg & Gleditsch, 2014), which means that the perception and public opinions

can be two-sided, acknowledging that it be positive as well as negative.

Immigration issues became even more prominent with the 2016 Presidential Election,

when Donald Trump campaigned a lot around immigration. On the first day of his campaign

President Trump announced immigration restriction as a major theme of his campaign (Gimpel,

2016), which included racist statements about immigrants and minorities (Katz, 2016). In his first

year in office, he issued several immigration orders, ranging from those regulating immigration

into the United States as well as those regulating immigrants already present in the country (National Constitution Centre, 2018).

This study aims to investigate news coverage and frames used to report news about African immigrants, in the first year of President Trump's presidency. The study looks specifically into the first year because immigration was one of the cornerstones of his campaign, and in his first year in office some immigration policies were put in place (Ballotpedia, 2019). Past research (e.g. Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Van Klingeren, et al. 2015; Woods & Arthur, 2014) has applied framing in communication studies to determine media influences and investigate the content to understand how media frames the news. Since framing theory states that messages are disseminated and presented to the general public, using certain frameworks, statements, and phrases to help shape the reader's reality of the message (Cissel, 2012), this study examines what the media is reporting to the general public about African immigrants.

This paper focuses on media framing of African Immigrants in the New York metropolitan area, because this area had the largest number of sub-Saharan immigrants in the 2013-2017 period (Migration Policy Institute, 2019). To give an insight to how this group are being framed, content analysis will be conducted to identify frames and themes on articles/publication about African immigrants in *The New York Times* newspaper. I will be focused on *The New York Times* because it is the largest newspaper in terms of circulation in New York State (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008). The findings aim to contribute to existing database of media content analysis and add to the knowledge of media framing of African immigrants that will be examined in the literature review. The next chapter will examine literature regarding minorities/race/immigrants, media, and how the portrayals of immigrants has influenced public perception of immigrants.

Literature Review

Immigrants

The U.S. Census Bureau defines the foreign born as individuals who had no U.S. citizenship at birth. The foreign-born population includes naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents, refugees, asylees, legal nonimmigrants (including those on student, work, or certain other types of temporary visas), and persons residing in the country without authorization (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). For this study, immigrants will be referred to as foreign born, but have the right to reside in the United States irrespective of whether they have or do not have citizenship (Migration Policy Institute, 2019). The right to reside includes people who have permanent residency and visas.

With the growth of immigrants in the United States, there has been several responses and perceptions among Americans towards immigrants, with a high percentage of people associating the influx and growth of immigration to an increase in crime, and a negative effect on social and moral values (Dalton & Wilson, 2008). Statistics show that one in eight U.S residents is an immigrant. As of 2017, the number of immigrants (foreign-born individuals) was about 44.4 million, which accounts for 13.6% of the U.S population (Pew Research center, 2019). The population of immigrants in the United States has continued to grow, with an increase of 11% between 2010 and 2017 (Migration policy Institute, 2019). See figure 2

	2010	2017	Numeric Change in Population from 2010 to 2017	Percent Change in Population from 2010 to 2017 (%)
All U.S. Immigrants	39,956,000	44,525,000	4,570,000	11.4
India	1,780,000	2,611,000	830,000	46.6
China/Hong Kong	1,808,000	2,453,000	644,000	35.6
Dominican Republic	879,000	1,163,000	283,000	32.2
Philippines	1,778,000	2,008,000	230,000	13.0
Cuba	1,105,000	1,312,000	207,000	18.7
El Salvador	1,214,000	1,402,000	188,000	15.5
Venezuela	184,000	351,000	167,000	90.8
Colombia	637,000	783,000	146,000	23.0
Honduras	523,000	655,000	133,000	25.4
Guatemala	831,000	959,000	128,000	15.4
Nigeria	219,000	345,000	126,000	57.3
Brazil	340,000	451,000	111,000	32.8
Vietnam	1,241,000	1,343,000	102,000	8.2
Bangladesh	154,000	249,000	95,000	61.8
Haiti	587,000	680,000	93,000	15.8

Figure 2. Immigrant Groups with the Largest Growth between 2010 and 2017 (Migration Policy Institute, 2019).

It is important to acknowledge the fact that immigrant groups are divided into documented and undocumented immigrants, although it is very hard to separate both when looking at data and statistics, as that information is not always readily available. Most studies use Census data which provides information about whether an individual is foreign born or was born in the United States but does not include legal status. Figure 3 below offers a snapshot of the foreign-born population in 2017 and indicates that roughly a quarter of the foreign-born population is undocumented.

Unauthorized immigrants are almost a quarter of U.S. foreign-born population

Foreign-born population estimates, 2017

Unauthorized immigrants
10.5 million (23%)

Lawful immigrants
35.2 million (77%)

Naturalized citizens
20.7 million (45%)

Lawful permanent residents
12.3 million (27%)

Temporary lawful residents
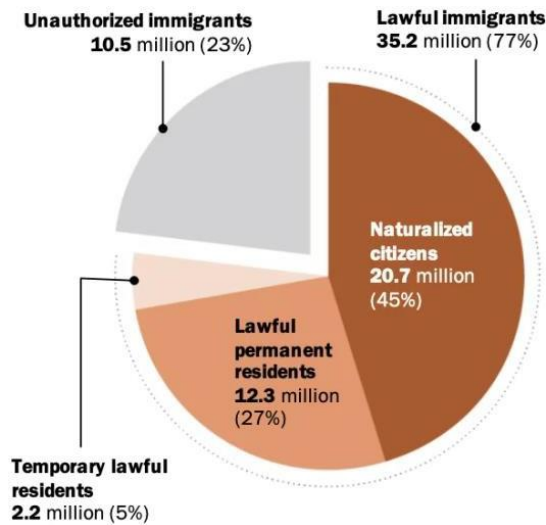**2.2** million (5%)

Figure 3. Foreign-born population estimates, 2017 (Pew Research, 2019).

According to the Pew Research Center, these numbers differ from that published by the U.S Census Bureau, because the census data account for the populations that are undercounted, and numbers are rounded up. Also, it is important to note that unauthorized in *figure 3* above refers to children who are protected under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), Temporary Protection Status (TPS), as well as pending asylum cases.

Portrayal of Immigrants

According to Cisneros (2018), the metaphoric statement "immigrants as a pollutant," divides immigrants from mainstream America, under the banner of protecting the sanctity and integrity of the nation. Various research has been done to find if there is a direct correlation between immigrants and criminal activities and crimes, some studies like (Hickman & Suttorp,

2008; Martinez, Stowell, & Lee, 2010), found that there is no meaningful relationship between immigrants and crime, while other studies found that the perception of the public generally associates immigrants as criminals (Alba, Rumbaut, & Marotz, 2005). Surveys have shown that immigrant being associated/linked to crime in news coverage increased the public's perception towards immigrants and immigration in negative ways (McCarthy, 2017; Rumbaut, 2008).

In a Gallup poll, Americans were asked if they believed immigration was making particular conditions in the country better or worse; one of the conditions asked was "the crime situation" (see figure 4), 45% of respondents going with worse, which is a substantial amount compared to 9% saying its better (McCarthy, 2017). The poll shows that Americans believe that immigrants make the crime situation worse.
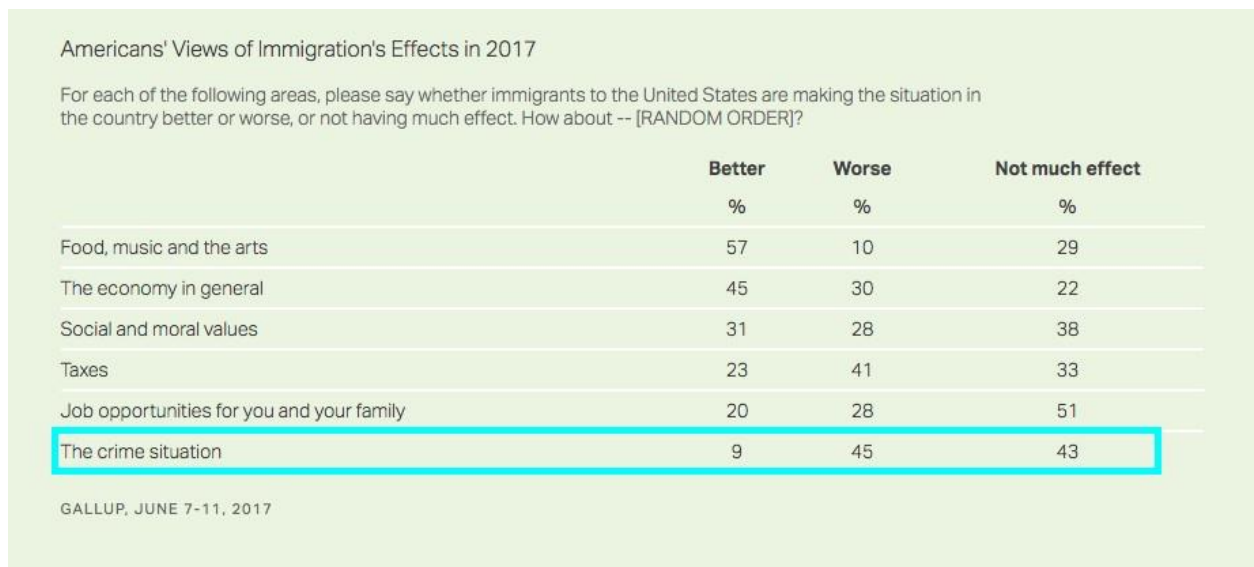
Americans' Views of Immigration's Effects in 2017			
For each of the following areas, please say whether immigrants to the United States are making the situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect. How about -- [RANDOM ORDER]?			
	Better	Worse	Not much effect
	%	%	%
Food, music and the arts	57	10	29
The economy in general	45	30	22
Social and moral values	31	28	38
Taxes	23	41	33
Job opportunities for you and your family	20	28	51
The crime situation	9	45	43

GALLUP, JUNE 7-11, 2017

Figure 4. Americans' Views of Immigration's Effects in 2017 (Gallup, 2017).

A group of immigrants that have been widely discussed in the media are the Latino immigrants, they are often described in threatening terms that are unfavorable to both the group and the general public. They are often portrayed and represented in the media as dangerous to the public (Dragojevic, Sink, & Mastro, 2016).

Latino immigrants tend to make news coverage, but often for all the wrong and negative reasons, which are mostly centered on criminality rather than human rights or even job opportunities (Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011). The question is whether the number of crimes reported by the news media about Latino immigrants reflect or represent the real- world crime statistics. According to Dixon & William (2015), in a content analysis of crime coverage in U.S news shows, there is an over representation of data compared to real statistics, demographics, as well as immigration figures. In their study, they found that Latinos were overrepresented as undocumented immigrants, Muslims overrepresented as terrorists and Blacks were underrepresented as both violent perpetrators and victims of crime.

African Immigrants

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thousands of Africans were brought to the United State as slaves. However, in late nineteenth and early twentieth century more Africans have migrated voluntary, most came as students to further education, some as refugees fleeing from harsh conditions in their home countries, and some as part of a diversity program (Migration Policy Institute, 2012). African immigrants are foreign-born individuals from Africa (Migration Policy Institution, 2011). There are over 2 million African immigrants in the United States, and they are found in almost every state in the United States (Migration policy Institution, 2019). African immigrants are largely settle in a few urban areas like New York City, Washington D.C., Atlanta and Minneapolis (US Census Bureau, 2015). Compared to other immigrant groups like Latinos and Asians, Africans are a small share of the total immigration population (see figure 5), however, their overall numbers are growing.

Region of Birth of Recent Immigrant Arrivals

%

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2013
Central and South America	20	31	41	48	28
Mexico	11	22	26	34	15
Other Central/South America	9	9	15	13	13
Asia	19	36	31	25	41
Europe	30	14	11	13	10
Caribbean	18	7	7	7	10
Africa	2	3	2	4	8
Other	11	9	7	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 5. Region of Birth of Recent Immigrant Arrivals (Pew Research Center, 2015).

African immigrants migrated into the United States for several reasons: for higher education, for economic reasons, political instability and in other cases, as war refugees (Arthur, 2000). Another important avenue that opened doors for African immigrants into the United States was the US immigration policy of 1965 and the Diversity Immigration Visa act that began in 1990, which allowed for immigrants to come into the United States (Takougang & Tidjani, 2009). The Diversity Immigration Visa Act Congress of 1990 was established to promote immigration from various countries that were underrepresented in the United States (American Immigration Council, 2017). This act allowed individuals from other countries to enter the United States, which further increased the immigration pool and help balance the U.S. immigration system. About 55,000 diversity visas were issued per fiscal year, but in year 2000, the number of diversity visa that were being issued was reduced to annual cap of 50,000, which has remained the limit to date (USCIS, 2018).

Data shows that Africa benefitted largely from the Diversity Immigrant Visa Act. (Department of Homeland Security, 2017) (figure 6).

Region of Birth	Total	Family-Sponsored Preferences	Employment-Based Preferences	Immediate Relatives of U.S. citizens	Diversity	Refugees and Asylees	Other
Total	1,051,031	213,910	144,047	465,068	47,934	151,995	28,077
Africa	101,415	8,980	4,813	40,379	19,659	27,104	480
Asia	419,297	87,568	89,533	151,189	14,562	67,603	8,842
Europe	85,803	5,104	20,945	44,680	11,425	3,317	332
North America	366,126	97,529	18,238	181,269	667	51,535	16,888
Oceania	5,404	515	1,186	2,926	721	37	19
South America	72,309	14,102	9,296	44,214	878	2,346	1,473
Unknown	677	112	36	411	22	53	43

Figure 6. Persons Obtaining Lawful Permanent Resident Status Broad Class Admission and Region of Birth: Fiscal Year 2015 (Department of Homeland Security, 2017)

Apart from the Diversity Immigration Visa Act, other factors have contributed to the increase of African immigrants in the United States, from Immigration Reform and Control Act, to the 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act (Arthur 2008; Halter & Johnson 2014; Kollehlon & Eule 2003; Lobo 2006; Yeboah 2008).

African immigrants coming to the United States have attained a certain level of education and most likely coming to the United State to further their education or to have a second degree. They are most often some of the most highly educated individuals from their native countries and have higher educational attainment levels than most native-born (Reed & Andrzejewski, 2010). Despite the negative representation of African immigrants all coming into the United State because of war, poverty or even political violence in their native countries, it is far from surprising that Americans think African immigrants that come into the US are poor and not educated. However, studies have shown that African immigrants are more educated than more native-born Americans and other immigration population (Pew Research, 2017; Reed & Andrzejewski, 2010). Looking at some positive statistics of what makes up the African immigrant

population in the United States, 62% of African immigrants are enrolled in college or graduate

school. This is higher than all other immigrants (55%) and US born population (26%). 74% of

African immigrants are in the labor force, 68% are employed, 6.1 % are unemployed and 6% are

self-employed (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). If news coverage about African immigrants are

focused on the positive statistics and achievements, we will read stories such as African

immigrants as survivors, hard-workers, religious, cultured, educated, and professionals in various
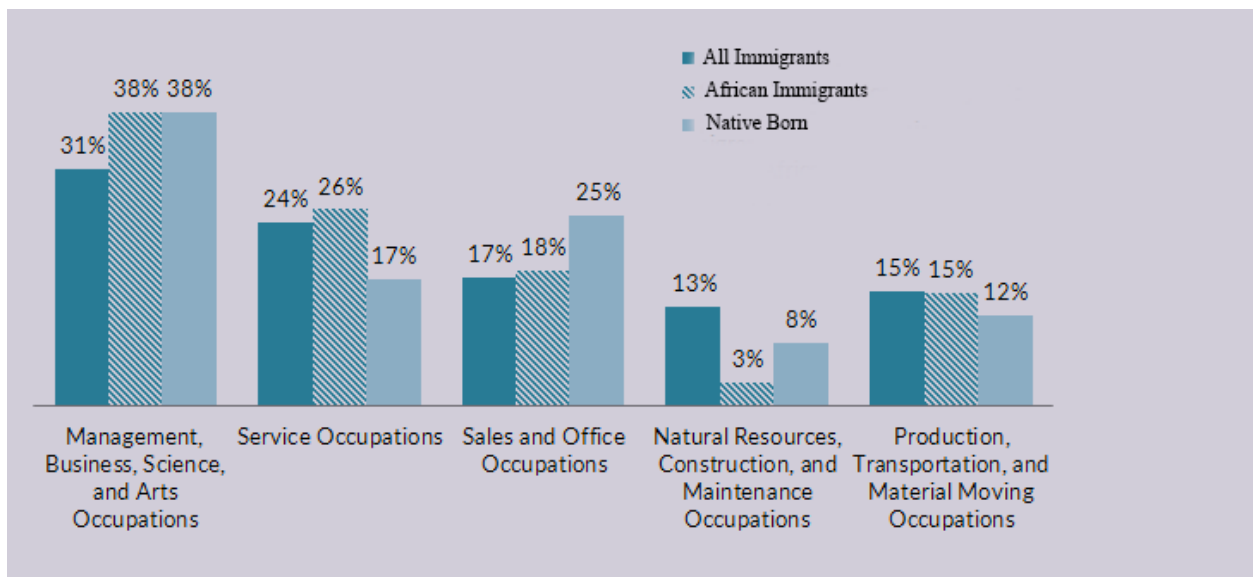
fields (Migration Policy, 2017) (See figure 7).

Figure 7. Employed Workers in the Civilian Labor Force (ages 16 and older) by Occupation and

Origin, 2015 (Migration Policy, 2017)

Portrayal of African Immigrants

According to Dixon, et al (2003), There is an over – representation of African immigrants

as criminals in the media, and as such crime and criminal behavior has been associated with

African immigrants (A generalized belief that all African immigrants are criminals or have a

tendency to be one). With such representation in the news coverage, harsh judgment of the

character of Africans is often promoted, as well as more unsympathetic policy preferences and negative stereotyping (Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Oliver & Fonash, 2002).

With having the understanding that the media really shapes people's perspective about an issue, a group, or a phenomenon (Coutin & Chock 1997), it then becomes a problem when immigrants are depicted in a negative way, as it leads to perceptions that do not favor the immigrants. In other word - If there are positive portrayals of immigrants in the media, for the case of this study - print media, non-immigrants will become aware that there are better things to learn about immigrants, and in turn may be more open to the integration of immigrants in America.

In the United States, immigrants come from various countries and backgrounds, which means there is a possibility that they have different cultures, ethnicities, and religious backgrounds. Several studies (e.g. Atwell Seate & Mastro, 2017; Fujioka, 2011; Dionne, 2008; Gilliam & Susan, 2001) have explored the outcomes from media coverage of immigrants and how it has influenced the way immigrants are perceived. The studies found that when immigrants are mentioned in a negative manner it fosters the negative perception to the group. According to Ramasubramanian (2010), negative emotions such as anger and hatred against a particular group are thought to be provided by the negative images used in television stories, in which even subtle racial cues in the media can produce automatic racial attitudes about a particular group (Ramasubramanian, 2010). With this, we can assume that negative media exposure often produces negative reactions and the positive will also produce positive reactions.

Media Coverage and Framing

The media has demonstrated that it has a huge impact on society, with the role it plays in shaping the perception of people towards immigrants and immigration issues (Kellstedt, 2003). Media coverage has been defined as how a particular piece of information is presented by the

media either as news, entertainment or as infotainment, which has to a large extent can influence

the audience perception while giving out information (Coss, et al., 2016). The media takes a lead

role by framing news to the public, as they are the primary source of how the public gets

information or learns about what is happening. Framing allows the media to shape what news is

disseminated to the public, which can have both positive and negative effects on its audience.

According to Cissel (2012), framing is the constructive way that information is disseminated and

presented to the general public, using certain frameworks, statements, and phrases to help shape

the reader's understanding (Cissel, 2012).

Framing theory, suggests that society's interpretation of reality is shaped by frames

presented to them (Goffman, 1967), and how the media presents information to the audience

influences the choices people make on how to process that information (Mass Communication

Theory, 2017). As defined by Chong & Druckman (2007), framing theory is "the process by

which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about

an issue" (p. 104). The perception of the people is often shaped by the media, as the media serves

as a source where people learn and depend on for affairs of the nation. For this reason, any

portrayal of immigrants as "destructive, lawless, foreign, and unrooted" can be a problem

(Coutin & Chock, 1997). According to Entman (1993), to frame means "to select some aspect 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).

With the growing population of immigrants, it is no surprise that they get the media's

attention and get coverage in the news regularly, however, there has been argument that news

coverage on immigrants and immigration issues are often framed negatively (Coutin & Chock,

1997; Kim et al, 2011). For instance, the media frames immigration as a crisis, depicted as

destructive, foreign, lawless, unrooted (Coutin & Chock, 1997), and immigrants as, poor, weak, wretched, criminals, and so on (Rivadeneyra, 2006), which is also associated with Black people being portrayed with negative character and as low achievers (Cosby, 1994, Bramlett-Solomon & Farwell, 1996; Seggar & Wheeler, 1973).

Several other studies (e.g. Woldemikael, 1989, Entman, 1991, and Waters, 1999) have been able to show that the media is effective in influencing and are major drivers that have played a part in the ways immigrants are viewed and perceived among the public, because of the way they are being portrayed in the media.

Considering influence media have over the general public, it is necessary to understand what the media is portraying, or the kind of news disseminated to viewers, and how the news coverage affects viewers' perception. Looking into media influence on public opinion, Dionne (2008), was able to gather data, to understand people's attitude toward immigration and to identify the role of the media. Stories curated individually on immigration issues may have been accurate, but the cumulative by the media distorts the reality, which places the viewers in a more difficult situation where they are being exposed to a figment of the reality. Having to report a one-sided story, and leaving out some parts just to suit some certain people, when this kind of one-sided reportage keeps going out to the general public, the only information some people have access to television, which clouds their view of that particular issue or topic. According to Dionne (2018. p. 12) audiences that are exposed to negative messages about immigrants become biased, and often are very protective when they are around the immigrants because they view themselves as the victim and immigrants as the villain.

Suro (2008) noted that the topic of immigration policy only came up with headlines about anti-terrorism policy or a Cabinet nominee with an illegal nanny problem is reported or covered by the media. Immigration news that is controversial and negative make the headline, and that is

how news organizations have approached the reportage of immigration issues for over 30 years.

The misrepresentation and portrayal of immigrants as criminals, has developed a

mischaracterization with immigrants and even non-immigrants. The reason why the media

portray more of the negatives was said to be because demand of headline, drama, and

controversial stories increases viewership (Suro, 2008).

Suro (2008), did not categorically say that the media is the decisive player in the way

viewers treat or perceive immigrants, however, it concludes that the media, has indeed played a

direct role in the subject matter and how they are viewed by the public. The power of the media

has been said to have the ability to influence or impact the formation of a political agenda, which

also affects race relations (Entman, 1991). The media tends to be selective of what issue to give

prominence to and what to leave out, which in turn shapes the public's view of certain reported

issues compares to others, which is why the framing theory plays a big part in this study.

The Framed Reality

Entman's (1993) definition of framing is the most widely accepted: "To frame is to select

some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52).

The definition is more focused on the "aspect of perceived reality," on how the public take news

coverage to shape their understanding of what is real.

The notion that the public has limited understanding and lack of knowledge of certain issues and

phenomena creates an opportunity for the media (Zhou & Moy, 2007). This allows the media to

serve as both informants and influencers with the way they frame news coverage. To shape the

opinions of the public, making the general public knowledgeable about issues in the way they

(media) want them to (Zaller, 1992). Simply put that the media has the power to inform and

influence people's perception by creating a perceived reality on a subject matter. According to

Gilliam & Bales (2001) the media does not only set the agenda but also has an influence on how

issues are evaluated.

Media Framing states that the media organizes our daily reality, which tends to provide a unique platform of control and vulnerabilities (Zaller, 1992). Which shapes the public's experience, views, translation, and understanding of reality. Which further shows that the media have a significant influence on what the public think about. In a claim made by Gilliam and Bales "much of what the public knows (or think they know) is conveyed by print and broadcast media" (Gilliam & Bales, 2001, p. 5).

EnglandKennedy (2008) looked into media representations on deficit disorder in the media and stated that media representation has the capacity to influence an individual's understanding of reality, and further went to state that the media has the responsibility when representing any issue, to be objective and impartial in reportage to give both sides an accurate understanding of the issue. She suggests "media representation must change to become more realistic and informative" (2008, p. 95). Although this study was focused on fictional media, studies show that the effect of news media and fictional media often have the same effect on the consumers of the media and often times newspapers might have more influence, due to the quantity of coverage and the fact that people can process the content at their own pace (Druckman, 2005).

Haynes et al (2016), looked into news coverage and media framing of immigrants in the United States, and stated that media frames on immigration impacts public opinion. Furthermore, the study stated that people have a variety of options on how and where they consume news and their exposure to immigration issues and policy is likely to vary depending on the ideological slant of the news source. Although this study was focused on illegal and undocumented immigrants, the study stated that negative frames are more persuasive than positive because people are more drawn to negative frames – Individuals are more likely to stop, pay attention and

process the information; and because of that it has more impact on their opinions and perception. However, they stated that positive frames are also effective and can be more effective if it comes from an unexpected news source - "Individuals are more likely to be moved by frames to which they have not yet been exposed or frames that come from an unexpected source" (Haynes, 2016, p. 159).

An immigrant group that has been affected by news frames in the negative way are the Latino immigrants. The most reported news in the media of Latino immigrants is often associated with crime, which gives room for Latinos to be perceived as criminals (Kim et al, 2011). The question of how media portrays immigrants has been examined by past research (e.g. Coutin & Chock, 1997; King, 2002; Lehrman, 2005), who found that the media coverage about immigrants is most likely to be portrayed negatively by being linked with bad behaviors and conduct (crime, violence and other cases immigration policies). Although some studies have shown the other side of the media, portraying Latinos highlighting their strong family ties, or cultural pride, or remarkable faith. Also, for the African immigrants, portrayed as survivors, hard-working, religious, educated, and professionals in the fields (Donagher, Poulos, Liebert, & Davidson, 1975; Gunter, 1998). These study results show the more positive portrayals are in the media about immigrants, non- immigrants will become aware that there are better things to learn about immigrants, and in turn may be more open to the integration of immigrants to the American culture.

This study will analyze news framing of African immigrants, to see how they are portrayed or represented in the print media. Content analysis will be conducted to identify frames and themes of publications about African immigrants in *The New York Times* paper. I will be focused on *The New York Times* because it is the largest newspaper in terms of circulation (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008). I selected New York State because it holds the highest numbers of African Immigrants in the United States. See figure 8.

Supplemental Table 1.
Selected Countries of Birth for the United States and 15 Metropolitan Statistical Areas With the Largest African-Born Populations: 2008–2012—Con.

(All estimates shown have a standard error less than 30 percent of estimate. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see *www.census.gov/acs/www/*)

Area[1]	Country of birth	Number of African born	Margin of error (±)[2]	Percent of African born	Margin of error (±)[2]
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Africa	211,735	4,673	100.0	X
	Egypt	39,020	2,163	18.4	0.9
	Ghana	35,970	2,033	17.0	0.9
	Nigeria	34,760	2,029	16.4	0.9
	Morocco	10,635	1,082	5.0	0.5
	South Africa	7,505	666	3.5	0.3
	Liberia	5,645	703	2.7	0.3
	Sierra Leone	5,350	1,041	2.5	0.5
	Kenya	5,295	770	2.5	0.3
	Senegal	5,285	724	2.5	0.3
	Ethiopia	4,610	567	2.2	0.3
	All other Africa	57,665	2,584	27.2	1.0

Figure 8. The Foreign- Born Population from Africa: 2008- 2012 Supplemental Table 1 (US Census Bureau, 2012).

Data will be collected from January 2017- January 2018 which is the first year of the President Trumps' presidency. I focused on this because immigration was one of the major subjects of President Trump's presidential campaign, and I expect that there would be more news coverage about immigrant and immigration issues.

Research Questions

In examining news coverage frames about African immigrants and immigration issues, two interrelated research questions are proposed.

RQ 1: How are African Immigrants portrayed in *The New York Times* Newspaper from January 2017 to January 2018?

RQ 2: How are topics about African Immigrants (employment, education, status) framed in the selected newspaper coverage?

Methods

Content analysis was used for this study to examine how African Immigrants are framed. The main purpose of using a comprehensive qualitative research is to understand the different frames used in media news content of African immigrants. Content analysis helps to see what the actual content is within a communication source, due to the fact that content analysis examines text in a more specific way, it has become a great tool to analyze media representation of a group or subject. According to Krippendorff (2004), content analysis is an unobtrusive measuring technique that allows the researcher to collect data from existing communications and analyze the data to find evidence for research questions.

This study examines African Immigrants related news and seeks to discover different frames used in *The New York Times* newspaper. New York State was selected because according to Migration Policy (2019), the majority of African Immigrant resides in the New York metropolitan areas. The newspaper that will be analyzed is *The New York Times,* not only because of their influence on public discourse but also because it has the largest circulation, with an average weekday circulation of 1.5 million and a circulation of 2 million on Sundays (Audit Bureau of Circulation, 2012) and over 85,998,289 unique visitors per month (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008).

The data collection was limited to *The New York Times* from January 2017 - January 2018. This time frame was chosen to fit into the first year of President Trump's presidency. The research study included only articles that addressed the subject of *African immigrants* published in *The New York Times* and was restricted to newspaper articles/stories that were retrievable from ProQuest online database. A search focused on the keywords: African immigrants, NOT "African Americans". This research yielded 59 newspaper articles.

The data set was collated into Microsoft Excel Workbook, and then transported to
Minitab for preliminary analysis, after they were cleaned of irrelevant stories or repetitions. This
study used the codebook by Matthes and Kohring (2018), in their study of media framing of
biotechnology, which was originally created in 1988. The codebook has explicit definitions of
concepts that were categorized into four variables: Basic information, newsworthiness, frame
themes, and actors.

- Basic Information variables measure the name of coder, newspaper, date article was
  published and assigns a unique number to each article.

- Newsworthiness variables track newsworthiness was page number (to see how prominent
  the article is - front page, middle page, etc.), the section of the article, word count, staff
  reporter or newswire, and inclusion of photography or graphic elements.

- Frames themes variable to measure: threats to national security, crimes by immigrants
  and so on (See Appendix 1 for all frames).

- Actors variables show other components like country of origin and sources in the news
  stories/articles.

To analyze the articles, I created a codebook that included different categories that can
identify the frames used to associate with African immigrants. The categories were based on past
research to see if the media framed the group in frames previously mentioned by past research.
According to Rodgers et al (2000) and Kim, et al (2011), news coverage about immigration has
diverted from jobs and human rights to issues like threats to public order, terrorism, and
criminality. The themes coded for includes: Threat/security (Possible threats to security on
account of the admission of African immigrants); Welfare/benefits/resources (Access to and use of
government resources and benefits by African immigrants); Success stories of African immigrants
(This includes any positive articles like achievements, awards, education scholarships, involving

African Immigrants); Political and policy (Includes any process or claim involving governments

and other political parties in regard to debates, policies or implementations towards African

immigrants); Economics and Market (Mostly related to economic issues, that has an impact/

effect on society); Legality, Constitutionality & Jurisdiction (Discussion around the legality of

African immigrants); Health & Safety (sickness, potential for sickness, effects on health in

question, or any sort of issue that might affect human health); Cultural Identity (Mostly related to

the lifestyles, community living, popular culture, and practices of African Immigrants). An open-

ended response was included, to check for other themes that was not listed in the codebook.

　　　　To further check for how African immigrants as a subject (topic)were portrayed in each

article, the following portrayals were included, based on past research: Threats to the public

(Possible threats to the public account of the admission of African immigrants), Unemployed

(The individual is jobless), Survivals (This refers to existing despite challenges, ordeal, or

difficult circumstances), Educated (Mention on any educational background towards African

immigrants), Freeloaders (Rely on handout or government resources and benefits), Criminals

(Refers to corrupt and collusive practices - involving illegal activities: fraud and violence) and

Professional (This includes any mention on career or jobs involving African Immigrants). The

option was also given to capture any other portrayal that was not listed in the codebook. Also, to

check for the overall tone of the article, a category termed "Tone of article" was included in the

codebook and was measured based on if the tones of the articles, was either positive, negative or

neutral. The measurement was based on whether the authors in the articles analyzed was

attempting or attempted to portray African immigrants in a positive, negative, or neutral light.

Articles that mention African immigrants in a positive light may talk about growth,

independence, innovation, and happiness. While articles that mention African immigrants in a

negative way may be linked to words like discomfort, fear, risk, danger, and uncertainty. This is

very subjective but allows the study to find out the themes that are mostly contributing to the

overall tone of the articles (positive, negative, or neutral). The source of the article was also

investigated, by coding for either quotes or paraphrased content in the articles. The sources were

broken down into five categories. Law enforcement, Elected officials, UN officials,

Activist/Advocate group and Immigrants.

Reliability

The researcher used two external coders to remove bias (as I am an African immigrant)

and ensure inter-coder reliability. An initial email was sent to both coders to give them an

understanding of the study and the research question. Once we were on the same page on the

understanding of the project a training date was set. Both coders were trained at the same time

but coded independently to ensure there were no biases among them and allow for consistency

and by extension the validity of the findings. To assess the reliability of the coding after the

training, both coders were initially given 15% of same data to analyze alongside with the

codebook. The initial results showed that there was correlation between both coders when

measuring for the valence of headline, the themes, portrayals, the sources, and the tone of the

articles. However, there were discrepancies between both coders when coding for the valence of

the visual (.70 to 1.0). A second training was conducted to investigate why. During the walk

through it was seen that Coder 2 was viewing the actual visual to check if it was Negative,

Positive or neutral, while coder 1 was using the description of the visual. The conclusion was to

use the actual image to remove the authors bias when describing the visual used in the article. A

second round of data was sent to further check if the reliability test was passed, and then an

overall reliability was about .94 to 1.0 which exceeded the reliability statistics range from .80 to

1.0 (Riffe et al., 1998, p. 131; Neuendorf, 2002, p. 143; See Appendix A)

Results/Findings

From January 2017 – January 2018, *The New York Times* published a total of 59 articles referencing African immigrants. In examining news coverage frames about African immigrants and immigration issues, all articles were coded and analyzed to answer the two interrelated research questions that was proposed.

The first research question asked how are African Immigrants portrayed in *The New York Times* Newspaper from January 2017 to January 2018?

Table 1

Dominant Portrayals from Articles in The New York Times

	Portrayals			
	Survivals	Professionals	Threats to the public	Criminals
Count	19	11	2	2
%	38	22	4	4

The portrayal of African immigrants has been concentrated in two categories: survivals and professionals. Together the two categories make up 60% (n=30) of the dominant portrayal throughout the articles. Survivals are those individuals who find ways to exist and succeed despite challenging times and obstacles. 38% (n=19) of articles portrayed African immigrants in this manner. 22% (n=11) of articles had a dominant portrayal of seeing African immigrants as professionals.

Survivals

When analyzing the data by the subset of the articles that has a dominant portrayal of survivals, we find that several factors gives us clear indication that negative overtones are given out. For example, when we look at the valence of headlines, 58% (n=11) of the survival articles

falls into the negative headline category. After reading the articles it was found that 44% (n=8) of the articles published had negative tones. An example of African immigrants as a survival mentioned in *The New York Times* was:

"Hervé Berville -- tall, gaunt and of African descent -- survived Rwanda's genocide, was adopted by a Breton couple and studied at the London School of Economics". However, the headline reads "Macron's Army of Amateurs Is Poised to Remake French Parliament" (*The New York Times*, June 2017: A-12).

The most vivid way of portraying any race of humans is through photos. I found that 47% (n=8) of photos in the survival theme were in negative valence. Even though you would like to think of survivals as those who are most resilient and possess great strength, the *New York Times* passes negative impressions in articles that has a dominant portrayal of African immigrants as survivors. The results are different for the articles from *The New York Times* which focuses on professionals.

Professionals

Despite professionals being the second most dominant portrayal there is a clear difference in the messages being passed through the articles compared to those in the most dominant portrayal category of survivals. For example, the positive valence in headlines for professionals is at 63% (n=7), with a neutral valence of 34% (n=4) and no negative valence. This trend of no negative valence is consistent in the tone of the articles and visual representation inside the articles. The tone of the articles holds the same valence as the headlines, 64% (n=7) positive and 34 (n=4) neutral. The visual valence has a 64% (n=7) neutral stance with a 36% (n=4) positive and no negative valence being sent out. An example of African immigrants as professionals mentioned in *The New York Times* was:

"He excelled in school, earned a master's degree in development economics at the

London School of Economics, worked for two years as an economist in Mozambique for the French overseas development agency AFD and was a Stanford University research associate in Kenya" (*The New York Times,* June 2017: A-12).

This could be as a result of past studies that speaks about the high level of education of African immigrants coming into the United State.

Threats to the public and Criminals

Although past studies shows that African immigrants are often portrayed as criminals and potential threats to the public, but based on my findings on articles published in *The New York Times* from January 2017 to January 2018, I found that 4% (n=2) of all articles have a theme of framing African immigrants as possibly being a threat to the public and also 4% (n=2) as criminals. This might put negative relations in the minds of readers about African immigrants. Being at only 4% for both themes in the articles, it is very unlikely that someone will find an article about an African immigrant being a threat or criminal. An example of an article mentioning African immigrants as possible threat to the public from *The New York Times* was:

"The indictment brings the first murder charge for a police officer in New York City since 1999, when four officers were indicted in the death of an unarmed African immigrant, Amadou Diallo, who was shot 41 times as he reached for a wallet in his Bronx apartment building. They were later acquitted, after the trial was moved to Albany, in part because of street protests in New York City" (*The New York Times*, June 2017: A-22).

The second research question asks how topics about African Immigrants (employment, education, status) are framed in the selected newspaper coverage?

The media has a huge influence on how the people in their community view entities, products, and people. According to Cissel (2012), media framing is the constructive way that information is disseminated and presented to the general public, using certain frameworks,

statements, and phrases to help shape the reader's understanding. One way to determine how the population may perceive a group of individuals is to look at how the media outlets describe and frame that group. The source of an article also influences people's perception on the information they have been exposed to.

Source

This can be seen clearly when I subset the rows of data where the articles use elected officials as their primary source. This is when the articles quote or paraphrase an elected official inside of the article. This group of articles have balanced with negative headlines 68% (n=13) of the time, 63% (n=12) of negative tones throughout the articles and 68% (n=13) of negative story types. An example is a statement made by President Trump as mentioned in *The New York Times* was: "His wall, he says, will keep out illegal immigrants who bring drugs and crime into America" (*The New York Times,* Jan 2017: A-9).

This is powerful because when a community of people are learning about or forming biases on a group/race, they often look at the leaders or people in power, such as an elected official, to determine the level of quality. According to Haynes et al (2016) individuals are more likely to be moved by frames to which they have not yet been exposed or frames that come from an unexpected source. When negative headlines and tones about African immigrants are published and an elected official was quoted or paraphrased, it can easily make Americans develop negative biases against African immigrants because most of what they encounter about African immigrants in the media are not the most favorable. Even when we look at the visual representation of articles where elected officials are the source, there are only 17% (n=3) of positive photos. 83% (n=15) of the valence falls into a negative or neutral manner. These images can easily be connected to the negative headlines, tones, and stories as those three categories outweighs towards the negative.

Table 2

Dominant Themes from Articles in The New York Times

	Themes		
	Cultural Identity	Political and Policy	Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction
Count	13	10	6
%	26	20	12

Cultural Identity

African immigrants come from various countries and backgrounds, which means they have different cultures. The cultural identity of a group allows people to understand their way of life. I have subset the articles which has a primary theme of cultural identity and found that most variables of perception are neutral or positive. The valence of the headline was 54% (n=7) neutral, 38% (n=5) positive and only 7% (n=1) negative. The tone of articles of stories that had the theme cultural identity was 23% (n=3) negative, 31% (n=4) neutral and 46% (n=6) positive.

An example of an article mentioning the cultural identity of African immigrants from *The New York Times* was:

"The challenge of integrating immigrants has spilled over into culture, and, at times, helped fan a simmering culture war" (*The New York Times,* Jan 2017: A-8).

There was a bit of negative tone but can be outweighed by the combined 77% (n=10) of neutral & positive tones, 77% (n=10) of neutral and positive in tones and 90% of neutral and positives in visual representations.

Political and Policy

Analyzes on any process or claim involving governments and other political parties regarding debates, policies, or implementations towards African immigrants. The data showed that 20% (n=10) of the overall articles mentioned policies, debate or implementations by the government that affects African immigrants. I subset the articles which has a primary theme of cultural identity and found that most variables of perception are negative. The headlines had 60% (n=6) negative valence and 40% (n=4) positive valence. The tone of the article is mostly negative 60% (n=6), compared to the positive tone that had 10% (n=1). The valence of visual had more negative 40% (n=4) than positive 10% (n=1). An example of a headline mentioned in *The New York Times* was:

"A Smuggler's Defense: 'There Are People Dying" (*The New York Times,* Jan 2017: A-1).

Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction

Previous studies have indicated that the perception of the public generally associates immigrants as criminals because of how the media portrays them (Alba, Rumbaut, & Marotz, 2005). As I had subset the articles that have a theme focusing on Legality, Constitutionality and Jurisdiction I found that the prevalence of negative valence was the majority. In terms of types of story, negative stories were the most common at 80% (n=4). The positive stories only made up 20% (n=1). The headlines of articles were negative 66% (n=4) of the time when speaking about African immigrants and only neutral 34% (n=2) of the time, not positive at all. The tone of the articles represented a stance of 80% (n=4) neutral and 20% (n=1) positive. Visually, African immigrants was presented in a negative manner 60% (n=3) of the time and only presented in a positive manner 20% (n=1) of the time.

One thing to note is even though the headline and visual representation was mostly negative, the tone of the articles was mostly neutral.

Tone

In general, the most common tone is the negative tone. Out of all the articles, 40% (n= 20) of all articles had a negative tone. Therefore, the most common tones that Americans will receive about African immigrants will be in the negative. An example describing African immigrants' condition as mentioned in *The New York Times* was:

"Libya has become a vortex of human suffering, sucking in thousands of desperate migrants. They cross the Sahara to escape war, terrorism, and destitution. Upon arrival many are held hostage by traffickers and starved, beaten and tortured. Now comes yet another level of horror, with the revelation that some are being publicly sold as slaves, according to reports by the International Organization for Migration documented this past weekend" (*The New York Times*, April, 2017: A-22).

Even if the people in US do not read the entire article, just reading the headlines ("*Another Degree of Suffering in Libya*") can give the negative tone. This is supported by the fact that there is a strong correlation between the tone of the story headline (46% negative, 34% neutral and 20% positive) and the tone of the story. Using the pairwise Spearman correlation to find out if there are any correlation between the tone of the articles and the headline of the articles, I found that the correlation is at 0.671 (n=49) with a P-value of 0.00. With a P-Value < 0.05, we conclude that the relationship between valence of headline and tone of article is significant.

Discussion

The present study examined news frames and portrayal of African immigrants in newspaper coverage. Conducting a content analysis allowed for observation and analysis on frequency of a negative tone, correlation between the headline, visual representation, and overall tone of the article in several themes. Which presented significant findings for future studies.

The results show the portrayal of African immigrants covered in *The New York Times.* The timeframe for the study was in the first year of President Trump's presidency (January 2017-January 2018). A period were several policies about immigrants was put in place. The timeframe might not have originally had a lot of data about African immigrants, but because immigration issues and immigrants was a very significant and prominent topic as at the time, I expected to see more published articles about immigrants than the previous years.

Results show that most of the stories about African Immigrants even though framed positive (survival frame (n = 19) and professional frames (n = 11), there is still an overtone of negative. There is a strong correlation between the valence of the headline and the overall tone of the article, therefore, even if you do not read the entire article, solely seeing the headline can still pass the negative tone. The focus on negative tone of the article aligns with Entman's definition of framing as a "process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation" (2007:164). When the tone of an article is negative, it is safe to assume that the interpretation of readers about what they have read will also be negative.

Also, the dominant theme of African immigrants as professionals aligns with previous studies that shows that African immigrants coming to the United States have attained certain level of education and most likely coming to the United State to further their education or to

have a second degree (Reed & Andrzejewski, 2010).

Previous studies on media frames found that topics of immigration policy only came up when sensitive or controversial headlines about the immigration issues are reported or covered by the media (Suro, 2008). Suro (2008) further stated that immigration news that is controversial and negative make the headline, and that is how news organizations have approached the reportage of immigration issues for years.

The reason why the media portray more of the negatives may be because negative headline, drama and controversial stories increases viewership (Suro, 2008). The present study found that even though some headlines were negative the news article tone was neutral, which confirms that headlines are sometimes purposely controversial and negative. When headlines are negative, readers do not need to read the entire article to get negative about a particular issue or group. In the findings for example, *The New York Times* had a headline that read, "Another Degree of Suffering in Libya" without any context indicates that people from Libya are suffering, while this may be true, it gives the reader ideas that people are migrating to the United States because of war, poverty or even political violence.

According to Ramasubramanian, (2010), negative emotions such as anger and hatred against a particular group are thought to be provided by the negative images used in television stories, in which even subtle racial cues in the media can produce automatic racial attitudes about a particular group. This research confirms that there were subtle negative cues like negative visual representation even though the headline and tone of the article was neutral. Keeping into consideration that every time there is negative news or threatening images about African immigrants, the more anxiety arises within the majority group, mediating the relationship between news exposure and intergroup attitudes (Steate & Maestor, 2015).

EnglandKennedy (2008) looked into media representations on deficit disorder in the media and stated that representation of issues in the media has the capacity to influence an individual's understanding of reality, and further went to state that the media has the responsibility when representing any issue, to be objective and impartial in reportage to give both sides an accurate understanding of the issue. She suggests that "media representation must change to become more realistic and informative" (2008: 95). While this study investigated a different variable and topic, it is important to note that the representation of a theme as negative could influence an individual's understanding of reality.

The portrayal of African immigrants in *The New York Time* had positive dominant themes like 38% (n=19) survivals, 22% (n=11) professionals, which was more prominent than the negative dominant portrayals (Criminals, Freeloaders, Victims of hate crimes, threat to the public) was about 18% (n=9), which was significantly low compared to past researches. However, negative portrayal was more visible in the subordinate portrayals with about 64% (n=14) compared to the 22% (n=5) positive. The subordinate portrayal shows other portrays in the articles alongside with the dominant portrayals. Which explains why the overall tone of the article appears as negative. Even though African immigrants were portrayed positively in an article, there is often a negative portrayal as well in the same article.

Limitations

While this study offered a perceptive on how media frames African immigrants during the first year of President Trump's presidency which has not been done by past research. It does have its limitations. The research had a limited scope which will not allow for results to be generalized, The sample size was small, focusing on just one newspaper and one year period, expanding the number of years to look if there is a pattern in the frames. The biggest limitation in the data analysis process is interpreting the result of a relatively small data set. At the beginning of collecting data, the total articles collected was 190 articles, however, after cleaning up the data to exclude stories that are nonconforming (stories that does not include or relate with African immigrants), the population went down to its final size of 59 articles.

Expanding the study for more years will increase the data available and allow for better analysis of the frames. It would also help to compare by years to see if there are any years that have more negative or positive portrayal than the others.

Another notable limitation that concerns the coding process is the already pre-labelled categories that the coders had to look for within the articles, which limits the coders to think within those categories. This also include very vague definition to incorporate a group of ideas. Which makes it had to code without assuming what the reporter truly means.

Also, we cannot assume that people get their information about African immigrants from newspapers only. Especially with internet becoming a more prominent source. Further studies can compare the frames between various media.

Despite the limitations of this study, the results still give some interesting insights into how African immigrants were frame during the period of January 2017 to January 2018. Which can be expanded for further research.

Conclusion

Framing theory suggests that the society's interpretation of reality is shaped by frameworks presented to them (Goffman, 1967), and how the media presents information to the audience influences the choices people make on how to process that information (Mass Communication Theory, 2017). For every time negative news or threatening images are portrayed about African immigrants the more anxiety arises within the majority group (Steate & Maestor, 2015).

Even if the media is not a major driver of negativity, it can be assumed that the media could be used as a force for positive change. By avoiding unfair representation and portrayal and presenting African immigrant populations as well-rounded groups. Continuous efforts like this will help promote greater interaction between African Immigrants and others. Research reveals that people's attitudes and actions are largely based on their perception of facts, rather than facts themselves (Davison, 1983).

References

Abramitzky, R., & Boustan, L. (2017). Immigration in American Economic History. Journal of economic literature, 55(4), 1311–1345. doi:10.1257/jel.20151189

Alba, R., Rumbaut, R. G., & Marotz, K. (2005). A distorted nation: Perceptions of racial/ethnic group sizes and attitudes towards immigrants and other minorities. Social Forces, 84, 901-919

American Immigration Council. (2017). Immigrants in the United States. Retrieved from https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-the-united-states

American Immigration Council. (2017). The diversity immigrant program: An Overview. Retrieved from https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/diversity- immigrant-visa-program-overview

Arthur, J. A. (2000). Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers

Atwell Seate & Mastro, D. (2017). Media's influence on immigration attitudes: An intergroup threat theory approach. Communication Monographs, 194-213.

Audit Bureau of Circulation (2012). Small Gain in Newspaper Circulations, Aided by Digital Subscriptions. Retrieved from https://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/05/01/newspaper-circulations-hold-steady-aided-by-digital-subscriptions/

Ballotpedia (2019). Timeline of federal policy on immigration, 2017-2020. Retrieved from https://ballotpedia.org/Timeline_of_federal_policy_on_immigration,_2017-2020

Banu, A. (2007). News Coverage of Immigration: A Political Story, not an Issue, Covered Episodically.

Berg, J. A., & Gleditsch, R. F. (2014). Norwegians' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy: Symbolic politics and group threat. International Journal of Sociology Study, 2, 124-131.

Retrieved from www.seipub.org.

Bradimore, A., & Bauder, H. (2011). Mystery ships and risky boat people: Tamil refugee migration in the newsprint media. Canadian Journal of Communication, 36(4), 637-661. Retrieved from www.cjc-online.ca

Bramlett-Solomon, S. & Farwell, T. M. (1996). Sex on the soaps: An analysis of Black, White, and interracial couple intimacy. In V. T. Berry & C. L. Manning-Miller (Eds.), Mediated messages and African American culture (pp. 146-158). London: Sage.

Chong D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing public opinion in competitive democracies. The American Political Science Review, 101(4), 637-655. doi:10.1017/S0003055407070554

Cisneros, D. (2008). Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of "immigrant as pollutant" in Media Representations of Immigration. Rhetoric & Public Affairs 11(4), pp. 569-602.

Cissel, M. (2012). Media Framing: A Comparative Content Analysis on Mainstream and Alternative News Coverage of Occupy Wall Street. The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communication 3, no. 1, pp. 67-100.

Congressional Budget Office (CBO). (2013). State's population foreign-born, 2012. Retrieved from www.cbo.gov/publication/44109

Cosby, C. (1994). Television's imageable influences. Lanham. MD: University Press of America.

Coss B, Shannon B, Shannon D, Jeff T, Clark S and Anoka-Hennepin School District (2016). American through Multimedia: Print, Mass media and Advertising chapter 3- Retrieved from https://press.rebus.community/americathroughmultimedia/chapter/chapter-3/

Coutin, S., & Chock, P. (1997). Your friend, the illegal: Definition and paradox in newspaper accounts of U.S. immigration reforms. Identities, 2, pp. 123-146.

Dalton, K., & Wilson, D. (2008). Areas of concerns in anti-immigration sentiment: Conceptualizing and

identifying the threat. Paper presented at the American Association for Public Opinion Research

Conference, New Orleans, LA.

Davison, W. (1983). The third-person effect in communication. Public Opinion   Quarterly, 47, 1- 14.

Denhart, M. (2017). America's Advantage: A Handbook on Immigration and economic growth. Retrieved

from http://gwbcenter.imgix.net/Resources/gwbi-americas-advantage- immigration-handbook-

2017.pdf

Department of Homeland Security, 2017 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Retrieved from

https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2017/table10#

Dionne, E., Jr, & Suro, R. (2008). Democracy in the age of new media: A report on the media and the

immigration debate. Brookings Institution Reports, CbS–New York Times Poll, May 25, 2007,

findings accessed from CbSNews.Com, "CbS Poll: Most Support Immigration Reform."

Dixon, T. L., Azocar, C. L., & Casas, M. (2003). The portrayal of race and crime on television network

news. Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 47, 498-523

Dixon, T. L., & Williams, C. L. (2015). The changing misrepresentation of race and crime on network

and cable news: Race and crime on network and cable news. Journal of Communication, 65, 24–

39. doi:10.1111/jcom.12133

Donagher, P. C., Poulos, R. W., Liebert, R. M., & Davidson, E. S. (1975). Race, sex, and social example:

An analysis of character portrayals on inter-racial television entertainment. Psychological

Reports, 37, pp. 1023-1034.

Dragojevic, M., Sink, A., & Mastro, D. (2016). Evidence of linguistic intergroup bias in US print news

coverage of immigration. Journal of Language and Social Psychology.

Druckman, J. N. (2005). Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and

Influence Voters, Political Communication, 22:4, 463-481, DOI: 10.1080/10584600500311394

Englandkennedy, E. (2008). Media Representation of Attention Deficit Disorder: Portrayals of Culture Skepticism in Popular Media. The Journal of Popular Culture 41, no. 1, pp. 91- 117.

Entman, R. (1991). Framing US Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air incidents. Journal of Communication 41(4), pp. 6-27.

Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. Journal of Communication 43, no. 4, pp. 51-58.

Ferguson, C. (2004). Arab Americans: Acculturation and Prejudice in an Era of International Conflict. In C. Negy (Ed.), Cross-cultural psychotherapy: Toward a critical understanding of diverse client populations (pp. 265-280). Reno, NV: Bent Tree Press.

Ferguson, S. & Lakeoff, G. (2007). The Framing of Immigration. The Afrolatin Project. Accessed from http://afrolatinoproject.org/2007/09/24/the-framing-of- immigration-5/

Freedman, J. L. (2002). Media Violence and its Effect on Aggression: Assessing the Scientific Evidence. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fujioka, Y. (2011). Perceived threats and Latino immigrant attitudes: How White and African American college students respond to news coverage of Latino immigrants. The Howard Journal of Communications, 22, 43–63.

Gallup 2017: Americans More Positive About Effects of Immigration. Derived from https://news.gallup.com/poll/213146/americans-positive-effects-immigration.aspx

Gallup 2019: Immigration. Derived from https://news.gallup.com/poll/1660/%20Immigration.aspx

Gilliam, F. D., & Iyengar, S. (2000). Prime suspects: The influence of local television news on the viewing public. American Journal of Political Science, 44(560).

Gilliam, F., & Susan, B. (2001). Strategic Frame Analysis: Reframing America's Youth. Center of Communication and Community XV, pp. 3-15.

Gimpel, J. G. (2016). Immigration Opinion and the Rise of Donald Trump. Center for Immigration Studies Accessed from https://cis.org/Report/Immigration-Opinion-and- Rise-Donald-Trump

Goffman, Erving. (1974). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row.

Greenberg, B. S., Mastro, D., & Brand, J. E. (2002). Minorities and the mass media: Television into the 21st century. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), LEA's communication series. Media effects: Advances in theory and research (pp. 333-351). Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Grossman, D., & DeGaetano, G. (2014). Stop teaching our kids to kill: a call to action against TV, movie, and video game violence. Revised and updated edition. New York: Harmony Books.

Gunter, B. (1998). Ethnicity and involvement in violence on television: Nature and context of onscreen portrayals. Journal of Black Studies, 28, pp. 683-703.

Haynes, C., Merolla, J. L., & Ramakrishnan, S. K. (2016). Framing immigrants: News coverage, public opinion, and policy. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hickman, L. J., & Suttorp, M. J. (2008). Are deportable aliens a unique threat to public safety? Comparing the recidivism of deportable and nondeportable aliens. Criminology & Public Policy, 7, 59–82.

Internal Revenue Service - Definition of immigrant Retrieved from https://www.irs.gov/individuals/international-taxpayers/immigration-terms-and- definitions involving-aliens

Kellstedt, P. (2003). The mass media and the dynamics of American racial attitudes. New York, NY:Cambridge University Press.

Kim, S., Carvalho, J., Davis, A., & Mullins, A. (2011). The view of the border: News framing of the definition, causes, and solutions to illegal immigration. Mass Communication & Society, pp. 292-314.

King, R. & Wood, N. (2002). Media and migration: Constructions of mobility and difference. Krippendorff, K. (2004). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lehrman, S. (2005). Study: News outlets ignore booming Latino population. Quill. 93(49).

Lippmann, W. (1922). Public Opinion New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Martinez, R., Stowell, J. I., & Lee, M. T. (2010). Immigration and crime in an era of transformation: A longitudinal analysis of homicides in San Diego neighborhoods, 1980– 2000. Criminology 48, 797–829.

Matthes and Kohring (2008). The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. Journal of Communication, Vol. 58, p. 258–279.

Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a Frame? A Content Analysis of Media Framing Studies in the World's Leading Communication Journals, 1990-2005. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Vol. 86, No. 2, p. 249–367.

McCathy, J. (2017) Americans More Positive About Effects of Immigration. Retrieved from: https://online225.psych.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/225-Master/225-UnitPages/Unit-07/McCarthy_Gallup-Immigration_2017b.pdf

Migration Policy Institution. (2011). African Immigrants in the United States. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/african-immigrants-united-states#6

Migration policy Institution. (2019). Immigrants from New Origin Countries in the United States. Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrants-new-origin- countries-united-states

Migration policy Institution. (2019). Tabulation of data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2010 and 2017

    American Community Survey (ACS). Retrieved from

    https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigrants-new-origin-countries-united-states

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2015. The Integration of Immigrants

    into American Society. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

    https://doi.org/10.17226/21746.

National Constitution Centre (2018). Trump and the Constitution: A year in review and our coverage.

    Retrieved from https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/trump-and-the-constitution- a-year-in-

    review-and-our-coverage

Neuendorf, K. A. (2001). The content analysis guidebook, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Oliver, M. B., & Fonash, D. (2002). Race and crime in the news: Whites' identification and

    misidentification of violent and nonviolent criminal suspects. Media Psychology, 4, 137– 156.

    doi:10.1207/S1532785XMEP0402_02

Page, B. I., & Shapiro, Y. (1983). Effects of public opinion on policy. American Political Science

    Review, 77(1), 175-190. doi:10.2307/1956018

Papacharissi, Z., & de Fatima Oliveira, M. (2008). News Frames Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis

    of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in U.S. and U.K. Newspapers. The International

    Journal of Press/Politics, 13(1), 52–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161207312676

Pesken, D., Timothy, P, & Cooper, D. (2014). Media-driven Humanitarianism? News Media Coverage

    of Human Right Abuses and the Use of Economic Sanctions. International Studies Quarterly 58,

    pp. 855-866.

Pew Research Center (2017). African Immigrant Population in U.S Steadily Climbs. Accessed from

    https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/14/african-immigrant-population- in-u-s-

    steadily-climbs/

Pew Research Center (2019). Key Findings about U.S. Immigrants. Accessed from

    https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/17/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

Pew Research Center (2015). Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving

    Population Growth and Change Through 2065. Accessed from

    http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million- to-u-s-

    driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/

Philo, G. (2008). Active audiences and the construction of public knowledge. Journalism Studies, 9(4),

    4535-544. doi:10.1080/14616700802114217

Philo, G., Miller, D., & Happer, C. (in press). Circuits of communication and structures of power: The

    sociology of the mass media. In M. Holborn (Ed.), Contemporary sociology. London, United

    Kingdom: Polity.

Ramasubramanian, S. (2010). Television viewing, racial attitudes, and policy references: Exploring the

    role of social identity and intergroup emotions in influencing support for affirmative action.

    Communication Monographs, 77 (1), 102-120.

Reed, H. E., & Andrzejewski, C. S. (2010). The new Wave of African Immigrants in the United State.

    doi:paa2010.princeton.edu/papers/100606

Riffe, D., Lacy, S. and Fico, F. G. (1998). Analyzing media messages, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Rivadeneyra, R. (2006). Do you see what I see? Latino Americans' perceptions of the images on

    television. Journal of Adolescent Research, 21, pp. 393-414.

Rodgers, S., & Thorson, E. (2000). "Fixing"; stereotypes in news photos: A synergistic approach with

    the Los Angeles Times. Visual Communication Quarterly, 7(3), 8–7.

    doi:10.1080/15551390009363436

Rumbaut, R. G. (2008). Immigration's Complexities, Assimilation's Discontents

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of

  three media effects models. Journal of Communication, 57, 9-20.doi:10.1111/j.0021-

  9916.2007.00326.x

Silverstein, B., Perdue, L., Peterson, B. et al. Sex Roles (1986). The role of the mass media in

  promoting a thin standard of bodily attractiveness for women. Sex Roles, 14, 519-532.

Seggar, J. F. & Wheeler, P. (1973). World of work on TV: Ethnic and sex representations in TV Drama.

  Journal of Broadcasting, pp. 201-214.

Seate, Anita, A. and Mastro, D. (2015). "Media's influence on immigration attitudes: An intergroup

  threat theory approach." Communication Monographs.

Takougang, J., and B. Tidjani, (2009). "Settlement Patterns and Organizations among African

  Immigrants in the United States," Journal of Third World Studies, 26: 31–40.

U.S. census, (2019). Foreign born population. Retrieved from:

  https://www.census.gov/topics/population/foreign-born/about.html

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration. (2018). Green Card through the diversity immigration visa

  program. Retrieved from https://www.uscis.gov/greencard/diversity-visa

Van Klingeren, M., Boomgaarden, H. G., Vliegenthart, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2015). Real world is

  not enough: The media as an additional source of negative attitudes toward immigration,

  comparing Denmark and the Netherlands. European Sociological Review, 31(3), 268-283.

  doi:10.1093/esr/jcu08

Wakefield, M., Brian, F., Mark N., & Gary, G. (2013). Role of the Media in Influencing Trajectories of

  Youth Smoking. Society for the Study of Addiction to Alcohol and Other Drugs. pp. 79-103.

Waldman, S. (2011). Information needs of communities: The changing media landscape in a

  broadband age. Washington, D.C: Federal Communication Commission, Office of Strategic

Planning & Policy Analysis.

Waters, M. (1999). Ethnic and racial identities of second-generation immigrants in New York City.

International Migration Review 28. pp. 795-820.

Woldemikael, T. (1989). A Case Study of Race Consciousness Among Haitian Immigrants. Journal of

Black studies 20(2). pp. 224-239.

Woods, J., & Arthur, C. D. (2014). The threat of terrorism and the changing public discourse on

immigration after September 11. Sociological Spectrum, 34(5), 421- 441.

doi:10.1080/02732173.2014

Zaller, J. R. (1992). The nature and origins of mass opinion. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University

Press.

Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion

and media coverage. Journal of Communication, 57(1), 79-98. doi:10.1111/j.0021-

9916.2007.00330

Appendix A

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

CODE BOOK

A.   Basic Information

With the growth of African immigrants increasing in the United States, and new immigration policies put in place in 2017 during the first year of president Trump's presidency; This research study analyzed the framing of African Immigrants in the New York Metropolitan area focusing on *The New York Times newspaper.* The purpose of the study is to answer two interrelated questions: How are African Immigrants portrayed in the newspaper? How are topics about African immigrants (employment, education, status) framed in newspaper coverage?

•Sampling Period: January 2017- January 2018

•Types of media to analyze: newspapers – *New York Times*

i. Coder…………………. (Enter one in corresponding i)

Coder 1   1

Coder 2   2

Coder 3   3

Coder 4   4

Instruction: Each coder will be identified numerically and have their own individual code sheet to test for inter-coder reliability.

ii. Month Day and Year of Article (e.g. 5519 for May 5, 2019)

January = 1	April = 4	July = 7	October = 10
February = 2	May = 5	August = 8	November = 11
March = 3	June = 6	September = 9	December = 12

The day is coded as day is coded by numbers 1-31, months are represented by the corresponding

numbers below from 1-12, while year is coded as 18 or 19 for 2018 or 2019.

iii. Type of Story…

This information will help to identify the type of story the article is.

Instruction: Use code 1-4 for the type of article being analyzed:

1. News: any story that emphasizes facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news

    or inverted pyramid style of writing.

2. Feature: longer, more reflective tone; often humorous or entertaining. Can be on a

    serious subject but tries to tell a story rather than just regurgitate a series of facts.

3. Commentary/Criticism: any story that offers a first-person opinion or is a stated

    opinion of the newspaper, e.g. editorials, opinion or advice pieces, art, music and

    entertainment criticism and product advice etc.

4. Others: Not listed above (Write the type of story)

B. Newsworthiness

With these variables, we are measuring the newsworthiness of articles about African Immigrants

through tracking how stories are presented and where they appear in the newspaper.

iv. Headline…

The exact headline used in each story.

Instruction: copy and paste the headline from the article

v. Valence of Headline

This will look into all elements and words used in the headline to determine if its:

Positive - growth, independence, innovation, happiness

Negative - Discomfort, fear, risk, danger, uncertainty

Neutral - neither positive or negative

Positive   Neutral   Negative

vi. Page number ………………

Information not available 0

Instruction: This metric track page number only. This can be found next to the headings "Section" or "Publication title." In the event that newspaper page number includes letter and section information (for example (2A), include this information on line above.

vii. Section of article …………

Instruction: This information is found under the "Section" heading at top of article printed article. This information is tracked in the "Section" column. If the newspaper section is not listed below, write the name of section on the line next to "Other" below.

Section	Code
Not applicable	0
First Page	1
Business/Financial	2
International	3
National	4
Science/Technology/Environment	5
Health	6
NEWS	7

Local news	8
Culture	9
Opinion/Commentary	10
EDITORIAL	11
Other	12 (if letter is used for section, enter here) …………….

viii. Author …….

Identifying the name of the writer(s) if available, if not indicate as N/A

ix. Staff reporter or newswire service…………………...

 Instruction: This variable track whether the article was written by a staff reporter of the newspaper

or by a newswire service, such as Associated Press.

Not applicable/unknown	0
Staff reporter	1
Associated Press	2
Reuters	3
United Press International	4
Other (list here)	5

x. Dateline (Story setting)

This is usually stated in the first paragraph, indicating the "where" of the story.

If not stated indicate as N/A

C. Frames themes

xi. Main Themes of articles. Please code for the presence/absence of each variable below, and

where in the article the theme appears. DO NOT CODE TEXT THAT DOES NOT DEAL

DIRECTLY WITH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS, or text for which there are no existing

variables.

Themes:

- Threat/security: Possible threats to security on account of the admission of African

  immigrants

- Welfare/benefits/resources: Access to and use of government resources and benefits by

  African immigrants

- Success stories of African immigrants: This includes any positive articles like

  achievements, awards, education scholarships, involving African Immigrants.

- Political and policy: Includes any process or claim involving governments and other

  political parties in regard to debates, policies or implementations towards African

  immigrants.

- Economics and Market: Mostly related to economic issues, that has an impact/ effect on

  society

- Legality, Constitutionality & Jurisdiction: Discussion around the legality of African

  immigrants.

- Health & Safety: sickness, potential for sickness, effects on health in question, or any

  sort of issue that might affect human health.

- Cultural Identity: Mostly related to the lifestyles, community living, popular culture, and

  practices of African Immigrants

- Other: Any other theme not captured above. (List here)

Dominant theme will represent the main theme and theme 2, theme 3 will represent subordinate

themes.

D. Portrayal

xii. Portrayal of the African immigrants in the articles. Please code for the presence/absence

of each variable below. DO NOT CODE TEXT THAT DOES NOT DEAL DIRECTLY WITH

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS, or text for which there are no existing variables.

Categories:

- Threat to the public: Possible threats to the public account of the admission of African

   immigrants

- Unemployed: The individual is jobless.

- Survivals: This refers to existing despite challenges, ordeal, or difficult circumstances.

- Educated: Mention on any educational background towards African immigrants.

- Freeloaders: Rely on handout or government resources and benefits.

- Criminals: Refers to corrupt and collusive practices (involving illegal activities: fraud and

   violence)

- Professionals: This includes any mention on career or jobs involving African Immigrants

- Other: Any other portrayal not captured above.

Dominant portrayal will represent the main portrayal and portrayal 2, portrayal 3 will represent

subordinate portrayals.

xiii. Sources

Code for either quoted or paraphrased content. Statements of sources is often denoted by "said,"

"says," "saying," "pointed out," "accused," "noted" or "cited" and accompanied by a statement

or evaluation

- Law Enforcement

- Elected official

- UN official

- Activist/Advocacy group

- Immigrant

- None

- Others (List any not mentioned above)

xiv. Country of origin of the African immigrant

This variable measure if any specific country is being associated directly with the African immigrant

Instruction: If more than one country is listed in the story, indicate respectively as Country 1, country 2...

N/A if nothing is mentioned.

D. Tone of Article

xv. This is specifically the tone in which "African Immigrants" are addressed.

Positive - growth, independence, innovation, happiness

Negative - Discomfort, fear, risk, danger, uncertainty

Neutral - neither positive or negative

E- Visual Presentation

xvi. Instruction: This variable measure if any graphic items, such as a chart or photograph, accompanied the article. This is tracked by the "GRAPHIC" column at the end of the story. Below is a list of possible graphics to code for. Enter the type of graphic/photo if a description is given.

None   0

Not applicable/unknown   1

Image/photograph   2

Chart/table   3

Other (list here) ……………. 4

xvii. **Valence of visual**

      Positive - growth, independence, innovation, happiness

      Negative - Discomfort, fear, risk, danger, uncertainty

      Neutral - neither positive or negative