A Poliheuristic Reading of Securitization Theory: A Study of Media's Role in Shaping the Decision Environment Regarding Refugees in Britain and Canada

Hamidreza Monibi

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2021
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sözen
Chair, Department of Political Science and
International Relations

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Berna Numan
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Prof. Dr. Maximillian Conrad

2. Prof. Dr. Siret Hürsoy

3. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sözen

4. Asst. Prof. Dr. Nuray Ibryamova

5. Asst. Prof. Dr. Berna Numan

ABSTRACT

This thesis studies media frames as reflections of decision making environments. This has especially been examined in relation to the decision making environment that existed in Canada and the United Kingdom in relation to the resettlement of Syrian refugees in the time frame between January 2009 and December 2016.

To identify the decision making environments, the content of the population of audio-visual news pieces (1115 pieces) aired by Global News, CBC, Sky News and BBC about Syrian refugees were coded by 'Atlas.ti'. Five generic frames were used to determine the nature of the content and a number of sub-frames were used to identify the direction of the frames. As a supplementary step, the general patterns identified in the examined news networks were classified and an insight into the decision making environments was provided on this basis. This was done with a special attention to identifying possible securitizing patterns in the media. The identified environments were then examined in the context of the poliheuristic model of decision making.

By demonstrating the predictive capacity of studying media frames and framing patterns, the thesis suggests that the media expose their audience to a dominant decision making environment in relation to an issue of concern and stabilize that decision making environment by repeatedly exposing their audience to the same framing patterns.

Keywords: decision-making environments, foreign policy, media frames, poliheuristic model, refugees, securitization theory

ÖZ

Bu tez, medya çerçevelerini karar verme ortamlarının yansımaları olarak inceler. Bu, özellikle Ocak 2009 ile Aralık 2016 arasındaki zaman diliminde Suriyeli mültecilerin yeniden yerleştirilmesiyle ilgili olarak Kanada ve Birleşik Krallık'ta var olan karar verme ortamıyla ilgili olarak incelenmiştir.

İncelenen zaman diliminde var olan karar verme ortamlarını belirlemek için, Global News, CBC, Sky News ve BBC tarafından Suriyeli mülteciler hakkında yayınlanan görsel-işitsel haberlerin (1115 adet) popülasyonunun içeriği 'Atlas.ti' tarafından kodlanmıştır. İçeriğin doğasını belirlemek için beş genel çerçeve kullanıldı ve çerçevelerin yönünü belirlemek için bir dizi alt çerçeve kullanlarak. Ek bir adım olarak, incelenen haber ağlarında tanımlanan genel kalıplar sınıflandırılmış ve bu temelde karar verme ortamlarına ilişkin bir fikir verilmiştir. Bu, medyadaki olası güvenlikleştirme modellerini belirlemeye özel bir dikkatle yapıldı. Belirlenen ortamlar daha sonra poli-bulu sal karar verme modeli bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Bu tez, medya çerçevelerini ve çerçeveleme kalıplarını incelemenin öngörücü kapasitesini göstererek, medyanın izleyicilerini bir konuyla ilgili olarak baskın bir karar verme ortamına maruz bıraktığını ve izleyicilerini tekrar tekrar aynı çerçeveye maruz bırakarak bu karar verme ortamını stabilize ettiğini öne sürüyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: karar verme ortamları, dış politika, medya çerçeveleri, poliheuristik model, mülteciler, güvenlikleştirme teorisi

Dedicated to my mom, dad and brother; the most precious treasures of my life

My PhD journey was enriched by friendships and love; the everlasting souvenirs of a long, sometimes frustrating, experience. Finishing this journey would not be possible without the unconditional love and support that I have always received from my extraordinary mom, dad and brother.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all my professors at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University for their dedication to providing the highest quality of education to their students. From my first class with Asst. Prof. Dr. Umut Bozkurt to my later classes with Prof. Dr. Erik Knudson, Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sozen, Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak, Prof. Dr. Wojciech Forysinsky and Asst. Prof. Dr. Altay Nevzat, I had the pleasure of being taught by some of the best minds in the field.

I would especially like to thank my thesis advisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Berna Numan, for her wisdom and endless support. I am forever indebted to her for all that she taught me in the process of writing this thesis. Her friendly manner and meticulous research characteristics have always been an inspiration to me.

My PhD journey was especially enriched by the friendship and support I received from my dearest friend, Ms. Muhabbat (Alina) Rozmamedova. Not only were we research partners but also the closest of friends in the good days, bad days, happy days, sad days, and busy PhD days. I wish her luck in her own PhD journey.

I was blessed by a circle of kindhearted and supportive friends in the department of Political Science and International Relations. If I were to name all of them this would have been a very long list. However, I could not not mention Meliha Onbasi, Mehtap Kara, Seniz Avcioglu, Nilay Onbasi, Aybaniz Huseyin, Nancy Rauf and Dilek Kalayci as those with whom I had the honor of being friends.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the frames used by the media in reflecting the decision environment in which decisions regarding refugee resettlement in Canada and the United Kingdom were made. While identifying the content and the direction of frames, the study illustrates how, in each of the examined cases, media frames have reflected and contributed to the formation of the decision-making environments. In addition to helping to shape the decision-making environment by disseminating frames that can be used as heuristic instruments by the audience, media frames seem to be useful as predictive instruments, providing insight into which policy options are more likely to be chosen by decision makers. To demonstrate this predictive aspect of the study of frames, the content and direction of media frames regarding the resettlement of refugees have been examined in relation to Syrian refugees. Additionally, the decision environments identified in the studied media networks have been illustrated to further clarify how the identified frames interacted in reflecting and affecting decision making environments. The findings have then been implemented in the context of the poliheuristic decision making model to show how the decision making environment reflected in media frames limits the options available to decision makers.

1.1 General Topic

This thesis places a strong emphasis on decision making environments. It has been argued that decision makers can rarely go beyond decision environments in making

their choices. The media, especially the news media, contribute to reflecting and molding these decision environments. This is due, in large part, to their availability in the majority of modern societies. The influence of media on decision making has been addressed in a body of research known as the 'CNN effect' (aka. media effects). A review of this literature has been made in a following section.

The influence of decision environments on poliheuristic decision making has been studied within the theoretical framework of Neoclassical Realism. Simply put, poliheuristic decision making is a two-phase decision making model that incorporates cognitive and rational decision making approaches in sequential phases. A decision making environment has therefore been considered as an intervening variable at the domestic level that translates systemic forces at the international level to actual policies. Neoclassical Realism (NCR) seeks to develop a proper framework for foreign policy analysis as a corrective to the standard theoretical framework in international relations (i.e. Neorealism). While acknowledging the implications of systemic forces on foreign policy decision making, Neoclassical Realism also emphasizes the impact of unit level intervening variables in filtering and translating those systemic influences to actual policies. The poliheuristic decision making mechanism follows the same logic as it explains the role of intervening domestic variables in translating foreign policy issues into actual decisions.

The Poliheuristic decision-making model is a two-phase decision-making model in which the decision-makers' rationality is confined by domestic intervening variables. During the first phase, the set of alternatives available to decision makers is pruned based on their implications for the decision makers' political survival. The remaining possibilities are rationally evaluated against each other during the second phase of

poliheuristic decision making, and the decision maker selects the option with the highest utility. This model has been used to investigate the role of the media in shaping decision environments in the context of refugee resettlement.

Because of its multifaceted nature, the issue of refugee resettlement has a direct impact on domestic and foreign policy making. The significance of this issue has been emphasized in recent decades, owing to an increase in the number of terrorist activities around the world. Concerns about the security implications of refugee resettlement, as well as the economic consequences of such policies, make decision-making in this area important not only for domestic purposes, but also for foreign policy decision-making. The "Statement of Cooperation on Syrian Refugees" issued by the EU and Turkey in 2016 is just one example of an international agreement motivated by domestic security and economic concerns (*The EU-Turkey Statement* 2019).

As a collective, asylum seekers and refugees are often some of the most vulnerable groups in every society. Having broken social and financial ties with their country of origin, asylum seekers and refugees may face difficulty maintaining their very existence in host countries. Racism, cultural and social misunderstandings, populist anti-immigrant political rhetoric and scapegoating refugees for political inefficiencies are just a few of the problems refugees may face while they hold this status.

As a result, resettlement is subject to a number of considerations on both the part of the refugees and the host countries. On the one hand, from a humanitarian standpoint, the survival of refugees can be securitized. On the other hand, the life and livelihood of residents (citizens) can be securitized in light of potential breaches in national

security caused by the influx of individuals who may abuse the asylum system to commit terrorist acts.

The domestic/foreign characteristic of refugee resettlement makes it an appropriate field to discover through the viewpoint of Neoclassical Realism within the confines of foreign and domestic decision making.

1.2 The Theoretical Framework of the Thesis

As a problem focused sub-school of realism NCR promises to provide an alternative to the 'standard model'. While accepting the influence of systemic factors on the behavior of States, Neoclassical Realism addresses the role individual policy makers and bureaucracies play as intervening variables that translate the influence of systemic pressures and power related considerations in foreign policy (Rose 1998). Neoclassical Realism can be seen as an answer to the incapability of neorealism to predict change in international relations (Smith 2018). Unlike its neorealist counterparts, Neoclassical Realism can explain why states adopt different balancing strategies under the same circumstances (Taliaferro 2006). In essence, NCR owes its analytic strength to bridging external and internal factors and incorporating cognitive elements into its formulation of decision making (Foulon 2015).

Despite its similarities with Wendtian Constructivism and neorealist understandings of international relations, Neoclassical Realism moves away from solely focusing on structural forces or interest group dynamics. This does not mean that Neoclassical Realism neglects structural and geostrategic forces. Instead, Neoclassical Realism suggests a version of realism that considers the structure binding but conditions its consequences on the fulfillment of particular non structural forces (ibid.). Unlike constructivist understandings of foreign policy that consider the role of norms central

to decision making and change in international politics, the neoclassical realist trend examines ideas and norms as conscious responses by the elite to changing external realities (McLean 2016).

A large number of variables have been considered as possible intervening variables at the domestic level. Neoclassical realist theories do not necessarily agree on which of these variables should be considered as a mitigating factor that translates structural forces into policies (Tang 2009). What neoclassical realist studies do have in common is their integration of systemic level with unit level variables (Taliaferro 2006). This combination of systemic and non-systemic forces constitute what has been called a decision environment in this thesis.

One of the main characteristics of Neoclassical Realism is its rejection of states as a unitary policy making actor. Instead, foreign policy decisions are considered to be the making of human and bureaucratic actors (Meibauer et al. 2021), albeit confined within the external pressure of the system. Foreign policy, from this perspective, is often the result of the beliefs of the elite decision makers. However, these beliefs may indeed be misperceptions and lead to misbehavior (Rose 1998).

Decision makers are often constrained in their responding to external (systemic) pressures by the force of domestic pressures (McLean 2016). This is why it has often been argued that Neoclassical Realism is the integration of classical realism into neorealism as it incorporates internal and external factors simultaneously.

Meibauer et al. (2021) suggests that domestic actors are "subjects to dual pressures from both structure and existing domestic processes they are part of" (Meibauer et al.

2021). Neoclassical Realism is therefore in essence the study of decision environments and how actors and decision makers affect and are affected by their decision environments. It has been argued that due to the power decision environments, including external and internal environments, exert on decision making, the political elite actively make an effort to affect these environments (McLean 2016).

Rose (1998) explains the causal logic of the neoclassical realist model in foreign policy as one in which systemic incentives as independent variables are affected by internal factors as intervening variables to shape foreign policy (Rose 1998). This model can be seen in the following table. Critiques of Neoclassical Realism have

Table 1.1: Causal Logic in Neoclassical Realism

		Independent Variable		Intervening Variable
Foreign Policy	=	systemic variables	+	internal factors

often accused it of being theoretically indeterminate due to its reliance on the vast number of domestic variables (McLean 2016). A large variety of answers have been given to this criticism including the suggestion that Neoclassical Realism is a necessary extension of neorealism in that it solves 'maladaptive behavior' that causes over or underbalancing (Rathbun 2008). This has especially been discussed in relation to neorealism's incapability to predict the end of the cold war (Smith 2018). A large number of studies have adopted Neoclassical Realism. A number of these studies will be mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Taliaferro (2006) studied the different responses states give to systemic pressures in

relation to over/under balancing. It suggested three responses, namely emulation, innovation and persistence as possible strategies. Taliaferro examined state institutions, nationalism and ideologies as mitigating factors that translate relative power considerations, defense/offense balance and geography as external pressures (Taliaferro 2006). It provided a clear example of domestic intervening variables influencing foreign policy decisions.

McLean (2016) studied the influence of the elite in catalyzing ideas that find their way to foreign policy decision making through the perspective of Neoclassical Realism. It offers a threefold typology of elite responses to foreign policy in Australia including "dilution, deflection and inflation" (McLean 2016).

Brawley (2009) examined the cause for under balancing and lack of harmony between the Soviet Union, Britain and France in relation to Germany between the two World Wars. It attributed such divergent foreign policy stance to different economic interests and different economic infrastructure. This neoclassical realist understanding complemented the neorealist understanding of the role of systemic forces in determining balancing behavior (Brawley 2009).

Because it focuses on the effect of domestic intervening variables on decision making, the neoclassical realist theory is suitable for this research. This thesis considers the decision making environments reflected by the media to be one of the most significant variables in influencing the direction of policies. The process by which decision-making environments impact decision-makers may be examined using a neoclassical realist lens.

1.3 Aims and Operationalization of Research Question

This thesis studies media frames used by a select group of news networks to identify the decision making environment that existed at the time of policy making regarding refugee resettlement in the United Kingdom and Canada. This has been done with the intention of determining if any securitizing pattern existed in relation to Syrian refugees in the frames used by the news media in the United Kingdom and Canada. In doing so, the thesis adheres to the Neoclassical realist understanding of international relations by investigating media frames and the decision making environment reflected in these frames. In this regard, the research examines two hypotheses, each of which builds on the literature on media framing to identify 'decision environments' as the basin in which securitization takes place. To examine these hypotheses, this research

Table 1.2: Hypotheses

Hypothesis No. 1	Decision environments are constructed by overexposure to - specific frames and frame combinations.
Hypothesis No. 2	The direction of media frames is often suggestive of polici - -es that are likely to be made by policy makers

examines the nature and direction of media frames used in regards to Syrian asylum seekers and refugees. The frames used by two UK based news networks and two Canada based news networks have been put to test. The study has been enriched by the methodological tool box of framing analysis.

The relationship between decision environments reflected by the media and actual political decisions has been examined. This has been done in the framework of the poliheuristic decision making model. It has been suggested that media contributes to the development and/or sedimentation of decision making environments. It therefore

plays a role in the culling phase of decision making in a poliheuristic decision making setting. By extension, media plays a role in defining the possible policy options from which choices are made.

Answering the following questions help test the proposed hypotheses:

1. What combinations of frames have been used by the media in the United Kingdom and Canada?

2. How consistent have media frames been in each of the examined cases?

3. What type of decision environments did the media reflect in each country?

4. What implications could the decision environments, as reflected by the media, have for the actual decisions?

1.4 Methodology

To investigate the decision-making environment reflected by the media in relation to the resettlement of the asylum seekers, 1115 audiovisual news pieces addressing the mass movement of Syrian Asylum seekers were obtained from the websites of BBC News and Sky News in the United Kingdom, and CBC News and Global News in Canada. This was the total number (population) of news stories broadcast on this issue between January 2009 and December 2016. The choice of this period was due to the fact that it provided a point of reference as it extended beyond the time when the mass movement of Syrian refugees began.

The Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software was used to code the content of the obtained news pieces. All videos were then coded by five major generic frames, including conflict, economic interest, human interest, morality and responsibility frames. Although these frames provided a general understanding of the nature of the frames used by the media, they did not indicate the direction of the media's frames. A subset

of frames was used to identify the direction of the frames. These sub-frames can be seen on pages 91 to 93.

In accordance with the literature on media effects, a novel method of sequencing frames was used to cull the data and provide a meaningful picture of how media frames were extensively used in specific time frames. On page 93, a detailed description of how the frames were sequenced can be found.

The patterns found in the studied media pieces were also illustrated to provide a better picture of how the media reflected the decision environment surrounding refugee resettlement. These patterns demonstrated an obvious difference in the related decision environments in Canada and the United Kingdom. These patterns can be found on pages 170 to 204.

An inter-coder reliability test was also conducted on a randomly selected number of videos, demonstrating an 84 percent similarity between the coders. This indicated the reliability of the results. A detailed step by step explanation of the methods used in this research has been provided in chapter five.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

The second chapter introduces the poliheuristic decision making model within the context of decision making models in foreign policy decision making. The third chapter makes a review of securitization theory with a focus on decision-making environments and their role in the securitization of refugees.The fourth chapter makes a review of the literature on media framing and discusses the similarities between the framing literature and securitization literature. The fifth chapter provides a detailed account of the research design and the methods used for the purpose of this research.

It describes, in detail, how the data was retrieved from the relevant news networks, how the data was coded, and how clusters of data were identified. The results of framing the content of news pieces in the studied news networks have been outlined in chapter six. This chapter demonstrates the data and the results of the analysis on the discovered frame clusters, both spatially and chronologically. Chapter seven is dedicated to the analysis of the results. Chapter eight concludes the thesis by providing answers to the initial questions as well as discussing the implications of this research for the hypotheses examined in this research.

Chapter 2

DECISION MAKING MODELS AND DECISION

ENVIRONMENTS

The assumption of rationality has long been central to the study of foreign policy decision making. This assumption has been called into question in recent decades. Cognitive approaches to the study of foreign policy decision making have provided alternative ways of understanding decision making by focusing on cognitive limits, which frequently lead to suboptimal decisions. The poliheuristic decision-making model bridges these two major models to provide a decision-making mechanism that incorporates elements of both models. It contends that decision makers have a tendency to eliminate all options that threaten their political survival before rationally assessing the options that remain after eliminating unacceptable options. As a result, the model recognizes the cognitive and contextual constraints on foreign policy decision making during the culling phase. It also acknowledges the rationality assumption during the decision-making phase.

2.1 A Historical Background of Foreign Policy Decision Making Perspectives

All theories of International Relations offer some insights into foreign policy (Smith 1986). In its historical overview of the discipline in 1986, Steve Smith (1986) recognized five tendencies within the field of foreign policy, including the neo-realist, economic, quantitative (comparative), single case and mid-range theoretic models. This categorization demonstrated that the discipline was disorganized (ibid.). Almost

all categorizations of foreign policy exhibit this lack of organization. To address the issue of disorganization, this thesis employs Mintz and DeRouen's (2010) three-tiered differentiation between "rational actor," "cognitive," and "poliheuristic" perspectives, which appear to provide a more orderly categorization of the discipline (Mintz and DeRouen 2010).

2.1.1 The Rational Actor Model

The rational actor model (or rational choice model), drawn from microeconomic research, is based on the idea that individual actors (as well as collectives) behave based on a rational evaluation of the options available to them and make the most sensible decision based on this evaluation. It is widely regarded as the prevalent viewpoint among foreign policy scholars (Mintz 2004). The rational choice tag is a broad title used for any theory that attributes rationality to the choices made by policy makers (Quackenbush 2004).

2.1.1.1 The Premises of the Rational Actor Model

The rational actor theory is based on two main assumptions in foreign policy analysis: that states are unitary actors and that they act rationally in the international arena (Holsti 1976). It is assumed that individuals act autonomously in their own self-interest (Monroe and Maher 1995). This model focuses on the outcome of decision making rather than the process by which decisions are made (Brulé 2008). Such an assumption underpins game theoretic approaches. Structural Realism, for example, considers rationality to be a core component of the theory when studying security dilemmas (Mintz and DeRouen 2010). It focuses on how anarchy, as a structural pressure, locks states into an unavoidable security dilemma and makes state cooperation difficult. As a result, states, as unitary rational actors, are compelled to always consider the worst-case scenario (Brooks 1997).

The assumption of rationality leads rational actor (rational choice) theory scholars to reject the need for a detailed study of decision making processes based on psychological predispositions of decision makers (Rosati 2000).

2.1.1.2 A Critique of Rational Actor Model

The rational choice model has been criticized for failing to account for complex political processes as well as the decision-makers' cognitive limitations in understanding these complex political processes (Frankel 1959). The deliberate and conscious decision making that underpins rational choice has been called into question, as studies on human cognition have revealed that most decision making is 'automatic and subconscious' (Rosati 2000).

Holmes (2015), for example, introduces intuition-based rationality as an alternative to rational choice theory's proposed conscious rationality. In this account, intuitions are defined as automatic mechanisms that are susceptible to conscious deliberation and change. These intuitions, unlike habits and practices, are inspired by emotions and refined through individual deliberation and communicative reasoning through meticulous examination of the premises of beliefs and habits aimed at reaching a decision or consensus (Holmes and Traven 2015). Cognitive constraints, such as intuition as heuristics, frequently obstruct rational thinking (Holsti 1976). The rational choice assumption may not always apply to all actors at all time. Miller (2013), for example, demonstrates that deterrence is difficult to apply to terrorist groups since their actions are not always based on rational calculations. Instead, they are frequently ideological in nature (Miller 2013).

The preceding paragraphs demonstrate that, while the assumption of rationality is useful in studying foreign policy decision making, it may fall short of predicting

unexpected decisions by decision makers. Because of these shortcomings, relying on the assumption of rationality without taking into account the sociological and psychological constraints on human cognition would limit the predictive capability of decision-making models. As a result, cognitive models have made an effort to provide an alternative approach to the study of foreign policy decision making. The following section will explain how the cognitive approach defines cognitive limits to human information processing as a counter-argument to the rational actor assumption. However, as discussed further in the following sections, the cognitive approach is not necessarily anti-rationalist.

2.1.2 The Cognitive Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making

The cognitive approach is based on human psychology and addresses the limitations of the human mind in making rational decisions. This encompasses both biological and environmental impacts on human cognition that might lead to satisficing and, as a result, suboptimal results (Mintz and DeRouen 2010).

Individuals, according to this approach, act within a distinct psychological environment (Rosati 2000). The approach is based on human cognition and the heuristics that individuals employ when making foreign policy decisions (Oppermann and Spencer 2013). Individuals, as creatures of habit, establish beliefs and conceptions to make sense of the world and deal with the volume of information that the human mind must digest (Rosati 2000). These cognitive clusters, which are formed depending on both the physical and social environments in which decision makers operate, assist them in filtering information to a level that they can comprehend (Holsti 1976).

Analogical thinking, for example, provides insight into decision making based on

15

historical analogies utilized to grasp the circumstances at hand. It refers to situations in which the parallels between a previous incident and the current case are highlighted, and the implications and structural forces attributed to the former are presumed to apply to the latter (Houghton 2006). Metaphors, defined as the linguistic instruments through which we speak of one thing in terms of another, provide another heuristic that is used by decision makers to understand the world around them (Cienki and Yanow 2013). A metaphoric expression would be, for example, when we speak of a "Tsunami" of refugees and attribute the consequences of a "Tsunami" to the refugee inflow. Metonymy, defined as the attribution of a part's actions and statements to the whole, is another heuristic that decision makers may employ. The concept can be used to broaden the scope of a policy, such as the anti-extremism strategy directed at Muslim jihadists, to encompass a broader context, such as illegal immigrants entering the United States from Mexico (Cienki 2013).

The cognitive theories of foreign policy decision making are concerned with the impact that the decision-making process has on the final decision (Brulé 2008). The role of personal characteristics including roles, rules, identities, ideas (Tonra 2003) and biases as well as the environmental constraints on decision makers in the process of decision making are put at the center of attention.

The cognitive approach is not anti-rational (DeRouen and Sprecher 2004) in that it does not refute strategic (instrumental) rationality (Tonra 2003). Instead it deals with conditional rationality (Rosati 2000). It attempts to supplement the assumption of rationality in relation to the limitations imposed on it by cognitive and environmental constraints. One example is Joseph Frankel's attempt to distinguish between decisions as processes that occur in the decision maker's mind and actions as deeds

that are inevitably made in a specific environment. According to Frankel (1959), the reason for a particular policy initiative can be found in either the decision maker's psychological environment or the operational environment in which decisions must be made and implemented. These two, however, do not always match, which increases the likelihood of making an inefficient decision. Based on this assertion, the model he proposes consists of three components: the decision environment, the action environment, and the decision maker (Frankel 1959).

2.1.2.1 Individual Loss Aversion and Prospect Theory

'Prospect Theory' has been a prominent cognitive theory in recent decades. It was developed in response to the inefficiencies of the expected-utility theory, which dominated the study of decision making under risk (Levy 1992a). As a descriptive theory premised on experimental tests (Boettcher III, 1995) prospect theory was first introduced by Kahneman and Tversky (1979) to study the gambling behaviour of individuals (Kahneman and Tversky 1979).

According to the prospect theory, decision makers are not always rational utility maximizers. Instead, their decisions are heavily influenced by their assessment of events as gains or losses. They frequently give greater weight to losses than gains (Berejikian 2002). As a result, when faced with the prospect of gain, they are risk averse, but when faced with the prospect of loss, they become risk acceptant. The combination of this risk aversion and the status quo bias that it provides indicates that stability dominates the international environment. This is not to say that there is never any instability. In fact, the likelihood of actors engaging in risky behavior rises as their perception of loss rises (Levy 1992b).

According to the theory, there are two stages of decision making: editing and

evaluating. Editing refers to the process of coding (identifying a reference point), framing (framing the issue as loss or gain), simplifying (defining the probability and outcome of issue options), and culling based on the dominance of different alternatives (the alternatives that are dominated by others are eliminated) (Levy 1992a). In contrast, the evaluation phase addresses the final choice of actors based on the assumption of risk aversion in the realm of gains and risk acceptance in the realm of losses.

2.1.2.2 A Critique of Cognitive Theory

Three arguments can be made against the cognitive approach. In the first instance, it could be argued that the study of cognition among individual decision makers is rendered obsolete by bureaucratic constraints. It is also possible to argue that dominant ideologies within institutions tend to eliminate and suppress all competing ideologies, even during recruitment. A third argument contends that the system's structural characteristics are dominant in defining state behavior (Holsti 1976).

All three criticisms point to intervening variables that may influence not only human cognition but also the decision-making environment in which decision-makers deliberate on issues. These three criticisms, in essence, are concerned with non-cognitive constraints on human decision making. They can be thought of as complementary to the cognitive and rational actor decision-making models. The Poliheuristic decision-making model, as introduced in the following section, not only combines the rational actor and cognitive models, but also takes into account all other variables that lead to the elimination of options in a non-compensatory manner. As a result, it has been argued that the poliheuristic model of decision making is better suited to explain decision making than its competitors.

2.1.3 The Poliheuristic Approach to Foreign Policy Decision Making

The poliheuristic approach to foreign policy combines the rational model with the cognitive approach. It offers a two-phase theory. In the first phase, heuristics are used to identify and select the desired options from the vast array of options presented to the actors. The second phase entails rationally weighing the remaining options against one another and selecting the option with the highest utility (Mintz and DeRouen 2010). As a result, it is concerned with the processes that take place in the background of decision-making (Stern 2004).

The poliheuristic model was developed in response to the inadequacies of the rational actor and cognitive models of foreign policy. This is a non-holistic, dimension-based, non-compensatory, satisficing, and order sensitive approach (ibid.). It implies that domestic political issues transcend foreign concerns and that leaders are primarily loss avoiders, particularly when public support is at stake (DeRouen and Sprecher 2004). This viewpoint is consistent with Frankel's (1959) argument that domestic conditions are more significant than foreign policy settings because decision makers are concerned with retaining their political position (Frankel 1959). Although the resettlement of refugees may not appear to be a foreign policy issue at first glance, a closer examination of the security and economic consequences of resettling a large number of asylum seekers reveals that it does have a foreign policy dimension. The fear of terrorists infiltrating Western countries disguised as refugees, the disruption of ethnic and religious balance in host societies, and the economic burden that refugee re-settlement may impose on host societies' limited resources are just a few of the many concerns that link refugee resettlement and foreign policy. The EU-Turkey agreement in relation to Syrian refugees was perhaps the most visible manifestation of this link.

Researchers who have explored economic, military, and other key concerns within this framework, however, have questioned the idea that poliheuristic model focuses on the non-compensatory principle with a focus on domestic political considerations (Oppermann 2014). Keller and Yang (2008), for example, argue that the poliheuristic model fails to account for disparities in risk acceptability among politicians when confronted with internal opposition. It introduces leadership types that make a leader less or more susceptible to the domestic political component, such as the leader's self-evaluation, task orientation vs. emotion sensitivity, the degree of power seeking, and the leader's judgment of the situation's controllability (Keller and Yang 2008). Regardless of these additions, it is difficult to ignore the domestic effects of foreign policy decisions and their influence on decision-making. This could include loss of popular support, a split in public opinion on a specific policy, and the strength of the opposing party (parties) in the domestic political arena (Christensen and Redd 2004).

2.1.3.1 The Non-Compensatory Elimination of Choices in Poliheuristic Approach

The first step of the poliheuristic approach demonstrates how cognitive shortcuts (heuristics), based on a non-compensatory choice elimination premise, limit the choices of the decision maker (Oppermann 2014). Non-compensatory choice elimination means that low scores on one dimension of a policy option are not compensated for by high scores on other dimensions (Stern 2004). First, choices that could jeopardize the decision maker's domestic political position are removed (Mintz 2005). In a strategic setting, one would eliminate not only one's own non-compensatory choices, but also the adversary's non-compensatory choices. This would necessitate the decision maker having a solid understanding of the adversary's options as well as the cognitive, bureaucratic, and social pressures that limit his/her options. After removing the impossible decisions, meaning those decisions that threaten the political survival of the adversary, one would have a more realistic

understanding of how the situation might play out. Decisions would therefore be more predictable.

The second phase entails a rational assessment of the options' merits and drawbacks while attempting to maximize gains and minimize losses (loss-averse leaders) (Mintz 2004). At this point, the option with the larger net weight on all, or at least important, dimensions is chosen (Mintz 2005). The following example may help to explain the different stages of the poliheuristic decision making model.

Let's assume, in a context similar to the subject of this research, that the world is experiencing a surge in asylum seekers as a result of civil war in a populated country. Countries are urging one another to take a more active role in the resettling of asylum seekers. The leaders of 'Country A' (a democratic country) have the following choices:

1. Resettle a large number of refugees, as a result of humanitarian concerns,

2. Relocate a small number of refugees after thorough screening

3. provide economic and non-economic incentives to a third country to resettle refugees

4. completely avoid resettling refugees

Let us also assume that, due to security concerns, the public in 'Country A' is strongly opposed to resettling refugees. Option 1 and 4 are likely to be eliminated in the first phase of decision making in a poliheuristic setting. Option 1 would be rejected because it would be against public opinion and could jeopardize the decision-makers' political survival. Option 4 would be eliminated as well due to the serious consequences for 'Country A's' international reputation (unless 'Country A' can afford the costs of reputation loss).

A decision would be made between the remaining options during the second phase of the poliheuristic decision making process. During this stage, the decision maker selects the option that maximizes their gains while minimizing their losses.

Salience is an important factor in bringing topics to the attention of decision makers in the first phase of the poliheuristic decision making. A decision on a low-salience problem is unlikely to elicit much public reaction, whereas a decision on a high-salience issue may simply be too dangerous to be made without considering the implications for the decision maker (Oppermann 2014).

2.1.3.2 The Applicability of the Poliheuristic model of Foreign Policy Analysis

The poliheuristic model, as noted in previous sections, may be utilized as an analytical tool in two phases. The first phase involves identifying the decision matrix with which decision makers must operate. The second phase involves predicting decisions by estimating the utility provided by each item on the matrix (Mintz 2005).

Given that this thesis investigates decision making environments and their influence on determining the options from which decision makers may choose their policies, the poliheuristic decision making model appears to fit the purpose of this research. As discussed in previous chapters, decision making environments limit the alternatives accessible to decision makers by establishing the context for interpreting a certain situation. These environments contain the visual and linguistic cues required for the understanding of a certain occurrence. The initial phase of the poliheuristic model is assumed to be heavily influenced by decision making environments because decision makers discard choices that are fundamentally opposed to the decision making environment in which the decision is embedded.

2.1.3.3 Constraints on Poliheuritic Decision Making

The poliheuristic model has contributed significantly to the study of foreign policy decision-making. However, the model has been argued to be constrained in four ways:

1. The importance of domestic constraints are exaggerated,

2. The prospect that leaders will make judgments contrary to popular opinion has been overlooked by the model,

3. The distinction between aggressive and passive leadership styles has been overlooked by the model,

4. Political restrictions have been considered as static, but a dynamic understanding of these restrictions would lead to the conclusion that they could be transcended with sufficient effort (Stern 2004).

The next section will seek to address how these shortcomings could be ameliorated.

2.2 Public Opinion as an Important Consideration in Decision Making

As previously stated, public opinion is important in the culling phase of poliheuristic decision making. This is especially true in liberal democratic countries where the political survival of politicians is entirely dependent on democratic elections. The section that follows explains how public opinion influences decision making.

Politicians in a democratic system tend to move in the direction they believe will be supported by a large majority of the public (Burstein 1979). It is commonly assumed that the preferences of the general public are based on instrumental rationality. However, given the uncertainty of policy effects, it is impossible to ignore ideological tendencies and belief systems within the society and among the individuals who comprise that society (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey 1987).

In general, public opinion on specific issues remains stable, and when it does change, the shift is often minor. Page et al. (1987) identified a number of actors that can influence public opinion including news commentaries, popular presidents, experts, and interest groups (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey 1987). Burstein (1979) also finds that demonstrations by interest groups frequently precede shifts in public opinion and, as a result, legislative movements (Burstein 1979). Elite rhetoric and interpersonal conversation are also considered two of the most prominent shapers of public opinion (Druckman and Nelson 2003).

2.2.1 Constituting Elements of Public Opinion

A definition of public opinion must fulfil two requirements. First, it must define who the public is, and then it must define the conditions under which a free public opinion can be formed (Wilson 1954).

Wilson (1954) identifies four definitions for the public that address the first requirement. From this vantage point, the public can be viewed as a 'common idea' that includes people in general, a minority within the general public that is distinguished in a functional sense (i.e. race, party, etc.), all members of a specific society who stand equal in status, or all those who have allegiance to a specific government or organization and are loyal to that government or organization (ibid.). A pluralistic public opinion model examines a number of publics concurrently based on the issues at hand as well as the time and space in which the issue is examined (Chudowsky and Kuzio 2003).

Wilson (1954) addresses the second requirement, in relation to conditions under which a free public opinion can be formed, by identifying the capacity to resist government pressure, the capability to project power to the government, and

consensus-centered decision making as the three pillars of a free public opinion (Wilson 1954). Some modern theorists doubt the existence of a unique coherent public (Chudowsky and Kuzio 2003). Nevertheless, public opinion is believed to influence governments (Herberichs 1966).

In the context of this thesis, the public can be defined as the population of the countries under consideration, especially those who have the right to vote. Given the democratic nature of the countries studied for this research, the second requirement for the formation of free public opinion is presumed to have been met. In the discussion section of this study, a comparison of media frames and the results of public opinion polls was made. This thesis has discussed public opinion and its effects on policy making in the context of decision making environments. This has been done by examining media frames as reflections of the decision environment in the studied cases. The content and direction of media frames have been considered reflective of the dominant decision environment in Canada and the United Kingdom.

2.2.1.1 Defining Public Opinion

The literature on public opinion has identified two types of definitions. The first type defines public opinion as the general public's agreement on a particular issue. The second type defines public opinion as the opinion of a society's elite (Noelle-Neumann 1991). According to Noelle-Neumann (1991), while the elite have a great deal of influence on the public, focusing solely on the elite in the process of public opinion formation leads to the neglect of other important factors (ibid.). According to Allport (1937), public opinion can be defined as a situation in which a number of individuals express their support or opposition to a clearly defined matter of high importance, with the possibility that this expression of attitudes may lead to a specific action (or reaction) towards that matter (Allport 1937). Harrisson (1940)

defines public opinion as " what you will say out loud to anyone. It is an overt, and not necessarily candid, part of your private opinion" (Harrisson 1940). As a result, it distinguishes between public and private opinion. In this sense, public opinion is a private opinion that has received social support. Public opinion and private opinion of individuals do not always transpire in perfect harmony. This is why, in order to understand public opinion and predict the future based on it, it is necessary to understand not only current public opinion but also the private opinion that will shape and shift public opinion (ibid.).

Public opinion is commonly defined as a socio-communicative process embedded in a specific context (Price 1989). It is the result of multiple levels of discourse, ranging from street conversations to discussions at the highest levels of government (Lang 2003). It is therefore indeed a collective phenomenon. Individuals shape their opinions in interaction with each other. That is why it is hard to examine an opinion without its social context (Price 1989). Early definitions of public opinion discussed it as a process in which the public decides on issues through collective communication, giving the public a prominent position in policy making (ibid.). In this regard, public opinion may be viewed as a negative concept that establishes a tyrannical rule over social and political life by projecting non-negotiable demands by a sufficiently cohesive crowd that zealously pursues a goal (Lang 2003) or as a positive concept depicting it as the voice of reason and rationality in the democratic tradition (Herberichs 1966). However, the public's opinion can vary widely based on context. Chudowski (2003) provides an example of a non-consensual context in which policy decisions are received almost passively by the public. It explains the passivity of the Ukrainian public in historical, linguistic, and ethnic terms (Chudowsky and Kuzio 2003).

Harrison (1940) depicts an obvious example of an elite-centered definition of public opinion while criticizing the large gap that sometimes exists between public opinion and published opinion (Harrisson 1940). Both governments and citizens are subject to the pressures of public opinion (Noelle-Neumann 1991).

The literature on media effects typically positions the effect of the media on politics in its potential to sway public opinion by portraying published opinion as popular opinion. The function of the media in this research has been examined in terms of its potential to reflect decision environments and consequently influence policy making. The media reflects decision environments via frames. Regardless of the origins of these frames and the decision environment that they reflect, by reflecting decision environments, the media informs both the general public and the political elite of a shared understanding regarding a particular issue. This projected understanding may or may not be consistent with how the general public or the political elite actually understands the situation to be but it may help establish a situation in which the political elite accepts the frames (published opinion) to be reflective of public opinion and decide accordingly. It may also lead the audience to think that the frames (published opinion) are reflective of the decision environment as it is and help mold the decision environment in the direction of the frames and frame combinations. This may be done consciously or unconsciously. The literature on media effects has been reviewed in more details in Section 2.4.

2.2.1.2 The Ideological Roots of Public Opinion Advocacy

The advocacy of public opinion is based on the idea that people should have the final say in how their affairs are organized. Its popularity is due in large part to the emergence of civil society (Lang 2003). Recent literature suggests that the public is not simply an uninformed mass, as some would have us believe. They have distinct

values and priorities. As a result, it is critical for representatives to pay attention to the public. Polling provides information to representatives who are frequently isolated from their constituents due to an inner circle that limits their information channels. There is a gap between public opinion and the opinion of the political elite, and this gap must be filled by paying attention to public opinion (Lake and Sosin 1998).

The following chapters establish that public opinion polls were actively conducted throughout refugee resettlement decision-making in Canada and the United Kingdom. The direction and consistency of frames seems to have had an influence on public opinion in the studied cases, especially in Canada.

2.2.1.3 The Spiral of Silence: The Role of Group Pressure in Excluding Dissidence

Individuals who believe their opinion is in the minority tend to refrain from expressing it, which creates a vicious circle in which the perception that a particular opinion is in the minority is enforced and re-enforced. The media has a significant influence on public opinion because it can give the impression that a particular idea is held by a small group of people when the facts may be contrary to this idea (Price 1989). The spiral of silence theory defines public opinion in terms of how values and objectives ensure societal cohesion. It contends that for thousands of years, public opinion has been an important aspect of politics. Opposition leads to isolation in the spiral of silence. The spiral of silence is fundamentally based on the fear of isolation on the one hand and the threat of isolation (by the society) on the other (Noelle-Neumann 1991). Decision makers are not immune to the spiral of silence's influence. It is not unreasonable to assume that decision makers calculate the plausibility of their choices by referring to what they perceive to be the majority's opinion.

A number of factors may mitigate the impact of public opinion on individuals. Individuals typically make decisions that take into account both their private and public interests. However, the privacy they have when voting in the ballot box allows them to ignore external pressures and give more weight to their personal interests. Despite this, the opinion of individuals is formed through interaction with their surroundings and are rarely independent of these surroundings (Lang 2003). As a result, one could argue that decision environments are highly influential due to their ability to influence public opinion.

Examining the spiral of silence helps to comprehend the society's inherent conflicting tendencies and how these forces may attempt to affect decision making by challenging the legitimacy of public opinion. The media may play a role in reframing popular perception of a certain policy by supporting a set of frames that contradicts expected public opinion as shown in opinion polls. The media can also contribute to the spiral of silence by establishing the framework for discussions on the subject at hand and suppressing opposing frames. This dual role is illustrated in the thesis's concluding remarks.

2.2.1.4 Developments in Public Opinion Research from the Search for a General Theory to Middle-Range Theories

Initially, a very broad and all-embracing body of assumptions was used to define public opinion by public opinion researchers. These early definitions make a distinction between theory and empirical data analysis. If one were to follow this line of reasoning the accumulation of empirical data, if anything, has made it harder for a harmonious theory of public opinion to be devised. Competing definitions of public opinion theory, on the other hand, have their focus on mid-range theories instead of general theories. These mid-range theories are based on the accumulation of

empirical data and advances in methods (Hyman 1957).

One of the most important deficiencies of public opinion research is lack of information due to issues entering and exiting the attention of public opinion research. This makes devising a general theory of public opinion difficult (ibid.). In the past couple of decades' public opinion research has mainly been based on survey research and psychological attitude research. Despite their aiding our understanding of public opinion this type of research has hardly developed our understanding of public opinion as a social force (Smith 1971). Data on public opinion are gathered by surveys and polls which are themselves usually made on a sample of what is considered the public. Statistical and mathematical calculations are then made on these data (Wilson 1954). Many factors may influence the validity of survey data. The wording of questions, for example, is very important in the results of public opinion surveys. It is therefore important to be cautious when making a conclusion based on such surveys as problems in wording can change the answers given by the audience (Burstein 1979). The accumulation of this data over long periods of time can help develop theories by revealing the interconnections between public opinion and other material and psychological factors (Hyman 1957).

2.2.2 The Challenges Public Opinion Researchers Face

Chong (2007) contends that if public perceptions are susceptible to manipulation through framing, public opinion cannot be a proper motivator for policymaking. However, in competitive environments where various frames compete for dominance, speaking of public opinion as an autonomous phenomenon may be more valid (Chong and Druckman 2007b). The plausibility of considering public opinion in an environment where various frames compete is consistent with the findings of this thesis.

Verba (1970) suggests that the underdevelopment of public opinion research is because it focuses on the individual and neglects the social (Noelle-Neumann 1991). Noelle-Neuman suggests that the underdevelopment of public opinion research is not because of neglecting the social but because of neglecting the social nature of the individual (ibid.). Both of these suggestions indicate the culpability of public opinion research. This is one of the reasons why public opinion has not been used as the main premise of this research. Instead, the research has focused on how media frames reflect as well as affect decision environments in which public perceptions are molded.

2.3 Media Effects on the Formation of Public Opinion and Decision Environments

The media plays an important role in shaping public opinion because it depicts, correctly or incorrectly, the assumed opinions of societal groups, which affects the audience's perceptions of dominant group opinions (Price 1989). In the study of public opinion, it is critical to examine the content and intensity of media agenda setting (Noelle-Neumann 1991). This is because the media act as public opinion creators by shaping consent through published opinion, which is defined as those aspects of public opinion that the media selects and broadcasts. It has been argued that the media may purposefully mislead governments by disguising published opinion as public opinion. This could deprive governments of direct access to genuine public opinion, which could have negative consequences. It has been argued that the ability of the media to shape public opinion is limited to issues that are already prominent in the minds of a group of people in society (Harrisson 1940).

2.4 Media Effects on Decision Making

Media's role in shaping public opinion and political decision making has been discussed in a body of literature often termed as 'CCN effects' or 'media effects'. Traditionally, media effects have been studied in terms of the media's agenda setting

power or the salience of issue areas in the media. In this study, the media's role has been defined in terms of its ability to reflect and affect decision environments. This understanding of media effects allows for its incorporation into the study of foreign policy making.

The literature on media effects studies the relationship between the political elite, media, and the audience. On the one hand, it is possible to claim that the political elite use media to affect public opinion and on the other hand media content can independently, affect the audience (Bennett and Iyengar 2008).

An example of elite oriented media effects can be found in Kull et al. (2003). This research suggested a top-down media effects by showing how misperceptions related to Iraq were projected to the American public by the political elite through media (Kull, Ramsay, and Lewis 2003). Linsky (2007) also studied the way policy makers interact with the press in the context of politics in the U.S. It found that media effectively shape favorable circumstances for a policy that would otherwise not have a chance to be put on the agenda. This assigned to media an intermediary role between the political elite and the public (Graber and Graber 1984). Linsky's observations have been reinforced by O'Heffernan (1994) in that the majority of federal officials in the U.S. assigned an intermediary role to media. It recognizes that media is quite effective in the 'problem identification stage' but does not necessarily affect the final decisions of the political elite. Instead it is more effective in projecting U.S. foreign policy to other countries (O'Heffernan 1994).

There isn't much harmony in the literature on micro-level media effects. The research in the field seem to point to different types of effects (Valkenburg and Peter 2013).

Some have argued that media is an active agent that engages in the process of social construction of meaning (Graber and Graber 1984). This does not necessarily mean that media can single handedly construct its desired vision of an issue, but its success in delimiting what the audience should think about (Mrogers and Wdearing 1988). Conrad (2017) has identified the influence of media frames in affecting decision making as embedded in its ability to set the societal climate for decision making in relation to a particular issues of concern (Conrad and Aðalsteinsdóttir 2017). Terkildsen, et al. (2007) positively confirms the role of media in policy debate formation. In this account media does not just mirror the desired policies of policy makers. Instead, it directs 'policy dramas' that affect political decision making. This puts media in a dominant position in relation to the political elite as acceptability of policy initiatives is directly related to the symbols and metaphors used by the media (Terkildsen, Schnell, and Ling 1998).

A number of studies have rejected media's role in the shaping of public opinion outright. Mermin (1997), for example, studied the role of media in driving American foreign policy in the context of its intervention in Somalia. It rejected the role of media in imposing foreign policy decisions on the government due to the precedence of policy initiatives and political statements in relation to media content. The study showed that if media pressure is not backed by genuine political backing it cannot create the proper push for the policy to be implemented (Mermin 1997). Jakobsen (2000) studied CNN effects defined as the effect of media on foreign policy in the context of conflict management. It found no significant effects in the pre and post violence phases and only minor effects during the violence phase. The effects, it was suggested, were invisible and indirect (Jakobsen 2000).

This thesis investigates media effects in the context of the media's potential to reflect and affect decision-making environments. Because of its emphasis on decision-making environments, the thesis differs from prior study on the subject. From this perspective, the collection of the frames used to describe and interpret a certain situation as well as the patterns that these frames form reflect and affect the decision making environment that determines the actual decisions of the decision maker. The media has an advantage in selecting the frames used by the public in addressing a given problem because of their broad reach. The following paragraphs address framing and framing effects on the audience.

2.4.1 Framing and Media Effects

Reese (2003) situates framing analysis within the paradigm of media effects (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). Media can especially be very influential in shaping public opinion by increasing the salience of certain dimensions of an issue at the cost of other aspects of the same issue (Burscher, Vliegenthart, and Vreese 2016). The effects of negative and positive information are asymmetric. Negative information, researchers suggest, have a stronger impact than positive information (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011). Unlike commonly held assumptions media do not passively receive and accept the preferred frames of the government (Entman 2003). Media informs the political elite of public perceptions while simultaneously being informed by the political elite. It is because of this understanding regarding the role of media that the political elite actively try to shape media frames (Dekker and Scholten 2017). This process of influencing and being influenced has been studied as 'transactional media effects'. Transactional media effects studies media effects and media use in a circulating pattern. The effects of media use in the first place may, in time, lead to a specific way of using media (Valkenburg and Peter 2013).

Media may also act as a transparency mechanism in politics. Couttenier and Hatte (2016), for example, suggests that NGOs often monitor the activities of commercial firms, especially in the developing world, by informing relevant audiences of the activities of these firms through mass media (Couttenier and Hatte 2016). News media's persistent engagement in framing make them the most prominent frame shapers among various frame entrepreneurs (Galtung and Ruge 1965). Walter Lippmann, as one of the pioneers of media effects studies, believed that public opinion is not shaped on the real world but the cognitive maps created about the real world by news media (Bryant and Oliver 2009). Even a subtle change in the way information is framed for the audience may affect cognition (Berinsky and Kinder 2006).

Despite the invention and application of new media technology in communications, traditional media's role as the intermediary between the political elite and citizens is not negligible (Gerth and Siegert 2012). Scholars within the discipline of press–politics study media's effects on political processes, especially electoral mechanisms (Bennett and Iyengar 2008). It is because of this role and the high expenses of approaching the desired audience through organizational channels that political actors tend to approach journalists and other media professionals and advertise their desired frameworks. However, changes in communication technology (mainly due to the advent of online as well as satellite communication channels) has changed the criteria and routines used by journalists and as a consequence has affected the content (Gerth and Siegert 2012).

A distinction can be made between studies that suggest direct media effects and those that propose indirect effects. The literature on direct effects proposes that media

directly, and possibly consciously, influences the audience. The literature on indirect effects on the other hand focuses on media effects as elements within a more complex effects mechanism. Three different types of indirect effects have been identified by the literature on media framing including the proposal that media acts as a linking element between individual differences (gender, age, etc.) and the desired effects (type 1), studying the psychological and physiological reactions that facilitate the desired effect outcome (type 2), and the possibility that some media effects may indeed be mediators of other media effects. In other words, one media effect facilitates another media effect (Valkenburg and Peter 2013).

This thesis examined the effects of the frames used in audiovisual news pieces. This is in line with Vreese and Semetko (2004) which found that exposure to audio-visual news highly affects the choice of the audience (Vreese and Semetko 2004).

2.4.2 The Strength of Media Effects

There are three distinct periods in the literature on media effects. Early studies suggested a strong and somewhat cynical belief in a powerful and immediate effect on the audience. The 'hypodermic needle theory' is one such approach. The term hypodermic needle was inspired by the same medical term referring to the needle used to inject medicine into a patient's body. This viewpoint suggests that ideas are injected into a passive mass via media in the same way that medicine is injected to human body via a hypodermic needle. Later studies on media effects, however, refuted this perception. Some have even argued that such a viewpoint never existed in the first place. Instead, they believe that those who proposed limited effects for media first discussed the myth of strong immediate effects (Bineham 1988). The widespread use of media propaganda during the Second World War by Nazi Germany, however, shows that the belief in powerful influence of media on the audience was present

among Nazi strategists (Watts 2000).This is especially true when discussing political news, because most information about policy decisions and events is received through the media, and there are very few channels for receiving information directly from the source (McCombs 1968).

Few, if any, scholars advocate for strong immediate media effects. Instead, the majority of the research in this field, particularly in the early scholarly literature on media effects, proposed minimal effects. These studies were prevalent between the 1940s and the 1950s (Bennett and Iyengar 2008). The early minimum effects studies were particularly concerned with the effects of political campaigns on voter behavior (Bineham 1988). This perspective took into account the moderating effects of personal interaction between individuals and selective exposure to media content (Katz 2001). Later studies, however, called into question the credibility of the minimum effects literature. Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey (1987), for example, proposed that the idea of minimal effects was rarely questioned in the literature because most research in this field had been done on the basis of one-shot experimental studies or cross-sectional studies between those exposed to media content and those who had not (something that is claimed to be practically non-existent as almost everyone in the target societies has access to media outlets) (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey 1987). The shift from minimal effects to substantial effects occurred in the 1960s (Bryant and Oliver 2009).

One of the most prominent models within the literature on media effects is 'agenda-setting' (Bennett and Iyengar 2008). The question here is not whether media can affect the audience or not, but how it does so by influencing what the audience thinks about. Shaw (1979) asserts that the media may influence public opinion by concentrating

attention on certain events, circumstances, and persons, as well as through changing people's views of the significance they place on matters of common concern (Shaw 1979). Framing is commonly regarded as one of the mechanisms that aid in the setting of decision-makers' agendas.

Recent research have called for new studies to consider the substantial changes in the environment in which information is disseminated to the public (Bennett and Iyengar 2008).

2.5 The Role of Media in Shaping Public Opinion

Television networks have a great role in shifting and shaping public preferences. For a message to modify beliefs and as a consequence change preference among the public it needs to actually reach the public, be understood by the public, be relevant to the issue at hand, be different from prior perceptions, and finally the content and the source should be credible. People rely heavily on media to acquire information on different issues. Change in public opinion is expected when the message reaches a substantial number of people and the felicity conditions for those messages are fulfilled. As a media outlets that reaches the greatest number of people, television and web based media usually fulfill the conditions required in shaping and shifting public opinion. Media often quote those who are in positions of authority. This essentially deems their content credible. Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey show how news commentaries and the opinion of experts have the highest influence on the public. This is probably because the audience tends to give a lot of credit to their knowledge and expertise (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey 1987).

In this chapter, a review of decision-making models was conducted in order to identify the benefits and drawbacks of each model. This was followed by a review of

the literature on public opinion as a factor that has frequently been regarded as having a significant impact on political decision making. A review of the literature on media effects was also conducted in order to demonstrate the role of media in shaping and/or reflecting public opinion. The gap between public and published opinion was discussed in order to demonstrate that the media do not simply reflect public opinion. Rather, they frequently relay their own interpretation of public opinion. This thesis goes beyond the assumed gap between public and published opinion by arguing that rather than focusing on the gap between the two, attention should be focused on the direction of the frames used by media frames. The decision-making environments in which choices are made are affected by media frames. The mechanism at the heart of the construction of security perceptions will be examined in the following chapter. It investigates securitization theory with the goal of redefining one of its central premises, namely the determining power of speech acts in the construction of security.

Chapter 3

CONSTRUCTION OF SECURITY PERCEPTIONS AND THE EXTENSION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY TO NON-TRADITIONAL SECTORS

The previous chapter discussed the media's effects on decision making. One of the main fields in which the media can influence policy making is in the field of security. This is especially true in the case of asylum seekers and the resettlement of refugees. Because of its multifaceted nature, resettlement of refugees often blurs the domestic/foreign divide in policy making. The security related consequences of refugee resettlement is one of the elements that goes beyond the domestic/foreign divide. In this chapter, security and its relationship with this thesis have been outlined. This has been done with an emphasis on securitization as a mechanism through which security perceptions are constructed.

Security has been at the heart of International Relations since the inception of the field. The two major theories of International Relations have traditionally given national security a central role in their studies. Security, from this perspective, is often understood in terms of military and economic power. More recent theories of security, however, have moved away from this materialist understanding of security. Instead, they have focused on security as a mutual understanding of an existential threat established through speech (the Copenhagen School), practices that amount to security perceptions (the Paris School) and human emancipation (the Welsh School).

For the purpose of this thesis, a broad understanding of securitization theory has been taken into consideration. This has been motivated by Securitization's rich literature and its similarities with framing literature as explained in this and the following chapters.

While addressing the flaws of traditional understandings of securitization theory, the thesis provides a more nuanced understanding based on securitized environments. This idea is akin to the poliheuristic model in that it is based on heuristics at work in an environment reflected by securitizing media frames. These heuristics, as a whole, influence decision making by assisting in the elimination of policy options that contradict the direction of frames.

This chapter also examined the parallels between the literature on securitization and the literature on framing. It has been suggested that because securitization theory and framing theory are nearly identical, securitization can benefit from framing theory's extensive toolbox.

3.1 The Evolution of Security Studies from Traditionalists to Broadeners

There is a distinction to be made between theories that advocate traditional understandings of security that are heavily focused on state-centric military versions of security and those that aim to widen and broaden the study of security to include issues and entities that fall outside the realm of traditional security studies (Newman 2010; Goldstein et al. 2010).

In International Relations, security has traditionally been defined in military terms. The state alone has traditionally had the authority to declare an issue a matter of

security (Goldstein et al. 2010). The traditional understanding dominated the early history of security studies and international relations. Such comprehension is advocated by a wide range of theories, including different variants of neorealist and neoliberal theories.

The early scholars were preoccupied with war. The context in which security theories were developed was created by the two World Wars and the subsequent superpower competition. This explains why, in their early works, these intellectuals were fascinated by war, the state, and military machinery (Hough et al. 2015).

It wasn't until the 1980s that broadening efforts gained traction. The end of the Cold War and the diminishing importance of military rivalry between superpowers created opportunities for broadeners by altering the context in which security was defined. The failure of traditional perspectives to predict the end of the Cold War and the new dynamics of state interaction in the absence of superpower rivalry hastened the shift to alternative perspectives in security studies.The attention was shifted from merely military centered theories to include economic, environmental, political, and societal aspects of security (ibid.). Some, however, argue that this shift is counterproductive because it unnecessarily broadens the subject of security and diverts attention away from what is truly important, namely state security (Walt 1991). This discussion has been at the heart of the debate over the resurgence of different variants of Neoclassical Realism.

3.1.1 The Emergence of 'Securitization Theory'

Securitization is one of the many attempts that have been made since the end of the Cold War to broaden and deepen the scope and definition of security (Hansen 2000; Ciută 2009). This has been done by promoting an account of security that focuses on

constructed security perceptions (Buzan et al. 1998).

Although securitization theory is often addressed in the singular, in reality, a number of theories advocate its core principles (Balzacq 2015). The following section addresses the premises of securitization.

3.1.1.1 Securitization and the Construction of Security Perceptions

Securitization theory has often been defined in terms of different generations or waves of securitization theorists.

Balzacq and Guzzini (2015) has offered a comprehensive typology of securitization including four distinct trends. The first trend which is advocated by the Copenhagen School focuses on illocutionary acts as the core element of securitization. The second trend focuses on the societal practices that lead to the creation of an intersubjective understanding among the audience, hence focusing on perlocution. The third trend focuses on the normative and philosophical aspects of securitization and as a consequence introduce securitization as a political theory. The fourth trend questions the nature and the extent of the applicability of securitization while situating securitization within the framework of politics of risk (Thierry and Stefano 2015).

Gad and Petersen (2011) identifies three distinct trends within the literature on securitization. It introduces 'politics as action' as the first trend. This includes studies that consider securitization as intentional acts of certain actors, an intersubjective act of meaning making, or processes that lead to the securitization of issues. The second trend studies the role of politics as a means of managing the society. The third trend is concerned with normative implications of securitization. The question here is whether institutionalized principles or securitized practices lead to the marginalization of

certain groups of people as well as the normative implications of different understandings of securitization on the future of politics and political entities (Gad and Petersen 2011).

3.1.1.2 A Fourfold Typology of Securitization Literature

This research offers a fourfold typology for securitization by focusing on the nature of the securitizing move. These distinct types are as follows:

- The first generation of securitization scholars follow the Copenhagen School in its speech act centrism. The most prominent scholars of this first generation are Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, and Jaap De Wilde (Buzan et al. 1998). The proponents of this school emphasize their choice of illocutionary speech acts as defined by J. L. Austin and propose that this choice has been made consciously to exclude perlocution from the definition. Securitization from this point of view is a theory of political co-production between multiple actors (Wæver 2015).

- The second generation of securitization scholars however find the focus on speech acts too narrow and find it more appropriate to pay attention to the practices of actors and non-linguistic demonstrations. Thierry Balzacq has been very influential in this regard (Balzacq 2008; Balzacq 2015). Balzacq (2008), for example, shows that securitization may be the result of the functions of policy instruments rather than linguistic utterances (Balzacq 2008). It focuses on the functions of European policy instruments that are aimed at providing security to European citizens and shows how the different databases used for this purpose securitize certain categories of people as threats to security. The Europe wide information sharing tools as well as the tools used to share information with Europe's allies have three functions. They depoliticize security related information and enter them into the realm of extraordinary. The information is used for investigative purposes. Finally, they obliterate the

distinction between the different pillars of the European Union while cross-polarizing security information management (Balzacq 2008).

- The third generation of securitization scholars focus on the power relations inherent in securitization theory. The focus here is not only on securitizing actions and practices but also on lack of action and practices. Lene Hansen is a prominent representative of this third trend (Hansen 2000). Ilgit and Klotz (2014) provides an example of how the silence of South African officials regarding the existing anti-immigrant discourse can be considered a securitizing act in and of itself (Ilgit and Klotz 2014).

- The fourth generation of securitization scholars are more concerned with the use of technology, especially surveilence technology, in the process of securitization. Hoffmann (2017), for example, addresses the trilateral relationship between securitization of humanitarian aid, national security, and the security of aid workers and shows how surveillance technology was used in Azraq camp to achieve all these objectives at the same time (Hoffmann 2017).

The borders between these different perspectives is not always very clear. Thorleifsson (2017), for example, studies the securitization of migrants by the Hungarian government and shows that it was the result of a combination of speech acts and practices that created a self/other dichotomy between citizens and migrants (Thorleifsson 2017). Milton-Edwards (2017) also showed how the government of Israel and the U.S. government securitized Palestinian Zakat Committees through, both, securitizing discourse and securitizing practice (Milton-Edwards 2017). Iov and Bogdan (2017) shows how the European Union member states securitized migration at the levels of discourse and practice simultaneously (Iov and Bogdan 2017).

3.1.2 The Main Premises of Securitization Theory

Securitization aims at widening the concept of security to sectors, actors and referent objects neglected by traditional security studies. It both widens and deepens the traditional understandings of security (Hansen 2000).

Security, from this perspective, is a social construction. It is constructed through the interaction between an actor and an audience by speech acts that portray an issue as an existential threat towards a referent object.

The success of a securitizing speech act lies in its capability to convince the audience that an existential threat exists and that addressing such threats requires acting outside the confines of ordinary politics by adopting and implementing extraordinary measures (Wæver 2011).

The claim does not necessarily have to be truthful (Queiroz and Cardoso 2015). An inter-subjective understanding of the existence of such a threat would suffice (Finlayson 2005). From this point of view, language not only reflects the world but also constructs it (Huysmans 2011). Hughes (2007) offers an example of how even in times when evidence is lacking regarding the security nature of an issue a mere intersubjective understanding of threat suffices. It suggests that securitizing Iraq was done through speech acts by officials for political and strategic reasons. But the historical resonance of the securitizing narrative and the actions of the Iraqi government in Kuwait and its record in human rights violations facilitated inter-subjectively constructing Iraq as a threat (Hughes 2007). The following pages explain the components of securitization theory in details.

3.2 Your Words Are Your Deeds: Speech Acts and the Linguistic Turn in Security Studies

Securitization theory was initially built on the theory of speech acts as advocated by John Langshaw Austin. The main argument of Austinian speech acts theory is that under proper circumstances by uttering specific words/sentences one performs an action (Austin 1975). In the words of Francois Debrix "speech acts are deeds formulated as words" (Debrix 2002).

Austin's understanding of speech acts was based on the distinction between locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts refer to those utterances that are force neutral and don't lead to the performance of any action. Perlocutionary acts address the consequences of the utterance of an illocutionary act. Illocutionary acts, also known as 'performatives', are those utterances that enjoy performative force. The utterance of the illocutionary speech leads to the performance of the act (Austin 1975).

Searle (1968) questions the validity of the distinction between locutionary and illocutionary acts arguing that all utterances enjoy a certain degree of force, hence effectively rejecting the existence of force neutral utterances (Searle 1968). The rejection of the distinction between locutionary and ilocutionary acts, however, is minority reading. Specific sentences and expressions can potentially have multiple illocutionary forces; however, the utterance can only have one of these multiple forces in every given context (Cowart 2004). It is this illocutionary aspect of utterances that has constituted the basis of most studies on securitization.

3.2.1 Mead's Behavioural Study of Language: a New Interpretation of Speech Acts

Unlike Austin (1962) that focused on the linguistic aspects of performatives, Mead (1934) studied the roots of language from the perspective of a social behaviourist. It came to the conclusion that any gesture that creates the same meaning in the mind of the audience as intended by the speaker reaches the level of what is called 'significant gesture' or 'language'. This included any symbol that creates such understanding be it linguistic or non-linguistic. Although Mead does give prominence to vocal gestures he does not reject the possibility of other types of gestures (Mead 1934).

The Meadian explanation of the roots of language is inherently social in that it places individual cognition in the context of social interactions (Valsiner and Van der Veer 1988). Meanings are therefore internalized by individuals through their experiences in societal interactions (Miller 1973). This understanding rejects the possibility of a private language as all language is shaped as a result of social interactions and can never be shaped without social interactions. Language from this perspective is not shaped in a vacuum. Instead it is shaped in a 'universe of discourse' that consists of the experiences of the individuals who interact with each other in a certain context (Mead 1934).

It is based on this Meadian perspective that non-linguistic gestures can also be interpreted as language as long as they evoke the same meaning in the mind of the actor and the audience. This understanding paves the way for non-linguistic versions of securitization, including practice based versions, to be considered as part of the literature on securitization. However, the possibility for the inclusion of these newer trends in securitization has been a matter of controversy for a very long time. Balzacq

(2005), for example, heavily criticised the linguistic nature of the speech act approach while claiming that it reduces securitization to a 'conventional procedure' the success of which is simply dependent on the fulfilment of felicity conditions (Balzacq 2005).

Huysmans (2011) also questioned the Austinian nature of security speech acts claiming that while Austinian speech acts have their roots in institutionalized meaning structures security speech acts move away from such structures and enter the realm of the unknown (Huysmans 2011).

3.3 The Application of Speech Acts to International Relations

Speech act theory has been used by a wide range of scholars in the analysis of the issues related to political science and international relations including efforts to explain and/or understand the end of the Cold War based on shifts of discourse among soviet leaders to the more recent attempt to explain security as a socially constructed phenomenon. The application of speech acts to the international relations literature will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak (1999) studied the discursive construction of national identities in the context of Austrian politics. It identified parallel dual identities within the context of European countries; one that identifies with Europeanness in the context of the European Union and another one that focuses on the dispersed national identities. It proposed that the definition of 'nation' is context specific and is dependent on the interaction between official and non-official discourses (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999).

Sharman (2009) studied blacklisting as a speech act practiced by international organizations, especially the OECD, against unwanted behaviour by members. The

study showed that blacklisting effectively acts as a reason for member states to comply with the decisions of the organization even when no other tool exists to enforce these decisions (Sharman 2009).

Cels (2015) studied the unsuccessful attempt of Gordon Brown to apologise for the phenomenon of child migrants and showed how treating public apologies as speech acts neglects important social aspects of apologies by concentrating, only, on linguistic aspects of apologetic utterances. It proposed that apologies should be considered both in their linguistic context and their non-linguistic context including staging, scripting, and casting among others. A successful political apology is one that combines the two (Cels 2015).

Spencer (2012) studied the metaphors used to depict terrorism in British tabloid media. Metaphors, it argues, create social reality through delimiting how issues should be interpreted. The study showed how the analysis of metaphors helps question the validity of policy options (Spencer 2012).

Diez (1999) studied the role of discourse in European integration. It showed how language does much more than describe phenomenon. The meaning of words is highly dependent on the discursive context in which they are embedded. This is why the future of the European Union depends on the discursive context in which the actors and their efforts are embedded (Diez 1999).

3.3.1 The Role of Speech Acts in the Construction of Security

Securitizing speech acts do not merely reflect reality. They are also tools of meaning making. The speech acts of securitizing actors may shape the understanding of the audience regarding a certain issue even if they don't reflect the realities of that issue

(Queiroz and Cardoso 2015). Meaning from this point of view is a matter of intersubjective understanding not the confluence of utterances and objective realities (Finlayson 2005). Language therefore does more than reflect an objective world but also affects it and creates reality (Huysmans 2011). This type of formulation puts securitization squarely within the confines of thick constructivism as it understands language as a tool to construct reality rather than reflective of reality (Holzscheiter 2014).

In the case of securitization an existential threat towards a referent object is uttered by an actor. Under proper circumstances this utterance leads to consensus among the audience over the security nature of the existential threat. These proper circumstances help the success of securitization. The internal conditions address the linguistic rules that apply to the utterance of speech acts (grammar). External conditions address the social context in which such utterances are made and the positions of the security actor(s) in this regard (Balzacq 2005).

The speech act that is aimed at convincing the audience is the factor that makes securitization an inter-subjective matter. However, the effort made by the actor remains a 'securitizing move' unless the audience agrees with the actor regarding the existence of an existential threat and the need to address that threat by extraordinary measures (Buzan et al. 1998). Utterances other than security and threat can be understood as securitizing speech acts (Hansen 2011).

Securitization is often the by-product of the probability of threat. However, probability is not a deterministic element and can be influenced by the environment in which it is proposed. It is even possible to fabricate an illusion of such probability

through intersubjective mechanisms. It is therefore possible to claim that propositions regarding the existence of an existential threat may be accepted as real even when such threat does not exist in reality (Patomäki 2015).

3.3.2 Multiple Paths to Securitization: Not ONLY Words Lead to Deeds

The above paragraphs showed that securitization, at least in its original form, is based on the utterance of security speech acts. This type of securitization prevails in a number of studies on securitization, a few of which include securitization of 'spiritual-moral values' in Russia (Østbø 2017), securitization of Muslims in the American senate (Coen 2017), securitization of teenage refugees in Canada (Bryan and Denov 2011), etc.

Later studies have shown that other mechanisms may be involved in the process of securitization. Science, for example, may play a role in creating the decision environment surrounding securitization. Science can prevent, authorize, or support the process of securitization by providing objective evidence for the discussed issue (Villumsen Berling 2011). It is also possible to securitize an issue by conflating two non-synonymous concepts. Singh and Bedi (2016) shows how the problem of Somali pirates was securitized by conflating piracy and terrorism (Singh and Bedi 2016). These examples show how a mere focus on speech acts misses the point. In fact, a broader understanding of speech acts based on Mead's behaviourist theory of language would provide a better ground for the study of speech acts.

Securitization literature has frequently focused on one or more types of acts as the stimulus for securitization. This is not the case in this thesis. Although framing can be viewed as an act intended to trigger securitization, the primary focus of this research has been on the role frames play in building an environment that makes certain

decisions and behaviors more probable. In accordance with this logic, the term "decision making environment" was chosen to reflect the facilitating conditions that exist at the moment of decision making in relation to a certain policy decision. As demonstrated by the results of this research the direction and frequency of frames and combinations contribute to shaping decision making environments as well as reflect such environments. Securitization and its constituting elements have been discussed in the following sections. Examining these elements will pave the way for a deeper understanding of how decision environments have been at play in the decision to (de)securitize refugee resettlement in the examined cases.

3.4 The Elements of Securitization: Actors, Objects, and Audiences

Three different elements have been distinguished in the process of securitization, namely the referent object, the securitizing actor, and the audience. A referent object is an entity whose existence has been declared to be threatened. Securitizing actors are those who declare (utter) the existence of an existential threat towards a referent object and functional actors are those who contribute to the problem but are not directly involved in the process of securitization (Buzan et al. 1998). The role of the audience in the process of securitization should be added to this equation to provide a better picture of the critical elements of the theory as the idea of constructing security through discourse would be obsolete without interaction between different entities.

It was traditionally assumed that only certain groups, mainly the political elite, can be securitizing actors. Later studies however have shown that non-traditional entities can also act in that capacity. McDonals and Wilson (2017), for example, examines the role of communal security groups in Bali in securitizing cultural practices and shows that communal forces sometimes replace states in providing security. It argues that the authority of state officials and communal security providers sometimes intersect not

only when non-state actors challenge the authority of the state or openly act against the existing regime but also when there is a void in the authority of states. The article also shows how security can be extended to non-traditional cultural referents (McDonald and Wilson 2017).

The borders between these different elements sometimes intersect. The United Nations Security Council, for example, can be both the actor and the audience of securitization. The UN Security Council is an institution that has been given the mandate to deal with international security issues. The members of the council can both be actors when they try to bring a matter of security to the attention of the council as well as the audience when another member brings a similar case to the attention of the council (Rychnovská et al. 2014).

By introducing security as an intersubjective construction, the theory gives a prominent position to the audience in the process of securitization (Buzan et al. 1998). Despite this prominent role, 'audience' as a central component of securitization is under-theorized in the literature. The ambiguity of what audience consent means, how it is measured and what the consequences of such consent are has led to confusion in the field. There have been efforts to address this deficiency by shifting the focus to alternative ways of security formation including the practices of relevant actors, advances in technological means, and bureaucratic practices (Balzacq 2015).

Cowart (2004) identifies two trends regarding the consent of the audience. The traditional trend is preoccupied with the formal felicity conditions for performative utterances. The intentionalist trend addresses the intentions of the actors (Cowart 2004). Cote (2016), however, identifies two tendencies in this regard. On the one

hand a number of studies propose that the audience imposes its will on the actors while on the other hand the 'interactionist approach' proposes that securitization is the result of ongoing interaction between actors and audiences (Côté 2016). Regardless of the direction of this interaction, in the context of securitization theory this intentionality is depicted in the construction of security perceptions.

On the issue of audience consent it has been proposed that securitization can be broken down into two phases, namely identification and mobilization (Roe 2008). These two phases roughly fit the illocution/perlocution divide of the speech acts themselves. The distinction indicates that the actor and the audience are both accountable for the consequences of securitization (Balzacq 2015).

The identification stage addresses consent among the audience regarding the existence of an existential threat. The mobilization stage as the name suggests is distinct in that even if an intersubjective understanding exists regarding the securitization of an issue the same understanding may not necessarily exist regarding the necessity of extraordinary measures. Consent at one stage does not necessarily indicate consent at the other. Solving this problem requires the securitizing speech act to be specific as to whether it is simply trying to introduce an issue as an existential threat or that it aims to create an intersubjective understanding on the necessity of the mobilization of resources in favour of extraordinary measures. This has been clearly shown in Roe's study of the UK government's success in creating consent on the existence of an existential threat while failing to convince the audience that extraordinary measures were needed against Iraq's Baath regime. The study, however, also implies that especially in cases where security is highly institutionalized (e.g. the military sector) it is sometimes possible to turn to specific institutional audiences and

neglect the lack of consent among the larger audience. Active securitization requires success at the mobilization stage otherwise the issue remains at the level of rhetorical securitization (Roe 2008).

The media's role in the securitization of issues transcends the boundary between actors and audiences. The media can be the audience of securitizing acts in relation to the political elite and other news sources. The media can also be the securitizing actor when it relays, interprets or scrutinizes statements and policies (decision making environments).

3.5 Securitization as a Sector Based Approach to Security Studies

The referent object is frequently placed at the center of securitization research. This is due to the fact that focusing on the referent object clarifies the nature of threats that a specific referent object may face, as well as the audience to which the speech act(s) should be addressed.

Referent objects can be identified in different sectors. Four sectors were initially identified including the military, political, societal, and environmental sectors (Buzan et al. 1998). This initial list of sectors has been expanded by later securitization research however. Waever (2008), for example, introduced 'religion', 'gender' and 'functional security' as sectors to which little attention had been given and suggested that they can be added to the already existing sectors for analytical purposes (Wæver 2008).

The dynamics of threat in each of these sectors is different from other sectors. These differences have been termed substantial modalities (Hansen 2011). This simply means that security is understood differently in different sectors examples of which are legal

and religious modalities. The current research is mainly concerned with the societal and the economic sectors. On the one hand it examines the conditions that facilitate the threat perception towards a collective identity and the survival of refugees as a large identity group (Wæver 2008). It also addresses the perception of threat regarding the economic consequences of refuge for the host state and refugees alike.

Even though different sectors have been extensively discussed by different scholars they are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. They were introduced as simple tools aimed at facilitating analysis and not necessarily as independent units (Buzan et al. 1998). The value of the sector based model for analytical purposes has been questioned on the basis that the dividing lines between sectors are not quite clear. The functional differentiation of sectors does not provide a proper basis for making a distinction between sectors as some of these sectors have cross cutting functions. Therefore it has been proposed that dropping the concept of sectors could actually enrich securitization theory (Albert and Buzan 2011).

In this thesis, the securitization of refugees has been treated as a political decision that crosses the domestic/foreign divide. The reason for this treatment is that refugee resettlement is multifaceted; it causes securitization in multiple sectors and affects multiple objects. Refugee resettlement, for example, may be viewed as a threat to an assumed homogeneous identity, thereby affecting the societal sector. It may also have an impact on a society's religious balance, in which case it will affect the religious sector. The resettlement of refugees, and their movement in general, may have environmental consequences that extend beyond the borders of the host country. In such a case, it has an impact on the environment. These are just a few of the various aspects of refugee resettlement. As a result, this study contends that refugee

resettlement has a dual foreign/domestic nature. The section that follows discusses incomplete acts and situations in which a securitizing move fails to produce the desired results.

3.6 Incomplete Acts: When a Securitizing Move Does Not Affect the Audience

Three phases can be identified in a securitizing move. In the first phase norm entrepreneurs play a role in diffusing ideas to an audience. In the second phase identities of actors are shaped accordingly. In the third phase the security discourse is internalized (Sjöstedt 2013).

Hass (2009) explains how media plays three roles in the process of securitization, namely as the organ of securitization, independent securitizing actor, and watchdog of how a securitized matter is handled (Hass 2009). The watchdog role has been reaffirmed by Evans and Kaynak (2015) which studied the role media plays in ideologically segregated societies. It showed how media acts as a watchdog that especially safeguards the position of the minority group(s) in the society (Evans and Kaynak 2015).

The Media have proven to be powerful actors in the diffusion of norms especially in the societal sector. White (2007), for example, shows how media contributed to the securitization of migration in Spain at a time when it was economically counterproductive to do so (White 2007).

A securitizing move requires three facilitating conditions to smoothly reach the level of securitization including the formal linguistic rules of uttering that make the utterance understandable as a security speech act, the social position of the actor that makes

him eligible to make the utterance and finally the characteristics of a threat that make it more likely to be seen as a threat by the audience (Buzan et al. 1998). This is consistent with Austin's proposal that for a performative utterance to be successful, certain circumstances must exist, such as the utterance of certain words by a person who is authorized to utter them while following a certain procedure aimed at bringing about certain effects (Austin 1975).

3.7 Politics of Exceptionality and the Use of Extraordinary Measures

Extraordinary measures (exceptionality) have traditionally been understood as a core element of securitization. What exceptionality means is simply that an issue is transferred from the realm of normal politics where issues are dealt with through ordinary political procedures to the realm of extraordinary politics where the procedures that are often followed in dealing with issues are neglected due to the urgency of the matter. It posits that the current order does not have the capacity to deal with the existential threat that endangers the referent object and opts for the enactment of a new order through which previously untested responses can be made (Huysmans 2011).

Exceptional measures are often a response to an assumed threat. This positions securitization squarely within the discourse of 'politics of fear'. Norman (2018), however, shows that exceptionality is not necessarily the result of fear; Instead it can be caused by all different types of 'emotions' (Norman 2018). From this viewpoint, politics of exceptionality are applied in two phases. During the first phase it is claimed that the rights of a certain entity has been violated therefore provoking relevant emotions among the audience while during the second phase extraordinary measures are said to be needed to deal with the issue (ibid.). What is exceptional often becomes institutionalized in time however. Therefore securitization falls

somewhere between the status of exceptional and institutional (Watson 2011).

Two different stances may be distinguished regarding the existence of an existential threat and the need to act through extraordinary measures. The original formulation proposed by the Copenhagen School assumes that neither existence of a real existential threat nor a consequent adoption of extraordinary measures is required. The mere possibility of adopting extraordinary measures would suffice (Buzan et al. 1998). Efforts have been made, however, to include the implementation of extraordinary measures in the definition. From this viewpoint securitization is only successful to the extent that the securitizing move is followed by a security practice (Floyd 2011).

3.8 Desecuritization and Resecuritization: The Inclucsion-Exclusion Loop of Security Concerns

Once the securitized matter no longer poses an existential threat it is possible to desecuritize the issue and move it back to the realm of normal politics (Buzan et al. 1998). Desecuritization can be done either by pre-empting securitization (non-securitization), refraining from securitization in a manner that creates security dilemmas and makes the return to normal politics impossible (wise securitization), or in cases where securitization has already happened by normalizing the issue through particular practices (normalization) (Roe 2004).

Securitization and desecuritization sometimes go hand in hand. Securitization at one level may be followed by desecuritization at another level. Chouliaraki and Georgiou (2017), for example, shows how humanitarian efforts of state and non-state entities are securitized in relation to the national security of the hosting state while they are simultaneously desecuritized in relation to humanitarian activities of citizens to protect

refugees in tough situations (Chouliaraki and Georgiou 2017).

Geri (2016) introduced the term 'resecuritization' to the literature of securitization (Geri 2017). It explained how the Kurdish agenda was re-securitized in Turkey due to the 'ontological insecurity' of Turkey caused by worsening situation of Syria and Iraq as well as historical heterogeneity of Turkish identity, the efforts of the AKP to gain absolute majority and change the constitution, and finally the ideological differences between HDP as a secular socialist party and the AKP as an Islamist party with a tendency towards economic liberalism (ibid.).

3.9 Deep Securitization and the Problem of Distinguishing Security Concerns from Normal Politics

The concept of deep securitization was introduced to the literature by Abulof (2014). Having studied the Israeli society and politics, Abulof (2014) defined deep securitization as the sedimentation of securitized discourses in a society as an all embracing phenomenon. This simply means that when perceptions of existential threat are extended to all aspects of social life politicization of an issue may be one and the same as securitization (Abulof 2014).

3.10 The Normative Implications of Securitization

Ontologically, Securitization Theory is not a normative theory as it refrains from making value judgements of securitizing attempts. Instead, it focuses on examining the acts and interactions that lead to the construction of security perceptions (Newman 2010).

A number of studies, however, have studied the consequences of securitization on the lives of different groups in the society. Walter (2016), for example, shows how development programs that were based on securitization of opium in Afghanistan

diminished the quality of life among the residents of Nangarhar province who were mainly opium pot farmers. Anti-opium pot growing policies stripped families of access to necessary financial credit. This was accompanied by an extremely corrupt administration and lack of alternative ways of providing for the livelihood of families. The aforementioned elements caused the commodification of women's bodies (bride price) as well as maltreatment of women in the society (Walter 2016).

Sarkar (2017) also studies the consequences of the securitization of India-Bangladesh border for the livelihood of villagers in the region. While petit smuggling was prevalent all along the India-Bangladesh border the toughening of security measures in the region by fences and technological means simply took smuggling revenues out of the hands of villagers and into the hands of big syndicates who have connections with officials (Sarkar 2017).

3.11 Criticisms Addressed at Securitization Theory

Since the formulation of securitization theory it has become a subject of meticulous reviews by scholars from all different perspectives in the discipline. The following paragraphs portray just a few of the comments made on securitization theory:

- Unnecessarily broadening the concept of security: Securitization broadens and deepens the concept of security to untraditional objects and mechanisms. This can make security so vague as to strip it from meaning. It can also be dangerous in that it opens the hand of the most dominant security actors to enter those aspects of social life that have often been considered private (Buzan et al. 1998).
- Ahistorical and non-empirical: the overemphasis of securitization, at least in its Copenhagen version, on speech acts and specific audiences and actors has led some scholars to declare this theory ahistorical and non-empirical. From this point of view securitization should be considered the result of spatiotemporal

interactions between multiple actors and audiences who cannot necessarily be identified (Stritzel 2011).

- Elite centric and a realm of silencing the weak: it has also been argued that a speech act oriented reading of securitization is flawed as it gives primacy to the speeches of dominant actors at the cost of others (McDonald 2008). This has been termed 'security of silence' (Hansen 2000). Due to lack of access to means of expression or the limits imposed on certain groups they are inevitably eliminated from the position of securitizing actors.

- Biased in favour of neo-liberal ideas: Some have argued that securitization is inherently biased in favour of liberal ideology. This bias can be seen in the singling out of underdevelopment as a security threat by Tony Blair's labour government in the UK (Abrahamsen 2005), the theories inherent distinction between the state and its subjects as well as its assumption of extraordinary nature of security acts which makes it inapplicable to revolutionary contexts in its original form (Holbraad and Pedersen 2012), its inherent distinction between the civilized and uncivilized which is claimed to be rooted in colonial modernity (Moffette and Vadasaria 2016), etc.

3.11.1 Suggestions Aimed at Correcting the Assumed Shortcomings

At the theoretical level, Holbraad and Pedersen (2012) suggests that the narrative of revolution often blurs the distinction between the state and the people because in revolutionary contexts these two are considered one and the same. When complemented by Agamben and Schmitt's idea that the state of exception exists prior to the state of rule it can be argued that in a revolutionary context where the state and the people are considered coterminous the border between normality and exceptionality wanes (Holbraad and Pedersen 2012).

Baele and Thomson (2017) proposes that experimental methods can contribute to the literature on securitization. This is done by solving two problems, namely 'generalizability' and 'case selection bias'. Using experimental methods in studying securitization helps generalize the result of case-specific studies while offering a more objective environment that makes more objective results a possibility (Baele and Thomson 2017).

3.12 The Relation Between Securitization and Framing

The literatures on securitization and framing are very similar in nature. Framing has a broader scope and a richer literature than securitization. While framing has its origins in the psychology of communication and sociology (Carvalho Pinto 2014), Securitization is a more recent concept that stems from security studies and international relations.

Unlike securitization the literature on framing is dispersed and disorganized but due to its long history it enjoys a much more advanced toolbox. Both are based on the construction of meaning through the practice of actors, the identification of multiple elements in the process of meaning making including the context, audiences and actors, the centrality of an active audience in the construction of meaning, the role of social positions in the success of meaning making, and the importance of cultural and historical resonance in increasing the possibility of audience acceptance (Watson 2012).

The framing literature can explain the mechanism through which an actor tries to convince an audience of the security nature of an issue (Carvalho Pinto 2014). Framing is often defined as a process in which certain aspects of an issue are selected, displayed, and stressed on with the aim of evoking a certain interpretation (Entman

1993). This definition perfectly fits the Meadian understanding of language of a mechanism through which the same meaning is shaped in, both, the mind of the speaker and the hearer (Mead 1934). It has been suggested that securitization is a master frame and should be treated as a subset of framing (Watson 2012). A master frame in this account is defined as a broad frame that includes many narrower frames. Securitization can indeed benefit from the framing literature by gaining access to the diverse areas of study that framing literature has already discovered.

Chapter 4

MEDIA FRAMING AND ITS AFFINITY WITH

SECURITIZATION THEORY

As previously illustrated, Neoclassical Realism holds that domestic (internal) forces influence state behavior. The impact of the media (as a domestic intervening variable) on reflecting and affecting state policies has been investigated in this thesis within the context of securitization of asylum seekers and refugees. Although framing could have been discussed in the context of media effects in the third chapter of the thesis, it was discussed separately due to its affinity with securitization theory.

4.1 Introduction

In summary, securitization is a broadening attempt to extend the concept of security to non-traditional sectors by defining security as a social construction based on linguistic and non-linguistic interactions between one or more actors and an audience (Buzan et al. 1998; Newman 2010; Hayes 2012; Balzacq 2005).

Securitization and framing have very similar roots and are frequently associated with one another. This resemblance is why this thesis focuses on media and media frames. The role of media frames in developing the heuristics employed in decision making is investigated by answering the aforementioned questions. This is based on the premise that media frames and their combinations in the news media produce heuristics, which in turn stabilize decision-making environments. The research on the interaction between securitization and framing suggests that the two concepts are extremely

similar and can be used interchangeably to analyze the construction of security.

The field of framing has a long and illustrious history, with roots in media studies. This field was established by researchers interested in communication psychology, but it was later expanded to include sociology (Carvalho Pinto 2014). Securitization is a newer term that focuses on one component of meaning making: the formation of security perceptions.

Unlike the securitization literature, the framing literature is dispersed and unorganized, but it has a considerably more evolved toolkit due to its long history. Both are based on the construction of meaning through the practice of actors, the identification of multiple elements in the process of meaning construction, including the context, audiences, and actors, the centrality of an active audience in the construction of meaning, the role of social positions in the success of meaning making, and the importance of cultural and historical resonance in increasing the possibility of audience acceptance (Watson 2012).

The mechanism by which an actor tries to persuade an audience of the security nature of an issue can be explained by framing literature (Carvalho Pinto 2014). It has been suggested that securitization is a master-frame and should be treated as a subset of framing (Watson 2012). A master frame is defined as a broad frame that may include many narrower frames. Securitization can indeed benefit from framing literature by gaining access to the diverse areas of study that framing literature has already discovered.

A large number of studies have already applied framing analysis to the study of

securitization but to the best of my knowledge none have made a large scale comparative analysis on the response given to refugee resettlement by different countries. Most of these studies have addressed the response of a single country to the problem. The following studies are examples of such attempts.

Perhaps the most pertinent study to the topic of this thesis is Conrad's (2017) study of the fate of the German 'welcome culture' in relation the mass movement of Syrian asylum seekers. This study examined the frequency and nature of the frames used by German media in relation to the adopted resettlement policies and situated the German 'welcome culture' in the context of the societal climate that has been shaped in the aftermath of the World Wars in Germany (Conrad and Aðalsteinsdóttir 2017). The frames used by media reflected this societal climate. Despite minor differences in the nature of the frames, the research followed a methodology similar to that of this study.

Innes (2010) examined the 'security framing' of asylum seekers as threats to Britain in the UK tabloid media and showed that by framing asylum seekers as a collective and creating dichotomous relations between this collective and the characteristics of UK citizens the tabloid media, together with the political elite, tried to frame asylum seekers as a threat to the United Kingdom. The tabloid media, in the UK, depicted asylum seekers as a collective that posed physical, economic, and identity threats towards the UK (Innes 2010). This study clearly demonstrated how the act of de-individualizing asylum seekers and portraying them as a group can lead to their securitization.

Karyotis (2012) studied the role played by the elite and the media in securitizing migration in the context of the Greek society. It showed how the pictures of migrants

entering Greece created an unknown situation for the Greek society that shattered their self-image as a homogeneous group. The visual clues provided by the media and the rhetoric of the elite securitized migration in that context (Karyotis 2012). This type of securitization is especially important in contexts where members of the host society assume a distinct identity. In the context of this thesis, as demonstrated in the discussion chapter, while Canadian media frequently defined Canadian identity as multi-ethnic and multicultural, UK media was more prone to portraying refugees, indirectly through visual cues or directly through broadcasts regarding crimes committed by refugees, as a collective whose behavior and identity does not always match that of the British self.

Carvalho Pinto (2014) followed this approach to explain the dynamics of securitizing riots in Bahrain during the Arab Spring. It showed how in Bahrain the Arab Spring riots were successfully securitized by providing a coherent claim by the government authorities that used historical analogies linking the riots to foreign intervention. In fact, the government of Bahrain security framed the riots in the context of Iran's hegemonic ambitions in the region. This was a historical analogy that the countries of the Persian Gulf could easily relate to (Carvalho Pinto 2014). Carvalho Pinto's study of the use of historical analogy as a method of securitizing a movement is relevant to this thesis. The use of historical analogy in the context of refugees has also been identified in Canadian and UK media. Historical analogy was used in both cases to take pride in and portray past activities as heroic humanitarian contributions. However, while the Canadian media used historical analogy to normalize refugee resettlement as an act that had historically had very positive consequences for the country, the UK media, following the political elite, used it to deflect arguments against the UK's then current stance by demonstrating how the UK has always been

very helpful to refugees in the past (the acceptance of child refugees during the second world war was especially focused on).

Evans and Kaynak (2015) also investigated how, in countries with ideologically divided populations, the power struggle between these ideological groups over media frames deprives media of objectivity and biases the frames in favor of one or the other ideology. In countries where the social divide is based on religion, such as Turkey and Israel, religious and secular groups compete over media frames while securitizing the actions of the other groups (Evans and Kaynak 2015). In the context of this thesis, such competition over frames was least visible in media content in Canadian news networks, but it was clearly demonstrated in the UK, particularly among political party leaders. This observation has been discussed in the discussion chapter.

Studies have also examined the dynamics of security framing in international organizations. Rychnovska (2014) analyzed security framing in the United Nations Security Council by using this framework. It investigated the different stages of security framing around the UN Security Council in regard to the war on terror. The study demonstrated that the UNSC successfully expanded its scope by embedding security frames within its existing discourse (Rychnovská et al. 2014). The sections that follow review the definition and functions of framing in greater detail.

4.2 The Origins of the Term "Framing" in the Literature

Goffman (1986) defines frames as structures that help organize experience (Goffman 1974). Although Goffman (1974) is often credited for introducing the concept of framing to the study of social sciences (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001), it traces the initial usage of the term to Bateson (Goffman 1974). The origins of this term, however, can be found in Edelman's writings and the works of 'symbolic

interactionists' including George Herbert Mead (Bennett and Iyengar 2008) whose works also make a great contribution to the identification of the roots of language. The term has been widely used in communication studies since the 1990s. This was especially triggered by Entman's effort to provide guidelines to harmonize the application of this term in the study of communication and media (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen 2011).

4.2.1 How Frames Work: Accessibility, Applicability and Availability

The objective behind the framing process is to guide the audience to a certain direction either by increasing the salience of an issue (Entman 1993) or by providing a mental map through which different issues are interpreted (Borah 2011). Both objectives are based on the idea that individuals cannot process all the information extant in relation to an issue and have to cull the information to be able to process them. Through the aforementioned processes framing can facilitate this culling process by making certain information accessible, applicable, and available to the audience. Accessibility is an unconscious process that increases the possibility of frame acceptance through the repetitive use of a certain frame. Availability refers to the fact that for a frame to have an influence it should already exist in the memory of the audience and the audience should comprehend it and assign significance to it. Applicability is a conscious assignment of strength and relevance to the frame by the audience (Chong and Druckman 2007a). These mechanisms serve as the foundation for decision making environments, as defined in this thesis. Decisions are made in an environment where specific information is accessible, applicable, and available. This is frequently done while contrary information is rendered inaccessible, unavailable, or inapplicable. As a result, this process is based primarily on the inclusion of specific information at the expense of excluding contrary information.

The claim that increasing the salience of issues through frames influences the decision making of individuals is in contrast with pure rational choice models of behaviour (Druckman 2004). This claim has been put to a neuro-biological test the results of which showed the increasing activity of a part of the brain (the Amygdala) that is responsible for emotions after exposure to frames (De Martino et al. 2006). This experiment provides scientific evidence that frames do, in fact, affect people's decision-making by influencing them psychologically and biologically.

4.2.2 Synthesizing Competing Frames

Framing does not happen in vacuum. It is often the consequence of complex power struggles among multiple frame sponsors who compete over their desired frames (Carragee and Roefs 2004). It is through these power struggles that political issues are constructed (Simon and Xenos 2000). The selection of one frame often necessitates the exclusion of another (Boydstun and Glazier 2013). Evans and Kaynak (2015), for example, examined the power struggle between the religious groups and the secular groups to enter their frames in media in Turkey and Israel as two countries whose population is divided on ideological lines. They concluded that it is often the case that while the frames of the more powerful group finds its way to media the weaker group acts as a watchdog of democracy in such societies (Evans and Kaynak 2015).

It is sometimes the media itself that engages in the power struggles over the creation and distribution of frames. In the context of security framing the study made by Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon (2005) attributed a great importance to media as a securitizing actor in face of passive political elite. It studied the role of media in securitizing the Bosnian crisis and convincing the US government to react by using micro-frames that relate a foreign crisis to the national interest of the state and requires a proper reaction (Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon 2005). Al Nahed (2015),

however, showed how BBC and Aljazeera depended on the agenda of the political elite as sponsors of specific frames during the 2011 Libyan uprising and NATO intervention in that country. It was especially their financial dependence on the governments that was focused on in the research (Al Nahed 2015). In other words, this study gave more prominence to the political elite in devising frames and pictures media simply as distributors of political elite frames.

The competition over frames in media has been studied in a large number of research. Examples of such research are the framing of the Euro currency (Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001), the use of frames during the political competition over immigration in Switzerland (Hänggli and Kriesi 2012), irregular migration and the role of anthropologists in studying relevant media frames (Jacobsen 2015) among many more.

4.3 Definition of Frames and Their Different Varieties

A large number of definitions have been suggested by scholars depending on their focus on the receiving side of framing or the sending side of this process. Entman (2007) defines framing as "the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation" (Entman 2007). Chong and Druckman (2007a) describes framing as "the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong and Druckman 2007b). Gross and D'Ambrosio (2004) offers a very broad definition that introduces framing as how a certain issue is presented (Gross and D'ambrosio 2004). Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein (2011) define frames as patterns of interpretation aimed at aiding efficient processing of the information by the audience (Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein 2011). Reese (2001) defines frames as a single moment in the process of interaction

between multiple frame entrepreneurs when a choice is made over what should be signified and what should be excluded (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). Framing, from this perspective, is essentially based on the the interplay of inclusion and exclusion (De Vreese 2012). Bernhart (2006), on the other hand, defines framing as a process of 'discursive exchanges' (Wolf and Bernhart 2006). It therefore depicts framing not in terms of the inclusion/exclusion dyad but in terms of a discursive exchange between multiple frames.

Entman's understanding of framing has gained prominence in relation to most other definitions. This definition is premised on selecting and increasing the salience of particular dimensions of reality (Entman 1993). Any such selection happens in the context of shared meanings among the members of the audience, be they the society as a whole or a group within the society. The selected frames are then used as the organizing elements of social interactions (Matthes 2012). Entman's definition diverges from early studies in that it attributes intentionality to framing (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen 2011). This thesis is unconcerned about whether framing is a conscious act. Instead, it is interested in whether and how the decision environments reflected by media frames affect decision making, regardless of whether or not their influence is conscious.

4.3.1 The Functions of a Frame

Entman (1993) identifies diagnosis, evaluation and prescription as the typical functions of a frame. This means that they diagnose a problem, evaluate the causes of the identified problem and finally prescribe solution to that problem (Entman 1993). Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko (2011) adds providing organizing instruments that facilitate the understanding of an issue among the audience and structure a story to these functions (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011). Visual cues can

also be considered frames as they also focus the attention of the audience to certain aspects of an issue while excluding others. In fact, it has even been claimed that visuals have a stronger effect on the audience than text (Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein 2011). The nature and direction of the decision environment are determined by the diagnosis, evaluation, and prescription mechanism. This is especially true if there are no competing frames calling the diagnosis, evaluation, and prescription into question.

4.4 Frame Types

Frames may be distinguished based on their level of effect on the audience. Strong frames indirectly affect the audience through the use of heuristics while weak frames lack the indirect symbolism of these frames and deal with the substance of the issue at hand (Chong and Druckman 2007b). A frame's strength is defined by its persuasiveness. This may increase or decrease based on the credibility of the source, the resonance of the frame with prior perceptions, etc. (Chong and Druckman 2007a). In the context of political campaigning a strong frame is the one that "provokes a defensive reaction by the opponents and/ or that resonates in the media" (Hänggli and Kriesi 2012). Frame strength is based on the idea that frames that resonate with the perceptions of audience have a wider application (ibid.). However, this is not always the case. As evidenced by the Canadian media's framing of refugee resettlement, which contradicted opinion poll findings, decision environments can sometimes contradict public perceptions. This has been discussed in greater depth in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Framing effects studies often distinguish between generic frames and issue specific frames (Aalberg, Strömbäck, and De Vreese 2012). While the former can be applied to a broad range of issues (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011) and may

even be used to study a specific time period and societal context (Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001), issue specific frames provide the tools to facilitate the interpretation of a specific issue that is under discussion (Dekker and Scholten 2017). A similar distinction has been made between episodic frames and thematic frames (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). These two types are quite identical to the distinction between issue specific frames and generic frames. Episodic frames, like issue specific frames, are concerned with specific issues. Thematic frames, on the other hand, study frames that can be applied to a broader context (Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001). Episodic (issue specific) frames encourage personal level explanations and are quite detailed while thematic (generic) frames are less detailed and describe the matter in its broader context (Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese 1999). The applicability and impact of generic frames in issue specific areas of study (e.g. crime, European common currency, etc.) is dependent on the emotions that are usually connected to those specific issues. Therefore a human interest frame would probably evoke more emotions in a news piece related to crime than an economic frame (ibid.).

A distinction can also be made between audience frames and media frames. The first is concerned with human cognition and the second deals with how different issues are packaged and presented by media (Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001). This is quite similar to the distinction between 'frames in communication' and 'frames in thought'. The former indicates the symbolic gestures used by the elite and the media to depict a certain image and convey a certain interpretation while the latter refers to the cognitive instruments used by the audience to understand the issue at hand (Chong and Druckman 2007a). A number of studies have focused on the first type of frames leading to elite centered perceptions of frames. Other studies, however, have proposed that frames are not merely elite based but are also created through interpersonal

conversations (Druckman and Nelson 2003). Elite centric frames are meant to convey, both, the message and the frame preferred by the political elite (Gerth and Siegert 2012).

Valence frames, also known as equivalency frames, rate issues as a variation that ranges from extremely negative to extremely positive news (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011). The weight assigned to valence frames may lead to a shift in opinion regarding the same issue (Chong and Druckman 2007b).

Journalistic frames are the tools used by journalists to effectively deal with the great flow of information (Matthes 2012). The choice of frames by journalists is guided by certain professional criteria (Gerth and Siegert 2012).

Strategy frames, or game frames, are those that depict politics as a game that essentially has losers and winners (Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001). This may be complemented in reference to opinion polls (Aalberg, Strömbäck, and De Vreese 2012). Aalberg et al. (2012) distinguishes between two dimensions of this frame, namely the game frame and the strategy frame. The first is centered upon the concept of winning and losing while the second is focused on the motives of politicians and their choices (ibid.). This type of frame should not be mistaken for the concept of strategic communication that refers to the consideration of all possible happenings during the course of an event and constructing messages that can resonate with the public more easily (Hänggli and Kriesi 2012).

As has been mentioned in details in the methodology chapter of this thesis, this research has been made on the basis of five 'generic frames' and a number of

'thematic' frames' to identify the direction of frames.

4.4.1 Frame Entrepreneurs and Their Influence in the Projection of Frames

At least three players have a role in the process of creating the framing environment in which media discourse is shaped, namely the news sources, the journalists, and the audience (Pan and Kosicki 1993). Each of these players compete over their preferred frames with each other based on their interests (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). They all engage in the process and act according to their own roles in the established discourse (Pan and Kosicki 1993). In such competitive environments the audience is assumed to consciously evaluate the options when they are exposed to opposing frames (Chong and Druckman 2007b). This highly competitive interaction between frame entrepreneurs makes framing the realm of 'strategic communication' among these actors (Matthes 2012). Among these actors, the political elite has traditionally been considered the most prominent. However, journalists also play a major role in promoting their desired frames (Gerth and Siegert 2012). Journalists have limited time and space to deliver the news pieces so they use frames as heuristics that help the audience understand the news more easily and keep them enthusiastic in the process (Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese 1999).

4.5 Framing Bias

Three types of bias can be identified in framing, namely 'distortion bias', 'content bias', and 'decision-making bias'. Distortion bias indicates the distortion of reality in news reporting, content bias refers to taking sides in reporting the news, and decision making bias is based on the news journalist's presuppositions about the issue at hand, which leads to the production of biased news frames (Entman 2007).

4.6 The Different Mechanisms Through Which Framing Affects the Audience

Goffman defines framing in terms of social interactions between different entities (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen 2011). This requires an active process in which experiences are classified, organized, and interpreted (Pan and Kosicki 1993). On the receiving side of framing, audience frames are used as cognitive shortcuts that help the audience interpret the news that they are exposed to (Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese 1999). The organizing function of frames is done either cognitively or culturally. The former triggers 'psychological biases' while the latter strategically affects the interpretation of social reality (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). Frames are ultimately aimed at guiding and facilitating interpretation (Wolf and Bernhart 2006). This is usually done by increasing the salience of an issue (Entman 1993). Research shows that highly salient issues are paid more attention to in the process of decision making. Increasing the salience of issues is termed 'emphasis framing' (Burscher, Vliegenthart, and Vreese 2016).

Vreese et al. (2011) attributes framing effects to alteration of the importance level of specific dimensions of the issue at hand (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011), while Reese (2003) explains it as the result of reliance on expectations (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). The repeated use of frames is aimed at helping the audience distinguish the problem, store it in their memory, associate it with prior information, and understand the situation (Matthes 2012). This is why it has been argued that the political elite try not to overload media with frames and prefer to use just a few frames so not to complicate cognitive restoration of their desired messages (Hänggli and Kriesi 2012). These mechanisms may eventually lead to deeply embedded frames that can hardly be recognized in the text. However, the most frequent frame may not

always be the strongest frame (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). Chong and Druckman (2007c),for example, suggest that in shaping public opinion frame quality matters more than its frequency (Chong and Druckman 2007b).

Studies have shown that framing political news as a narrative (story line) helps the audience understand the issue easier. Berinsky and Kinder (2006), for example, showed how subtle changes in the framing of the Kosovo crisis affected the audiences cognition of the issue (Berinsky and Kinder 2006). However, the effects can only be observed in the proper information environments (Vreese and Semetko 2004).

Palframan et al. (2006) explains the role frames play in activating the part of brain (Amygdala) that deals with emotions by analyzing the fMRI taken from people exposed to frames (Palframan et al. 2006). These activated emotions, then, act as moderators of rationality effectively influencing 'cognitive processing' (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). This explains why when the audience face dual frames they tend to react in a more moderate way than they would if they had faced harmonious frame(s). The opposing frames seem to neutralize, or at least moderate, each other's effects (Chong and Druckman 2007b). Studies have shown that both visual, auditory and textual frames evoke various emotions and affect public opinion (Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein 2011).

4.6.1 Mitigating Factors of Framing Effects

A number of mitigating factors have been introduced by studies of media effects. The following are just a few of these mitigating factors. Framing effects may be moderated by interpersonal conversations between members of the audience. It has been suggested that framing is most successful in contexts where post-exposure communication among the audience does not exist (Druckman and Nelson 2003).

One of the reasons that only those collections of frames that were broadcast consistently were considered in this thesis was this mitigating effect of interpersonal conversations and inconsistent environments. Consistent frames that have been repeated in news pieces for a long enough period of time appear to provide a better ground for analysis because they are more likely to have become embedded in public discourse.

The level of sophistication among audience members can also act as a mitigating factor for framing effects. It is often assumed that higher levels of political sophistication make the audience more prone to framing effects; however the direction of this moderating effect is highly contested (De Vreese, Boomgaarden, and Semetko 2011). In the context of security framing of refugees, Karyotis and Patrikios (2010), demonstrated how conflicting frames used by powerful societal actors (i.e. politicians vs. the religious elite) can cancel each other out in the context of a society that gives the same weight to their frames (Karyotis and Patrikios 2010). The study reinforced Carragee and Roefs' (2004) conclusions about power struggles over frames among multiple actors, social groups, and audiences (Carragee and Roefs 2004). The current thesis also demonstrated how competing and non-aligned frames within the same news network can also reduce framing effects. This was most noticeable in the content of news broadcasts in the United Kingdom. This has been deliberated on in more details in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

4.7 Effects Types: Conditional Effects vs. Absolute Effects

The nature and extent of framing effects have been examined by different scholars. On the one hand it is sometimes claimed that frames have an immediate and unconditional effects on the audience. These studies are mainly based on experimental design and they don't necessarily account for possible moderating

factors like interpersonal communication between the audience members. On the other hand, a number of studies have accounted for the possibility of the influence of moderating factors including 'interpersonal conversations' (Druckman and Nelson 2003), exposure to conflicting frames in competitive environments (Chong and Druckman 2007a) which is sometimes translated into elite competition over their desired frames (Druckman 2004), and different levels of political knowledge (Lecheler and De Vreese 2011). This latter study showed that the level of political knowledge had little influence on the effects of frames on individuals. However, moderate levels of political knowledge made the subjects more prone to framing effects (ibid.).

4.8 The Longevity of Framing Effects on the Audience

Studies have shown that framing often has a short life span (Druckman and Nelson 2003; De Vreese 2004). It is because of this short life span that frames need to be repeated and reinforced in time (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001; De Vreese 2004).

Studies have not resulted in a deterministic answer to the problem of framing effects duration. A study done by Druckman and Nelson showed short term framing effects that extended to 10 days after the audience was exposed to such frames (Druckman and Nelson 2003). Lecheler and de Vreese (2011), however, examined the effects of frames in 1 day, 1 week, and 2 week periods and concluded that the effects were quite persistent although they started to fade after two weeks (Lecheler and De Vreese 2011). In accordance with these studies, a novel method of clustering frames and frame sets was developed and used in this thesis, allowing the research to focus on the most relevant data.

4.9 Framing Migration

Studies focused on immigration have identified a number of generic frames that can be used to examine the issue including 'human interest', 'threat', 'economic interest', and 'managarialist' frames.   Dekker and Scholten (2017) has shown how a combination of 'human interest' media frames that rotate around an individual's story and 'managarialist' frames used by political actors can create a 'David vs. Goliath' effect. This means that a minor event may create a major dramatic response (Dekker and Scholten 2017). It has been argued that unlike popular claims regarding the widespread use of negative consequence frames, 'human interest frames' that are narrated through the perspective of irregular migrants and their stories are widespread in news reports related to such migrants (Jacobsen 2015).

It has been suggested that media frames irregular migrants as either victims or criminals. When it comes to the sources of frames, studies have shown that when it comes to migrants, government sources are usually dominant and are more frequently cited. Immigrants and pro-immigrant organizations are next in line. Academics are the least cited in such cases (ibid.).

In this chapter, frames and the mechanism through which they affect the audience were examined, the factors that can mitigate the effects of frames were discussed and the longevity of frames were briefly explained. These topics serve as the foundation for outlining the research design and methods in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Because the focus of this thesis has been on media frames and their impact on decision-making environments, framing analysis has been utilized to identify the nature and direction of frames used by the news media in reference to Syrian refugees. This strategy was purposely chosen to provide a thorough grasp of the decision-making environments in the countries under consideration. Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software was used to code the population of news pieces on Syrian asylum seekers. These news pieces were collected from the websites of the relevant news agencies and coded using five generic frames and a number of sub-frames aimed at distinguishing the direction of the generic frames. To distinguish instances of highly concentrated framing of refugees, high density clusters of frames were identified. These high density clusters were then sequenced with legal instruments and public opinion surveys to see if a temporal relationship between the high density clusters and political/legal decisions could be established.

5.1 Framing Analysis: the Qualitative Analysis of Media Frames

Framing analysis has been used in a vast number of disciplines, especially those that study discourse (Wolf and Bernhart 2006). It engages in detailed study of 'political language' and is situated within the framework of constructivism as it not only reflects but also shapes discourse and perception (Pan and Kosicki 1993). Framing analysis can be done both qualitatively and quantitatively. The qualitative approach to framing analysis helps avoid the reductionism of the quantitative approach in that it does not

reduce frames to frequencies (Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001). This is the approach taken by this thesis.

Frames cannot be examined outside the scope of the environment in which they are embedded. The organizing function of the media frames should be studied through the perspective of the principles that journalists and other frame advocates follow as well as the more general discourse utilized by the media as the end result of the competition between frame sponsors (ibid.). To account for these factors in this thesis, the political tendency of the four news networks chosen for this research was identified during the case selection phase.

As a general rule, especially when written content is concerned, the researchers identify a problem, isolate an issue area within that problem, inductively identify related frames based on prior studies, identify and retrieve related content, and consequently code and analyze a sample of related content (Chong and Druckman 2007b). Coding content is often used as a means of distinguishing relevant patterns within the discourse regarding an issue (Goffman 1974). Analyzing frames is either done through experimental design or by the analysis of content in a period of time. The downside of experimental studies is lack of temporal validation. Even when such validation exists experimental studies are hardly capable of controlling for exposure to other sources of information (De Vreese 2004) it is because of these inefficiencies that some scholars have called for the application of non-experimental methods in framing analysis (De Vreese 2012).

In relation to competitive environments, all experimental studies on framing effects can be summarized in three categories. The first category includes studies that

examine non-competitive environments by exposing subjects to only one side's frames. The second category includes studies that examine competitive environments in which subjects are exposed to frames on both sides symmetrically. Finally, the third category includes those studies that examine competitive environments in which subjects are exposed to frames from both sides asymmetrically (Chong and Druckman 2007a).

Three different tendencies have been identified in framing analysis each portraying a different phase in the process of framing. The first tendency focuses on the communicator, especially journalists, the second trend focuses on media as frame conveyors, and the third focuses on the effects of media frames on the audience (Brantner, Lobinger, and Wetzstein 2011).

Four framing devices have been identified in news discourse, namely "syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure" (Pan and Kosicki 1993). Syntactical structure is concerned with language rules and positioning of words, script refers the mental representations of events, thematic structure relates a series of events to a single core story, and rhetorical structure refers to the way journalists represent (frame) issues through rhetorical instruments including metaphors, catchphrases, etc. (ibid.).

Generic frames are considered more appropriate for comparative case study research (Aalberg, Strömbäck, and De Vreese 2012) while issue specific frames are more suitable for specific topics (Dekker and Scholten 2017). This thesis makes use of five generic frames including conflict frame, human interest frame, responsibility frame, and economic interest frame to study the role of news media in shaping policies

regarding refugees. Valkenburg et al. (1999) provides the following definition for these frames.

> "Although it is conceivable that journalists can use a multitude of ways to frame the news, the literature seems to point to at least four ways in which news is commonly framed: (a) by emphasizing conflict between parties or individuals (conflict frame); (b) by focusing on an individual as an example or by emphasizing emotions (human interest frame); (c) by attributing responsibility, crediting or blaming certain political institutions or individuals (responsibility frame); and (d) by focusing on the economic consequences for the audience (economic consequences frame)" (Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese 1999)

The applicability and impact of generic frames in issue specific areas of study (e.g. crime, European common currency, etc.) is dependent on the emotions that are usually connected to those specific issues. Therefore, a human interest frame would probably evoke more emotions in a news piece related to crime than an economic frame. This is why Valkenburg et al. (1999) suggests that at least in relation to stories of crime, that human interest frames may indeed obscure audiences memory of the story. This can be explained, among other explanations, by the interference of emotions in processing factual information related to the issue at hand (ibid.).

This thesis makes a comparison between the frames used in the UK and Canada. This is based on the assumption that the framing environment in the two countries is shaped by different dynamics and this affects the frames used by news media in the two countries. This is in line with Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) in its claim that "Implicit and often explicit in the country comparisons is the assumption that national media systems and news cultures affect news frames" (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen 2011). The following pages provide a detailed description of the research design and methods used in this study.

5.2 Research Questions

This study is aimed at answering the following questions:

- What combination of frames has been used by media platforms in the UK and Canada?

- How consistent have media frames been in each country?

- What type of decision making environments did the media frames reflect in each country?

- What implications could the decision making environments, as reflected by the media, have for the actual decisions?

The research design and the methods used to gather and analyze the data shall be outlined in this chapter. The information regarding the methods used in gathering the data, as well as the nature of the documents used for the purpose of this thesis will be discussed comprehensively and the methods used to analyze the data will be explained. The last pages of the chapter will be dedicated to the statement of hypotheses and the novel methods used in data analysis.

5.3 Design

One of the main motivations behind this research was understanding why states adopted different and sometimes contradictory policies in relation to the resettlement of refugees. A seemingly obvious answer to this question would be that different political, economic and ideological situations cause these different policies. However, this seemingly obvious answer is brought to question when countries with almost identical economic, political and ideological premises make contradictory decisions in this regard. The problem becomes even more acute when countries with stronger economic infrastructure avoid resettling refugees when an economically less developed state embraces resettlement policies. To examine the dynamics that cause

this difference, one would inevitably have to study the behavior of at least two states comparatively. This is the reason why, for the purpose of this research, four news networks from two different countries were examined.

As the second step, a choice had to be made about the nature of these cases. The question here would be whether it would be better to study the most similar cases and determine the dynamics that led to their adoption of similar policies in relation to refugees or would it be more suitable to examine the most different cases to understand the dynamics that caused the difference in their policy making. Considering the nature of the questions posed in this research, it was decided that the study of most different cases would be more suitable as it would reveal the frame patterns that affected two different decision environments. This would create a point of reference for future studies as well.

The next step in designing the research was identifying whether a cross sectional or longitudinal research would suit the purpose of this research. Considering the nature of this research which required tracing possible securitizing patterns in media frames regarding refugees and the fact that the movement of asylum seekers to the European continent continued over an extended period, it was decided that a longitudinal research would be more suitable. This research was therefore designed as a longitudinal comparative most different cases analysis.

5.4 The Method

5.4.1 Data Collection

For the purpose of this thesis all the news videos broadcast in the time period between January 2009 and December 2016 were downloaded including a total number of 1115 videos. They were then hand coded in Atlas.ti qualitative content analysis software

based on a codebook that was prepared beforehand. All videos were watched and hand coded by a single coder as this would provide a better understanding of the context in which media frames were embedded. The last stage included gathering information on the laws and regulations adopted in the same time period and the comparison of the content and direction of these regulations to the direction of the identified frames. This process has been explained more comprehensively in the following pages.

The videos were searched through the use of specific keywords both on the website of the relevant news organizations and on google search engine. As news videos are the subject of this study using search strings to identify and retrieve relevant videos proved futile. Single word and compound noun searches were made using the words 'Syrian', 'refugee', 'Syrian refugee', 'asylum', 'asylum seeker', 'Syrian asylum seeker', 'immigrant', 'Syrian immigrant', and 'resettlement'. All videos that were associated with one of these keywords were then downloaded for coding purposes.

All the retrieved videos were then reviewed based on their titles and their accompanying text in cases were the videos were accompanied by text on the website. This left the study with a population of 1115 videos 497 of which were related to two Canadian television news networks (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Global News). The remaining 618 videos were related to two British television news networks, namely the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Sky News.

5.4.2 General Sample Size and the Distribution of Videos

As mentioned in the previous section this thesis is based on the coding of the total population of the news videos broadcasted by four television news networks in two countries. The population included 1115 videos (N=1115). A total number of 497 videos were retrieved from CBC and Global News in Canada. Global News' share

of this number was 350 videos while CBC's share was 153 videos. Upon further
deliberation six videos were eliminated as they didn't seem relevant to the research.

On the British side 618 videos were retrieved from two television news networks,
namely the BBC and Sky News. Of this number, 337 of the downloaded videos were
broadcasted by Sky News and 281 videos were broadcasted by BBC.

5.5 The Coding Process

5.5.1 The Use of Generic Frames in Coding Media Content

The videos were coded using five core generic frames and a number of sub-frames that
aimed to provide clarity on the direction of the frames (negative vs. positive). The core
generic frames included 'economic interest', 'human interest', 'conflict', 'morality',
and 'responsibility'. The application of these generic frames and their definitions were
to a great extent motivated by Vreese (2005). The codes and their definitions can be
found in the following table.

Table 5.1: Generic Frames and Subframes Used to Code Media Content

Generic Frame: Conflict

Sub-Frames:

gfconflict-citizens

gfconflict-citizensvisavisgovernment

gfconflict-countries

gfconflict-political statement fact check by media

gfconflict-politicians

Any frame that focuses on the conflict between individuals, groups and institutions regarding the issue under study

Generic Frame: Economic Interest

Sub-Frames:

gfeconomicinterest-hostcountry

gfeconomicinterest-hostcountry-burden

gfeconomicinterest-hostcountry-contribution

gfeconomicinterest-refugees

Any frame that discusses asylum seekers or resettlement in terms of their economic consequences either positively or negatively

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Generic Frame: Human Interest

Sub-Frames:

gfhumaninterest-citizenpassion

gfhumaninterest-citizens-need for equal treatment

gfhumaninterest-refugees

gfhumaninterest-refugees-hatecrime

gfhumaninterest-refugees-refugeesasnewcanadians

gfhumaninterest-securityofcitizens

Any frame that narrates the story of an individual (be it the story of the asylum seekers or the citizens in relation to asylum seekers) and provides an emotional angle to the story

Generic Frame: Morality

Any frame that discusses solving the issue of resettlement and/or asylum from the perspective of religious or moral obligation

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Generic Frame: Responsibility	Any frame that attributes the reponsibility for causing or solving the issue (of resettlement and asylum seeking) to certain individuals, groups, or institutions (including state and non-state actors)

5.5.2 Distribution of Codes Among Networks

A total number of 1598 quotations were made on the videos by atlas.ti qualitative analysis software. Of this number 696 quotations were related to CBC and Global News in Canada and 902 quotations were made on the videos retrieved from BBC and Sky News in Britain. It was decided that the quotations could be subjected to multiple codes. Therefore, these codes were applied to the quotations related to Canadian media 1519 times while they were applied to British news videos 1970 times.

5.5.3 Clustering of Frames: a Contribution to Methods Based on the Literature

To analyse the data, collections of videos in which frames were used extensively were put together in different time bundles. These collections will be addressed as 'frame clusters' throughout this thesis. Every cluster was set to have either seven videos that were broadcast in consecutive days or at least seven videos broadcast not more than seven days apart from each other. This limitation left the study with 26 frame clusters. For the purpose of this thesis all frame clusters that included less than 30 videos were eliminated. This left the study with eight frame clusters.

5.5.4 Testing for Reliability Through Inter-Coder Reliability Test

A second coder was trained to code a sample of 30 randomly selected videos, and the results showed an 84 percent similarity between coders, indicating that the results were reliable.

5.6 Limitations of the Research

Every research design has limitations. This study is no exception to the rule. Some of these limitations were identified in the design section. This thesis was written using a comparative analysis design based on the most different cases. Although this research design helps identify patterns that lead to contradictory behavior, it does not reveal much about whether identical patterns would be observed in cases of similar behavior. As a result, generalizing the research findings is difficult.

This research analyzed the frames used in the content of the news media. This has been done due to the extended outreach of the news media and their vast audience. However, this choice has also limited this study by excluding interpersonal communication between members of society. This study could be supplemented by examining the interaction between members of society on social media (Twitter, Facebook, etc.). This was, however, not possible due to the technological and time limits.

This research is based on the analysis of the frames used by four news networks in two countries. The research did not adopt an experimental design. This was because of the nature of research questions. However, an experimental research design would probably be more revealing in relation to whether exposing the same audience to contradictory frames (the same frames used in most different cases) would change their attitude towards the same phenomenon.

Although the cases and news networks were carefully chosen after studying their political tendency (This was done to ensure that these networks were representative of the media in Canada and the UK), the political tendency of news networks is often relative and subject to change.

5.7 Conclusion

The thesis was written on the basis of longitudinal comparative analysis based on most different cases. This design was suitable for the purpose of this research, as the research was aimed at identifying patterns and frame combinations that shaped the decision environments in which decisions regarding refugee resettlement were made.

The design does, however, have limitations that could be deliberated on by future research on this subject. In line with the studies on the longevity of framing effects, this thesis introduced a novel way of clustering and sequencing media frames in a way that rendered the examined data more relevant. To the best of my knowledge, such a research method has never been used before.

In the next chapter, the results of the analysis of the identified frames and frame clusters will be identified.

Chapter 6

RESULTS

The results of the framing analysis are described in detail in this chapter. The chapter begins with more general cross-country results before delving deeper into the distribution of each of the five generic frames and their sub-frames in the news networks studied. The chapter also shows how various frames were combined to reflect specific decision-making environments. To determine the temporal order of frame clusters and political decisions, a chronological comparison of frame clusters and political decisions was also performed.

6.1 General Cross-Country Distribution of Frames

The total distribution of frames across the two countries, regardless of the temporal distribution of frames, was as follows. In Canada the human interest frame was used 439 times, the responsibility frame was applied 110 times, the morality frame was used 67 times, the conflict frame was used 53 times, and the economic interests frame was used 30 times. In Britain, on the other hand, the human interest frame was used 439 times, the responsibility frame was identified 110 times, the morality frame was applied 67 times, the conflict frame was used 53 times, and the economic interest frame was used 30 times. The following graph depicts the difference in the distribution of frames among these countries.

The above chart shows the total distribution of frames across the studied news networks in Britain and Canada. Almost in all cases Canadian media falls short in the number of times the five generic frames have been used in comparison with Britain. This
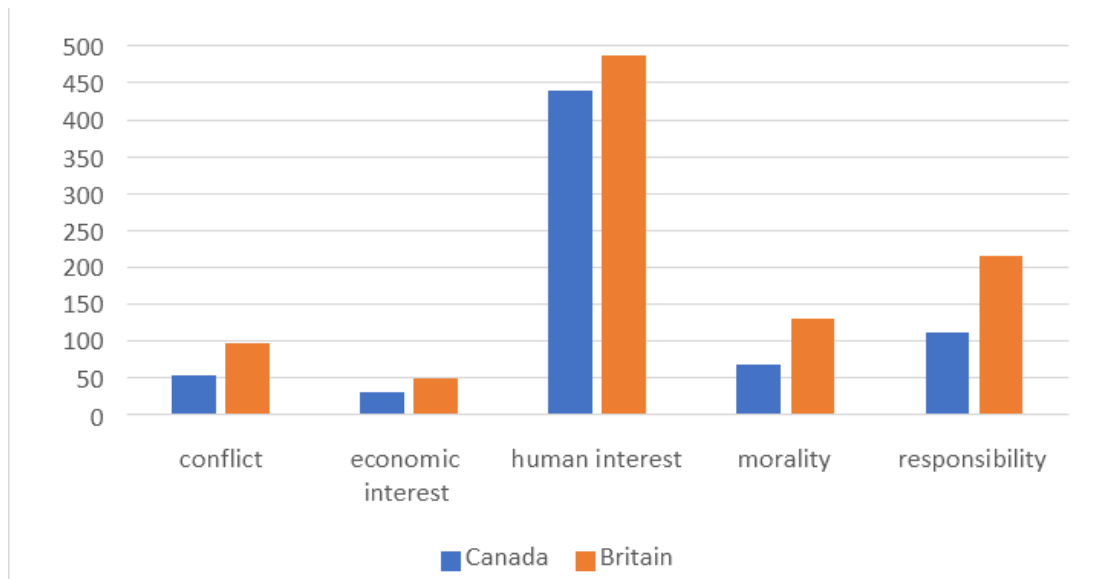
Figure 6.1: Cross Country Distribution of Frames

difference is especially more obvious in in the distribution of human interest, conflict, morality, and responsibility frames. In none of these countries was the economic frame used extensively. This cross country distribution gives us a general idea of how frames were used in these countries. However, it provides no meaningful understanding of the temporal differences in using these frames or the contextual consequences of different combinations of frames. An effort shall be made to compensate for this discrepancy in the following pages by accounting for, both, the timing of frame use and different combinations of frames and their possible consequences.

6.2 General Distribution of Sub-Frames

The above mentioned charts were based on the main generic frames. These frames provide a general picture of how the frames have been used across the countries but they do not provide any information about the direction of frames. The sub-frames used in this study are meant to provide us with the relevant information regarding the direction of frames. The following paragraphs discuss these sub-frames and their use in details.

6.2.1 Economic Interest Frame and Its Sub-Frames

The economic interest frame was accompanied by three sub-frames to identify the direction of the generic frame. The first sub-frame pointed to the economic situation of refugees in host countries. This was coded as 'gfeconomicinterest-refugees'. The second set of sub-frames identified the direction of the economic interest frame in relation to the host countries. This included two interrelated sub-frames that identified refugees as burden to the host economy (gfeconomicinterest-hostcountry-burden) or contribution to the host economy (gfeconomicinterest-hostcountry-contribution).

6.2.1.1 Distribution of Economic Interest Frame and its Sub-Frames in Sky News and BBC

As can be seen in the following graph the economic interest frame was used, mainly, to show the burden refugees put on the economy of the host countries (66 percent) while their contribution to the host economies (19 percent) and the economic situation of refugees themselves (15 percent) was hardly discussed.
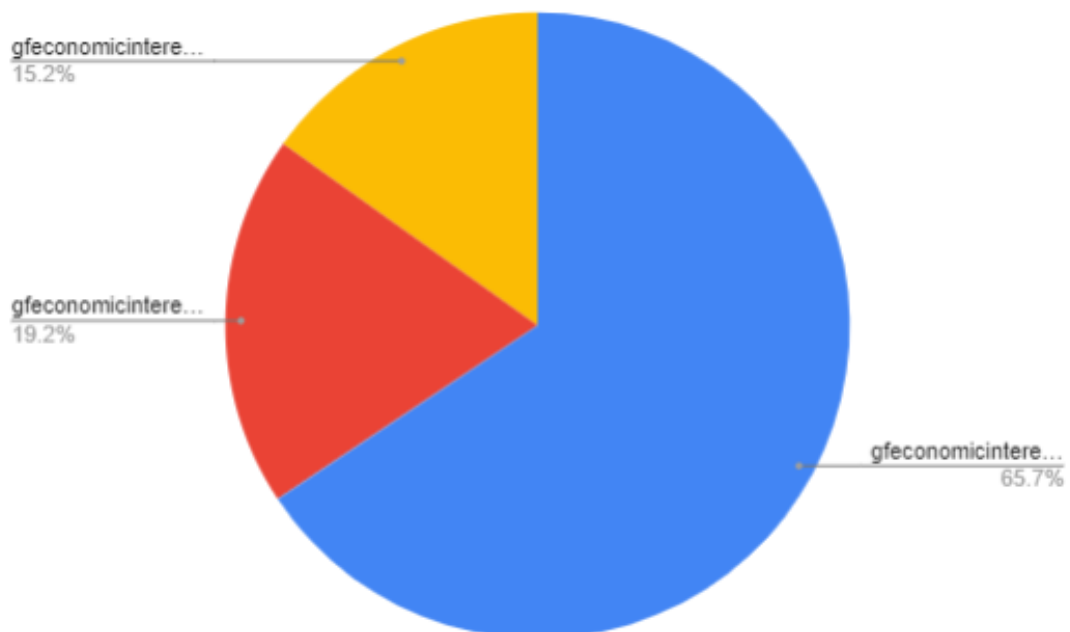
Figure 6.2: Total Use of Economic Interest Sub-frames in Sky News and BBC

6.2.1.2 Distribution of Economic Interest Frame and its Sub-Frames in Global News and CBC

The difference in the approach used by Global News and CBC in comparison with their British counterparts can be seen in how the contribution frame and the burden frame shift their place. 61 percent of the economic interest frames used by Global News and CBC pointed to the economic contributions that refugees can have to the economy of Canada. Only 28 percent of the frames mentioned possible economic burden posed by resettling Syrian refugees on Canadian economy and the economic situation of refugees was discussed only marginally (11 percent).
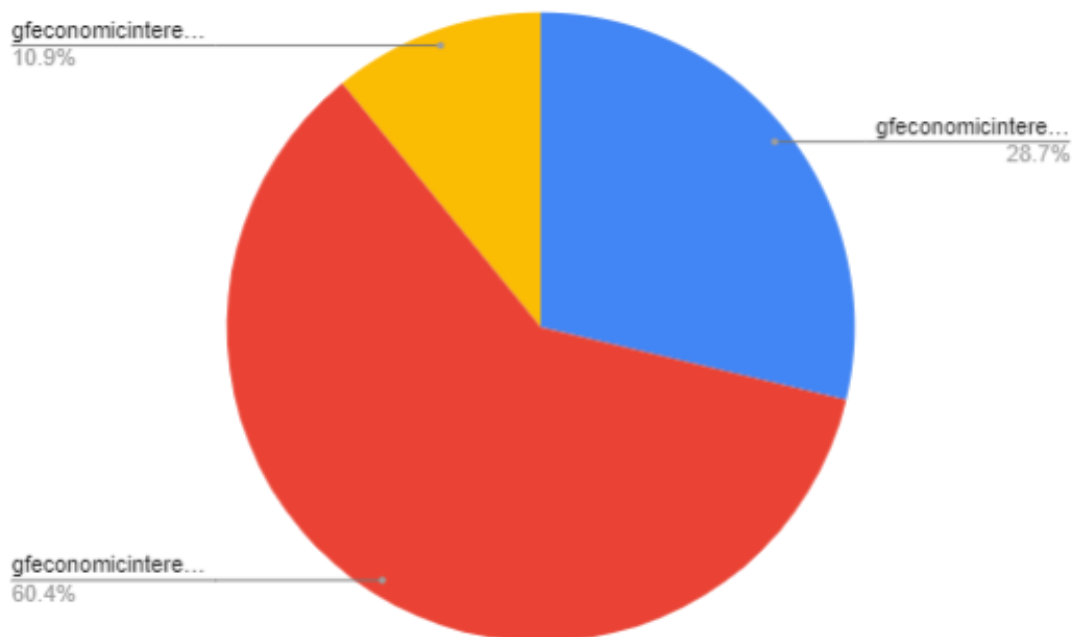
Figure 6.3: Total Use of Economic Interest Subframes in Global News and CBC

6.2.2 Distribution of Human Interest Frame and Its Sub-Frames

The human interest frame has been used extensively by media in both country's media. This, as already mentioned, can be due to the story telling aspects journalistic practices. The following graphs show the difference in using sub-frames across countries. Three of the sub-frames used in the study were common in both countries,

100

namely the story of refugees (gfhumaninterest-refugees), security concerns of the citizens (gfhumaninterest-securityofcitizens), and hate crimes against citizens (gfhumaninterest-refugees-hatecrime). A few of the sub-frames were case specific and were not used for analytic purposes. The majority of human interest sub-frames
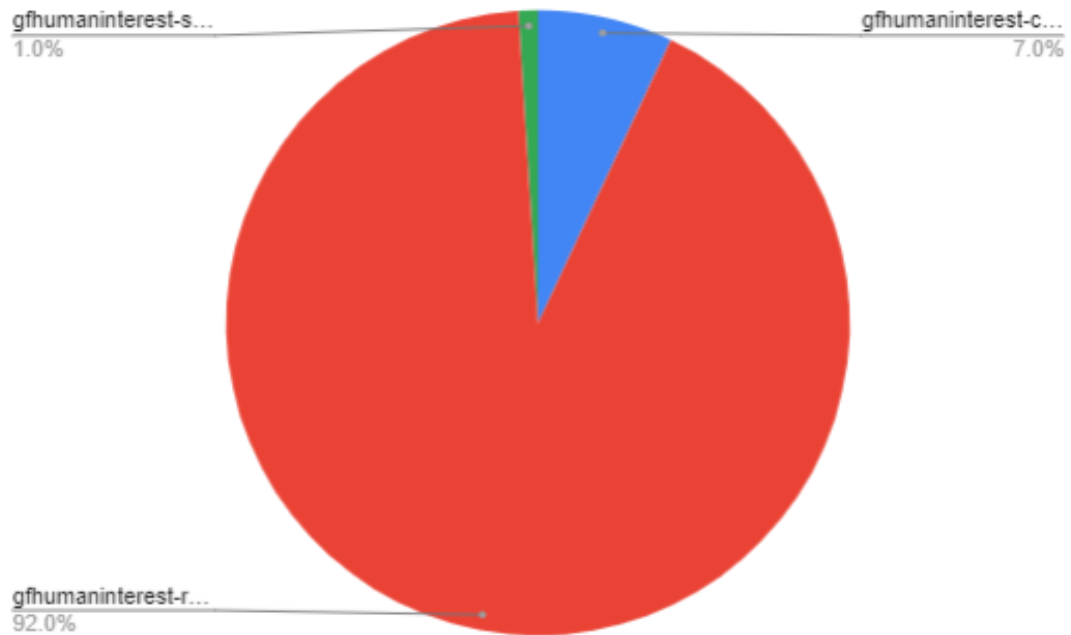
Figure 6.4: Total Use of Human Interest Subframes in Sky News and BBC

used in Sky News and BBC are simply narratives of the life of asylum seekers and refugees as well as the circumstances under which they travel and live. A very small portion of these frames (7 percent) depict the passion showed by citizens towards asylum seekers and refugees and just a few instances of security framing asylum seekers were identified. Global News and CBC, on the other hand, dedicated 86 percent of its human interest frames to stories of refugees. Unlike Sky News and BBC, in Global News and CBC these stories usually depicted refugees after their arrival to Canada and hardly ever visualized the difficult circumstances under which refugees moved to Europe or to Canada. However, verbal depictions were made of such difficulties. Another difference between media in Canada and Britain was the
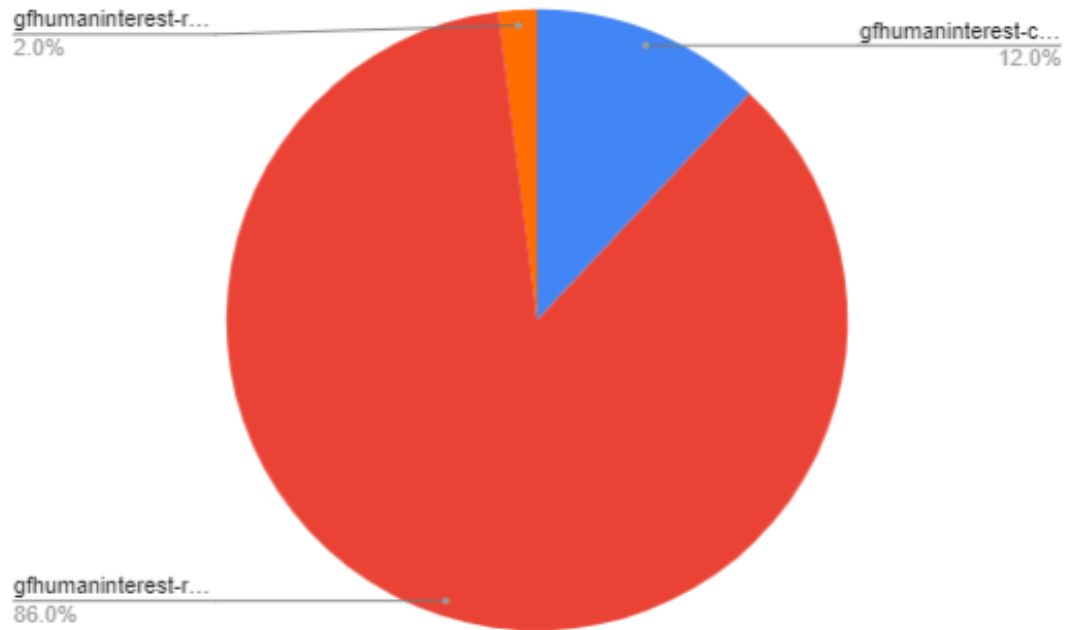
Figure 6.5: Total Use of Human Interest Subframes in Global News and CBC

fact that Canadian media used more security related frames in relation to asylum seekers and refugees in comparison to Sky News and BBC in the UK. This, however, was confined to a period of time right after the Paris attack and was highly concentrated on reassuring the public in Canada that the newly initiated Syrian refugee resettlement schemes would not jeopardize the security of Canadian citizens.

6.2.3 Distribution of Responsibility Frame

The responsibility sub-frames are aimed at identifying frames that attribute responsibility to either the British government (the self) or actors other than the British government and the British Public (other). These were coded as 'gfresponsibility-self' and 'gfresponsibility-other' respectively.

A curious finding about the use of responsibility sub-frames in Sky News and BBC is the almost complete absence of attribution of responsibility to the British self except in the brief period were the Dubs amendment was being proposed in the British parliament. Although the above chart shows self-attribution of responsibility as zero
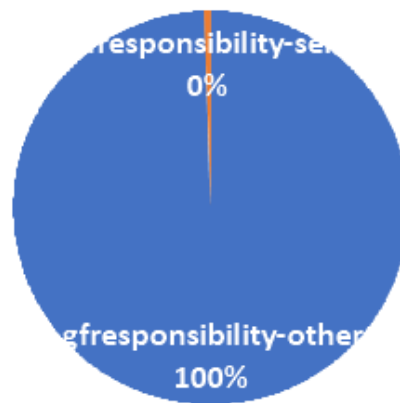
Figure 6.6: Total Use of Responsibility Sub-Frames in Sky News and BBC

percent this is simply because the number of times self-attribution was found has been negligible but it hasn't been completely absent. Global News and CBC on the other hand show a completely different picture in relation to attribution of responsibility. The attribution of responsibility is almost equally assigned to the self (41 percent) and the other (51 percent). This difference in assigning responsibility in media across two countries may have indeed contributed to the difference in perception regarding Syrian refugees and their resettlement. However, this conclusion requires more deliberation on the combination of frames that co-occurred in the news pieces studied for the purpose of this research.

6.3 Cross-Network Co-Occurrence of Frames

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs the quotations made on news videos could be subjected to multiple frames. For the purposes of this research it is important to identify and understand the patterns used in combining frames with each other and whether these patterns may have contributed to the assumed framing effects. The following paragraphs will be dedicated to showing these patterns.

Figure 6.7: Total Use of Responsibility Subframes in Global News and CBC

In Canadian media the **conflict** frame co-occurred 3 times with **economic interest** frame, 37 times with **human interest** frame, 10 times with **morality** frame, and 16 times with **responsibility** frame. The **economic interest** frame co-occurred with **conflict** frame 3 times, 23 times with **human interest** frame, 3 times with **morality** frame and 5 times with **responsibility** frame. **Human interest** frame was combined 37 times with **conflict** frame, 23 times with **economic interest** frame, 48 times with **morality** frame, and 90 times with **responsibility** frame. **Morality** frame co-occurred 10 times with **conflict** frame, 3 times with **economic interest** frame, 48 times with **human interest** frame, and 17 times with **responsibility** frame.

Finally, **responsibility** frame was used in combination with **conflict** frame 16 times, 5 times with **economic interest** frame, 90 times with **human interes**t frame, 17 times with **morality** frame. The following graphs show these combinations visually. The above chart shows how the 'human interest' frame dominated all different combinations of frames in Canada. This could, to a great extent, be related to
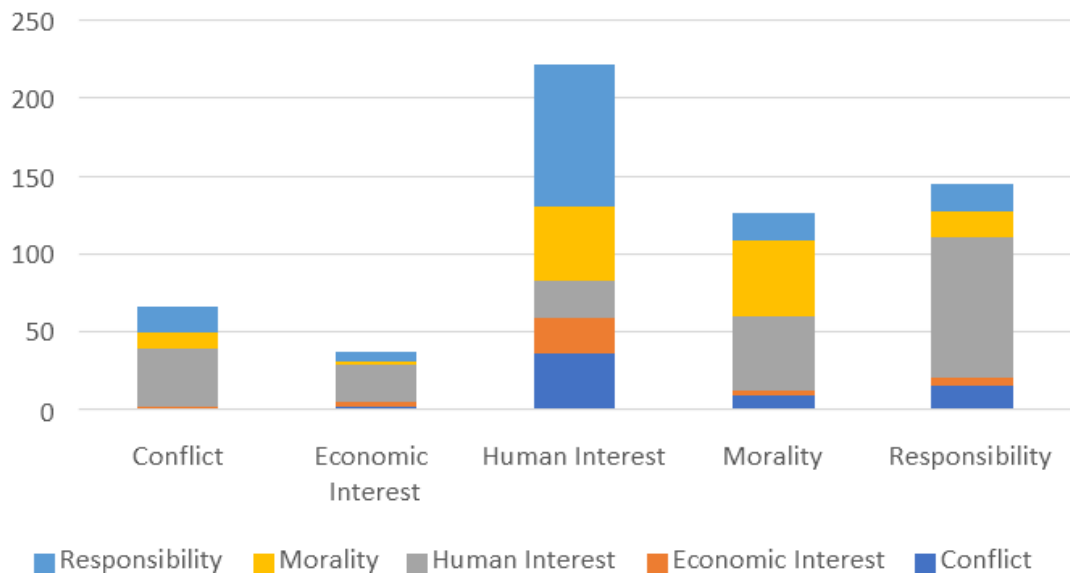
Figure 6.8: Co-occurance of Frames in Canada

journalistic practices and the tendency among journalists to narrate the news in the shape of stories (the story telling aspect of journalism).

In Britain **conflict** frame co-occurred 6 times with **economic interest** frame, 54 times with **human interest** frame, 26 times with **morality** frame, and 26 times with **responsibility** frame. **Economic interest** frame was used in combination with **conflict** frame 6 times, 41 times with **human interest** frame, 8 times with **morality** frame, and 11 times with **responsibility** frame. **Human interest** frame co-occurred 54 times with **conflict** frame, 41 times with **economic interest** frame, 82 times with **morality** frame, and 169 times with **responsibility** frame. **Morality** frame was used 26 times in combination with **conflict** frame, 8 times in combination with **economic interest** frame, 82 times with **human interest** frame, and 36 times together with **responsibility** frame. **Responsibility** frame co-occurred 26 times with **conflict** frame, 11 times with **economic interest** frame, 169 times with **human interest** frame, and 36 times with **morality** frame. Similar to the combination of frames identified in Canada, the combination of frames in Britain is dominated by the human interest
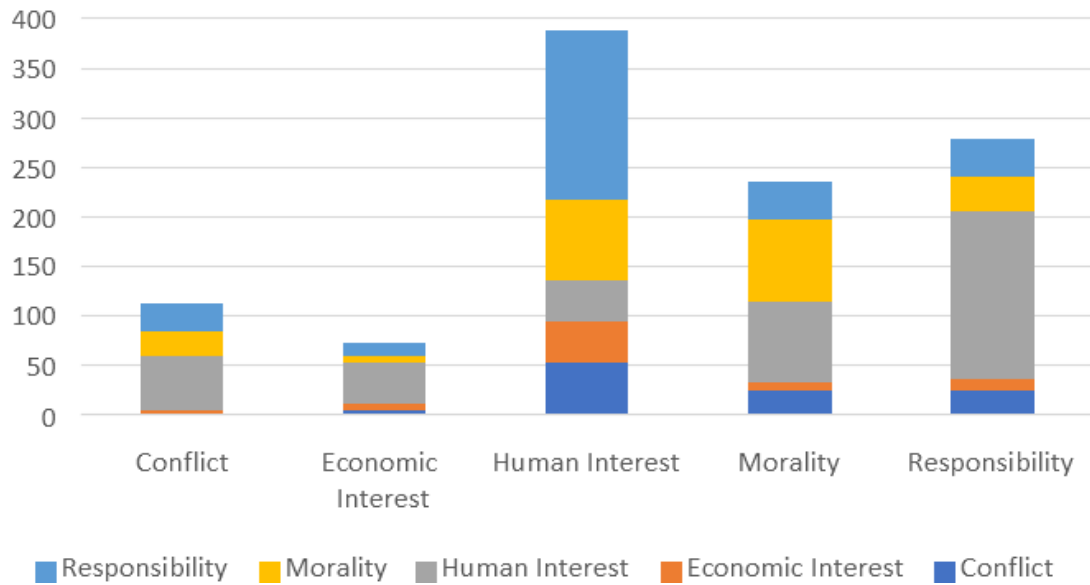
Figure 6.9: Co-occurance of Frames in Britain

frame. As already mentioned this can be attributed to the story telling aspects of journalism. Therefore, the human interest frame has not been considered in the following paragraphs.

This general co-occurrence between different frames does not provide much analytical value to this thesis even though it provides a schematic of how frames combined in the studied news pieces. To get a better understanding of the co-occurrence of frames and their implications for our study a one by one comparison of cross-country frame combinations seem necessary. To have a better picture of the direction of these frames the sub-frames will also be included in the comparison. The co-occurrence of these frames shall be examined in relation to each frame in the following paragraphs.

6.3.0.1 Co-Occurrence of Conflict Frame

The below charts show a very obvious difference between how the conflict frame has been combined with other frames across the countries under examination. In Britain conflict frame is often combined with stories of refugees, responsibility of others (any actor other than the UK) in causing or solving the issue, and the moral grounds for
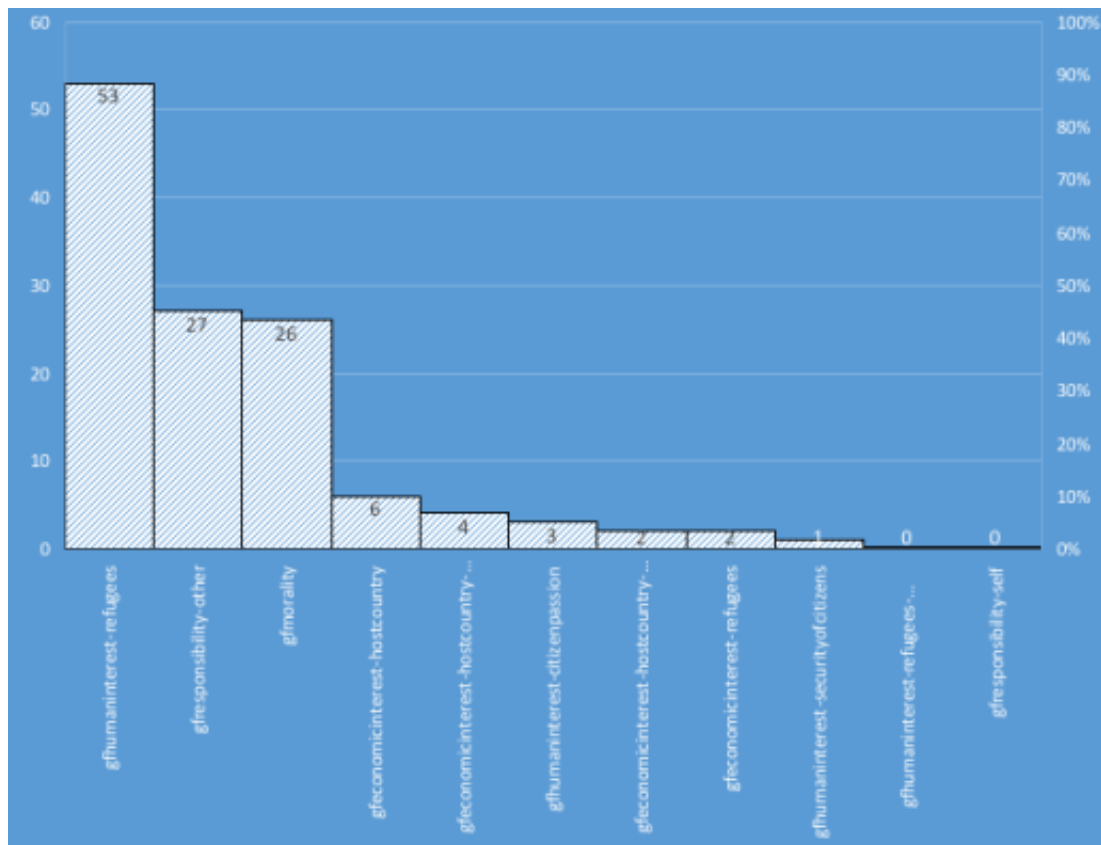
Figure 6.10: Co-occurrence of Conflict Frame in Britain

assisting Syrian refugees. Canadian media combines this frame heavily with the stories of refugees, the security concerns of the citizens (in terms of assurances for the citizens that the settlement program will not harm the security of the state), the responsibility of Canada in assisting refugees, the moral grounds for such assistance, the story of passion shown by citizens towards refugees, and the responsibility of others (other actors than Canada) in causing or solving the problem.

6.3.1 The Co-Occurrence of Economic Interest Sub-frames with Other Frames

The co-occurrence of the economic interest frame was discussed in the previous pages. The following paragraphs show how the sub-frames used in this category were combined with other frames. As shown in the following graph, in Britain, the economic burden frame that depicted refugees as a burden to host societies, co-occurred highly with the human interest frame (55 percent), followed by a much
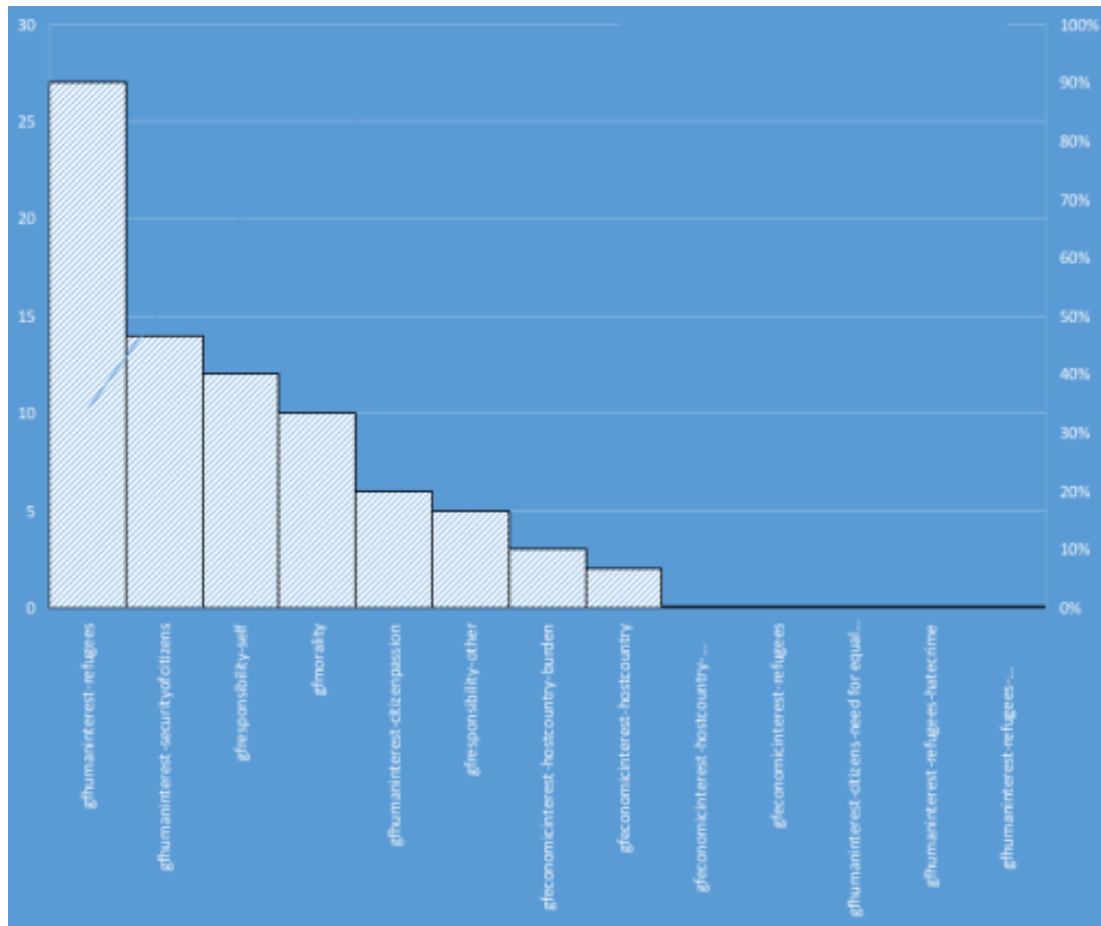
Figure 6.11: Co-Occurrence of Conflict Frame in Canada

fewer number of responsibility frames (16 percent), morality frames (11 percent), conflict frames (9 percent), and passion frames (7percent). As mentioned in the previous pages, responsibility frame in Britain almost exclusively indicated the responsibility of non-British actors. Considering this fact, it would be possible to argue that the co-occurring frames had neutralizing effects on each other as pro-aid frames (morality frame and passion frame) were complemented with the neutralizing forces of economic burden, attribution of responsibility to others and conflict between politicians. The economic contribution frame, that focused on how refugees can contribute to the economy of the host society, accompanied stories of refugees (53 percent - 8), morality (20 percent - 3), conflict (13 percent - 2), passion shown by citizens (7 percent - 1), and attribution of responsibility to others (7 percent - 1). The
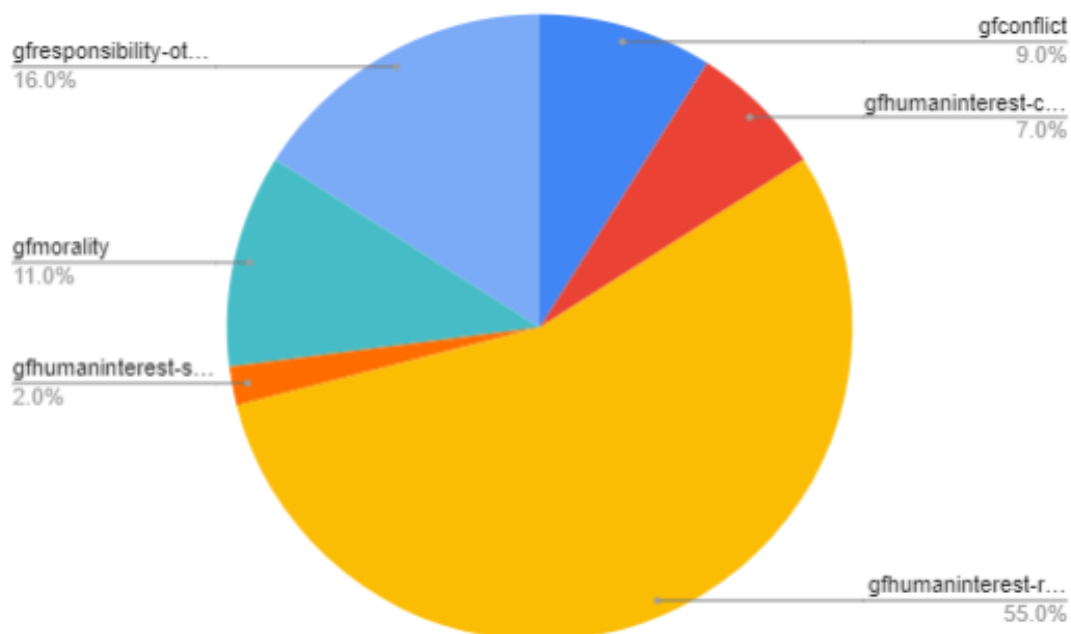
Figure 6.12: Economic Burden Subframe - Sky News and BBC

economic contribution frame seems to have co-occurred with more one-directional frames in favor of aid policies (but not necessarily mass resettlement). This is due to the fact that most of the co-occurring frames indicate pro-aid policy support and are not strongly opposed by neutralizing forces. The sub-frame used to code the economic situation of refugees co-occurred with refugee stories (57 percent - 8), attribution of responsibility to non-British actors (22 percent - 3), conflict (14 percent - 2), and morality (7 percent - 1). Curiously, this combination does not seem to provide a positive perspective for refugee resettlement as almost none of the frames used, except morality that occurred once, can be considered pro-aid frames. This is beside the point that in Sky News and BBC 'gfhumaninterest-refugees' frame, that narrates the story of refugees, almost exclusively depicted refugees in their harsh environments during their mass movement. This does not necessarily humanize refugees but depicts an 'other' whose life circumstances are unlike the 'self'; therefore, alienates the refugees. The same sub-frames were used in the way depicted in the following paragraphs in Global News and CBC. As can be seen in the following
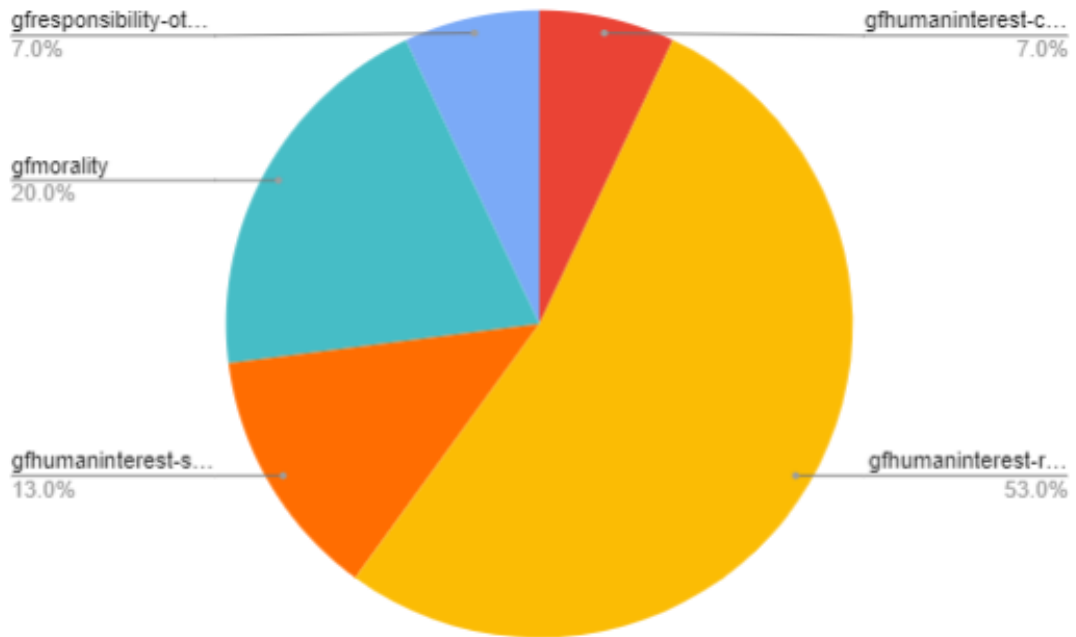
Figure 6.13: Economic Contribution Subframe - Britain

graph the economic burden frame, which could only be identified 8 times in Global News and CBC, co-occurred with stories of refugees (30 percent - 3), conflict frames (30 percent -3), responsibility of non-Canadian actors (20 percent - 2), followed by morality and security (10 percent each - 1). Considering that stories of refugees in Canada were almost exclusively focused on their life after their arrival to Canada and the lack of any visualization of refugees during their mass displacement from Syria it would be possible to argue that this frame was aimed at depicting similarities between Canadians and Syrian refugees. Hence, the term 'New Canadians' was sometimes used to address refugees especially by the officials of the then newly formed Liberal government of Canada. The economic contribution frame, which was identified 17 times in Global News and CBC, co-occurred with stories of refugees (57 percent - 13), passions shown by citizens (31 percent - 7), as well as attribution of responsibility to the self, morality, and security of citizens (4 percent each - 1). This shows an almost unidirectional framing in favor of aiding asylum seekers and refugees. The economic situation of refugees rarely co-occurred with other frames in
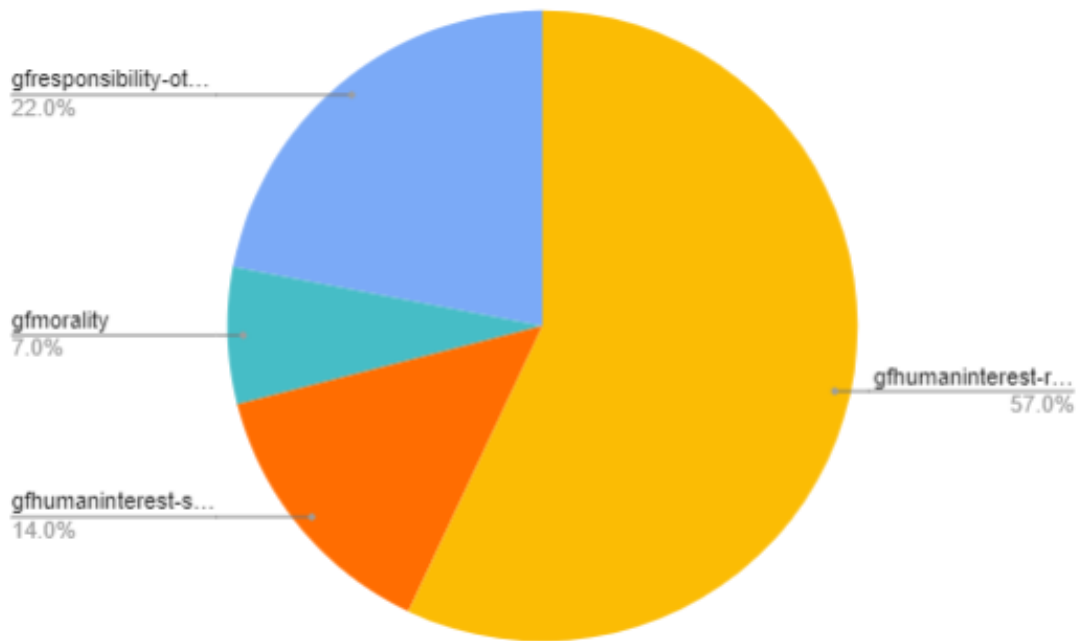
Figure 6.14: Economic Situation of Refugees Subframe - Britain

Global News and CBC (only three times) including twice with stories of refugees and once with passion shown by Canadian citizens. The direction of all three frames seem to indicate pro-aid policies but considering the fact that the sub-frame itself was only identified three times in Global News and CBC this information does not seem to be of much use. Another important co-occurrence that has been checked for the purpose of this thesis has been the co-occurrence of the economic contribution and economic burden frames. This was done to account for possible neutralizing effects of opposing frames in media. This had only happened once in BBC but never occurred in other news networks.

6.3.2 The Co-Occurrence of Human Interest Sub-Frames with Other Frames

The human interest frame was the most dominant frame among the generic frames used for the purpose of this research. It was used 439 time by Global News and CBC and 478 times by Sky News and BBC. Four different sub-frames were used to define the   direction   of   the   original   generic   frame   including   the
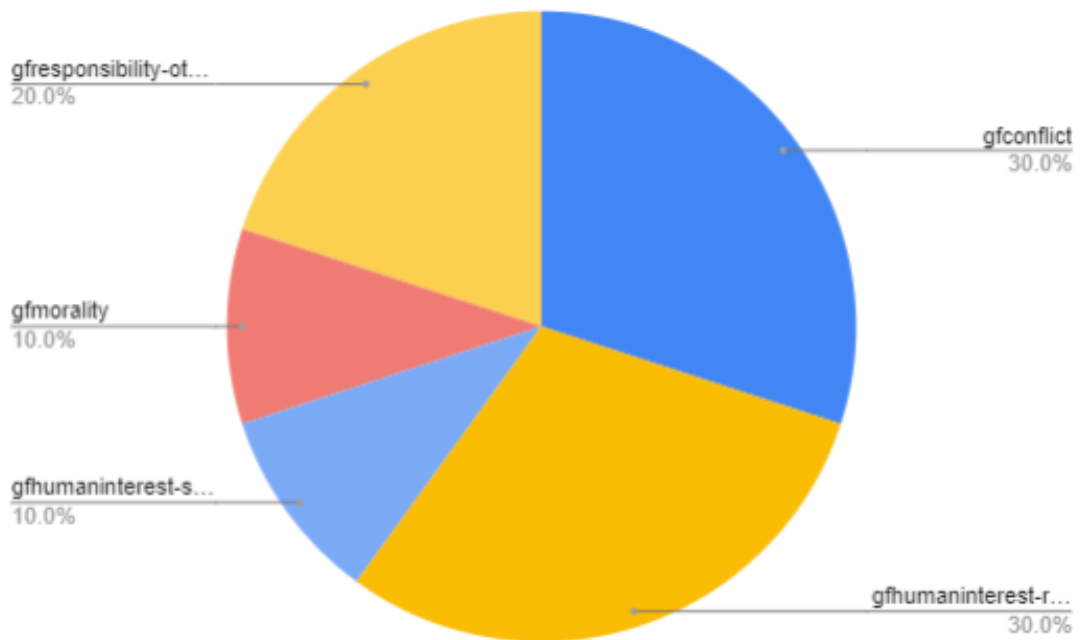
Figure 6.15: Co-Occurrence of Economic Burden Frame in Global News and CBC

'gfhumaninterest-citizenpassion' sub-frame that visualized the passion shown by citizens towards refugees, the 'gfhumaninterest-refugees' sub-frame that told a story about the life of refugees either in the process of movement from the home country to other countries or during their resettlement in the host countries, the 'gfhumaninterest-refugees-hatecrime' that visualized and criticized a hate crime against refugees, and finally the 'gfhumaninterest-securityofcitizens' sub-frame that addressed the possible security concerns of citizens regarding the consequences of mass resettlement. The co-occurrence of each of these sub-frames will be examined in the following paragraphs. The citizen passion frame, which was identified 34 times in Sky News and BBC, co-occurred with the story of refugees (37 percent - 21), morality (31 percent - 18), attribution of responsibility to others (16 percent - 9), conflict and economic burden frames (5 percent each – 3), and attribution of responsibility to self (1 percent - 1). In general, 138 citizen passion frames were identified in Global News and CBC. The frame co-occurred with morality (49 percent - 22), contribution (16 percent - 7), conflict (13 percent - 6), attribution of

112
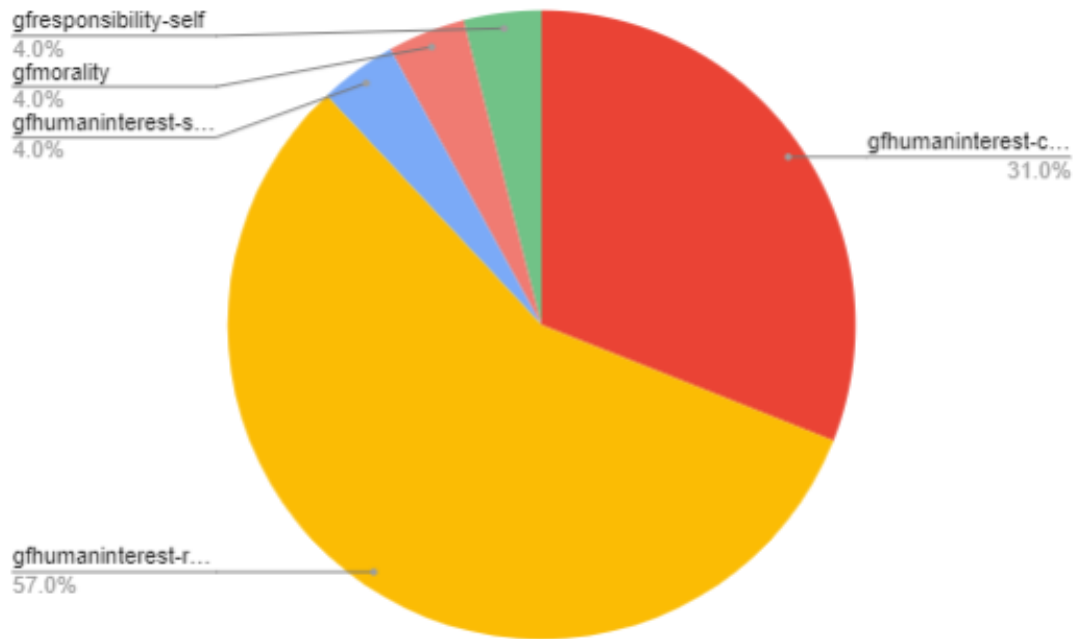
Figure 6.16: Co-Occurrence of Economic Contribution Frame in Global News and CBC

responsibility to self (11 percent - 5), attribution of responsibility to others (9 percent - 4), and economic interest of refugees (2 percent - 1) frames. This reflected a uni-directional environment in favor of offering aid to Syrian asylum seekers and refugees. Refugee stories were identified 471 times in Sky News and BBC. The sub-frame co-occurred with attribution of responsibility to others 162 times (46 percent), followed by morality (21 percent - 76), conflict (15 percent - 53), economic burden frame (7 percent - 24), citizen passion (6 percent - 21), and economic contribution and economic situation of refugees (2 percent each – 8). This is a curious combination as almost all opposing frames can be found in this co-occurrence of frames, albeit in different proportions leading to the argument that they may neutralize each other. The story of refugees was used 373 times in Global News and CBC. This frame co-occurred with attribution of responsibility to others (28 percent - 47), self-attribution of responsibility (23 percent – 39), morality (21 percent – 35), conflict (16 percent – 27), economic contribution (8 percent – 13), economic burden
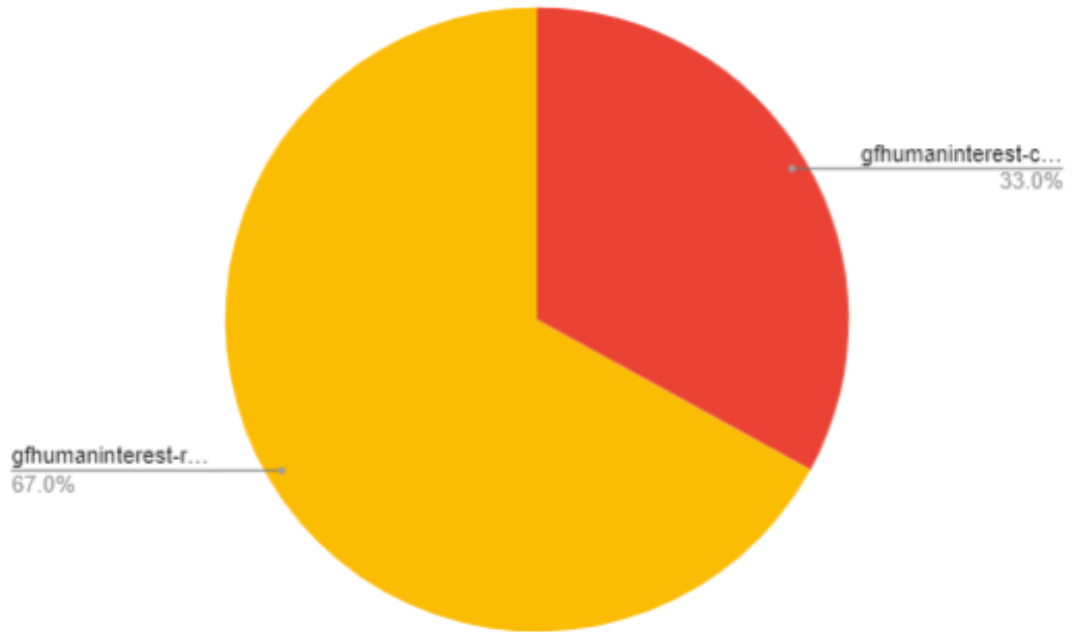
Figure 6.17: Co-Occurrence of Economic Situation of Refugees in Global News and CBC

(2 percent – 3), and economic situation of refugees (1 percent – 2). The co-occurring frames show a fair deal of harmony in favor of offering aid to refugees. The sub-frame used to identify the concerns of citizens about resettling refugees was rarely used in Sky News and BBC and will therefore not be discussed here but the frame was extensively used during a period of time right after the Paris attacks in Global News and CBC. The co-occurrence of this frame in Global News and CBC will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

This frame was used 53 times in Global News and CBC. It Co-occurred with conflict frame 14 times (40 percent), attribution of responsibility to others 8 times (23 percent), morality 7 times (20 percent), attribution of responsibility to self-4 times (11 percent, and both economic contribution and economic burden once (3 percent each). Security concerns were usually framed in terms of conflict between political parties. They were often motivated by specific events, including but not limited to, the Paris attack that
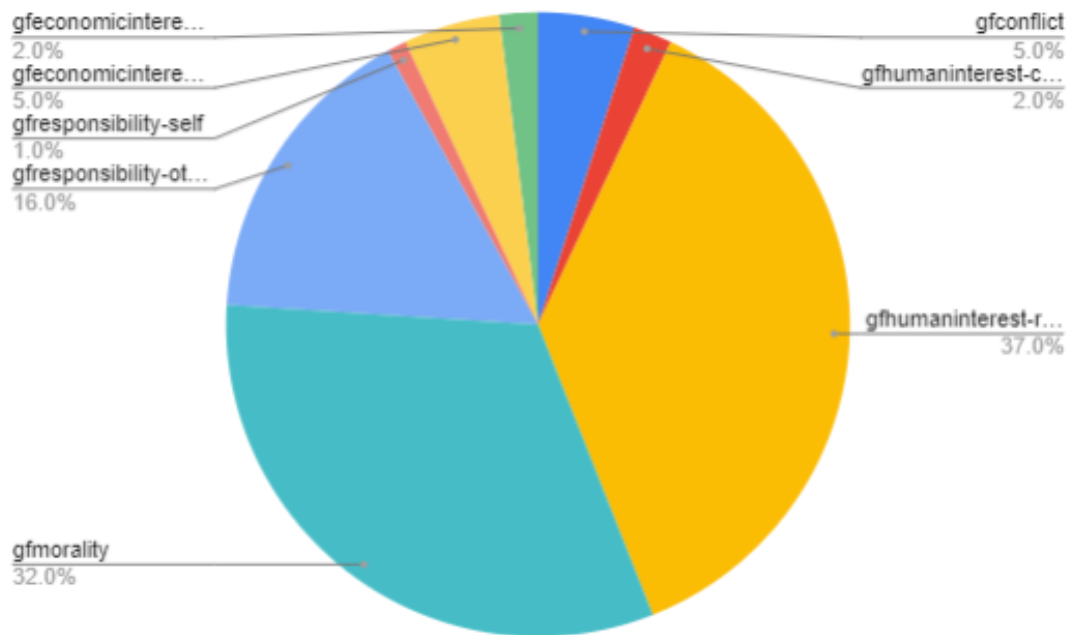
Figure 6.18: Co-Occurrence of Citizen Passion Subframe

caused the highest number of security concerns frames. However, Global News and CBC combined this frame with morality frames and the attribution of responsibility to the self as well as to others as the Canadian stance often emphasized collective action. The depiction of security concerns was itself mainly tilted towards reassuring the citizens that the resettlement programs that were put in place by the newly elected Liberal government would not jeopardize the security of Canadians. This indicated that the decision making environment in Canada was not amenable to securitization of Syrian refugees. Both the media and the political elite refrained from discussing refugee resettlement as a matter of security. Due to the rareness of the hate crime frame in all four news networks their analysis seemed futile.

6.3.3 The Co-Occurrence of Morality Frame with Other Frames

Morality frame was identified in the content of Sky News and BBC 130 times. The frame co-occurred with the story of refugees 76 times (44 percent), attribution of responsibility to others 41 times (24 percent), conflict 26 times (15 percent), passion shown by citizens 18 times (10 percent), economic burden 5 times (3 percent),

115
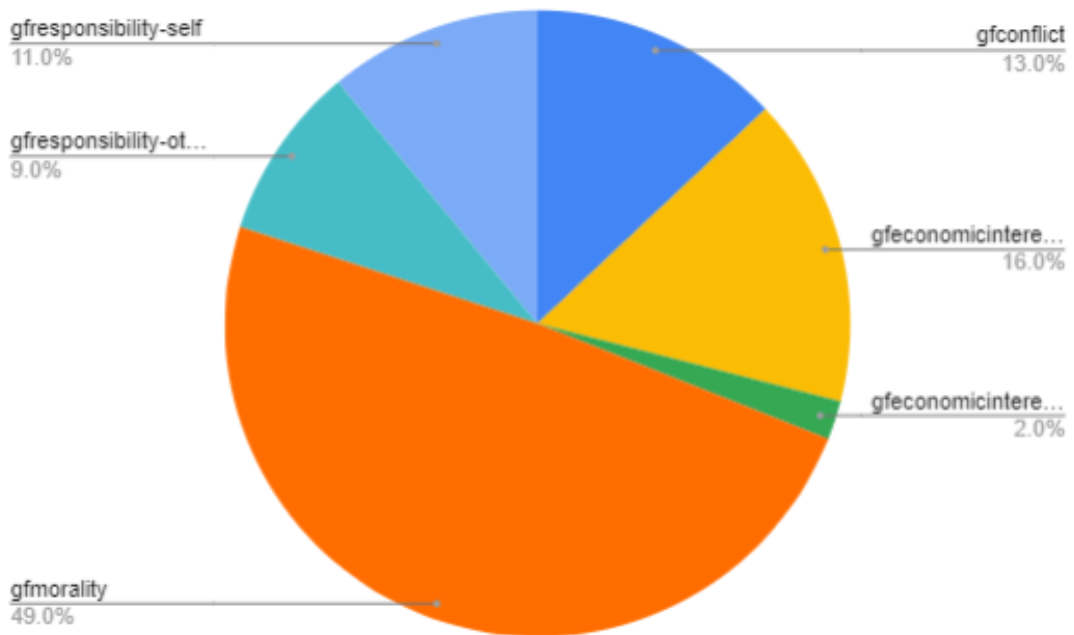
Figure 6.19: Co-Occurrence of Citizen Passion Frame - Global News and CBC

economic contribution 3 times (2 percent), economic situation of refugees, hate crime against refugees, and attribution of responsibility to the self only once each (1 percent). This shows a similar pattern as other co-occurrences in Sky News and BBC in that the frames exhibit contradictory signals. The frames that accompanied the morality frame seem to be oppositional at points. They, therefore, reflect a very chaotic decision making environment. The co-occurrence of 'morality frame' with other frames in Sky News and BBC has been demonstrated in Figure 6.23

The morality frame was identified 67 times in the content of Global News and CBC. It co-occurred with the stories of refugees 35 times (37 percent), passions shown by the citizens 22 times (23 percent), attribution of responsibility to the self 11 times (12 percent), conflict 10 times (11 percent), responsibility of others and the security of citizens 7 times each (7 percent), the economic contribution, economic burden, and hate crime frames once each (1 percent). In contrast to the co-occurrence of morality frame in Sky News and BBC, the co-occurrence of the morality frame in Global News
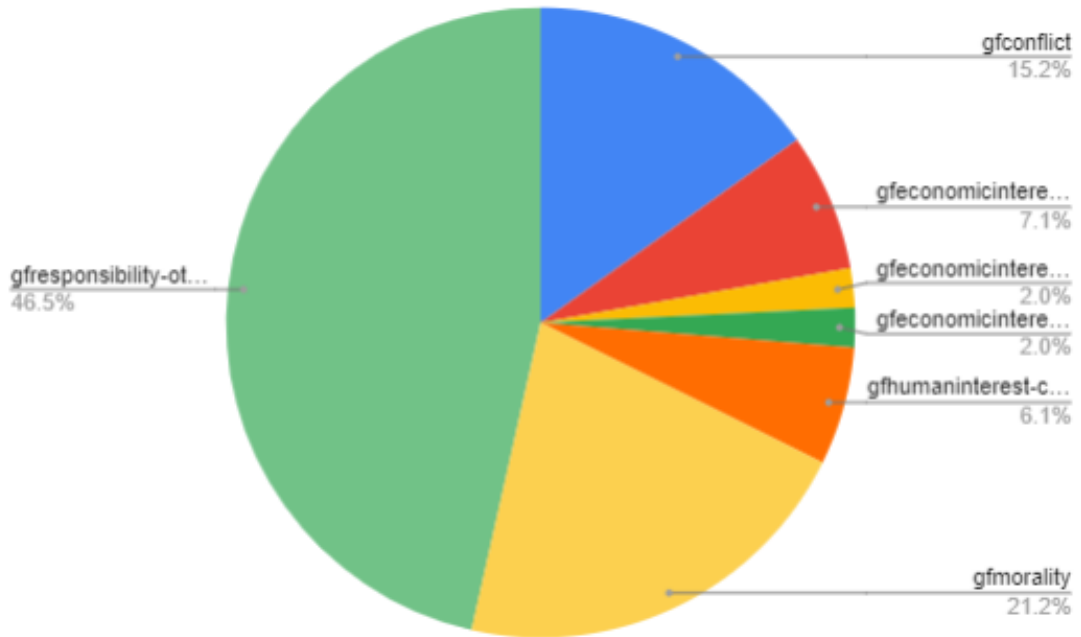
Figure 6.20: Co-Occurrence of Refugee Stories - Sky News and BBC

and CBC is quite uni-directional. The first three frames in terms of number of co-occurrences indicate the necessity for providing asylum seekers with aid while other co-occurrences do not challenge this directive. The co-occurrence of 'morality frame' with other frames in Global News and CBC has been demonstrated in Figure 6.24.

6.3.4 The Co-Occurrence of Responsibility Frames with Other Frames

The attribution of responsibility to others was identified 223 times in Sky News and BBC. This sub-frame co-occurred with the stories of refugees 162 times (64 percent), morality 41 times (16 percent), conflict 27 times (11 percent), Citizen Passion 9 times (4 percent), economic burden frame 7 times (3 percent), economic interest of refugees 3 times (1 percent), security concerns of citizens 2 times, and economic contribution 1 time. Considering that the attribution of responsibility to others is usually translated to blaming others for causing the problem and holding others accountable for a solution a similar pattern to other frames in Sky News and BBC can be found here. The co-occurring frames are often contradictory and they do not provide a clearly
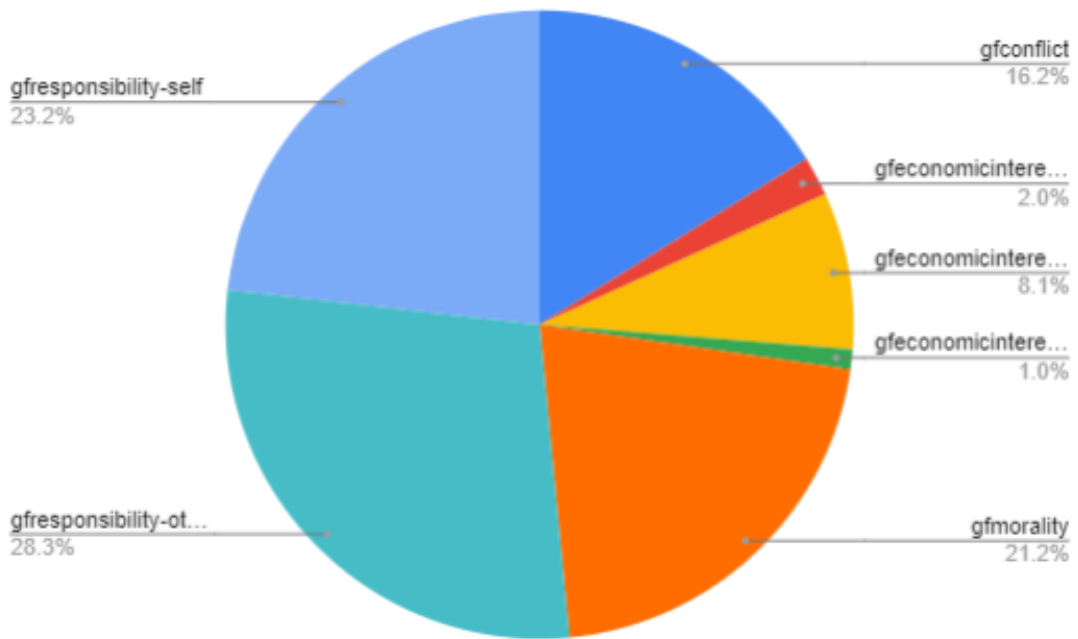
Figure 6.21: Co-Occurrence of Refugee Stories - Global News and CBC

defined direction. The co-ocurrence of the 'attribution of responsibility' frame with other frames has been shown in Figure 6.25. Attribution of responsibility to others was identified 61 times in Global News and CBC. This sub-frame co-occurred with the stories of refugees 47 times (64 percent), security of citizens 8 times (11 percent), morality 7 times (10 percent), conflict 5 times (7 percent), passion shown by citizens 4 times (5 percent), and economic burden frame 2 times (3 percent). This is a curious combination as it shows the same pattern of confusion that would be expected in the frames used by Sky News and BBC. This conmination has been shown in Figure Self-attribution of responsibility was practically non-existent in the content of Sky News and BBC with only one instance. However, this was not the case in Canada. Self-attribution of responsibility was identified 58 times in the content of Global News and CBC. It co-occurred with the story of refugees 39 times (54 percent), conflict 12 times (17 percent), morality 11 times (15 percent), passion shown by citizens 5 times (7 percent), security concern of citizens 4 times (6 percent), and economic contribution frame only once (1 percent). This combination shows the same

118
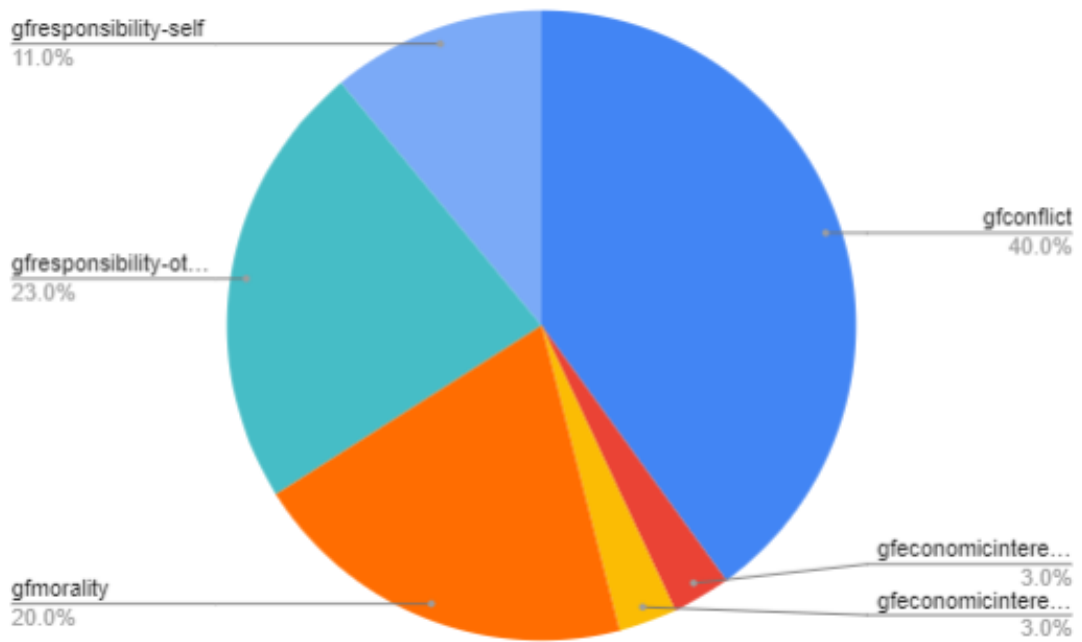
Figure 6.22: Co-Occurrence of the Security Concerns of Citizens - Global News and CBC

type of pattern identified in other co-occurrences in Global News and CBC. Considering that self-attribution of responsibility is often seen as a pro-aid frame the weight of these frames is highly in the direction of pro-aid policies. The use of conflict frame in this combination may seem counterproductive as it shows differences of opinion among politicians, or between politicians and citizens. The majority of the conflict frames used by Global News and CBC were dedicated to conflictual views between politicians in the context of Canadian Parliamentary elections (37 out of 53). This explains the relatively high co-occurrence of the self-attribution of responsibility sub-frame and the conflict frame. Figure 6.27 shows this distribution.

6.4 The Use of Frames and Sub-Frames Across Different Periods

A temporal examination of frames in Canada and Britain help provide an understanding of possible causes of certain frame use patterns. In the following pages the distribution of frames in different time periods in Sky News and BBC (Britain)
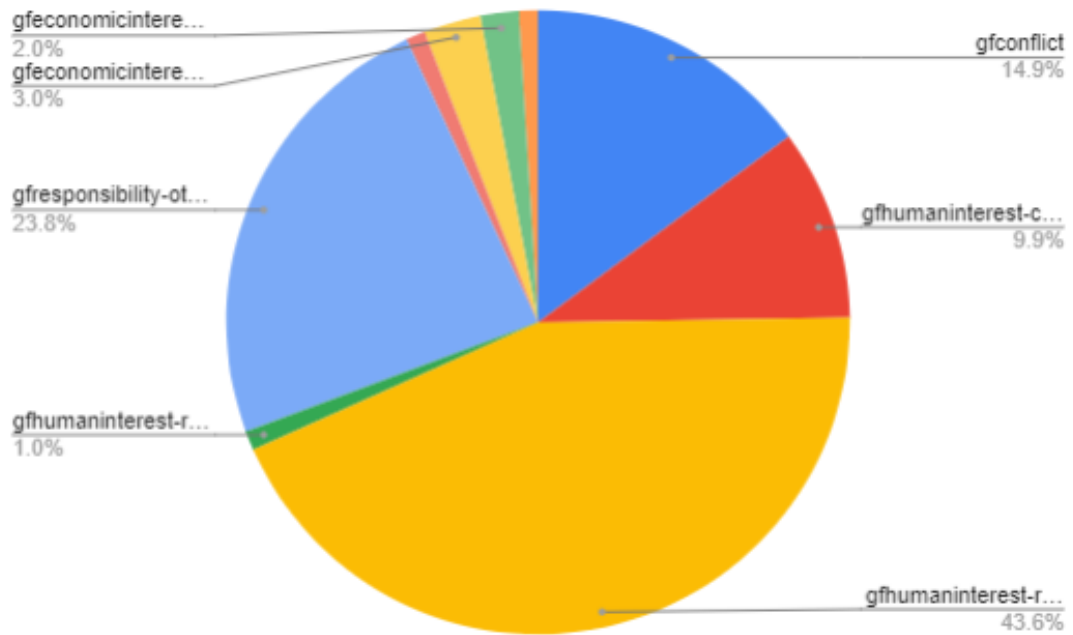
Figure 6.23: Co-Occurrence of Morality frame - Sky News and BBC

and Global News and CBC (Canada) will be examined. A time comparison of frame use in media vis a vis legal and political milestone, defined as regulatory attempts in the parliament and political announcements by leaders, will be made to determine whether media frames preceded or simply followed the political agenda.

The five generic frames were identified in the content of the videos 699 times. The distribution of frames in the coded videos was as follows. The human interest frame was identified 439 times. The responsibility frame was observed 110 times. The morality frame was found 67 times. The conflict frame was observed 53 times, and the economic interests frame was identified 30 times. Figure 6.28 shows this distribution within the time frame under review.

As can be seen in the above graph the extensive use of frames regarding Syrian refugees started from mid-2015 and extended to late 2016. At its peak in September 2016 the 'human interest' frame was identified 119 times, responsibility frame was identified
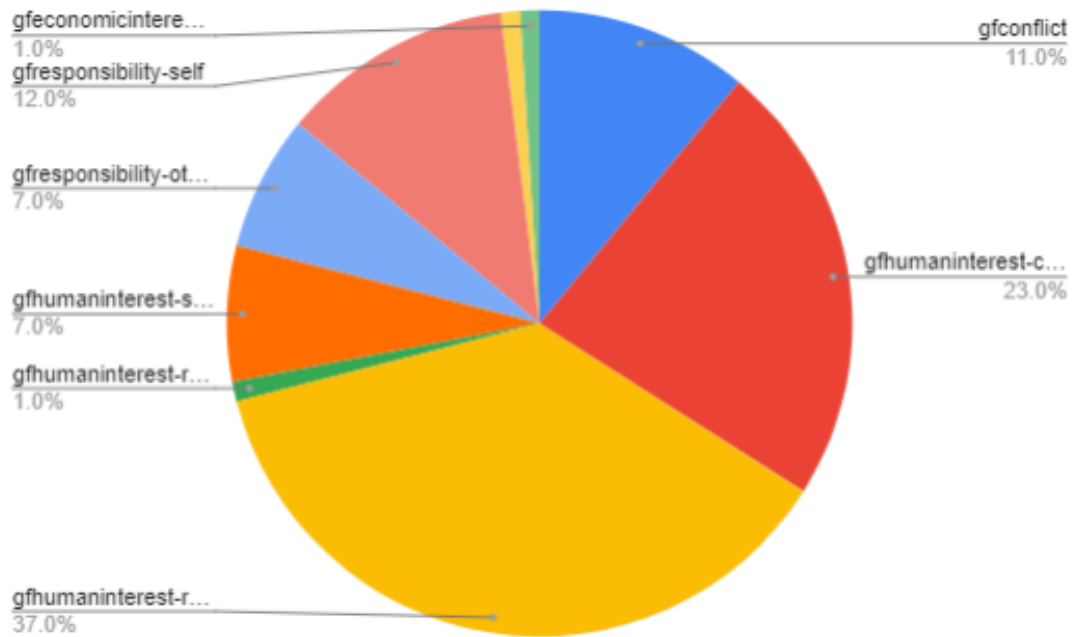
Figure 6.24: Co-Occurrence of Morality Subframe - Global News and CBC

55 times, morality frame 45 times, conflict frame 27 times, and economic interest 19 times.

In the following pages the distribution of frames in different time periods will be examined for every frame and sub-frame in the content of Sky News and BBC.

6.5 Temporal Distribution of Frames

6.5.1 Temporal Distribution of Frames in Sky News and BBC

To have a meaningful understanding of how the generic frames were used by the studied news networks the distribution of frames and sub-frames in time will be made.

6.5.1.1 Temporal Distribution of Human Interest Frame in Sky News and BBC

The human interest frame was identified more than other frames in the content of all news networks. It was identified 478 times in the content of Sky News and BBC combined. The monthly distribution of the frame in the time frame under study is shown in Figure 6.29. As can be seen in the above graph the human interest frame was identified, highly, during the time period between August 2015 and July 2016
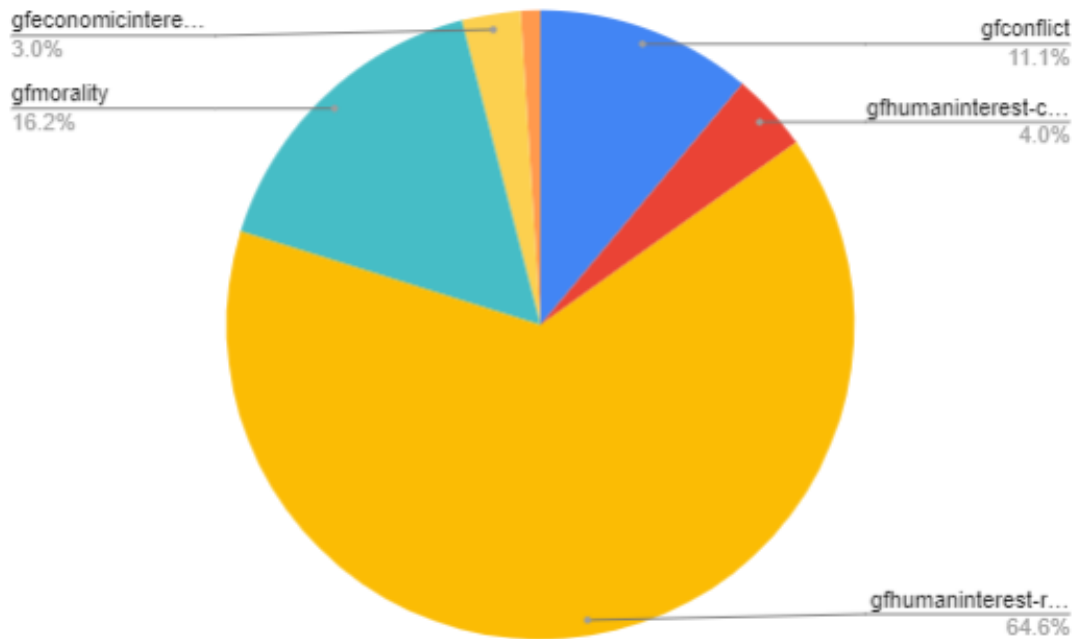
Figure 6.25: Co-Occurrence of Attribution of Responsibility to Others - Sky News and BBC

reaching its peak in September 2015. The frame was used 271 times by Sky News and 211 times by BBC. Figure 6.30 shows the monthly distribution of the frame between the two news networks. Although the numbers defer regarding the use of the human interest frame in the two news networks the networks almost mirror each other in terms of the pattern of increase and decrease of the number of times the frame has been used.

To identify the direction of the frames and for the purpose of interpretation four sub-frames were applied to the human interest frame. This included passion shown by citizens towards refugees, stories of refugees themselves, hate crimes against refugees, and security concerns of citizens. However, very few instances of 'hate crime' framing (1) and 'security concern' framing (7) were identified. Therefore, only the first two sub-frames will be examined.

The frame was used 34 times with a focus on the passion British nationals showed
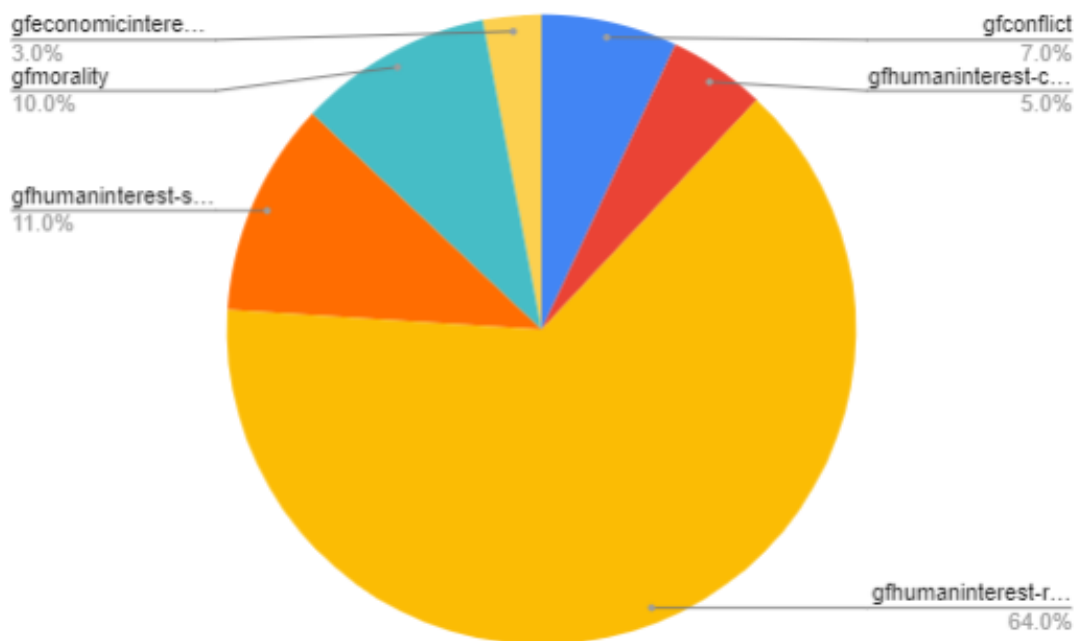
Figure 6.26: Co-Occurrence of Attribution of Responsibility to Others - Global News
and CBC

towards refugees. It was identified in the content of Sky News 20 times and 14 times

in BBC's content. Figure 6.31 depicts this distribution. The sub-frame was distributed

in the time frame between January 2013 and December 2016 as shown in Figure 6.32.

As can be seen in the graph, the highest concentration of citizen passion frames can

be found in the time period between August 2015 and January 2016. Hardly any

instance of 'citizen passion' framing can be found in in the time period prior or after

this period. The human interest frame was identified 471 times with focus on the story

telling aspects of the life of refugees. These were either oral or visual representations

of the life of refugees. This aspect of the human interest frame was the most widely

used frame in the UK. Figure 6.33 shows the distribution of this frame in the time

period between January 2013 and December 2016. This sub-frame was identified a

total number of 259 times in the content of Sky News as well as 213 times in the

content of BBC. However, as the time period prior to January 2013 hardly had any

coherent refugee story frames only 205 of those frames were considered in Figure
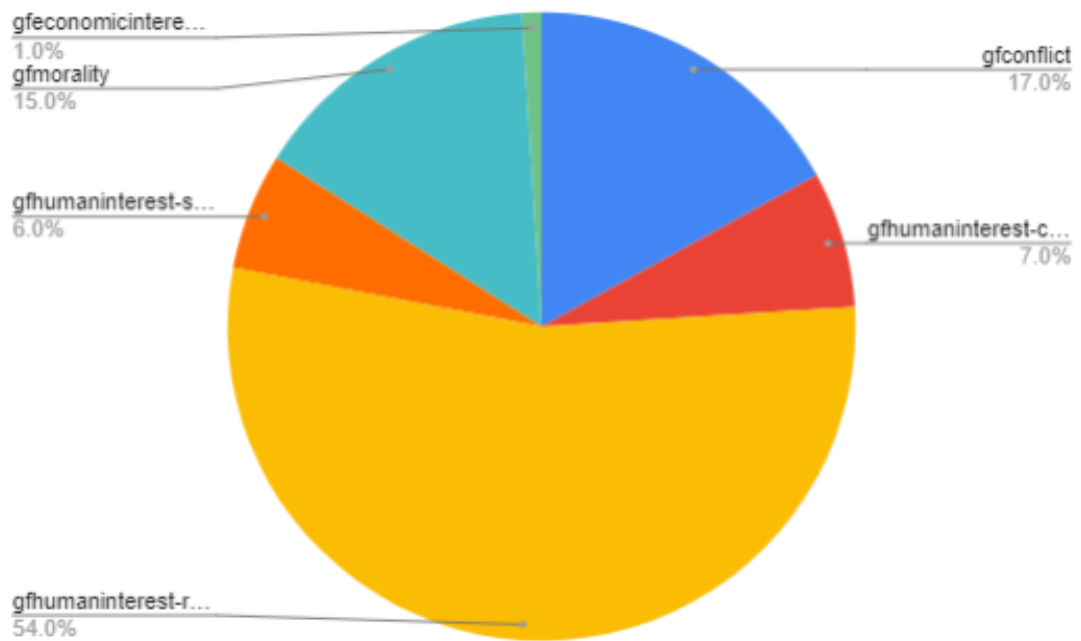
Figure 6.27: Co-Occurrence of Attribution of Self-Responsibility - Global News and CBC

6.34. Identical to other frames in Sky News and BBC, the refugee story sub-frame was extensively used in the time period between March 2015 and August 2016. It reached its peak on September 2015. 88 of these frames were identified in Sky News and 28 of them were identified in BBC.

6.5.1.2 Temporal Distribution of Economic Interest frame in Sky News and BBC

The economic interest frame was identified a total number of 49 times in the content of Sky News and BBC combined. The share of Sky News of this frame was 30 times and BBC's share was 19 times. Figure 6.35 depicts the distribution of this frame. Scattered frames were identified in the time period prior to July 2015 but the frame was highly concentrated in the time period between July 2015 and May 2016 with its peak of 19 frames in September 2015.

Figure 6.36 shows the distribution of this frame in the studied time period based on news network. As with other frames, Sky News and BBC almost mirror each other in
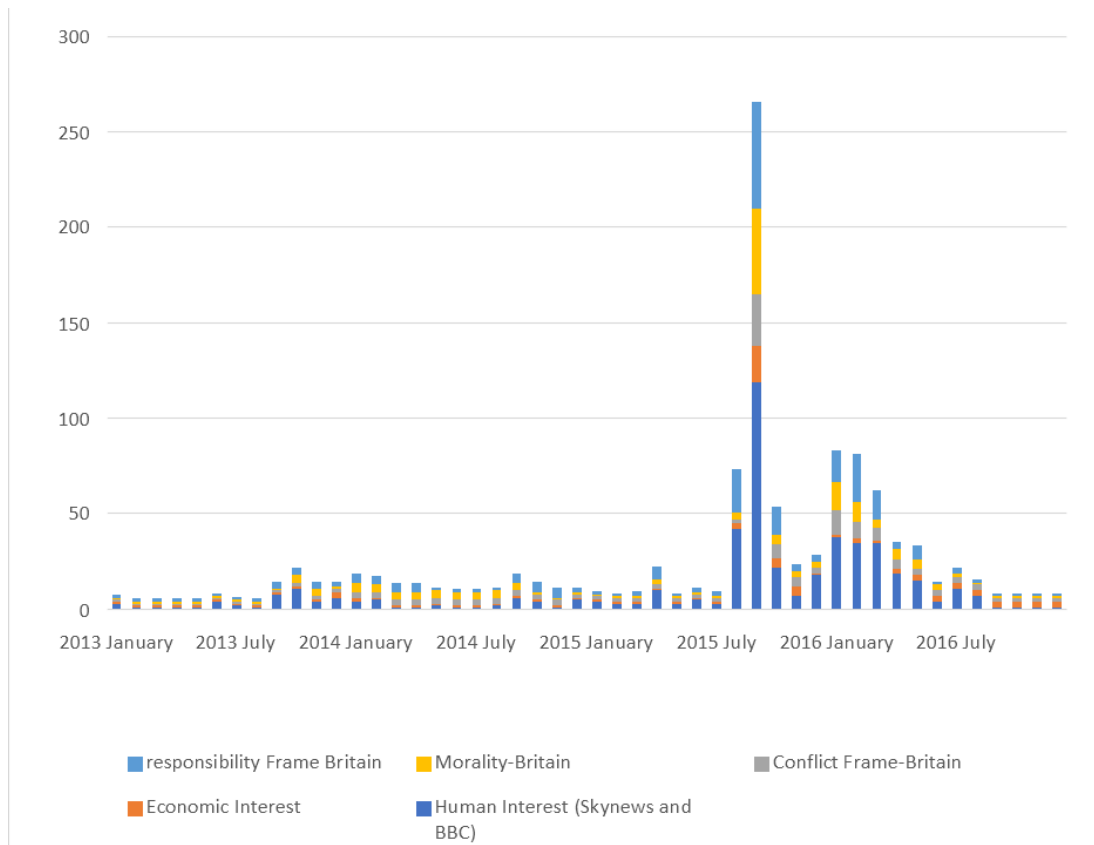
Figure 6.28: Temporal Distribution of Frames (January 2013 to December 2016) -
Sky News and BBC

frame use. However, there is a huge difference in the number of times the frame was

identified in each of these networks.

The frame was used 42 times to address the economic consequences of refuge in the

host country. The frame was concentrated in the time period between August 2015

and May 2016; although a gap exists in the time period between October 2015 and

December 2015. This distribution of frames has been shown in Figure 6.37

Of the 42 frames that addressed the economic consequences of resettling asylum

seekers on the host country 10 were aimed at depicting it as a potential contribution to

the economy and 34 depicted it as a burden towards the society. This obvious

difference in numbers shows the importance that was given to the economic
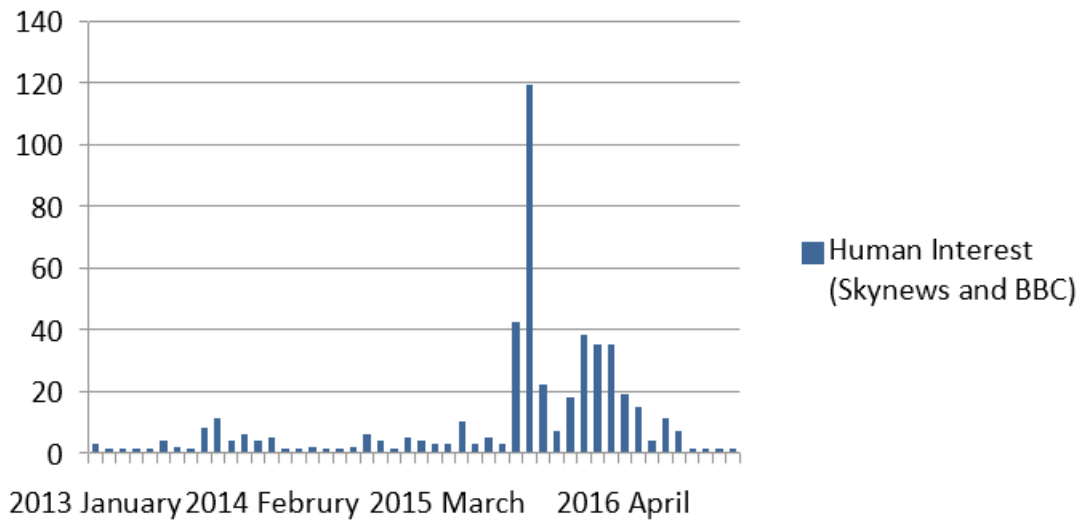
Figure 6.29: Human Interest (Sky News and BBC)

consequences of mass resettlement for economy in the UK. The distribution of the burden frame among Sky News and BBC during the studied time frame is shown in Figure 6.38. The concentration of burden frames is, like other frames, between July 2015 and early 2016 with a gap between October 2015 and February 2016. It reached its peak in September 2015. The economic contribution frame was highly scattered and incoherent. At its peak, in September 2015, 3 such frames were identified in the content of Sky News and none in BBC. This imbalance between the number and quality of burden framing and contribution framing provides an understanding of how Syrian asylum seekers were conceptualized, at least in economic terms, by two widely watched news networks in Britain. Figure 6.39 outlines this imbalance. The economic situation of refugees was only identified eight times during this time period and is therefore not discussed here.

6.5.1.3 Temporal Distribution of Conflict Frame in Sky News and BBC

The conflict frame was used 96 times in the time period under review. Sky News used it 53 times while BBC used it 43 times. The most concentrated period was between August 2015 and June 2016. The frame reached its peak in September 2015. Twenty-
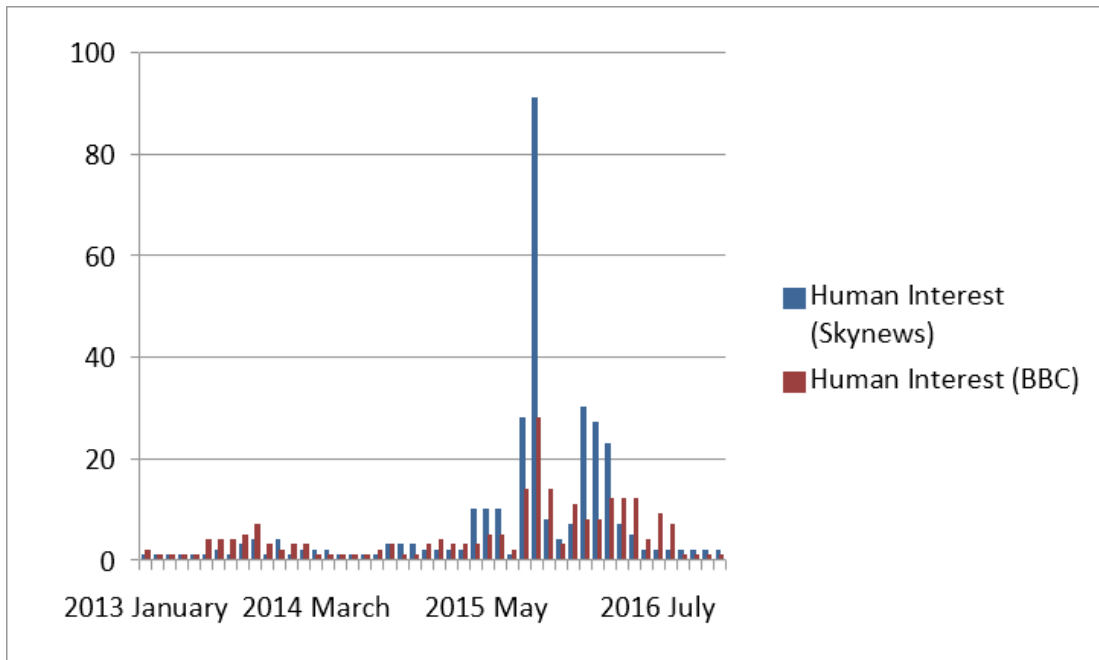
Figure 6.30: Human Interest (Sky News and BBC)
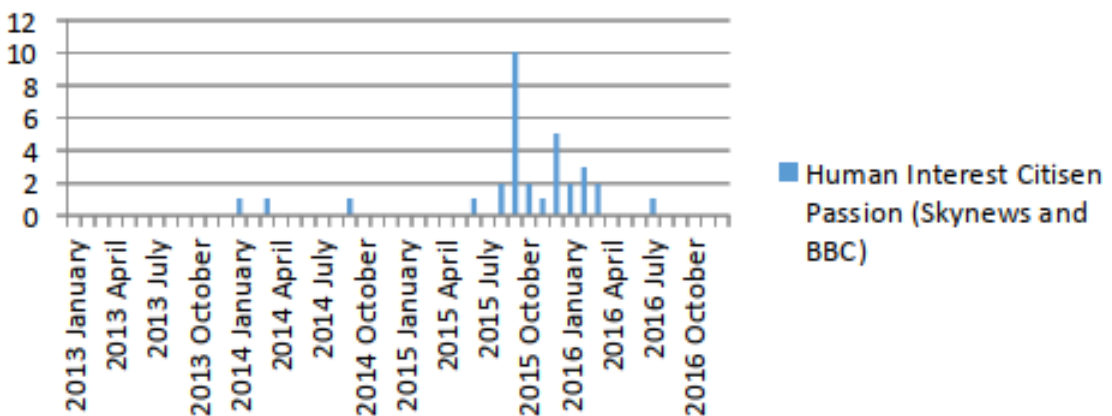
Figure 6.31: Human Interest Citizen Passion (Skynews and BBC)

seven conflict frames were identified in the content of Sky News and BBC during this month. Although the frame use decreased at times, during the concentrated period its use is consistent and no gap can be found in its use between August 2015 and June 2016. Figure 6.40 demonstrates this distribution of frames. Both Sky News and BC seem to have been consistent in using the conflict frame in their content and they almost mirror each other in its use. Figure 6.41 shows the distribution of this frame among Sky News and BBC.
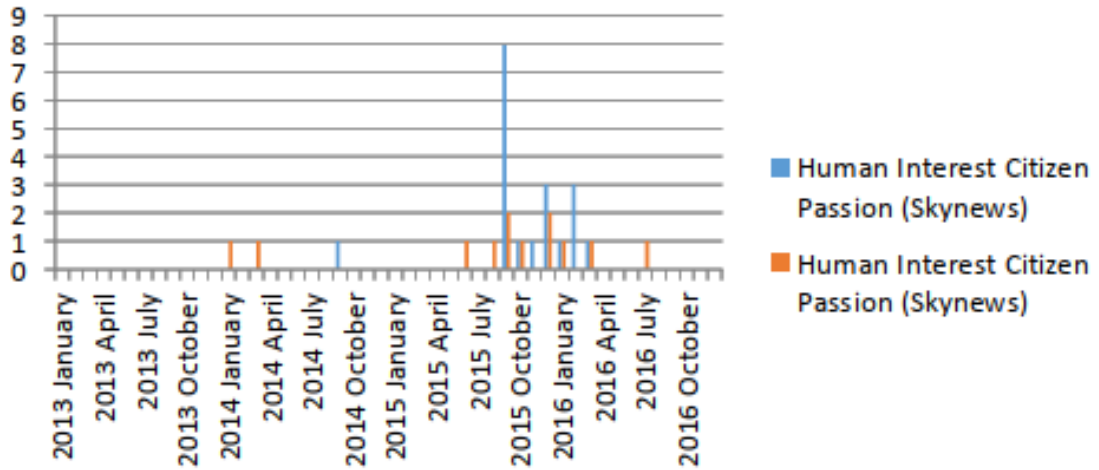
Figure 6.32: Human Interest - Citizen Passion (The UK)
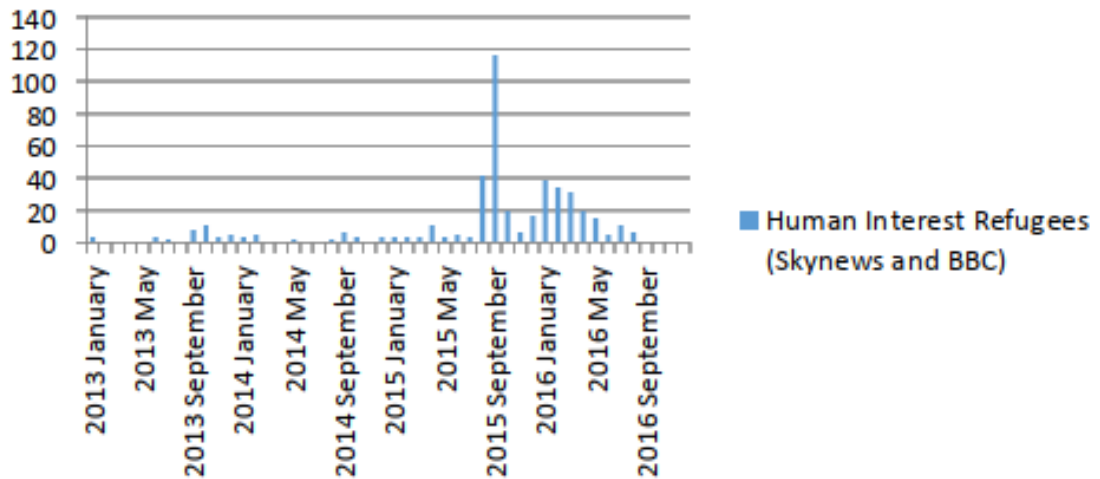
Figure 6.33: Human Interest Refugees (Skynews and BBC

6.5.1.4 Temporal Distribution of Responsibility Frame in Sky News and BBC

The responsibility frame was used 213 times by Sky News and BBC combined. As with other frames, there is a high concentration of this frame between August 2015 and May 2016. It reached its peak in September 2015 when 55 frames were used. The frame is very consistent during this period and no gap exists in its use during the concentrated frame use period. This makes the frame, at least in Sky News and BBC, the most consistent frame among the five generic frames used for this thesis. The following graph shows the distribution of this frame in the studied time period.
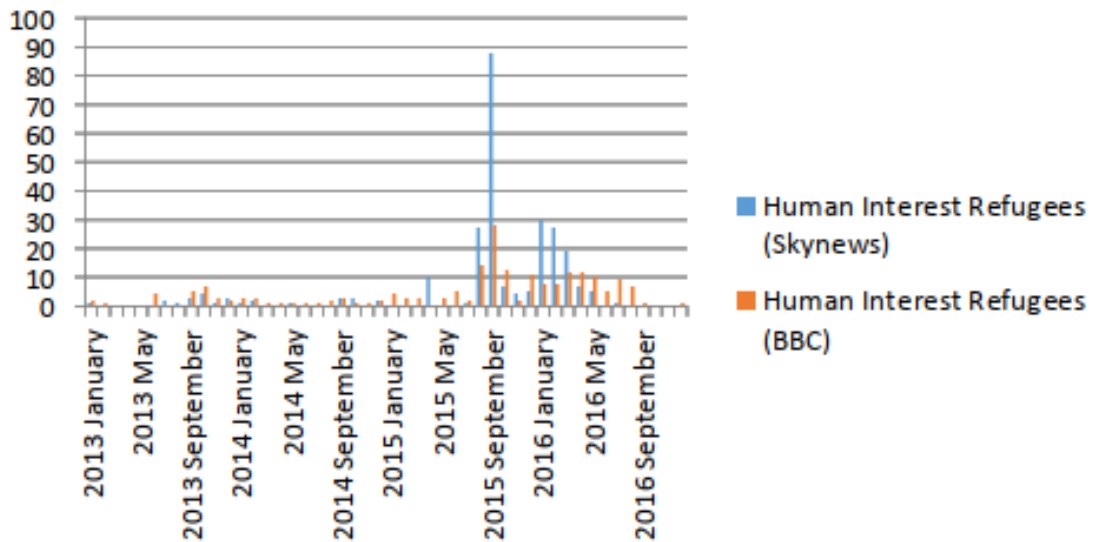
Figure 6.34: Human Interest Refugees (The UK)
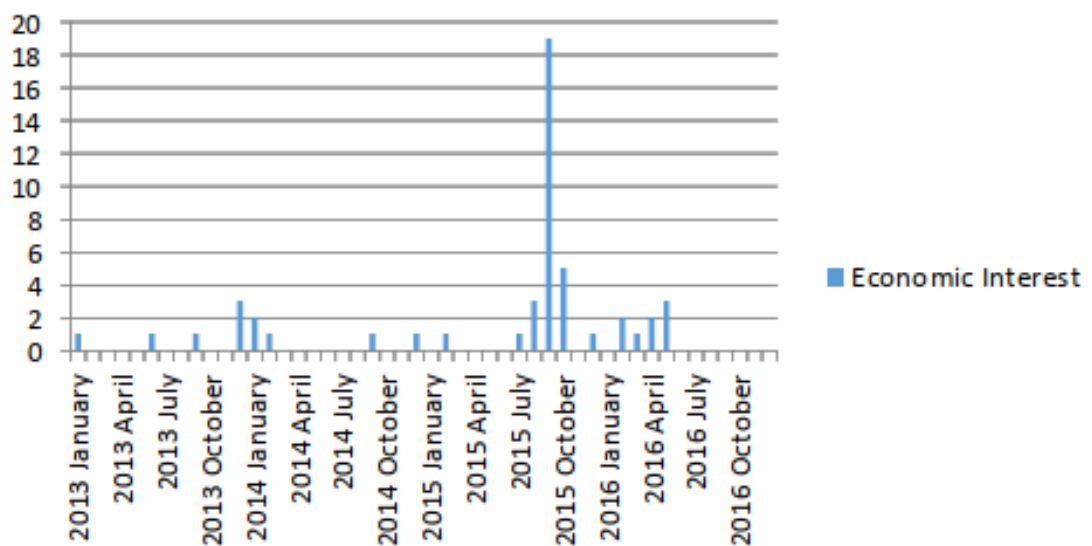
Figure 6.35: Economic Interest

6.5.1.5 Temporal Distribution of Responsibility Frame in Sky News and BBC

The responsibility frame was used 213 times by Sky News and BBC combined. As with other frames, there is a high concentration of this frame between August 2015 and May 2016. It reached its peak in September 2015 when 55 frames were used. The frame is very consistent during this period and no gap exists in its use during the concentrated frame use period. This makes the frame, at least in Sky News and BBC,

129
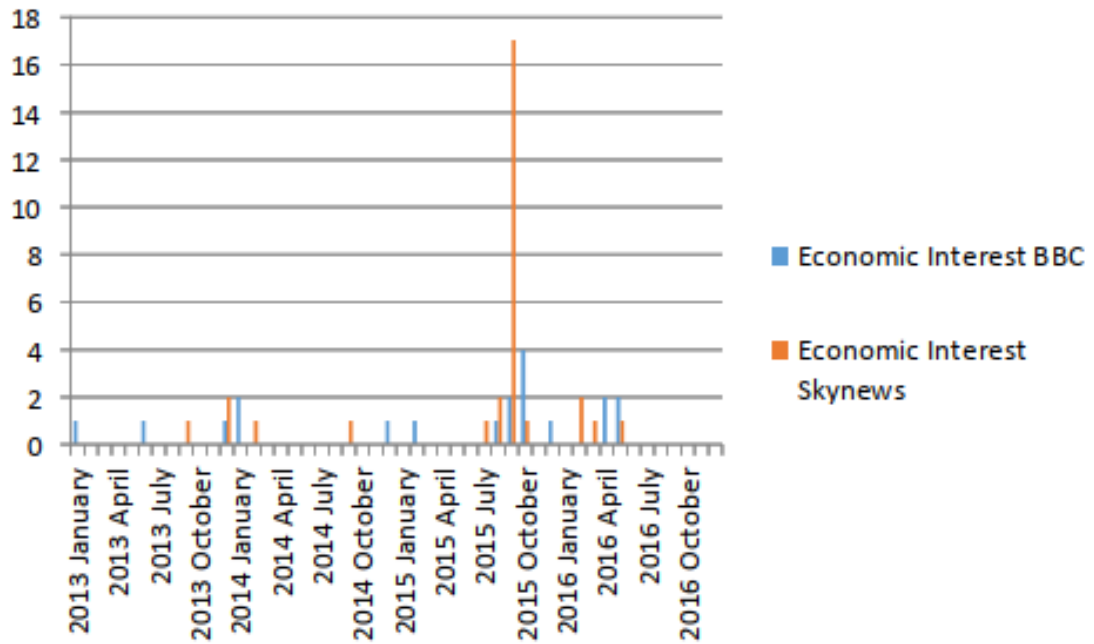
Figure 6.36: Economic Interest (The UK)

the most consistent frame among the five generic frames used for this thesis. Figure 6.42 shows the distribution of this frame in the studied time period. The frame was identified 83 times in BBC and 130 times in Sky News. The two networks mirror each other in using this frame despite the numerical difference in its use. This has been demonstrated in Figure 6.43.

6.5.1.6 Temporal Distribution of Morality Frame in Sky News and BBC

The morality frame was identified 128 times in Sky News and BBC combined. This included 84 frames in Sky News and 44 frames in BBC. The same concentration period can be found here extending from August 2015 to July 2016. The peak of the frame use was in September 2015 when 45 frames were identified. However, a huge numerical difference exists between the months prior and after September 2015. Figure 6.44 outlines this distribution of frames. The two news networks mirror each other in frame use but there is indeed a great difference in the number of times they each used the frame. Sky News used the frame much more extensively than BBC. This usage has
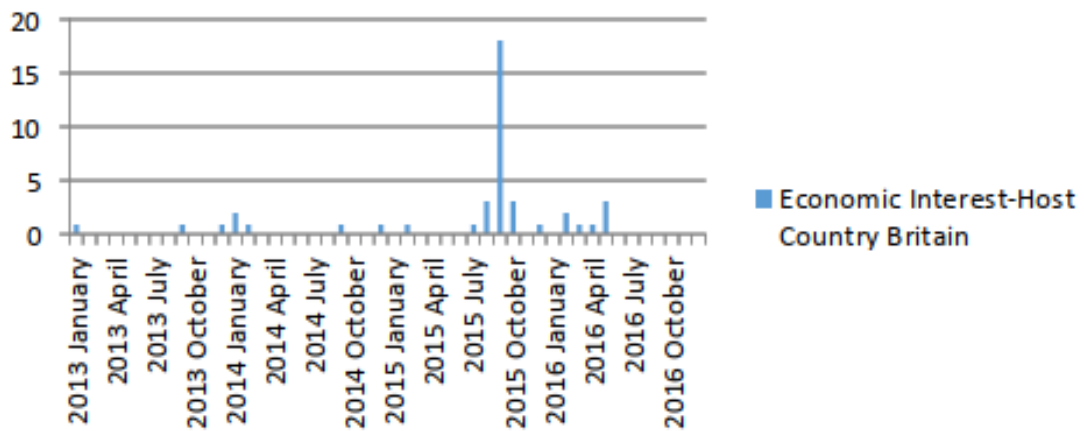
Figure 6.37: Economic Interest - Host Country (the UK)

been shown in Figure 6.45.

6.5.2 Temporal Distribution of frames in Global News and CBC

6.5.2.1 Total Distribution of Human Interest Frame in Global News and CBC

The human interest frame was identified 439 times in Global News and CBC combined. The distribution of this frame on a yearly basis was as follows. The Human Interest frame was identified 4 times in 2013, 6 times in 2014, 243 times in 2015, and 186 times in 2016. The use of the frame increased more than 45 times in 2015 relevant to 2014 and more than 60 times compared to 2013. Although in 2016 the number of times it was used dropped, compared to 2015, it was still much higher than the pre-2015 period. Figure 6.46 pictures this huge leap. To get a better picture of the dynamics behind this change it would be necessary to have a look at the monthly distribution of the usage of the human interest frame to examine the frequency of use of this frame within this time period. The human interest frame was highly concentrated during the time period between September 2015 and December 2016. It was almost non-existent in the time prior to this time period. This distribution is visualized by Figure 6.47. It was especially in September 2015 that the number of
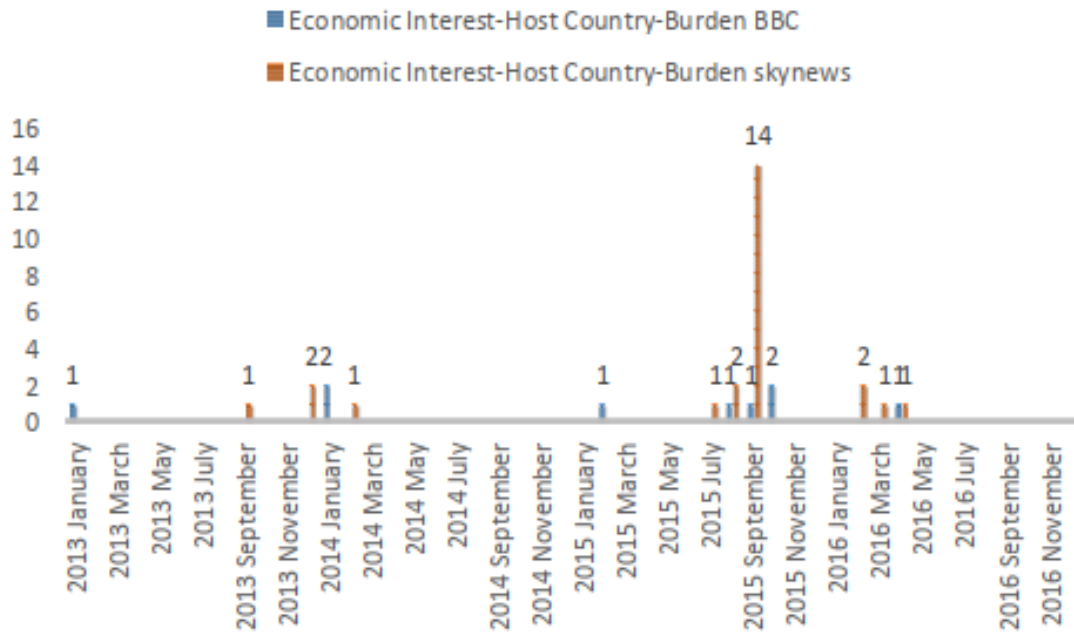
Figure 6.38: Economic Interest - Host Country -Burden (The UK)

human interest frames used by Global News and CBC rose drastically. This is understandable in the context of Canadian federal election campaigns that started with the dissolution of the parliament in August 2015. The resettlement of refugees in Canada became a focal point in the campaigns during the time. A slight difference is observed in the number and distribution of the human interest frame among Global News and CBC. The following paragraphs shall examine this difference.

The human interest frame was identified 294 times in the videos broadcast by Global News. It was observed 145 times in the content of CBC news. Figure 6.48 compares the monthly distribution of frames among these two news networks. In 38 instances the Human Interest frame was used in terms of the passion shown by Canadians towards refugees in Canadian media. This was either shown as the enthusiasm of Canadian citizens to sponsor and support refugee families to enter and live in Canada or as a narrative used by a Canadian national or a refugee regarding the hospitality of Canadian nationals. The following graph shows the distribution of this sub-frame. As
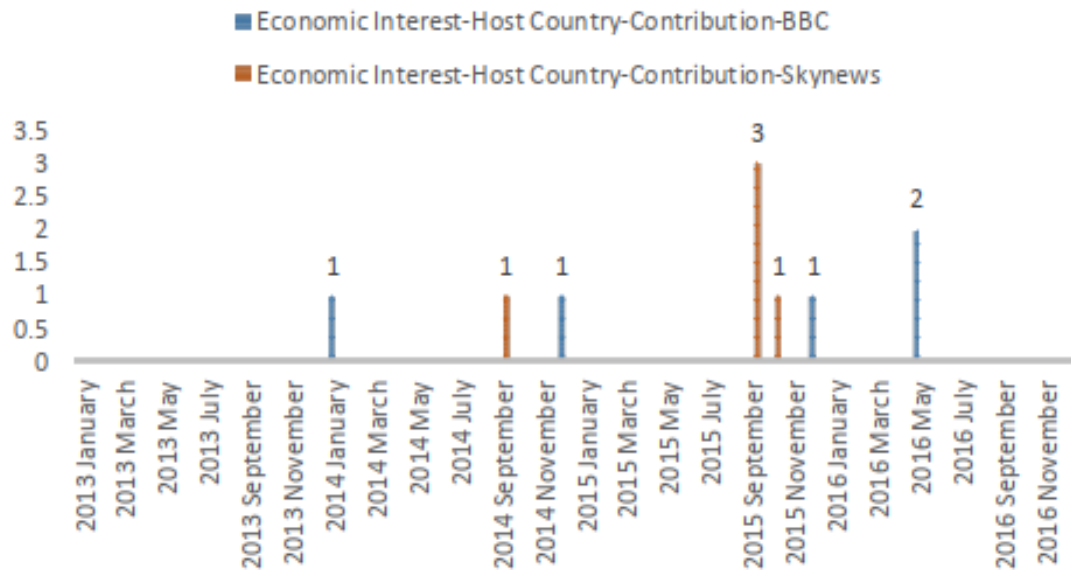
Figure 6.39: Economic Interest - Host Country - Contribution (The UK)

with other frames, this frame is concentrated in the time period between September 2015 and December 2016. Figure 6.49 demonstrates this distribution. The citizen passion frame of Human Interest was used 82 times during the time period between September 2015 and October 2016 in Global News. During the same time period CBC used the citizen passion frame 56 times. The use of this frame reached its peak in December 2015 in both cases. Global News used the frame 34 times in that month while CBC used it 13 times. This distribution of frames can be seen in Figure 6.50. In 373 instances the human interest frame focused on the story telling aspects of the life of refugees. The frame addresses some emotional aspect of the life of refugees.

This was done either through the narration of the story of the life of refugees, a report on the difficulties the refugees face, or the problems that refugees were running away from. The monthly distribution of human interest frames that addressed refugees is pictured in the following chart. September 2015 marks a huge increase in the sub-frame's use in Global News and CBC. The frame reaches its peak in December 2015 with 79 instances of frame use. The period between September 2015 and December
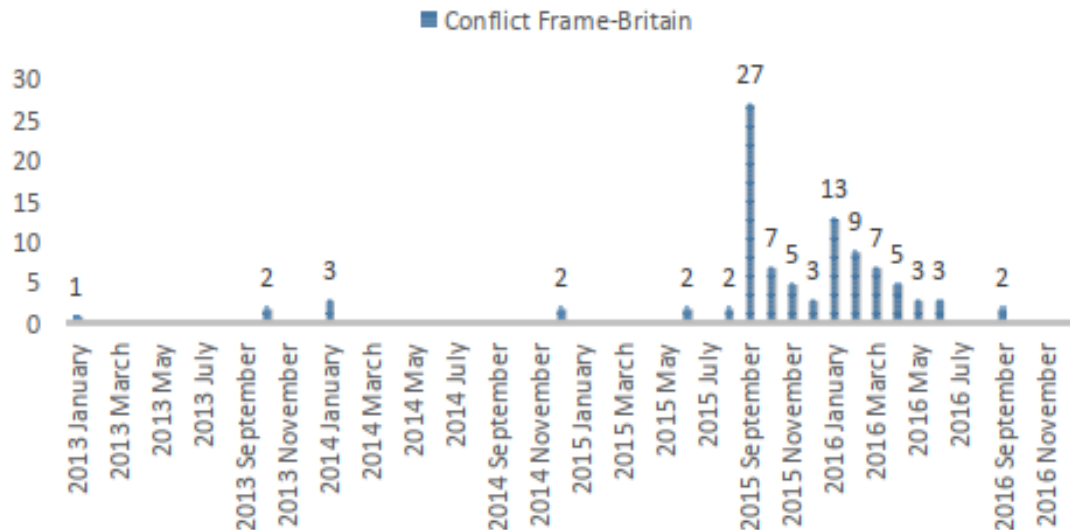
Figure 6.40: Conflict Frame (Britain)

2016 is the most concentrated period. Figure 6.51 demonstrates this distribution of frames. Global News used the refugee story sub-frame 242 times in the time period between December 2014 and December 2016. The use of the refugee story sub-frame increased drastically since September 2015 and reached its peak in December 2015 when it was used 56 times. The sub-frame was used 131 times by the CBC in the same time period. It wasn't until September 2015 that the first dramatic increase in the number of human interest-refugee frame was observed. The use of this frame reached its peak in December 2015 when it was used 23 times. As with other frames, Sky News and CBC mirrored each other's framing. Figure 6.52 demonstrates this distribution of frames. In 53 instances the human interest frame was used to address the security concerns of Canadian citizens regarding the mass resettlement of refugees. In most cases this was in the shape of reassurances given by the Canadian government to the Canadian public that the resettlement programs wouldn't jeopardize their security. The frame was especially prevalent in the time period between September 2015 and December 2015 reaching its peak in November 2015. Its increasing usage from three frames in October 2015 to 33 times in November 2015 indicates an increasing concern
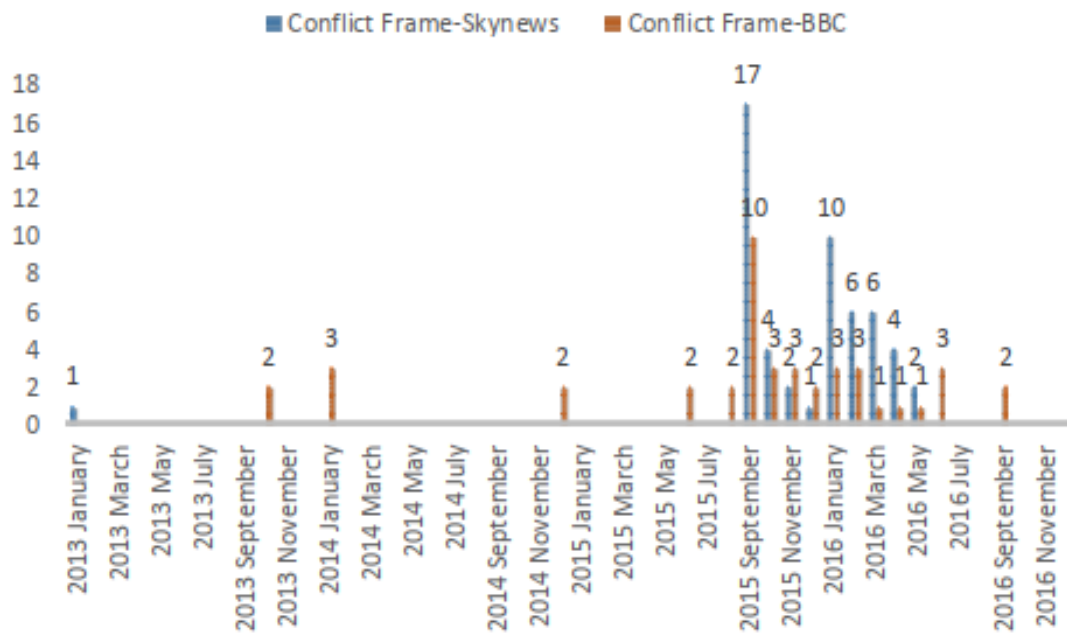
Figure 6.41: Conflict Frame (The UK)

regarding the security of citizens. This can be explained by the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015. The distribution of this sub-frame within the studied time frame can be seen in Figure 6.53. Global News used this sub-frame 41 times while CBC used it 12 times in the same time period. This can be seen in Figure 6.54

6.5.3 Total Distribution of Conflict Frame in Global News and CBC

The conflict frame was identified 53 times in Global News and CBC combined. Global News used this frame 35 times while CBC used it 18 times. This frame reached its peak in the months of September and November 2015 when it was used 17 times. This leap in frame use can be explained by the ongoing Canadian Federal elections that took place in October 2015. The increasing use of the frame marks a month prior to the election and the month after the election. Figure 6.55 demonstrates the distribution of conflict frame in Canadian media. Figure 6.56 shows the distribution of the conflict frame among Global News and CBC.
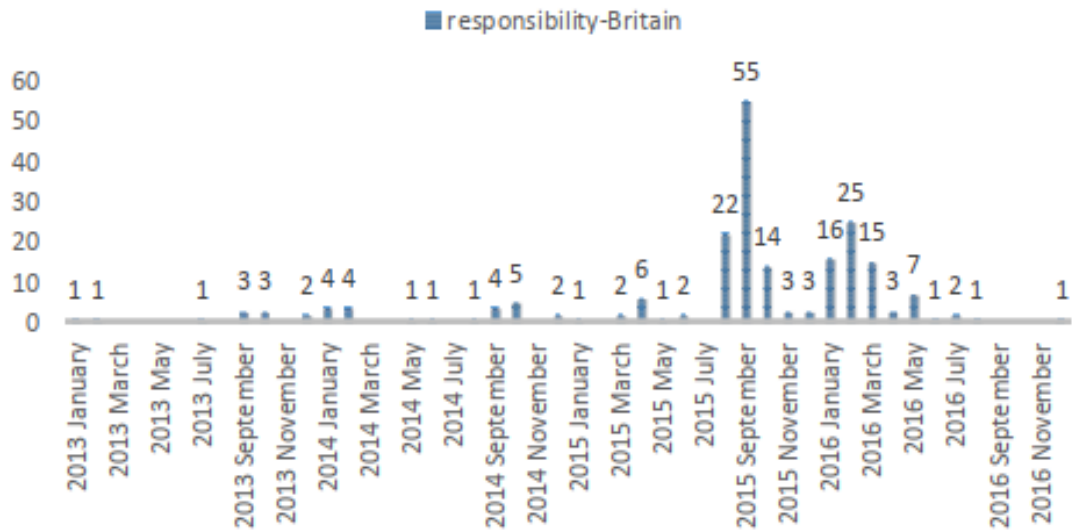
Figure 6.42: Distribution of Responsibility Frame in the UK

6.5.3.1 Total Distribution of Morality Frame in Global News and CBC

The morality frame was identified 67 times in the period between September 2013 and September 2016. At its peak the frame was used 18 times in September 2015. The most concentrated period includes the time frame between September 2015 and March 2016. This can be explained by the heightened attention given to the issue of Syrian asylum seekers and their resettlement during the Canadian federal elections. As can be seen in Figure 6.57, the concentrated time period starts a month before the federal elections and extends to the period of time when the stated aim of resettling 25000 refugees by the then newly elected liberal government of Canada was achieved. 57 of the 67 morality frames were identified in Global News and they were fund 10 times in CBC. The following charts show that the two networks don't necessarily mirror each other in the adoption of the morality frame. While Global News used the frame extensively during the period between September 2015 and March 2016, CBC used it during the period between March 2015 and August 2015. The distribution of morality frame across Canadian networks has been demonstrated in Figure 6.58

136
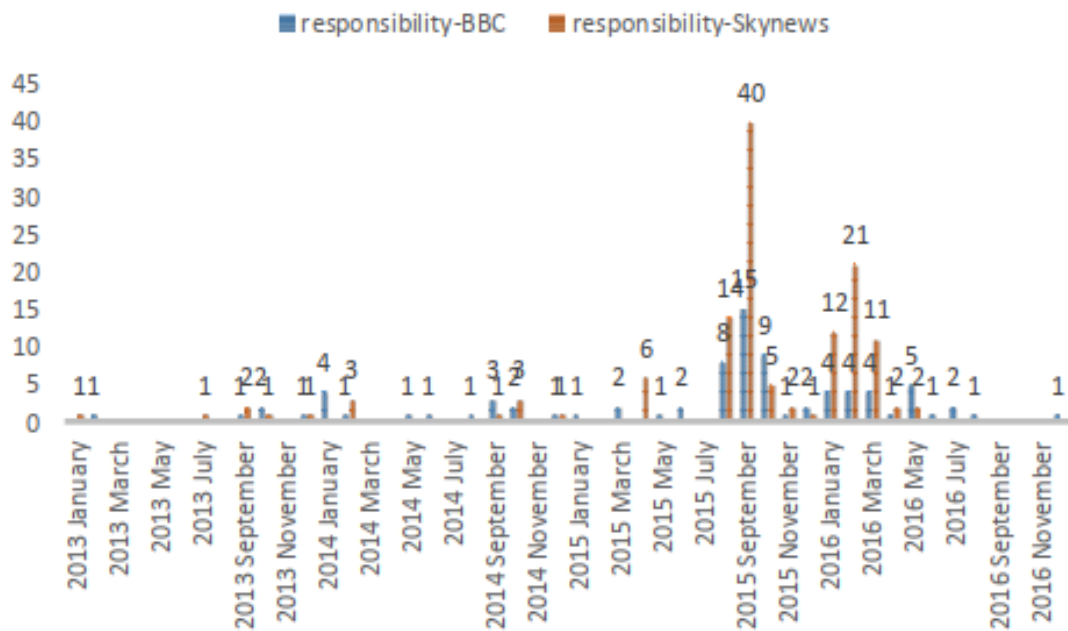
Figure 6.43: Distribution of Responsibility Frame Across Networks

6.5.3.2 Total Distribution of Responsibility Frame in Global News and CBC

Responsibility frame was identified 110 times in Canadian media in the time period under study. Until September 2015 the frame was scattered in different non-adjacent periods. From September 2015 to April 2016, however, the frame was used densely reaching its peak in September 2015 while remaining a high volume in the next 6 months but gradually decreasing. This pattern can be witnessed in Figure 6.59 As demonstrated in Figure 6.60, the frame was identified in the content of Global News news pieces 76 times and 34 times in CBC during the same time period.

6.5.3.3 Total Distribution of Economic Interest Frame in Global News and CBC

The economic interest frame addresses the economic consequences of refuge. This frame could either be used when a claim is made over the economic consequences of the influx of refugees for the host country or when the economic consequences of refuge on asylum seekers and refugees are discussed.

This frame was identified 30 times in the content of Global News and CBC combined.
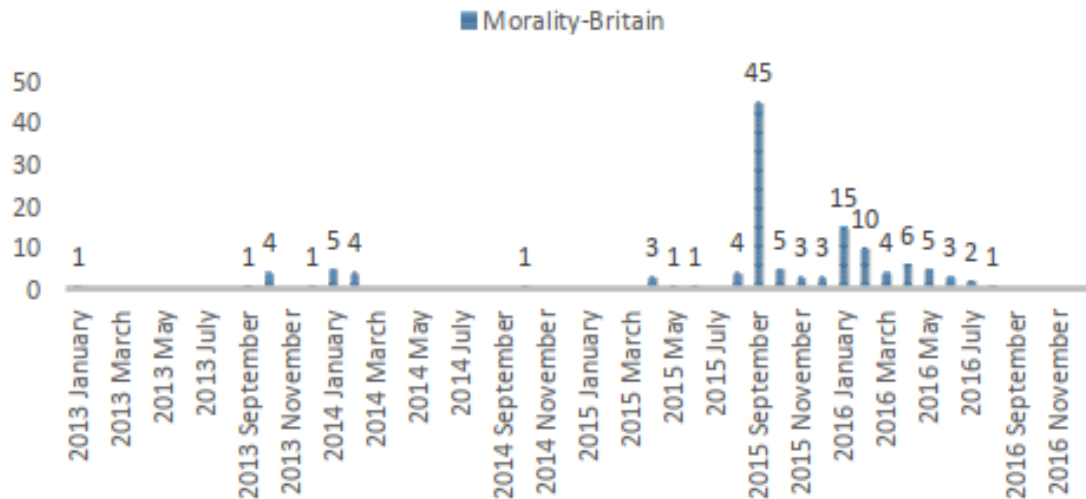
Figure 6.44: Distribution of Morality Frame in the UK
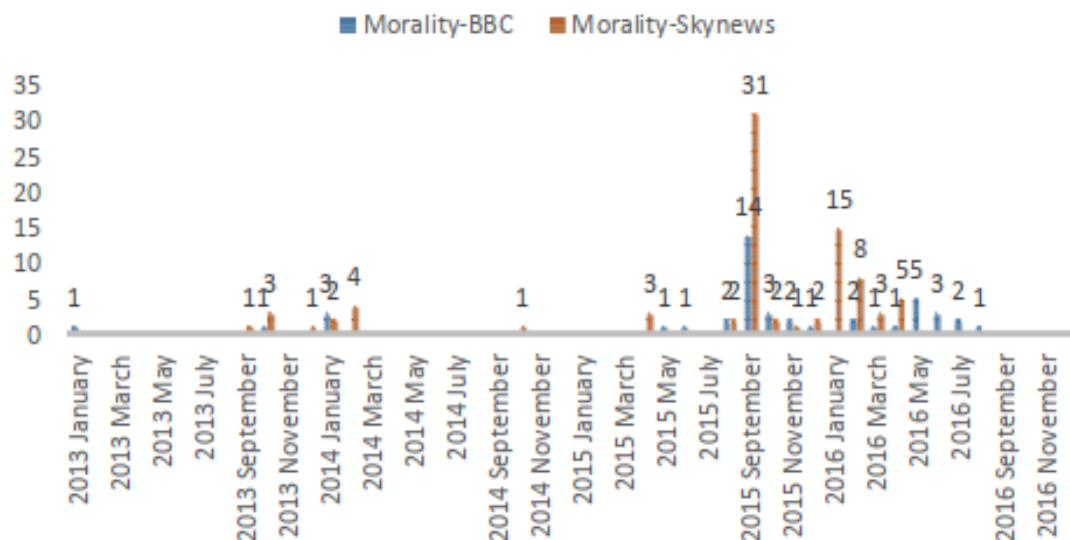
Figure 6.45: Distribution of Morality Frame Across Networks in the UK

It wasn't until September 2015 that the frame appeared persistently in the networks under study. The use of this frame reached its peak in November 2015 when it was used 7 times. This means that the studied media in Canada did not spend much time on possible economic consequences of resettling refugees. Figure 6.61 shows the monthly distribution of this frame in Global News and CBC. The frame was identified 18 times in Global News and 12 times in CBC. This distribution can be seen in Figure 6.62 The economic interest frame addressed the consequences of refuge in the host

Figure 6.46: Distribution of Human Interest Frame in Canada
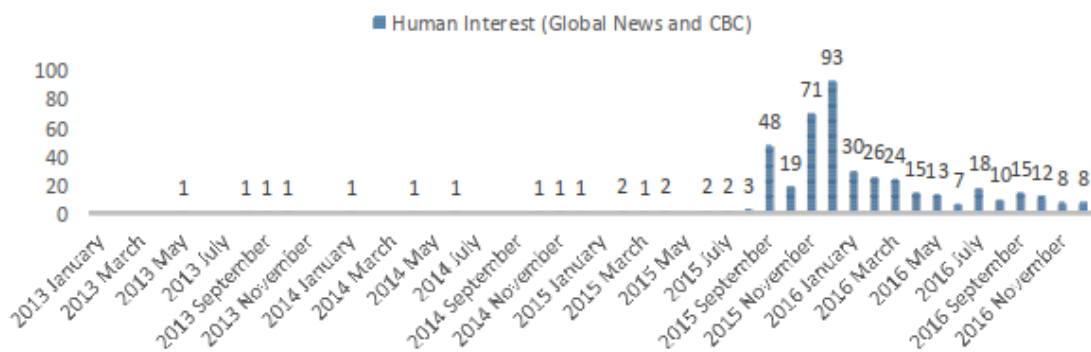
Figure 6.47: Monthly Distribution of Human Interest Frame in Canada

country twenty times. It wasn't until 2015 that this frame appeared in the networks under discussion. The monthly distribution of the frame within Global News and CBC has been shown in Figure 6.63. An obvious increase in the number and consistency of the use of this frame can be seen in the graph above. However, it was only in September 2015, November 2015, December 2015, and January 2016 that the frame was used more than once in one month. Fifteen of the twenty economic interest frames identified in Canada were used by Global News while CBC used the frame only 5 times. The distribution of the 'Economic Interest (Effects on Host Country)' frame has been demonstrated in Figure 6.64. The number of economic interest videos used in Global News and CBC wouldn't offer much information unless the direction of the frame was also coded. Whether refugees have been seen as burdens on the host
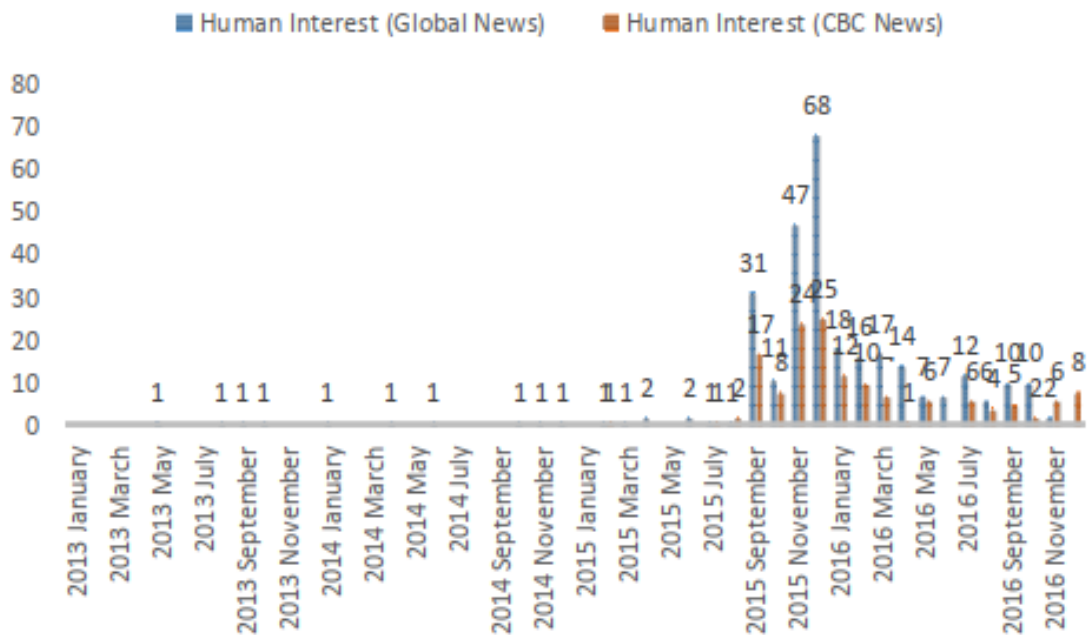
Figure 6.48: Distribution of Human Interest Frame Across Canadian Networks

economy or as a contribution to the economy provides the research with a better understanding of the possible consequences of the use of this frame among the Canadian audience.

The burden frame was identified 8 times. It was only in September 2015 that the burden frame was used more than once in one month. The contribution frame, however, was used 17 times in the same period. The frame was used in two time periods. The first time period extended from November 2015 to January 2016 including 9 contribution frames and the second time period extended from August 2016 to December 2016 including 8 contribution frames. This obvious difference in the number of times the economic frame was used to depict the contribution of refugees and asylum seekers to the Canadian economy and the depiction of possible economic burdens show that even in the very few instances when the economic frame was used it was used in favor of pro-aid policies.
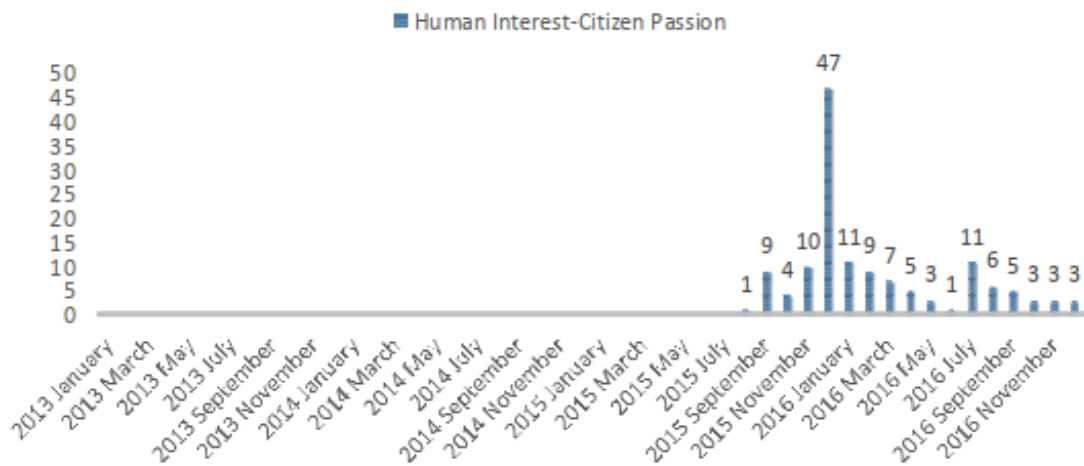
Figure 6.49: Distribution of Human Interest Citizen Passion Frame in Canadian Media

6.5.4 Cross Country Results

A total number of 1115 videos from 4 news networks were coded, 1598 quotations were made and a total number of 3489 codes were applied to these quotations. A comparison of the results of this coding on Canadian and UK media will be made in the following pages.

6.5.4.1 Cross Country Comparative Results Related to Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame was identified 478 times in the British media and 439 times in the Canadian media. While the usage of this frame reached its peak in September 2015 in Britain with the frame being used 119 times the frame reached its peak in December 2015 in Canada when it was identified 93 times. Figure 6.65 pictures the distribution of this frame among the studied news networks in Canada and Britain. The graph obviously shows the convergence of the frame use between these news networks in the period between September 2015 and August 2016. However, the British news networks seem to have used the frame more often prior to September 2015. Canadian media seems to have been less concerned with the issue prior to this date. One explanation, as already mentioned in the previous part, is that the Canadian
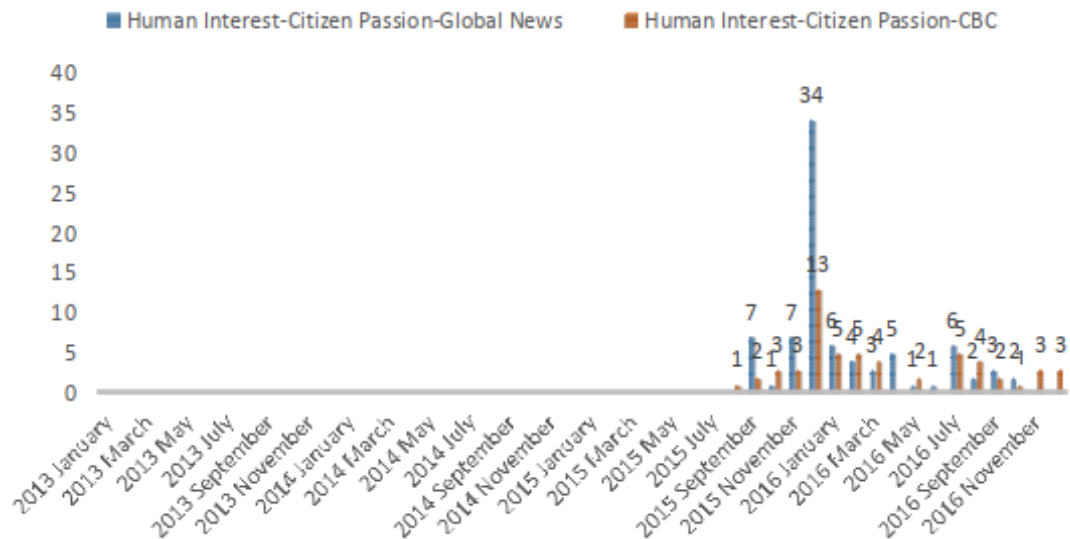
Figure 6.50: Distribution of Human Interest Citizen Passion Frame Across Canadian Networks

federal elections was going to be held in October 2015 and the chart pin-points the time period of the election campaigns, the consequent election of the liberal government in Canada, and the achievement of the initial goal to resettle 25000 refugees in Canada during the first quarter of 2016. Britain, however, was more sensitive to the problem due to its proximity to Europe and the mass movement of refugees towards Europe.

6.5.4.2 Comparative Cross Country Results Related to Economic Interest Frame

The economic interest frame was identified 49 times in the British media content and 30 times in the Canadian media content. Canadian media, as can be seen in the following graph, was much less concerned with the economic consequences of resettling refugees in Canada. Figure 6.66 compares the use of these frames in Canada and Britain. The monthly distribution of the use of the economic consequences frame across the countries under review is shown in Figure 6.67. This frame was identified 34 times in the content of British news networks and 8 times in the content of Canadian news networks to depict refugees as a burden to the economy
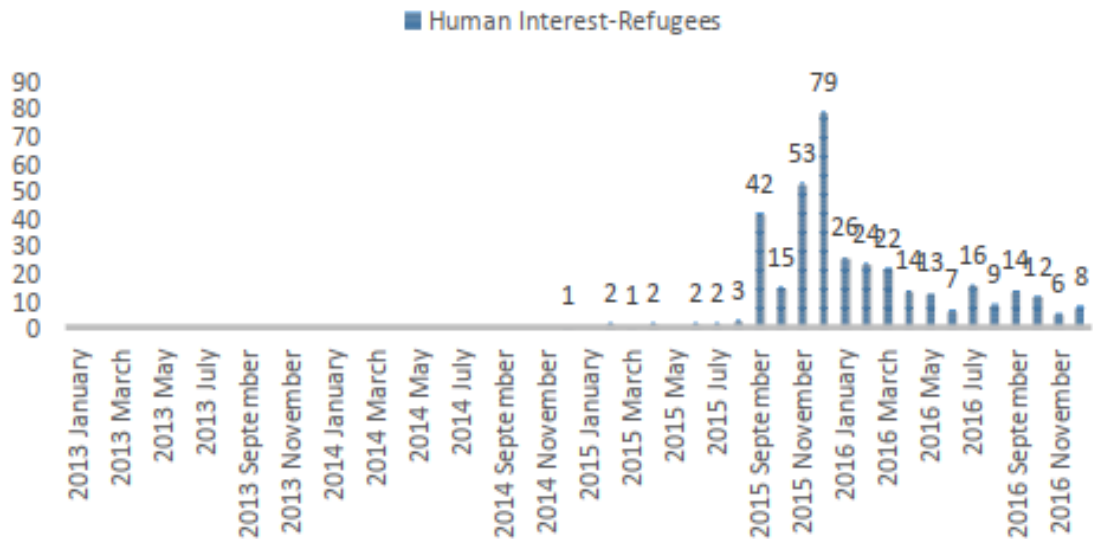
Figure 6.51: Distribution of Human Interest Refugees Frame in Canadian Media

of the host state. The obvious difference in using this frame shows that the British media has been much more concerned with the economic consequences of resettling refugees in the UK. The Canadian media on the other hand had not been very enthusiastic about this topic. Figure 6.68 shows the relative use of this frame across Canada and Britain. A curious observation about the distribution of this frame across the time period under study is the huge leap in its use in September 2015. This could be due to the continuation of the mass migration of Syrian asylum seekers to Europe and heightened tensions caused by Hungary's decision to block its borders. The economic contribution sub-frame was used only 10 times by the British news networks but 17 times by the Canadian networks. Canadian media rarely discussed economic consequences of resettling refugees but when it did do so the focus was mainly on the contributions the resettled refugees could have to the Canadian economy. Sky News and BBC on the other hand were much more concerned with the burden resettling refugees imposed on British economy then possible contributions. Figure 6.70 pictures the relative cross country distribution of this frame. Similar to other frames Sky News and BBC started using the frame earlier than Global News
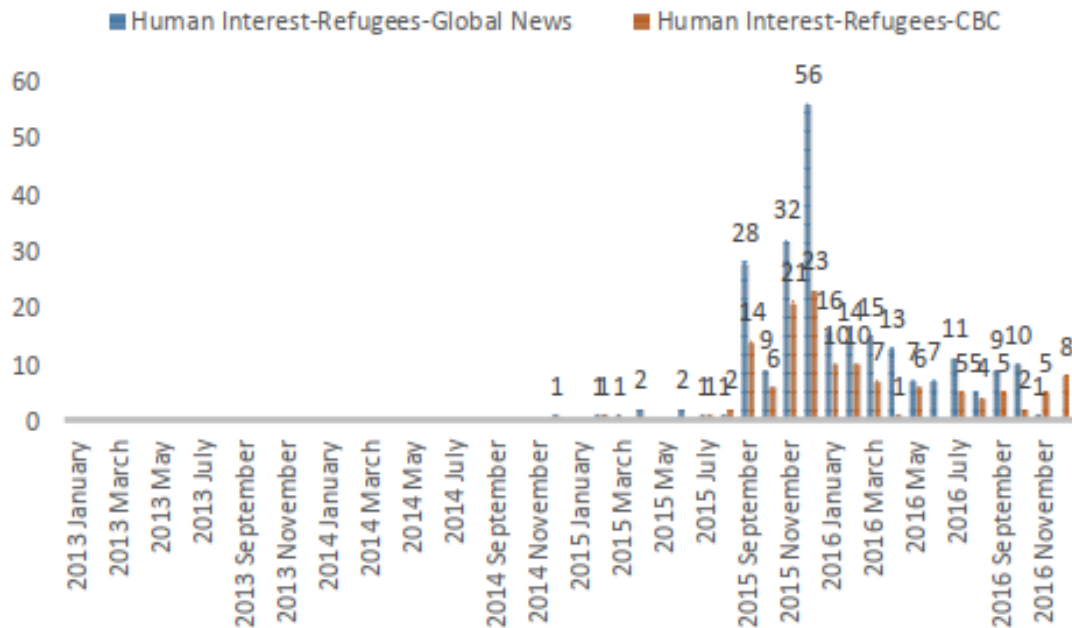
Figure 6.52: Distribution of Human Interest Refugees Frame Across Canadian News Networks

and CBC. The distribution can be observed in Figure 6.71.

6.5.4.3 Comparative Cross Country Results Related to Conflict Frame

The conflict frame was identified 96 times in British media content and 53 times in Canadian media content. The numerical difference suggests that there was less opposition to resettlement programs in Canada than in Britain. In fact, during the election campaigns all major Canadian political parties (Liberal, Conservative, and NDP) focused heavily on the issue of resettlement but diverged on the strategies they proposed in this regard. Figure 6.72 compares the use of the conflict frame in Canada and Britain. The news networks in both countries seem to have gained interest in this frame since mid-2015. This can be observed in Figure 6.73

6.5.4.4 Comparative Cross Country Results Related to Responsibility Frame

While the responsibility frame was identified in British media content 213 times it was identified in the Canadian news networks 110 times. Responsibility frame in Global News and CBC equally held Canada (58) and others (61) responsible for solving the
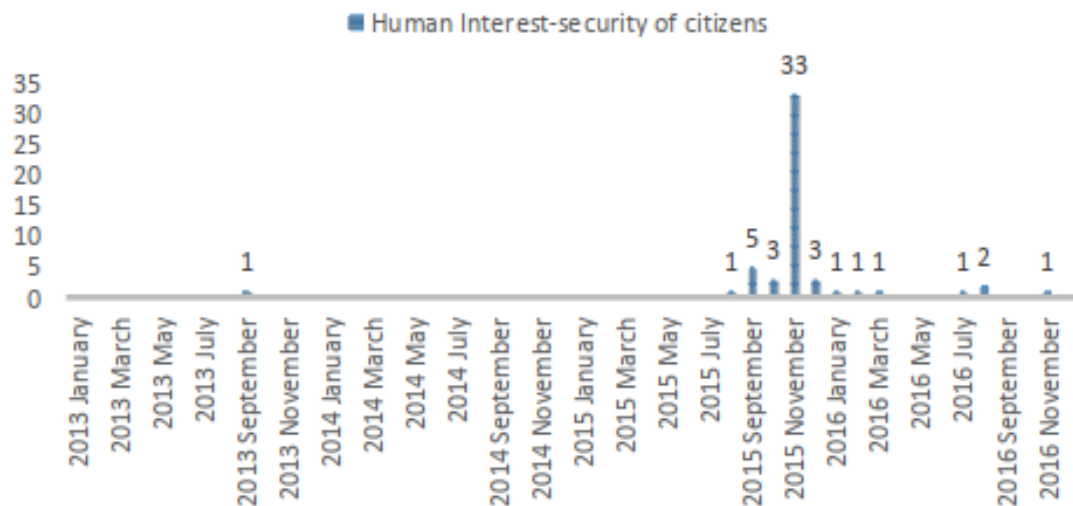
Figure 6.53: Distribution of Human Interest (Security of Citizens) Frame in Canadian Media

problem of Syrian asylum seekers. Sky News and BBC on the other hand almost always used this frame to hold others (223 times) responsible for the problems of asylum seekers with only one instance of attributing responsibility to the self. Figure 6.74 pictures the distribution of the responsibility frame among Canada and Britain. As can be seen in the above chart a huge difference exists in how responsibility frame was used in Global News and CBC on the one hand and Sky News and BBC on the other. Figure 6.75 shows the monthly distribution of this frame across the countries under review.

6.5.4.5 Comparative Cross Country Results Related to Morality Frame

The morality frame was identified in the content of Sky News and BBC 128 times. It was identified in the content of Global News and CBC 67 times. Figure 6.76 compares the results in these two countries. Figure 6.77 depicts the monthly distribution of the frame across the examined countries. In this chapter, a thorough examination was made on individual frames as well as their co-occurrence with other frames in the context of news broadcasts in four news networks in Canada and the United Kingdom. These frames and combinations help identify the nature and direction of the decision making environments regarding refugees. Having identified
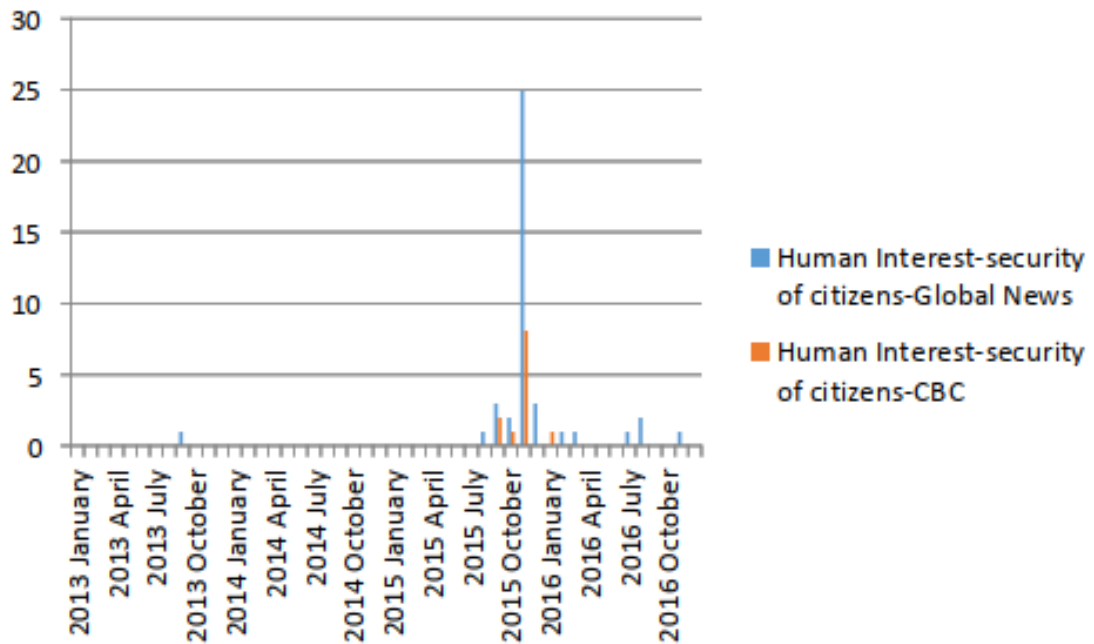
Figure 6.54: Distribution of Human Interest (Security of Citizens) Frame Across Canadian Networks

these frames and frame combinations, a discussion can be made on the nature and extent of the influence of these frames and frame combinations on the decision making environments regarding refugees in these two countries. The findings shall then be considered in the context of poliheuristic decision making to demonstrate the influence of decision making environments in the process and outcome of decision making. The next chapter discusses these influences in more detail.
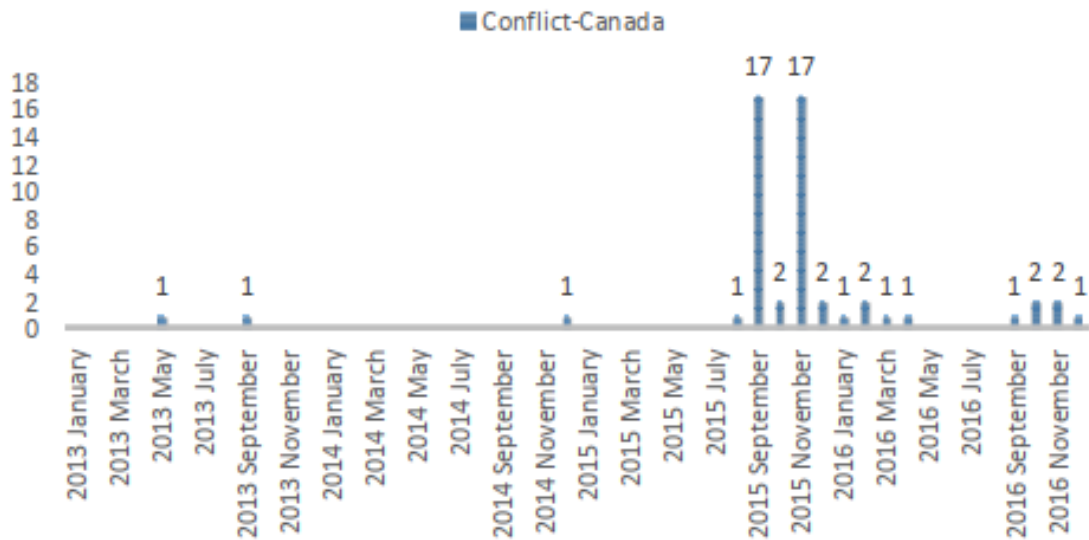
Figure 6.55: Distribution of Conflict Frame in Canadian Media
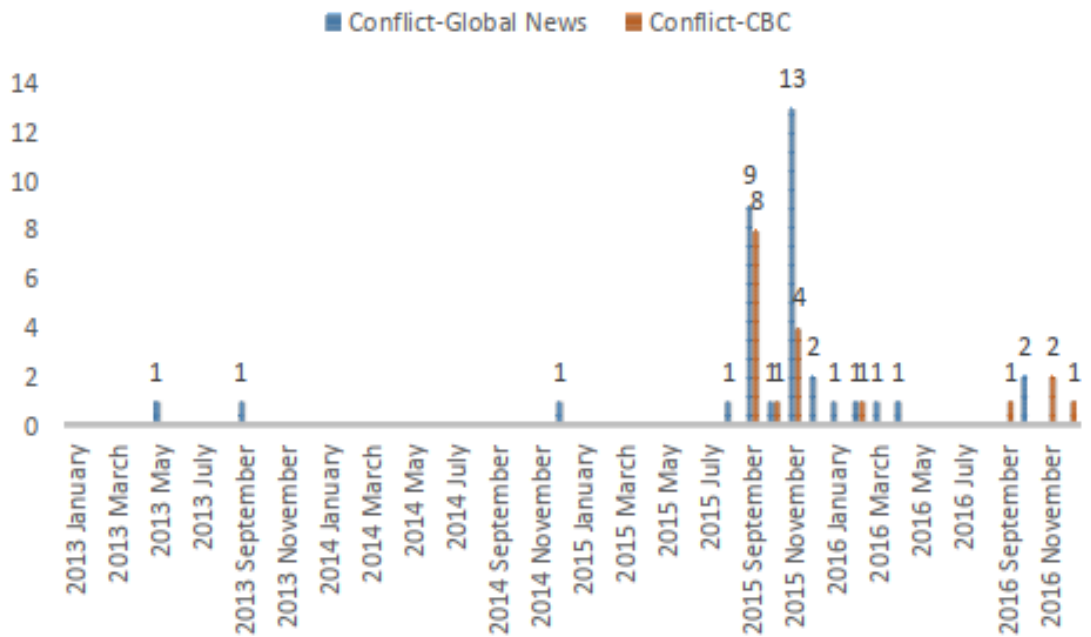
Figure 6.56: Distribution of Conflict Frame Across Canadian Networks
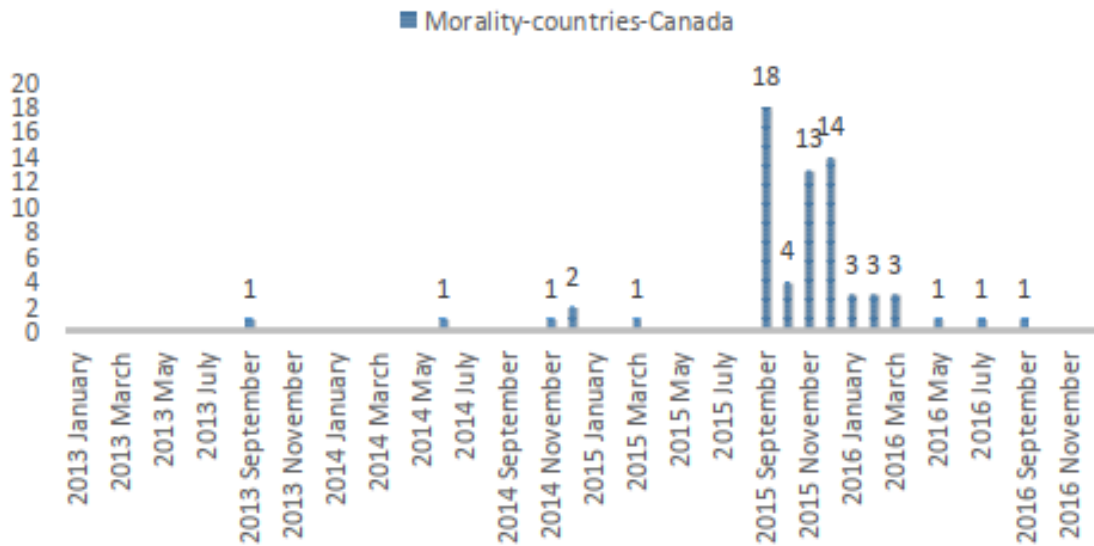
Figure 6.57: Distribution of Morality Frame in Canada
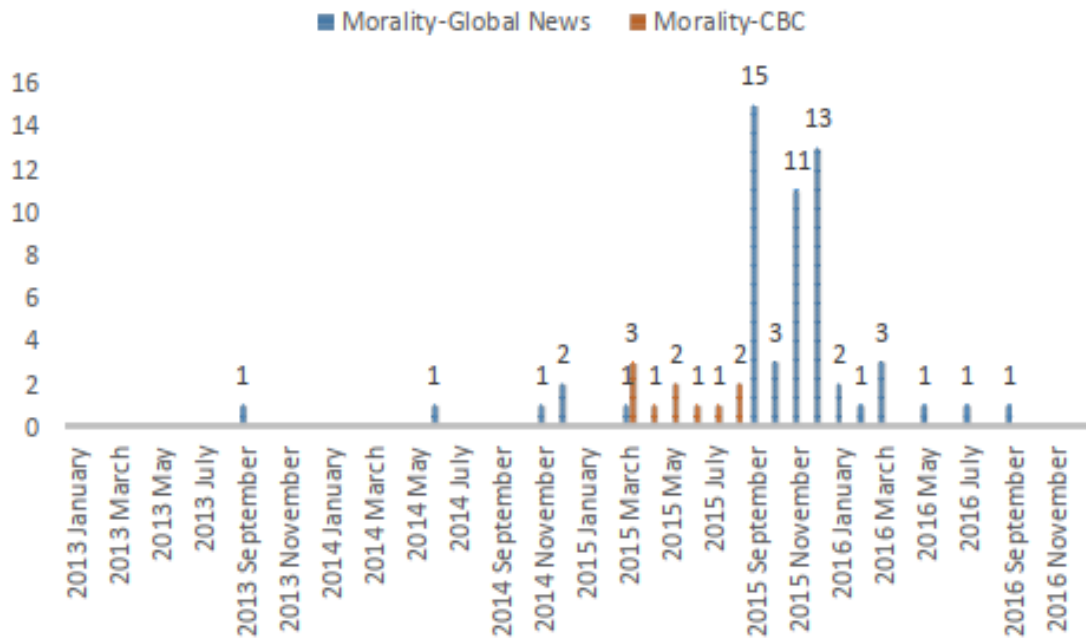
Figure 6.58: Distribution of Morality Frame Across Canadian Networks

RESPONSIBILITY-CANADA
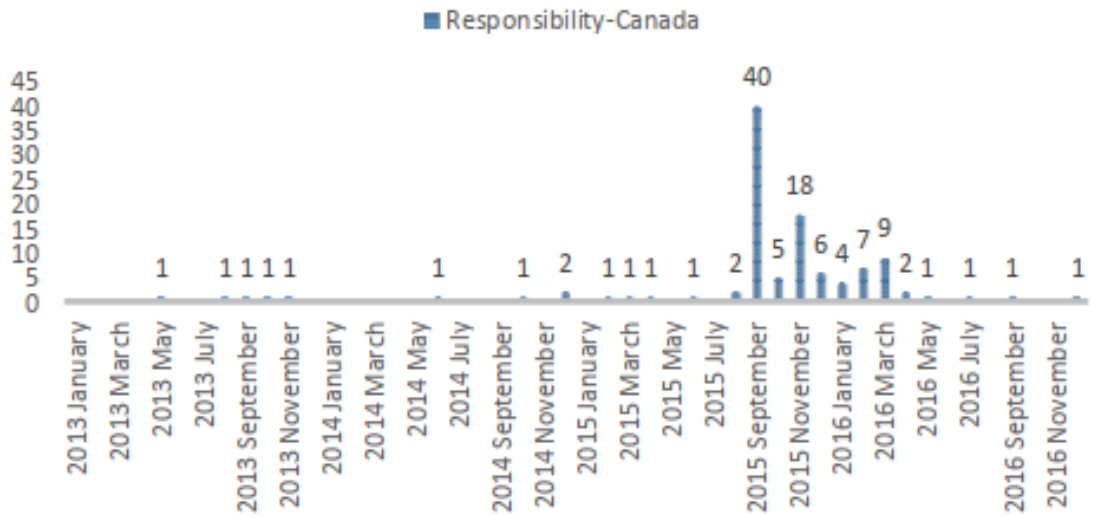
Figure 6.59: Distribution of Responsibility Frame in Canadian Media
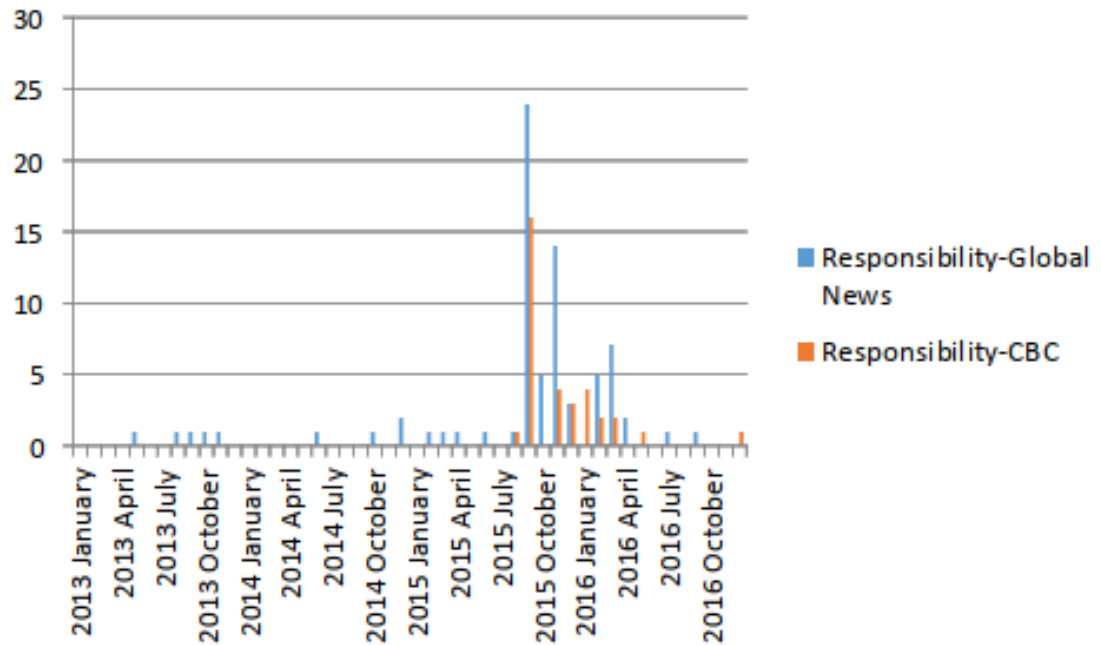
Figure 6.60: Distribution of Responsibility Frame Across Canadian Networks
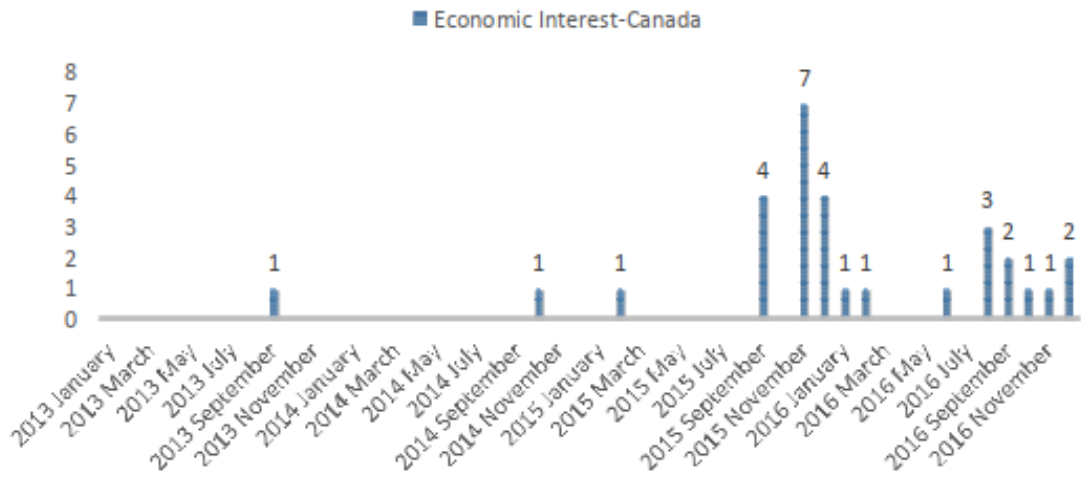
Figure 6.61: Distribution of Economic Interest Frame in Canadian Media
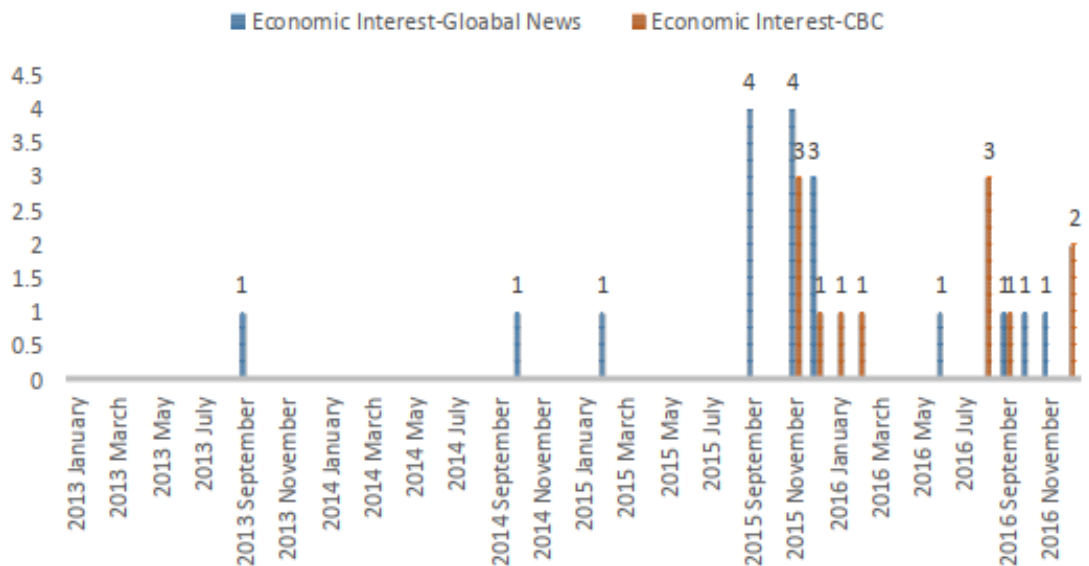
Figure 6.62: Distribution of Economic Interest Frame Across Canadian Networks
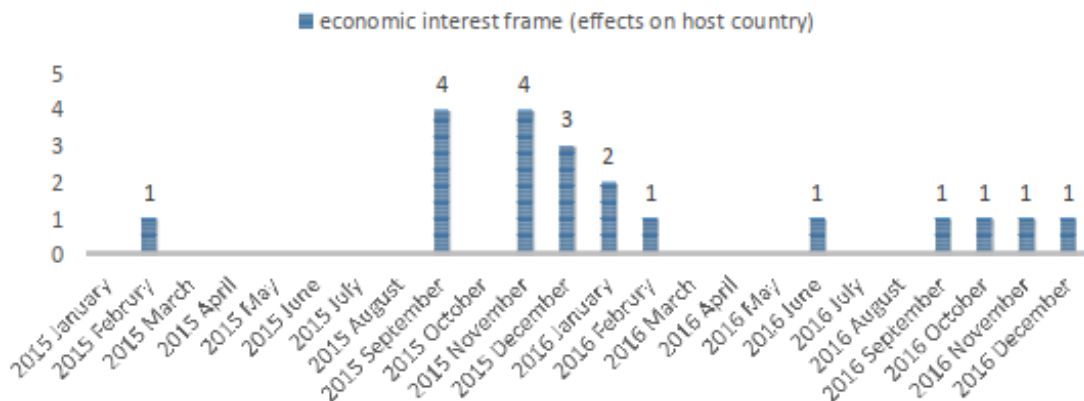
Figure 6.63: Distribution of Economic Interest Frame (Effects on Host Country) in Canadian Media
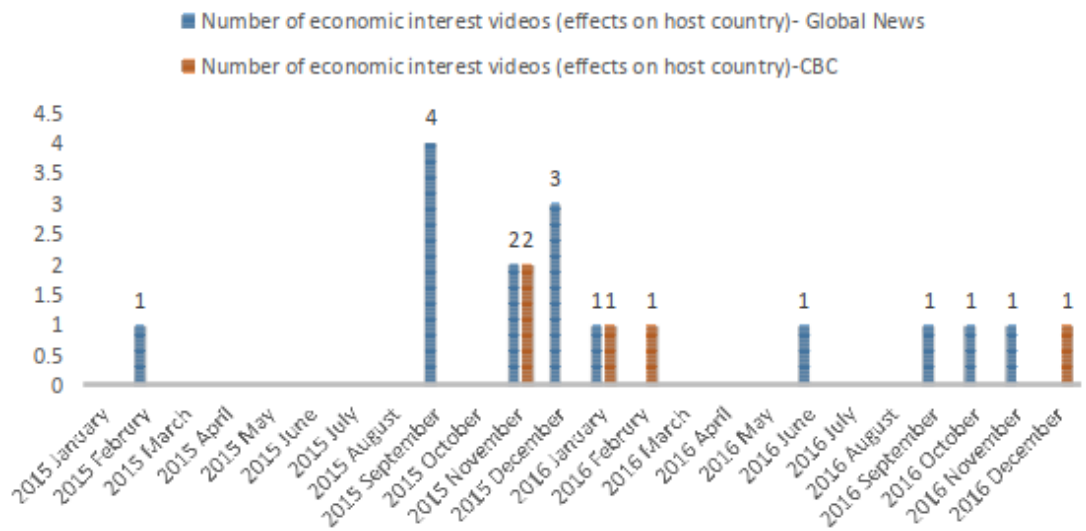
Figure 6.64: Distribution of Economic Interest (Effects on Host Country) Frame Across Canadian Networks
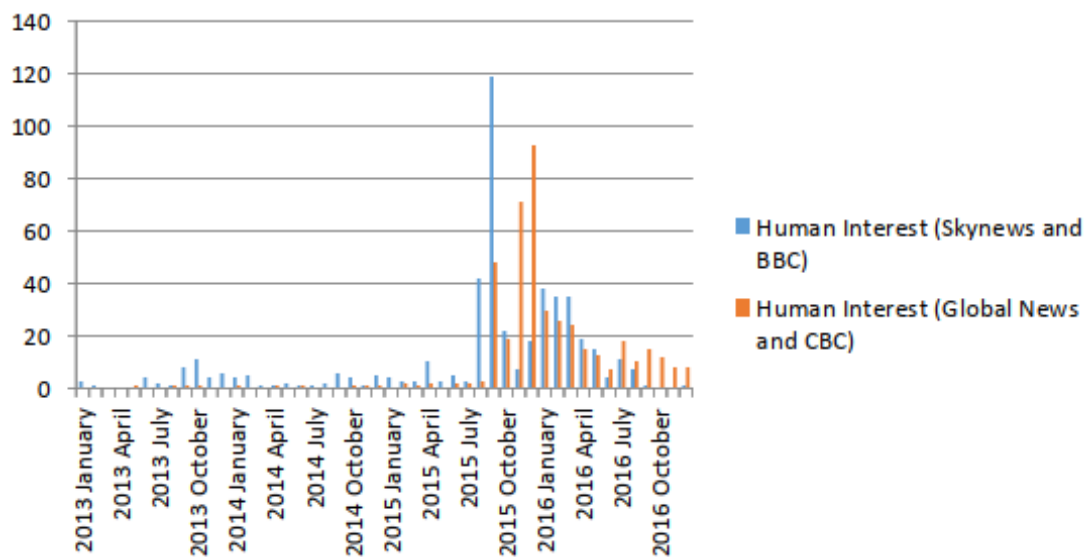
Figure 6.65: Cross Country Comparison of Human Interest Frame Distribution
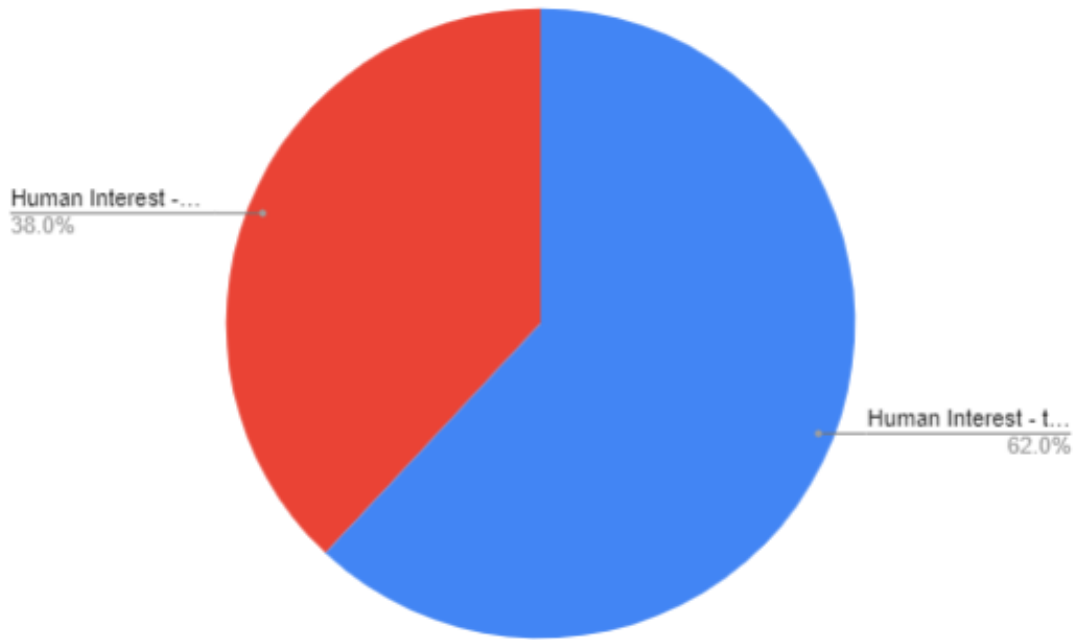
Figure 6.66: Cross Country Comparison of Economic Interest Frame
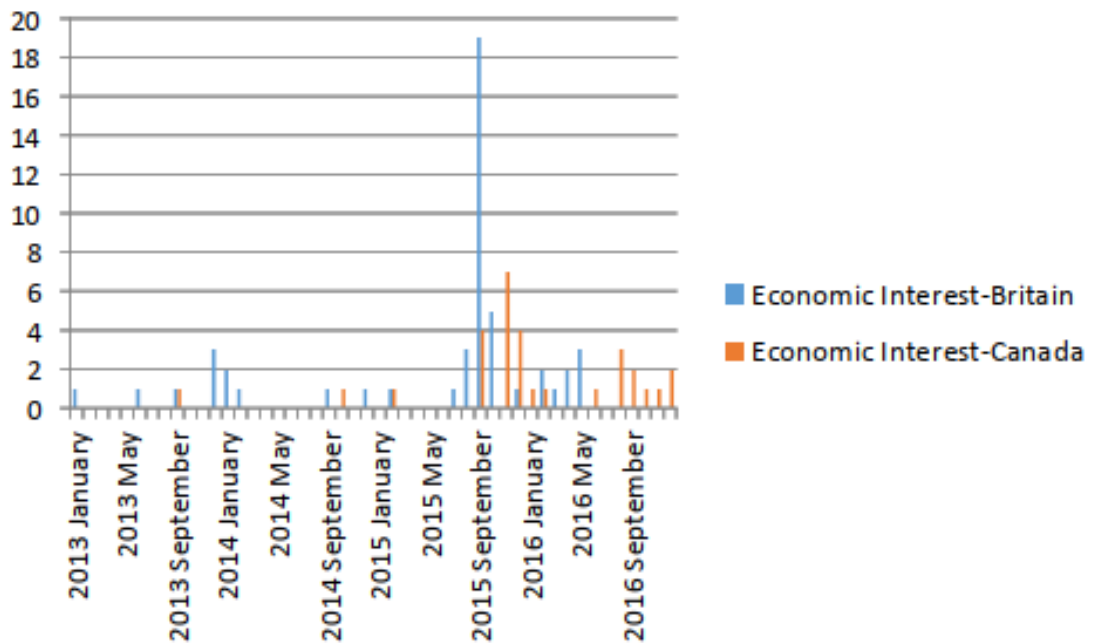
Figure 6.67: Cross Country Comparison of Economic Consequences Frame (Monthly)
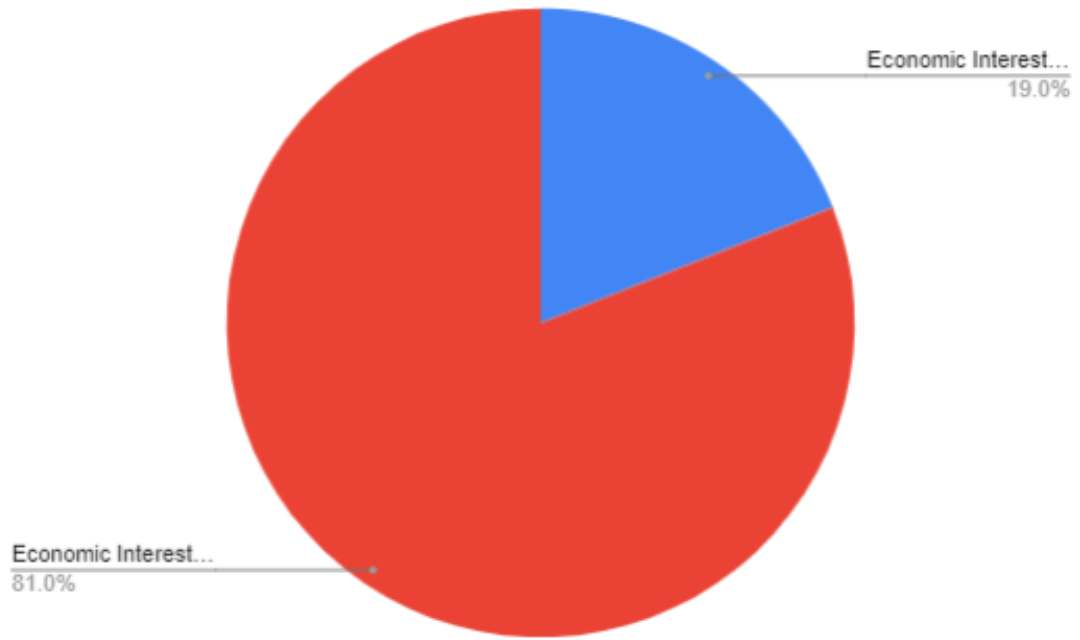
Figure 6.68: Cross Country Distribution of Economic Interest (Burden for the Host) Frame
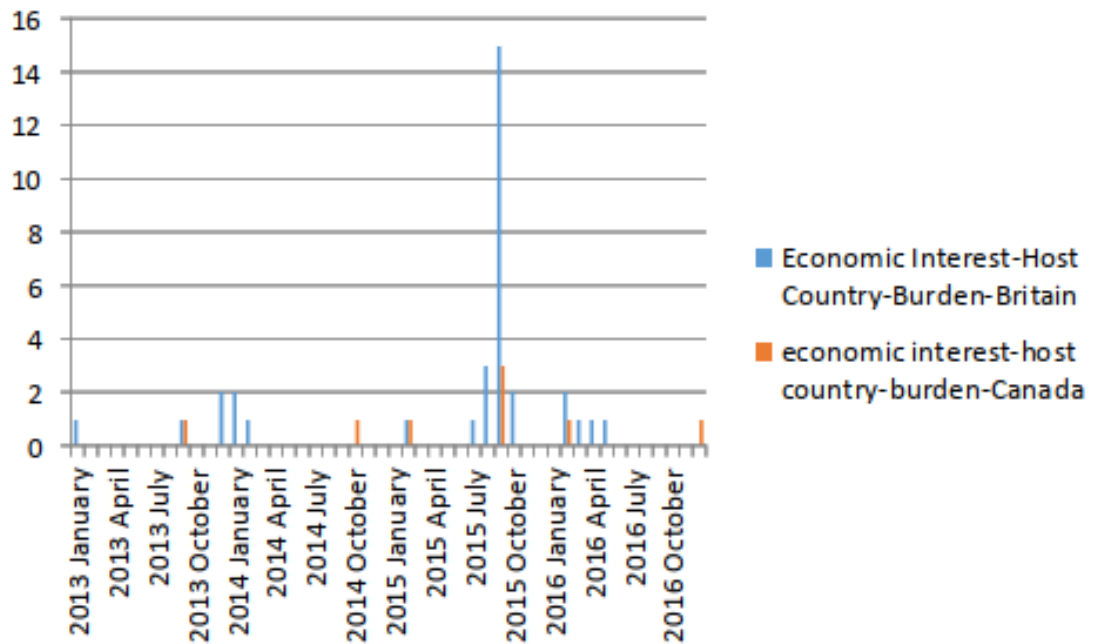
Figure 6.69: Cross Country Economic Interest (Burden for the Host Country) Frame Distribution
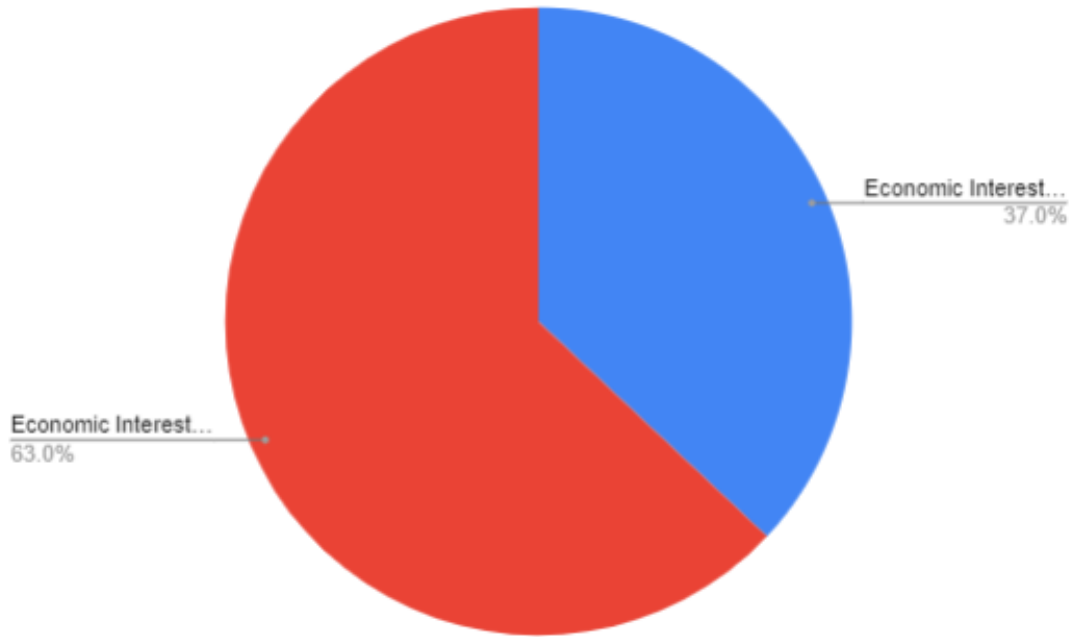
Figure 6.70: Cross Country Economic Interest (Contribution to Host Economy)
Frame Distribution
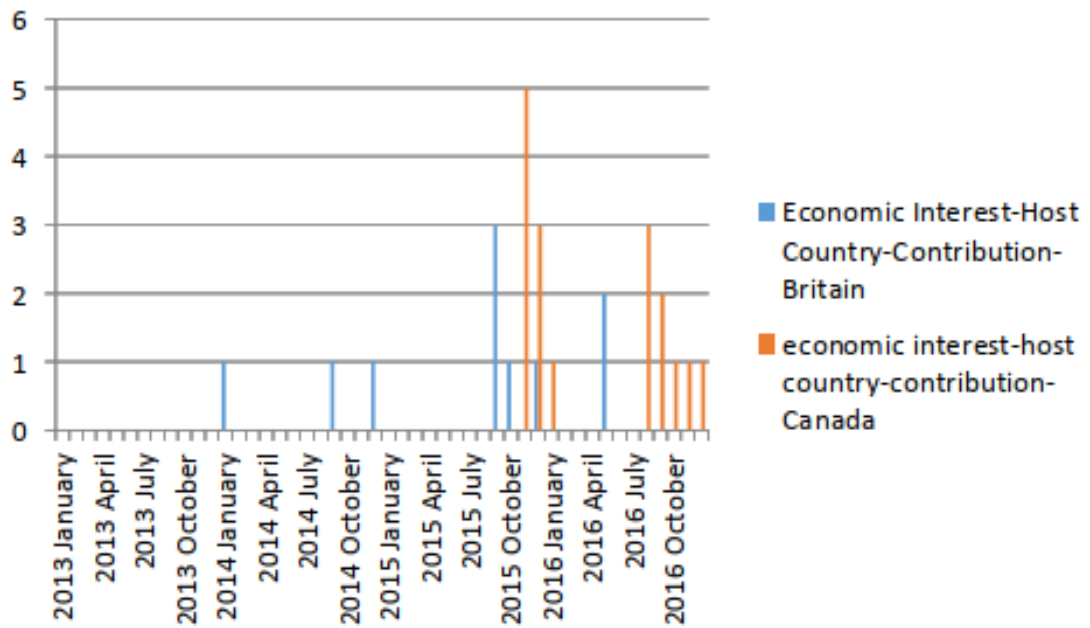
Figure 6.71: Cross Country Economic Interest (Contribution to Host Economy)
Frame Distribution
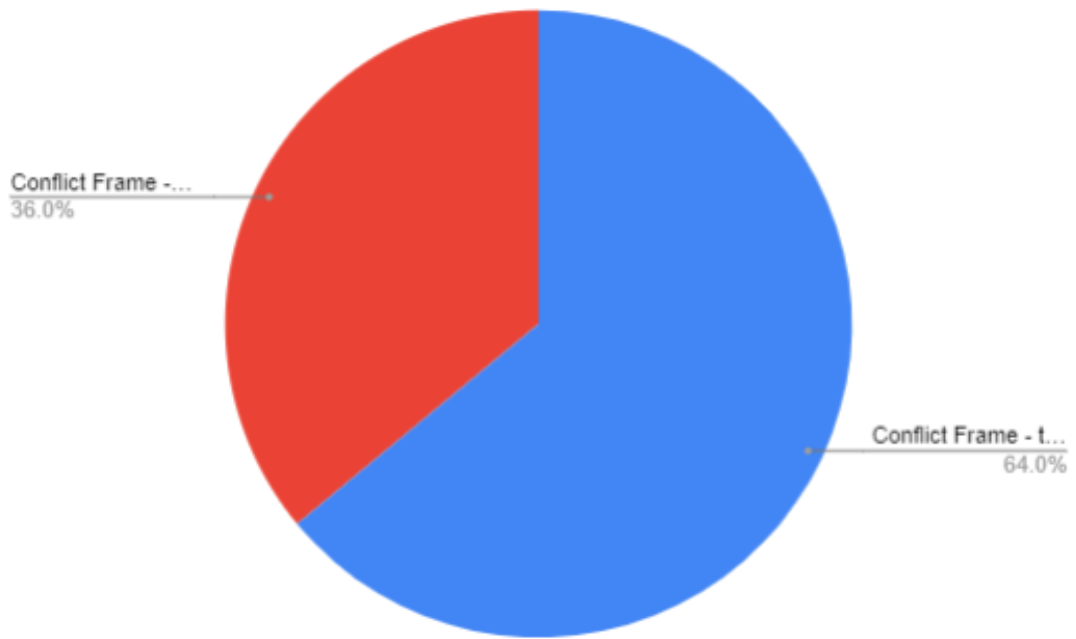
Figure 6.72: Cross Country Conflict Frame Distribution
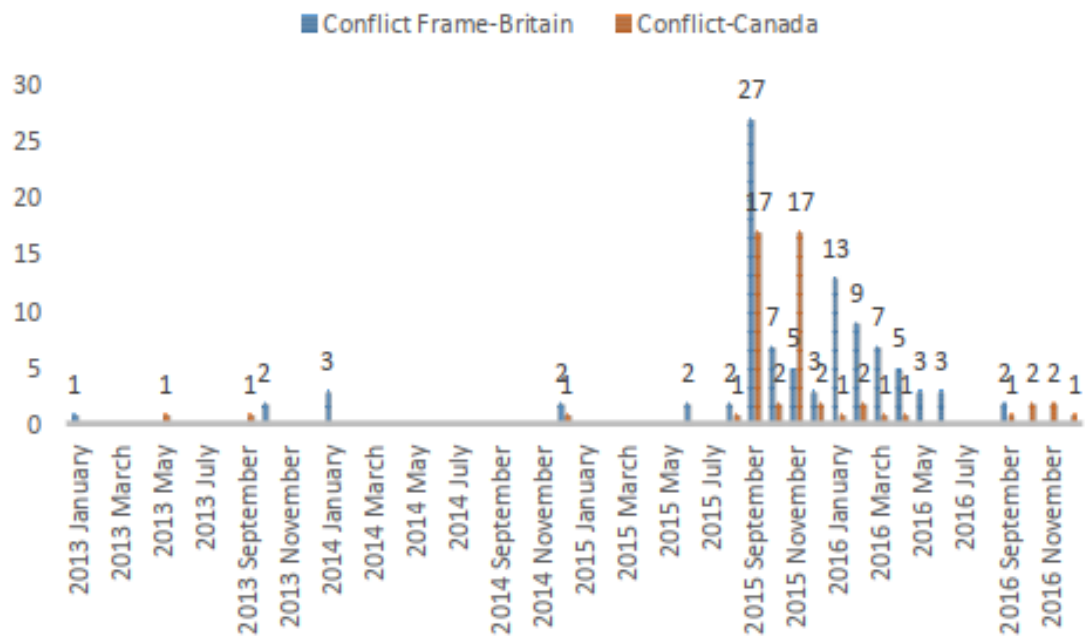
Figure 6.73: Cross Country Conflict Frame Distribution (Monthly)
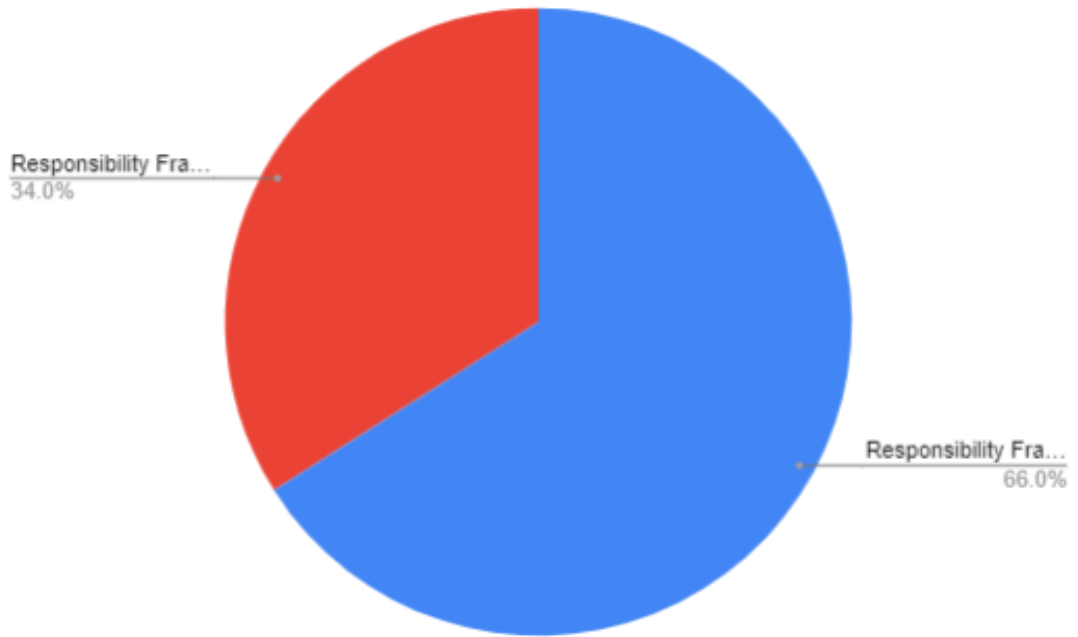
Figure 6.74: Cross Country Responsibility Frame Distribution
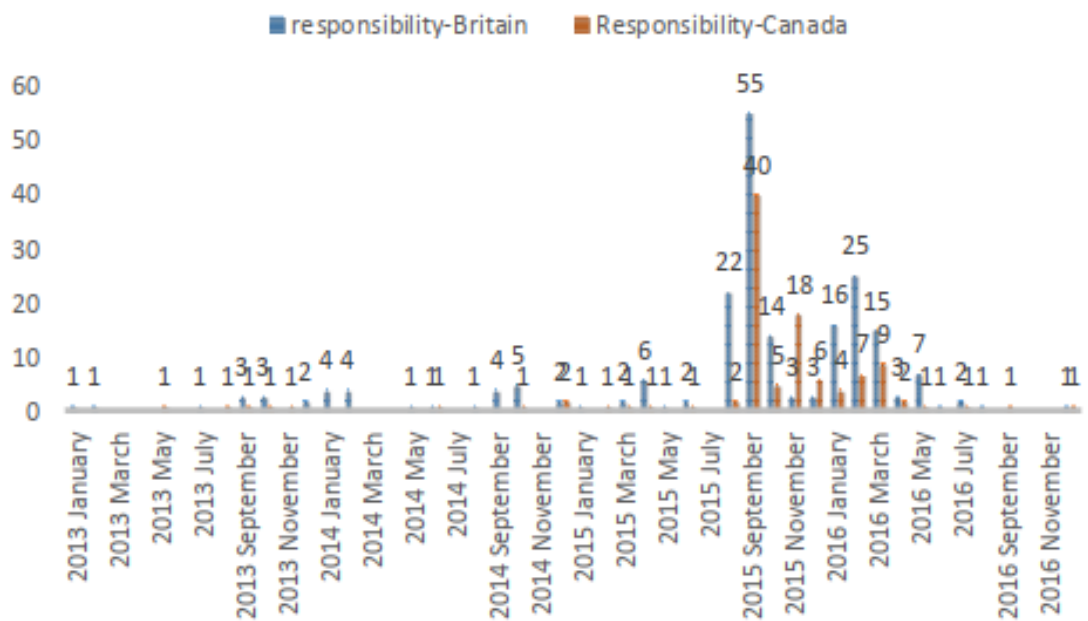
Figure 6.75: Cross Country Responsibility Frame Distribution (Monthly)
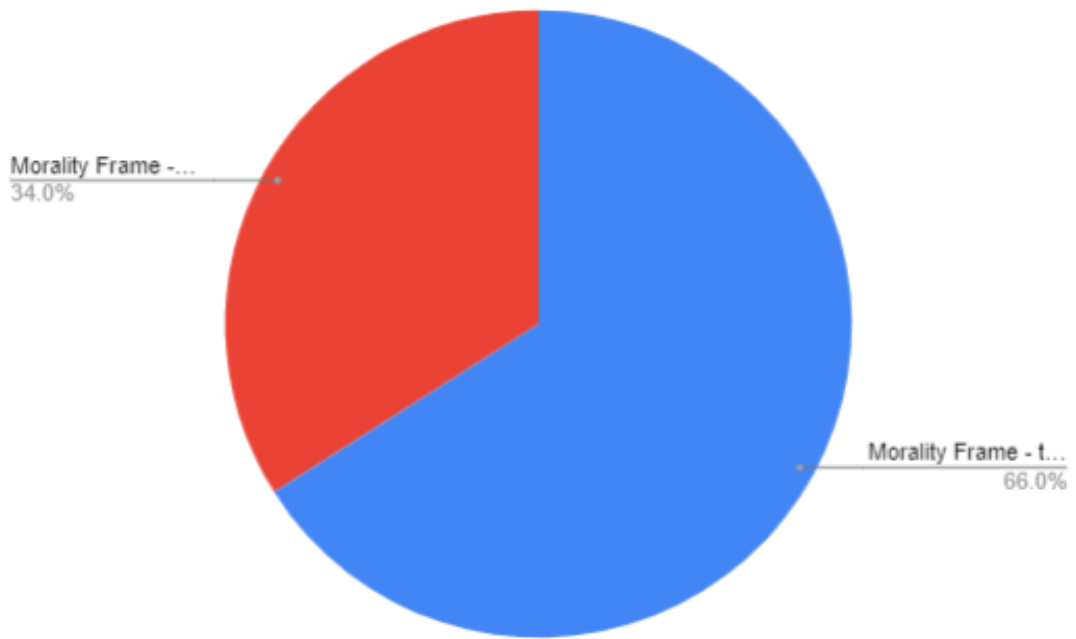
Figure 6.76: Cross Country Morality Frame Distribution
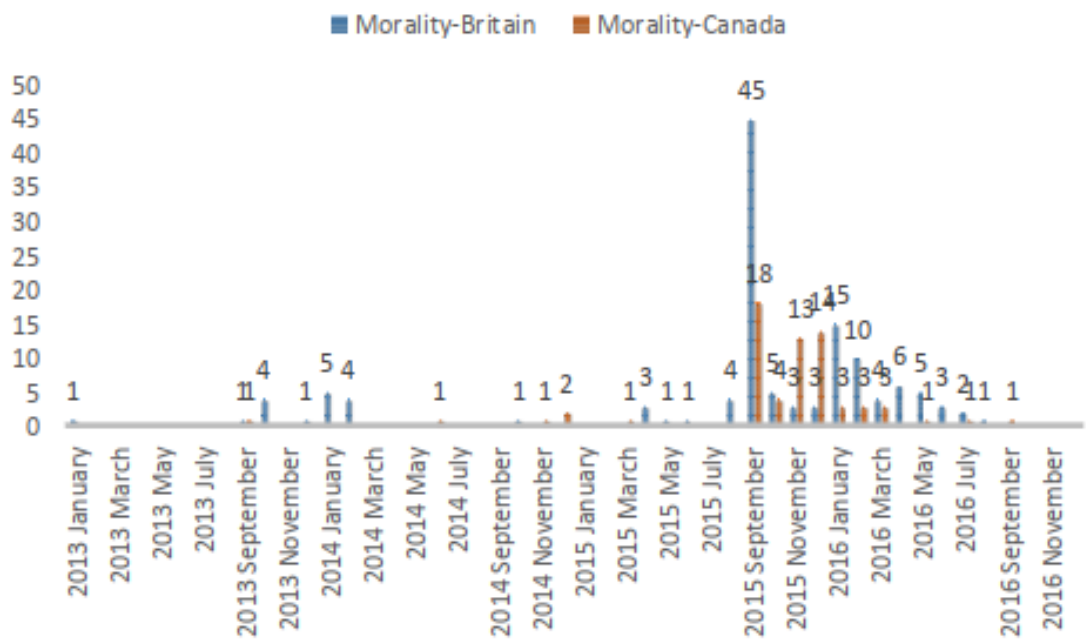
Figure 6.77: Cross Country Morality Frame Distribution (Monthly)

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION

While the CBC and Global News used frames with a high degree of consistency, the BBC and Sky News used frames that were more chaotic. The degree of consistency in each of these cases seems to reflect the level of consistency that existed in the decision making environment regarding refugee resettlement in Canada and the UK. In spite of the fact that opinion polls in both countries projected a general anti-resettlement attitude among the public, when these polls are examined in time, it seems that, over time, the level of resistance among the public in these countries, especially in Canada, changed in the direction reflected by the media. This raises the question the media also played an independent role in influencing or sedimenting the existing decision making environment.

7.1 The Analysis of Data Related to Canada (Global News and CBC)

Canadian media often broadcast a combination of refugee stories and the stories of Canadian citizens who passionately sought to help resettle refugees in Canada and grounded this effort in moral terms by claiming morality as a substantial element of Canadian identity. This was supported by giving reference to efforts by, both, Canadians and the Canadian government to help resettle Refugees in the past. It was in this context that the responsibility to resettle refugees was attributed to the federal government of Canada and even Canadian nationals as part of Canadian identity. This was then complemented by a high concentration on the economic benefits of resettling refugees in Canada and rarely discussed the possible short term economic

burden of such widespread resettlement. In fact, the economic benefits of resettling refugees together with the moral nature of Canadian identity shaped the core of the narrative used by Justin Trudeau's government regarding refugees.

Refugee stories rarely presented visuals of the pre-settlement difficulties that asylum seekers had had to endure. Instead, these difficulties were narrated by observers and politicians verbally. This seems to be important in the sense that the visualization of the pre-settlement hardships of refugees could indeed alienate them and create a distinct 'other'. Instead, the narrative was highly based on the similarities between the refugees and Canadians. It is in this context that the use of the term 'new Canadians' that was sometimes used to address the refugees can be interpreted.

The security dimensions of resettling a substantial number of refugees were also focused on by the Canadian media at certain time periods. This was especially the case after the Paris terrorist attacks in November 2015. However, the focus was on reassuring the Canadian public that all necessary security checks were being implemented on the incoming refugees and that the resettled refugees won't pose a threat to Canadians. Despite the reassurances there were calls on behalf of some of the local governments for the Prime Minister to withdraw from his plan to resettle 25000 refugees in a matter of months. Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall's call for a halt on the resettlement program that was broadcast on November 16, 2015 was of such nature (Ellis 2015). This call was based on the fear that if rushed the monitoring process could be jeopardized and terrorists could infiltrate the country as refugees. This was however countered by other authorities who rejected any relationship between refugees and possible terrorist attacks in Canada. The statements of the political activists and immigration agencies in the city of Lethbridge that were

broadcast a day after Saskatchewan Premier's call for a halt in refugee resettlement were of such nature (Tams 2015). The security worries did lead to government officials actively trying to explain the mechanism used for the monitoring of asylum seekers who were being processed for resettlement in Canada but failed to stop the process of resettlement. The number of times security issues were raised in Canadian media was substantially lower than the time spent on other aspects of resettlement of refugees.
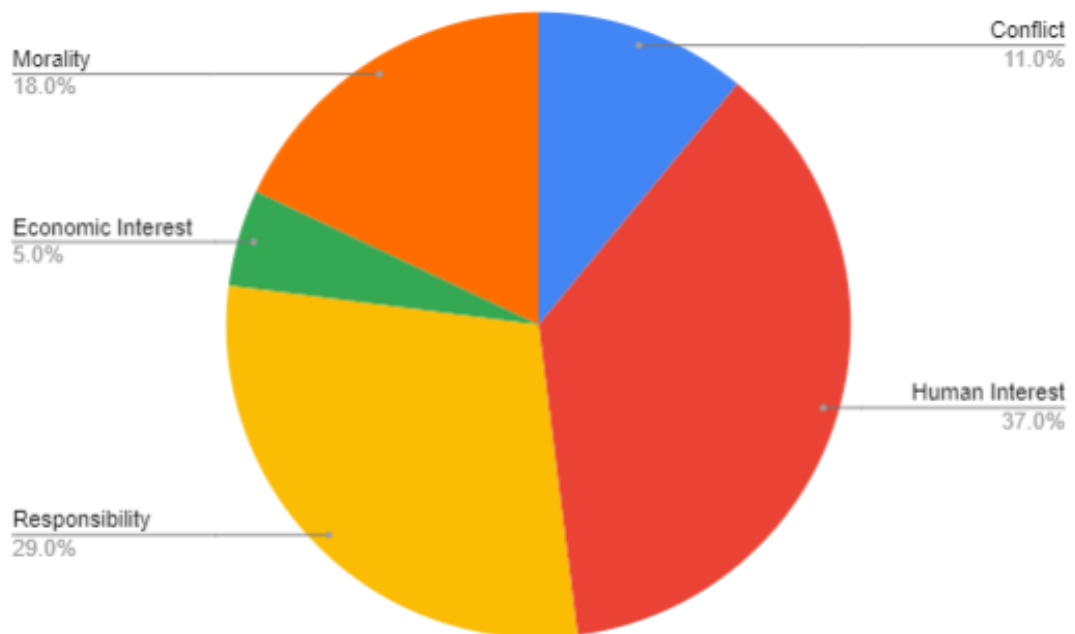
Figure 7.1: Distribution of Frames in Global News Between 02.09.2015 and 30.09.2015

Figures 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 clearly distinguish between the three time frames where generic frames were used intensively. The first time frame in Canada covered the period between 2 September 2015 and 30 September 2015. A cluster of frames was identified in Global News during this time. However, the number and frequency of news pieces broadcast by the CBC did not fulfil the requirements of a cluster. Global News' cluster started a month prior to the federal elections. The issue of Syrian
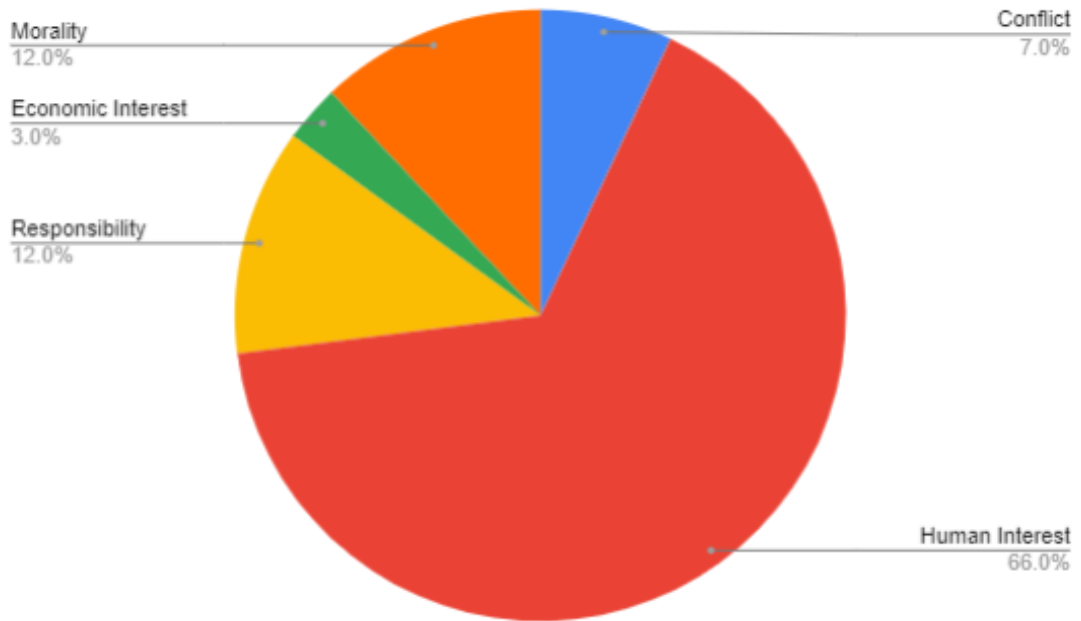
Figure 7.2: Distribution of Frames in Global News Between 22.10.2015 and 21.03.2016

refugees occupied a very important place in the programmes introduced by the candidates. In particular, the Liberal Party's Justin Trudeau focused extensively on pledging to resettle the substantial number of 25,000 refugees upon his election to office (Canada 2015). It is therefore understandable that the highest concentration of the coverage of conflicting viewpoints among politicians regarding refugees (11 percent) is seen during this time period.

This cluster was initiated by the appearance of the pictures of the three-year-old Syrian asylum seeker, Alan Kurdi, who was found dead on the coast of Turkey (CBCnews 2015). Three days later, on 5 September 2015, Justin Trudeau of the Liberal Party of Canada made a pledge that if he were elected Prime Minister of Canada, he would resettle twenty-five thousand Syrian refugees by the end of the year as well as accelerate the processing of Syrian asylum seekers (Canada 2015). According to a poll adopted by Ipsos between 11 September and 13 September 2015, the fast track resettlement of refugees was not the desired policy of the majority of
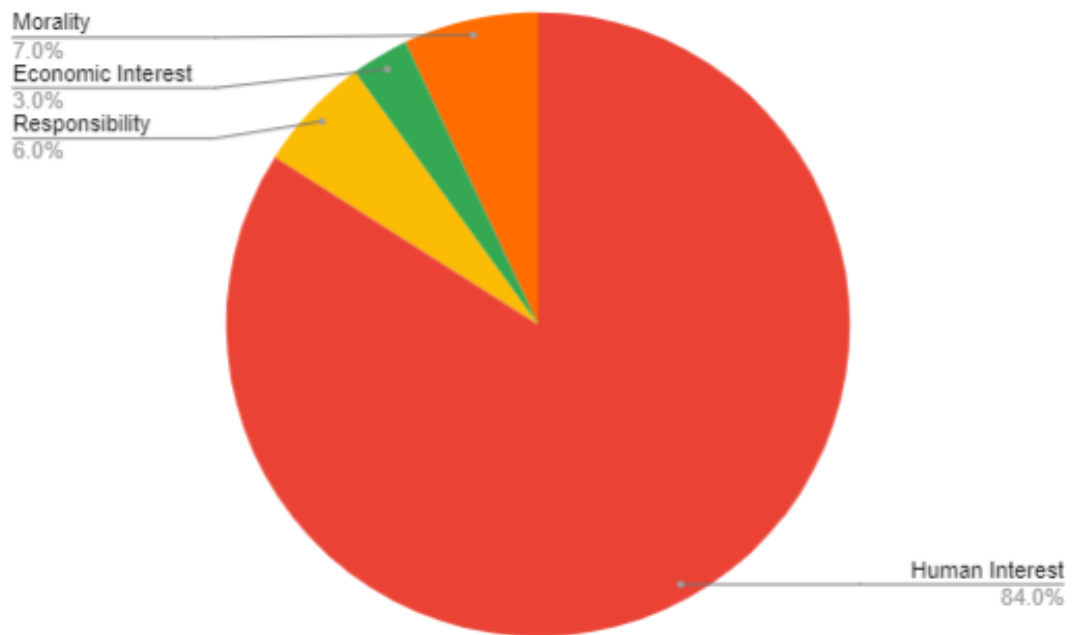
Figure 7.3: Distribution of Frames in Global News Between 17.07.2016 and 23.09.2016

Canadians at that time. In fact, approximately 71 percent of respondents prioritized the security concerns over the resettlement of refugees at that time (Ipsos 2015a). Despite the possible opposition to the mass resettlement of refugees shown by the aforementioned poll, the then conservative government of Canada introduced a new policy to facilitate the resettlement of the already pledged ten thousand refugees on 19 September 2015 (Canada 2015).

The frames used in this cluster indicate that Global News strongly focused on Canada's humanitarian responsibility to help refugees by using references to Canada's moral responsibility to help refugees and complementing that with references to the compassion shown by Canadian citizens towards refugees (18 percent) as well as the narrations of the stories of refugees themselves (74 percent). Only on very few occasions (8 percent) were the security aspects of refuge mentioned. The economic consequence of resettlement was only mentioned on very
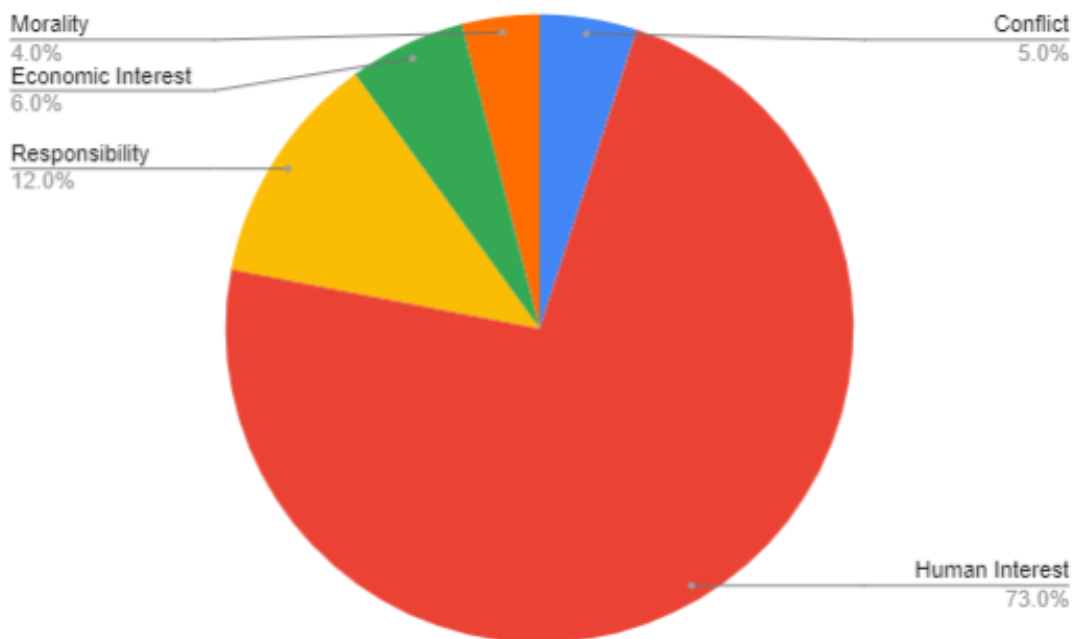
Figure 7.4: Distribution of Frames in CBC Between 21.10.2015 and 26.01.2016

rare occasions, and even then, the focus was on the positive consequences of resettlement for the Canadian economy.

The second cluster covered the period between 21 October 2015 and 21 March 2016 and is actually the combination of two almost identical clusters in Global News and the CBC. The Global News cluster covered the time period between 22 October 2015 and 21 March 2016. However, the CBC's cluster covered the time frame between 21 October 2015 and 26 January 2016, which was almost two months before the end of the Global News cluster. These two clusters included the period of transition from the conservative government of former Prime Minister Harper to the liberal government of the then newly elected Justin Trudeau and the period leading to the fulfilment of the promises made by the liberal government during the election campaign, which expanded from November 2015 to February 2016 (Canada 2020).

Immediately after being sworn into office on 4 November 2015, Trudeau's

government restated its commitment to resettling 25000 refugees in Canada by the end of the year. This commitment was repeated by the Prime Minister and other ministers during the time period leading to the fulfilment of the commitment on 29 February 2016 (Senate 2016). A poll adopted by Ipsos in November 2015, immediately after the Paris terrorist attacks, indicated that 60 percent of Canadians opposed the plan of the Liberal government to resettle 25000 refugees by the end of 2015 (Ipsos 2015b). However, the CBC and Global News shifted focus only slightly towards the issue of security (10 percent in the CBC and 13 percent in Global News as opposed to 8 percent in the first cluster) and concentrated on stories of Canadian citizens showing compassion towards refugees (26 percent in the CBC and 25 percent in Global News) as well as the stories of refugees (64 percent in the CBC and 62 percent in Global News). Even in cases in which security issues were discussed, the content of such frames was reassuring as to the proper processing of refugees who were being resettled in Canada.

References to moral grounds for refugee resettlement (32 times in Global News, 4 times in the CBC) and the responsibility of Canada to help the refugees (31 times in Global News, 11 times in the CBC) were abundant during this time period.

The projection of conflict between politicians regarding refugees decreased in this time frame, and the focus shifted from the attribution of responsibility to the government of Canada to the projection of the compassion shown by the citizens towards refugees as well as the stories of refugees who entered Canada during this time. The moral grounds for helping refugees were still referenced both in media broadcasts and in the discourse of the elite, although this was done with a lower intensity than the time period before the elections (only 4 percent in the CBC and 7 percent in Global News). The economic

consequences of refuge were rarely addressed (6 percent in the CBC and 3 percent in Global News), but when the issue arose, it focused on the positive effects of migration and not the possible negative effects.

The third frame cluster, which was found in Global News, covered the time period between 17 July 2016 and 23 September 2016. No clusters were identified in the CBC during this time frame. The extensive processing of the asylum seekers ended during this third time frame, and the number of the staff who were sent to the Middle East to process refugees was reduced when the main processing centres in that region were closed a month before this frame cluster (Levitz 2016). However, on 6 September 2016, the government of Canada announced the acceleration of the processing of refugees and pledged to accept an additional 6000 government-sponsored refugees in addition to the privately sponsored refugees (Senate 2016). The stories of the refugees and the compassion shown towards them (84 percent of all frames) completely dominates this frame cluster. By contrast, conflicting viewpoints among politicians were almost completely absent from this time frame. This lack of conflicting ideas can later be seen in the unanimous vote favouring the resettlement of Yazidi refugees in late 2016.

7.2 The Analysis of Data Related to Britain (Sky News and BBC)

Unlike Canada where already existing laws and regulations were applied to the scheme to resettle the pledged number of refugees, the British government adopted the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme (VPRP) in 2014 to address the issue of Syrian asylum seekers. The initial plan was to resettle a select group of Syrian refugees, possibly reaching a few hundred people. A total of 5,454 refugees were resettled under this programme from October 2015 to December 2016 (McGuinness 2017).

Four frame clusters were identified in the news broadcast by the BBC and Sky News. The BBC's clusters included the periods from 1 August 2015 to 24 November 2015 and from 5 January 2016 to 26 April 2016. The clusters identified in Sky News covered two time periods extending from 9 August 2015 to 23 September 2015 and from 4 January 2016 to 17 March 2016, almost covering identical time frames as the BBC. A schematic of the frame use in different time periods can be observed in Figure 8.7.
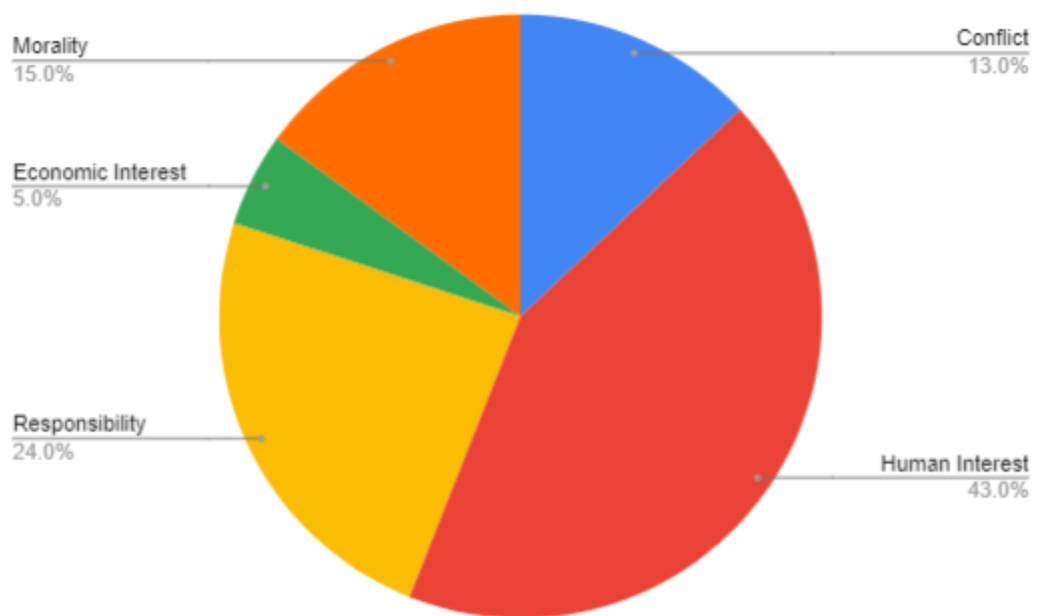
Figure 7.5: Distribution of Frames in BBC Between 01.08.2015 and 24.11.2015

Charts 5 and 6 show how the responsibility and morality frames, in BBC, diminished in the first half of the year 2016 in comparison to the second half of 2015. However, stories of refugees proportionally increased in 2016 and the projection of conflicting opinions within the society only mildly decreased by 1 percent. While media's use of the morality and responsibility frames can be translated into an effort to securitize the situation in which refugees found themselves and hence pressure the government to deal with the issue urgently BBC's declining use of these frames in 2016 could
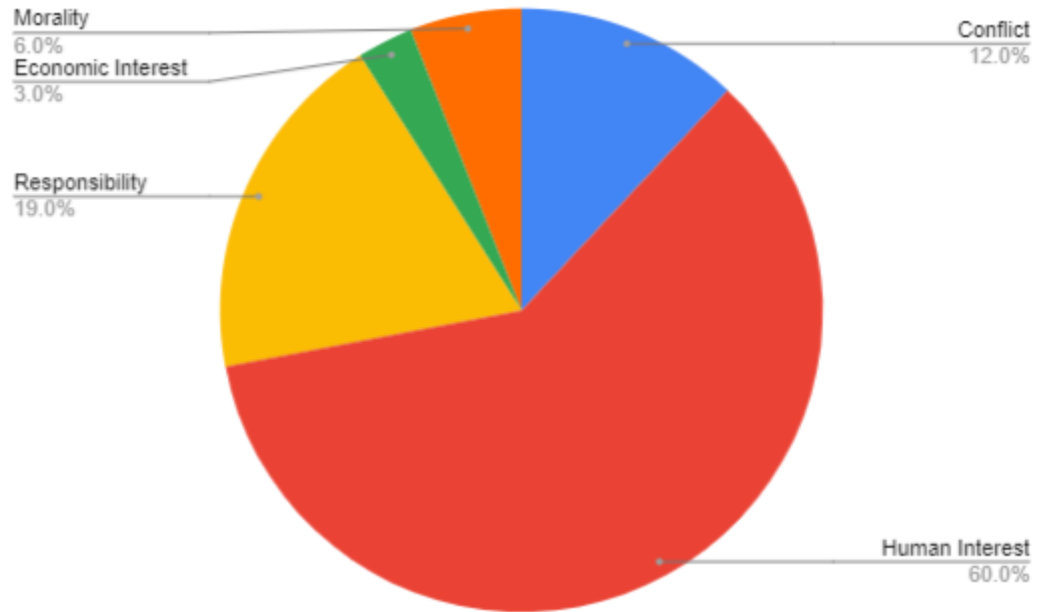
Figure 7.6: Distribution of Frames in BBC Between 05.01.2016 and 26.04.2016

indeed support the argument related to the shift in British media's agenda after the Paris attacks in November 2015. This could, of course, also be the consequence of the implementation of the then newly agreed action plan between the EU and Turkey which was aimed at lessening the influx of refugees into the European Union. However, this trend does not hold in Sky News' frame use during the same time period as shown in the following charts.

Charts 7 and 8 show an almost unchanged stance in Sky News' frame use in the two time frames studied for the purpose of this research. As seen on the above charts the main difference between the period covered in chart 7 (which covers part of the time period studied on chart 5) and the period covered on chart 8 (which covers part of the time period covered in BBC on chart 6) is in the increasing use of responsibility attribution and the decreasing attention to the economic consequences of resettlement in the latter time frame. This could also be interpreted in terms of the decreasing worries regarding the influx of refugees to Europe after the implementation of the EU-
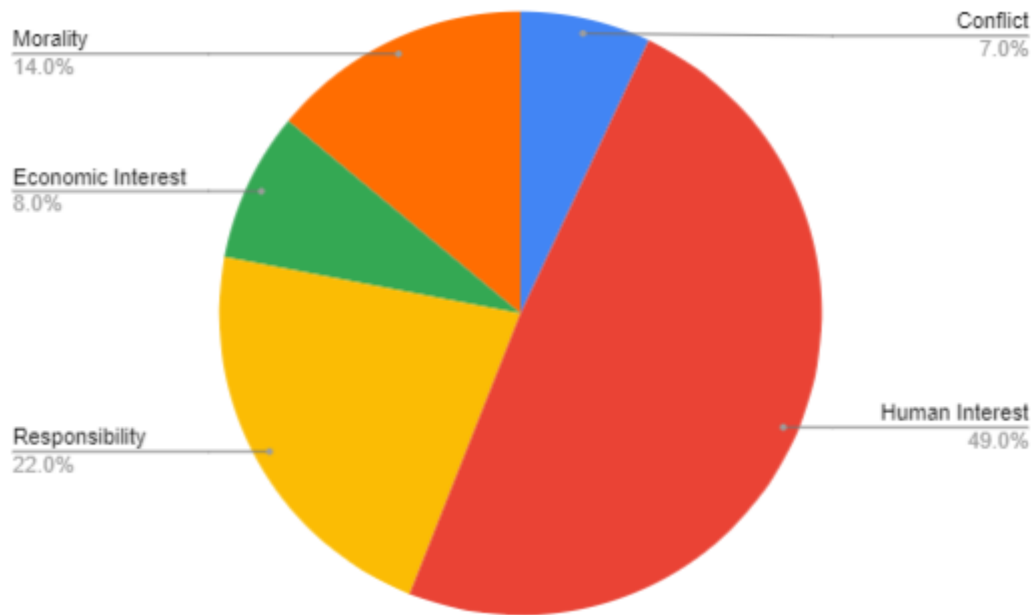
Figure 7.7: Distribution of Frames in Sky News Between 09.08.2015 and 23.09.2015

Turkey action plan.

The first time period covers a cluster of frames between 1 August 2015 and 24 November 2015 in the BBC and a cluster in an almost identical time period extending from 9 August 2015 to 23 September 2015 in Sky News, though Sky News' cluster ended almost two months earlier than that of the BBC. This includes a month prior to British government's extension of the Syrian VPRP to incorporate 20000 refugees over a five-year period in September 2015 (Guardian 2015). This time frame begins a month earlier than the first cluster identified in Canadian media broadcasts. This could be the result of the proximity of the UK to Europe, which was heavily affected by the mass movement of Syrian refugees. However, as in Canada, the frames intensified when the pictures of Alan Kurdi, a Syrian child who drowned while making the journey to Europe from Turkey, appeared in news broadcasts around the world (BBC 2015a). At this point, David Cameron's government showed more lenience towards accepting more refugees into the country despite the fact that

168
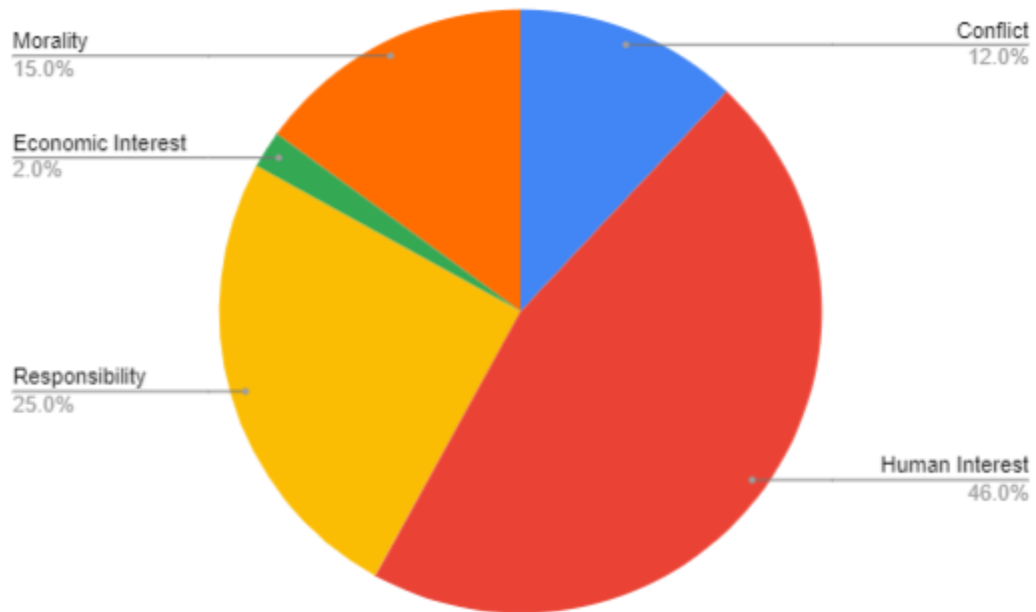
Figure 7.8: Distribution of Frames in Sky News Between 04.01.2016 and 17.03.2016

opinion polls showed a high percentage (51 percent) of opposition among the public (Dahlgreen 2015).

While the bulk of news broadcasts during this time narrated refugee stories, only on a few occasions was the compassion shown by citizens towards refugees discussed. Another significant observation during this first time frame is the excessive use of the economic burden frame that depicts refugees as a burden to the host societies' limited resources. Of the economic frames used in Sky News, 84 percent were of this nature, while the BBC exclusively (100 percent) focused on the burden that refugee resettlement would place on the shoulders of British citizens and the British government.

The second time frame covers the period between 4 January 2016 and 17 March 2016 on Sky News and an almost identical cluster on the BBC that extended from 5 January 2016 to 26 April 2016. The last days of the time frame (BBC) covers the discussion of the so-called 'Dubs Amendment' in the Houses of Parliament. This

amendment was aimed at transporting an undefined number of vulnerable, unaccompanied refugee children from Europe to the UK. It faced a great deal of resistance by the conservative party of the UK in both Houses of the Parliament (Commons: 289, Lords: 164) while facing pressure from the Labour and the Scottish National Party in the House of Commons (203 and 51) as well as pressure from Labour and Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords (134 and 94). The amendment was initially discussed and rejected by the House of Commons on 25 April 2016 (Hansard 2016a), but it was reinstated by the House of Lords on 26 April 2016 (Hansard 2016b) and eventually passed in May 2016 as part of the 2016 Immigration Act (Acts of Parliament 2016).

The human interest frame plays the most prominent role in this time frame. The economic consequences of refuge were rarely addressed during this time period, but the ratio between the burden framing and contribution framing of refugees continued to favour of the former.

The British media spent substantial time reporting the movement of refugees towards Europe. This was conducted by reporters broadcasting visuals of what the refugees were suffering to reach Europe. Pictures of muddy camps, the tired faces of refugees walking in the rain and videos of refugees being saved by Italian marines were abundant. These pictures were sometimes accompanied by pictures of volunteers from Europe in general and in the UK in particular trying to help exhausted and often scared refugees on their journey to Europe. Although this may seem to be the proper context in which the 'life of refugees' could be securitized, in reality, this situation could cause panic among the public as it visualized an assumed unending wave of refugees moving towards European countries. In fact, the movement of refugees was

sometimes depicted as unending, as shown on the video broadcast of 15 September 2015 on Sky News titled 'No End to Stream of Refugees Seeking New Life' (Stuart Ramsay 2015).

These reports were followed by blame being attributed to countries that were either blocking the way of refugees or were treating them inhumanely, including the countries in the Balkans region, Hungary, Greece, and Turkey, or to those that were not doing enough to address the issue, particularly Britain. This blame game by both the media and the political elite may have pushed the British government to actively explain its refugee policies to Parliament and the public. In this context, the British government frequently stated that they were the greatest donor (apart from the United States) to the Syrian refugee camps in the countries neighbouring Syria (BBC 2015b), and they defined Britain's policies regarding refugees as focusing on resettling refugees in camps close to Syria, as British officials claimed that this was the logical desire of the Syrians themselves.

The attribution of blame, however effective it was at pushing the British government to clarify its policies, desecuritized the humanitarian dimensions of refuge, as it created a feeling of widespread unwillingness and worry among European and North American states regarding the resettlement of refugees due to security and economic considerations. These concerns were complemented by the intense focus of the British media on the burden that the resettlement of refugees could impose on the host countries. The British media rarely discussed the possible economic benefits of accepting refugees into the country. This demonstrated more confusion in media content as the moral claims made regarding the generosity of the British people were mixed with uncertainty regarding the economic consequences of accepting refugees

into Britain and the fear that despite the goodwill of the British people, terrorists may abuse their generosity to organize terror attacks in Britain.

The difference of opinion among the British elite was extensively covered by the British media. A confused environment was reflected in which competing ideas about the consequences of resettling refugees were mixed with reports from the field about the drastic circumstances suffered by the refugees.

7.3 Illustrating the Reflected Decision Environments in Canada and the United Kingdom

The previous sections quantitatively identified the frames used in news media in the United Kingdom and Canada. Although this quantitative distribution of frames and combinations clarifies the general tendency of frames in these news networks, distinguishing securitizing patterns in news media necessitates qualitatively illustrating the decision environments reflected by those frames. The paragraphs that follow provide examples of the general decision environments reflected in the studied news networks in Canada and the United Kingdom. The examples have been coded in accordance with the patterns identified in the networks to provide a clear understanding of the general decision environment, as reflected by the media, in which decisions regarding refugee resettlement were made. In all four studied networks, the first frame cluster was the densest frame cluster. As a result, it was deemed necessary to depict the frames used in this particularly dense cluster of frames.

7.3.1 Illustrating the Decision Environment in the United Kingdom

It would be possible to identify distinct patterns in relation to the way the UK media approached broadcasting news pieces in the United Kingdom. Some of these patterns were:

1. Making no distinction between migrants and refugees and often conflating these terms: The British media frequently referred to Syrian asylum seekers as migrants. Given that the terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' denote a legal status that establishes rights for those who have been granted the status as well as duties for the states in which these people have applied for asylum (or been granted refugee status), this could be interpreted as an attempt to place Syrian refugees in a legally neutral category;

2. The need for breaking the business model of human smugglers as the preferred choice: British politicians and media in the United Kingdom often prioritized the necessity to break the business model of human smugglers as the most reasonable way to tackle the refugee problem;

3. Depicting the distinction made between Syrian asylum seekers and other asylum seekers as a source of conflict: this pattern was witnessed in a number of news pieces as shown in the following paragraphs. The argument was made, often indirectly by non-Syrian interviewees, that the distinction made between Syrian asylum seekers and other asylum seekers has cause non-Syrian asylum seekers to suffer from lack of attention to their plight;

4. No distinction made between Syrian asylum seekers and other asylum seekers: this was especially done in the statistics given by the government regarding the number of asylum seekers already resettled in the Uk. The same pattern was seen in the high volume of the news pieces addressing non-Syrian asylum seekers in the UK media;

5. Reflecting a general lack of interest in and dissatisfaction with refugee resettlement in different countries: This pattern included accounts of countries refraining from providing refugees with basic services as well as expressing dissatisfaction with resettlement of refugees in their territories. These were

especially referred to in relation to countries such as Hungary and Macedonia.

6. An unending wave of refugees moving towards Europe: this was done either visually by picturing long, almost never ending, lines of refugees on their path to seeking asylum in Europe or verbally by using expressions such as "a sea of tents", "an unending wave of refugees", etc;

7. Chaos on the way to asylum: this was done by visualizing the clashes between refugees and border guards as well as refugees and citizens. This was sometimes followed by depicting the mess that had been created in temporary refugee settlements in European countries;

8. The draining of economic resources in the host countries: this pattern was paramount in UK media's depiction of refugee resettlement. The argument that refugee resettlement drains the host countries economy was made both directly and indirectly in relation to countries where refugees had already resettled;

9. The solution to the Syrian refugee problem is not resettling them in Europe but investing in refugee camps in the region: this pattern was mainly a direct reflection of the official position of the Conservative government in the United Kingdom. David Cameron's government made this argument a number of times while explaining that the United Kingdom had been the most generous country in financial contributions to camps in the region. ;

10. Reference given to genuine asylum seekers: the UK media and politicians often made reference to genuine asylum seekers as opposed to those who simply want to enter the country for economic reasons. Considering that these references were made when speaking of Syrian asylum seekers, the UK government seems to have been of the idea that some Syrians would use the asylum path as a way to fulfil their desire to enjoy the UK economy; an argument that would not be in accordance with the dire situations caused by the

Syrian civil strife. This argument was also indirectly indicated by pieces showing young non-Syrian asylum seekers trying to get into the UK.

11. The journey to Europe as an unpleasant or life threatening risk: many pieces included horrifying depictions of how refugees were smuggled by human smugglers or dire situations that could cost the refugees their lives;

The following paragraphs include examples of these patterns.

7.3.1.1 Illustrating the Identified Patterns in UK Media's Content

On August 1, 2015, the BBC used the human interest frame for the first time. A news story titled "Martin met Safid in a Calais camp" detailed the difficulties refugees face on their way to the United Kingdom. Many of these "migrants," as the reporter refers to them, end up in the French port of Calais. The piece also includes an interview with a teenage Afghan asylum seeker **(Pattern 4)** who describes his journey to Calais. The focus of the report then shifted to an expert interview about the reasons for child migration to the United Kingdom. In this report, the term 'migrant' was used to refer to 'asylum seekers.' This term was frequently used in this and other news pieces in the United Kingdom to refer to asylum seekers, illustrating a pattern of blurring the lines between migration, which is often understood as a conscious choice, and refuge (asylum seeking), which refers to a legal term establishing rights for those seeking asylum as well as duties for the states in which asylum has been sought **(pattern 1)** (BBC, 01 August 2015, "Martin met Safid in a Calais camp"). This segment was rebroadcast on August 2, 2015.

On August 9, 2015 Sky News showed images of a drowned asylum seeker's corpse being pulled from the water by rescue teams in a highly visual piece. According to the reporter, despite the rising number of deaths, refugees "continue to risk their lives"

(Pattern 11) in order to reach Europe and start a new life (Sky News, 09 August 2015, "Horrified UN chief calls for refugee action 1"). Sky News aired another visual report on the tragic situation of refugees fleeing to Europe on the same day. The piece was divided into two sections. The first section dealt with efforts to bring the bodies of migrants who had died on Libyan shores while attempting to cross to Europe. The second section described the perilous situation that asylum seekers face when attempting to travel to Europe. According to a member of the rescue team, the refugees were held under the deck, where the oxygen level was very low, and the situation was quite inhumane (Sky News, 09 August 2015, "Horrified UN chief calls for refugee action 2") **(Patterns 2 and 11)**. Sky News aired the third segment of a visual report on the tragic death of more than 71 asylum seekers on a truck on an Austrian highway. The piece included an explanation from an Austrian police spokesperson about their possible cause of death (suffocation due to an insulating layer not allowing any air into the truck) (Sky News, 09 August 2015, "Horrified UN chief calls for refugee action 3") **(Patterns 2 and 11)**. A visual report on migrants and refugees trying to pass over to England included eyewitness accounts of people exiting a lorry from Italy. In one scene, the report shows a number of young African migrants being led out of the lorry by the police **(Pattern 10)**. In a visual report on the death of more than 71 refugees whose corpses were left in a truck on an Austrian motorway. The report included a short piece from a speech given by the Austrian interior minister who suggested that the best way to control the situation would be to promote legal ways of migration to Europe. Promoting legal ways, she suggested, would protect the refugees and leave no "chance for the business" for "criminal" people smugglers **(Pattern 2)** (Sky News, 09 August, 2015, "Horrified UN chief calls for refugee action 3").

Sky News broadcast visuals of the dire situation in which refugees were put on a Greek island on 12 August 2015. Frustrated refugees were shown arguing with immigration officers, and a female refugee was shown passing out in the crowd **(Pattern 7)**. The last part of the piece showed Philip Hammond, the UK foreign Minister, claiming that the majority of the people moving towards Europe were economic migrants who were simply trying their chances to make it to Europe **(Pattern 10)** (Sky News, 12 August 2015, "Migrants' Gassed and Beaten' on Greek Island"). Frustrated refugees speak of the dire situation in which they have been kept in a stadium in Greece. One refugee argues that the place they live in puts them in an inhumane position. This goes against their perception of Europe, an interviewee suggested (Sky News, 12 August 2015, "Migrants 'Gassed and Beaten' on Greek Island" 3) **(Pattern 11)**. A visual report on the situation of refugees, Sky News, visualised the hardship that has been caused by a lack of planning by the Greek authorities. A spokesperson for the "Doctors Without Borders" organisation in Greece states that the Greek authorities have housed 2000 refugees in an abandoned stadium that is not at all ready for such a population **(Pattern 6)**. He argues that only two toilets existed for the 2000 refugees housed in the stadium. A number of refugees were also interviewed, all of whom argued that the lack of medical services and basic facilities for refugees had left them with no other chance but to leave Greece for other countries as soon as possible **(Pattern 5)** (Sky News, 12 August 2015, "Migrants' Gassed and Beaten' on Greek Island 1").

The August 14, 2015, piece titled "Thomas Morgan reports" depicts a muddy camp in Dunkirk where asylum seekers are said to be frequently contacted by human smugglers who smuggle them to the United Kingdom. Just like the previous instances, this news item makes no distinction between asylum seekers and migrants **(Pattern 1)**. In a visual piece on the refugee influx to Europe, Sky News reported on how refugees

take the sea route to Europe on dinghies that are not at all ready for such travel. The report shows women and their infant children among those who have made the journey from Turkey to Greece **(Pattern 11)**. Refugees speak of the difficulties they faced in Turkey and how, because of those difficulties, many families "decided to spend almost all the money they had to pay for the crossing to Greece". However, as the report projects, the situation in Greece is not much better than in Turkey as the refugees need to go through an agonisingly long processing period in a local stadium that has no water, no tent, and no toilets **(Pattern 5)**. A resident of the KOS Island argues that the island's facilities are not sufficient to host such a large number of refugees and that the presence of refugees on the island has negatively affected the island's tourism-based economy **(Pattern 8)** (Sky News, 14 August 2015, "Greece sends ship to process KOS refugees").

In a piece titled "Europe migrant crisis: Dozens die in hold of Libya …", dated August 15, 2015, an interview was conducted with an Italian border control official regarding the death of a number of refugees while passing the Mediterranean Sea. The interviewee explained that migrants are often locked in dire situations in the belly of boats crossing the Mediterranean sea. This, the interviewee suggested, puts refugees in danger, especially if the overloaded boats capsize at sea. The interviewee, therefore, suggested that the smugglers are responsible for the death of refugees. This supported the arguments made by the conservative government in the UK who suggested that the UK's cautious approach towards refugee resettlement is partly motivated by their effort to break the business model of human smugglers **(Pattern 2)** (Sky News, 15 August 2015, "Europe migrant crisis: Dozens die in hold of Libya").

Asylum seekers were shown waiting in long lines to be processed and let aboard ships

bound for their destination countries in an almost entirely visual piece titled "KOS migrant crisis: Non-Syrians refused ship entry" (August 16, 2015). In the brief audio interview that followed, an Iraqi asylum seeker claimed that when immigration officers learn that someone is not from Syria, they immediately turn them away "as if they don't know what is going on in Iraq and Afghanistan". According to the interviewee, the focus on Syrian asylum seekers has made it difficult for asylum seekers from other countries to seek asylum **(Pattern 3)**. On a piece aired on Sky News, refugees were shown travelling to the island of Kos on dinghies from Turkey. This visual piece pictured the frustration that existed among asylum seekers processed on the Greek island and projected a sense of resentment among asylum seekers from nationalities other than Syrians (Sky News, 16 August 2015, "Migrant anger as ship sent for Syrians in KOS") **(Pattern 11)**. Sky News broadcast a report on a group of asylum seekers who were drowning at sea and were saved by rescue teams near Palermo, Italy, in a very visual account of tragic deaths in the Mediterranean. The reporter and expert interviewees described how hundreds of thousands of refugees have already embarked on this journey, many of whom died as nameless bodies with no funeral and no opportunity to tell their stories. The video depicted the large number of refugees on board the rescue ship while explaining that hundreds of thousands of refugees have already taken this route and that many more will do so as long as there is war and hostility in their home countries **(Pattern 11)** (Sky News, 16 August 2015, "Migrant anger as ship sent for Syrians in KOS" 3). In the third part of a series of reports on the situation of refugees on Greece's KOS Island, the Greek authorities appeared to have gained more control over the situation than in previous days. Asylum seekers who needed to be processed were sent to a refugee camp recently established for this purpose, while Syrians who had already been processed were loaded onto ships bound for their destinations. This distinction between Syrians

and other nationalities, however, had caused conflict among refugee groups on the island, which occasionally resulted in violent clashes **(Pattern 3)**. The reporter explained that the authorities were indeed having difficulty determining the exact number of refugees who had arrived on the island, but the number of dinghies and life jackets discovered throughout the island indicated a very large number **(Pattern 6)** (Sky News, 16 August 2015, "Migrant anger as ship sent for Syrians in KOS" 4).

On August 18, 2015, a piece titled "Europe migrant crisis: Surge in numbers at EU borders" provided a visual account of refugees arriving in Berlin amid cheering crowds and welcoming messages. An Iraqi asylum seeker describes the dire situation in his home country that compelled him to abandon all of his possessions. According to the article, close to 800,000 asylum seekers are expected to enter Germany by the end of the year **(Pattern 4)** (BBC, 18 August 2015, Europe migrant crisis: Surge in numbers at EU borders).

The piece broadcast on August 20, 2015, narrates the story of a Haitian refugee who had to leave the Dominican Republic, where he had taken asylum, despite having a wife and children in the Dominican Republic. Although this piece does not address Syrian asylum seekers, the fact that it was broadcast at a time when the news media was focused on the mass movement of Syrian asylum seekers to other countries could have implications for how the audience interpreted the refugee resettlement question. The piece reflects widespread dissatisfaction with refugee resettlement in other countries around the world **(Pattern 5)**.

In yet another visual depiction of the chaos caused by the refugee influx, refugees were seen attempting to board a train bound for the Serbian border at a railway station

in Macedonia **(Patterns 6 and 7)**. The Macedonian police, on the other hand, had been attempting to control the situation (Sky News, 20 August 2015, "Macedonia begins to clear refugee backlog"). Sky News aired a visual report on the restoration of order at the Greek-Macedonia border crossing, where Macedonian police and Greek authorities facilitated the orderly transfer of refugees to Hungarian borders. The littered ground left after asylum seekers crossed the Macedonian border was one of the most striking aspects of this visual report **(Pattern 7)** ("Macedonia begins to clear refugee backlog"). Sky News aired a third report on the Macedonian railway station where asylum seekers attempted to cross into Serbia. The report is replete with graphic depictions of a chaotic situation in which thousands of asylum seekers attempt to sneak past Macedonian border guards and into other European countries **(Pattern 7)**. The reporter explained that the situation at the Macedonian border is one-tenth of what the UK and France have been experiencing, and that if raising walls and barbed wires hasn't worked in keeping migrants away in Calais, it won't work here either (Sky News, 20 August 2015, "The route migrants are taking to reach Europe").

A visual report on the situation of refugees in Macedonia began with the statement "The influx of migrants and refugees trying to enter a country barely able to cope with its own needs is bringing it to breaking point" **(Pattern 8)**. Tear gas was fired at asylum seekers trying to pass through Macedonia **(Pattern 7)**. The Macedonian police and authorities were asked by the United Nations to open the Macedonian border and let the refugees pass. Interviewed refugees explain that the Macedonian border guards attack refugees at times (Sky News, August 23, 2015, "Macedonia begins to clear refugee backlog 2").

The report, which aired on August 24, 2015, painted a vivid picture of disgruntled refugees strewn about the Budapest train station. According to the reporter, these people were all from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan and had traveled through a number of countries to reach Budapest. The report included an interview with a female asylum seeker who described the dire situation in which refugees live as a non-life and explained her ambition to live a normal life and become a doctor. The reporter then interviewed an activist who claimed that over 2000 refugees were being sent to other countries every day via the Budapest train station. This was an indication of the large number of refugees fleeing to Europe **(Pattern 6)**.

Syrian refugees who had settled in Sweden appeared to be at ease in their new surroundings. According to a visual report on this group, Sweden granted Syrians who arrived in Sweden immediate asylum. This resettlement, however, has not been without issues, according to the report. An interview with two Syrian immigrants who had settled in Sweden prior to the Syrian refugee crisis was included in the report. They appeared to be concerned that mass migration to countries such as Sweden would put a strain on their economies **(Pattern 8)**. It was also argued that a foreseen problem among Syrian refugees is a lack of integration into Swedish society, owing to the large number of refugees in one place causing them to be more in contact with themselves rather than the Swedish community. Expressions such as "Too many have come together and I believe and think it is not good for them or not for us," and "around 500 students, but I think there's only one ethnically Swedish student in the school" **(Pattern 6)** reflected this concern (August 26, 2015, Sky News, "Sweden's tolerance tested by migrant surge"). The BBC aired a video report on the discovery of dead refugee bodies in a truck on an Austrian highway on August 27, 2015. The reporter interjected that, while passing through this part of Europe must have been the

easiest part of the asylum-seeking process for the asylum seekers, they had become victims of human smugglers, putting their lives in danger **(Patterns 2 and 11)**. The death of a female Syrian teenager was attributed to Turkey because Turkey had denied her access to the necessary treatment for her cancer **(Pattern 5)**. This was compared with how the family were treated later in the UK, where, according to the father, they received the same treatment as a UK citizen would without any discrimination. A member of Amnesty International, however, suggested that the UK needed to accelerate the process of resettling Syrian refugees as the asylum seekers would soon be caught off guard by the winter. He therefore suggested that "the UK has a responsibility to take in far more refugees than it is currently taking" (Sky News, August 27, 2015, "The young girl refused medical treatment because she was a refugee").

On August 28, 2015, the same story was repeated in an article titled "Migrant crisis: Austria police work to recover bodies". The Austrian Minister of Interior was shown giving reference to the need to identify the criminals responsible for the tragedy **(Pattern 2)** (BBC, 18 August 2015, "Migrant crisis: Austria police work to recover bodies"). The piece, titled "Syrian refugees: The Journey Across Europe," was aired on August 28, 2015, and included a visual account of refugees sailing across the Mediterranean in dinghies. The report depicted the relief that asylum seekers felt upon reaching the shore and followed them on their journey to Germany by land. According to the reporter, 140,000 refugees have already made this journey **(Pattern 6)** (BBC, 28 August 2015, "Syrian refugees: The Journey Across Europe"). The piece then shifted to the story of a Syrian refugee family who had already arrived in Germany. According to the report, the German government provided the refugees with the necessities of life. The reporter interviewed the mother who expressed her

desire to learn the German language and build a future in their new country.

In a report titled "Migrant crisis: Austrians donate essential supplies," having spoken of how Austrians keep bringing donated goods to refugees in neighborhoods where refugees have set up camps, the reporter argued that "central Europeans are now coming to see the full scale of the refugee crisis because it has come right here to their own neighborhoods" **(Pattern 5)** (BBC, 29 August 2015, "Migrant crisis: Austrians donate essential supplies").

"Migrants who refuse to pick up litter on Greek Island..." (August 30, 2015) showed, both visually and verbally, that a large number of asylum seekers had landed on a tiny Greek Island, causing tensions between locals and the asylum seekers. The locals explained that the island's resources are limited and cannot accommodate the large number of asylum seekers who arrive on a daily basis **(Patterns 6 and 8)**. The police were shown detaining asylum seekers for littering the streets and locking them up overnight in cells. Refugees were shown crowding the streets and business establishments **(Pattern 7)** (BBC, 30 August 2015, "Migrants who refuse to pick up litter on Greek Island").

The first section of a report on Syrian asylum seekers in Austria focused on a large group of asylum seekers gathered in an Austrian train station on their way to Germany **(Pattern 6)**. Due to overcrowding, the train had just been returned. While waiting for the train, the refugees chanted anti-Hungarian and pro-Germany slogans **(Pattern 7)**. Chancellor Angela Merkel made a plea for a quota system for the resettlement of asylum seekers. She attributed responsibility for the resettlement of refugees to all EU members, as a lack of such a system could jeopardise the Schengen area. This was

reflected in her statement that "if we are unable to agree on a fair distribution of refugees within Europe, then some people will start to call Schengen into question. We do not want that. We want a fair distribution of refugees, so we won't need to discuss Schengen" **(Pattern 5)** (Sky News, 31 August 2015, "First refugee trains arrive in Austria"). In a brief but very visual report, the video of Aylan Kurdi, a Syrian asylum-seeking toddler whose body was washed ashore in Turkey, was broadcast on Sky News on 02 September, 2015 **(Pattern 11)** (Sky News, 02 September 2015, "Distressing Footage Shows Washed-Up Body Of Syrian Boy on Turkish Beach"). On the same day as the appearance of Aylan Kurdi's pictures all over the news media around the world, a shift was made in the narrative, and practice, of some European nations, including the UK and Hungary. On this day, the UK Prime Minister, David Cameron, appeared in an interview to explain that watching the drowned boys' pictures had deeply moved him while emphasising that the UK has been and will be making its contribution to the resettlement of refugees and that the government "keeps" that (resettling more refugees) under review." However, Cameron insisted that resettling a large number of refugees is not the solution to the problem. Instead, the roots of the problem need to be addressed in Syria **(Pattern 9)** (Sky News, 02 September 2015, "UK may accept several thousands more refugees"). In a piece titled "David Cameron said dealing with the refugee crisis was a challenge," (02 September, 2015) David Cameron suggests that the UK has already resettled a number of genuine asylum seekers who were in refugee camps in the region as an answer to an interview question **(Pattern 10)** (BBC, 02 August 2015, "David Cameron said dealing with the refugee crisis was a challenge"). The press interview with Aylan Kurdi's aunt, who lives in Canada, was broadcast on September 3, 2015, in the piece titled "Canada denies Aylan Kurdi's family applied for asylum." The aunt described the tragedy that her family had endured, as well as the circumstances surrounding the deaths of three

Kurdi family members (BBC, 03 September 2015, "Canada denies Aylan Kurdi's family applied for asylum"). The tragedy of the Kurdi family was told further in a piece titled "Migrant crisis: Drowned boy's father speaks..." (3 September, 2015) from the perspective of the family's father (BBC, 03 September 2015, "Migrant crisis: Drowned boy's father speaks"). The drowned toddler's mother and brother were also featured in a piece titled "Migrant crisis: Photo of drowned boy sparks outrage" September 3rd, 2015. This was a more detailed version of the story of the child discovered on the Turkish coast. This piece was a vivid depiction of the lives of frustrated refugees. The reporter depicted the life of a refugee as one that is entirely dependent on charity and went on to claim that Turkey has been overwhelmed by 2 million refugees **(Pattern 6)** (BBC, 03 September 2015, "Migrant crisis: Photo of drowned boy sparks outrage"). A piece titled "Drowned migrant boy Aylan Kurdi is buried in Syria..." expanded on the previous piece's narrative, arguing that the large number of refugees in Turkey (2 million) made it easy for people to become desensitized to their plight **(Patterns 5 and 6)** (BBC, 04 September 2015). The report began with Aylan Kurdi's father burying his wife and two sons. A report showed refugees excitedly boarding a train in Hungary. The reporter explained that the refugees don't know why they have all of a sudden been let on the train or where the train is heading, but the majority of them don't actually care about such details as they have been told that the train will move west. The train is then shown stopping at another train station in Hungary, where the riot police waited for the train and a number of refugees were asked to exit the train, presumably to be sent to a refugee camp. The report then shifts to the images of a distressed Syrian family who had been asked to exit the train and go to the camp. A distressed Syrian family is shown in a solely visual report lying on the rail trail in Hungary. The report includes images of a frustrated mother with her child in her arms, explaining her situation to Hungarian

officers. A few seconds into the video, the family is shown lying on the railroad in a suicidal manner. The Hungarian police interfered to take them off the trail. The refugees are shown defying the police order, leaving the police with no choice but to enter the train again ("Desperate refugees dragged off rail tracks") **(Pattern 7)**.

"Mucy Manning spoke to refugees who have fled the . . ." (4 September, 2015) began with a picture of a woman holding a cellphone and watching a recorded video of asylum seekers in peril in the belly of a boat overcrowded with Syrian asylum seekers by people smugglers **(Pattern 2)**. The piece then transitioned into an interview with the woman. She described how she fled Syria with her nine-year-old daughter to protect her from the fighting, but had to leave her fifteen-year-old son behind. She explained that after hearing Aylan Kurdy's story, she became deeply distressed and concerned for the safety of her son, who was denied permission to accompany her to the UK. In response to an interview question, Nicola Sturgeon suggested that Syrian asylum seekers are genuine asylum seekers **(Pattern 10)** fleeing conflict, and that the UK government, and thus Scotland, has a moral obligation to grant them asylum (BBC, 04 September 2015, "Mucy Manning spoke to refugees who have fled").

"Migrant Crisis: Austria to let people in from Hungary" (BBC, September 5, 2015) depicted the movement of refugees from Hungary to the Austrian border. Long lines of refugees can be seen on Hungarian soil **(Pattern 6)** (BBC, 05 September 2015, "Migrant Crisis: Austria to let people in from Hungary"). As a result of their dissatisfaction with the length of time refugees had to wait for processing by Hungarian border guards, asylum seekers and Hungarian guards clashed **(Pattern 7)**. The report depicts refugees in muddy camps walking on foot in desperate situations. On the same day, a report shows visuals of Aylan Kurdi's body and narrates the story

of the toddler's body having been found on the shores of Turkey. Aylan's father is shown speaking with the press and expressing his frustration with the situation that led to his losing his wife and two children. The reporter explains that the majority of Syrian and Iraqi asylum seekers would rather leave Turkey as they are not given permission to work in the country and they do not enjoy the needed facilities **(Pattern 5)** (Sky News, "Three-year-old Aylan Kurdi died earlier this week"). In a piece aired by Sky News, a social worker in the UK explained that due to the increasing number of asylum seekers, their organisation cannot cope with the situation in terms of human resources and that the situation has also put a lot of pressure on their partner organizations **(Pattern 8)** (Sky News, 05 September 2015, "Britons step in to help ease refugee suffering" 2).

The title of a piece broadcast on September 7, 2015 is "Migrant Crisis: Hungarian Camerawoman Apologizes For..." It depicts a Hungarian camerawoman for a far-right news agency kicking a few refugees while filming them fleeing from the Hungarian border guards **(Pattern 7)** (BBC, 07 September 2015). According to the transcript on the visual report, the woman was fired by the network and there have been calls for her to be charged for her crime.

In a report titled "Watch Ricky's report on the children going back to...", the reporter provided a visual account of the Zaatari camp in Jordan on September 9, 2015. It was suggested that because of investments in the camp, life for the residents has become more comfortable, and that some of these residents may be resettled in Europe in the coming months. This is consistent with the UK government's official position that the best way to address the refugee crisis is to provide financial assistance to camps in the region and resettle those in the camps who have been fully processed **(Pattern 9)**

(BBC, 09 September 2015, "Watch Ricky's report on the children going back to..."). The piece titled "Mr. Farage told the European Parliament must stop the boats" is essentially a report of Nigel Farage's argument in front of the European Parliament about the nature of migration among asylum seekers. He claimed that the majority of people fleeing to Europe were economic migrants, and that protecting genuine refugees **(Pattern 10)** would necessitate disrupting the business model of human smugglers, as Australia had done **(Pattern 2)** (BBC, 09 September 2015, "Mr. Farage told the European Parliament must stop the boats"). Just a few days later, on September 11, 2015, the BBC aired a second report on the Zaatari camp, claiming that the camp had to cut food and aid packages due to a funding crisis. The article was titled "Aid cuts driving Jordan's Syrian refugees to risk..." and included an interview with a camp aid worker. The interviewee suggested that refugees who had never considered traveling to Europe or returning to the war zone were now considering the risk of such a journey. Because of a lack of funding, the interviewee explained, refugees have had to pull their children out of school and marry their daughters off at a young age **(Pattern 9)** (BBC, 11 September 2015, "Aid cuts driving Jordan's Syrian refugees to risk..."). On the same day as the report on aid cuts to the Zaatari camp, the BBC aired another report depicting refugees swarming in chaos to receive sandwiches thrown to them at random by Hungarian border guards. The visual depicts a chaotic situation at the European border **(Patterns 6 and 7)** (BBC, 11 September 2015, "Europe migrant crisis: Hungary will arrest illegal migrants"). The report titled "The UN says some Syrian refugees could be moved to..." (September 11, 2015) depicts the experience of refugees in Jordanian refugee camps. According to the article, due to a lack of funding, refugee families are now forced to choose between moving to Europe and returning to the war zone. The piece includes the story of a refugee family living in Jordan on less than one pound per day. The Father claims that he would rather die

once on his way to a better life, perhaps in Europe, than die many times while his children starve. The piece appears to imply that a lack of funding for refugee camps has resulted in a mass exodus of refugees to other countries **(Pattern 9)** (BBC, 11 September 2015, "Europe migrant crisis: Hungary will arrest illegal migrants").

On September 14, 2015, the BBC aired a segment titled "David Cameron urges EU countries to follow UK's lead..." in which David Cameron was shown visiting a camp in the region. He stated that the purpose of his visit was to see firsthand how life was in the camp. He reiterated his previous claim that the United Kingdom was the region's largest donor to camps **(Pattern 9)** (BBC, 14 September 2015, "David Cameron urges EU countries to follow UK's lead..."). On the same day, BBC broadcast a piece titled "Migrant crisis: Smugglers deliberately holed boat...", which detailed the tragic events that led to the drowning of refugees in a boat used by human smugglers. The story is told through the eyes of a refugee who attempted to save the lives of other asylum seekers. He explains that he witnessed human smugglers drill a hole in the boat so that they would not be apprehended by coast guards **(Pattern 2)** (BBC, 14 September 2015, "Migrant crisis: Smugglers deliberately holed boat...").

On September 16, 2015, the program "Migrant Crisis: Clashes at the Hungary-Serbia Border" aired. On the Hungary-Serbia border, the piece depicted a clash between Hungarian border guards and asylum seekers. The report showed tear gas being fired by the Hungarian border guards while asylum seekers tried to wash off the effects by washing their eyes **(Pattern 7)** (BBC, 16 September 2015, "Migrant Crisis: Clashes at the Hungary-Serbia Border"). The piece "Migrant crisis: Middle East refugees who chose Brazil" (September 16, 2015) depicted the story of a Syrian refugee family who chose Brazil over Europe for asylum. The father claimed that after seeing how asylum

seekers were treated in Europe **(Pattern 5)**, he decided to relocate his family to a country that was more welcoming to refugees. The report went on to discuss the benefits and drawbacks of seeking asylum in a country like Brazil. The reporter explained that while getting into Brazil is not difficult for refugees, once there, they are almost entirely on their own because the country lacks a social security system to support refugees (BBC, 16 September 2015, "Migrant crisis: Middle East refugees who chose Brazil"). The title of a mostly visual report on the chaos caused by refugee inflows at the Hungarian-Croatian border is "Migrant crisis: EU ministers attempt to resolve...". It demonstrated how, while refugees were moved fairly smoothly on the Croatian side of the border with Hungary, the situation was far more chaotic on the Hungarian side **(Pattern 7)**. The reporter also quotes Victor Orban as saying that refugees are destroying Europe by crushing it rather than knocking on its door **(Pattern 5)** (BBC, 16 September 2015, "Migrant crisis: EU ministers attempt to resolve..."). The piece also includes a demonstration of citizen compassion for refugees, as a refugee expresses his feelings of compassion on the Croatian side of the border.

On September 25, 2015, the BBC aired a video of anti-immigrant groups in Finland throwing fireworks at buses carrying refugees **(Pattern 5)**. The piece also depicts the tired and frustrated gestures of refugees as they disembark from buses bound for designated refugee camps (BBC, 25 September 2015).

During his presidential campaign in the United States, Donald Trump stated that if elected, he would deport Syrian refugees. This announcement was made to a cheering crowd **(Pattern 5)**. This was reported by the BBC in a report named "Donald Trump: If I win, they are going back" (BBC, 01 October 2015, "Donald Trump: If I win, they

are going back").

The title of a BBC piece broadcast on October 11, 2015 is "The BBC's Yolande Knell: These are dark days for Syrian refugees." This is a visual piece followed by a report on how Syrian asylum seekers in Jordan are returning to the war zone due to a lack of financial aid in the country. The report tells (both visually and orally) the story of a Syrian refugee family who left Jordan for the war torn Syria due to their dire financial situation in Jordan **(Pattern 9)** (BBC, 11 October 2015, "The BBC's Yolande Knell: These are dark days for Syrian refugees").

While speaking of refugees playing football with locals in a city in Jordan and narrating the story of a few refugees in a piece titled "Jordanians play football with refugees in Mafraq," the reporter states that since the beginning of the Syrian refugee crisis the small city in Jordan has been under pressure due to scarcity of resources and inadequacy of infrastructure **(Pattern 8)** (BBC, 27 October 2015, "Jordanians play football with refugees in Mafraq").

7.3.2 Illustrating the Decision Environment in Canadian media

A number of patterns can be found in the way Canadian media reflected the decision-making environment in Canada. Some of these patterns are as follows:

1. Resettlement of refugees as a historical feature of Canadian identity: the Canadian media often made reference to Canada's historical receptivity for asylum seekers from different countries;
2. Refugee resettlement as a potential contribution to Canada's economy: this argument was made by both the media and Canadian officials in a number of news pieces;

3. Oral representation of the difficulties faced by refugees on their way to the destination preferred to visual representations: the Canadian media completely avoided visualizing refugees in dire situations. Instead they often showed refugees, either after their resettlement in a host country or simply narrated the difficulties that refugees faced on their way to seeking asylum orally;

4. Canadian citizens actively engaged in the process of refugee resettlement: this constituted the bulk of the 'human interest-citizen passion' frames used by the Canadian media;

5. Visualizing refugee life only after their arrival in the host country instead of the difficult situations they have had to endure: this pattern can be seen as an extension of Pattern 3;

6. The security of Canadian citizens as the priority of the government of Canada: two different periods can be identified in this regard. During the conservative government of Canada, the emphasis was on developing a slow refugee resettlement track in which the security of Canadian citizens was prioritized. During the Liberal government of Canada, however, the emphasis was on assuring the public that while opting for a fast resettlement plan for the pledged 25,000 refugees, the government will make sure that only those who have been screened for security be granted asylum in Canada.

7. Canadian identity as one rooted in moral values tied to refugee resettlement: references to Canadian identity were frequently made by the Canadian media in relation to why Canadians are receptive to refugee resettlement;

8. Attribution of responsibility to Canada and Canadians; not only to the Canadian federal government but also to individual Canadians: the Canadian media and Canadian politicians often attributed the responsibility to give aid to refugees both to the federal government of Canada and individual Canadians. This was

also reflected in the dual resettlement plan suggested by the Liberal government of Canada that encouraged Canadian citizens to make contributions to the resettlement cause;

9. Depicting refugees as people no different from any other person in normal circumstances: this pattern included visual or oral accounts of refugees going about their lives as any normal person would under normal circumstances or speaking of their aspirations and hopes in life.

The patterns identified in Canadian media have been illustrated in the following paragraphs.

7.3.2.1 Illustrating the Identified Patterns in Canadian Media's Content

The mass movement of refugees from Syria to other countries around the world has been statistically explained in a piece titled "Refugee Crisis on the Federal Election Campaign". Jamal Hamada, a Syrian refugee, described the dangers his family faced in Syria and how he wished he could do more for his family and friends fleeing Syria **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 02 September 2015). The piece, titled "Refugee Crisis in the Federal Election Campaign," questioned the role the Conservative government of Prime Minister Harper had played regarding the refugee situation. Having attributed responsibility to the Conservative government, the piece suggested that Canada could have done more for refugees **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 02 September 2015). During the campaign, and after promising to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees if elected, Trudeau attributed this policy to a depiction of Canadian identity as inclusive of all and founded on moral principles **(Pattern 7)**. He suggested that Canada has a responsibility to "do more" for asylum seekers **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 02 September 2015).

The video, titled "Aunt of drowned Syrian boy gives heartbreaking...," depicted Aylan Kurdi's aunt narrating the story of Aylan, his brother, and his mother's tragic deaths, as well as the trauma that their father had had to endure **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 03 September 2015).   In a piece titled "Donnelly reflects on failed immigration procedures," Finn Donnelly, a politician who had been trying to help bring the Kurdi family to Canada, narrated the story of Aylan Kurdi and his aunt's efforts to help the family in the process of resettlement **(Pattern 3)**.   He projected that Canada has a responsibility to address the refugee issue **(Pattern 8)** while situating this responsibility in the caring and giving characteristics of Canadians **(Pattern 7)** (Global News, 03 September 2015).   In the news piece "Full interview: Aunt of drowned Syrian boy..." Global News extensively covered Aylan Kurdi's aunt's interview with media outlets about the tragic events that led to the deaths of her nephews and their mother **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 03 September 2015). The piece, titled "Should Canada be doing more to help Syrian...", provided commentary on the Conservative government of Canada's policies, questioning their adequacy in relation to Syrian refugee resettlement.   The commentary included comments about how the images of the desperate situations in which refugees find themselves were difficult to look at, let alone ignore **(Pattern 3)**.   The piece indicated that the Canadian government should do more to help Syrian asylum seekers **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 03 September 2015).   In the piece titled "Stephen Harper defends Canada's refugee system," Prime Minister Harper outlined the government's refugee policies while remembering Aylan Kurdi's tragic death **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 03 September 2015). In a piece titled "Tom Mulclair fights back tears as he discusses...", the leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada, Tom Mulclair, fights back tears as he discusses having seen Aylan Kurdi's photographs **(Pattern 3)**. Mulcair suggested that Canada has the responsibility to do its share in resettling the Syrian refugees **(Pattern**

8) (Global News, 03 September 2015). The piece titled "Will Canada Accept More Syrian Refugees?" depicted a press conference at which Prime Minister Harper and reporters discussed the refugee problem as well as the grief caused by the deaths of three Kurdi family members and a large number of other families who had been trapped in the same situation **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 03 September 2015).

Former British Columbia Premier Ujjal Dosanjh discussed his own experience as a refugee in Canada. The piece included moving accounts of the tragic story of Aylan Kurdi, whose body was discovered on the Turkish coast **(Pattern 3)**. Canadianness, he said, has a welcoming quality **(Pattern 7)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). A reporter narrated the tragic story of the Kurdi family and the deaths of their children (as well as the children's mother) while fleeing Syria's war. In sentences like "I know many refugees have children that age, so it touches you very very deeply," the piece projected a vision of the tragedy that projected the possibility of such tragedies repeating for other refugees **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). The piece titled "Nova Scotia ramping up efforts to help with …" narrated the story of a refugee family stuck in the Middle East despite one of their family members being a citizen of Canada **(Pattern 3)**. In the second section of this piece, an expert interviewee urged the government to resettle more refugees in Canada. This was envisioned in Canada's historical assistance to refugees from other parts of the world, including the Kosovars **(Pattern 1)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). The Mayor of Calgary called on Canadians and the federal government to do more to help refugees settle in Canada **(Pattern 8)**. He based his call to action on Canada's long history of providing refuge to asylum seekers (i.e. Vietnamese and Czechoslovak refugees) **(Pattern 1)**. The story of the refugees marching to Europe on their own was told in the piece titled "The larger issue of the refugee crisis in...". The piece included

indications that what Europe was facing was not particularly troubling in comparison to the numbers of people who had fled to neighbouring countries such as Jordan and Lebanon. It was suggested that the number of refugees settling in camps near Syria was six times that of those fleeing to Europe. The situation in camps in neighbouring countries, the piece suggested, required urgent attention by the international community as well. Due to shortcomings in camps, the report suggested, many refugees were living outside camps, paying rent and living expenses on their own. The reporter deemed sustaining the camps and living on personal costs unfeasible for the host countries and refugees alike **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). The piece titled "Toronto mayor weighs in on migrant crisis" suggested that Canadian citizens were raising thousands of dollars to help resettle refugee families in Canada **(Pattern 4)**. The mayor attributed responsibility for assisting refugees to Canadian citizens and the federal government of Canada **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). The piece titled "Canadians ask how to sponsor a Syrian refugee", Global News suggested that according to polls the majority of Canadians believed that Canada should play a more active role **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 04 September 2015). The piece, titled "How Saskatchewan Can Help Syrian Refugees," discussed the Canadian government's responsibility to resettle refugees and the role of individuals in sponsoring refugees **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, 04 September 2015).

Another Citizen Passion frame was used in the piece "Protest and rally at Yonge-Dundas Square..." This was a report on a protest aimed at persuading the government to accept more refugees **(Pattern 4)**. The first few minutes of the report discussed the situation that refugees face on their way to their destination countries, as well as the tragic war that they are fleeing in the Middle East **(Pattern 3)** (Global News, 05 September 2015).

A news piece titled "Footage of Germans welcoming migrants and..." demonstrated citizen passion. The news item was primarily visual. It depicted refugees entering Germany amid cheering crowds who had gathered at the station to welcome them **(Pattern 5)**. The second half of the piece was devoted to an interview with a refugee who explained they had been told they would be taken to a Syrian refugee camp. This section of the news story alluded to the uncertainty that refugees face when they arrive in their host countries (Global News, 06 September 2015).

In a question and answer session with journalists, Prime Minister Harper assured Canadian citizens that while pledging to resettle a relatively larger number of refugees, the Canadian Federal Government will make sure that the security of the citizens has been taken into consideration and that only the most vulnerable of the refugees will be resettled. Although the Prime Minister did not directly securitize the issue of refugee resettlement, he did indicate that without having proper processing mechanisms in place, the security of Canadian citizens may be in danger if a large number of refugees are resettled **(Pattern 6)** (Global News, 07 September 2015, "Harper flatly refuses Mulcair's offer of . . . ").

"Harper sticks to huns on Syrian refugee settlement" was another section of the same question and answer session aired by Global News on the previous day. Prime Minister Harper repeated his statements in relation to the desire to resettle more refugees from Iraq and Syria, but placed conditions on the proper screening of refugees before their settlement in Canada. The Prime Minister attributed this cautious approach to security concerns regarding resettling people who come from terrorist warzones. According to the Prime Minister, the security of citizens should be taken into consideration prior to the resettlement of refugees **(Pattern 6)** (08

September 2015). On the same day, a group of churches in the Toronto area made an announcement that they had been planning to sponsor a large number of Syrian refugees. They asked residents of Toronto and other Canadian cities to contribute nearly 3 billion dollars in order to bring 100 refugee families to Canada **(Pattern 4)**. In their statement, the responsibility for helping resettle this number of refugees was not only attributed to the government of Canada but also all Canadian individuals **(Pattern 8)**. This was an obvious example of the citizen passion frame (Global News, 08 September 2015, "Toronto Catholics launch 'Project Hope' to...").

At this point, the pictures of Aylan Kurdi were broadcast all around the world. This pointed to the beginning of extensive coverage of the Syrian refugee movement in the Canadian media, including on Global News and CBC. A news piece on Global News directly criticised the conservative government's policies regarding the resettlement of Syrian refugees. It began with a refugee speaking about the tragedy that hit the Kurdi family and the fate that awaited other asylum seekers **(Pattern 2)** (Global News, 09 September 2015). In a piece titled "Harper would not elaborate on security concerns," Prime Minister Harper answers a question about the nature of the security concerns that his government has been speaking of in reference to the resettlement of refugees by projecting a heavily security-oriented situation in camps in and around Syria. He suggested that refugees face a large number of challenges in the region, including the constant threat of military confrontation. Under such circumstances, he suggested, it would only be logical to make sure that they "prioritize the right people, the people who are most vulnerable and genuine refugees." This would, the Prime Minister suggested, be done with the security of Canadian citizens in mind **(Pattern 6)** (Global News, 10 September 2015).

On 21 September 2015 Councillor Joe Cressy of the City of Toronto spoke with the media about the city's long history of welcoming refugees **(Pattern 1)**. He suggested that the issue of Syrian refugees is one that affects all countries, not just Europe. He suggested that all countries, including Canada, should play their parts in addressing the issue **(Pattern 8)** (Global News, "Councillor Joe Cressy speaks on refugee resettlement"). The next day, in a piece titled "Canada's history of welcoming refugees...", a recollection of Canada's historical involvement in welcoming refugees was made. The article discussed Canada's role in accepting British loyalists as well as freed slaves from the United States, Vietnamese boat people, and Muslim refugees from Bosnia **(Pattern 1)** (Global News, 22 September 2015). On the same day, students from public schools were shown launching a campaign to raise funds across Canada to help sponsor refugee families **(Pattern 4)**. This effort was explained in terms of the difficulties that refugees face, as well as how students show empathy for refugees when they see images of refugees fleeing Syria's civil war **(Pattern 3)** ("Students pitching in to help out Syrian refugees").

The reporter shows how normal living in a refugee camp housing Iraqi refugees appears in a very visual account, despite the abnormality of having to live in the camp itself. The reporter described the camp as "a sea of tents, and some more permanent structures." The use of the phrase "a sea of tents and some more permanent structures" reminds the audience of the transient nature of a camp like the one depicted in the video. Despite the temporary nature of life in camps, the report depicts the normalcy of life in the camps, where children act like children all over the world and residents go about their daily lives as they would in normal circumstances **(Pattern 9)**. According to the report, those who are in the camp may be considered fortunate, as many do not have access to even the most basic infrastructure provided in such camps

(CBC, 21 October 2015, "The Refugee Children of Iraq: the fifth estate").

In yet another visual piece, Canadian farmers are shown harvesting their produce to use the revenues to help Syrian refugees. The farmers explain that the only problem they have faced is that they have unexpectedly produced more crops than expected, and now they are looking for a way to store the harvest. The reporter states that while the farmers have already raised 50,000 dollars for this purpose, the government of Canada will match their contribution by four dollars for every dollar, which means that a total of 250,000 dollars has been raised for this purpose **(Pattern 4)** (CBC, 23 October 2015, "Canadian farmers helping Syrian refugees").

A few days later, in a visual piece, the CBC covered the story of a refugee family reunited in a container refugee camp in Germany. The piece depicts the family's children playing and the family going about their daily lives. The refugees express their hopes as well as their disappointments. They discuss the psychological effects of having to wait in the container camp for an extended period of time, sometimes more than a month **(Pattern 9)**. The piece included an interview in which the interviewee suggested that Germany should accept more immigrants due to its shrinking population. According to the interviewee, these immigrants would benefit the German economy because they already possessed the skills required to boost German production **(Pattern 2)** (CBC, 03 November 2015, "Germany at odds over refugee influx").

In a piece titled "Trudeau on refugees and premiers meeting", Prime Minister Justin Trudeau portrayed refugee resettlement as an act that not only helps people in dire situations but also contributes to the Canadian economy. He suggested that Canada

can demonstrate how the refugee outflow from Syria can be used to the benefit of hosting countries **(Pattern 2)** (CBC, 12 November 2015, "Trudeau on refugees and premiers meeting").

A Syrian refugee explained why he fled Syria's conflict and his hopes for his family members in their new home in Winnipeg, Canada **(pattern 9)**. He imagined a scenario in which people were arrested on the streets of the Syrian city where he lived for no apparent reason. This, he claimed, was done while the city's access to water and electricity was completely cut off, and people lacked access to even the most basic facilities. He then asserted that he feels relieved that his children will not face the same dangers that he did in Syria (CBC, 15 November 2015, "Syrian refugees have landed in Winnipeg and …"). A day later, in a piece titled "City of Sanctuary Cleaning Syrian refugee hurdles …", the mayor of the City of Sanctuary discussed the "outpouring of support for refugees" **(Pattern 4)** despite the security concerns after the Paris terrorist attacks. The mayor did, however, suggest that the government would not be blamed if it decided to extend the time frame for the refugee resettlement plan to let refugees be screened properly for security before their resettlement in Canada **(Pattern 6)** (CBC, 16 November 2015, "City of Sanctuary Cleaning Syrian refugee hurdle"). On the same day, and in an interview after the Paris terrorist attacks, the Canadian Health Minister assured the public that the Canadian government would make sure that those resettled in Canada would have been cleared for security before their resettlement in the country **(Pattern 6)** (CBC, 16 November 2015, "Health Minister Jane Philpott says Canada will be …"). An experienced refugee resettlement professional and a university professor explained how refugees were screened for security by Canadian visa officers in a piece titled "Trudeau committed to refugee goal". He explained that refugees resettled in Canada must go

through two levels of screening, one by the UNHCR and one by experienced Canadian Visa officers who have worked in the region and are fluent in the region's cultural and linguistic traits. According to the interviewee, it would be nearly impossible for any ISIS terrorist to infiltrate the country under such conditions. This interview was conducted in response to the concerns expressed following the terrorist attacks in Paris **(Pattern 6)** (CBC, 16 November 2015, "Trudeau committed to refugee goal").

The Premier of Saskatchewan, Brad Wall, appealed to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to extend the time frame for the resettlement of Syrian refugees to Canada a day after the news of the Paris terrorist attacks was broadcast in international news outlets. The CBC conducted an interview with the Premier in which he explained why he proposed extending the resettlement period. Premier Wall explained that he made the appeal in response to two concerns: security concerns that had resurfaced following the Paris attacks **(Pattern 6)**, and resettlement concerns about the feasibility of taking 25,000 refugees in 45 days without a solid resettlement capacity. Premier Wall explained that his appeal was not intended to halt the resettlement process, but rather to give the government more time to screen refugees for security and develop a clearer plan for the resettlement of refugees in Canada by increasing the provinces' resettlement capacity (CBC, 17 November 2021, "Brad Wall wants feds to suspend refugee plan").

In a piece titled "Couple cancels wedding to help Syrian refugee family", a Canadian couple was said to have donated the cost of their wedding to the Syrian refugee cause **(Pattern 4)**. In an interview with the CBC, the couple explained that helping the cause was more important to them than having a large wedding (CBC, 20 November 2015, "Couple cancels wedding to help Syrian refugee family"). On the same day,

Rex Murphy, a Canadian commentator for CBC News, argued that in light of the Paris attacks and evidence that ISIS has been attempting to infiltrate Western countries disguised as refugees, it would be prudent for Canada's newly elected liberal government to suspend its deadline for refugee resettlement (31 December 2015) and ensure that all refugees entering Canada have been screened for security. Murphy argued that Canada should balance compassion and caution in order to ensure the safety of its citizens as well as the refugees who will be resettled in the country **(Pattern 6)** (CBC, 20 November 2015, "Rex Murphy: Trudeau's Refugee Promise").

In a piece aimed at reassuring the Canadian public that their security will be prioritized in resettling refugees in Canada, the Canadian government announced that they would only accept children, women, and families into the country until further notice. This meant that "unaccompanied men" were excluded from resettlement plans. Given the timing of the announcement and the news coverage from the previous days, the announcement appeared to be in response to concerns about the infiltration of ISIS fighters disguised as refugees **(Pattern 6)**. The article also included data on the number of refugees screened daily by visa officers in camps in Syria's neighbouring countries. The figures, nearly 900 per day, demonstrated that the Canadian government was willing to proceed with its original plan of resettling 25,000 refugees in a matter of months (CBC, 23 November 2015, "EXCLUSIVE: Canada's Syrian refugee plan; No single ...").

In a piece broadcast on CBC, the storey of a Syrian family who had recently resettled in Canada was told. The piece included a brief description of the difficulties that a Syrian family would normally face inside Syria, as well as how the family could now be relieved that their safety was not jeopardised **(Pattern 9)**. In a section of this piece, the

Canadian military and ordinary citizens were shown providing shelter and necessary services to Syrian refugees in Canada **(Pattern 4)** (CBC, 24 November 2015, "Syrian refugees in Canada").

A lengthy piece broadcast by CBC addressed Canadian people's attitude towards the initiation of the government's plan to resettle 25,00 refugees in a short period. The reporter stated that almost all the people who were interviewed had a positive attitude towards refugee resettlement in Canada. This attitude was reflected in statements such as "I wouldn't say that they are refugees, but that they are people" **(Pattern 9)**, "I think the United Nations has made it very clear that these people are fleeing from terrorism, they are not bringing terrorism with them" **(Pattern 6)**. Expressions such as "the time of Christmas is about opening our house so people can come in" and "resettling refugees is the right thing to do and it is the Canadian way" attributed Canada's response to the refugee issue to the Canadian identity as an inclusive identity **(Pattern 7)**. An interviewee describes a refugee family who was hosted by his friends in Germany. The family worked as doctors in Syria but were forced to leave everything behind, the interviewee suggested **(Pattern 9)** (CBC, 25 November 2015, "How do Canadians feel about the refugee plan?").

A documentary aired on CBC on November 26, 2015, reviewed the history of refugee resettlement in Canada **(Pattern 1)** and outlined its controversies. According to the documentary, despite its long history of assisting refugees, Canadian governments have not always treated refugees from different countries equally. This was especially emphasised in comparison to the treatment of Somalian refugees versus Yugoslav refugees (CBC, 26 November 2015, "Refugees and Canada: A Controversial History"). An expert interviewee from the Simon Fraser University explained the

potentials that made refugee resettlement an ideal contribution to Canada's economy as the majority of the resettled refugees would be highly skilled middle class Syrians **(Pattern 2)** ("The economic challenges and opportunities of . . .").

Identifying the above patterns help clarify the environment in which Politicians in the United Kingdom and Canada made their decisions regarding the resettlement of refugees in their respective countries. The next section will demonstrate what these 'decision environments', as reflected in the media, indicated for the decision makers.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of decision making environments in limiting the possible choices available to decision makers. To this end, the research examined media frames as reflections of an existing decision environment. It also examined the possibility that media frames not only reflect decision environments but also make contributions to their establishment. The neoclassical realist theory was adopted as the theoretical framework of the thesis. This was done due to the NCR's receptivity for domestic intervening variables. As explained in the first chapter, the neoclassical realist theory discusses the influence of domestic intervening variables in translating systemic forces to foreign policies (Rose 1998).

In this research, media frames have been examined as reflective tools that help determine the decision making environment at the time of decision making. Examining the frames, therefore, has two benefits for the researcher. On the one hand they clarify the choices that are feasible for the decision maker at the time of decision making. On the other hand, the direction of frames and the patterns they shape provide the scholar with the ability to predict the course of action by the decision makers.

In the context of decision making models, the poliheuristic model provides a ground for the incorporation of cognitive and rational factors into one single model. Due to its focus on domestic variables in the first phase of decision making, this model can

be used in the context of a study based on the neoclassical realist theory. The poliheuristic model, as a two-phase decision making model, incorporates the effects of cognitive mechanisms in eliminating options that threaten the decision maker's political/administrative survival during the first phase of the decision making process and rational decision making from the remaining options during the second phase (Mintz and DeRouen 2010).

Given the subject of this study, a decision maker may face the following options, albeit not exhaustive, when confronted with a mass movement of refugees.

1. Accept all incoming asylum seekers unconditionally;

2. Accept a group of asylum seekers based on race, ethnicity, religion and ideology;

3. Accept a defined number of refugees unconditionally;

4. Accept a defined number of refugees after performing intensive security checks;

5. Financially assist a third country to host refugees while minimizing the number of resettled refugees in the country;

6. Militarily interfere in the situation that has caused the mass movement of refugees;

Several of these options will inevitably be eliminated during the first phase of decision making. In this culling phase, decision makers often respond to domestic pressures rather than external ones (McLean 2016). This is because decision makers are primarily concerned with maintaining their political position (Frankel 1959). In the context of the poliheuristic model, those options that pose a threat to the decision maker's political survival or an unbearable reputation cost will be eliminated at this stage (Mintz and DeRouen 2010). The perceptual decision making environment that exists at and around the time of decision making has a significant impact on a

decision maker's perception of threat and, as a result, the options that will be eliminated. This thesis suggests that media frames and frame combinations are both reflective of the existing decision making environment and contribute to stabilizing those decision environments as well. This is in line with other studies in the field that consider frames as the constituting elements of the societal ground for policy making (Conrad and Aðalsteinsdóttir 2017).

Returning to our example, the findings of this study paint the following picture of decision-making environments in Canada and the United Kingdom.

1. The Canadian media frames were harmonious and in the same direction. The combination of economic contribution, citizen passion, and self attribution of responsibility for the resettlement of refugees created a favorable environment for the resettlement of refugees. The patterns found in the content of Canadian media also pictured an environment that was not amenable to securitizing refugee resettlement.

2. The UK media frames were highly mixed. However, the overuse of the economic burden frame and focusing on the security aspects of resettling a large number of refugees in the country made the decision environment in the UK more prone to securitizing efforts by the political elite and the media. The patterns identified in the UK media, especially visualizing refugees under the extraordinarily harsh circumstances caused by their displacement as well as depicting clashes between refugees and border guards in Europe reflected, and possibly stabilized, an environment in which the refugee 'other' was seen as a possible threat to the British 'self'.

In such cases, decision makers in the first phase of a Poliheuristic decision making

setting would be expected to exhibit the following behavior.

1. Decision-makers in Canada are expected to rule out options 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7. Option one would possibly be rejected as both the media and opinion polls reflected a high level of concern among the public regarding the security consequences of resettling a large number of refugees without proper security screening. This was especially noticeable in Canadian media following the terrorist attacks in Paris. In such an environment, the decision maker would make a more conservative decision on the issue. The large number of historical analogies describing the Canadian identity as multicultural and inclusive in Canadian media, as well as the harm that such a decision could have caused to Canada's international reputation, reflect an environment that would possibly lead to the elimination of option two from the list of options. Options five and six would also be rejected because the decision environment reflected in Canadian media was replete with citizen passion frames and defined the Canadian identity as one enriched by a long history of immigration. This was supplemented by a slew of economic frames that portrayed refugees as a contribution to the Canadian economy. Refusing to resettle asylum seekers would be counterproductive in such a decision-making environment. Option seven would be the simplest to eliminate because it required interfering in the affairs of a country that was too far away to pose any direct security problems for Canada, imposed a massive financial burden on the country, and harmed Canada's international reputation. Such a possibility was never raised by the news networks under consideration.

2. In the context of the decision environment regarding refugee resettlement in the UK, it would be possible to argue for the elimination of Options 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7. Options one and three would possibly be eliminated because media frames

reflected an environment depicted by a high level of security and economic concern. Option two would possibly be ruled out due to the environment's high level of passion frames, as reflected in the media, and the fear that such a policy would be interpreted as discriminatory; a label that the UK media frequently dismissed by drawing on the historical analogy of child asylum seekers, primarily Jewish, during WWII. This historical analogy was used as a source of pride as well as a means of rejecting any claim of discrimination against Syrian refugees. Option six would also possibly be removed because, while the media used a large number of citizen passion frames, they also reflected the overuse of blame frames among the political elite who attributed the responsibility for the difficult situation in which refugees found themselves to other states' mismanagement of the situation. Making the decision to close the borders in such circumstances would be considered hypocritical on the part of the UK and would most certainly have high reputation costs. Option seven would possibly be eliminated for the same reasons as in the case of Canada. However, in this case, the UK media reflected the raising of such an option by the political elite several times, albeit under the guise of humanitarian intervention.

Assuming the choice set has been culled in the manner described in the preceding paragraphs, the following options would be subject to the second phase of the poliheuristic model.

1. Canadian government would be left with option four as the most desirable option.In the absence of an equally desirable option, this choice would be adopted by the decision makers.This was indeed the choice adopted by the Canadian government. While assuring the general public that all resettled refugees will have gone through proper screening by experienced agents, the

Canadian government resettled a reasonably large number of refugees in a few months.

2. The UK government was left with more options to rationally choose from. The decision makers in the UK had to make a choice between accepting a defined number of refugees after intensive screening and creating incentives for 3rd states to accept refugees while closing their own borders to refugees. The UK Government eventually adopted a combination of both of these strategies, albeit with modifications. The UK Government initially adopted the latter option. Prior to offering the resettlement of a defined number of refugees, the UK Government's primary strategy was to give financial aid to Syria's neighbors, to establish refugee camps and host asylum seekers in those camps. Up until this stage, the number of refugees resettled in the UK was only in the hundreds. It wasn't until the number of asylum seekers in the region drastically increased and the UK Government came under internal (opposition leaders and the media) and external pressure (the European Union) that the UK Government made a shift in its policies and pledged the resettlement of over 20,000 refugees after intensive screening and in the course of five years. Despite this pledge, the UK Government admittedly never reached the promised numbers. This could be attributed to the fact that the decision making environment in the UK was indeterminate with a tendency to prioritize security over refugee resettlement.

The following paragraphs address the thesis's initial research questions and hypotheses.

8.1 Addressing the Research Questions and the Hypotheses

The preceding two chapters investigated the frames and frame combinations as reflections of a general decision environment in great depth. These combinations

were examined in particular in the context of frame clusters, which are extraordinarily dense groups of frames. These clusters and combinations of frames were then temporally positioned in the context of actual decisions regarding Syrian refugees. After considering the various aspects of frame combinations in the researched news networks, it is now possible to discuss the thesis's initial questions and hypotheses.

8.2 Research Questions

This thesis examined the descriptive and predictive role of news media in reflecting (de)securitizing decision environments in Canada and the United Kingdom. To do so, it considered answering a number of research questions including:

1. What combination of frames has been used by media platforms in the UK and Canada in relation to the resettlement of Syrian refugees?

2. How consistent have media frames been in each country?

3. What type of decision environments did the media reflect in each country?

4. What implications could the decision environments, as reflected by the media have for the actual decisions?

In the following paragraphs, each of these questions will be answered in accordance with the previous section.

8.2.1 Framing Patterns and Frame Types in Canadian and British News Media

A number of patterns were identified in Canadian and the UK media in relation to the resettlement of refugees. These patterns, this research suggests, are reflective of a broader decision making environment and also stabilize the reflected decision making environment. These patters can briefly be explained as follows:

1. The Canadian media used harmonious humanizing frames and combinations of frames that focused on the humanitarian aspects of resettlement, the inclusive characteristics of Canadian identity, and the economic and cultural

contributions of asylum seekers and refugees to Canada on a consistent basis. Overall, the decision environment reflected by these frames and frame combinations influenced refugee resettlement positively.

2. The British media reflected a chaotic and indeterminate decision-making environment in which the emphasis was primarily on political blame games with other countries (externally) as well as between opposition parties (internal). The humanitarian aspect of protecting asylum seekers was occasionally addressed, but it was almost always followed by an economic burden attributed to refugee resettlement. The frames also reflected a high level of security concerns among the population and politicians alike. The decision environment reflected by the frames and frame combinations, therefore, had a negative impact on refugee resettlement in general.

After identifying the dominant patterns in the countries under consideration, the second question can now be addressed.

8.2.2 Frame Consistency and Types of Decision Environments

After analyzing the data, it became clear that the Canadian news media used frames and frame combinations much more consistently than the UK news media.

The frames used by Canadian media were unidirectional, reflecting an obviously favorable environment for refugee resettlement in Canada. This was the case, even when the conservative government was still in power. The Canadian media has consistently portrayed refugees as being similar to Canadians in the sense that the majority of Canadian citizens have also migrated from their countries of origin in search of better opportunities and to contribute to the economy and culture of their new country. In this context, the term "new Canadians" was used.

214
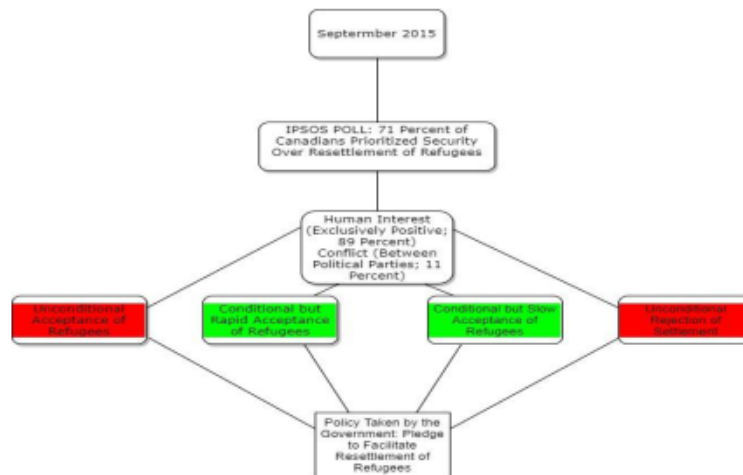
Figure 8.1: The Environment Created by the First Cluster of Frames in Canada
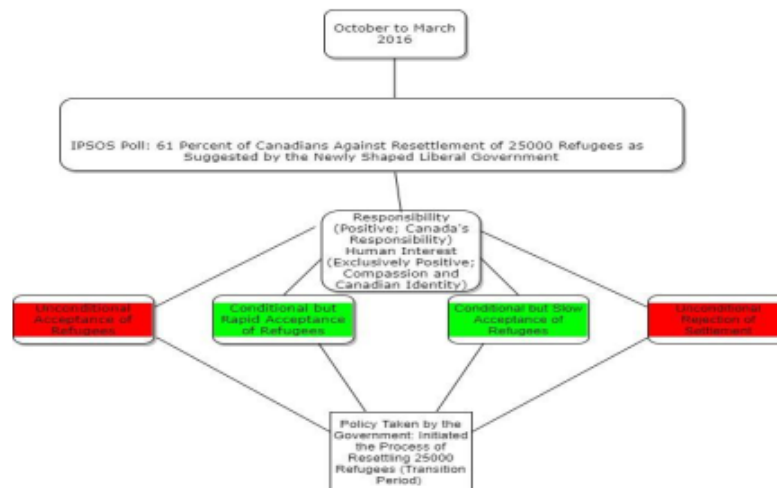
Figure 8.2: The Environment Created by the Second Cluster of Frames in Canada

The frames and frame combinations used by the UK media, on the other hand, were less consistent. Despite the fact that the UK media occasionally addressed the humanitarian aspects of refugees' lives, Its portrayal of refugees, both visually and verbally, appears to have alienated refugees. The UK media effectively established a self/other image that was unfavorable to refugee resettlement in the UK. Parallel security speech acts by UK politicians (including calls for intensive vetting of asylum seekers by the Conservative party) as well as burden framing refugees, as reflected in the UK media, contributed to the escalation of this unfavorable environment.

Figure 8.3: The Environment Created by the Third Cluster of Frames in Canada

Based on the above findings, the media in the studied countries not only seems to have reflected the decision making environment that existed at the time of decision making but also stabilized and sustained the decision environments by repeating the same patterns and exposing the audience to the same frames. Especially when the frames and patterns they shaped were in harmony and in one direction, they seem to have influenced the decision environment. The overall balance of frames and frame combinations in favor of or against a given policy, therefore, seems to have predictive and perhaps even prescriptive value in relation to the final decisions.

8.2.3 Chronological Relationship Between Media Frames and Policy Decisions

The following diagrams demonstrate the chronological relationship between media frames and actual policies. Although, this chronological relationship does not establish any causal relationship between media frames and the final decisions, it does demonstrate that the actual decision making has been influenced by the decision environment reflected by the media.
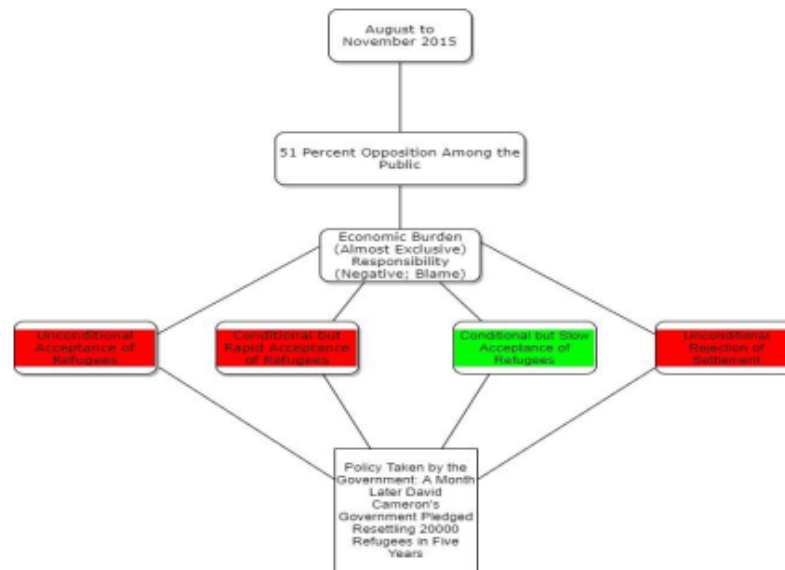
Figure 8.4: The Environment Created by the First Cluster of Frames in the UK

8.3 Testing the Hypotheses

In this section, the hypotheses posed at the beginning of this thesis will be examined in light of the information provided in previous sections.

H1. Decision environments are constructed by overexposure to specific frames and frame combinations:

- The results have no indication whether media has independently constructed a decision making environment in the examined countries. Instead, they have shown the reflective nature of frames and frame combinations in relation to the general tendency of the decision making environment at and around the time of actual decision making. This increases the predictive value of frames and frame combinations in foreign policy analysis.

H2. The direction of media frames is often suggestive of policies that are likely to be made by policy makers:

- As shown in previous pages, decision makers do indeed seem to move in the

Figure 8.5: The Environment Created by the Second Cluster of Frames in the UK

direction reflected in media frames. This is especially true in environments where media frames are consistent and in one direction. This feature can be attributed to media's reflecting the decision environment regarding the issues of concern while stabilizing and sustaining the environment by exposing their audience to the same frames and framing patterns.

8.4 Final Remarks and General Comments

The study showed that studying media frames and frame combinations may be of value when making an attempt to predict possible policy decisions. This is especially the case when media frames consistently reflect a harmonious decision making environment. The direction of frames seems to be suggestive of possible future policies.

Security speech acts were not directly used by the media in either Canada or the United Kingdom. In each instance, however, the media reflected and affected the decision environment in which the issue of resettling migrants was dealt with. As a result, the media actively engaged in the process that inspired the implementation of the resettlement policy.
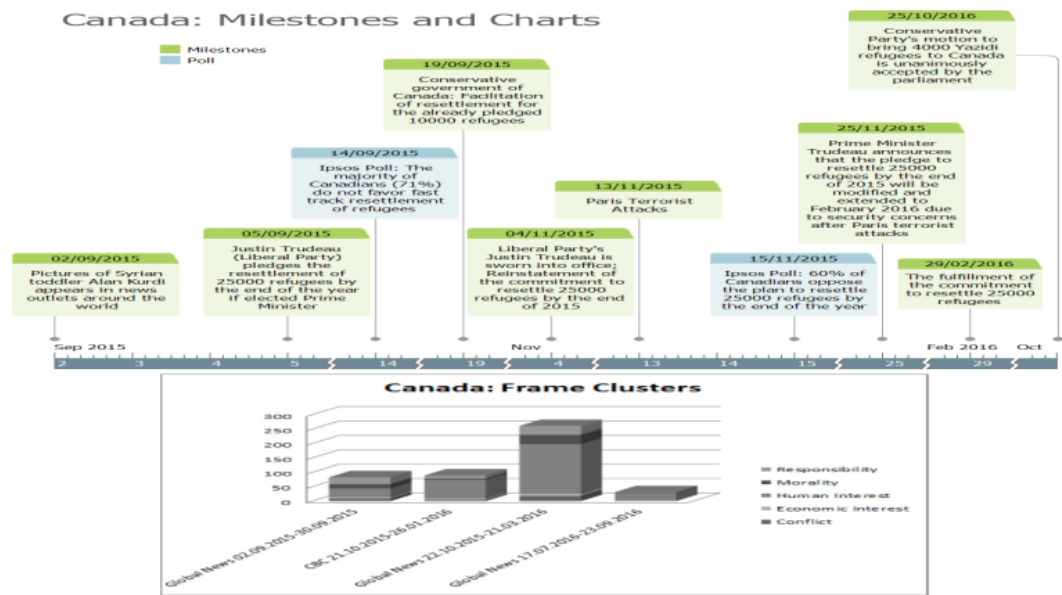
Figure 8.6: Chronological relation between media environments and decisions in Canada

8.4.1 Limitations

The research does have a number of limitations, some of which have been mentioned in the following paragraphs.

1. Although the research does demonstrate media's role in reflecting and influencing decision environments in relation to a humanitarian issue, the same conclusions may not be valid in a case where the issue is considered to be a matter of national security.

2. The study has been made in the context of two Western societies with an established history of democracy and free media. The same conclusions may not be applicable to the context of authoritarian regimes.

3. The study does not establish a causal relationship between the decisions made by the decision makers and the decision making environments reflected in media frames. It simply asserts that the environments highly influence the elimination of choices in the first phase of the poliheuristic decision making model. Establishing such causal relationship would require a large scale study
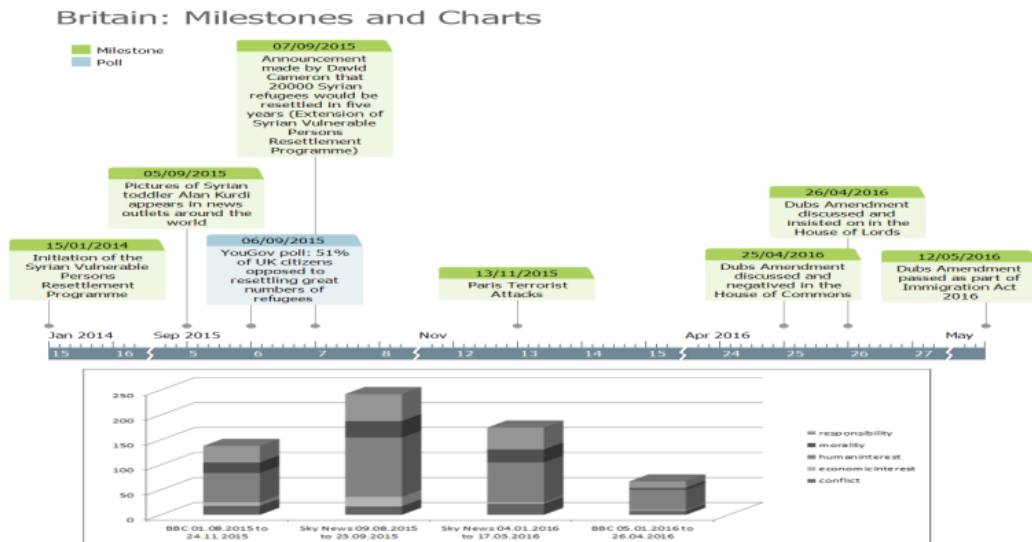
Figure 8.7: Chronological relation between media environments and decisions in Britain

of media frames across media outlets and countries.

8.5 Contributions to the Literature

This thesis examined decision making environments and their effects on foreign policy decision making. This was done with a focus on securitizing patterns in relation to Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada and the United Kingdom. To identify the decision making environment surrounding Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada and the United Kingdom, the frames used by four news networks in the studied countries were examined on the basis of five generic frames.

The thesis makes contributions to the literature of two separate fields, namely to securitization as a theory of security studies and to the study of foreign policy. On the one hand, by introducing decision making environments into the study of securitization it draws securitization out of the confines of speech acts and on the other hand it emphasizes the value of media frames in identifying decision environments (and as a result in predicting foreign policy decisions) and their

220

contribution to the sedimentation of decision making environments.

8.6 Future Directions

Some of the limitations of this study were discussed in the preceding section. Future research on decision environments may overcome these constraints. A study of media-driven decision-making environments in national security issues may provide insight on whether the same kind of influence can be seen in such situations. The media in non-democratic states may not be as free in exerting their frames as in liberal democratic states. A study of frames employed by the media in non-democratic and illiberal democracies may be conducted to identify the direction of frames in such nations as well as the involvement of frame entrepreneurs in creating the frames. A comparison of the frames utilized in two mass resettlement cases separated in time would show the development of decision making environments in the same society through time. A research of this kind would offer a deeper understanding of the origins of decision-making environments and the frames employed to create them. Finally, an experimental design study that isolates the audience from other influences may aid in establishing a causal relationship between media-inspired decision making environments and actual decisions.

REFERENCES

Aalberg, Toril, Jesper Strömbäck, and Claes H De Vreese (2012). "The framing of politics as strategy and game: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings". In: *Journalism* 13.2, pp. 162–178.

Abrahamsen, Rita (2005). "Blair's Africa: the politics of securitization and fear". In: *Alternatives* 30.1, pp. 55–80.

Abulof, Uriel (2014). "Deep Securitization and Israel's "Demographic Demon"". In: *International Political Sociology* 8.4, pp. 396–415.

Acts of Parliament, Queen's Printer of (2016). *Immigration Act 2016*. URL: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/19/contents/enacted.

Al Nahed, Sumaya (2015). "Covering Libya: A framing analysis of Al Jazeera and BBC coverage of the 2011 Libyan uprising and NATO intervention". In: *Middle East Critique* 24.3, pp. 251–267.

Albert, Mathias and Barry Buzan (2011). "Securitization, sectors and functional differentiation". In: *Security dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 413–425.

Allport, Floyd H (1937). "Toward a science of public opinion". In: *Public opinion quarterly* 1.1, pp. 7–23.

Auerbach, Yehudith and Yaeli Bloch-Elkon (2005). "Media framing and foreign policy: The elite press vis-à-vis US policy in Bosnia, 1992–95". In: *Journal of Peace Research* 42.1, pp. 83–99.

Austin, John Langshaw (1975). *How to do things with words*. Vol. 88. Oxford university press.

Baele, Stéphane J and Catarina P Thomson (2017). "An experimental agenda for securitization theory". In: *International Studies Review* 19.4, pp. 646–666.

Balzacq, Thierry (2005). "The three faces of securitization: Political agency, audience and context". In: *European journal of international relations* 11.2, pp. 171–201.

— (2008). "The policy tools of securitization: Information exchange, EU foreign and interior policies". In: *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46.1, pp. 75–100.

— (2015). "The 'Essence'of securitization: Theory, ideal type, and a sociological science of security". In: *International Relations* 29.1, pp. 103–113.

BBC (Sept. 2015a). *Alan Kurdi: Has one picture shifted our view of refugees?* URL: https : / / www . bbc . com / news / blogs - trending - 34142804# : ~ : text=The % 20picture % 20was % 20of % 20Aylan , reach % 20the % 20EU % 20by % 20boat . &text = A % 20Turkish % 20news % 20agency % 20shared , global % 20 - %20surge%20on%20social%20media..

— (Sept. 2015b). *David Cameron urges EU countries to follow UK's lead on refugees.* URL: https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-34242346.

Bennett, W Lance and Shanto Iyengar (2008). "A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication". In: *Journal of communication* 58.4, pp. 707–731.

Berejikian, Jeffrey D (2002). "Model building with prospect theory: A cognitive approach to international relations". In: *Political Psychology* 23.4, pp. 759–786.

Berinsky, Adam J and Donald R Kinder (2006). "Making sense of issues through media frames: Understanding the Kosovo crisis". In: *The Journal of Politics* 68.3, pp. 640–656.

Bineham, Jeffery L (1988). "A historical account of the hypodermic model in mass communication". In: *Communications Monographs* 55.3, pp. 230–246.

Borah, Porismita (2011). "Conceptual issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature". In: *Journal of communication* 61.2, pp. 246–263.

Boydstun, Amber E and Rebecca A Glazier (2013). "A two-tiered method for identifying trends in media framing of policy issues: The case of the war on terror". In: *Policy Studies Journal* 41.4, pp. 706–735.

Brantner, Cornelia, Katharina Lobinger, and Irmgard Wetzstein (2011). "Effects of visual framing on emotional responses and evaluations of news stories about the Gaza conflict 2009". In: *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 88.3, pp. 523–540.

Brawley, Mark R (2009). "Neoclassical realism and strategic calculations: explaining divergent British, French, and Soviet strategies toward Germany between the world wars (1919–1939)". In: *Neoclassical realism, the state, and foreign policy*, pp. 75–98.

Brooks, Stephen G (1997). "Dueling realisms". In: *International Organization*, pp. 445–477.

Brulé, David J (2008). "The Poliheuristic Research Program: An Assessment and Suggestions for Further Progress". In: *International Studies Review* 10.2, pp. 266–293.

Bryan, Catherine and Myriam Denov (2011). "Separated refugee children in Canada: The construction of risk identity". In: *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* 9.3, pp. 242–266.

Bryant, Jennings and Mary Beth Oliver (2009). *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*. Routledge.

Burscher, Bjorn, Rens Vliegenthart, and Claes H de Vreese (2016). "Frames beyond words: Applying cluster and sentiment analysis to news coverage of the nuclear power issue". In: *Social Science Computer Review* 34.5, pp. 530–545.

Burstein, Paul (1979). "Public opinion, demonstrations, and the passage of antidiscrimination legislation". In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 43.2, pp. 157–172.

Buzan, Barry et al. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Canada, Global Affairs (Jan. 2020). *Canada's response to the conflict in Syria*. URL: https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/response_conflict-reponse_conflits/crisis-crises/conflict_syria-syrie.aspx?lang=eng.

Canada, Liberal Party of (Sept. 2015). *Liberals commit to leadership on Syrian refugee crisis: Liberal Party of Canada*. URL: https://liberal.ca/liberals-commit-to-leadership-on-syrian-refugee-crisis/.

Canada, Service (Sept. 2015). *Government of Canada*. URL: https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/09/faster-help-syrian-iraqi-refugees-without-compromising-canadian-security.html.

Carragee, Kevin M and Wim Roefs (2004). "The neglect of power in recent framing research". In: *Journal of communication* 54.2, pp. 214–233.

Carvalho Pinto, Vânia (2014). "Exploring the interplay between Framing and Securitization theory: the case of the Arab Spring protests in Bahrain". In: *Revista Brasileira de Polıtica Internacional* 57.1, pp. 162–176.

CBCnews (Sept. 2015). *He might have become Canadian: Drowned Syrian toddler washed ashore refocuses refugee tragedy | CBC News*. URL: http://www.cbc.ca/

news/world/little-alan-kurdi-washed-ashore-suddenly-refocuses-syrian-tragedy-nahlah-ayed-1.3213893.

Cels, Sanderijn (2015). "Interpreting political apologies: The neglected role of performance". In: *Political Psychology* 36.3, pp. 351–360.

Chong, Dennis and James N Druckman (2007a). "A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments". In: *Journal of communication* 57.1, pp. 99–118.

— (2007b). "Framing public opinion in competitive democracies". In: *American Political Science Review*, pp. 637–655.

Chouliaraki, Lilie and Myria Georgiou (2017). "Hospitability: the communicative architecture of humanitarian securitization at Europe's borders". In: *Journal of Communication* 67.2, pp. 159–180.

Christensen, Eben J and Steven B Redd (2004). "Bureaucrats versus the ballot box in foreign policy decision making: An experimental analysis of the bureaucratic politics model and the poliheuristic theory". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.1, pp. 69–90.

Chudowsky, Victor and Taras Kuzio (2003). "Does public opinion matter in UkraineŒ The case of foreign policy". In: *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 36.3, pp. 273–290.

Cienki, Alan (2013). "Bringing concepts from cognitive linguistics into the analysis of policies and the political". In: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16.2, pp. 294–310.

Cienki, Alan and Dvora Yanow (2013). "Why metaphor and other tropes? Linguistic approaches to analysing policies and the political". In: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16.2, pp. 167–176.

Ciută, Felix (2009). "Security and the problem of context: a hermeneutical critique of securitisation theory". In: *Review of international studies*, pp. 301–326.

Coen, Alise (2017). "Securitization, normalization, and representations of Islam in senate discourse". In: *Politics and Religion* 10.1, pp. 111–136.

Conrad, Maximilian and Hugrún Aðalsteinsdóttir (2017). "Understanding Germany's Short-Lived "Culture of Welcome": Images of Refugees in Three Leading German Quality Newspapers". In: *German Politics and Society* 35.4, pp. 1–21.

Côté, Adam (2016). "Agents without agency: Assessing the role of the audience in securitization theory". In: *Security Dialogue* 47.6, pp. 541–558.

Couttenier, Mathieu and Sophie Hatte (2016). "Mass media effects on non-governmental organizations". In: *Journal of Development Economics* 123, pp. 57–72.

Cowart, Monica R (2004). "Understanding acts of consent: Using speech act theory to help resolve moral dilemmas and legal disputes". In: *Law and Philosophy* 23.5, pp. 495–525.

Dahlgreen, Will (Sept. 2015). *No increase in Syrian refugee numbers – public*. URL: https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2015/09/06/no-increase-syrian-refugee-numbers.

De Cillia, Rudolf, Martin Reisigl, and Ruth Wodak (1999). "The discursive construction of national identities". In: *Discourse & society* 10.2, pp. 149–173.

De Martino, Benedetto et al. (2006). "Frames, biases, and rational decision-making in the human brain". In: *Science* 313.5787, pp. 684–687.

De Vreese, Claes (2004). "The effects of strategic news on political cynicism, issue evaluations, and policy support: A two-wave experiment". In: *Mass Communication & Society* 7.2, pp. 191–214.

De Vreese, Claes H (2012). "New avenues for framing research". In: *American behavioral scientist* 56.3, pp. 365–375.

De Vreese, Claes H, Hajo G Boomgaarden, and Holli A Semetko (2011). "(In) direct framing effects: The effects of news media framing on public support for Turkish membership in the European Union". In: *Communication Research* 38.2, pp. 179–205.

Debrix, Francois (2002). "Language as criticism: Assessing the merits of speech acts and discursive formations in international relations". In: *New Political Science* 24.2, pp. 201–219.

Dekker, Rianne and Peter Scholten (2017). "Framing the immigration policy agenda: A qualitative comparative analysis of media effects on Dutch immigration policies". In: *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 22.2, pp. 202–222.

DeRouen, Karl and Christopher Sprecher (2004). "Initial crisis reaction and poliheuristic theory". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.1, pp. 56–68.

Diez, Thomas (1999). "Speaking'Europe': the politics of integration discourse". In: *Journal of European public policy* 6.4, pp. 598–613.

Druckman, James N (2004). "Political preference formation: Competition, deliberation, and the (ir) relevance of framing effects". In: *American Political Science Review*, pp. 671–686.

Druckman, James N and Kjersten R Nelson (2003). "Framing and deliberation: How citizens' conversations limit elite influence". In: *American Journal of Political Science* 47.4, pp. 729–745.

Ellis, Ryan (Nov. 2015). *Sask. Premier calls on PM to suspend Syrian refugee plan.* URL: https://globalnews.ca/news/2341870/sask-premier-calls-on-pm-to-suspend-syrian-refugee-plan/.

Entman, Robert M (1993). "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm".
 In: *Journal of communication* 43.4, pp. 51–58.

— (2003). "Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11". In:
 Political Communication, 20.4, pp. 415–432.

— (2007). "Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power". In: *Journal of
 communication* 57.1, pp. 163–173.

Evans, Matt and M Selcan Kaynak (2015). "Media framing in religious–secular
 conflict in Turkey and Israel". In: *International Political science review* 36.2,
 pp. 139–152.

Finlayson, James Gordon (2005). *Habermas: A very short introduction*. OUP Oxford.

Floyd, Rita (2011). "Can securitization theory be used in normative analysis? Towards
 a just securitization theory". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 427–439.

Foulon, Michiel (2015). "Neoclassical realism: challengers and bridging identities".
 In: *International Studies Review* 17.4. Publisher: Blackwell Publishing Oxford,
 UK, pp. 635–661.

Frankel, Joseph (1959). "Towards a decision-making model in foreign policy". In:
 Political Studies 7.1, pp. 1–11.

Gad, Ulrik Pram and Karen Lund Petersen (2011). "Concepts of politics in
 securitization studies". In: *Security Dialogue*, pp. 315–328.

Galtung, Johan and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965). "The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers". In: *Journal of peace research* 2.1, pp. 64–90.

Geri, Maurizio (2017). "The securitization of the Kurdish Minority in Turkey: Ontological insecurity and elite's power struggle as reasons of the recent re-securitization". In: *Digest of Middle East Studies* 26.1, pp. 187–202.

Gerth, Matthias A and Gabriele Siegert (2012). "Patterns of Consistence and Constriction". In: *American behavioral scientist*.

Goffman, Erving (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience.* Harvard University Press.

Goldstein, Daniel M et al. (2010). "Toward a critical anthropology of security". In: *Current anthropology* 51.4, pp. 000–000.

Graber, Doris Appel and Doris Appel Graber (1984). *Media power in politics.* CQ Press Washington, DC.

Gross, Kimberly and Lisa D'ambrosio (2004). "Framing emotional response". In: *Political psychology* 25.1, pp. 1–29.

Guardian (Sept. 2015). *UK to take up to 20,000 Syrian refugees over five years, David Cameron confirms.* URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/uk-will-accept-up-to-20000-syrian-refugees-david-cameron-confirms.

Hänggli, Regula and Hanspeter Kriesi (2012). "Frame construction and frame promotion (strategic framing choices)". In: *American Behavioral Scientist* 56.3, pp. 260–278.

Hansard (2016a). *Immigration Bill (Division 246: held on Monday 25 April 2016) - Hansard - UK Parliament*. URL: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2016-04-25/division/CF2DA239-78E0-4CFD-9E7C-A45D6F486434/ImmigrationBill?outputType=Names.

— (2016b). *Immigration Bill (Division 5: held on Tuesday 26 April 2016) - Hansard - UK Parliament*. URL: https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/2016-04-26/division/891894DD-F1C4-4A63-BD55-EEA852A40F0C/ImmigrationBill?outputType=Party.

Hansen, Lene (2000). "The Little Mermaid's silent security dilemma and the absence of gender in the Copenhagen School". In: *Millennium* 29.2, pp. 285–306.

— (2011). "The politics of securitization and the Muhammad cartoon crisis: A post-structuralist perspective". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 357–369.

Harrisson, Tom (1940). "What is public opinion?" In: *The Political Quarterly* 11.4, pp. 368–383.

Hass, Rabea (2009). "The role of media in conflict and their influence on securitisation". In: *The International Spectator* 44.4, pp. 77–91.

Hayes, Jarrod (2012). "Securitization, social identity, and democratic security: Nixon, India, and the ties that bind". In: *International Organization*, pp. 63–93.

Herberichs, Gerard (1966). "On theories of public opinion and international organization". In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 30.4, pp. 624–636.

Hoffmann, Sophia (2017). "Humanitarian security in Jordan's Azraq camp". In: *Security dialogue* 48.2, pp. 97–112.

Holbraad, Martin and Morten Axel Pedersen (2012). "Revolutionary securitization: An anthropological extension of securitization theory". In: *IT* 4, p. 165.

Holmes, Marcus and David Traven (2015). "Acting rationally without really thinking: The logic of rational intuitionism for International Relations theory". In: *International Studies Review* 17.3, pp. 414–440.

Holsti, Ole R (1976). "Cognitive process approaches to decision-making: Foreign policy actors viewed psychologically". In: *American Behavioral Scientist* 20.1, pp. 11–32.

Holzscheiter, Anna (2014). "Between communicative interaction and structures of signification: Discourse theory and analysis in international relations". In: *International Studies Perspectives* 15.2, pp. 142–162.

Hough, Peter et al. (2015). *International security studies: theory and practice*. Routledge.

Houghton, David Patrick (2006). "Explaining the origins of the Iran hostage crisis: A cognitive perspective". In: *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18.2, pp. 259–279.

Hughes, Bryn (2007). "Securitizing Iraq: The Bush Administration's Social Construction of Security". In: *Global Change, Peace & Security* 19.2, pp. 83–102.

Huysmans, Jef (2011). "What's in an act? On security speech acts and little security nothings". In: *Security dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 371–383.

Hyman, Herbert H (1957). "Toward a theory of public opinion". In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 21.1, pp. 54–60.

Ilgit, Asli and Audie Klotz (2014). "How far does 'societal security' travel? Securitization in South African immigration policies". In: *Security Dialogue* 45.2, pp. 137–155.

Innes, Alexandria J (2010). "When the threatened become the threat: The construction of asylum seekers in British media narratives". In: *International Relations* 24.4, pp. 456–477.

Iov, Claudia Anamaria and Maria Claudia Bogdan (2017). "Securitization of migration in the European Union: between discourse and practical action". In: *Research & Science Today* 1.13.

Ipsos (2015a). *Despite Criticism on Handling of Syrian Refugee Crisis, Tories Lead on Issue*. URL: https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/despite-criticism-handling-syrian-refugee-crisis-tories-lead-issue.

Ipsos (2015b). *In Wake of Paris Terror Attacks, Six in Ten (60 percent) Canadians Oppose Government's Plan to Settle 25,000 Refugees by End of Year*. URL: https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/news-polls/wake-paris-terror-attacks-six-ten-60-canadians-oppose-governments-plan-settle-25000-refugees-end.

Jacobsen, Christine M (2015). "Communicating irregular migration". In: *American Behavioral Scientist* 59.7, pp. 886–897.

Jakobsen, Peter Viggo (2000). "Focus on the CNN effect misses the point: The real media impact on conflict management is invisible and indirect". In: *Journal of Peace Research* 37.2, pp. 131–143.

Kahneman, Daniel and Amos Tversky (1979). "Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk". In: *Econometrica* 47.2, pp. 363–391.

Karyotis, Georgios (2012). "Securitization of migration in Greece: process, motives, and implications". In: *International Political Sociology* 6.4, pp. 390–408.

Karyotis, Georgios and Stratos Patrikios (2010). "Religion, securitization and anti-immigration attitudes: The case of Greece". In: *Journal of Peace Research* 47.1, pp. 43–57.

Katz, Elihu (2001). "Lazarsfeld's map of media effects". In: *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 13.3, pp. 270–279.

Keller, Jonathan W and Yi Edward Yang (2008). "Leadership style, decision context, and the poliheuristic theory of decision making: An experimental analysis". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.5, pp. 687–712.

Kull, Steven, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis (2003). "Misperceptions, the media, and the Iraq war". In: *Political science quarterly* 118.4, pp. 569–598.

Lake, Celinda and Jennifer Sosin (1998). "Public Opinion Polling and the Future of Democracy". In: *National Civic Review* 87.1, pp. 65–70.

Lang, Kurt (2003). "Popular sovereignty and interests as seen by the precursors of public opinion theory". In: *Javnost-The Public* 10.2, pp. 5–23.

Lecheler, Sophie and Claes H De Vreese (2011). "Getting real: The duration of framing effects". In: *Journal of Communication* 61.5, pp. 959–983.

Levitz, Stephanie (2016). *A Timeline of Canada's Policies and Decisions during the Syrian Refugee Crisis*.

Levy, Jack S (1992a). "An introduction to prospect theory". In: *Political Psychology*, pp. 171–186.

— (1992b). "Prospect theory and international relations: Theoretical applications and analytical problems". In: *Political Psychology*, pp. 283–310.

Matthes, Jörg (2012). "Framing politics: An integrative approach". In: *American behavioral scientist* 56.3, pp. 247–259.

McCombs, Maxwell (1968). "The influence of mass communication in politics". In: *Communication Quarterly* 16.4, pp. 31–34.

McDonald, Matt (2008). "Securitization and the Construction of Security". In: *European journal of international relations* 14.4, pp. 563–587.

McDonald, Matt and Lee Wilson (2017). "Trouble in paradise: Contesting security in Bali". In: *Security Dialogue* 48.3, pp. 241–258.

McGuinness, Terry (2017). "The UK response to the Syrian refugee crisis". In: *House of Commons Library Briefing Paper* 06805, p. 11.

McLean, Wayne (2016). "Neoclassical realism and Australian foreign policy: understanding how security elites frame domestic discourses". In: *Global Change, Peace & Security* 28.1. Publisher: Taylor & Francis, pp. 1–15.

Mead, George Herbert (1934). *Mind, self and society*. Vol. 111. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Meibauer, Gustav et al. (2021). "Rethinking Neoclassical Realism at Theory's End". In: *International Studies Review* 23.1. Publisher: Oxford University Press, pp. 268–295.

Mermin, Jonathan (1997). "Television news and American intervention in Somalia: The myth of a media-driven foreign policy". In: *Political science quarterly* 112.3, pp. 385–403.

Miller, David L (1973). "George Herbert Mead: Self, language and the world". In: *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, pp. 66–67.

Miller, Gregory D (2013). "Terrorist decision making and the deterrence problem". In: *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36.2, pp. 132–151.

Milton-Edwards, Beverley (2017). "Securitizing charity: the case of Palestinian zakat committees". In: *Global change, peace & security* 29.2, pp. 161–177.

Mintz, Alex (2004). "How do leaders make decisions? A poliheuristic perspective". In: *Journal of conflict resolution* 48.1, pp. 3–13.

— (2005). "Applied decision analysis: Utilizing poliheuristic theory to explain and predict foreign policy and national security decisions". In: *International Studies Perspectives* 6.1, pp. 94–98.

Mintz, Alex and Karl DeRouen (2010). *Understanding foreign policy decision making*. Cambridge University Press.

Moffette, David and Shaira Vadasaria (2016). "Uninhibited violence: Race and the securitization of immigration". In: *Critical Studies on Security* 4.3, pp. 291–305.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick and Kristen Hill Maher (1995). "Psychology and rational actor theory". In: *Political psychology* 16.1, pp. 1–21.

Mrogers, Everett and James Wdearing (1988). "Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going?" In: *Annals of the International Communication Association* 11.1, pp. 555–594.

Newman, Edward (2010). "Critical human security studies". In: *Review of International Studies*, pp. 77–94.

Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth (1991). "The theory of public opinion: The concept of the spiral of silence". In: *Annals of the International Communication Association* 14.1, pp. 256–287.

Norman, Ludvig (2018). "Theorizing the social foundations of exceptional security politics: Rights, emotions and community". In: *Cooperation and Conflict* 53.1, pp. 84–100.

O'Heffernan, Patrick (1994). "Mass media roles in foreign policy". In: *Media power in politics*, pp. 325–326.

Oppermann, Kai (2014). "Delineating the scope conditions of the poliheuristic theory of foreign policy decision making: The noncompensatory principle and the domestic salience of foreign policy". In: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10.1, pp. 23–41.

Oppermann, Kai and Alexander Spencer (2013). "Thinking alike? Salience and metaphor analysis as cognitive approaches to foreign policy analysis". In: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9.1, pp. 39–56.

Østbø, Jardar (2017). "Securitizing "spiritual-moral values" in Russia". In: *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33.3, pp. 200–216.

Page, Benjamin I, Robert Y Shapiro, and Glenn R Dempsey (1987). "What moves public opinion?" In: *The American Political Science Review*, pp. 23–43.

Palframan, William J et al. (2006). "Anaphase inactivation of the spindle checkpoint". In: *Science* 313.5787, pp. 680–684.

Pan, Zhongdang and Gerald M Kosicki (1993). "Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse". In: *Political communication* 10.1, pp. 55–75.

Patomäki, Heikki (2015). "Absenting the absence of future dangers and structural transformations in securitization theory". In: *International Relations* 29.1, pp. 128–136.

Price, Vincent (1989). "Social identification and public opinion: Effects of communicating group conflict". In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53.2, pp. 197–224.

Quackenbush, Stephen (2004). "The rationality of rational choice theory". In: *International Interactions* 30.2, pp. 87–107.

Queiroz, Fábio Albergaria de and Thiago Bacelar Cardoso (2015). "The Legitimacy of War under the Perspective of the Speech-Act Theory". In: *J. Pol. & L.* 8, p. 54.

Rathbun, Brian (2008). "A rose by any other name: Neoclassical realism as the logical and necessary extension of structural realism". In: *Security Studies* 17.2. Publisher: Taylor & Francis, pp. 294–321.

Reese, Stephen D, Oscar H Gandy, and August E Grant (2001). *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*. Routledge.

Roe, Paul (2004). "Securitization and minority rights: Conditions of desecuritization". In: *Security dialogue* 35.3, pp. 279–294.

— (2008). "Actor, audience (s) and emergency measures: Securitization and the UK's decision to invade Iraq". In: *Security dialogue* 39.6, pp. 615–635.

Rosati, Jerel A (2000). "The power of human cognition in the study of world politics". In: *International Studies Review* 2.3, pp. 45–75.

Rose, Gideon (1998). "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy". In: *World Politics* 51.1. Publisher: [Cambridge University Press, Trustees of Princeton University], pp. 144–172. ISSN: 00438871, 10863338. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054068.

Rychnovská, Dagmar et al. (2014). "Securitization and the power of threat framing". In: *Perspectives: review of Central European affairs* 2, pp. 9–32.

Sarkar, Swagato (2017). "The illicit economy of power: smuggling, trafficking and the securitization of the Indo-Bangladesh borderland". In: *Dialectical Anthropology* 41.2, pp. 185–199.

Searle, John R (1968). "Austin on locutionary and illocutionary acts". In: *The philosophical review* 77.4, pp. 405–424.

Senate, Canadian (2016). "Finding Refuge in Canada: A Syrian Resettlement Story". In: *Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights* 30.

Sharman, Jason C (2009). "The bark is the bite: International organizations and blacklisting". In: *Review of International Political Economy* 16.4, pp. 573–596.

Shaw, Eugene F (1979). "Agenda-setting and mass communication theory". In: *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)* 25.2, pp. 96–105.

Simon, Adam and Michael Xenos (2000). "Media framing and effective public deliberation". In: *Political communication* 17.4, pp. 363–376.

Singh, Currun and Arjun Singh Bedi (2016). "War on Piracy: The conflation of Somali piracy with terrorism in discourse, tactic, and law". In: *Security Dialogue* 47.5, pp. 440–458.

Sjöstedt, Roxanna (2013). "Ideas, identities and internalization: Explaining securitizing moves". In: *Cooperation and Conflict* 48.1, pp. 143–164.

Smith, M Brewster (1971). "A Psychologist's Perspective on Public Opinion Theory". In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 35.1, pp. 36–43.

Smith, Nicholas Ross (2018). "Can Neoclassical Realism Become a Genuine Theory of International Relations?" In: *The Journal of Politics* 80.2, pp. 742–749. DOI:

10.1086/696882. eprint: https://doi.org/10.1086/696882. URL: https://doi.org/10.1086/696882.

Smith, Steve (1986). "Theories of foreign policy: an historical overview". In: *Review of International Studies* 12.1, pp. 13–29. DOI: 10.1017/S026021050011410X.

Spencer, Alexander (2012). "The social construction of terrorism: media, metaphors and policy implications". In: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15.3, pp. 393–419.

Stern, Eric (2004). "Contextualizing and critiquing the poliheuristic theory". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.1, pp. 105–126.

Stritzel, Holger (2011). "Security, the translation". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 343–355.

Stuart Ramsay, Chief Correspondent (Sept. 2015). *No End To Stream Of Refugees Seeking New Life*. URL: https://news.sky.com/story/no-end-to-stream-of-refugees-seeking-new-life-10346575.

Taliaferro, Jeffrey W (2006). "State building for future wars: Neoclassical realism and the resource-extractive state". In: *Security Studies* 15.3. Publisher: Taylor & Francis, pp. 464–495.

Tams, Kim (Nov. 2015). *City of Lethbridge says refugees are not terrorists*. URL: https://globalnews.ca/news/2345438/city-of-lethbridge-says-refugees-are-not-terrorists/.

Tang, Shiping (2009). *Taking stock of neoclassical realism.* Blackwell Publishing Ltd Oxford, UK.

Terkildsen, Nayda, Frauke I Schnell, and Cristina Ling (1998). "Interest groups, the media, and policy debate formation: An analysis of message structure, rhetoric, and source cues". In: *Political Communication* 15.1, pp. 45–61.

The   EU-Turkey   Statement   (Nov.   2019).   URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-towards-a-new-policy-on-migration/file-eu-turkey-statement-action-plan.

Thierry, Balzacq and Guzzini Stefano (2015). "What Kind of Theory—If Any—Is Securitization?" In: *International Relations* 29.1, pp. 97–102.

Thorleifsson, Cathrine (2017). "Disposable strangers: Far-right securitisation of forced migration in Hungary". In: *Social Anthropology* 25.3, pp. 318–334.

Tonra, Ben (2003). "Constructing the CFSP: The utility of a cognitive approach". In: *JCMS: journal of common market studies* 41.4, pp. 731–756.

Valkenburg, Patti M and Jochen Peter (2013). "The differential susceptibility to media effects model". In: *Journal of communication* 63.2, pp. 221–243.

Valkenburg, Patti M, Holli A Semetko, and Claes H De Vreese (1999). "The effects of news frames on readers' thoughts and recall". In: *Communication research* 26.5, pp. 550–569.

Valsiner, Jaan and Rene Van der Veer (1988). "On the social nature of human cognition: An analysis of the shared intellectual roots of George Herbert Mead and Lev Vygotsky". In: *Journal for the theory of social behaviour* 18.1, pp. 117–136.

Villumsen Berling, Trine (2011). "Science and securitization: Objectivation, the authority of the speaker and mobilization of scientific facts". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 385–397.

Vliegenthart, Rens and Liesbet Van Zoonen (2011). "Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame analysis". In: *European journal of communication* 26.2, pp. 101–115.

Vreese, C. H. de, J. Peter, and H. A. Semetko (2001). "Framing Politics at the Launch of the Euro: A Cross-National Comparative Study of Frames in the News". English. In: *Political communication* 18.2, pp. 107–122.

Vreese, Claes H de and Holli A Semetko (2004). "News matters: Influences on the vote in the Danish 2000 euro referendum campaign". In: *European Journal of Political Research* 43.5, pp. 699–722.

Wæver, Ole (2008). "The changing agenda of societal security". In: *Globalization and environmental challenges*. Springer, pp. 581–593.

— (2011). "Politics, security, theory". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.4-5, pp. 465–480.

Wæver, Ole (2015). "The theory act: Responsibility and exactitude as seen from securitization". In: *International Relations* 29.1, pp. 121–127.

Walt, Stephen M (1991). "The renaissance of security studies". In: *International studies quarterly* 35.2, pp. 211–239.

Walter, Ben (2016). "The securitization of development and humans' insecurity in Nangarhar Province, Afghanistan". In: *Global Change, Peace & Security* 28.3, pp. 271–287.

Watson, Scott (2011). "The 'human'as referent object? Humanitarianism as securitization". In: *Security Dialogue* 42.1, pp. 3–20.

Watson, Scott D (2012). "'Framing'the Copenhagen School: Integrating the literature on threat construction". In: *Millennium* 40.2, pp. 279–301.

Watts, Duncan (2000). *The Mass Media: Political Communication in Britain Today*. Sheffield Hallam University Press.

White, Gregory W (2007). "Sovereignty and international labor migration: The 'security mentality'in Spanish–Moroccan relations as an assertion of sovereignty". In: *Review of International Political Economy* 14.4, pp. 690–718.

Wilson, Francis G (1954). "Public Opinion: Theory for Tomorrow". In: *The Journal of Politics* 16.4, pp. 601–622.

Wolf, Werner and Walter Bernhart (2006). *Framing borders in literature and other media*. Vol. 1. Rodopi.