## "Invaders": U.S. Right Wing Media's Framing of Muslim Immigrants

**Faizullah Jan**
University of Peshawar

**Sayyed Fawad Ali Shah**
Jacksonville State University, US

This study identifies and examines the framing patterns in the U.S. right-wing media coverage of the President Donald Trump administration's ban on immigrants from seven predominantly Muslim countries. The study is directed by one research question: How did the right-wing media frame the ban on Muslim immigrants? A total of 53 articles (news stories, features, and opinion pieces) from two right-wing U.S. media outlets, *Daily Caller* and *Breitbart News,* were identified and included in the analysis. Framing theory served as a framework for the analysis of the data. Findings of this study show that the right-wing media used negative frames for Muslim immigrants. The media organizations framed Muslims immigrants as a threat to the United States' national security, a threat to the social well-being of the communities, and fundamentalists who do not want to integrate into the local culture. These media outlets also incorrectly framed European countries as anti-immigrant and portrayed Muslim immigrants as a source of turmoil in Europe .

***Keywords*:** Muslim immigrants, refugees, United States, right-wing media, framing

Immigration, especially from the Muslim or Muslim majority countries, to the United States has become a divisive issue in the U.S. since the 2016 presidential elections (Harrington, 2019; Nye Jr, 2019). The current U.S. president during his campaign trail had promised his supporters that he would ban the entry of refugees and immigrants from Muslim countries to the United States. He also pledged to build a wall on U.S.'s border with Mexico to stop illegal immigrants from entering the United States (Kim & Wanta, 2018). After taking office, one of the few executive orders he issued was the banning of visitors, refugees and immigrants from 07 Muslim-majority countries, including Yemen, Syria, Sudan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Somalia. The executive order was challenged in the U.S. courts. The U.S. citizens were divided on the executive order as some called it a "fascist step"

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Dr. Sayyed Fawad Ali Shah, Assistant Professor, Department of Communication, Jacksonville State University. Email: shah@jsu.edu
Contribution of Authors:
1. Contributed to the conception and design, acquisition of data, interpretation of data; drafted the article; and gave final approval of the version to be published.
2. Contributed to the conception and design, acquisition of data, interpretation of data; drafted the article; and gave final approval of the version to be published.

whereas others appreciated it as a step to protect their country from foreign invaders. Media can play an important role in shaping public opinion for or against different issues including immigration (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2011). Media messages also influence the policymaking (Dunaway, Branton, & Abrajano, 2010; Ogan, Pennington, Venger, & Metz, 2018; Vliegenthart & Roggeband, 2007). This paper aims to understand the U.S. right-wing media's framing of the refugees and immigrants from Muslim-majority countries after the presidential order. It is critical because of several reasons: 1) these media outlets played a critical role in mobilizing public support for President Donald Trump during the presidential elections; 2) their target audience/readers are mostly conservative/religious segments of the society and are influential in those communities; 3) since these media outlets are influential among the communities that support Trump, their framing of the immigrants not only influences the readers'/viewers' perceptions of Muslim immigrants but also can influence policymaking by the U.S. administration. We use framing as a theoretical framework and a methodological tool in this study.

### Media Framing

Framing, a theory of media influence on society, is closely associated with agenda-setting and agenda-building theories. Some scholars posit that framing is an extension of agenda-setting (Ghanem, 1997). Entman (1993) defined framing as highlighting and prioritizing a particular problem or causal interpretation by the selection of a few aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text. The concept of framing proposes that the news media highlights prominently some attributes of a news item than others and therefore make people think about certain aspects of the news (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, & McCombs, 1998). Gitlin (1980) argued that frames constructed by journalists not only help them organize their writing but also help readers to interpret their news reports. Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) have noted how journalists give different news angles to their stories. The angles are influenced by the organizational structures and journalists' professional judgments. Gamson (1989) contended that journalists do not necessarily frame their news stories in a particular way. He argued that news frames are also constructed unintentionally due to the influence of organizational norms and individual routines or conventions of journalists.

Besides media frames, individual frames are also important in the process of framing, as Entman (1991) argues individual frames are "information-processing schemata" (p. 7). These individual schemata are influenced by the individual's pre-existing knowledge and political ideologies, as well as by short-term opinions of the news at hand.

Dunwoody and Shields (1984) noted that individual frames and media frames are inter-linked. In other words, media framing of news is influenced by different factors which influence audience interpretation of an event. For example, journalists' political ideologies and their workloads might influence the way they frame news stories. Similarly, the way journalists frame their news stories might influence readers' perceptions about an issue.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) describe media framing as an outcome of the complex relationship between professional practices of journalists and different interest groups. Organizational structures and routines of journalists, besides news sources, play a significant role in media framing of news. Media scholars have used media framing as dependent and independent variables. Among the proponents of using framing as an independent variable are Pan and Kosicki (2001) and Entman (1993). These scholars argue that due to the influence of media framing on different issues on audiences/readers, it is important to analyze the content of the media to

understand how different messages are framed. Therefore, for analyzing the contents of media the importance of framing has increased multifold.

### Framing of Refugees and Immigrants in Western Media

Recently, many communication and media scholars have focused on the media coverage of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in the West. These scholars have thrown light on different aspects of media coverage of the immigrants and refugees (e.g., Samuel, 2015; Bauder, 2008; Breen, Devereux, & Haynes, 2006; Mastro, 2019; Ogan et al., 2018). For example, one study examined the representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the Australian and the U.K. print media between 2001 and 2010. The study found that the Australian press constructed refugees and asylum seekers as 'unwanted invader', whereas in the U.K. newspapers tried to convince the readers that 'these people' needed to be removed from the country (Samuel, 2015; Farris & Mohamed, 2018). Similarly, a content analysis of the Canadian print media coverage of refugees over a period of ten years examined how the media framing of those communities changed over a period of time (Bauder, 2008). The study, conducted by Bauder (2008), found that the media mostly focused on the economic impact of the immigrants, especially the refugees and immigrants using social services. The study also found that Canadian media used threat frames for immigrants. The study revealed that the Canadian media was specifically hostile towards immigrants and refugees who entered the country illegally and dehumanized them by calling them "queue jumpers." The idea that media differentiate between different types of immigrants is also supported by other scholars. Nelson and Davis-Wiley (2018) argue that media uses the word 'undocumented immigrant' more positively compared to its framing of the word 'illegal immigrants.' They argue that when the media uses the word 'illegal immigrant,' that has the semantic presumption of criminality attached with it.

Some scholars argue that the media coverage of the refugees and immigrants also depend on the political ideology and location of media organizations as well as politics and policy of the state vis a vis refugees, immigrants, and asylum seekers (Fryberg et al., 2012; Brouwer et al., 2017). Brouwer et al. (2017) studied Dutch newspapers contents about illegal immigrants over a period of fifteen years. They observed that the newspapers' framing of immigrants as criminals was a more diffuse process in which the media seemed to follow rather than fuel politics and policy. Scholars and researchers have also focused how media portrayal of immigrants and refugees shine a negative light rather than positive on human movement, especially to the West. Fryberg et al., (2012) did a content analysis of news articles from two Arizona newspapers (one conservative, one liberal) and five national newspapers (three conservatives, two liberal) over a period of three weeks. They found that the conservative media outlets were more likely to frame immigrants and refugees negatively. However, some scholars do not agree with these studies. They contend that media do not always dehumanize and demonize the immigrants and refugees but also help the immigrants and refugees by telling their side of the story to the local community. For example, Figenschou and Thorbjørnsrud (2015) point out that media coverage of immigration more than half of the time features a human face. They contend that human aspect of these stories makes locals empathize with immigrants and refugees and build an environment of trust for them in the communities they move into.

Studies have also shown that the way media frames immigrants and refugees not only impact public perception of those communities but it also influences politics and policy making about those issues. For example, Knoll, Redlawsk, and Sanborn (2011) argue that negative media framing of immigrants and refugees resulted in conservative policy preferences for both the mainstream U.S.

political parties— Democrats and Republicans. In a similar study of the British newspapers, Bleich et al., (2015) observed that newspapers with right leanings consistently frame Muslim immigrants more negatively than Christian and Jewish immigrants.

Mainstream Western media generally associate negative frames with immigrants and refugees (Coutin & Chock, 1995; Fryberg et al., 2012; Gitlin, 1980; Knoll et al., 2011; Ogan et al., 2018; Pan & Kosicki, 2001; Stürmer, Rohmann, Froehlich, & van der Noll, 2018; Thorbjørnsrud, 2015). Mostly, these refugees and immigrants are framed as a security threat and an economic burden on the host countries. The way media frame these immigrants not only shapes public perception of these communities but also influences policymaking about them (Fryberg et al., 2012; Knoll et al., 2011; Ogan et al., 2018). However, there has been a dearth of literature on how the U.S. right-wing media outlets frame immigrants from Muslim majority countries. Therefore, this study adds to the literature by examining the framing of immigrants in right-wing U.S. media that has a strong influence on the policymaking of the current U.S. administration.

## Method

The purpose of this study is to examine the framing patterns in the U.S. right-wing media coverage of the President Trump administration's ban on immigrants and visitors from seven predominantly Muslim countries. The study is directed by one research question: How did the U.S. right-wing media frame the U.S. administration's ban on the immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries? A total of 53 articles (news stories, features, and opinion pieces) from two right-wing U.S. media outlets, *Daily Caller* and *Breitbart News,* were identified and included in the analysis. The time frame for data collection was one year (September 2016 to September 2017). According to *Columbia Journalism Review*, these organizations are known for their extreme right positions and their support of the current U.S. administration. These media outlets are widely read among Evangelical Christians, supporters of the Republican party, and are also well-received by White nationalists (Benkler, Faris, Roberts, & Zuckerman, 2017). The editorial boards of these outlets consider them an alternative to the mainstream media, which according to them is oppressing the conservative and nationalist causes on behalf of the liberal elite.

### Data Collection

The researchers used the search engines available on the websites of these two media outlets to identify and download stories. We used the following key phrases in the search engine in conjunction with "and": "Trump executive order on travel ban", "Trump's Muslim Ban", "Trump immigration Ban". The inclusion criteria for articles was: 1) the article is published after the Trump's executive order; 2) it talks about both the executive order and immigrants and refugees; 3) it was not taken from other media outlets. In total, the search engine displayed 90 stories, out of which 37 did not meet the inclusion criteria and were therefore dropped from the final analysis.

## Results

The stories that met the inclusion criteria were then qualitatively analyzed for frames using framing as a method of analysis. We adopted the categories used by Pan and Kosicki (2001) for data analysis. According to them, frames are macro propositions that provide stability and coherence to the semantic and rhetorical elements of a news story. These frames help the readers make sense of the events and actions unfolding within the stories and implications of those events and actions for the readers. They categorized framing into four structural categories: syntactical structures; script

structure; thematic structure; and rhetoric structure.

### Analysis

The following frames were identified in the stories and opinion pieces of the two news outlets. In the following pages we discuss these frames.
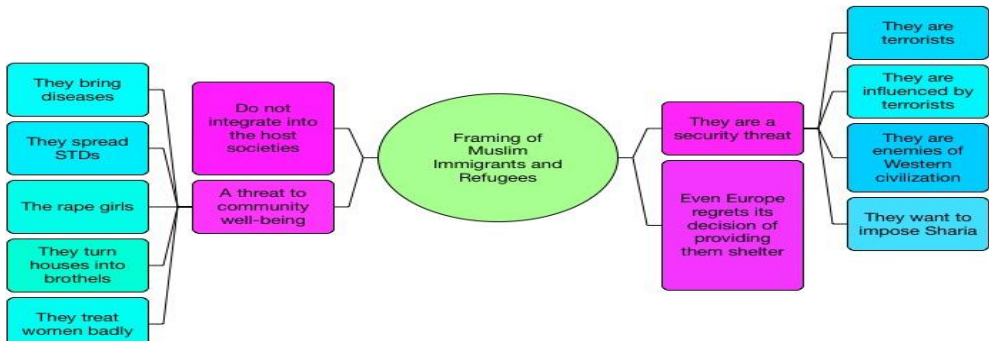


**Figure 1:** A graphical presentation of the frames used for immigrants from Muslim majority countries by the two right-wing U.S. media outlets

### *Muslim Immigrants a Security Threat*

The major frame used for the Muslim immigrants in the right-wing U.S. media was that of a 'security threat.' The media used words like "terrorists", "extremists", and "gangs" for the Muslim immigrants and refugees living in and entering the United States. According to these news outlets, the immigrants and refugees were involved in terrorist activities and wanted to kill U.S. citizens. They supported the discourse backed by the U.S. administration that the ban was only aimed at terrorists and not Muslims. For instance, *Breitbart News* wrote, "Trump's travel ban for a list of Muslim-majority countries that are known to produce and export terrorism." Another headline reads, "Six of the eight countries included in Trump's travel ban have either sponsored Islamic terrorism in the past or have major issues with terrorism."

The right-wing media not only indirectly supported the White House's discourse of linking the ban with terrorism but also explicitly defended the Trump administration against criticism. A headline emphasizes, "Trump's Muslim Ban Is Not 'Fascist,' and Is Not Unconstitutional". The headline was referring to the criticism of the ban by mainstream media calling it illegal and referring to it as a fascist step by the U.S. administration. The news outlets repeatedly referred to the U.S. president Donald Trump's tweets in which he had claimed that the ban was aimed at improving security at "home" and stopping terrorists from entering the U.S. territory rather than targeting Muslims or immigrants. These news outlets tried to normalize the situation by using the terrorists or security threats for these immigrants instead of highlighting their religious identities. For example, *Daily Caller* published a tweet of Donald Trump: "America has always been the land of the free and home of the brave. We will keep it free and keep it safe, as the media knows, but refuses to say."

These news outlets created a discourse by using security threat as a frame where the immigrants were vilified and the readers were made to believe that the current administration was not doing something that the other administrations had not done. The news outlets continuously

referred to instances where the previous president Barack Obama had banned refugees from some of these countries due to alleged security threats. For example, *Breitbart News* wrote:

> "The seven countries named in the Executive Order are the same countries previously identified by the Obama administration as sources of terror. To be clear, this is not a Muslim ban, as the media is falsely reporting. This is not about religion — this is about terror and keeping our country safe."

These news outlets defended the ban of the current administration by referring to the terrorists attacks allegedly carried out by the Muslim immigrants. Their stances were contradictory at times. Even though they claimed that the Trump executive order was not about religion, at the same time they wanted the readers to believe that the Muslims immigrants were behind all the terrorist attacks, and therefore, the entry of the Muslim immigrants to the U.S. was a security threat. These media organizations supported and defended the U.S. administration's position that the ban was not about religion but about security of the country. Therefore, the administration was justified in banning immigrants and visitors from the seven Muslim countries into the U.S. to protect its citizens from the terrorist threat.

**Table 1**
*Frames identified in the U.S. right media's coverage of Muslim Immigrants*

| Theme | Example |
| --- | --- |
| Muslim Immigrants a Security Threat | "Six of the eight countries included in Trump's travel ban have either sponsored Islamic terrorism in the past or have major issues with terrorism." |
| Europe regrets its mistake of resettling refugees | "Pew: Even if Migration Ended, Europe's Muslim Population Will Continue to Surge — Sweden 1/3 Muslim by 2050" |
| Muslim Immigrants a Threat to Community Well-Being | "Thank you, Refugee Resettlement Program, for increasing prostitution and undoubtedly the STD rate in our community." |
| Muslims Refuse to Integrate in Host Countries | "Austria enacted an integration law to promote Austrian culture among asylum seekers and refugees, but Muslims are furious about the religious restrictions it imposes." |

### *Europe regrets its mistake of resettling refugees*
The two media outlets repeatedly refer to the refugee news in Europe to substantiate the Trump administration's ban on immigrants and even visitors from Muslim countries. For example, a *Daily Caller* story makes a case that "A large majority of Bulgarians would support a total ban on citizens of Muslim-majority nations entering their country." These news outlets frame Muslims' immigration to the European Union as a first step of Muslims toward taking over Europe. *Breitbart News* announces in a headline, "Pew: Even if Migration Ended, Europe's Muslim Population Will

Continue to Surge — Sweden 1/3 Muslim by 2050". Therefore, the news outlets mostly focused on the actions of the groups and states within the European Union that were against the resettlement of refugees in the European Union.

Similarly, another headline claims: "Poll: Support for Increase in Muslim Immigration Collapses in Australia". These news outlets cite examples from the right-wing parties or the countries that did not welcome Muslim immigrants in a bid to support the U.S. administration's ban on immigrants and visitors from Muslim states. The information provided in these stories were mostly exaggerated to evoke an emotional response from the readers of the news stories.

### Muslim Immigrants a Threat to Community Well-Being
These media outlets frame Muslims as a threat to the communities they live in in order to provoke fear among the local people. Using surveys conducted by right-wing research institutes and interviewing conservative and anti-immigrant sources, they depict refugees and immigrants from Muslim countries as a concern for the social well-being of U.S. families. For example, these news outlets associate genital mutilations with Muslim immigrants and claim that this practice has put American girls at risk. *Breitbart News* announces in a headline: "Muslim Immigration Puts Half a Million U.S. Girls at Risk of Genital Mutilation". In the text of the news item the newspaper claims: "A massive influx of immigrants from Muslim-populated countries in Africa and the Middle East has led [a survey] group to conclude that more than half a million girls in the U.S. are in danger of having their exposed sexual organs skinned from their bodies."

In this news story, *Breitbart News*, alleges that Muslims would force U.S. girls to cut skins from their sexual organs and therefore not only challenge the Western ideal but also expose these girls to different diseases. These news outlets also frame Muslims as "anti-Jews", "anti-gay", "anti-women", and "infidels" and therefore a threat to their communities. The news outlets frequently refer to incidents where Muslim immigrants have been allegedly found involved in rape cases. They claim that communities were in trauma due to the behavior of these immigrants towards local girls. These news outlets even blamed the [U.S.] authorities for "mistreatment" of a family that accused a Muslim immigrant of rape of its five-year-old daughter. *Breitbart News* writes:
> The five-year-old rape victim is still living next door to the ringleader of the Muslim
> mob that raped her.

This article argues that the U.S. administration before Trump had implicitly sided with the "criminal immigrants" at the cost of the well-being of the local people. They also describe the immigrants from Muslim countries as "medieval" who carried different diseases and were responsible for the transfer of those diseases to the local communities "mostly through prostitution".

These news outlets want to convince their readers that the Muslim immigrants, even if not a security threat, can destroy the social fabric of American society. These news stories build the case for the ban on immigrants from Muslim majority countries by arguing that the Muslims destroy the social fabric of the communities that are part of the Western civilization.

### Muslims Refuse to Integrate in Host Countries
These news outlets also tried to build a case for the Muslim ban by contending that the Muslims refuse to integrate in their host countries and continue with the cultural and religious

orthodox beliefs they bring in from the countries of their origin. The news outlets mostly use examples of the refusal of these immigrants to integrate into the cultures of host countries, to justify a ban on their entry into the United States. For example, *Daily Caller* published a story that states, "Austria enacted an integration law to promote Austrian culture among asylum seekers and refugees, but Muslims are furious about the religious restrictions it imposes." However, the story notes, Muslims supported by left-wing politicians decreed the integration efforts as Islamophobic. The news outlets argue that Muslim immigrants entering the U.S. supported by the leftist politicians are going to behave the same way. For example, *Breitbart News* quotes a leftist democratic politician to support its claim: "Muslims in the United States should not assimilate into American society, but should instead act "to please Allah and only Allah," said Linda Sarsour, a rising star among progressive Democrats, last weekend." The news item continues: "Sarsour's speech was peppered with refusals to integrate into Americas' Western-style blends of secular government, religious freedoms, and civic society, or to compromise any aspects of Islamic doctrines, such as support for Muslim Palestinians living alongside Israel."

The refusal of Muslim immigrants to integrate into the host countries was framed as a threat to Western civilization and a roadmap for the spread of *Sharia* law in host countries.



**Figure 2:** A graphical representation of the 100 most repeated words in the stories published in the two right-wing U.S. media outlets and analyzed for this research.

## Discussions and Conclusion

This study analyzed how Muslim immigrants were framed in the U.S. right-wing media news outlets in the wake of a ban on the entry of citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries in America. Therefore, this study advances the knowledge and understanding of how the right-wing media, which influences the current U.S. administration's policies, set agenda about the immigration of Muslims to the U.S. The findings show that the right-wing media used negative frames for the Muslim immigrants. The media organizations framed Muslim immigrants as a threat to the U.S. national security, a threat to the social well-being of the communities, fundamentalists who do not want to integrate into the local culture. These media outlets also incorrectly framed European countries as anti-immigrant and portrayed Muslim immigrants as a source of turmoil in Europe. Interestingly, our findings were consistent with other studies that found that the Western mainstream media framed immigrants as a security threat (e.g., Bauder, 2008; Breen et al., 2006; Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012). The right-wing media used frames for Muslims in their news stories linking them with terrorism and

efforts to impose *Sharia* in the United States. Whereas, past studies (e.g., Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud, 2015) have shown that the mainstream Western media also show the human face of the immigrants through human interest stories. Thus, creating a goodwill for these communities in the countries they move into. However, we could not find a single news story that has a human face. None of the stories analyzed for this study interviewed a Muslim immigrant/refugee to tell their side of the story. Therefore, the reporting was subjective and biased. This shows that even though the mainstream media framed the immigrants as a security threat, at the same time they balanced that act by telling the other side of the story by interviewing immigrants. Therefore, we conclude that the coverage of these media organizations was driven by a political and religious agenda. Those agendas were in consonance with the agenda pursued by the current U.S. administration.

Even though our study makes critical contribution to the understanding of the U.S. right-wing media framing of the Muslim immigrants and refugees, it is not without its limitations. There is anecdotal evidence that the right-wing media in the U.S. shape anti-Muslim immigration opinion and influence the current administration policy on this issue. However, based on our findings we cannot make that conclusion. Our research was focused on the analysis of the text/messages produced by the U.S. right-wing media rather than how that text/message was received by the audience/readers.

### Future Suggestions

Our study lays ground work for an understanding of the U.S. right-wing media coverage of the Muslim immigrants under the Trump presidency. Future research should look into how the messages about Muslim immigrants are received by audience and whether/how they shaped the public opinion and policy about these communities. Researchers should also compare the right-wing media framing of these communities to the liberal or left-wing media framings.

## References

Bauder, H. (2008). Immigration debate in Canada: How newspapers reported, 1996–2004. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale, 9*(3), 289-310.

Benkler, Y., Faris, R., Roberts, H., & Zuckerman, E. (2017, March 03, 2017). Study: Breitbart-led right-wing media ecosystem altered broader media agenda. *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Bleich, E., Hannah Stonebraker, H., Nisar, H. & Abdelhamid, R. (2015). Media Portrayals of Minorities: Muslims in British Newspaper Headlines, 2001–2012, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41:6, 942-962, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002200.

Breen, M. J., Devereux, E., & Haynes, A. (2006). Fear, framing and foreigners: The othering of immigrants in the Irish print media.

Brouwer, J., van der Woude, M., & van der Leun, J. (2017). Framing migration and the process of crimmigration: A systematic analysis of the media representation of unauthorized immigrants in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Criminology*, 14(1), 100–119. https://doi.org/10.1177/ 1477370816640136.

Coutin, S. B., & Chock, P. P. (1995). "Your friend, the illegal:" Definition and paradox in newspaper accounts of US immigration reform. *Identities, 2*(1-2), 123-148.

de Vreese, C. H., Boomgaarden, H. G., & Semetko, H. A. (2011). (In) direct framing effects: The effects of news media framing on public support for Turkish membership in the European Union. *Communication Research, 38*(2), 179-205.

Dunaway, J., Branton, R. P., & Abrajano, M. A. (2010). Agenda setting, public opinion, and the issue of immigration reform. *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(2), 359-378.

Dunwoody, S., & Shields, S. (1984). Accounting for Patterns of Topic Selection in Statehouse Reporting.

Entman, R. M. (1991). Symposium framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents. *Journal of communication, 41*(4), 6-27.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication, 43*(4), 51-58.

Farris, E.F., & Mohamed, H.S. (2018) Picturing immigration: how the media criminalizes immigrants, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 6:4, 814-824, DOI: 10.1080/21565503.2018.1484375

Figenschou, T. U., & Thorbjørnsrud, K. (2015). Faces of an invisible population: Human interest framing of irregular immigration news in the United States, France, and Norway. *American Behavioral Scientist, 59*(7), 783-801.

Fryberg, S. A., Stephens, N. M., Covarrubias, R., Markus, H. R., Carter, E. D., Laiduc, G. A., & Salido, A. J. (2012). How the media frames the immigration debate: The critical role of location and politics. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 12*(1), 96-112.

Gamson, W. A. (1989). News as framing comments on Graber. *The American Behavioral Scientist (1986-1994), 33*(2), 157.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American journal of sociology*, 1-37.

Ghanem, S. (1997). Filling in the tapestry: The second level of agenda setting. *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*, 3-14.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*: Univ of California Press.

Harrington, C. (2019). Grab 'Em by the Legacy: Rolling Back the Years with President Trump *The Trump Presidency* (pp. 159-178): Springer.

Kim, J., & Wanta, W. (2018). News framing of the US immigration debate during election years: Focus on generic frames. *The Communication Review, 21*(2), 89-115.

Knoll, B. R., Redlawsk, D. P., & Sanborn, H. (2011). Framing labels and immigration policy attitudes in the Iowa caucuses:"Trying to out-Tancredo Tancredo". *Political Behavior, 33*(3), 433-454.

Lahav, G., & Courtemanche, M. (2012). The ideological effects of framing threat on immigration and civil liberties. *Political Behavior, 34*(3), 477-505.

Lopez-Escobar, E., Llamas, J. P., & McCombs, M. (1998). Agenda setting and community consensus: First and second level effects. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 10*(4), 335-348.

Mastro, D. (2019). Virtual Theme Collection: Immigrants as Minorities in the Media: SAGE Publications Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA.

Nelson, R. L., & Davis-Wiley, P. (2018). Illegal or Undocumented: An Analysis of Immigrant Terminology in Contemporary American Media. *International Journal of Social Science Studies, 6*(6), 8-15.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning*: University of Chicago Press.

Nye Jr, J. S. (2019). The rise and fall of American hegemony from Wilson to Trump. *International Affairs, 95*(1), 63-80.

Ogan, C., Pennington, R., Venger, O., & Metz, D. (2018). Who drove the discourse? News coverage and policy framing of immigrants and refugees in the 2016 US presidential election. *Communications, 43*(3), 357-378.

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (2001). Framing as a strategic action in public deliberation. *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world*, 35-65.

Samuel, P. (2015). 'Unwanted invaders': The representation of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK and Australian print media. *eSharp*, 23 (1). pp. 1-21.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication, 49*(1), 103-122.

Stürmer, S., Rohmann, A., Froehlich, L., & van der Noll, J. (2018). Muslim Immigration, Critical Events, and the Seeds of Majority Members' Support for Radical Responses: An Interactionist Perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 0146167218780989.

Thorbjørnsrud, K. (2015). Framing irregular immigration in Western media: SAGE Publications Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA.

Tuchman, G. (1978). Making news: A study in the construction of reality.

Vliegenthart, R., & Roggeband, C. (2007). Framing immigration and integration: Relationships between press and parliament in the Netherlands. *International Communication Gazette, 69*(3), 295-319.