



How Local News Frames American Immigrants: Selections From Four Daily Publications

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How Local News Frames American Immigrants:
Selections from Four Daily Publications

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A Thesis in the Field of International Relations
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

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Abstract

This study analyzes local media reportage of United States immigrants through four daily publications: *The Hartford Courant*, *Des Moines Register*, *The Brownsville Herald*, and *The Casper Star-Tribune*. It examines 582 front pages across 150 dates between 2016 and 2018 to discover regional publications' editorial biases with regard to immigrant representation. It asks: to what degree do publications publish stories on crime versus positive immigrant contributions? How do local newspapers report on immigrant contributions to American culture? The data analysis finds distinctive frameworks employed by each publication, including patriotic sentiment toward and against new immigrants, strategic use of both empathy and fear in line with the political leanings of selected publications, and a tendency toward more positive reportage amongst articles written by local correspondents.

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Introduction

Looking only at national media representations of the immigration issue, one may assume anti-immigrant sentiment and partisan divides are at an all-time high. News reports abound of immigrants' deportation, rejection at the border, and harsh handling by government and private individuals. Coverage of immigration issues floods national media outlets with partisan headlines – promoting empathy for the immigrants or antagonism toward them. News outlets push headlines like “Trump’s Border Wall ‘Solutions’ Will Make Things Worse” (*New York Times* Editorial Board, April 2, 2019), ““Someone is Always Trying to Kill You”” (*New York Times*, April 5, 2019), “Trump drums up an immigration crisis that doesn't exist” (*CNN*, October 31, 2018), “CA Sheriff Blames Sanctuary Law for Illegal Immigrant’s ‘Reign of Terror’” (*Fox News*, December 21, 2018), and “Hannity: The Left in This Country Does Not Believe in the Rule of Law or Borders” (*Fox News*, July 19, 2018). President Donald Trump’s provocative tweets compound the gulf of opinion on social media.

Despite the heated media coverage, overall attitudes of the American public toward immigrants have never been more positive. A 2018 Gallup poll reported that a record high 75 percent of Americans, including majorities within both political parties, think immigration is a good thing for the country (Gallup 2018).

This study seeks to explore how immigration is reported in local publications: what editorial messages are promoted and what implicit biases exist. Examined is the front-page reportage of immigrants in four local publications between 2016 and 2018. The study aims to contribute to our understanding of how immigration is framed by local news outlets and how the coverage might be affected by local conditions.

Background & Literature Review

While often regarded as a vehicle for unbiased information, news coverage tends to be slanted. Economic studies indicate that profit-making is the key determinant of the content presented by media outlets (Hamilton 2004). In order to achieve financial gain, news outlets regularly shape their content to the viewpoints of their primary audience, showing that audience demand provokes ideologically skewed reportage (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010). As such, it's been found that local news is more clearly linked to a given community's public opinion, political involvement, issue awareness, and attitude strength (Scheufele, Shanahan, and Kim 2002).

Understanding how media represents immigrants is particularly critical when considering the implications of Wanta, Golan, and Lee's study (2004) of media effects on public perceptions of foreign countries. Their content analysis revealed that while positive stories do not have any notable effects on public perception of foreign nations, the frequency of negative stories correlated to negative public perception of that country. Honing in on United States' immigration reporting, Dunaway, Abrajano, and Branton (2006) found that media's agenda-setting through heightened coverage of illegal immigration was linked to increased salience of the immigration issue. The more coverage that was granted to illegal immigration, the higher the general public found immigration policy a top national priority. These findings indicate that reflecting on the frequency, tone, and slant of local publications' immigration coverage has clear implications for local understanding of, reaction to, and political opinions pertaining to immigrants. The effect is particularly pronounced when the news coverage is negative in tone.

Previous studies on news outlets' representations of immigrants have primarily spanned national media coverage or have been conducted with a focus on Mexican immigrants, refugees from Islamic-majority countries, and specific ethnic or religious minorities resettling in the United States. These studies have revealed that the frames of coverage by national news media are primarily negative. Kim and Wanta's recent study (2018) of frames used by the *St. Petersburg Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *The New York Times* revealed the most frequent frame of immigration news coverage across the analyzed publications was conflict (42.5 percent), with "illegal/criminal" accounting for 79.4 percent of the characteristics used to describe immigrants, followed by "hurt national security" (6.3 percent) and "help nation's economy" (4.6 percent). Similarly, a media analysis specific to Mexican immigration coverage by Chavez, Whiteford, and Hoewe (2010) of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today* revealed that more than 50 percent of stories made reference to immigrant crime. Meghan Stone's study on Muslims referenced in three major media outlets discovered that 75 percent of coverage was negative, with a clear disregard for reporting on positive developments and community contributions of Muslims in America (2017).

This study seeks to add to our understanding of the media coverage of immigration and immigrants by examining how four local papers, located in different parts of the country and with varying connection to recent immigration patterns, report on these topics.

Methodology

The methodology begins with the research questions followed by a discussion of the case selection process and scope. A codebook is also included.

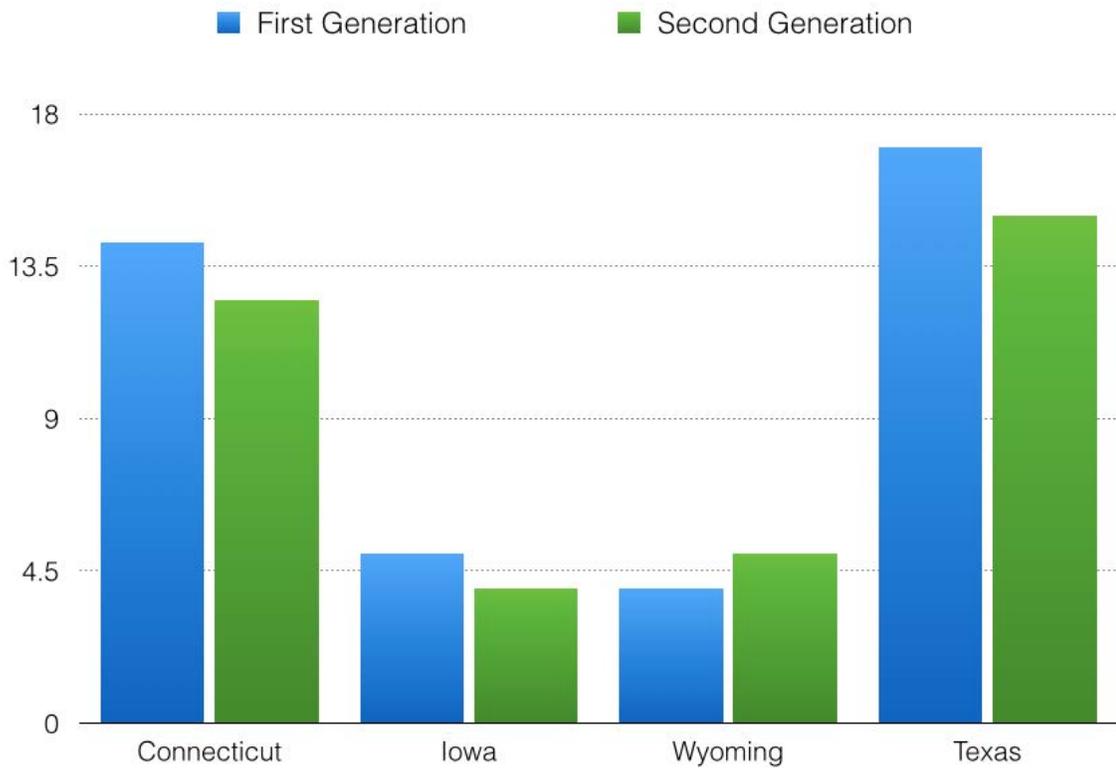
Research Questions

This study focuses on the reporting of local newspapers in four states: Connecticut, Iowa, Wyoming, and Texas. The first- and second-generation immigrant population of each analyzed state is shown in Figure 1 below.

I examined front-page coverage on 150 randomly sampled days between the year 2016, when Donald Trump was elected President, and the year 2018, when the federal government shutdown over funding for President Trump's proposed U.S.-Mexico border wall. The following research questions were studied:

- R1: What is the frequency of local publications' reportage on immigration?
- R2: To what extent do local publications highlight positive/negative contributions of immigrants?
- R3: To what extent do local publications promote empathy for immigrants?
- R4: Do local publications portray immigrants more favorably when there is an individual subject portrayed within the reporting?
- R5: How are discrimination and xenophobia referenced within local publications?

Figure 1. Percentage of Population, First and Second Generation in Analyzed States



Newspaper Selection Process

The publications included in this study are *The Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut), *The Casper Star-Tribune* (Casper, Wyoming), *The Des Moines Register* (Des Moines, Iowa), and *The Brownsville Herald* (Brownsville, Texas). In developing this study, I wanted to gather vastly different regional perspectives on the issue of immigration.

To this end, I selected *The Hartford Courant* as my main liberal-leaning publication. It is the country's oldest continuously running publication and has received

several Pulitzer Prizes. *The Des Moines Register* is the most highly regarded publication in Iowa – a state known for its pivotal role as a perennial swing state. Locating accessible archives for a considerably conservative-leaning publication proved a greater challenge.

The Casper Star-Tribune was selected for the accessibility of its archive and also because it is a major local paper from a state that has not voted for a Democratic candidate since 1964. Wyoming delivered the greatest percentage of votes for Donald Trump for President and continues to give him some of the highest approval ratings in the country. Finally, in order to examine coverage in a border town community, I selected *The Brownsville Herald*. Brownsville, Texas has a border crossing with Matamoros, Mexico.

Inclusion of Articles

With a few exceptions due to data availability, I sampled the same days across all publications and evaluated each paper's front page for references to immigration. Specifically, I looked for articles where immigrants were referenced as individuals and/or were the sole focus, rather than a passing reference. For example, an article from the front page of *The Hartford Courant* on November 21, 2016 included a line about Trump's ban on Muslims entering the country in a list of his many policies. There was nothing beyond this line that was relevant to this study and it was excluded from the broader analysis. Similarly, articles that referenced only political squabbles between elected officials over the disputed border wall were not included in the broader study. I chose to include these articles in Table 1 as a representation of how frequently issues of immigration were discussed in these communities, but did not analyze them further.

I chose to limit the analysis to front page articles only. Editors typically place the most salient stories on the front page, relegating less salient, and less often read, stories to the inside pages.

Codebook Breakdown

My initial coding focused on publications' reporting on immigrant crime, community contributions, business contributions, representation, and whether or not an article appeared to be designed to make readers empathize with immigrant's plight. As I continued to explore my selected publications, I expanded into ever more questions: Do some publications minimize the recognition of a 'foreigner' status in order to elicit empathy and promote unity? Do some publications go out of their way to conflate foreigners and crime? How often are immigrants themselves quoted in articles about them? In total, there are 18 units of analysis I employed in my evaluation of front pages that included immigrant narratives. Not all of them proved enlightening or conclusive. Although they are all included in the summary in Appendix 3, only some of them are discussed in the pages that follow. (The full coding breakdown can be seen in Appendix 1.)

Results

Each of the research questions is discussed in turn below along with their supporting data in various tables and figures.

R1: What is the frequency of local publications' immigration reporting?

Before diving into the content analysis of these publications, I wanted to understand the prevalence of immigration stories in local publications. How frequently is the average reader exposed to news on immigration and immigrants and who is responsible for reporting major immigration news? The data indicate that immigration was not a pervasive topic of coverage, except in the border-town publication, *The Brownsville Herald*.

Table 1. Percentage of Front Pages with References to Immigration

Publication	Percentage of Total
<i>The Hartford Courant</i>	20.0 percent
<i>The Des Moines Register</i>	12.0 percent
<i>The Casper Star-Tribune</i>	12.0 percent
<i>The Brownsville Herald</i>	43.1 percent

Included are articles that referenced immigration, immigrants, terrorist attacks that are described as committed by foreigners, and U.S. border disputes.

For the purpose of this study, only stories that had content relating to immigrants themselves were coded. Stories that addressed immigration as a policy debate were excluded. This criteria further consolidated the number of usable stories, seen in Table 2, most notably with the dramatic drop in coded stories in the border newspaper, *The Brownsville Herald*.

Table 2. Percentage of Front Pages with Articles Relevant to the Broader Analysis

Publication	Percentage of Total
<i>The Hartford Courant</i>	18.0 percent
<i>The Des Moines Register</i>	11.3 percent
<i>The Casper Star-Tribune</i>	9.3 percent
<i>The Brownsville Herald</i>	19.6 percent

Included are articles that referenced immigrants as individuals, exclusive of articles that only cited political debates, without reference to physical immigration.

Each article was further coded to reveal authors' local or national affiliations, seen in Table 3. These affiliations were used as another layer in evaluating publications' biases, positive/negative coverage, and narrative structure. Further, the authors' national or local affiliations provide further understanding into each publication's newsroom, resource allocation, and the importance placed in immigrant reportage in each community. In all cases but *The Casper Star-Tribune*, the majority of immigration coverage was written by local correspondents, with the highest level of localized coverage conducted by *The Des Moines Register*.

Table 3. Percentage of Stories by National Versus Local Correspondents

Publication	Percentage of Stories by Local Reporters	Percentage of Stories by National Reporters
<i>The Hartford Courant</i>	73.0 percent	37.0 percent
<i>The Des Moines Register</i>	82.4 percent	17.6 percent
<i>The Casper Star-Tribune</i>	35.8 percent	64.2 percent
<i>The Brownsville Herald</i>	69.2 percent	30.8 percent

Stories were coded “local” or “national” based on on the affiliation of the article’s author. If the author was located within the examined publication’s newsroom, it was coded as “local.” Any other author affiliation, including wire services and larger regional publications, were coded as “national.”

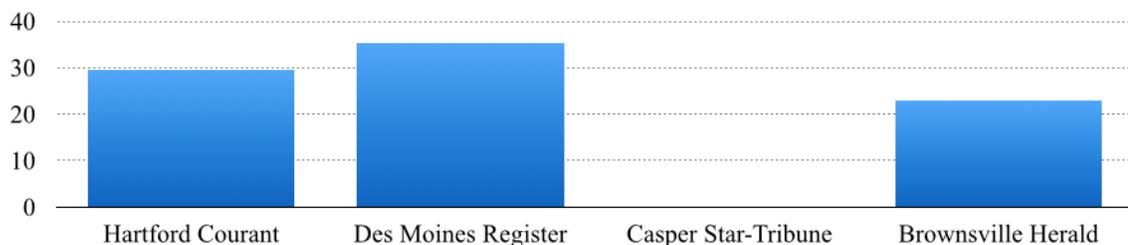
R2: To what extent do local publications highlight positive/negative contributions of immigrants?

An evaluation on the categorization of stories sheds further light on these publications’ immigration coverage. Notably, in three of four publications, human interest pieces accounted for roughly one third of stories relating to immigrants (Figure 2).

Human interest stories are defined as feature stories that describe an individual, or group of individuals, in a way that seeks to elicit emotion or empathy from the reader. Articles in this study that are categorized as human interest were not provoked by current news or events. They were commissioned at the discretion of the assignment editor and often serve as an indication of each publication’s editorial stance. For example, a June 19, 2017 story in the *The Des Moines Register* led with the headline “Turning Negatives Into Positives,” which was sub-headed “Nepheria Pyne fled war in Africa and traveled from

state to state with her family before landing in Iowa. To a great degree, her perseverance has paid dividends.” The story described Nipheria Pyne’s father’s strong work ethic, which instilled in her a commitment to education and personal advancement in the United States. Simultaneous to her academic pursuits, she worked two jobs and tended to her young son. In a human interest piece featured in *The Hartford Courant* on January 9, 2016, a former Connecticut resident shared his experience living in a Syrian refugee camp. The article quoted a refugee asking, “There is a perception around the world that Arabs and Muslims are dangerous. Have we given you that impression?” The question was at the heart of the article, which explained the need to document refugee experiences.

Figure 2. Percentage of Stories Categorized as Human Interest

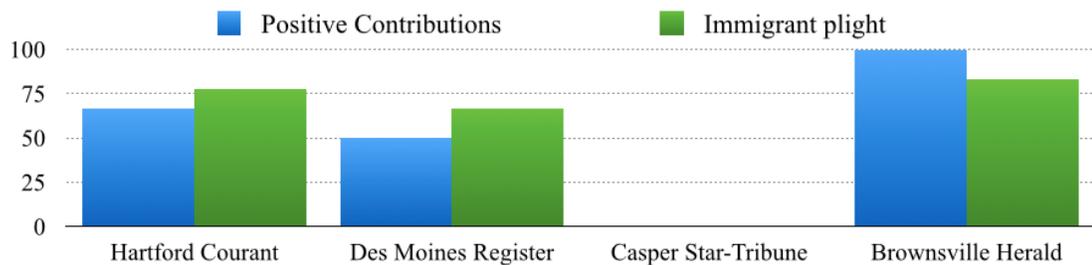


Human interest stories in this study were defined as feature stories that described an individual, or group of individuals, in a way that seeks to elicit emotion or empathy from the reader.

In three of the examined newspapers, the human interest stories tended to highlight the immigrant experience and immigrants’ positive contribution to U.S. communities (Figure 3). Within the *Courant*’s human interest stories, 78 percent highlighted the foreigner’s plight, and 67 percent highlighted the immigrant’s leadership, economic, or community contributions. For the *Register*, 67 percent highlighted the

foreigner's plight, and 50 percent highlighted the immigrant's leadership, economic, or community contributions. In the *Herald*, all stories portrayed positive leadership, economic, or community contributions of the immigrant to the local population. Additionally, 83.3 percent of the *Herald's* stories referenced the plight of the immigrant.

Figure 3. Human Interest Stories That Referenced Positive Immigrant Contributions and/or Immigrant Plight



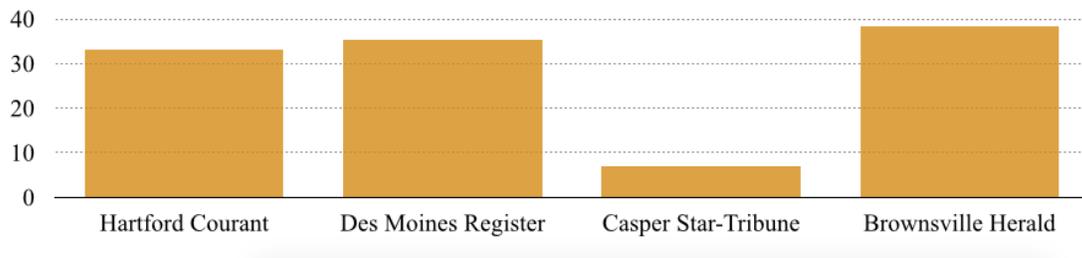
Stories were coded for community, cultural, business, leadership, and/or economic contributions of immigrants. Immigrant plight is defined in this study as reference to immigrants' difficult journey to America, experiences with discrimination, and/or legal struggles.

The *Herald's* commitment to portraying positive immigrant contributions is notable for the space given to showcasing immigrants' strong work ethic and contributions. The main story of its May 12, 2018 front page read "DREAMS REALIZED", and signaled a DREAMER's graduation from University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. DREAM stands for The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act. Through the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) initiative, undocumented children who arrived in the United States were provided temporary protection from deportation to study and work. The article, which was accompanied by

an image of a smiling, 20-year old Mayra Tovar receiving her diploma, addressed her work ethic. “Tovar said it was a struggle growing up as an English language learner, but she’s looking forward to making a difference in the lives of other students like her as a fourth-grade teacher in Harlingen.”

References to positive immigrant contributions were not limited to human interest stories. They were occasionally found in hard news/news analysis articles. Once again, all papers but the *Casper Star-Tribune* reported positive immigrant contributions within roughly one third of their stories, as seen in Figure 4. In contrast to human interest stories, hard news refers to coverage of breaking events. Hard news coverage includes key information for readers to understand and respond to unfolding global events; whereas news analysis articles are examinations of the broader themes and concerns prompted by hard news events. A news analysis story in the August 26, 2018 edition of *The Des Moines Register*, for example, led with the headline: “Iowa’s open secret: Undocumented workers.” The article was written as part of an immigration debate series following the slaying of a citizen, Mollie Tibbetts, by an undocumented Mexican immigrant, Cristhian Bahena Rivera. The article said that the state’s economy was reliant on illegal immigrants. “Without nearly 2,000 foreign-born workers,” it said, “Sioux County’s economy would fold... If all of Sioux County’s immigrant labor left tomorrow, we’d have a huge problem.” The piece was accompanied by a graphic that demonstrated just how much of Iowa’s population is foreign-born, living in the state both legally and illegally. Written by a local correspondent, the article presented the complexities of the country’s undocumented immigration issue, noting that changes to the immigration system would have negative repercussions on industries Americans may not always associate with foreign-born workers.

Figure 4. Percentage of Stories Demonstrating Positive Immigrant Contributions



Percentage of stories examined that included descriptions of positive community, cultural, economic, leadership, and/or business contributions of immigrants.

In stark contrast to the other three publications, *The Casper Star-Tribune* had no stories that could be regarded as human interest. All of its immigrant-centered stories were either “hard news” or “news analysis.” The *Star-Tribune* had one article citing an immigrant’s positive contribution. On March 12, 2017, an article focused on the town of Buford, Wyoming’s financial crisis referenced Nguyen Dinh Pham, a Vietnamese businessman, who is working to bring economic growth America’s smallest town. The article discussed the town’s financial decline, with a single reference to Nguyen Dinh Pham’s contribution placed at the end of a list of proposed economic solutions for the town.

A slight majority (53.3 percent) of *The Casper Star-Tribune*’s examined front-page articles included references to crimes committed by immigrants. Of these, 62.5 percent were about crimes by immigrants against an American citizen. The *Star-Tribune*’s October 20, 2018 front page story headline read, “Caravan migrants break through the Guatemala border fence, rush Mexico.” The article said that migrants “managed to push their way through” a phalanx of police with riot shields, and quoted a police officer who addressed the crowd, “we need you to stop the aggression.” The

actions of migrants were described as “a violent breach”. Another story in the *Star-Tribune* on May 15, 2017 discussed the Laramie County Clerk investigating instances of voting fraud by non-citizens.

The *Star-Tribune*'s coverage portrayed a divide between “us” – native-born Americans – and “them” – foreign-born immigrants. Of all publications examined, the *Star-Tribune* was the only paper that conflated immigration and terrorism (28.5 percent). In each instance, this conflation was found in articles by the publication's national correspondents. In an article dated December 12, 2017, a pipe bomb attack in the New York City subway was described. The article said “The suspect had looked at Islamic State propaganda online and told investigators he acted alone in retaliation for U.S. military aggression.” The piece highlighted President Trump's call for immigration policy changes, including ending family-based visas, like the one the perpetrator had used to move to the United States. It cited another immigrant terrorist attack in New York City carried out by an Uzbek who admired the Islamic State. Similarly, a March 24, 2016 article highlighted this type of terrorist attack in Europe. The lede read: “The Islamic State group has trained at least 300 fighters to target Europe in deadly waves of attacks, deploying interlocking terror cells like the ones that struck Brussels and Paris with orders to choose the time, place and method for maximum carnage.” The article indicated that extremism – despite losing ground in Syria and Iraq – was far from eradicated in the West.

The frequent reference (53.3 percent of immigrant stories) to crime and division in the *Star-Tribune* contrasts with 14.8 percent in *The Hartford Courant*, 27.7 percent in *The Des Moines Register*, and 11.5 percent in *The Brownsville Herald* (Table 4). The *Star-Tribune*'s numbers are particularly striking when considering that Wyoming and

Iowa’s immigrant populations are roughly equal in size at 4-5 percent. While *The Brownsville Herald* noted immigrant crime least out of the examined publications, it used the term “illegal immigrant” most frequently (23 percent) when describing its immigrant subjects. The most frequent term used to represent subjects within all other publications was simply “immigrant,” in 35.7 percent of articles from the *Star-Tribune*, 29.6 percent in the *Courant*, and 23.5 percent in the *Register*. The term “illegal” was absent from any examined articles within the *Courant*.

Publication	Articles noting immigrant crime
<i>The Hartford Courant</i>	14.8 percent
<i>The Des Moines Register</i>	27.7 percent
<i>The Casper Star-Tribune</i>	53.3 percent
<i>The Brownsville Herald</i>	11.5 percent

Table 4. Percentage of Articles Noting Immigrant Crime

In *The Hartford Courant* and *The Brownsville Herald*, there were several instances where a crime committed by an immigrant that was featured on A1 was accompanied by another locally written A1 story highlighting positive immigrant contributions. This pattern was most frequent for the *Courant*. Its January 28, 2017 front page, for example, led with a story headline “Refugee Entry Halted,” before a second story that highlighted Hartford’s community opposition to President Trump’s reforms. The first article discussed the reasons for President Trump’s travel ban on Muslim-majority countries. This second article featured a Syrian refugee, Maher Al Kalaf, whose resettlement was supported by Connecticut U.S. Senator Richard Blumenthal and Hartford’s Mayor. Maher Al Kalaf was quoted saying, “The main reason for coming here

is to find peace, security and education for the kids.” The focus of the lede was that Maher Al Kalaf’s resettlement would be one of the last such resettlements before the change in policy. In other articles, soft language was used to describe immigrant status, as if to avoid categorizing immigrants or their behavior as unlawful. For example, a December 1, 2018 article in the *Courant* explicitly did not state the legal status of its subject, Nelson Pinos. Rather, it alluded to his undocumented status by noting U.S. Immigrations and Customs’ law enforcement and saying the subject was taking sanctuary in a local church.

R3: To what extent do local publications promote empathy for immigrants?

Each front-page story was evaluated for clear indications of stories that empathized with immigrants as a whole, or the individual immigrants characterized within each article. *The Hartford Courant* promoted empathy most (60.7 percent) out of the four publications evaluated, with those articles written by local correspondents in 82.3 percent of instances. This compares to *The Des Moines Register’s* (23.5 percent) promotion of empathy for immigrants, all of which were written by local correspondents and *The Brownsville Herald* (57.6 percent), which were written by local correspondents 67 percent of the time. Conversely, no articles on front pages of *The Casper-Star Tribune* promoted empathy for immigrants.

The Hartford Courant’s use of empathy was most frequently conveyed by describing vocalized support that demonstrated how the immigrant was an integral member of his or her community. This was often in response to what community members saw as discriminatory practices by the government against individual immigrants. For example, the *Courant’s* July 9, 2018 front page ran the headline, "Town

Rallies for Man in Sanctuary.” In this piece, the immigrant’s legal status was not referenced. Instead, the article evoked ideas of the American Dream in its description of Sujitno Sajuti’s aspirations in the United States, his professional success, and academic contributions. The article showcased the subject’s positive outlook and the connections he had made with his fellow community members. Another article in the *Courant’s* December 1, 2018 edition ran the headline, “KEEP NELSON HOME” and described 200 protestors who fought against immigration authorities to protect their neighbor and friend. The *Courant’s* July 7, 2018 article “A Child’s Case” highlighted lawsuits filed in Connecticut against the government for the release of two children from U.S. Border Control custody. The article stated that the children were “forcibly taken” and was accompanied by an image of somber activists holding a sign reading, “NO FAMILIES IN CAGES.” This image took up the majority of the newspaper’s front page.

The Brownsville Herald’s promotion of empathy was predominantly seen in its fear-based reporting on discriminatory practices against immigrants, rather than the community support focus that was apparent in the *Courant*. A November 19, 2016 front page headline of the *Herald* read, “Possible policy causes concern: Trump promised to end sanctuary cities in the U.S.” The article’s lede opened with the line, “Patricia Somez has already experienced the paralyzing fear of almost losing her father.” It went on to describe that Patricia Somez, and illegal immigrants across the United States, faced compounded fear of deportation with Trump’s recent election. It presented readers with immigrants’ existing fears around their undocumented status and the increased distress that would come from an end to sanctuary cities. Similarly, the *Herald’s* February 22, 2017 front page featured the headline “MILLIONS TARGETED: Deportations loom under Trump.” The article said that immigrants “even suspected of a crime will now be

an enforcement priority.” The article highlighted additional minor transgressions, including traffic violations, that could result in deportation. In reference to the 2018 policy separating undocumented children and their parents, the *Herald’s* June 30, 2018 front page article described the conditions where immigrants and their children were detained while awaiting the government’s decision on their asylum cases. It said that one center “looks and operates like a prison... ‘You’re gonna see a bunch of people in prison jumpsuits’ at the facility... There’s no way this is a thing that can be described as child friendly.”

Within *The Des Moines Register*, empathy toward immigrants was seldom displayed. Despite publishing several articles that recognized the hardships and triumphs of immigrants, its empathetic reportage occasionally promoted understanding for those who felt displaced by immigrants. Its November 1, 2016 front page was dominated by an article that focused on the stories of Americans who felt negatively affected by immigrants and their effects on American culture. The article led with the story of Sue Downey: “She was on a recent trip to the city, trying to order a meal, but the staff, all of whom she said were Hispanic, couldn’t communicate with her. The same thing happened, she said, at a McDonald’s in upstate New York while attending her husband’s West Point reunion.” The article continued, “she worries illegal immigrants pose an existential threat to the nation, taking jobs from willing Americans, increasing costs of social service programs, and overburdening the health care system.”

Within the *Star-Tribune*, articles neither promoted empathy for or against immigrants.

R4: Do local publications portray immigrants more favorably when there is an individual subject portrayed within the reporting?

The evaluated articles revealed that the promotion of immigrant empathy was most apparent when the news was localized, even for publications that offered little coverage on immigration issues. Articles written by local correspondents were more likely to feature individual immigrants as characters within reportage and highlight personal narratives of the immigrant experience, journey to the United States, and/or engagement with law enforcement. National publications were more likely to discuss immigrants as a group, political issue, or terrorist concern. In all but one case, stories that included an immigrant’s direct quotes were written by local correspondents. Table 5 shows the use of immigrant voices within each publication.

Table 5. Percentage of Front-Page Immigration Articles Where the Immigrant’s Voice is Represented

Publication	Percentage of Total
<i>The Hartford Courant</i>	18.5 percent
<i>The Des Moines Register</i>	41.1 percent
<i>The Casper-Star Tribune</i>	0 percent
<i>The Brownsville Herald</i>	19.2 percent

While the analysis his study revealed local correspondents were more likely to include human narratives, it did not reveal a consistent correlation between the use of an individual’s voice and publications displaying the subject favorably. Instead, the bias in quoting subjects fell along political party lines of each publication’s region, as seen in Figure 5.

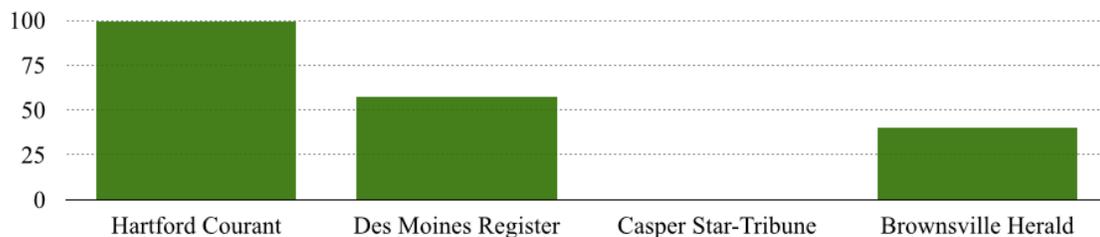


Figure 5. Percentage of Articles Including a Subject’s Voice that Portray the Immigrant in Positive Light

The *Courant*’s use of subject voices demonstrated a consistent pro-immigrant stance. One article on the paper’s January 30, 2017 front page, which was entirely devoted to Trump’s defense of his travel and immigration ban, cited Yale student Alejandra Corono Ortega. “I am one of the 11 million undocumented immigrants that Trump hates so much,” she said. The article’s use of language suggested that students from one of the country’s finest institutions were targeted and persecuted based on their country of origin. Its title read “Students Speak Of Fear, Find Solidarity” and described how immigrant students were “suddenly cast as strangers in a land they had loved.” Ortega was one of several undocumented immigrants whose voices were highlighted by articles in the *Courant* in recognition of perceived discrimination against immigrants and their resiliency.

Use of immigrant voices was not consistently seen as promoting positive sentiments within the *Herald* or *Register*, which both employed empathy roughly half the time. The *Register* was slightly more likely to employ subject voices as a tool for generating empathy. For example, a May 12, 2018 article discussed the experience of Joel Racal as his home was raided by immigration agents in Postville, Iowa. “My mom

told me to take care of my sister and myself...I started to cry because I was 15 years old, and I didn't have a father when I grew up – my mother, that's all I had.” Nevertheless, the *Register's* use of immigrant voices were not all positive. On more than one occasion, both the *Register* and the *Herald* included front-page quotes of immigrants responding to their crimes.

The *Casper Star-Tribune* did not feature quotes by immigrants in any of the examined articles.

R5: How are discrimination/xenophobia referenced within local publications?

The examined data revealed prominent references to discrimination or xenophobia as provoked by politics within *The Brownsville Herald* (46.1 percent) and *The Hartford Courant* (57.1 percent). These references were most frequently in response to President Trump's zero-tolerance immigration policy and were used to promote empathy for immigrants. For example, a June 19, 2018 article in the *Courant* discussed how the zero-tolerance immigration policy stoked fears, anxiety, and dread for an undocumented immigrant from Ecuador. The article said the subject, Maria Guallan, “survived domestic abuse and is being treated for metastatic cervical cancer.” With her son recently deported, she was “without a source of support” and feared that Trump would further separate her from her family. Alongside this article was another story on President Trump's defense of the new policy, which called his remarks about immigrants “incendiary” displayed in “dark tweets” about undocumented immigrants' effects on crime and cultural change. Similarly, an August 23, 2018 front page story in the *Herald* highlighted a Guatemalan immigrant who asked, “Why hasn't the U.S. returned my son?” in regards to his seven-year-old, Byron. The article said that under President Trump's

zero-tolerance policy, the father “wouldn’t see Byron again anytime soon.” It was accompanied by a photo of the father holding his head, sobbing at the personal effects of the policy. The May 31, 2018 front page article in the *Herald* referred to the policy as a “self-inflicted humanitarian crisis on the U.S.-Mexico border”.

The *Des Moines Register* largely abstained from referencing discrimination of any kind (72.2 percent), as did the *Casper Star-Tribune* (40 percent), which also noted discrimination provoked by politics (21.4 percent), discrimination against a foreigner based on their group or shared ideology (21.4 percent), and discrimination by a foreigner against a citizen (14.2 percent).

Further, this study did not find incendiary names referring to immigrants in any of the reported publications. Whereas previous studies have indicated a tendency for publications to highlight terms such as “alien,” “extremist,” or “illegal,” this study did not find explicit language patterns that would indicate bias.

Discussion & Conclusions

The focus of immigration coverage, and the correlation between immigrant communities and media exposure are discussed next, followed by the concept of immigrant framing. A final note on terminology is also included.

Focus of Immigration Coverage

Findings from this study indicate starkly different editorial directions on immigrant reportage within the four publications. The data indicate that *The Casper Star-Tribune* predominantly published policy-oriented articles on immigration, in contrast to *The Hartford Courant’s* frequent empathy-driven stories around the immigrant

experience. *The Des Moines Register*, in line with Iowa's status as a perennial swing state, published mixed coverage in both support and skepticism toward immigrants. *The Brownsville Herald* offered the most frequent examples of immigration coverage, predominately local interest stories related to the community's high immigrant population.

These editorial directions were more nuanced when publications were examined for their reporting by either local or national correspondents. The data indicate that national correspondents provided more policy and fear-based reporting compared to articles by local correspondents. A correlation between coverage by national correspondents and anti-immigrant sentiment was most pronounced within the *The Casper Star-Tribune*. As noted within earlier findings, the *Star-Tribune* was the only publication of the study to insinuate the connection between immigration and terrorism, solely through its articles written by national correspondents. Further, 75 percent of articles that noted immigrant crime were written by the publication's national correspondents. This level of negative immigrant portrayal is important when we consider Wanta, Golan, and Lee's 2004 study that revealed negative media coverage of individuals of foreign countries correlated to similarly negative public perceptions of that country. The higher levels of negative perspectives within the *Star-Tribune* could link to the community's generally negative perceptions of immigrants, or provide further indication that negative immigrant coverage in conservative-leaning communities could exacerbate anti-immigrant sentiment.

When publications featured front page immigration reportage by local correspondents, articles were more likely to employ subject or empathy-driven narratives. While these narratives were not entirely devoid of negative coverage, their inclusion of

immigrant quotes, references to community or cultural impacts due to immigration, and humanized narratives were in stark contrast to the focal points of nationally reported stories. These findings suggest that publications with the resources to report on immigrant issues in-house may be more likely to report on a wider scope of the immigration issue. Rather than simply view immigration from a policy perspective, local reporters are able to connect the concept of immigration with its direct community impacts. While previous studies have not indicated that positive coverage on immigration results in more positive public opinion on immigrant communities, complex coverage of immigration as an individual and community issue may suggest a future increase in public knowledge of, and comprehensive debate surrounding, immigration.

Correlation Between Immigrant Community and Media Exposure

The local immigrant populations as examined in this study did not consistently correlate to local publications' inclusion of stories featuring immigrants. This is most apparent in the divide between *The Des Moines Register* and *The Casper Star-Tribune*. These two publications provide an interesting dichotomy in coverage given their similar immigrant populations. In contrast to the *Star-Tribune's* absence of immigrant voices, quotes and empathy-driven narratives showing both immigrant fear and desire to belong frequently appeared within the *Register*. The *Star-Tribune's* editorial leaning toward reportage of immigration policy and negative cultural effects suggested a different aim than those of the *Register*. The *Register's* coverage suggested a more nuanced approach that embraced positive community contribution of immigrants, while maintaining a skepticism for how their presence would affect community and national values. By outwardly acknowledging how community members understood and responded to the

changes that immigrants were bringing to their community, the *Register* presented a more inclusive dialogue that welcomed open discussion and debate. On the contrary, the *Star-Tribune*'s lack of published dialogue – both by natural born residents and new immigrants – did not appear to leave room for readers to analyze the extent to which population changes were affecting the local community. By focusing only on national immigration concerns, given its lack of local immigration correspondents, the *Star-Tribune*'s coverage solidified a stark divide between the topic of national immigration and individualized immigrant understanding in Casper, Wyoming.

With the highest first and second generation immigrant populations in the study, *The Brownsville Herald* notably individualized immigrant subjects within the majority of its reporting, while recognizing their clear impact on the community at large. Of all analyzed publications, the *Herald*'s coverage provided the most inclusive discussion of immigrants, which served as a reflection of its community's priorities as well as out of geographic necessity. Unlike the "us" versus "them" divide apparent in the *Star-Tribune*, the *Herald* was most likely to incorporate immigrant subjects in its reporting in the same fashion it would report on a subject of any other nationality.

With the second highest immigrant population in the study and most liberal readership, *The Hartford Courant* took an editorial approach in line with the Democratic party's stance of immigrant inclusion. Most notably for the *Courant*, the data indicate that stories including immigrants were more likely to be individualized and positively portray the immigrant community when the coverage was written by a local reporter. The data suggest that editorial reporting on immigration for the *Courant* most frequently relied on an emotional relationship between local author and subject to include the immigrant's story, plight, and need for the readers' empathy.

Immigration Coverage and Local Public Salience

Previously noted studies that indicated increased coverage of a political issue correlates to higher public importance of that issue amongst a given community are not entirely supported here. Gallup's most recent national immigration poll revealed the topic of immigration as highly partisan: 41 percent of Republicans stated immigration as their top U.S. policy concern, compared to five percent of Democrats (Gallup 2019). This stark contrast conflicts with Dunaway, Abrajano, and Branton's findings that increased immigration coverage leads to the topic's increased public importance. With this theory, minimal immigration reportage by *The Casper Star-Tribune* would indicate low salience amongst Wyoming's citizens and higher public salience with the democratic readers of *The Hartford Courant*. Instead, I posit that the *Star-Tribune*'s minimal coverage correlates to a lack of understanding, knowledge of, and connection to the immigrant experience. In contrast, the *Courant*'s relatively high coverage of immigrants does not correlate to Connecticut Democrats believing immigration is a top national priority. The *Courant*'s emphasis on coverage of immigrants as individuals breeds familiarity with the group amongst its readers, incorporating immigrants within the scope of American patriotism, rather than simply as a major policy concern. Instead, I argue the high exposure of immigration coverage within the *Courant* indicates the publication's commitment to Democratic values in opposition to what it sees as Republican-fueled discrimination toward immigrants. This is supported through the *Courant*'s consistent (56.2 percent) references to immigration discrimination as provoked by politics.

Immigrant Framing

The examined data supports the idea that the immigration stories by liberal and conservative-leaning publications have starkly different frameworks. Both the liberal (*The Hartford Courant*) and conservative (*The Casper Star-Tribune*) outlets selected for this study employed patriotic frames that either included immigrants within their views of “American” (*Courant*) or separated immigrants as a threat to American law and order (*Star-Tribune*).

Within *The Hartford Courant*, human interest pieces were consistently used to promote understanding of and empathy for the immigrant experience. The *Courant*’s editorial directive appeared to be the presentation of immigration policy as a human issue. This approach has been advocated by many liberal publications and advocacy groups, who believe that by sharing individual, heartfelt narratives of immigrants, readers will begin to understand immigration as a personal, rather than political, issue. The *Courant* clearly demonstrated community connections between immigrants and the publication’s readers by producing relatable, subject-driven narratives, in contrast to the “us” versus “them” narratives exhibited in the *Star-Tribune*. The *Courant*’s reporting evoked a patriotism inclusive of foreign-born residents by routinely discussing community support for, connection to, and reliance on immigrants.

The Casper Star-Tribune’s lack of human interest stories and empathic reportage for immigrants demonstrated a conservative tendency to view immigration as an issue of fairness and policy, rather than humanitarian. Unlike the *Courant*, immigration in the *Star-Tribune* was not portrayed as a human rights issue, or a matter of discriminatory practice. To the *Star-Tribune*, immigration was presented as a political issue of U.S. sovereignty. Its articles likewise appealed to patriotic values by demonstrating that

immigrants posed a threat to border security, the U.S. economy, and American values. Rather than incorporating human narratives to personalize the immigrants it saw as threatening, immigration was discussed as an issue in need of a policy solution for the protection of the country. Again, the lack of local reporters from the *Star-Tribune* covering immigration issues indicates a further divide between the local community and the immigrants on whom it reports.

Empathetic, subject-driven narratives were similarly exhibited in numerous pieces for both *The Des Moines Register* and *The Brownsville Herald*, though with less consistency. For the *Register*, immigrant voices were frequently employed to add character to its reportage, though unlike the *Courant*, these instances were not consistently positive. While the *Courant* appeared to minimize coverage of immigrant crime, the *Register* reported crime in 27.7 percent of examined articles. The *Register's* inclusion of immigrant quotes appeared to be due to an editorial stance that encouraged use subject voices regardless of political aims.

Finally, the *Herald* most frequently employed fear-based empathy in response to political events surrounding immigration. Its articles suggested that immigrants, particularly those in the United States without legal status, were living in fear and had increasing cause for concern. Unlike the *Courant*, these articles did not consistently focus on community support for immigrants in the face of deportation or legal repercussions. For its articles seeking to elicit empathy, it predominantly focused on legal and discriminatory practices against immigrants that were reason for political debate. For most other articles featuring immigrants, subjects were frequently highlighted as typical members of the community, irrespective of their countries of origin or singled out immigrant status.

Immigrant Terminology

Finally, this study's findings did not reveal the same high percentage of reportage on immigrant crime as in previously noted studies, except within the *Star-Tribune* (53.3 percent). Similarly, terminology referencing immigrants did not reveal highly disparaging language, with the term "immigrant" being the most common reference in all instances but the *Herald*, which notably only reported on immigrant crime in just over ten percent of instances. The term "illegal immigrant" was the most frequent term (23 percent) within *The Brownsville Herald*. The lack of negative terminology could indicate either a shift in editorial use of language since previously referenced studies, or correlate to local communities' selected language in reference to immigrants. These findings do not support the claim that anti-immigrant reportage is rampant within local news media.

Appendix 1: Codebook

Unit of Analysis: Front page stories (not exceeding page A1, above and below the fold) that reference “Immigration”, “Immigrant”, “Migrant”, “Refugee”, “Terrorist” or “Terrorism” in an individual, subject-driven sense, exclusive of instances that are purely political in their discussion of the topic of immigration.

1 Type of Story:

- 1 Straight news/hard news
- 2 Balance of straight news / news analysis
- 3 News analysis
- 4 Feature / human interest
- 5 Verbatim interview, speech or document

2 Country / origin referenced

3 Reference to crime

- 1 Yes, crime by foreigner(s) against a citizen
- 2 Yes, crime by foreigner(s) against another foreigner
- 3 Yes, crime against a foreigner(s) by a citizen
- 4 Yes, about the falsity of foreigner crime
- 5 Yes, crime by foreigner(s) against a specific group
- 6 No

4 Reference to effects on economy

- 1 Positive
- 2 Negative
- 3 Neutral

5 Reference to foreigner plight

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

6 Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?

- 1 Positive
- 2 Negative
- 3 N/A

7 Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?

- 1 Positive
- 2 Negative

3 N/A

For stories about multiple groups/people

4 Paints one in good light, but not the other

5 Paints both in good light

6 Paints both in bad light

8 Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?

For stories about one group

1 Yes, positive

2 Yes, negative

3 N/A

For stories about multiple groups/people

4 Paints one in good light, but not the other

5 Paints both in good light

6 Paints both in bad light

9 What reference is made to foreigner's status?

1 Undocumented

2 Illegal

3 Migrant

4 Refugee

5 Asylum seeker

6 Terrorist

7 Spy

8 Citizen

9 Child of immigrants

10 Home grown terrorist

11 Immigrant

12 Minority

13 Other (write-in)

10 Reference to discrimination / xenophobia

1 Discrimination against a foreigner(s) by an individual

2 Discrimination against a foreigner(s) by a group or shared ideology

3 Discrimination against a foreigner(s) provoked by politics

4 Discrimination by a foreigner

5 Discrimination against another identity group by story subject

6 N/A

11 Does the subject (immigrant) have his or her own voice represented?

1 Yes

2 No

12 Intent to sway reader opinion

1 Yes

2 No

13 Intent to promote empathy

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 N/A

14 Call for immigration reform

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

15 Reporting conducted by

- 1 Local paper
- 2 Major publication

16 Conflation of immigration and terrorism

- 1 Yes, direct
- 2 No
- 3 Terrorism / extremism brought on through independent, home-grown pursuits

17 Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?

- 1 Immigrant, legal
- 2 Immigrant, illegal
- 3 Refugee
- 4 Child of immigrants / refugees
- 5 American citizen
- 6 American citizen swayed by foreign influence
- 7 Other

18 Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State

- 1 Yes, subject(s) swayed by an extremist party
- 2 Yes, subject(s) swayed, with caveats
- 3 No, no ties

Appendix 2:

Selected Dates

Selected dates for all publications are listed below. For dates when archives were not available, notes are made within the data sets.

2016-01-09	2016-08-30	2017-05-15	2018-01-29
2016-01-12	2016-09-14	2017-05-30	2018-02-03
2016-01-20	2016-09-24	2017-06-07	2018-02-13
2016-01-25	2016-09-25	2017-06-11	2018-02-17
2016-02-05	2016-10-03	2017-06-13	2018-02-22
2016-02-25	2016-10-08	2017-06-19	2018-03-13
2016-02-26	2016-10-09	2017-07-11	2018-03-17
2016-03-01	2016-10-22	2017-07-14	2018-03-21
2016-03-05	2016-11-01	2017-07-16	2018-03-30
2016-03-22	2016-11-11	2017-07-28	2018-04-04
2016-03-24	2016-11-19	2017-08-05	2018-04-25
2016-03-28	2016-11-21	2017-08-29	2018-05-12
2016-03-29	2016-12-03	2017-09-01	2018-05-13
2016-04-12	2016-12-07	2017-09-03	2018-05-21
2016-04-20	2016-12-16	2017-09-09	2018-05-27
2016-05-14	2017-01-11	2017-09-14	2018-05-31
2016-05-29	2017-01-15	2017-10-13	2018-06-02
2016-06-01	2017-01-27	2017-10-18	2018-06-08
2016-06-13	2017-01-28	2017-10-20	2018-06-19
2016-06-14	2017-01-30	2017-11-12	2018-06-21
2016-06-16	2017-02-02	2017-11-15	2018-06-30
2016-06-19	2017-02-22	2017-11-24	2018-07-07
2016-06-20	2017-03-07	2017-11-25	2018-07-09
2016-06-21	2017-03-12	2017-11-27	2018-07-10
2016-07-02	2017-03-16	2017-12-01	2018-07-12
2016-07-04	2017-03-19	2017-12-03	2018-07-15
2016-07-19	2017-03-28	2017-12-07	2018-07-30
2016-07-24	2017-04-09	2017-12-12	2018-08-04
2016-08-01	2017-04-15	2017-12-20	2018-08-19
2016-08-02	2017-05-02	2017-12-28	2018-08-23
2016-08-05	2017-05-05	2018-01-08	2018-08-26
2016-08-17	2017-05-08	2018-01-17	2018-09-05
2016-08-28	2017-05-12	2018-01-22	2018-09-09

2018-09-30	2018-10-18	2018-11-08	2018-12-12
2018-10-02	2018-10-19	2018-12-01	2018-12-14
2018-10-11	2018-10-20	2018-12-03	2018-12-30
2018-10-12	2018-10-25	2018-12-06	
2018-10-14	2018-11-04	2018-12-07	

Appendix 3:

Data Set of All Recorded Publications

3.1 The Casper Star-Tribune

Date	2016-03-24	2016-06-13	2016-06-14	2017-03-07	2017-03-12	2017-03-16
Type of Story	1	1	1	1	2	1
Foreigner's country of origin	Syria and Iraq	Afghanistan	Muslim-majority	Muslim majority	Vietnam	Muslim majority
Reference to crime	1	5	5	1	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	1	1
Reference to foreigner plight	2	2	2	2	2	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	2	2	2	3	3	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	2	3	3	2	1	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	1	3

What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	6	9/10	11	4	6	11
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	4	4	6	2	2	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	2	2	2	3	2	3
Call for immigration reform	1	2	1	2	2	1
Local or major outlet reporting?	2	2	2	2	1	2
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	1	3	1	1	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	7	4	4	3	7	1
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	1	1	1	1	3	3

Date	2017-05-15	2017-09-09	2017-12-12	2018-01-17	2018-06-19	2018-06-21	2018-07-30	2018-10-20
Type of Story	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
Foreigner's country of origin	n/a	Central America	Bangladesh	DACA /child arrivals, typically from Central America and Mexico	Mexico / Southern Border	Mexico / Southern Border	Central America / Mexican border	Guatemala
Reference to crime	1	6	1	6	6	2	6	1
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
Reference to foreigner plight	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	2
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	non citizen	1	11	11	2	6	11	3
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	6	6	6	2	3	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Call for immigration reform	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2

Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3
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3.2 The Brownsville Herald

Date	2016-01-20	2016-02-25	2016-02-26	2016-03-01	2016-04-12	2016-06-21	2016-07-02
Type of Story	2	4	4	4	2	1	1
Foreigner's country of origin	Central America	Mexico	Mexico	Hispanic	without legal status	Iraq and Syria	Mexico
Reference to crime	6	6	6	6	3	1	1
Reference to effects on economy	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	1	2	2	2	1	2	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	1	1	3	3	3	2	2
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	1	1	1	3	2	2

Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	11	Mexican citizens	Mexican citizens	diversity, hispanic heritage	without legal status	Islamic soldier	Mexican
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	6	6	3	5	6
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	1	3	3	1	1	3	2
Call for immigration reform	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	2	7	7	7	1	4	7

Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
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Date	2016-08-05	2016-09-14	2016-11-11	2016-11-19	2017-02-22	2017-03-19	2017-07-28
Type of Story	2	2	2	3	1	2	1
Foreigner's country of origin	Hispanic	Mexico	Mexico/Central America	Honduras	n/a	Mexico / Central America	Mexico
Reference to crime	3	6	6	6	6	6	1
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	1	3	3	3	3	1
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	1	3	3	3	3	2

Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	1	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	Hispanic	Hispanic	1	1	2	2	n/a
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	1	1	3	3	3	3	6
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2	1	2	1	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Call for immigration reform	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	7	7	2	1	2	2	7

Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
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Date	2017-09-14	2018-03-13	2018-03-30	2018-04-04	2018-05-12	2018-05-31	2018-06-02
Type of Story	4	2	1	1	4	1	2
Foreigner's country of origin	Several across continents	Mexico	Mexico	Central America	does not say	Central America / Mexico	Central America / Mexico
Reference to crime	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	1	3	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	2	2	2	1	2	1	1
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	3	1	3	1	3	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contribution of foreigner(s)?	3	3	1	3	1	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	1	3	3	3	3	3

What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	8	Mexicans	Mexicans	3	n/a	2	2
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	6	3	6	3	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	1	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	3	3	3	2	3	1	1
Call for immigration reform	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	2	1	2	1	1	2
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	1	Mexican working across borders	n/a	2	7	2	2
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

Date	2018-06-08	2018-06-21	2018-06-30	2018-07-10	2018-08-23
Type of Story	1	2	2	1	4
Foreigner's country of origin	Central America / Mexico	Guatemala			
Reference to crime	6	6	4	4	3
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	2	1	1	1	1
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	2	2	5	11	3

Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	3	3	3	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	1
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	1	2	2
Intent to promote empathy for foreigner	2	1	1	1	1
Call for immigration reform	2	1	1	2	1
Local or major outlet reporting?	2	2	1	2	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	2	2	2	2	2
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3

3.3 The Des Moines Register

Date	2016-01-09	2016-03-24	2016-07-02	2016-07-04	2016-11-01	2017-01-30	2017-03-16
Type of Story	4	2	1	4	3	2	1

Foreigner's country of origin	Latinos	China	China	Luxembourg	Central America	Muslim Majority	Muslim Majority
Reference to crime	6	2	2	6	1	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	2	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	2	2	2	2	2	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	2	2	3	2	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	2	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	12	11	11	11	2	11	n/a
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	2	6	6	6	3	3	6

Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy	2	2	3	2	2	2	3
Call for immigration reform	2	2	2	2	1	2	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	5	1	1	1	2	1	7
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

Date	2017-05-15	2017-06-19	2017-11-12	2017-11-27	2018-05-12	2018-06-21	2018-07-10
Type of Story	3	4	4	4	3	1	4

Foreigner's country of origin	Central America / Asia	Liberia	China	Liberia	n/a	None	Vietnam
Reference to crime	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	2	3	1	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	2	1	2	1	1	2	1
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	3	1	1	1	3	2	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	1	1	3	1	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	1	1	3	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	11	"fled war"	none	4	implied illegality	3	4
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	6	6	3	6	6

Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	1	2	1	1	2	1
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy	2	1	2	1	1	2	1
Call for immigration reform	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	1	3	1	3	2	2	3
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

Date	2018-08-23	2018-08-26	2018-10-14
Type of Story	2	2	2
Foreigner's country of origin	Mexico	Many	China

Reference to crime	1	1	6
Reference to effects on economy	2	1	1
Reference to foreigner plight	2	2	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	2	3	1
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	2	3	1
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	2	1	1
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	2	1	international
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	6
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	1
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	2

Intent to promote empathy	2	2	3
Call for immigration reform	2	1	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	2	2	1
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3

3.4 The Hartford Courant

Date	2016-01-09	2016-01-20	2016-04-12	2016-06-13	2016-06-14	2016-06-19	2016-07-02
Type of Story	4	2	4	2	2	4	4
Foreigner's country of origin	1	n/a	Syria			10	Poland
Reference to crime	6	6	6	2	5	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	3	1	1

Reference to foreigner plight	1	2	1	2	2	1	2
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	2	1	1
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	2	1	1
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	3	1	1
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	4	11	4	6/9	9/10	9	8
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	3	6	6	5	3	6	6
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
Intent to sway reader opinion	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
Intent to promote empathy	1	2	1	1	2	1	2

Call for immigration reform	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1	1/2	2	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?		2	3	4	4/6	4	1
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,		3	3	2	1	2	3

Date	2016-08-01	2017-01-28	2017-01-30	2017-02-02	2017-02-22	2017-03-16	2017-09-14
Type of Story	2	1	2	4	2	1	1
Foreigner's country of origin	Syria	Syria	Syria / Muslim majority countries	Syria	n/a	Syria / Muslim majority countries	Central America
Reference to crime	6	6	3	3	6	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	3	1	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	1	2	1	1	1	1	1

Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	2	2	3	1	3	3	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	1	1	3	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	4	1	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	4	4	4	3	11/2	4	11
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	6	3	3	3	3	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	2	2	1	2	2	3	2
Intent to promote empathy	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
Call for immigration reform	1	2	1	1	1	2	2

Local or major outlet reporting?	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

Date	2017-12-12	2018-04-04	2018-04-25	2018-05-27	2018-06-19	2018-06-21	2018-07-07
Type of Story	1	1	1	3	4	2	2
Foreigner's country of origin	Bangladesh	Southern border	Central America	Latina	Central America	Central America	Mexico or Central America
Reference to crime	1	1	6	6	6	3	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	6	3	3	3	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	2	3	1	2	1	1	1

Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	2	2	3	1	3	3	3
Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	2	3	3	1	3	3	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	11	11	1	Latina	1	3	5
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	4	3	3	6	3	3	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	3	2	2	2	1	2	1
Intent to promote empathy	3	2	1	1	1	1	1
Call for immigration reform	3	2	2	2	1	1	1

Local or major outlet reporting?	3	2	2	1	1	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	1	2	2	7	2	2	4
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	1	3	3	3	3	3	3

Date	2018-07-09	2018-07-12	2018-07-15	2018-07-30	2018-10-20	2018-12-01
Type of Story	4	1	1	1	4	4
Foreigner's country of origin	Indonesia	Honduras	Mexico or Central America	Mexico or Central America	Many, Ecuador highlighted	Ecuador
Reference to crime	6	6	6	3	6	6
Reference to effects on economy	3	3	3	2	3	3
Reference to foreigner plight	1	1	1	3	2	1
Does the story convey leadership/initiative amongst foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	1	3

Does the story showcase cultural or community contributions of foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	1	3
Does the story showcase business contributions of foreigner(s)?	1	3	3	3	3	3
What reference is made to foreigner's legal status?	11	9	11	11	6	Native
Reference to discrimination, xenophobia	6	3	3	3	6	3
Does the subject (foreigner) have their own voice represented?	1	2	2	2	2	2
Intent to sway reader opinion	1	1	2	2	2	2
Intent to promote empathy	1	1	1	2	3	1
Call for immigration reform	1	1	2	1	2	1
Local or major outlet reporting?	1	1	1	2	1	1
Conflation of immigration and terrorism	2	2	2	2	2	2

Is the subject an immigrant, refugee, child of immigrants, American citizen swayed by foreigner influence, or other?	2	2	2	3	5	2
Reference to religion: extremism, terrorism, ISIS, ISL, Islamic State,	3	3	3		3	3

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