"VILLAIN" VERSUS "VICTIM": A NEWS HEADLINE ANALYSIS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

"VILLAIN" VS. "VICTIM": A NEWS HEADLINE ANALYSIS AND LITERATURE REVIEW OF CANADIAN NEWS PRINT MEDIA IN REPRESENTING REFUGEES AND FRAMING CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF REFUGEES

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TITLE: "Villain" versus "Victim": A news headline analysis and literature review of Canadian news print media in representing refugees and framing Canadian perceptions of refugees

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ABSTRACT

An unprecedented 65.6 million people around the world have been forcibly displaced from their homes; 22.5 million of these individuals are refugees and 10 million are considered stateless (UNHCR, 2016a). Although, the conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic and the large arrival of asylum-seekers at the European borders in 2015 and 2016 gained significant global media attention, the frequently interchangeable use of the terms "migrant" and "refugee" to describe population within news headlines imposes significant implications on the legal protections entitled to each label. Conflating refugees and migrants can undermine public support for refugees and the asylum system at a time when there are more refugees than at any previously recorded time (UNHCR, 2016a). To better understand, two electronic databases CBCA Reference and Current Events and Canadian Periodical Index were searched for headlines containing the key term "refugee(s)" in Canadian English language newspapers. A total of 94 words were identified that offered an indication of the portrayal of refugees in the news media. Fourteen words were categorized as positive, 56 words were negative and 25 words were identified as neutral In addition, a literature review was conducted mirroring the five-stage Arksey and O'Malley (2005) scoping review framework and a data charting form was used to extract descriptive themes. Seven electronic databases (Sociology, Social Sciences Abstract, Web of Science, Communication Source, JSTOR and Social Work) were searched.. A total of 32 studies were selected for the literature review (16 through the database search and 16 through reference list search). From the included literature, five descriptive themes were found: securitization, immigration, legitimacy, economic considerations and othering. Both analyses indicated a dominant securitized discourse that portrays refugees negatively as a threat to the state and revealed a decrease in humanitarian dialogue within news media coverage. Positive

representations of refugees were limited to the narrative of a passive victim or contributors to the economy. In addition, refugee voices within news media were restricted to their expression of gratitude towards the state and their compassion. The lack of refugee perspective and the use of journalistic semantic strategies perpetuate a one-sided negative portrayal of refugees. A more balanced media narrative is required to ensure that refugees are being portrayed accurately and their voices are heard.

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Lastly, I would like to dedicate this thesis to those who are forcibly displaced out of their homes everyday and for the millions of stateless people who are denied a nationality. .

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BRAA   Balanced Refugee Reform Act

CMBS   Canadian Multiple Border Strategy

DCO   Designated Countries of Origin

DFN   Designated Foreign Nationals

IDP   Internally Displaced People

GOC   Government of Canada

IRPA   Immigration and Refugee Protection Act

PCISA   Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act

TRBP   Temporary Resident Biometric Program

UNHCR   United Nations High Commission of Refugees

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The following is a declaration that the content of the research in this document has been

completed by Tsering K. Lama and recognizes the contributions of Dr. Olive Wahoush and

Laura Banfield in both the research process and the completion of the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

More people are being forcibly displaced out of their own homes today then since the Second World War (UNHCR, 2015). The majority of forcibly displaced people stay within their own countries or flee to neighbouring nations. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at present "65.3 million people have been forcibly displaced worldwide of these, 21.3 million fall under the UNHCR mandate for refugees and the remaining two-thirds of this population are internally displaced" (2015). This unprecedented movement and displacement of people can be attributed to a combination of factors including: armed conflict, environmental degradation/climate change, political persecution, deterioration of security and human rights violations (UNHCR, 2015). Although, the conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic and the large arrival of asylum-seekers at the European borders in 2015 gained significant global attention, other unresolved and reignited conflicts in the regions of Burundi, Iraq, Libya, Niger and Nigeria also contributed to the surge of globally displaced people (UNHCR, 2015).

While the attention of the international community and media is fixated on refugees that arrive at Europe and North America, only a very few of low and middle-income countries have been hosting the vast majority of the world's refugees (UNHCR, 2015). The largest group of forcibly displaced individuals are defined as "internally displaced persons (IDP)" and do not leave their country. Compared to the global figures of displaced people, only a handful is able to leave their region and seek refuge in the West. In fact, 86% of the refugees under the UNHCR mandate were received by developing countries such as: Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Islamic Republic of Iran, Ethiopia and Jordan. Jordan alone provided asylum for 26% of the global

population of refugees (UNCHR, 2015). In contrast, European and North American nations still receive relatively fewer and more manageable numbers of refugees compared to the few low and middle-income countries mentioned above (UNHCR, 2015). Depleted resources and budget shortfalls from industrialized donor nations since the 1990s mean that developing countries cannot continue to bear the global burden of refugees alone (UNHCR, 2015). Rarely are these countries acknowledged in public debates or recognized for shouldering the burden of the greatest refugee crises. The lack of recognition can be largely attributed to the role of the press and other forms of media that control and mediate the narratives of events (UNHCR, 2015).

Research Question

Given the global context of increased migration and forced displacement, it is crucial to understand and examine how host countries perceive migrants and refugees. Media coverage has been used by researchers as a source of data reflective of public opinion and studies have demonstrated how media coverage guides public interpretation of immigration (Mahatani and Mountz, 2002). Reports in the literature have also demonstrated that the negative constructions of refugees within news media can influence public opinion by cueing concerns around legitimacy of the refugee claim, worthiness of the individual and security considerations (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). Consequently, the role and capacity of newsprint media in creating and propagating notions of refugees within the public discourse needs to be analyzed. This study aims to answer the following research question:

What is the role of Canadian newsprint media in representing and framing (Canadian)

perception of refugees?

In order to answer this research question, this study will first conduct an analysis of media narratives by examining the lexical selection (selection of words i.e. adjectives and descriptive

phrases,) employed within Canadian newspaper headlines used to depict refugees. In the second component of this study, a literature review will be conducted to map the underlying themes and trends within the existing literature available on the media representation of refugees. This literature review will be focused on the breadth of the academic journal articles. Although, there is no quality assessment integrated within this literature review, the use of journal articles serves as a proxy for quality assessment (Baxter et al., 2008; Pita et al., 2011, Pham et al., 2014). .

Study Objectives

By addressing the primary research question, this study aims to achieve the following objectives:

I. To critically examine the lexical selection and the role of rhetorical devices within Canadian newspaper headlines in constructing perceptions of refugees

II. To summarize the extent of literature available and thematically map how refugee movements and subject groups are portrayed

III. To compare the portrayal of refugees within news headlines to the findings from the literature review examined.

Significance of this Study

While other studies have explored the framing of immigration and refugees within the Canadian news media, no study has conducted a news headline analysis in conjunction with a literature review that examines the extent and range of research within this field to date. It is imperative to map out and visualize the literature available so that researchers, policy makers and practitioners are aware of how newsprint media contribute to and maintain the dominant perceptions of Canada as a welcoming receiving nation.

This research begins with a review of Canada's national identity, asylum and refugee system and a timeline of legislations to provide a background and context to this research area.

In chapter 3, the theoretical framework and methodology used for this study will be explored. For the purposes of this literature review, the Arksey and O'Malley framework for scoping reviews will be mirrored because it allows for modifications at each step of the study and ensures that a large breadth of literature is included in a comprehensive way. In chapter 4, findings from the primary newspaper headline analysis, separate news title analysis and the literature review will be presented. Chapter 5, presents a discussion of the findings from the earlier sections and explore possible implications. Lastly, in chapter 6 the thesis will conclude with the limitations of the study and future direction for research.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

History of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Policies

Canada has come a long way from its overtly discriminatory and restrictive immigration policies that were used to determine eligibility of an applicant on the basis of race, religion, geographic origin and sexuality (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). The history of Canada's immigration policies reveals a narrative of inclusion and exclusion. In 1855, Canada's first piece of exclusionary Canadian legislation, the Chinese Immigration Act rejected immigrants from China and applied a head tax to deter them (CCRC, 2009). However, The Immigration Act in 1869 reflected an 'open-door' policy where no specific provisions relating to refugees was placed to encourage settlement (CCRC, 2009). This inclusive policy was short lived and restrictive policies based on ethnic origin continued to dominate Canadian immigration policies until the later half of the twentieth century when immigrants were assessed on their skill and employment (CCRC, 2009). Regulations were placed between 1962 and 1967 aimed to eliminate racial, religious and ethnic barriers to immigration and introduced a points system to determine eligibility for migration to Canada based on language, skills and education (CCRC, 2009). This progressive attitudinal shift was further reflected in Canada's adoption of the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, which was expanded to The Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988 to reflect Canada's diverse cultural and racial composition (CCRC, 2009; Huot, Bobadilla, Bailliard and Rudman, 2016). However, in 2002, the implementation of Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) tightened the requirements for immigrants and refugees. The IRPA expanded power to arrest, detain and or deport on the basis of potential threat to the state (Huot et al., 2016). The policy shift towards a securitized narrative of immigrants and refugees was also present in other legislations such as: the Safe Third Country Agreement in 2004 and Protecting Canada's Immigration Systems Act (PCISA) in 2012 (see Appendix A for more details).

Reviewing the history of Canada's immigration and refugee policies provided insight into how policies have evolved over time and the shift in attitudes towards immigrants and refugees from celebrating multiculturalism in the 1970s to an emphasis on national security in the 2000s.

Canada's Refugee System and International Obligations

Canada is one of the 142 signatory states party to both the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2015). These international instruments remain the centerpiece of refugee protection and under these provisions a refugee is defined as:

> A person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. (UNHCR, 2011)

Under this convention, refugees are entitled to a number of rights, which include:

> (1) Housing, (2) education, (3) freedom of religion, (4) access to courts, (5) freedom of movement within the territory, (6) access to identity and travel documents, (7) to work, (8) not to be punished for illegal entry into the territory of contracting state and (9) not to be expelled (non-refoulement) except under certain, strictly defined conditions. (UNHCR, 2011)

Under Canadian law, individuals who meet the 1951 convention are defined as 'convention refugees' and 'refugee claimant or asylum seekers' are those who have fled their country and are seeking protection in another country but their claim, as a refugee has not been decided (CIC, 2017).

The Canadian refugee system has two main parts, which include the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program for individuals who are seeking protection from outside of Canada and the In-Canada Asylum Program for those who make claims within Canada (CIC, 2017).

Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program

A person cannot directly apply to Canada for resettlement under this program and must be referred through international partners like the UNHCR or private sponsors (CIC, 2017). The UNHCR agency and private sponsors, identifies refugees for resettlement, validates their identities and prepares travel documents from source countries (CIC, 2017). When refugee status is confirmed individuals are asked if they have a preferred country, family or friends abroad and are screened in relation to health, criminality and security by the receiving nation (CIC, 2017).

The Government of Canada (GOC)'s system includes, private sponsors including groups of five sponsor or community sponsors who have come together to sponsor refugee(s) select and help resettle refugees in Canada. Furthermore, private sponsors who resettle refugees on an ongoing basis and have an agreement with the government are identified as 'sponsorship agreement holders' they contribute to the resettlement of refugees under this program (CIC, 2017).

Lastly, the Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR) program also matches refugees under the UNHCR mandate to private sponsors within Canada (CIC, 2017). This program is based on a three-way partnership between the UNHCR, private sponsor and the GOC. The key feature of BVOR is that the "GOC provides up to six months in financial support through the Resettlement Assistance Program and private sponsors are eligible to receive another six months of financial support and up to a year of social and emotional support" (UNHCR, 2016)

In-Canada Asylum Program

In contrast to the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program, individuals in this program need to be inside Canada to be eligible to apply for this program, they may be visiting or studing in Canada and are unable to return to their country of origin due to danger of torture, risk to their life and cruel or unusual treatment or punishment. They are considered eligible to apply for a refugee claim (CIC, 2017). However, those who have been rejected previously by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) or have abandoned or withdrawn previous claims and are a recognized convention refugee by another country cannot claim refuge through this channel (CIC, 2017).

National Identity: Multiculturalism and Tolerance

Canada has a global reputation as being a 'nation of immigrants' and prides itself on its humanitarian national identity (Pozniak, 2009). The multicultural emphasis in Canadian political culture and identity is evident in the country's adoption of the Multiculturalism Policy of Canada in 1971. Canada was the first country in the world to adopt a multiculturalism policy and affirmed the values of multiculturalism and inclusivity as a virtue of being Canadian (CIC, 2012). This led to the official recognition of multiculturalism as a national value and was added under section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 (CIC, 2012). These values were further reinforced and expanded in 1988 under the Canadian ; culturalism Act and aimed to ensure that every Canadian received equal treatment and respect regardless of their cultural differences (CCRC, 2017). Multiculturalism remains an integral component (di Tomasso, 2012; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson and Armstrong, 2011).

As a receiving country of refugees and migrants, Canada continues to fulfill its commitment to humanitarianism and promotes an image of a liberal and tolerant nation. The

national newsprint media has further facilitated the notion of tolerance by associating these values with humanitarian immigration laws (Bauder, 2008a). However, in recent years Canada's reputation as a welcoming and humanitarian nation for refugees is in questions, as it is not reflected in the amendments made to citizenship, immigration and refugee policies. For instance, the implementation of PCISA in 2012 radically changed the environment and made it tougher for asylum seekers. A safe country list was developed. The countries on this list were seen as "safe" and would not produce legitimate refugees. The implementation of Bill C-31was portrayed to be necessary to protect the refugee system from 'bogus' refugee claims and human smuggling (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). This particular policy has constructed a binary view between 'other' refugees and 'legitimate' ones (Huot et al., 2015). The 'other' refugees are often constructed as 'undesirable' and is one of the many negative portrayals of newcomers that have been implicitly embedded within contemporary immigration and refugee policies in a highly securitized landscape.

Media and Public Opinion

Media reports are an important source for the public and the influence public because media narratives are reflective of societal norms and culture, since stories are presented in a manner that would resonate with the intended public (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). Researchers who studied the role of media coverage in influencing public opinion and perception of migration (Mahatani and Moutnz, 2002) report that media representations are able to change public attitude subliminally and other researchers report that media coverage of political issues like immigration helps construct the issue as a source of social problem (Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Mahatani and Moutnz, 2002). Research literature demonstrates that media can direct public opinion and sheds light on a complex relationship between media, policy makers and the public

(Lawlor and Tolley, 2017; Mahatani and Moutnz, 2002). Some propose a feedback loop between the three factors, while others have suggested that these elements are not mutually connected (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). However, for the purposes of this study, news media is viewed as being representative of public opinion and narratives of refugees.

Chapter III: METHODOLOGY

Part A: Newspaper Headline Analysis

The primary goal of this study was to examine how newsprint media portrays refugees through an analysis of the adjectives used within Canadian newsprint headlines. Headlines are an integral component of the news story and serve to provide the most relevant information of the story in a few words (Pajunen, 2008). The headline also provides a framework for reading the article and orients readers to process the material in a pre-determined narrative (Van Dijk, 1992; Teo, 2000).In this way, lexical choices and syntax structures within newspaper headlines sheds light on the underlying ideological values and attitudes embedded in the news story (Teo, 2000). As a result, a newspaper headline analysis of refugees was conducted to examine how newsprint media had constructed refugees over time and to understand how they were perceived.

Search Strategy and Database Selection

In consultation with the liaison librarian for the Global Health Department two databases selected were selected for the search strategy, they were: CBCA Reference and Current Events and Canadian Periodicals Index Quarterly (CPI.Q). Each of these databases was determined to be appropriate for this analysis because they enabled access to current and archived Canadian news articles. Preliminary searches within each database were conducted to determine if the search strategy would yield the most relevant results for the analysis. Accessing and scanning results within the CBCA Reference and Current Events and CPI.Q posed no challenges and generated a large number of newspaper headlines.

The search term "refugee(s)" was entered into the search line. Because the analysis was only focused on refugees, no other search terms and synonyms were explored within news headlines. The boolean connectors "OR" was utilized when conducting the searches and the

keyword "refugee OR refugees" was only scanned in article titles. Table 1 provides further

details on the process undertaken for this analysis.

Table 1. Newspaper Headline Analysis Search Process

Database	Search Strategy	Additional Notes
CBCA Reference and Current Events	Keyword: refugee or refugees Document Type: Newspaper Publication Date: No restrictions	- No geographic term was not used because the database only included Canadian literature
Canadian Periodicals Index Quarterly (CPI.Q)	Keyword: refugee or refugees Document Type: Newspaper Publication Date: No restrictions	- No geographic term was not used because the database only included Canadian literature

Charting, Collating and Reporting the Data

After the databases were searched, Canadian newspaper headlines were scanned for

adjectives used to represent refugees. Adjectives were identified and then listed in a data table

using Microsoft Word. Initially, the terms were listed in the order of appearance from the search.

Each searches and its related adjectives were separated by sub headings to differentiate results

from the two databases used. In addition, the frequency of each adjective was also noted to

provide insight to the most commonly used adjectives used. A similar method of analysis has

also been carried out in another study that examined the representation of British Muslims in

national print news media between 2000 and 2008 (Moore, Mason and Lewis, 2008).

Findings from the analysis were presented in two different ways. First, charts and graphs

were created to illustrate the prominence of the issue over time and to analyze the most common

terms used in narratives associated with refugees within the Canadian newsprint media. Second,

a master list of compiled adjectives was created from both database searches. The primary

researcher conducted a preliminary scan of the terms and initially organized and colour coded the

terms for being: positive, negative or neutral. Then the terms were further categorized and analyzed for underlying themes.

Confirmatory Procedures and Analysis

Acknowledging that newspaper headline analysis can be highly interpretive, four undergraduate students were recruited to conduct a separate and similar analysis. The students had no prior knowledge of the study and were included to incorporate a measure of validity.. This measure was important to add rigour and confidence to the analysis. This step also helped reduce the risk of reviewer bias in the data interpretation and enhanced the confirmability of the reported results. The compiled list of adjectives collected by the primary researcher from the initial news title analysis was shared with the students who were then instructed to group these terms without any form of communication during the grouping of terms.

Part B: Literature Review

The second part of the study was a literature review that was guided by the scoping review methodology proposed by Arksey and O'Malley in 2005. The five stages of this framework: (1) Identifying the research question (2) Identifying relevant studies (3) Study selection (4) Charting data (5) Collating, summarizing and reporting were mirrored due to the iterative process and ability to identify a large breadth of literature (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). The literature review served to contextualize the findings from the news title analysis within the existing breadth of academic literature on the subject.

Identifying the Research Question

According to Jenciek and Wong (2009), the Canadian news media acts as a 'primary frame' in relaying representative facts and cases surrounding refugees to the public. This insight led to the refinement and articulation of the main research question for the study, which was: *What is the role of Canadian newsprint media in representing and framing (Canadian) perceptions of refugees?* It then became imperative to explore the effects and role of the media in constructing and framing the concept of a refugee. Parameters such as the emphasis on newsprint media and the geographic location i.e. Canada were defined at the outset of the study. The research question remained broad to allow the inclusion of large breadth of data.

Concept Clarity and Search Terms

The research question had three main concepts that needed to be captured in the selection of keywords: media, representation and refugee(s). With the meaning of each concept outlined, synonyms and related search terms were identified.. Each concept and its related search terms were entered into an independent line as a keyword. After the search terms were entered,

Boolean connectors such as "OR" and "AND" were used to connect concepts to help capture relevant literature.

Media

For the purposes of this review, the concept of media was limited to newsprint and excluded any other platforms such as social media. Although social media analysis can provide an unfiltered insight into public opinion and perception, conducting a comprehensive search within this field poses its own challenges (Miller and Ginnis, 2015). Challenges with social media analysis range across: data collection, determining geographic location of published posts and overrepresentation of certain socio-demography, posing great difficulty in conducting a representative qualitative analysis of social media posts. Acknowledging these impediments of including social media, this literature review was primarily focused on more traditional media outlets like newsprint media and limited to Canadian newspapers. There were no restrictions placed on specific news media companies because the review intended to capture the spectrum of print media and ideologies. As a result, the search terms used to capture media were: newsprint media, print media and newspaper.

Representation

In the context of media and communication studies, representation is defined as "the ways that media portrays particular groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a particular ideological or value perspective" (University of Minnesota, 2006). Often, media representations are examined to 're-present' a reality rather than simply reflecting one (University of Minnesota, 2006). Given this understanding, the search terms used to reflect the concept of representation were: presentation, analysis, critique, portrayal, public opinion and

public perception. Public opinion and public perception were included under this concept domain because studies have shown how media representations often influence and shape perceptions and understandings of issues (Mahtani and Mountz, 2002; Fleras and Kunz, 2001; Ana 1999).

Refugee(s)

For the last concept, the 1951 Geneva Convention definition of a refugee was used for the review. Although, there are differences between asylum-seekers, migrants, immigrants and refugees, these distinctions were not always recognized in academic literature and associated keywords were used synonymously to represent refugees. These additional terms were added to the search strategy post hoc to ensure that the literature search was comprehensive and did not exclude relevant articles.

Identifying Relevant Studies

Two different approaches were used to identify relevant academic studies for the literature review, such as: electronic databases and reference lists.

Electronic databases

A total of seven databases were selected for this study. They were: (1) Social Science Abstract (2) Social Work Abstract (3) Communication Source (4) JSTOR (5) Web of Science (6) ProQuest Political Science and (7) ProQuest Sociological. Initially, Social Science Abstract, Social Work Abstract and Communication Source were determined to be the most appropriate databases based on the likelihood of finding articles most relevant to the study. Social Science Abstract and Social Work Abstract databases offered a large coverage of abstracts and citations within the field of social sciences. Related subjects such as policy studies, globalization and health studies within these databases were deemed beneficial in providing insight to

understanding the global trend of forced displacement and refugees. Communication Source was chosen because of the focus on research related to mass media and communication theories. After conducting initial searches as a preview of the scope of literature from the three databases (Social Science Abstract, Social Work Abstract and Communication Source) the remaining four databases (JSTOR, Web of Science, ProQuest Political Science and ProQuest Sociological) were added and generated a larger breadth of literature. See Appendix B for more details on the search strategy and database selection process.

Reference lists

To ensure that the search results were comprehensive and other references were not excluded, reference lists of each article selected for inclusion was manually examined. The new references identified through the manual search were also searched for studies until a saturation point was reached and no new results were being identified. This back searching approach led to the identification of policy papers and research from non-government organizations (NGOs) and other documents that were excluded from the database search results. Although these references were not included in the literature review, this process generated reports from relevant organizations like UNHCR and their involvement in providing relief for displaced people.

Study Selection

Inclusion and exclusion criteria were created based on the research question and were defined at the beginning of this study to maintain consistency. In order to ensure that the literature review generated a breadth of coverage, certain parameters such as the lack of restriction on publication date was decided from the beginning of this study. Due to time and resource limitations the language of the document was restricted to English and geographically

limited to Canada. Table 2 presents demonstrates the inclusion and exclusion criteria used for the study.

Table 2. Study Selection Criteria

Criteria	Inclusion	Exclusion
Full-Text Availability	Full texts available from McMaster University Libraries (online)	Full texts not available from McMaster University Libraries (online)
Publication Date	No restrictions	No restrictions
Language	English	Any other language not English
Type of Literature	Journal articles	Anything other than journal articles
Geographic (Study) Location	Canada	Any other locations but Canada

The inclusion and exclusion criteria in Table 2 were applied to all database searches and the additional literature found through reference list searches. Two specific steps were taken to select studies that met the inclusion criteria. First, if the articles obtained appeared to be relevant to the research question, the abstract was reviewed. If the relevance of the study was still questionable, the second step was to read the whole article to determine if it fit the research question. This two-step process ensured that the studies retrieved were pertinent to the research question and prevented the inclusion of irrelevant literature.

Data Charting

The next stage in this literature review involved charting the information generated from the study selection. Since this study employed two search approaches: electronic databases and reference lists, literature generated from each method was labelled and numbered for the purposes of organization. After the studies were categorized, a charting method akin to the narrative review described by Pawson (2002) was utilized for this literature review. To preserve

the essence of the original studies and to move away from simply reporting the abstract of each study, a descriptive-analytical narrative review was used to extract and chart the data (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005; Pawson, 2002). Each study was examined through a common analytical framework and a corresponding data charting form was created on Microsoft Word. The data charting form recorded information such as: (1) Author (2) Year of publication (3) Study population (4) Methodology (5) Findings and (6) Themes. This approach was applied uniformly on all the studies included in the review and the data extracted from this form became the basis of identifying themes from the academic literature. See Appendix [C] for an example of the data extraction form used for this study.

Summarizing and Reporting the Results

After the data was charted, two processes were undertaken to report the results. First, a basic numeric analysis of the nature and the distribution of the literature were conducted. This part of the analysis shed light on the dominant areas of research within the subject. Charts and graphs were also created to illustrate the distribution of the studies over time and to map out the key refugee movements discussed within the generated results. For the second part of the analysis, results were categorized thematically according to how refugees were portrayed within the Canadian newsprint media. The thematic analysis process allows researchers to identify themes that emerge from the data to describe a given event (Boyd, 2015; Daly, Kellehear, and Gilksman, 1997). The methodology used to identify and collate themes for this summative literature review consisted of carefully reading and re-reading the data (Boyd, 2015; Rice and Ezzy, 1999). The process undertaken to interpret the themes from the data is similar to the Clarke and Braun (2013) six-step process for conducting thematic analysis which includes: (1) familiarization with data (2) coding (3) searching for themes (4) reviewing the themes (5)

defining and naming the themes and (6) writing up. Due to the highly interpretive nature of

qualitative data analysis, a template was developed to ensure that the method used during the

literature review retained clarity when reporting the findings. The template included a chart (see

Appendix [C]) that was applied to all the articles included in the literature review.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Part A: Newspaper Headline Analysis

The analysis of lexical choices within newspaper headlines reveals a dominant approach used by print media in framing and characterizing individuals who seek refuge within Canada. The news title search in both the Canadian Periodicals Index Quarterly (CPI.Q) and CBCA Reference and Current Events (CBCA) databases resulted a list of 94 descriptive terms and phrases used to portray 'refugee(s)'. The compiled list of terms were intially colour coded for being: positive, negative or neutral /other (see Appendix [C]). The positive category included terms that attributed favourable values towards refugees and conveyed a generally supportive tone. The negative category included terms and phrases that predicated unfavourable values towards refugees and their contribution to the host society. Lastly, terms that did not convey either a positive or a negative tone were sorted as neutral or other (see Figure 4.1).
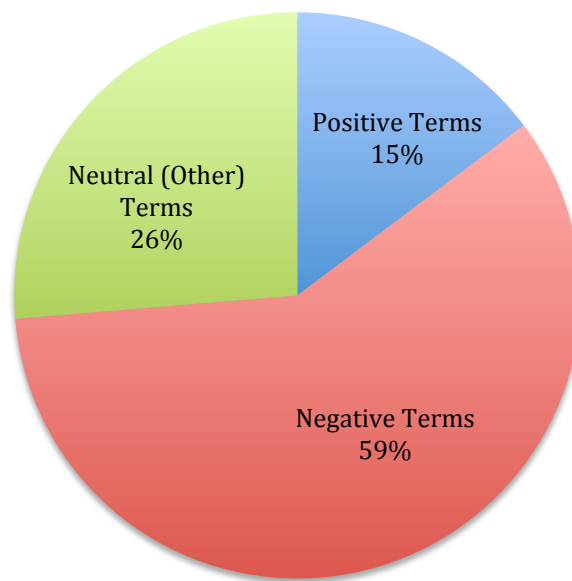
Figure 4.1 Number of Terms and Phrases used in Canadian News Headlines to Describe Refugee(s).
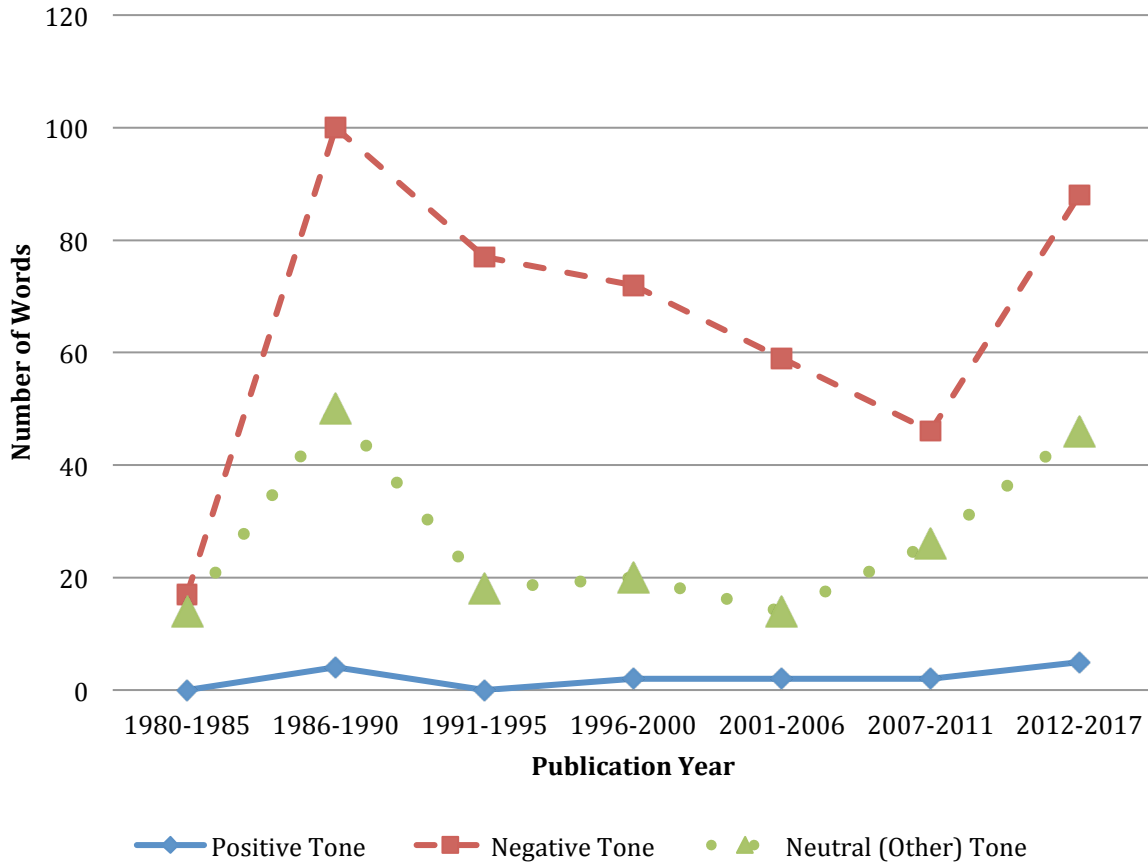
Figure 4.2. Media Coverage Tone of Refugees within Newspaper Headlines in CBCA and CPI.Q Database

Figure 4.2 demonstrates the frequency of terms and phrases that carried a positive,

negative and or a neutral tone within news headlines in Canada from 1980 till 2017 in the CBCA

and CPI.Q databases. Both databases include headlines from national newspaper outlets like: The

National Post and The Globe and Mail and regional newspaper outlets like: The Gazette

(Montreal) and The Toronto Star. However, CPI.Q included a broader range of local newspaper

outlets such as: The Spectator (Hamilton, Ontario), The Record (Kitchener, Ontario) and the

most recent collection of newspapers in comparison to the CBCA database.

The frequency of positive, negative and neutral-toned terms reached a peak in the number

of words used to describe refugees in news headline between 1986 and 1990. Currently, as

illustrated in figure 4.2, there appears to be a general increasing trend in the frequency of words used to portray refugees. The rise in news headlines surrounding refugees from 2006 and 2007 till 2017 can be attributed to the news media coverage of various events such as: the arrival of Ocean Lady in 2009, MV Sun Sea in 2010 and the Syrian humanitarian crisis since 2011.

Negative Tone

Fifty nine percent of the terms from the list of compiled adjectives and descriptive phrases were categorized as negative. The large frequency of negative reporting indicates an overall shift and trend in the media coverage of refugees (See figure 4.3). Terms within this category largely evoked a sense of uncertainty and fear by discursively constructing a 'crisis'. These emotions were largely elicited by recurring narratives that represented refugees as a form of threat or danger to the host society (Nabi 1999 & 2002; Verkuyten, 2004). In addition, through the use of particular linguistic choices refugees were often portrayed as the "Other" and a burden on the receiving country. This was commonly seen through the use of terminologies such as "us" versus "them" (Jaber, 2016) and the amplification of refugee claimants through a dominant metaphor-led discourse. Othering refugees and positioning them as "outsiders" adds to the repertoire of fear and threat towards the sovereignty of Canada. These depictions of refugees do not stand in isolation from each other, but often overlap when portraying refugees within newspaper headlines. For the purposes of this study and for organizational means, the results of each theme and its subsequent sub-themes will be discussed separately. This analysis revealed four salient negative themes used to frame refugees and are as follows: othering, threat, crisis, and humanitarian immigration and Canada's national identity.
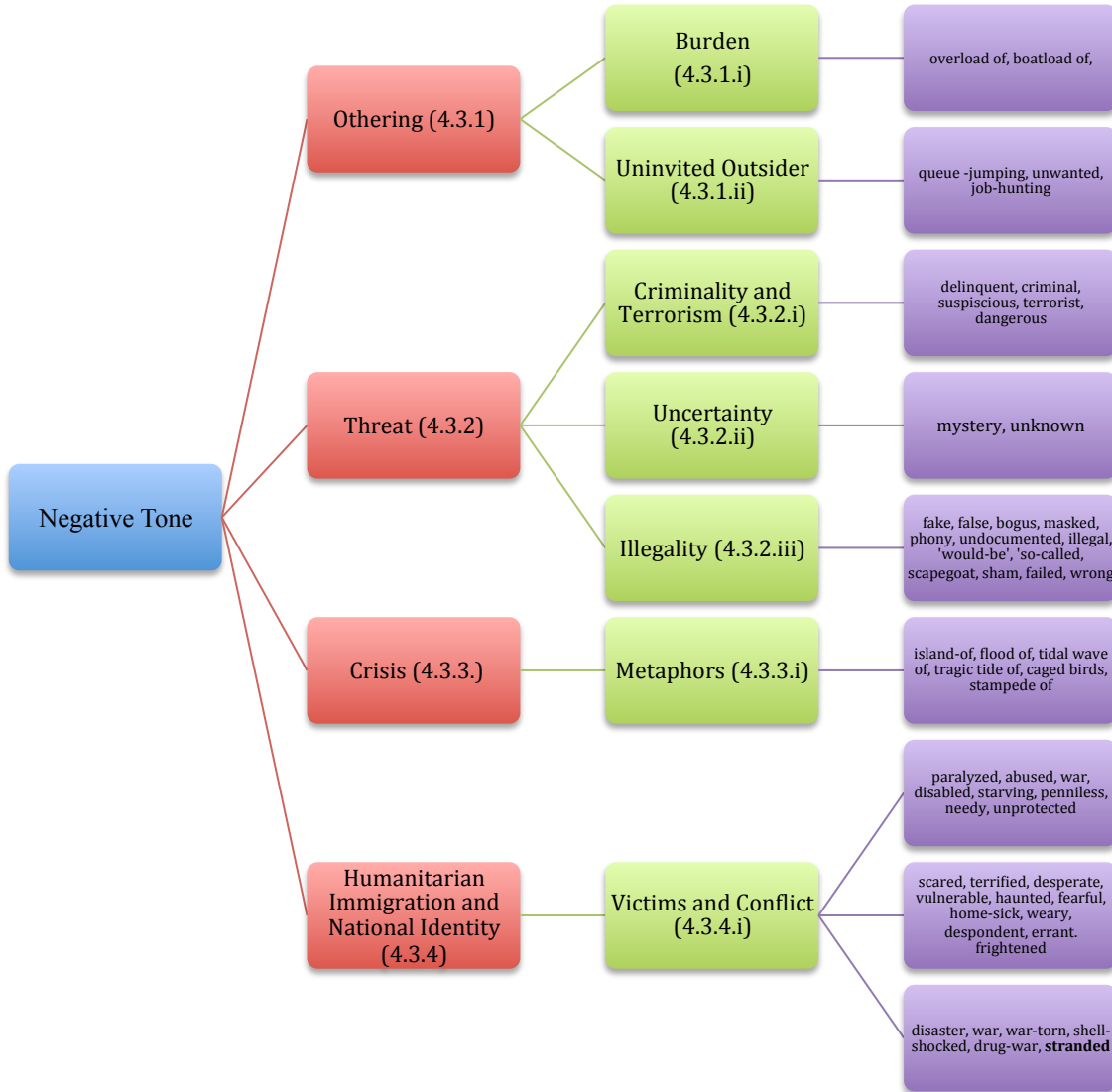
Figure 4.3 Negative Tone Thematic Mapping

Othering (4.3.1)

The first salient theme within the newspaper discourse was the systematic "othering" of refugees. This process of "othering" reinforces a positive us-presentation versus a negative them-presentation. This dichotomy functions to widen the gap between refugees and the dominant Canadian public within the newspaper headlines (Teo, 2000). This thinking and perception of the "other" further alienates and disempowers refugees through an over-lexicalized characterization of refugees as unwanted bodies (Teo, 2000). The adjective analysis within the newsprint headlines revealed evidence of this ideology through the persistent lexical choice of "burden" and "uninvited outsiders".

Burden (4.3.1.i)

The portrayal of refugees as a burden within newspaper headlines was accomplished through the use of descriptive phrases such as: *overload* and *boatload of* (Figure 4.3). Refugees were often discussed in numbers within the headlines and lexical choices such as "boatload" served to amplify the actual event. The use of metaphors and euphemisms was often utilized to create a crisis and will be discussed in the following theme. However, the portrayal of "the refugee" is predicated and constructed by newsprint media as being burdensome and dependent on the system (Olsen et al., 2014). The following examples demonstrate how refugees were discussed as a burden to the community while the reasons behind their refugeness were oversimplified and lacked press coverage:

> *Another boatload of refugees (Tamil) rumoured on way to Canada* (The Chronicle Herald, 09/29/1987)

> *Canada mulls Haitian influx: US asks for helps as it fears boatloads of refugees on its shore* (The Calgary Herald, 06/16/1994)

*U.S. Coast Guard intercepts <u>boatload of</u> Haitian refugees (*The Globe and Mail, 07/24/1992)

Refugee <u>overload</u> fans fire of racism (The Toronto Star, 08/14/1986)

The lack of context surrounding the circumstance of refugees seeking protection in the examples above denies any sympathy towards them (Teo, 2000). The generic use of "boatload" amplifies the number of people seeking refuge and promotes a crisis mentality. The alarmist projections of "boatloads" and "overload of" within the headlines also imply a sense of powerlessness of the system against the number of people coming in and the potential strain on the system (Gibert, 2013). This form of language also adds to the collective fear and anxiety within the public discourse by framing refugees as a burden that will drain away the resources from the well-deserving citizens. By adhering to this narrative, headlines inevitably alienate refugees and prevent them from fully integrating within the host society (Olsen et al., 2014).

Uninvited Outsiders (4.3.1.ii)

The rhetoric of the "Other" was advanced through the depiction of refugees as uninvited outsiders. The results from this analysis revealed these descriptive terminologies used to portray them: *queue –jumping, job-hunting* and *unwanted* (Figure 4.3). This particular representation of refugees as "uninvited outsiders" socially constructed them as unfavorable for the larger community. The designation of being a refugee is overlooked within this narrative and these constructive labels such as: queue-jumpers and unwanted, act to exclude these individuals from the public and reinforces their identity as outsiders. The following examples show how newspaper headlines perpetuate this discourse and the subsequent sentiment of the nation:

Crack-down on <u>queue-jumping</u> refugees would be popular – Francis (The Calgary Herald, 07/11/1999)

<u>"Queue-jumping"</u> refugees unpopular: poll (The Gazette, 09/01/1988)

> *Around the World: <u>Unwanted</u> refugees sent back to Cuba* (The Globe and Mail, 02/22/1985)

The sample headlines promote an unfavourable perception of refugees and rationalize the use of deterrence by imposing a "crack-down" and deporting refugees. The restrictive nature of these solutions are overlooked and are reported as needed to discourage unwanted refugee claims.

Threat (4.3.2)

The second main theme within the newspaper discourse was the portrayal of refugees as a threat. The broadening of the concept of threat is seen through the association and synonymous view of refugees and migrants as a 'risk' in the modern world (Ibrahim, 2005). This ideology is perpetuated within Canadian media through the prominent depiction of refugees as a security threat to the social body (Ibrahim, 2005). Thirty six percent (20/56) of the negative terms utilized to describe refugees within newspaper headlines framed these individuals as a form of threat to the sovereignty of the state and to the host society. This choice of language serves to problematize refugee movements and perpetuates a culture of fear and mistrust, in which every refugee claimant is suspected to be illegitimate and or a risk (Olsen et al., 2014). This narrative of refugees as a threat is constructed and maintained by the pervasive negative associations of refugees with uncertainty, criminality and terrorism or illegality.

Criminality and Terrorism (4.3.2.ii)

The terms often used to convey criminality among refugees within Canadian news headlines were: *delinquent, criminal, suspicious* and *dangerous (*Figure 4.3). From the results of this study, refugees were primarily criminalized within newsprint headlines in combination with

the use of legal force such as detention and deportation. The following examples demonstrate a

dominant emphasis on deterrence rather than a humanitarian perspective of refugees:

> *Marchi to offer amnesty to thousands: but Ottawa will speed up deportation of <u>criminal</u> refugee claimants* (The Gazette, 07/7/1994)

> *Ottawa sending collection agencies after <u>delinquent</u> refugees, newspaper says* (Canadian Press News Wire, 02/27/2002)

The use of the terms 'delinquent' and 'criminal' portray refugees as deviants from Canadian

society point towards the need to safeguard the nation through deportation and detainment. The

increasing emphasis on the criminality of refugees rationalizes the exclusion of these individuals

from the Canadian community. The narrative of refugees as a threat, specifically as a criminal

justifies the negation of non-refoulement. This instrumental provision protects refugees from

being expelled and returned to the country of origin due to fear of persecution. This protection is

embedded and defined within a number of international instruments including the 1951 United

Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. However, if a refugee is seen as a threat

on the grounds of national security, non-refoulement cannot be claimed within signatory states

(UNHCR, 1977). Due to the serious consequences of a refugee being returned to a country where

they are in danger of persecution, this exception under non-refoulement needs to be applied with

greatest caution and requires a comprehensive account of the case and a consideration of all

mitigating factors (UNHCR, 1977). The following example demonstrates the dominance of this

narrative and how it reinforces the criminalization of refugees without any discussion of the

individual or the circumstance:

> *Detain <u>suspicious</u> refugees: report* (The National Post, 07/12/2001)

In this specific example, the assumption of criminality is embedded within the identity of the

refugee and is conveyed through the use of the term 'suspicious'. This particular choice of

language automatically presents refugees in a negative light and implies guilt without understanding the circumstance. This form of headline provides justification for the imposition of measures and powers that curtail the rights of refugees without considering the realities faced by these individuals. As a result, adherence to deterrence and detainment is normalized through this representation of refugees and significant provisions such as non-refoulement are overlooked. In fact, the principle of non-refoulement emphasizes consideration of possible rehabilitation and reintegration within the society for refugees who have been convicted of a criminal offence (UNHCR, 1977). However, through the results of this analysis, there were no examples of headlines that mentioned the possibility of reintegration or any other means of inclusion.

The discourse of threat is also reproduced through the portrayal of refugees as terrorists and draws heavily on exclusionary language similar to the representations of refugees as criminals. The following examples demonstrate Canada's refusal to acknowledge terrorists as refugees and the state's commitment to national security:

> *Canada refuses to grant _terrorist_ refugee status (Mahmoud Mohammad Issa Mohammad* (Vancouver Sun, 06/12/1995)

> *Terrorist's refugee appeal rejected: Palestinian's fight to avoid deportation has cost over $3M* (The Edmonton Journal, 11/3/2001)

> *Terrorist's refugee claim won't be rushed: minister* (The Gazette, 12/17/1989)

> *"Terrorist" refugee out: court sends a message to claimants who support violent gangs"* (The Gazette, 07/24/1998).

These headlines exemplify and highlight the legal consequences for refugees who are considered to be terrorists such as the refusal to grant refugee status and possible deportation. The

construction of refugees as terrorist allows receiving nations to bypass obligations mandated by international and national law (Watson, 2007).

In addition, news headlines position the Canadian refugee system and society as being a passive entity vulnerable to exploitations by "terrorist" refugees.

Generous refugee policies in jeopardy: Reports of a <u>terrorist</u> posing as a refugee likely to strengthen the hand of the religion's far-right parties (The Globe and Mail, 11/16/2015)

This form of news reporting seeks to normalize the securitization of refugees by presenting refugee policies as being too "lax "or "generous" and possibly under attack from terrorists. The perceptions of refugees as an impending threat within the headline examples foster a 'siege mentality' among readers (Ibrahim, 2005).

Uncertainty (4.3.2.ii)

Uncertainty surrounding the origin and identity of refugees was commonly depicted within the newspaper headlines through the use of terms such as: *unknown* or *mysterious* (Figure 4.3). The use of these descriptive terms promoted uneasiness surrounding refugees and problematized their arrival (Ibrahim, 2005). The use of this language evokes panic and supports the construction of refugees as a perceived threat to the state. The following examples were collected from the analysis and demonstrate how this narrative is presented within newsprint media headlines:

Refugees <u>unknown</u> (The Globe and Mail, 02/13/2017)
<u>Mystery</u> refugees land (The Chronicle Herald, 07/13/1987)

The ambiguity associated with the identity of these refugees propagates fear of what refugees could be carrying into the host society that could potentially threaten the physical, economic and potential cultural composition of the state (Esses, Medinau and Lawson, 2013). These depictions

of refugees can also be understood as a response to a collective insecurity of national identity (Esses, Medinau and Lawson, 2013; Hier and Greenberg, 2002).

Illegality (4.3.2.iii)

The last narrative within the perception of refugees as a threat was the recurrent theme of illegality. The results of this analysis indicated that illegality was associated with the identity of refugees most frequently to further the perception of refugees as a threat. The following descriptive terms were used within the newspaper headlines: *fake, failed, false, bogus, masked, phony, undocumented, wrong, illegal, 'would-be', 'so-called', scapegoat* and *sham* (Figure 4.35). The repetitive use of labels such as illegal refugees functioned to socially categorize them as immoral and justified their exclusion from Canadian society (Elsamni, 2016). The following examples demonstrate some of the headlines promoted exclusionary action by successfully undermining the credibility and morality of refugees:

> *False refugees face swift kick out door, Conservatives plan asylum overhaul, but critics cry foul over minister's move to define 'safe' countries* (The Toronto Star, 03/31/2010)
>
> *Immigration laws biased against Somalis: Lawyers: Undocumented refugees must wait five years to gain landed status* (The National Post, 12/31/1999)
>
> *TORIES TARGET FALSE REFUGEES; Immigration bill to hasten decisions, deportations* (The National Post, 03/31/2010)
>
> *Detention hearings begin for 19 would-be-refugees [believed involved in the human smuggling operation]* (The Vancouver Sun, 07/30/1999)
>
> *Would-be refugee deported to India* (The Gazette, 01/14/1989)

The use of terms such as "phony", "would-be", "false" and "undocumented" within these headlines automatically framed refugees negatively to the readers. These words served as retrieval cues that facilitated the reader's interpretation of refugees as immoral and undeserving of integration within Canadian society. The illegitimacy of these refugee claimants is furthered

through the portrayal of these individuals as active agents of violence and crime (Bradimore and

Bauder, 2011). The following example conveys the illegitimate status of refugees through the

use of the descriptive term "phony" and its subsequent association to violence:

> *"Phony refugees" key to crime among Asians, officer argues* (The Toronto Star, 07/25/1991)

In the example above, the depiction of refugees as "phony" is legitimized by the use of

authorities, such as an officer in this case. The use of experts and authorities suggest objectivity

and credibility of the information conveyed by the headline (Gilbert, 2013). The semantic goal

appears to be to problematize refugees and legitimize the characterization of these individuals as

immoral. In this manner, news media promotes and rationalizes the social acceptance of any

consequential exclusionary actions such as deportation and detainment, which was similar to the

previous discussion of refugees as criminals and or terrorist (Gilbert, 2013).

The narrative of illegality was also employed by newsprint media to reveal weaknesses

within the refugee and immigration system. The following examples report the presence of

illegitimate refugees within Canada and the state's vulnerability to 'so-called' refugees:

> *So-called refugees abusing Canada's weak immigration laws* (Calgary Herald, 03/11/2001)

> *Phony refugees costing Canada millions of dollars: Harjit Singh case shows system abuse is endemic* (The National Post, 01/18/2005)

> *Health-care stats point to abuse by "bogus refugees", Ottawa says; Use by people from 'safe' areas justifies crackdown* (The Edmonton Journal, 08/01/2012)

The descriptive terminologies such as "bogus", "phony" and "so-called" often appeared within

the headline analysis. The choice of these words seeks to create a dichotomy between the

"illegitimate" refugees and the "legitimate" Canadian society. This narrative facilitates the notion

of the state being vulnerable to abuse. The presence and entrance of false refugees into Canada is employed to depict weakness within immigration policies and the health care system. Positioning refugees as the "abuser" and the system as a "victim" of this threat, allows the public to deny compassion. As a result, the state's refusal to accept these individuals is seen as a measure of protecting the integrity and sovereignty of Canada and is less likely to be challenged (Krishnamurti, 2013).

Crisis (4.3.3)

The third theme within the negative portrayal of refugees in the news headline analysis was the notion of crisis. For the purpose of this analysis, "crisis" was considered as a process, which includes both an object (state) that requires a decisive intervention and the subject (refugees) through which an intervention can be imposed (Hier & Greenberg, 2002). Researchers have proposed that by manufacturing a crisis, a problem is identified that can be solved decisively and reduces anxiety or panic in the process (Esses et al., 2013; Hier and Greenberg, 2002). In the context of refugees, a crisis is subjectively perceived and socially constructed through the problematization of events by the newsprint media rather than a reflection of a structural breakdown in the state (Hier & Greenberg, 2002).

The news media discourse recruits and actively engages its readers to participate in the construction of a crisis through syntax structures and lexical selection (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Teo, 2000). The choice of words within the news headlines frequently draws on the considerable number of refugees attempting to seek protection and amplifies the reality of the relatively few who arrive irregularly. This depiction of refugees builds on one another and promotes an alarmist discourse by provoking a siege mentality that evokes panic among its

readers (Esses et al., 2013; Gilbert, 2013). The results from this analysis revealed that a crisis was successfully produced through the extensive use of literary devices such as metaphors.

Metaphors (4.3.3.i)

Thus far, the news headline analysis has demonstrated distinctive patterns in the use and choice of language within news headlines in problematizing refugees and their movement. A method that has been popular in inducing outrage and negative attitudes towards refugees was the use of literary device such as metaphors in headlines. By definition, metaphors refer to a meaning or identity ascribed to one subject by way of another (Villegas, 2013). The metaphor functions to imply that one subject is similar to another by drawing a comparison between their shared traits and was frequently used to characterize refugees. The following descriptive phrases were found from the news title analysis: *island-of, flood of, tidal wave of, tragic tide of, caged birds* and *stampede of* (Figure 4.36). These phrases reveal three dominant associations of refugees and the role they served in creating, transforming and maintaining a "crisis" within the news discourse.

The first one was the depiction of refugees as a natural disaster, specifically a flood or wave. The use of water metaphors within immigration and migration debate has been recorded in other news media analysis (Pickering, 2001; El Rafaei, 2001 and Parker, 2015). The following examples demonstrate how this imagery was achieved within Canadian news headlines:

Flood of refugees parched in Jordan (The Toronto Star, 08/13/2012)

Europe's biggest test: a tidal wave of refugees (The Globe and Mail, 04/21/2015)

The depiction of refugees as a natural disaster reinforces the ideology that the "flood of" refugees are difficult to control and reaffirms the narrative of a crisis by producing manipulable collective fear among the public (Baker and McEnery, 2005). The literary representation of a

flood and its subsequent fear of drowning also evoke panic within readers (Parker, 2015). In addition to the construction of refugees as a natural disaster, the water metaphors of flood were used to represent the number of individuals seeking refuge. Other descriptive phrases such as: "island of" were also found in the analysis to and served to amplify an event into a crisis, ostensibly to warn the public of mass refugee:

> *Island of refugees; Murrant's Rant (The Chronicle Herald, 09/17/2015)*

A second association of refugees achieved through the use of metaphors was the comparison of refugee arrival to an invasion. The juxtaposition of refugee movement with invasion perpetuates a culture of fear, which serves to produce and transform an event into a crisis. This was demonstrated within news titles through the use of descriptive terminologies such as *tides of* and *stampedes of*.

> *Amnesty rumours spark stampede of "refugees": business booming at immigration offices* (The Globe and Mail, 09/15/1988)
>
> *Tight controls can't stem tide of refugees (The Calgary Herald, 03/15/1987)*
>
> *New tide of refugee claimants swamping Toronto shelters (The Globe and Mail, 01/12/2001)*
>
> *Rising tide of refugees overwhelm aid groups (The Vancouver Sun, 03/30/1999)*
>
> *Tide of refugees "catastrophic". Aid agencies overwhelmed. 230,000 people fled or have been expelled from Kosovo (The National Post, 03/04/1999)*

The association of refugees to an invasion succeeds in provoking a nationalist response against those who are depicted as a potential threat. This promotes the ideology of the "Other" and creates a wider distance between refugees and citizens (Olsen et al., 2016). The inability to "control" and "stem" the tide of refugees and the "catastrophic" effects on the state and its resources as reported within the news headlines promotes the notion that Canada is at risk of

being inundated by refugees. The use of hyperbolic rhetoric distorts the reality refugees have to face and continues to be a disservice to those who are seeking protection in Canada (CCR, 2007).

Lastly, metaphors were used to dehumanize refugees by denying full humanness and comparing these individuals to animals. The results from this particular analysis revealed evidence of refugees being described as "caged birds".

IWA's Munro meets "caged bird" refugees (The Vancouver Sun, 04/26/1982)

The animalization of refugees as a "caged bird" is employed in the example above to portray refugees as a subhuman entity. This form of dehumanization implicitly characterizes refugees as lacking "refinement, civility, morality, self-control and cognitive sophistication" (Esses et al., 2013 pg. 522). Consequently, these attributes deprive refugees from any human rights protection, citizenship claims and presents them as being less evolved in comparison to the host society (Esses et al., 2013; O'Brien, 2003).

Humanitarian Immigration and National Identity (4.3.4)

The last theme uncovered from the negative-tone descriptive terms was humanitarian immigration and national identity. Humanitarian immigration constitutes an important element in Canada's national identity as a liberal and compassionate state (Bauder, 2008a). The discourse of humanitarian immigration in Canada is primarily focused on the admission of refugees who are in need of protection and the rejection of refugee claimants who are identified as a form of threat or risk to Canadian society (Bauder, 2008b). The results from this analysis indicated a dominant narrative of refugees as a victim of conflict where vulnerability was embedded within their identities. The acceptance of helpless and vulnerable refugees maintains the self-image of developed nations like Canada as being charitable and humanitarian (Olsen et al., 2016). As a result, Canadian newsprint media frequently promotes the victimization of refugees within its

reporting to preserve Canada's national identity as a compassionate and tolerant state (Bauder, 2008a; 2008b).

Victims and Conflict (4.3.4.i)

Although a diversity of frames have been discussed surrounding the negative reporting of refugees within newspaper headlines, another representation of refugees was that of archetypical victims. Contrary to the dominant discourse shrouded in suspicion, this frame used linguistic strategies to portray accounts of refugees as a "tragic" people and in need of assistance.The following descriptive terms were used*: paralyzed, abused, disabled, starving, penniless, needy, unprotected, scared, terrified, frightened, desperate, vulnerable, haunted, fearful, home-sick, weary, despondent* and *errant* (Figure 4.3).

Refugees were only seen as legitimate through their accounts as 'tragic' people. The depiction of refugees as 'tragic' was portrayed through the use of phases such as: *desperate, abused, weary, shell-shocked, starving* and *disabled*. The overrepresentation of refugees as victims serves to construct them as powerless. By positioning refugees as helpless and in-need, the state is able to maintain a compassionate and generous national image through the increasing emphasis placed on public and agency efforts placed to rescue refugees. This was depicted within the sample of headlines below by referring to citizens "opening their wallets", providing a "haven", "shelter" and the compassion granted by the state in approving refugee claims of "abused" victims.

> *Rural Ontario opens its hearts and wallets to welcome <u>desperate</u> refugees: communities in gear* (The National Post, 04/08/1999)
>
> *<u>Weary</u> Salvadoran refugees find Canadian haven* (The Globe and Mail, 06/30/1983)
>
> *Court allows refugee bid by <u>abused</u> woman* (The Toronto Star, 11/11/1992)
>
> *PM took special interest in helping <u>war</u> refugees* (The Toronto Star, 07/31/1992)

Rotraians seek shelter help for <u>disaster</u> refugees (The East York Mirror, 05/29/2008)

Canada will open door to 18,000 <u>war</u> refugees (The Toronto Star, 07/29/1992)

In fact, refugees were predominantly granted compassion by the state and the public if they were depicted as victims of conflict. Descriptive terms such as*: disaster, war, war-torn, shell-shocked* and *drug-war* were commonly used within the news title analysis to illustrate conflict and the vulnerability of refugees who managed to escape. This narrative further promoted the perception of refugees as a victim further and associated humanitarian immigration as Canadian values by highlighting the state's support in aiding those most in need (Bauder, 2008b). The following sample of headlines demonstrate how refugees were portrayed as vulnerable victims of violence and conflict within public discourse:

<u>Abused</u> refugees get chance (The Calgary Herald, 02/13/1993)

Western military leaders agreed on several scenarios to help <u>starving</u> refugees in Zaire (CTV National News, 11/24/1996)

<u>Disabled</u> refugee claimant to be freed while Ottawa ponders deportation (The Globe and Mail, 08/23/2007)

Kosovo refugees "<u>shell-shocked</u>" (The Chronicle Herald, 04/29/1999)

The lexical choices within the news discourse were found to be an essential aspect in associating and maintaining the identity of refugees as powerless and in need of help. This narrative of refugees being an object of charity reaffirms Canada's national identity as a generous nation and perpetuates the depiction of refugees as a vulnerable group (Olsen et al., 2016).

Neutral Tone

Overall, 28% (33 out of the 94) adjectives collected from the news title analysis were categorized as neutral (Figure 4.4). This category included descriptive terminologies that did not convey either a positive or a negative tone and were thematically arranged into the following three groups: types of refugees, origin (method of travel), and other.
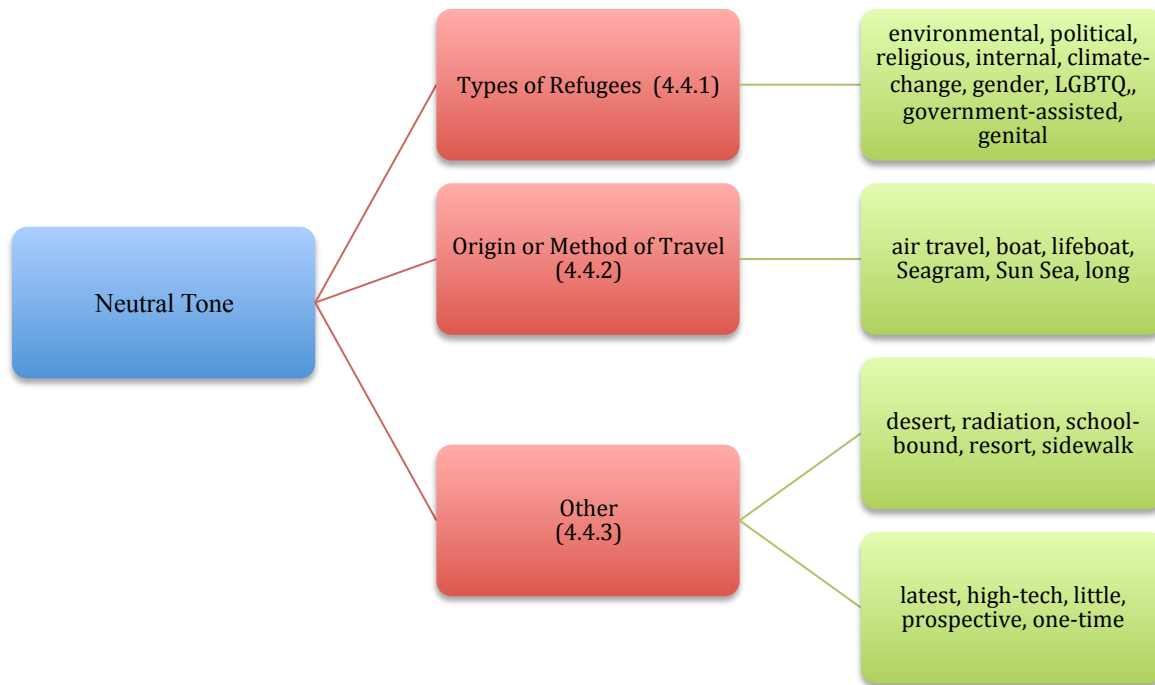
Figure 4.4 Neutral Tone Thematic Mapping

Types of Refugees (4.4.1)

Within the neutral category, 21% (7 out of the 33) terms were used to describe various

types of refugees (4.4.1). This theme included the following terminologies: *environmental,*

political, religious, internal, climate-change, gender, LGBTQ and *government-assisted.* These

terms were used to describe refugees based on the reason of their well-founded fear of

persecution.

> *"Internal refugees" swell welfare rolls in Toronto* (The Globe and Mail, 02/21/1987)

> *Four more communities to welcome government-assisted refugees (CNW Group - 04/13/2016)*

> *Diversity works for political refugee* (Mississauga News, 11/21/2008)

> *195 "gender" refugees in 1994* (The Globe and Mail, 03/10/1995)

> *Portuguese "religious refugees" clog system* (The Gazette, 01/07/1986)

> *Europeans warned to prepare for possibility of "climate-change refugees"* (The National Post, 05/21/2005)

> *"Canada saved my life": Surge of LGBTQ refugees seek asylum in Edmonton* (The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2017)

> *Advocates want support for LGBTQ refugees* (The Globe and Mail, 07/29/2014)

Further analysis of these terms was conducted to examine the frequency of adjectives used

to describe various types of refugees in Canadian news headlines. The results indicated that the

following three terms were mentioned the most frequently: political, internal and environmental

(Figure 4.5). Whereas, religious, LGBTQ and gender refugees were reported significantly less in

the news headlines.
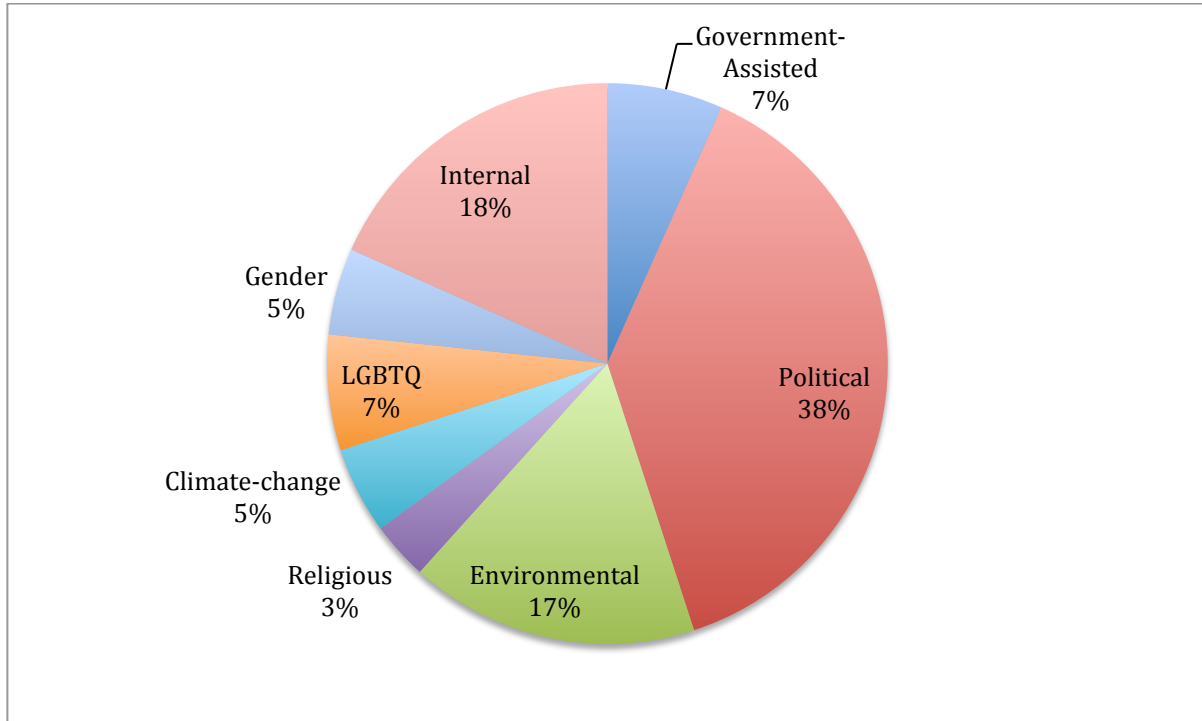
Figure 4.5. Combined frequency of adjectives used to describe "types" of refugees within Canadian News Headlines in CPI.Q and CBCA database

Origin or Method of Travel (4.4.2)

Within news headlines, refugees were often identified and labelled according to their method of travel (4.4.2). These were the terms employed within news headlines to describe their arrival: *air travel, boat, boat people, lifeboat, Seagram* and *Sun Sea*. The terms Seagram and Sun Sea were the names of the shipping companies and boats used by refugees to travel. The following news title examples demonstrate how these refugees were primarily identified and referred to as "Segram refugees" or "Sun Sea refugees".

"Seagram refugees" still reeling (Calgary Herald, 12/10/1999)

Supreme Court to hear Sun Sea refugee's appeal (The Globe and Mail, 04/19/2014)

The focus on the mode of refugee arrival and the identification of these members as "Seagram" or "Sun Sea" refugees functioned to depersonalize their experiences. This depersonalization was

also demonstrated in the sample of news headlines below in which the identities of other

refugees were inextricably linked to their travel and how they gained entry into Canada. This

narrative was present as early as 1986 and continues to prevail within the news discourse.

The lifeboat refugees (The Globe and Mail, 08/19/1986)

Stranded boat refugees threaten to riot as hunger strikes continues [Tampa at Christmas Island] (Toronto Star, 08/29/2001)

Air travel refugees throng roads, railways (The Globe and Mail, 10/15/2002)

Although, the adjectives within this category convey a neutral tone, negative nuances were

detected during the examination of the news titles. For instance, phrases such as "boat people"

were substituted to describe refugee claimants and served to delegitimize the legal status and

entitlement of this group (Rowe & O'Brien, 2014). The negative attitude towards "boat people"

and refugees were exemplified by a number of headlines..

27 boat people see refugee claims rejected (The Globe and Mail, 11/10/1999)'

Kenney blasted for "frivolous" appeals on refugees; Ottawa has challenged decisions to grant asylum to boat refugees in '09, '10 (The Toronto Star, 06/29/2013)

The denial of refugee status of "27 boat people" and the state's reluctance to recognize and grant

asylum to the "boat refugees" reaffirms the narrative of "irregular" arrivals being perceived as

illegitimate. The unwelcoming attitude and perception of "boat refugees" was also illustrated in

the headline below where other nations demanded repatriation of these individuals. The "fight"

for repatriation delegitimizes the status of "boat refugees" by removing a fundamental legal

entitlement of those who are forcibly displaced.

Soviets fight repatriation of boat refugees (The Vancouver Sun, 06/14/1989)

Evidence from this analysis indicated an overwhelming focus on refugees who arrived in

Canada by boat within the news media. This was apparent through the increased number of terms

used to describe refugees that arrived by sea i.e. boat, lifeboat and boat-people in comparison to those who arrived by air i.e. air travel. This led to a deeper analysis of this narrative and the frequency of these terms was collected (see Figure 4.6). Terms such as "lifeboat" and "boat-people" were mentioned most frequently and "air travel" was reported the least within the news title collected from the CPI.Q and CBCA database. This finding supports the tendency of news media coverage of refugees to be episodic in Canada (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). To the extent that emphasis is placed on the reporting of particular events such as irregular refugee arrivals.
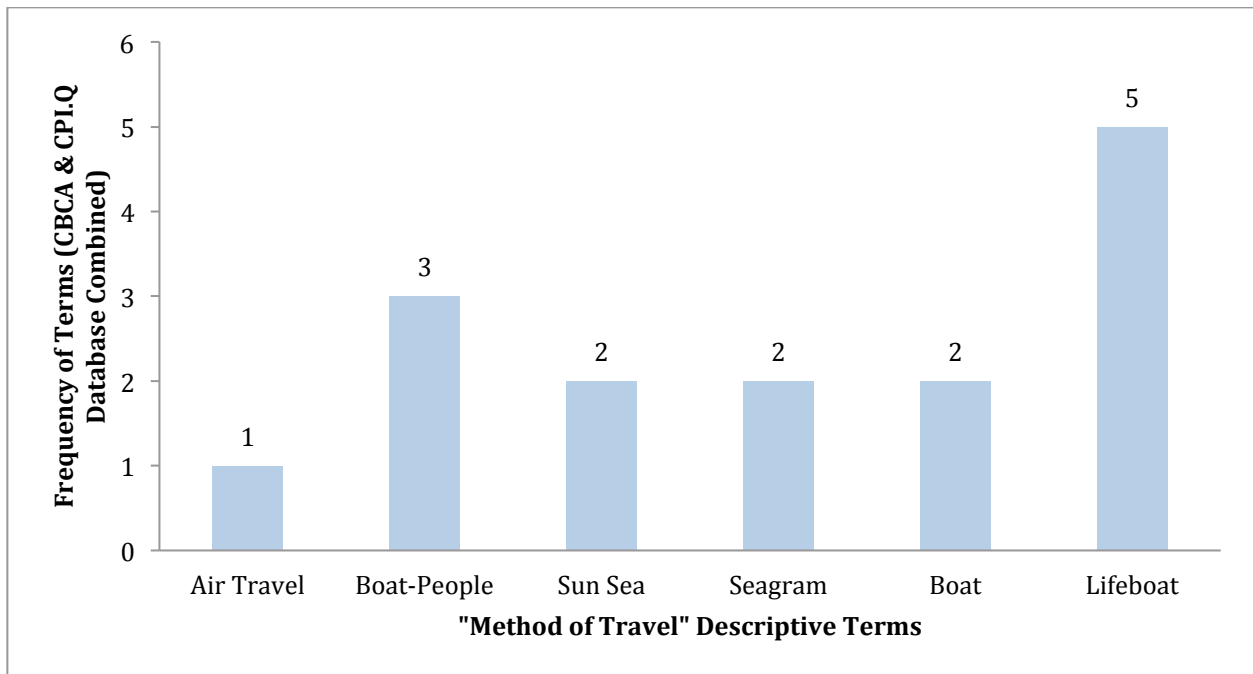
Figure 4.6 Frequencies of "Method of Travel" Terms in Canadian News Headlines

Other (4.4.3)

From the compiled list of terms, 48% (10 out of the 21) of the neutral words were categorized as other (Figure 4.4.3). This section included terms that were used as adjectives to describe refugees but did not fall under any particular theme. These were the following the descriptive terms and phrases: *latest, high-tech, school-bound, resort, sidewalk, little, desert,*

radiation and *prospective*. The outlying terms were grammatically adjectives or were nouns that functioned linguistically to describe and attribute qualities to the noun.

Let's stop the posturing about <u>prospective</u> refugees (The Globe and Mail – 08/20/2010)

Fijian crisis sparks <u>latest</u> refugee flood (Toronto Star – 10/16/1987)

<u>Little</u> refugees, big burdens. There are no sinks, showers, coloured pencils or toys: there is diarrhea, measles and scabies (The Gazette, 04/15/1999)

"My mum and I are like <u>little</u> refugees here. I like to think of us as refugees from a hard place, which is in the past" (The Globe and Mail – 04/09/2011)

<u>High-tech</u> refugees picnic and pine: many would go home, stock options permitting (The National Post – 07/1/7/2000)

<u>Sidewalk</u> refugees threatened (The Toronto Star – 04/02/2015)

Cholera strikes <u>desert</u> refugees (The Calgary Herald – 09/08/1990)

<u>Radiation</u> refugees; post-disaster Japan (The Economist – 06/09/2012)

<u>Resort</u> refugees [How far the travel industry and government will go to keep you safe] (The Globe and Mail – 10/29/2005)

Experts examine toll of war on <u>school-bound</u> refugees: University of Western Ontario study looking at how experiences of being a Syrian newcomer will affect a person's classroom life (The Globe and Mail – 08/11/2016)

Positive Tone

The news headline analysis revealed that 15% (14 out of the 94) of the words collected were categorized as positive (Figure 4.7). The lack of positive descriptive words demonstrates an underrepresentation of refugees in a positive manner within the public news discourse. The positive terminologies used in the news headlines were categorized into two main themes: humanitarianism and "deserving" refugees. The findings from this analysis demonstrate that refugees were portrayed positively if they expressed gratitude toward the state and were determined to be legitimate or contributors to the Canadian society.
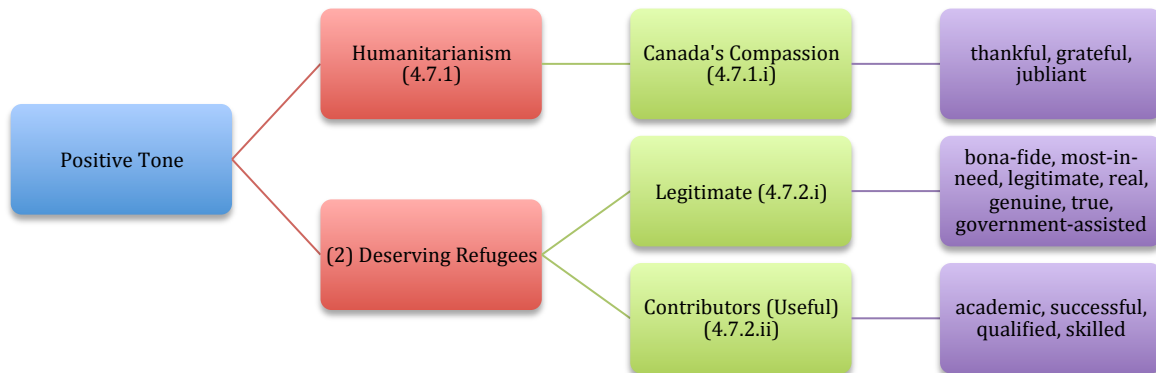
Figure 4.7 Positive Tone Thematic Mapping

Humanitarianism (4.7.1)

Canada's Compassion (4.7.1.i)

The primary positive narrative of refugees embedded within the news discourse was the gratitude they expressed towards the host society. Often, the expression of gratitude was also co-opted within nationalistic narratives to propagate the image of a humanitarian and compassionate state. This was successfully depicted through the use of the following terms within news headline: *thankful* and *grateful*. The findings from this analysis revealed that media narratives functioned to underscore refugee's gratefulness towards the government by constructing Canada as a "haven" and a "home".

> *Refugees grateful for a country to call home* (Guelph Mercury – 06/18/2013)

> *"Compared to there, this is haven" Refugees grateful for the temporary accommodation, but sponsorship groups frustrated by slow progress, lack of support* (The Toronto Star – 01/28/2016)

The positive depictions of refugees within this theme promote Canada's commitment to humanitarianism more than the experiences faced by refugees. Anecdotal experiences of refugees are only placed within news headlines to support the reputation of Canada as being a welcoming and tolerant state. Canada's compassion is also exhibited in the news headlines below , which emphasize the state's generosity in providing "safety" and a "second chance" for those seeking refuge.

> *Syrian refugees thankful for their safety; Family of five is first here under new sponsorship* (The Record – 10/30/2015)

> *Langley refugee thankful for second chance* (Langley Times – 06/24/2017)

Deserving Refugees (4.7.2)

Refugees within the news media were considered to be "deserving" of the state's compassion and generosity if they were able to prove their legitimacy and or were able to contribute to the receiving nation.

Legitimate (4.7.2.i)

The dichotomy of illegitimate versus legitimate refugees produces a hierarchy of worthiness and promotes the perception of refugees as being either useful or harmful (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). The terms used to construct refugees as being legitimate were: *bona-fide, most-in-need, legitimate, real, genuine,* and *true*. In the following headlines, the state is depicted as being welcoming to "real" refugees and reassures the public that the state is not a threat towards true refugees.

> *No threat to true refugees* (The Globe and Mail – 08/26/2009)
>
> *Help genuine refugees* (The Globe and Mail - 05/07/1994)
>
> *"Real Refugees" are welcome, minister (Gary Weiner) says* – (The Calgary Herald – 03/06/1987)
>
> *McDougall is protecting real refugees – Jones* (The Toronto Star – 12/30/1988)
>
> *Opening the door for real refugees* (The Globe and Mail – 04/04/1986)

In addition, the legal entitlement and protection received by those with refugee status is conditional on the legitimacy of their claim and their perceived deservingness. The following headline exemplifies the limits of Canada's compassion and generosity towards those who are "worthy" of being integrated into the Canadian society (Bauder, 2008b).

> *For true refugees only – Simpson* (The Globe and Mail – 04/15/1989)

The emphasis placed on the validity of claims disregards the political and human right entitlements of international instruments for those who are granted refugee status.

Concern surrounding the legitimacy of claims promotes the implementation of restrictive policies and the advancement of "tough" policies are justified within the news headlines as a means of aiding "true" and "real" refugees.

> *Tough bill aids <u>true</u> refugees Ottawa vows* (The Toronto Star – 05/06/1987)

> *Canada gets tough, but it's still haven for <u>real refugees</u>* (The Gazette – 04/11/1987)

Contributors (4.7.2.ii)

The last positive narrative revealed from this analysis was the portrayal of refugees as contributors to society. The following attributive adjectives were used to describe the skills and assets of refugees: *academic, successful* and *skilled.* Although, this narrative produces a positive representation of refugees it also implicitly creates a dichotomy of "useful" and "harmful" refugees. The preference for and admission of "skilled" refugees by the Canadian government is demonstrated by the headline below:

> *Immigration overhaul sought sweeping proposals would favour <u>skilled</u> refugees, curb refugee appeals* (The Globe and Mail – 06/17/1992)

The proposed overhaul of the immigration system in the example above reflects how the intake and composition of refugees accepted into Canada is tied to self-interest rather than a humanitarian or social endeavor (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017). The notion of refugees as contributors was also shared by other nations like the United States of America and Turkey, who granted protection and citizenships to "academic" refugees and "highly skilled" refugees.

> *Syria's "<u>academic</u> refugees" find safe haven on U.S. campuses – for now* (The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – 2015)

> *Turkey to offer citizenship to <u>highly skilled</u> Syrian refugees* (The Financial Times – 07/07/2016)*

The lack of positive human-interest stories within Canadian news headlines demonstrates how news media facilitates the production of misleading narratives of refugees. The example below was one of the few headlines collected from this news title analysis that depicted refugees as individuals capable of success and their contribution to the host society.

Some of the region's many <u>successful</u> refugees (The Record – 07/18/2013)

Separate News Title Analysis

By design, the news title analysis component of this study relied on the interpretation of the primary researcher. Recognizing the risk of bias in the analysis, a separate news title analysis with the identical compiled lists of adjectives was conducted with four undergraduate students. Overall, the results from this separate analysis validated the results of the news title analysis by the primary researcher. However, there were differences in the terms for categorizing and labelling the theme. Differences were resolved through discussion and revealed that the understandings of each theme were similar to the initial news title analysis. The data from this parallel news title analysis reaffirmed and supported the thematic findings from the initial analysis conducted by the primary researcher. As a result, the labels for themes from the prior new title analysis were used (see Appendix F).

Part B: Literature Review

Extent of the Literature

      The flow diagram (Figure 4.8) provides an overview of the literature search for this study. Searches conducted using the previously selected combination of keywords yielded: 44 papers from ProQuest Sociology; 21 papers from Social Sciences Abstracts; 50 papers from of Web of Science, 25 papers from Communication Source and 43 papers from ProQuest Political Science (see Figure 4.8). From of the total 183 articles identified through the five electronic databases, 160 of the results did not meet the scope of the study and 7 of the articles were duplicates.

      A back reference search of the 16 journal articles generated from the database search found an additional 14 articles were identified. A second level backward reference search of the additional 14 studies revealed another two studies. Overall, a total of 32 studies were included for the literature review (Appendix G).

Distribution of Literature

All of the databases searches were limited to English language, scholarly journal articles and geographically restricted to Canada. However, two of the 32 articles in this study compared Canadian and British news media and another two studies were conducted in Canada and the United States simultaneously. Although, there were no time restrictions placed, journal articles that met the inclusion criteria ranged from 2000 to the present. There were no articles that met the scope of the study in the years 2004, 2006, 2010 and 2016.
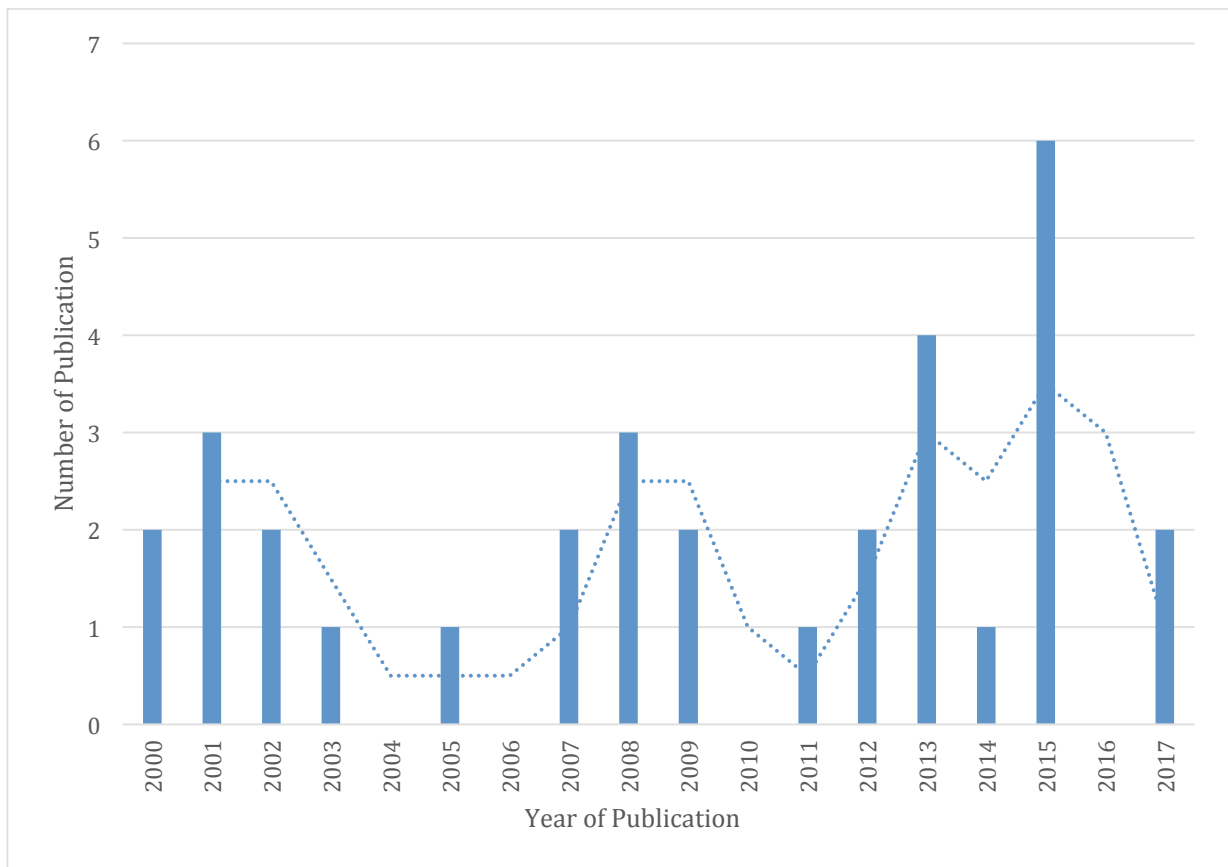
Figure 4.9 Extent of the literature meeting the inclusion criteria, organized by year.

The Figure 4.9 above demonstrates fluctuations in the number of published journal articles that studied the role of the news media in constructing perceptions of refugees

and the impact on public opinion in Canada. The peaks in publications between 2000 –

2003, 2007 – 2009 and 2012 – 2015 can be better understood by the episodic coverage of

mass refugee arrivals and implementation of new policies within the news discourse.

These time periods incorporate several focusing events and policy changes including the

Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) in 2002, the arrival of Ocean Lady and

MV Sun Sea ships in 2009 and 2010 and Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act

(PCISA) in 2012 . The following section will introduce these events and discuss the

distribution of the academic literature included in this study.

Timeline of Refugee (Migrant) Movements

Figure 4.10 illustrates a timeline of mass refugee arrivals that were reported

within Canadian news media and in the studies examined for this review. These incidents

were used as case studies to critically examine the news coverage of the event and to

discursively analyze Canada's commitment in protecting refugees. These arrivals were

also studied to highlight a shift in the perception of refugees and a trend of

problematizing the arrival of refugees (Hier and Greenberg, 2002). The numbers of

individuals who arrived and claimed protection from these events represent a small

percentage of those who seek asylum every year in Canada (Panesar, Pottie-Sherman and

Wilkes, 2017). Regardless, those who arrive irregularly (i.e. sea) are disproportionately

covered by the news media and elicit stronger political and public reactions compared to

those who arrived regularly (i.e. waiting in refugee camps) (Huot et al., 2016; Mann,

2009). In fact, all but two of the movements included in the timeline (Figure 4.10) are of

refugees who arrived by sea.

1914	1956-57	1986	1987	1999	2007	2009	2010
•Komagata Maru •376 Sikh migrants	•Hungarian Refugee Movement in P.E.I	•Lifeboat •155 Tamil Asylum Seekers	•Sikh Boat •174 People	•Fujian Boat •599 people	•Mexican Refugee Crisis	•Ocean Lady •76 Tamil asylum seekers	•MV Sun Sea (Tamil)
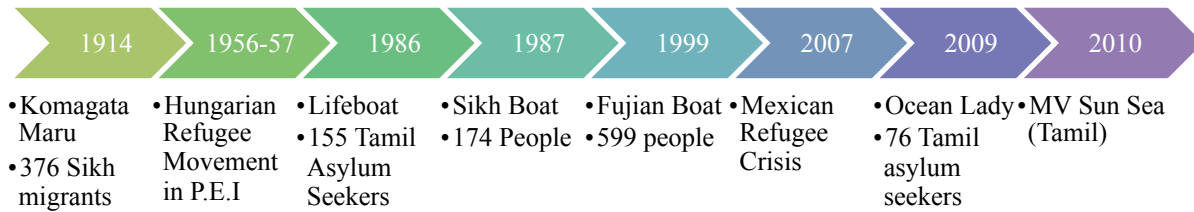
Figure 4.10 Timeline of large refugee (migrant) movements that were covered within the news discourse and analyzed in this study

From the journal articles included in the literature review, 38% (12 out of the 32) of the studies analyzed one or more of the events depicted in Figure 4.10. The frequency of these events analyzed in the literature gathered for this analysis is graphed below (see Figure 4.11). The most frequently covered event was the arrival of Fujian migrants or "boat people" in 1999, followed by the arrival of Tamil asylum-seekers in 2009 and 2010. The arrival of Hungarian refugees, from 1956-57, and the Mexican refugee crisis of 2007 were analyzed comparatively less than any other focusing events in the studies selected for this literature review. Members of these groups were inconsistently labelled within the studies and the news discourse as either: asylum-seekers, refugees, migrants or immigrants. The implications of mislabelling refugees will be discussed in the next chapter.
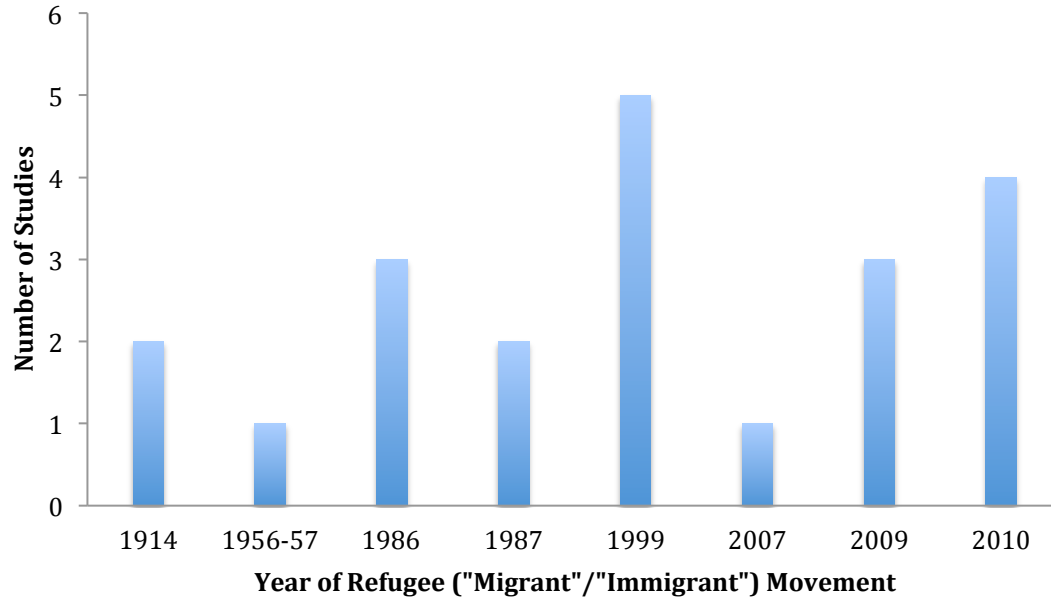
Figure 4.11 the frequency of refugee (migrant/immigrant) movement analyzed in the 12 out of the 32 studies that met the inclusion criteria (multiple cases were analyzed in some studies).

Nature of the Literature

In order to maintain consistency in the type of studies analyzed in the literature

review, the papers were restricted to journal articles. Despite the limited availability of

literature on this topic, Appendix H provides an overview of the studies included in this

review and presents information on study purpose, population (event), methodology and

peer-reviewed criteria. Given the interpretive and subjective nature of news discourse,

there were no quantitative studies. However, of the 32 studies included in the literature

review, 91% (29 studies) were qualitative and 9% (3 studies) were mixed-methods. Two

of the three mixed-methods studies used correlational analyses, structural equations and

questionnaires to determine the role of news media in dehumanizing refugees and the

attitudes towards them (Esses et al., 2001; Esses et al., 2008). The remaining mixed-

method study used automated content analysis and hierarchal clustering to determine

discursive distinctions between immigrants and refugees in Canadian news media

(Lawlor and Tolley, 2017).

The frequency of different methodologies utilized in the 32 studies included in the

literature review is presented in Figure 4.12. Critical discourse analysis was the most

frequently used methodology (31%), followed by policy or literature review (15%),

newspaper analysis (13%) and automated content analysis (10%). The "other" category

(15%) in Figure 4.12 includes other theoretical frameworks such as Bacchi (2009) and

Hook (2001) which were used to analyze immigration policies (Huot et al., 2016;

Villegas, 2013). These methodological frameworks were used to understand the

relationship between discursive characterizations of illegality within policy amendments

and reforms like the visa restriction imposed by the GOC on Mexican nationals in 2009

(Villegas, 2013). Other analytic tools such as: structural equations and secondary textual analysis were also included in this category.
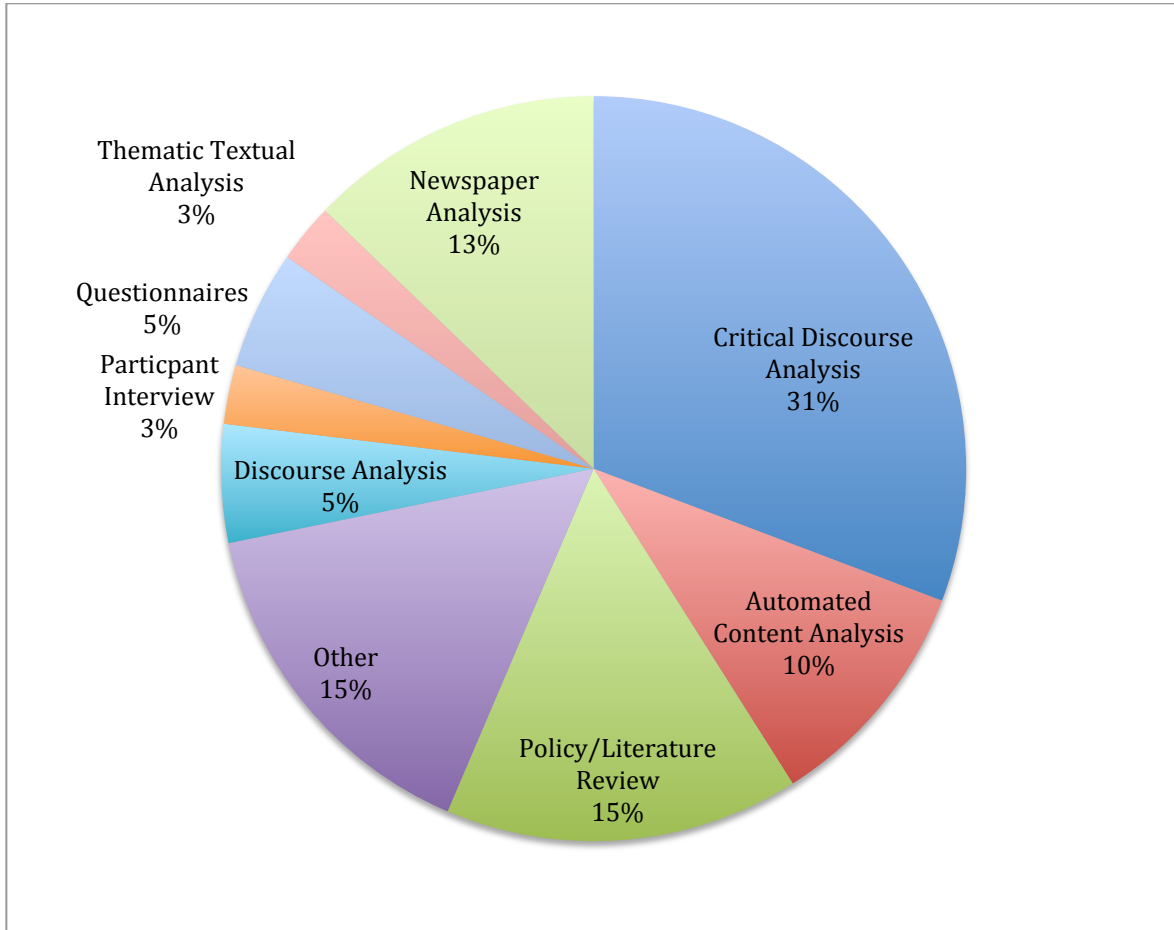
Figure 4.12 Frequency of the different methodologies used in the 32 studies

Thematic Findings

During the initial examination of the literature, various narratives emerged and were centralized around five main themes: (1) Securitization (2) Legitimacy (3) Othering (4) Immigration and (5) Economic. These themes are composed of sub-themes and are reported in Figure 4.13. Each theme discussed exemplifies a specific narrative of refugees studied and analyzed within the journal articles included in the literature review. Many of the central themes revealed from this analysis intersect to construct a perceived image of refugees and is reflected in Appendix I.
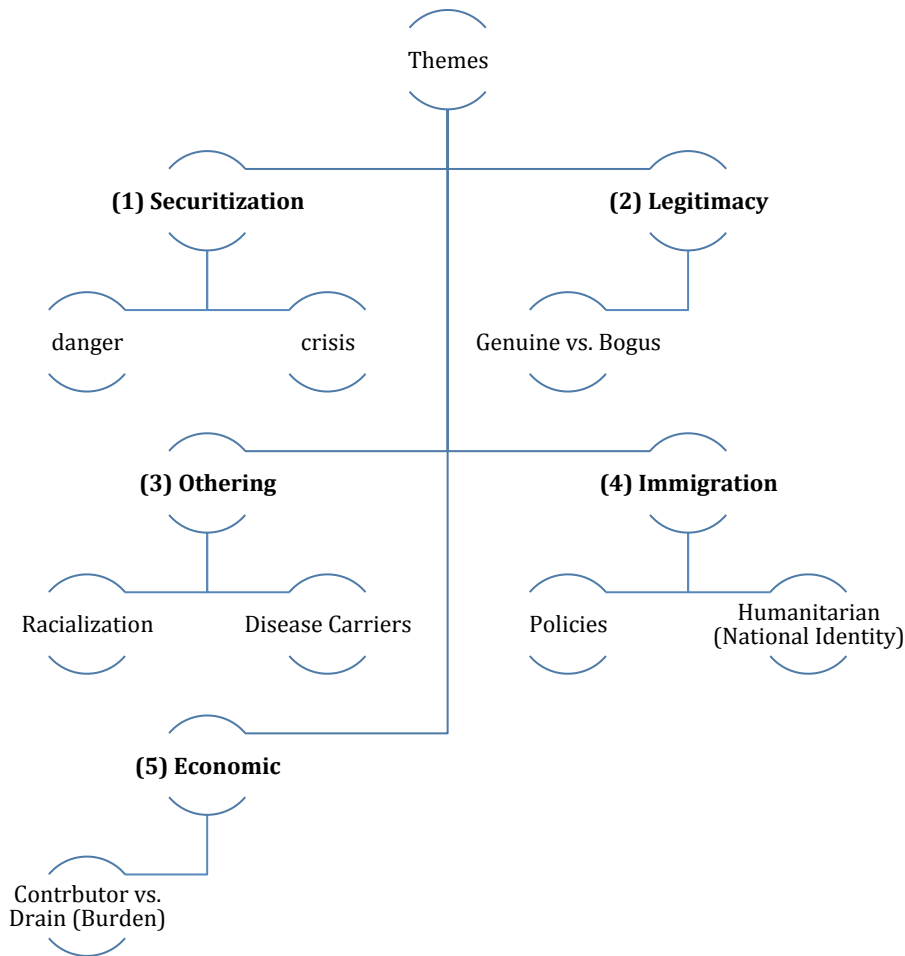
Figure 4.13 Themes and sub-themes present in the 32 sources of journal articles included in the   literature

(1) Securitization

The reformulation of security and migration has shifted from a discourse of human rights to human security. The latter approach towards refugees and migrants focuses on the potential risks that could threaten the hosting population (Ibrahim, 2005). The securitization of migration has promoted the arrival of refugees as a risk to the receiving country. Of the four central themes identified, securitization was the most widely discussed and appeared in all of the journal articles included in this literature review. This descriptive theme is composed of two securitized narratives of refugees: (1) danger or threat and (2) crisis and risk.

Danger ot Threat

Altogether, 77% (23 of the 32) of journal articles either implicitly or explicitly presented refugees and asylum-seekers as a threat to the moral, physical and economic well being of the state (Mahtani, 2001). While there are many narratives that portray refugees as dangerous, the two primary constructs of refugees as criminal and terrorists were strategically employed within news media to expose the vulnerability of the Canadian border and the potential impact on the social order of the state due the number of refugee claimants (Watson, 2007).

The representation of refugees as dangerous in Canadian print media has emerged as a larger pattern and shift in Canadian refugee policy and practice as well (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). A critical discourse analysis of the newspaper coverage of immigration debate between 1996 and 2004 in Canada and revealed that danger was the most frequently and consistently used descriptions associated with immigration in news media coverage (Bauder, 2008a). Scholars and researchers have extensively studied the

discursive construction of refugees as a threat to society (Watson, 2007; Lawlor and Tolley, 2017; Ibrahim, 2005; Gilbert, 2013; Bradimore and Bauder, 2011,Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier 2001; Greenberg, 2000). Media narratives that effectively reconceptualise refugees as criminals and or terrorists places suspicion on the refugee determination process and has led to the current climate where refugee claimants are viewed first through a securitized lens and then a humanitarian one (Flett, 2012).

The collective portrayal of refugee arrivals as one that is dangerous to the security and sovereignty of Canada was present in earlier movements (Mann, 2009; Panesar et al., 2017). This narrative has been dissected by other researchers through textual and content analysis in the media coverage of events as early as the 1914 arrival of Komogata Maru that carried 376 Indian immigrants (Mann, 2009; Panesar et al., 2017). The type of threat has changed over time but remains fundamentally in the context of migration and forced displacement. Mann (2009) conducted an analysis of three boat arrivals of refugees and migrants in Canada. The study analyzed the arrival of Indian migrants in 1914 and the arrival of Tamil asylum-seekers in 1986 and 2009. In the earliest case, the news coverage criminalized the Indian migrants on the basis of their race whereas in 1986 and 2010, Tamil refugees were shrouded with suspicion due to fear of terrorism (Mann, 2009).

The narrative of threat contributes to a growing culture of exclusion and by emphasizing criminality and terrorist linkages many refugees are denied protection. This was apparent in the coverage of 1987 Sikh asylum seekers whose arrival was securitized since the beginning of the incident and led to detention and implementation of deterrent policies (Watson, 2007). The construction of refugees as a threat ignores the

consideration of refugees as a humanitarian category. This narrative was inherent in the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers in 2009 and 2010, where the press inextricably linked the passengers on board to a global network of terrorists (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011). The prevailing concern surrounding security shifted the understanding of Tamil refugees as victims of civil war to perpetrators of human smuggling and organized crime on an international level (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Krishnamurti, 2013). The criminalization of refugees is not unique to the event of Tamil asylum seekers in 2009 and 2010 and is not uncommon in comparison to other similar events like the arrival of Chinese (Fujian) migrants in 1999 that was associated with gang-related violence and smuggling networks (Mahtani and Mountz, 2002).

The influx of refugees and asylum seekers are often highlighted as transgressors of normative rules due to their unexpected arrival and presumption of criminality. These individuals were considered and reconstructed to be more threatening because their mode of arrival deviated from regular channels of entry and without routine pre-arrival screening (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Ibrahim, 2005; Mahtani and Mountz, 2002). Subsequently, the entry of refugees on Canadian shores was depicted as being unlawful and the vessel symbolically embodied illegality and crime within the news discourse (Mann, 2009; Ibrahim, 2005; Bradimore and Bauder, 2011, Hier and Greenberg, 2002, 2001, 2002). This value is transposed onto the passengers by proxy and further criminalizes the passengers on board (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Ibrahim 2005). In addition, the lexical selection of those who arrived by sea as "boat people" served to dehumanize the refugees and distort public perception of them (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Esses et al., 2013).

Crisis and Risk

The other manifestation of the theme of securitization was the construction of refugees as a risk. Crisis was identified as a moment of transformation countered with decisive state intervention such as implementation of policies (Greenberg, 2000; Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Hier and Greenberg,2002). As such, crises were subjectively perceived and mobilized through the use of rhetorical devices within the news discourse that promote uncertainty among Canadians about the future of the state (Greenberg, 2000;, Hay 1996).

Five journal articles included in the review explicitly examined the collective problematization of refugee movements in Canada and the construction of refugees as risky. Three of the five journal articles within this theme studied the arrival of Fujian migrants in 1999 moving the description from an event into a crisis, despite the relatively small number of individuals (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000). Whereas, the remaining two studies included in this literature review examined the Mexican refugee crisis in 2007 (Gilbert, 2013; Villegas, 2013). The news media coverage of these events promoted panic and anxiety among the public by equating migrants and refugees with risk. The association of refugees as a risk elicits a sense of uncertainty and produces a siege mentality, which ultimately perpetuates a culture of fear (Olsen et al., 2014). This fear is exploited within news media reporting through the discursive portrayal and comparison of refugees as active agents of violence, crime and immorality and the state as a passive victim that requires protection from an impending crisis (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000).

Gilbert (2013), argued that news media coverage was central to the process of problematizing Mexican refugee claimants through the use of three predominant rhetorical devices: lexicons the numbers game and the use of expert or authority to legitimize the portrayal of a refugee crisis. Alarmist projections of "busloads" and "boatloads" semantically problematized refugees by the quantity of individuals seeking refuge (Bradimore and Bauder, 2008; Gilbert, 2013; Ibrahim, 2005). The use of numbers within the news discourse also suggested objectivity and credibility in the coverage of the event (Gilbert, 2013). Authorities and experts called upon to comment on the event focused on the breaches of border control and the potential threat to social stability and order (Bradimore and Bauder, 2008; Gilbert, 2013;Krishnamurti, 2013). These commentaries sustained the perception of a crisis and functioned to overshadow the reality experienced by refugees and the voices of refugee rights activists (Gilbert, 2013; Ibrahim, 2005).

Other studies have also examined the role and use of language as a discursive mechanism in constructing a crisis within news print media (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000; Gilbert, 2013). Through case examples and newspaper analysis, studies have found a predominant use of water metaphors in the coverage of refugee arrivals and movement. This linguistic device was present in five of the journal articles included in this literature review that examined the news reporting of the Fujian migrant crisis in 1999 and the Mexican refugee crisis in 2007 (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000; Gilbert, 2013; Villegas, 2013). Objectifying terms such as: flow, tide and wave were also used within news media to describe refugees and repeated association of refugees with natural

disasters such as "floods" or "swamps" were used to depict migration and forced displacement (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000; Grove and Zwi, 2006; Villegas, 2013). The metaphorical comparison of refugee movements to natural catastrophes urges receiving nation to respond with immediate action (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

The literary representation of a flood and its subsequent fear of drowning also evoke panic within newsreaders and produce a collective fear among the public that can be manipulated (Olsen et al., 2016; Parker, 2015). These metaphors also serve to misrepresent an event by amplifying the number of individuals arriving and neglects to convey contextual details of those seeking refuge. This mechanism was pervasive in the studies conducted by Gilbert (2013) and Villegas (2013), which examined the Mexican refugee crisis in 2007 and the visa requirement imposed on the "wave" of Mexican nationals in 2009 by the Canadian government. The successful portrayal of a refugee crisis within the news media legitimized the implementation of strategies that would restrict migration trajectories (Villegas, 2013). Ultimately, the rhetorical devices perpetuate public panic and heighten the reality of an event contributing to its transformation into a crisis (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg and Hier, 2001 and Greenberg, 2000; Ibrahim 2005).

(2) Legitimacy

The second most discussed theme was the legitimacy surrounding refugee claims. 78% (25 out of 32) of the journal articles in this literature review examined the differentiation between legitimate and illegitimate refugees in Canadian refugee policy and news discourse. The theme is manifested as "legal" versus "illegal" or "genuine"

versus "bogus" refugees within news and policy discourse. Given the widespread portrayal of refugees as threat and the discursive construction of refugee movements as a crisis, misleading language of illegality poses far-reaching challenges for refugees in proving the validity of their claim.

The narrative of legitimacy also intersects with the perception of refugees as criminal or threat. The conflation between the terms "genuine" and "bogus" in newsprint media produces a distinction of law-abiding individuals versus criminals (Matahni and Mountz, 2002). The use of binary language such as: illegal versus legal or genuine versus bogus, produces classes of deserving and undeserving refugees (See, 2016). The oversimplification of refugees as either legitimate or illegitimate allows the state to deny compassion to those who are perceived as "illegal" while retaining a positive national self-image (Bauder, 2008b).

Genuine (legal) vs. Bogus (illegal)

A manifestation of legitimacy in the literature review was the distinction between genuine and bogus refugees. Bauder (2008), suggests that category of bogus refugees extends beyond the value of undesirability but depicts these claimants as individuals consuming resources meant for other deserving refugees. This narrative embeds immorality in the identity of those who are presumed to be bogus and simultaneously contributes to prevalent discourse of criminality (Bauder, 2008a). Illegitimacy further constrains the refugee's identity by casting doubt on their claim for protection. Credibility concerns from one component of claim fosters distrust and can encapsulate the entire identity of a refugee (Flett, 2012). This was demonstrated in earlier sections of the findings where those who arrived irregularly (i.e. by sea) or unexpectedly were

shrouded with suspicion before the determination of their claim. As a result, the conceptual differentiation between real refugees and "illegals" are also based on the channels taken by these individuals to gain entry into Canada. The mode of refugee arrival has become an implicit criterion for legitimacy and their deservigness for protection (Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Greenberg, 2000; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Mann, 2009; Panesar et al., 2017).

The legitimacy of a refugee claim is heavily determined by the perceived deservigness and worthiness of the individual or group seeking protection (Bauder, 2008b; Jenicek, Wong and Lee, 2009). Often, "deserving" and "legitimate" refugees are constructed based on the vulnerability of the refugee (Jenicek, Wong and Lee, 2009). The notion of a legitimate refugee as non-threatening and vulnerable was also observed in the reporting of sexual minority refugees. Jenicek, Wong and Lee (2009), revealed that sexual orientation based refugees were described with language that connotes weakness and emotionality. Although these descriptions functioned to portray sexual minority refugees sympathetically, the use of passive, weak and emotional adjectives contribute to the perception of legitimate sexual minority refugees as non-threatening and weak victims (Jenicek, Wong and Lee, 2009). Another study supported this narrative and demonstrated that the deservingness of a refugee has shifted away from the material conditions of inequality and inadmissibility of refugees is determined by violations of ideological taboos (Bauder, 2008b). In other words, deserving refugees are those who are represented as passive victims and undeserving refugees are those who embody criminality, violence and immorality and these representations may not be accurate (Bauder, 2008b).

Studies have examined the effects of misleading labels of illegal and bogus on refugees and the impact on public opinion and perception (Esses et al., 2008, 2013). The conflation between these terms and the subsequent depiction of refugees within the news media were proven to produce significantly less favourable attitudes towards refugees and immigration policies (Esses et al., 2013). Their presumed threat to the integrity of the system and persistent association of refugees as being fake served to dehumanize the entire group (Esses et al., 2013).

The issue of legitimacy becomes salient in the portrayal and arrival of Tamil refugees in 2009 and 2010 (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Krishnamurti, 2013; Lawlor and Tolley, 2017; Stelian et al., 2015). Another depiction that was prominent in reporting these events was the construction of these individuals as "queue-jumpers" which contributed to the broader image of illegitimacy. This form of hyperbolic rhetoric served to construct this group as undeserving of humanitarian response or compassion from the state (Bauder, 2008b; Krishnamurti, 2013; Lawlor and Tolley, 2017, Mann, 2009). The fixation on legitimacy underscores a dominant perception surrounding the worthiness of refugees while obscuring the context causing their plight (Huot et al., 2016; Krishnamurti, 2013). This dichotomy poses significant implications in terms of rights and protections warranted under international instruments and national immigration laws.

(3) Othering

Overall, 15 journal articles included in the study discussed the process of othering and the subsequent positioning of refugees as outsiders. Weis (1995), identifies "Othering" as a means of securing one's identity by distancing and differentiating from another. As a framework, othering excludes the person or group being "othered" from the

mainstream community and creates a distinction between us versus them (Grove and Zwi, 2006; Osler et al., 2014). The purpose of this differentiation is to reinforce a notion of "normality" and to construct differences as a form of deviance, which effectively portrays a positive "us" and negative "them" (Grove and Zwi, 2006; Huot et al., 2016). This narrative is brought into existence within news discourse through the use of powerful rhetorical devices and lexical selections that polarize the distinction between the two groups, by juxtaposing the threat and immorality embodied by the "other" with the moral and generous values of the dominant state (Grove and Zwi, 2006; Huot et al., 2016; Osler et al.,2014). Subsequently, the group or individual that is constructed as "them" is characterized and perceived as opportunistic, undeserving and fraudulent (Huot et al., 2016). This process adds to the repertoire of fear and contributes to the securitization of migration.

Racialization

Six out of the 15 journal articles categorized under this theme studied instances of racialization in news discourse where race was imposed as a characteristic of being the "Other" and was conveyed as an external threat to the state (Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Greenberg, 2000; Grove and Zwi, 2006; Hier and Greenberg, 2002). Refugee arrivals and movements have been analyzed extensively through thematic and content analysis of news print media and have consistently revealed evidence of subtle and overt racism in the portrayal of refugees as a threat to the nation (Szuchewycz, 2000). The threat of disease diverts attention to health concerns of the state rather than the health needs of refugees. The language of contagion and images of threat reaffirms quarantine policies and promotes mandatory detention (Grove and Zwi, 2016). Arguments surrounding

national health concern also support exclusionary measures to keep forcibly displaced individuals out of the state or if in the state with limited access to resources.

Numerous studies have identified examples of refugees being constructed as the "Other" by portraying them as: queue-jumpers, uninvited outsiders, threats to national and public security, burden to the system and an economic drain (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011;Greenberg, 2000; Grove and Zwi, 2006, Hier and Greenberg, 2002, Krishnamurti, 2013; Lawlor and Tolley, 2017; Mann, 2009; Stelian et al., 2015). However, another pervasive narrative that is produced through othering is the over-lexicalized characterization of refugees as "disease carriers" (Greenberg, 2000; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Krishnamurti, 2013; Reitmanova and Gustafson, 2012; Teo, 2000).

Three journal articles within this theme studied the racialization of immigrant and refugee bodies as "disease carriers". These studies analyzed the media treatment of immigrant and refugee body as a disease breeder and an irresponsible health fraudster (Adeyanju and Neverson, 2007; Reitmanova et al., 2015; Reitmanova and Gustafson, 2012). A critical discourse analysis of the newspaper coverage of a case of Ebola in 2001 revealed that news media outlets conferred risk to the racialized body of the patient by rendering her as the "other" (Adeyanju and Neverson, 2007). The same study found a higher frequency of keywords in news headlines associating the Ebola scare to the nationality and gender of the patient. The association of the patient's identity with the contagion served to assure the Canadian public of its safety (Adeyanju and Neverson, 2007).

In another study, the racialization of tuberculosis (TB) within Canadian news coverage was analyzed through a critical discourse analysis (Reitmanova and Gustafson,

2012). The depiction of TB as an "imported" disease by immigrants was attributed to pre-existing racialized discourse (Reitmanova and Gustafson, 2012). Similar to the findings from Adeyanju and Neverson (2007) study, explicit connection between TB and racialized bodies were reported in specific news reports. (Reitmanova and Gustafson, 2012).

Reitmanova and Gustafson (2012), also proposed that news media reinforce the racialization of communicable diseases like TB through omission of relevant epidemiological fact in their coverage and explicit connections of TB with the nationality of the individual. Findings from this section indicate the significance of an individual or group's identity in attributing risk and the perception of a "disease carrier".

(4) Immigration

One of the three pillars of Canadian immigration policy is humanitarian immigration followed by economic and family-oriented immigration (Bauder, 2008a; 2008b). A total of 21 journal articles discussed immigration reforms, policies and Canada's national identity. This theme included two sub-themes: (1) humanitarianism and (2) policies. The process of othering is also described in legal terms and materializes in exclusionary policies. The following section will discuss and trace a discursive shift in Canada's immigration and refugees policies that were revealed through the papers included in this literature review.

Humanitarianism

The theme of humanitarianism encapsulated Canada's commitment in protecting refugees and the state's national identity. Six of the journal articles in the immigration

theme examined humanitarian immigration and Canada's national identity. Although, the humanitarianism theme was always present throughout the newspaper coverage of immigration in major Canadian newspapers from 1996 till 2004, but danger was the most recurring theme in recent years Bauder, 2008a). The increasing representation of refugees as dangerous in Canadian media has been discussed and attributed to the larger pattern of securitization (Elsamni, 2016; Ibrahim, 2005). The acceptance of refugee claims are viewed as a balance in humanitarian action and avoiding threat (Bauder, 2008b). Bauder suggests that Canada's refugee selection is guided by self-interest and employs a "pick and choose" attitude that favours young, motivated and skilled individuals (2008).

Although the Canadian government gave primacy to a humanitarian narrative in the arrival of Hungarian refugees from 1956 till 1957 and Tamil refugees in 1986, a decreasing humanitarian tradition towards the acceptance of refugees was observed. According to Watson (2007), media reporting in 1986 surrounding the arrival of Tamil passengers identified these individuals as refugees and emphasized a humanitarian dialogue. In contrast, the public opposed this narrative and their hostility were reflected in letters sent to editors (Elsamni, 2016; Watson, 2007). A year later, news of the arrival of Sikh asylum seekers in 1987 was received very differently. The discourse and language used to construct their identity was drastically different in comparison to the previous year (Watson, 2007). The term "refugee" was used much less frequently within the media coverage of this incident and the government challenged the legitimacy of their claims upon their arrival, demonstrating a significant shift away from a humanitarian discourse (Watson, 2007). The striking absence of humanitarianism was also apparent in the coverage of the 2009 and 2010 arrival of Tamil asylum seekers.

Overall, the extent of humanitarian values displayed during each event provides insight into the social and political views of "refugee" (Mann, 2009). The longstanding humanitarian tradition of Canada has been preserved by constructing a positive self-representation and a negative "other" presentation by focusing on the transgressions committed by refugees (Doucet, 2013; Grove and Zwi, 2006; Huot et al., 2016; Osler et al., 2014). This justifies the introduction of exclusionary policies by deeming it necessary to protect the state from the threat and framing policy changes in favour of "genuine" refugees. As a result, the restrictive nature of proposed legislative amendments are portrayed as protecting those in need and is masked with humanitarian rhetoric (Doucet, 2013; Huot et al., 2016; Ibrahim, 2005).

Immigration and Refugee Policies

An underpinning theme in this literature review was the discussion of immigration and refugee policies. Overall, 15 studies analyzed the coverage of immigration and refugee policies in print media. Seven of the journal articles examined previous refugee arrivals by sea and the subsequent policies informed by the discourse at that time. Two of the journal articles studied the Mexican refugee crisis and the imposition of a visa requirement policy in 2009 (Gilbert, 2013; Villegas, 2013). One of the studies compared coverage of the immigration debate and reform in local and national Canadian and British news media (Lawlor 2015) and another study analyzed immigration policies and practice post 9/11 (Adelman, 2002). The remaining studies in this theme traced Canada's immigration policy and examined potential implications for refugees trying to enter Canada. The following section will discuss how securitization has been

produced in a tangible form through government policies (see Figure 4.14) and the role of

news discourse in informing policies (Ibrahim, 2005).
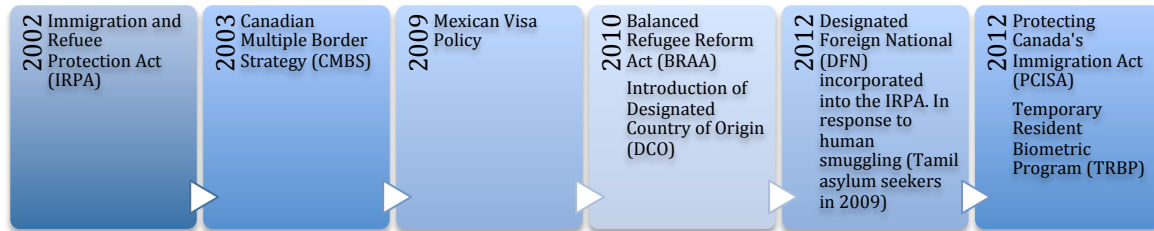
Figure 4.14 Timeline of policy changes examined in the included literature

The studies included in this literature review report critical analyses of the

representations of refugees and forced migrants within the policy and media discourse.

Studies have reported a range of problematizations of asylum seekers in governmental

policies and proposed solutions (Gilbert 2013; Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman,

2014; Villegas, 2013). Past amendments to Canadian immigration laws and policy such

as the introduction of Designated Countries of Origin (DCO) in 2010, Designated

Foreign Nationals (DFN) in 2012 and PCISA in 2012 (Figure 4.14) reflect a shift away

from a humanitarian narrative to a securitized concern of refugees as: economic migrants,

opportunistic criminals and terrorists (Huot et al., 2016; See, 2016). The rise in

securitization and criminality discourse has reshaped the social construction of refugees

from a passive and grateful individual to fraudulent claimants. This narrative has allowed

past governments to implement considerable restrictive changes to the asylum and

refugee system in Canada without appearing to breach the state's obligations as signatory

members of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). As

a signatory party of both international instruments, Canada recognizes convention

refugees and is required to uphold the legal entitlement granted to those with a refugee

status. The failure of a signatory state's to provide recognized refugees with their basic rights and freedoms would be considered breaking legal obligations and the state's reputation would be damaged (See, 2016).

As a result, a shift away from refugees towards the label of "irregular migrants" was primarily noted in the introduction of Canada's Multiple Borders Strategy (CMBS) in 2003. The CMBS aimed to reconceptualise borders as any point where the identity of the traveller can be verified. By pushing the borders out, asylum seekers are externalized and denied access prior to reaching any ports of entry (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). The renaming of asylum seekers to irregular migrants in the CMBS precluded any breach of international laws that protect refugees (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014; See, 2016).

The externalization of asylum seekers was framed as a security imperative to prevent the flow of illegal ("bogus") claimants and a humanitarian endeavour to protect "genuine" refugees (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). This rhetoric of "bogus" refugees was used to provide grounds for legislative changes and promotes a dichotomy of "good" and "bad" refugees. This narrative was exemplified in the introduction of the Balanced Refugee Reform Act (BRRA) in 2010, where the state was depicted as being vulnerable to abuse. Although the new legislation was portrayed as a means of supporting Canada's asylum system by ensuring fairness, protecting genuine refugees and upholding a humanitarian tradition, the new act introduced designated countries of origin (DCO). The DCO list assigned countries as being "safe" and therefore not producing legitimate refugees (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). Numerous studies have criticized this policy amendment for generalizing an entire population of being "safe" or "dangerous" (Huot et al., 2016; Osler et al., 2014; Reynolds

and Hyndman, 2014; See, 2016). These assumptions are cast on an entire country and serve to deny genuine refugees from seeking protection (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014; See, 2016).

The dominant problematization of refugees and asylum seekers as a threat frames these individuals as the source of the problem and enables governments to justify and implement exclusionary policies on the basis of national security (Huot et al., 2016). The assertion of "safe" and "dangerous" was also inherent in the Temporary Resident Biometric Program (TRBP) in 2010 that required fingerprinting of individuals who originated from "dangerous" countries. The implementation of this program was viewed as a means of strengthening the integrity of the immigration and refugee system by reducing the number of fraudulent identities (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014).

The language and discourse of threat used to construct refugees within the news discourse were institutionalized within other policy changes. The Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) in 2012 incorporated a Designated Foreign Nationals (DFNs) category, which expanded government power by imposing mandatory detention for "irregular migrants" and is denied permanent residency for five years. During this time, the "irregular migrant" is also separated from his or her family (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). The introduction of DFN was rationalized as a response to controlling human smugglers and "bogus" refugees by enforcing mandatory detainment in the wake of irregular boat arrivals in 2009 and 2010 (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Huot et al., 2016; Krishnamurti, 2013; Medianu et al., 2015; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). The introduction of the DFN category has been criticized for creating an uneven access to refugee protection and stigmatizing those who arrive by sea and

subsequently are classified as "irregular migrants" even if they are identified as bona fide refugees (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). The increasing adherence to deterrent policies undermines the legal status of refugees and places these individuals into even more precarious positions.

(5) Economic Considerations

Economic considerations have always been a central component of Canadian immigration discourse. However, this theme appeared less frequently than any other revealed from this literature review. Only, 22% (7 out of the 32) of the journal articles studied the economic ramifications of accepting refugees within news media discourse. The prevailing perception of refugees under this theme was the distinction of refugees as either a "contributor" to the economy or a "burden" on the system. Bauder (2008) and Huot et al., (2015) suggest that the emphasis placed on econic worth and self-sufficiency of immigrants and refugees demonstrated a policy shift towards neoliberalism. According to this policy model, individuals are defined by their productivity and those who are unable to fulfill their responsibilities are regarded as a drain on the system (Huot et al., 2016). These values have been institutionalized and portrayed by the government's apparent favouring of "desirable" refugees (skilled, economic or labour migrants) versus those who are considered "undesirable" (unskilled, economically unproductive, refugee and asylum seekers) (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014).

Contributors vs. Drain (Burden)

Six of the journal articles portrayed refugees as an economic drain or burden on the system. Two of these studies conducted a cross-national comparison between

Canadian and British immigration coverage in newspapers (Lawlor, 2015, 2015). One of these studies conducted a deeper analysis and compared the coverage between local and national accounts of immigration framing. Findings from the studies indicated that there were no regional differences in media reporting and threat of violence frames were more frequently reported than economic frames (Lawlor, 2015). Similar findings were also noted by Bauder (2008), who conducted an analysis of Canadian newspaper coverage on immigration discourse between 1996 and 2004. Results from this study demonstrated that economic utility was not a priority in the media coverage of the immigration debate and appeared least in comparison to danger, humanitarian and political utilities (Bauder, 2008a). The recurrent theme of danger within newspaper coverage of immigration debate in Canada demonstrates a shift towards a securitized discourse and overshadows economic considerations (Bauder, 2008a; Elsamni, 2016; Lawlor, 2015).

The analysis of previous refugee arrivals in Canada demonstrated concern over economic threat posed by their entry. Panesar and colleagues (2017), found economic competition as one of the salient frames in the arrival of Komagata Maru passengers in 1914 and were depicted as "opportunistic economic migrants". The media presented wage competition between "white labour" and "cheap Asiatic labour", which heightened the awareness of economic threat posed by these individuals to the residing public. The juxtaposition of Komagata Maru passengers against the vulnerable local in British Columbia served to increase the perception of these passengers as an economic threat and was reported negatively in the news media coverage of this event (Panesar et al., 2017). A similar notion that immigrants would undercut wages and labour markets for citizens or non-immigrants was referred to as zero-sum beliefs and was examined in another

study to determine its role in determining attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Esses et al., 2001). Findings from this study indicated that perceived zero-sum competition between groups increased unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (Esses et al., 2001). These economic arguments served to construct refugees as being detrimental to the nation and as being a drain on the economic and social system (Bauder, 2008a; Esses et al., 2001).

Extending the research on economic considerations, Lawlor and Tolley (2017) uncovered a discursive hierarchy where refugees were frequently perceived as net beneficiaries rather than economic contributors. Although economic framing was present in the discussions of refugees, news media applied this frame to a greater extent when discussing immigrants and immigration (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). The study revealed a discursive hierarchy of preference for those who were categorized as immigrants versus refugees. This was explained by the increased attention paid towards validity concerns of refugee claims and the use of hyperbolic assumptions of refugees as "taking advantage" of the system (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). The distinction drawn by Canadians between immigrants and refugees reveals an uneven support for those who are considered as economic contributors versus those who are perceived as net beneficiaries (drain on the system).

In comparison, only one of the seven journal articles positively reported refugees as a contributor to Canada's economy. Cameron and colleagues (2014) conducted a newspaper article analysis on the movement of Hungarian refugees during 1956 and 1957 into Prince Edward Island (PEI). Findings from the study, revealed that the news media reported their arrival positively due to their perceived ability to contribute towards the

economy coupled with their political identity as anti-soviets, which served to reaffirm Canada's democratic values. The findings from this analysis suggested that the federal government's positive response in accepting Hungarian refugees was indicative of a preference for an ideal type of refugee (Cameron et al., 2014). This supports the distinction of refugees according to their economic worth, who are then constructed as desirable in comparison to those who are economically unproductive and are therefore rendered undesirable.

Recommendations from the Literature

Five journal articles (16%) provided recommendations for future research. The recommendations could be separated into two broad categories: media communication strategies and study methodology to improve attitudes and perceptions towards refugees.

Media Communication Strategies

The absence of refugee voice in the news media and the overrepresentation of elite voices associated with news discourse have been highlighted by researchers in the analysis of refugee movements and policies (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). Esses and colleagues (2008), recommended the coverage of day to day life and the hardships endured by these individuals to humanize and elicit admiration from the public. Another study conducted by Esses and colleagues also recommended that the state and the news media provide information that reduces uncertainty surrounding the arrival of refugees (2013). Such action would counteract the dominant perception of refugees and migrants as threats through increased reporting on positive outcomes and contributions by newcomers (Esses et al., 2008; Esses et al.,2013).

Study Designs & Future Research Direction

Mahtani (2001) recommended the use of other methodological frameworks in analyzing media and minority relations. The majority of the literature available within this field of research is primarily focused on content and critical discourse analysis of negative representation. A study design away from a dualistic framework of "mis-representation" and "under-representation" in needed to explore and analyze evenets where media has positively and accurately represented minorities.

Chapter V: DISCUSSION

The overarching research question guiding this thesis was: what is the role of Canadian newsprint media in representing and framing (Canadian) perceptions of refugees? This research question was addressed in two different ways. Firstly, a news title analysis was conducted to examine how refugee(s) are framed in Canadian newsprint media. Headlines present the subject of an article in a succinct manner that allow readers to easily recall the information and sets a cognitive tone of the piece (van Dijk, 1992; Teo, 2000). Studying the use of language within these headlines was imperative in analyzing and understanding the discursive constructions of refugees within news media. Secondly, the research query was addressed by conducting a literature review. This may be the first study to examine the current extent of literature available on the role of Canadian news media in representing refugees and how media reports subsequently frame Canadian perceptions of refugee(s). The following objectives were articulated to guide this research:

    I.   To critically examine the lexical selection and the role of rhetorical devices within Canadian newspaper headlines in constructing refugees and framing public perceptions

    II.   To determine the extent of literature available and thematically map how refugee movements and subject groups are portrayed

    III.   To compare the portrayal of refugees within news headlines to the findings from the literature reviewed.

The following section of the discussion will provide a summary of key findings in relation to each of the study objectives and will discuss the potential implications of the results.

(I) Lexical selection and constructions of refugee(s) in Canadian news headlines

According to Lawlor and Tolley (2017), news coverage also provides a data source for public discourse since media portrayals and narratives are created to resonate with the intended public. As a result, inferences about societal norms, culture and public attitudes can be drawn through analyzing the news discourse (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017). A definitive feature of newspaper coverage is the use of headlines, which presents the news event in a concise manner and gains the attention of newsreaders (Teo, 2000). Teo (2000) and van Dijk (1992), reported that headlines encapsulates ideologies that subjects readers to a particular interpretation of the news reporting through the lexical choice and syntactic structure of the headlines. In this way, analyzing lexical selection (choice of words) within newspaper headlines allows researchers to identify underlying meaning and ideologies behind the news media coverage (Teo, 2000).

Overall, the analysis of adjectives and descriptive phrases used to depict refugee(s) within news headlines revealed a dominant negative portrayal of refugees. Findings indicated that refugees were constructed largely as the "Other" and were depicted as a threat to state. These constructions were created through careful lexical choices that described refugees as a: burden, uninvited outsider, criminal, terrorist and illegal. These narratives framed refugees as undesirable and promoted a positive-self (state) versus a negative-them (refugees) dichotomy. These unfavourable

characterizations of refugees excluded them from the mainstream society by presenting them as the "other" and as dehumanized.

In addition, refugees were further problematized through the use of rhetorical devices such as amplification metaphors that conveyed an overwhelming influx of refugees. This was demonstrated through the use of descriptive phrases like: "island-of, stampede of, and busload of" to depict the arrival of refugees as an uncontrollable incursion on the state. Migration patterns and refugee movements were also associated with natural disasters such as: "flood of, tidal wave of, and tragic tide of" which furthered the sense of uncertainty and depicted the state as being powerless to an impending disaster. These rhetorical devices contributed to an alarmist discourse and discursively constructed a crisis, which evoked panic among the public. By constructing a crisis, refugees were successfully framed as threat and a culture of fear was reinforced. The prominence of negative portrayal within the news headline analyses can be explained by the fact that crises and negative news reporting sell more than positive stories (Esses et al., 2013). As a result, the preference for negative news content perpetuates a one-sided problematization of refugees and their arrival.

The second theme was neutral (other) and consisted of terms that described the various types of refugees, origin (method of travel) and outlying terms. Although these adjectives and descriptive phrases generally conveyed a neutral tone, negative nuances were detected in the examination of the lexical choices used to describe the mode of arrival (i.e. boat, lifeboat, air travel) taken by refugees to enter Canada. The emphasis placed within news reporting surrounding the refugee's origin and travel (specifically those who journey by sea) demonstrates concern over irregular and unexpected arrivals.

The frequent coverage of "boat people" within the news headlines seemingly marginalized this population and delegitimized the legal entitlement rights of these individuals simply through their entry by sea (Rowe and O'Brien, 2014).

The last theme and the least frequent category was the positive description of refugees. There were two salient sub themes within this theme: (1) deserving refugee(s) and (2) humanitarianism. The lexical selections within the news headlines revealed a fixation on legitimacy and a preference for refugees who are considered contributors (i.e. highly-skilled or educated) to the receiving nation. The findings from the news headline analysis demonstrated that refugees were perceived positively if they adhered to a generalized image of a vulnerable victim and expressed gratitude towards the state for granting protection. The relative lack of positive terms used to depict refugees and the lack of space given to refugee voices in the media exacerbates the distorted negative assertions of refugees as a form of threat.

Language Matters (Refugees vs. Migrants)

The misconceptions and blurred distinction related to terminologies associated with immigration versus forced displacement in newsprint are illustrated by the interchangeable use of the terms refugee(s) and migrant(s). Synonymous use of these poses significant implications in framing public perception of each group respectively (UNHCR, 2016c).

Due to the legal protection and status granted to each category, the importance of the distinction between these two terms cannot be overstated. Refugees are defined and protected under international laws such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which are underpinned by fundamental principles based on non-discrimination,

non-penalization and non-refoulement (UNHCR, 2011). Signatory states to these legal instruments must treat refugees with basic human rights protections and cannot return refugees where he or she fears persecution on well-founded fear. The 1951 convention also stipulates that refugees cannot be penalized for illegal entry or stay unless under specific circumstances. These provisions recognize that refugees could breach immigration laws while seeking protection and serves to safeguard these individuals from arbitrary detainment (UNHRC, 2011).

On the other hand, migrants are individuals who choose to move and are not forcibly displaced. Unlike refugees, migrants do not face any impediments in returning home and typically move to improve their lives. As a result, migrants as a category are not protected or entitled to the legal provisions set out by the 1951 Convention or the 1967 protocol and are addressed differently under individual nation's law and policies (UNHCR, 2016c). Nonetheless, migrants are still individuals who possess basic human rights and must be treated with dignity.

Therefore, misrepresenting or labelling refugees as migrants undermines the legal status and experiences faced by refugees. Blurring the two terms and using them interchangeably can undermine public support for those seeking protection (UNHCR, 2016c). The use of more distinct and accurate terms such as: refugees, displaced people and asylum seekers, are more representative than the use of "migrants" and politically charged expressions like: economic migrants, illegal asylum seeker, bogus claimants and genuine refugees (UNHCR, 2016c).

The consequence of the use of language is far reaching and more than an issue of semantics. More importantly, the misuse of language and rhetorical devices used to

construct the identities of refugees, impact the legal status and protection received by individuals who are due to well founded fear of being persecuted in their own nation. Those who are depicted as illegal and queue-jumpers are individuals without legal protection and rights in comparison to refugees who are protected by international legal instruments. The implication of mislabelling refugees as "illegal" criminalizes and dehumanizes these individuals (Esses et al., 2013). The increased use of such label has reached to a level of normality, where the public and newsreaders associate "undocumented" with criminality. The consistent misuse of these terms perpetuates general stereotypes that represent refugees negatively as: cheaters, liars and criminals. These categories and terminologies serve to "psychologically distance" these groups and can lead to exclusionary practices (Burroughs and O'Reilly, 2013).

The categorization of refugees as "illegal migrant" or "bogus refugees" ignores the complexities faced by these individuals and creates an illusion of a homogenous identity for such a diverse population (Burroughs and O'Reilly, 2013). This narrative reinforces a generalized ideology of certain "types" of refugees and migrants that "fit" into a certain category of desirability or worthiness (Burroughs and O'Reilly, 2013). This form of associations reduces a complex issue of forced displacement to "good" versus "bad" refugees (Osler et al., 2014; UNHCR, 2016). This dichotomy overlooks the context that arises from forced displacement and news media coverage oversimplifies the experiences faced by refugees through omission (UNHCR, 2016).

The tendency of media to emphasize selected issues while omitting essential details distorts public perception by portraying an inaccurate account of the event (Esses et al., 2013; UNHCR, 2016). As stated earlier, studies have shown that negative news

stories attract more attention from its readers than positive ones (Esses et al., 2013; Soroka and McAdams, 2010). Thus, the prominence of negative representation of refugees within newsprint can be attributed to the newsworthiness of sensationalized reports (Esses et al., 2013; Soroka and McAdams, 2010).

Despite the confirmed difference between the two terms, the conflation of refugees and migrants has led to false association of refugees and "irregular migrants" (See, 2016). Cited in the immigration and refugee policies such as CMBS in 2003, and various designations incorporated under PCISA in 2012, the incorrect use of each term can cause ambiguity resulting in a reduction of legitimacy for refugees (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014; See, 2016). States often benefit from this ambivalence, as they become able to stifle refugee arrival and limit their access for protection without explicitly breaking their legal obligations under international laws (Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). In addition, the shift towards a more securitized discourse quickly assigns blame to refugees for social and economic decline such as increased unemployment, crime and costs associated with health and welfare services (White, 2015). The continued misuse of these terms perpetuates misconceptions of refugees and deepens negative attitudes towards those who endanger their lives to seek safety.

(II) Extent of Literature and Descriptive Themes

The literature search yielded 32 journal articles that met the inclusion criteria and revealed a total of five descriptive themes: securitization, immigration, legitimacy, economic and racialization. Results from this review indicated a dominant security-oriented discourse and an increase in exclusionary policies that serve to push out asylum

seekers before they arrive to any ports of entry (Huot et al., 2016; Ibrahim, 2005; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014).

The current breadth of research dwells on the negative portrayal of refugees and in particular the negative associations promoted during several focusing events such as the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers in 2009 and 2010 and their portrayal as "terrorist", "queue-jumpers" and "breeders" (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Krishnamurti, 2013; Medianu et al., 2015). Similar narratives were also present in studies that analyzed past arrivals of: Indian migrants in 1914, Tamil asylum seekers in 1986, Sikhs asylum seekers in 1987 and the arrival of Chinese migrants from the Fujian province in 1999 (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg, 2000; Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Mann, 2009, Panesar et al., 2017; Watson, 2007). Members of these groups were racialized and portrayed as criminals, cheaters and contagious (Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Greenberg, 2000; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Mann, 2009, Panesar et al., 2017). The disproportionate media coverage attracted by these movements have produced hysteria and catalyzed legislative changes affecting immigration and the refugee determination process (Huot et al., 2016; Mann, 2009; Silverman, 2014).

Researchers have also examined how representations of refugees in news media have been institutionalized within legislative amendments. Studies report a wide range of depictions of refugees including: criminal, bogus claimants, terrorists and illegal within policy backgrounders and rationales conveyed by the government aiming for new policy changes (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Gilbert, 2013; Hier and Greenberg , 2002; Huot et al., 2013, Krishnamurti, 2013; Medianu et al., 2015, Villegas; 2013).

Academic studies frequently refer to a well-known incident that involved the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers in 2009 and 2010 by boat. The "irregularity" of their mode of arrival was used to portray these refugees as possible terrorists and criminals (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Elsamni, 2016; Krishnamurti, 2013; Medianu et al., 2015). These narratives were reflected in the introduction of the DFN category and DCO policy, which established mandatory detention policies for "irregular arrivals" to control human smuggling (Bradimore and Bauder, 2011; Huot et al., 2016; Krishnamurti, 2013; Medianu et al., 2015; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014).

Hier and Greenberg (2002), suggest that the problematization of immigration can be perceived as a response to collective insecurity surrounding citizenship and national identity. Thus, by manufacturing a crisis around immigration and refugee policies, a problem is identified (i.e. refugees) and a decisive state action (i.e. policy changes) is proposed as a solution that can in turn reduce public anxiety (Greenberg and Hier, 2001; Hier and Greenberg, 2002). However, the repercussions of problematizing refugees and implementing restrictive policies have significant implications for targeted groups such as dehumanization that justifies unfavourable attitudes and inhumane treatment of refugees (Esses et al., 2013; Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Medinau et al., 2015).This finding was supported and further explored by Esses and colleagues (2013) who found that media depictions of immigrants and refugees as disease spreaders, bogus and terrorist promoted the dehumanization of these individuals. Dehumanization is considered to be an extreme form of intolerance and "otherness", which characterizes refugees as sub-human (Esses, et al., 2013).

Although, themes of securitization and othering dominated the literature, economic considerations were also discussed. The emphasis placed on economic worth and potential as an implicit criterion for desirability among refugee applicants was seen as an adoption of neoliberal policy (Huot et al., 2016; Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014). Bauder (2008), also noted a preference for "desirable" refugees and explained that Canada's refugee selection is guided by self-interest rather than humanitarianism. Only one of the journal articles included in this literature review depicted refugees positively (Cameron, 2014). This study revealed an emphasis on humanitarian dialogue and concern surrounding the arrival of Hungarian refugees between 1956 and 1957. This response coincided with a time of economic recession in Prince Edward Island (PEI) and framed the influx of refugees as economic contributors. This study suggested that refugees were received positively if they were considered desirable based on their ability to contribute to the economy and society (Cameron, 2014).

The few cases of positive sentiments towards the arrival of refugees and immigrants quickly became negative through the adoption of a securitized narrative within the news media. Esses et al., 2013 citing Mahatani and Mountz (2002), refers to this as "soft" support for immigration policies, which are based on weak foundations and are easily degraded by negative portrayals by the media. This was demonstrated by the study conducted by Watson (2007), who noted a discursive shift away from a humanitarian coverage to a securitized narrative in the media reporting of the 1986 arrival of Tamil asylum seekers to the 1987 arrival of Sikh passengers. This shift was attributed to the hostility and suspicion conveyed by the public in the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers earlier that year and the "soft" support for humanitarian immigration was

diminished by concerns surrounding non-genuine claims and assertions of a weak refugee determination system (Watson, 2007).

In recent events, a similar support was detected in the media coverage and response to the Syrian conflict and refugee crisis. Although, humanitarian actors and agencies appealed for wider media attention on one of the largest humanitarian crisis since 2011, there was a lack of interest from various media agencies (White, 2015). Many would say that the viral photo of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi's body in September 2015 was what finally propelled the Western world take interest (White, 2015). Immediately after the image was published, media narratives related to refugees dramatically shifted towards a humanitarian frame. Although, controversy still surrounds publication of the image, the public reaction signified the importance of media reporting and content framing on complex issues like forced displacement (White, 2015).

Unfortunately, media coverage of the refugee crisis reverted to statistical analysis and security-related issues regarding the influx of refugees (White, 2015). Part of this change in media coverage can be attributed to the nature of sensationalized news stories like the case of Aylan Kurdi. When the level of sensationalism decreases, the public loses interest in the story, and the media will move on as well (White, 2015).

Canada responded to the ongoing conflict in Syria by resettling 26, 172 government-assisted and privately sponsored refugees from November 2015 through April 2016 (Turner, 2017) Despite the liberal government's commendable commitment to the humanitarian crisis, the GAR program in 2015 reflected a securitized agenda by excluding unaccompanied males under the resettlement program. That is, male refugees were excluded unless they identified as a sexual minority (gay, bisexual or transsexual), a

certain cause for persecution in parts of Syria (Turner, 2017). The exclusion of single

Syrian refugee males from resettlement programs reflects a gendered view of

vulnerability, where women, children and sexual minorities are perceived to be

defenseless when compared to their male counterparts (Turner, 2017). Subsequently,

heterosexual males who are often viewed as dangerous face severe difficulty accessing

resettlement programs (Turner, 2017).

(III) A Comparison of refugee portrayals from the news headline analysis and the findings from the literature reviewed.

Findings from both the news title analysis and the review of academic literature

indicated an overall negative characterization of refugee and reported dominant themes of

securitization, othering, and a narrative of crisis. The construction of "deserving" and

"undeserving" refugees was inherent in both analyses. Similar to the descriptive themes

revealed from the literature review, "deserving" refugees were depicted as legitimate

refugees and contributors to the hosting nation. In comparison to the literature review, the

lexical choices employed to present refugees, as "contributors" were based on skills and

education rather than specific economic consideration.

Both analyses yielded minimal positive portrayal of refugees and their

contribution to the receiving state. However, an underlying theme revealed from the news

title analysis was the depiction of gratitude expressed by refugees. The news coverage of

their gratitude was co-opted with nationalistic narratives that promoted Canada's

reputation as a tolerant state. In addition, compassion was granted by the state to refugees

that were perceived as victims. This was also observed in the descriptive themes collected

from the literature review, where studies proposed that the construction of refugees as

vulnerable victims furthers Canada's national self-image as "rescuers" and a committed

humanitarian country that seeks to offer protection to those fleeing from danger (Bauder, 2008b; Jenciek et al., 2007; Watson, 2007).

Villain(s) vs. Victim(s)

Both components of this study revealed a prevalent discourse of helplessness and othering. Even within the few positive portrayal of refugees in both the news discourse and academic literature, refugees were only granted compassion if they were depicted as passive victims such as the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers in 1986. They were referred to as "castaway", "living in fear" and "abandoned" in comparison to the government who was portrayed in newspapers as "welcoming", "humanitarian", "generous" and "morally responsible" within newspapers (Watson, 2007). These dominant narratives conceptualized refugees as dependent and as objects of sympathy. The abundance of adjectives revealed within the victim and conflict theme (see figure 4.4) from the news title analysis demonstrates that current news discourse continues to employ linguistic strategies that elicit pity and emphasizes the victimhood of a refugee. While the strategic portrayals of refugees as a passive victim have driven commendable discussions around policy reform and the reception of refugee arrival, this narrative fosters a stereotypical perception of a helpless refugee and minimizes their agency. Although, this representation of refugees garners sympathy from the public, it fails to depict refugees as resilient people with skills and abilities.

On the other hand, the portrayal of refugees as "victims" alternates with the perception of refugees as a "villain" which is characterized by threat and danger. This contrasting narrative produces a narrow view of the complexities experienced by refugees (Crawley, McMahon and Jones, 2016). Both constructions of refugees as a "victim" or a

"villain" alienate an already marginalized population from the mainstream community. This portrayal has the potential to impede the ability of refugees to fully participate and integrate in the larger community (Grove and Zwi, 2006).

Instead of using linguistic strategies to frame refugees as a victim or a villain, narratives need to reframe refugees as capable and resilient people that have overcome adversity from oppressive situations. In addition, the use of humane language and accurate news reporting is critical in creating a more balanced narrative.

Denial of Racism

A significant component of Canadian national identity is founded on the belief that Canadian society is uniquely tolerant and welcoming in comparison to other nations (Bauder, 2008a, 2008b; Szuchewycz, 2000). This long-standing idealization of Canada as a nation without racism remains prevalent and is exemplified by a "broad-based popular ignorance" of Canada's history of discriminatory practices (Szuchewycz, 2000).

van Dikj (1992) proposed a broader framework referred to as "denial of racism" which strategically allows the state and media to strategically maintain a representation of the "Other" while maintaining a positive self-presentation of the receiving nation (Nelson, 2013; van Dijk, 1992). This strategy presupposes that the individual or the group (i.e. state) is tolerant towards minorities and newcomers (van Dijk, 1992). Nelson (2013) citing Augoustinos and Every (2007), notes that racial views are carefully constructed and justified through the use of particular language that minimizes accusations and downplays the extent of the racialized discourse.

This semantic strategy was demonstrated in a critical discourse analysis of a survey commissioned by the federal government concerning Canadian attitudes towards

immigrants and immigration published in the Globe and Mail in 1994 (Szuchewycz, 2000). The newspaper publication employed lexical styles that encoded discrimination and intolerance through omission, trivialization and the denial of explicit use of race and its derivatives i.e. racism or racist (Szuchewycz, 2000). The denial of racism reinforces a dominant assumption that racism does not exist in the Canadian community and reinforces an inaccurate belief of Canada as a uniquely tolerant country. These practices foster an environment that is inclined to ignore and or trivialize discriminatory practices, which poses a challenge for individuals who experience these negative social treatments and are unable to convey their concern (Szuchewycz, 2000). This denial undermines the efforts aimed to address discrimination and strategies placed to foster an inclusive environment (Szuchewycz, 2000). By discursively producing a positive-self presentation through semantic strategies of denial, mitigation, trivialization and marginalization, news media plays a significant role in the maintenance and construction of Canadian national identity as a uniquely tolerant country (Szuchewycz, 2000)

Finding an absence of racism and discrimination in the news headline analysis conducted in this thesis supports previous research (van Dijk's, 1992; Szuchewycz, 2000). The analysis of descriptive terms analyzed in headlines did not yield in any racialized narratives of refugees such as "disease carriers" or "breeders" that were present in themes revealed from the literature review. The absence of explicit racism and discrimination within headlines may be explained by the desire of Canadians to appear socially, morally, and ethically accepting. This is particularly problematic for Canada, because having multiculturalism as a core component of Canadian identity enables an implicit and potentially dangerous form of racism to take root (Mahtani, 2001).

Strengths & Limitations of the Study

The strengths and limitations of this thesis are discussed in reference to both components of the study: (1) news title analysis and (2) literature review.

(1) News Title Analysis

The purpose of this analysis was to examine adjectives and descriptive terms employed within newsprint media to frame ideas about refugees. Two electronic databases were searched to gather literature for the subject of this analysis. As a result, the news titles collected from the searches were representative of the articles and indexes available in the CPI.Q and CBCA database. The combination of both databases yielded wide-ranging results from major national and local Canadian newspapers. Although CBCA had a less current collection of news publications from national papers like the Globe and Mail and Toronto Star, these national newspaper outlets overlapped with the more recent collection available on the CPI.Q database. The combined use of both databases resulted in a wide range of publications starting from 1982 till the present.

A shortcoming of the news headline analysis was the highly interpretative nature of the data collected. As a result, a confirmatory procedure (separate news title analysis) was undertaken to counteract any potential risk of personal bias during data interpretation and added confidence to the findings from the news headline analysis.

Given the interchangeable use of migrants and refugees within newsprint media, the search results could have excluded other media narratives.. Future research should expand the concept of refugees and include other associated keywords such as: migrants, immigrants and asylum-seekers. Separate news title searches is recommended for each of the key terms and a comparative analyses of the adjectives and rhetorical devices present

within the news discourse holds potential in providing an understanding the similarities and differences in the media portrayal of each category.

(2) Literature Review

The strength of the literature review lies in the iterative process employed to create a comprehensive search strategy and the inclusion of wide range of multidisciplinary databases. In addition, the focus on newsprint media in Canada added to the lack of literature review available on this subject.

A shortcoming of the literature review conducted for this study pertains to the search process. The literature was limited to studies published in English and could have excluded other relevant articles published in another language. In addition, the reliance on electronic search engines for relevant data suggests that the results yielded from the search are indicative of the sources available in the specific database. To ensure that the search results were comprehensive and representative of the academic literature available to date, a total of five databases from various subjects such as communication science, political science and sociology were used. Although possible, it is unlikely that other electronic database searches could have yielded additional journal articles that would meet the inclusion criteria for this literature review.

Recommendations

Based on the results of this study, there are three key suggestions for improving the role of news media in portraying refugees and framing perceptions of refugees in Canada.

- Foremost, it is imperative that journalists and editors continuously receive training in ethics, tolerance and diversity throughout their carriers. In doing so, the public is consistently exposed to balanced and factual narratives that encourage one to critically and constructively analyze the information presented, rather than perpetuating the existing dominant stereotype.

- That media networks to create a space for refugees to tell their own stories. Empowering refugees to narrate their own experiences gives meaning to the struggle that cannot be conveyed by someone on the outside. may help provide more accurate context to help improve understanding the complexities of forced displacement.

- Include or feature positive coverage of refugees increases, success stories regarding integration and contributions, to produced a balanced representation of refugees in the print media.

Chapter VI: CONCLUSION

This study represents a key contribution to the current literature, as it may be the first literature review that focuses on the role of Canadian news media in representing refugees and framing Canadian perceptions of refugees. This study adds depth to the existing knowledge by comparing the extent of literature available with the lexical selection and themes revealed from the news title analysis. Overall, the comparative analysis between the news titles and the literature review uncovered a predominantly negative representation of refugees. In addition, the power of news discourse appeared to influence government policies and public opinion.

The findings of this dissertation indicated a range of recurrent media narratives used to portray refugees within Canadian news discourse and academic literature. An underlying construction of refugees as the "Other" was employed to create a distinction of a positive-us and negative-them representation. This was accomplished through the choice of language such as: burden, illegal and terrorist, along with amplification metaphors such as: "tidal of," and "boatload of" that definitively created a sense of crisis and portrayed refugees a threat. Furthermore, misrepresentation of refugees within news media through the interchangeable use of "migrants" with refugees undermines legal status and protection entitled to refugees. This poses significant challenges for those seeking refuge and produces a false perception of refugees among the public.

Beyond the issues with newsprint representation, and despite the provisions under 1951 *Convention* and 1967 *Protocol* which safeguard refugees from being penalized for illegal entry, the pervasive association of illegality with refugees in newsprint media has resulted in the legitimization of exclusionary policies. These restrictive measures created

conditions for legitimacy, resulting in uneven access to protection as only those who arrived through resettlement programs and awaited their claims were deemed deserving (Rowe and O'Brien, 2014). Thus, the media portrayal of Canadian refugee system being "too weak" or "too lenient" allowed the Canadian government to justify the implementation of securitized policies that served to exclude refugees rather than include them.

Collectively, the process of "othering," and strategic use of language within newsprint media help to maintain Canada's national identity as a tolerant and compassionate state, while the complexities of forced displacement remain largely misunderstood. The resulting public fear, perpetuated by the media through lack of accurate representation has, unfortunately, served to influence government towards increased securitization when humanitarianism and inclusivity should be the real concerns.

Future Research

Given the limitations of this study, future studies need to examine an expanded definition of refugee in the news title analysis search and include other key terms such as: asylum seekers, migrants, immigrants and newcomers. Although, grey material was not included in the literature review due to time and resource constraints, this could be useful in understanding the role of relevant organization and add to the breadth of literature.

Additionally, conducting a comparative analysis of the descriptive terms used within news headlines to construct migrant(s) and refugee(s) will provide insight in similarities and differences in the framing of each label within news media. Exploring the frequency and tone of the descriptive phrases through automated content analysis will

allow researchers to capture a wide range of discourse and determine if refugees and migrants are framed differently. Determining discursive distinctions between migrants and refugees will provide an understanding of how news media discourse conflates the two categories and potential implications of these framings. Few have explicitly compared the framing of refugees with immigrants (Lawlor and Tolley, 2017), but no study thus far has compared the framing of migrants and refugees.

Recognizing the power of news discourse in framing perceptions of refugees, including interviews with refugees to determine their thoughts about their representation in the newsprint media will present a more complete picture. This could provide insight on the impact of media narratives on self-identity of refugees and their sense of belonging.

Lastly, the lexical choices and semantic strategies such as: omission, qualification and trivialization used to deny evidence of racism within newsprint media must be studied further. In the context of Canadian national identity these strategies reinterpret or mitigate the existence of racism and reinforces the dominant perception of Canada as a tolerant state (Szuchewycz, 2000). The extent of these practices across Canadian newsprint media needs to be studied through content analysis. Furthermore, identifying implicit racial undertones and attitudes within news content should include interviews with journalist(s) to determine personal bias surrounding topics such as multiculturalism, race and immigration. Collectively, this information from these sources may provide a better understanding of author intentions omissions and interpretation of data to confirm their own beliefs.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Term	Definition (Support)
Alien(s)	"A person from a foreign country who is not a citizen of the host country" ("Alien vs. Immigrant," n.d.).
Asylum seeker(s)	"A person who has fled from his or her own country due to fear of persecution and has applied for (legal and physical) protection in another country but has not yet had their claim for protection assessed" ("Who is a Refugee", n.d.).
BVORs	"The Blended Visa Office-Referred (BVOR) Program matches refugees identified for resettlement by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) with private sponsors in Canada" (Government of Canada, n.d.)
GARs	Government-assisted refugees (GARs) are refugees from the Convention Refuges Abroad Class. and are eligible if: • are outside your home country, • cannot return there due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on: race, religion, political opinion, nationality, or membership in a particular social group. (Government of Canada, n.d.)
IDP	"Internally displaced people (IDPs) have not crossed a border to find safety. Unlike refugees, they are on the run at home" (UNHCR, n.d.).
Immigrants	"Persons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas" (Statistics Canada, n.d.).
Migrants	"Migrants choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons. Unlike refugees who cannot safely return home, migrants face no such impediment to return" (UNHCR, n.d.).
Newcomer(s)	"An immigrant or refugee who has been in Canada for a short time, usually less than 3 or 5 years" ("Who is an Immigrant, Refugee, Newcomer & Undocumented Person?", n.d.).
Protected persons	"According to Canada's *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act,* a person who has been determined to be either (a) a Convention Refugee or (b) a person in need of protection (including, for example, a person who is in danger of being tortured if deported from Canada)" (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010).
PSRs	A group of people in Canada volunteers to help privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) to help them adjust to life in Canada. The sponsorship group will: • help find a place to live, • give financial, social and emotional support, and • give food and clothing (Government of Canada, n.d.)
Refugee claimants	"A person who has fled their country and is asking for protection in another country" (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010).
Refugees	"People fleeing conflict or persecution. They are defined and protected in international law, and must not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom are at risk" (UNHCR, n.d.).

Appendix A: Immigration and Refugee Policy Timeline

Year	Policy
1869	**Immigration Act** • This was Canada's first immigration act and reflected an 'open door' policy, which was created to encourage settlement within the Western provinces and had very few restrictions. • This act included no specific provisions relating to refugees
1885	**Chinese Immigration Act** • Canadian government established a head tax of $50 on Chinese immigrants to deter immigration from China • Denied entrances to immigrants suffering from leprosy and or other infectious diseases
1903	• By this time the head tax had increased to $500 and the Chinese community in Western Canada continued to grow
1906	**Immigration Act** • Broadened restriction categories on ineligible or "undesirable" immigrants • Formalized deportation procedures and government were granted discretionary power on who was admitted
1907	**Gentlemen's Agreement** • Canada limited the number of Japanese men migrating to 400 per year
1908	**The Continuous Journey Regulation** • Bans immigrants who do not arrive to Canada directly through a continuous journey(i.e. Japan, India and other countries) • Landing money of people from India were increased from $50 to $200
1910	**Immigration Act** • Expanded the list of prohibited immigrants • Those sponsored by charitable institutions or were determined to be unsuited to the Canadian climate were prohibited
1914	**The Naturalization Act** • Stricter restrictions for becoming citizens including: live in Canada for five years, adequate knowledge of English or French and 'good moral' character • Secretary of state was able to grant and revoke any citizenships with no option for recourse

1919	**The Immigration Act Amendment** • After World War One more restrictions were placed on citizenship due to the fear of 'enemy aliens, communism and expanded the list of prohibited immigrants.
1923	**Chinese Immigration Act** • Almost complete restrictions on the movement of Chinese people by narrowly defining the categories of eligible Chinese immigrant • Repealed in 1947
1947	**Canadian Citizenship Act** • Under this act, residents were allowed to obtain Canadian citizenships regardless of country of origin • Prior to this act, naturalized immigrants were considered British subjects rather than Canadian citizens
1952-1962	**Immigration Act & Regulations** • In 1952, the newest Immigration Act since 1910 was created (no significant changes) • In 1962 new regulations were introduced to eliminate racial, religious and or ethnic barriers to immigration (applicants were assessed on skills). However, only immigrants who are deemed 'desirable' were able to sponsor adult relatives
1967	**Immigrant Regulations** • New regulations created a point system to ensure that the immigration process is objective • This regulation was added to protect applicants from racial discrimination • Points were given in relation to education, occupational skills, employment, proficiency in English or French
1971	**Multiculturalism Policy** • Officially recognizes and celebrates the cultural plurality within Canadian society • Preserves cultural freedom and officially recognizes the contributions of diverse cultural groups to Canada
1976	**Immigration Act** • Represented a significant shift in Canadian immigration legislation and reflected progressive attitudes • First act to outline objectives of the immigration policies, classes of immigrants and the role of various level of government in planning and management

1977	**Citizenship Act** • Act is reformed and declared both naturalized citizens and native-born have equal rights and obligations under Canadian law
1988	**The Canadian Multiculturalism Act** • Expanded the 1971 multiculturalism policy • Revisions were made to reflect the cultural, racial and ethnic composition of the Canadian public • First country to pass a national law on multiculturalism and encouraged multicultural programs
2002	**Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)** • This act was created to replace the Immigration Act of 1976 and further tightened the requirements for immigrants, expanded the power to arrest, detain and deport immigrants on the basis of threat • Allowed same-sex and common-law relationships to benefit similar to married couples
2004	**Safe Third Country Agreement** • A part of the U.S - Canada Smart Border Action Plan, which requires refugee claimants to request protection in the first safe country they arrive in.
2012	**Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act (PCISA)** • An act to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act • Immigration minister would have the power to choose a list of designated 'safe' countries • Rejected refugee claimants from the safe country list cannot appeal the decision to the IRB • Claimants from 'safe' countries need to wait a year before applying under humanitarian and compassionate consideration for permanent residence and can be deported in the waiting time

Adopted from Canadian Council for Refugees (CCRC), 2007 and 2009

Appendix B: Search Strategy & Database Selection Process (Literature Review)

Search Session	Keywords	Databases	Additional Notes
One	(media or news media) AND (portrayal or representation or presentation or critique or analysis or public opinion or public perception) AND (refugees) AND (Canada)	- Social Science Abstract - Social Work Abstract - Communication Source	Social Work Abstract database search generated no relevant results JSTOR and Web of Science database was added for the next step
Two	(media or news media or newspaper or print media) AND (portrayal or representation or presentation or critique or analysis or public opinion or public perception) AND (refugees or migrants or immigrants or asylum seekers) AND (Canada or Canad*)	- Social Science Abstract - Social Work Abstract - Communication Source - JSTOR - Web of Science	JSTOR database search generated no relevant searches ProQuest Political Science and ProQuest Sociological database was added for the next step
Three	(media or news media or newspaper or print media) AND (portrayal or representation or presentation or critique or analysis or public opinion or public perception) AND (refugees or migrants or immigrants or asylum seekers) AND (Canada or Canad*)	- Social Science Abstract - Social Work Abstract - Communication Source - JSTOR - Web of Science - ProQuest Political Science - ProQuest Sociological	The addition of ProQuest databases generated more relevant studies and the search results reached a saturation point.

Boolean Search Terms:

all(news media OR media OR newspaper) AND all(refugees OR refugee OR migrant OR asylum seekers OR immigrant) AND all(canada OR canad*) AND all(portrayal or representation or presentation or critique or analysis or public opinion or public perception)

Sociology Database: 44, Final = 6
1. **Justice, Morality and the Dehumanization of Refugees**
2. **Immigration Debate in Canada: How newspapers reported 1996-2004**
3. **Mystery Ships and Risky Boat People**
4. **Immigrants can be deadly**
5. **The Komagata Through a Media Lens**
6. **Dangerous Shortcuts**

Social Sciences Abstracts: 21 , Applicable = 3, Final = 3
1. **Framing immigration in the Canadian and British News Media**
2. **Canadian borders and immigration post 9/11**
3. **Uncertainty, Threat and the role of media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees**

Web of Science: 50, Applicable = 6, Final New = 4
1. **Deciding who's legitimate: news media framing of immigrants and refugees**
2. **Constructing undesirables: A critical discourse analysis of "othering" within the PCISA**
3. **The discursive production of a Mexican refugee crisis in Canadian media and policy**
4. **Exploring the mutual constitution of racializing and medicalizing discourses of immigrant TB in Canadian press**
5. Justice, morality and the dehumanization of refugees
6. "immigrants can be deadly"

Communication Source: 25, Applicable = 4, Final =2
1. **Crisis, Mobilization and Collective Problematization: "illegal" Chinese migrants and the Canadian News Media**
2. **The migration of Hungarian refugees to PEI, 1956-57**
3. Immigrants can be deadly
4. Mystery ships and risky boat people

ProQuest Political Science: 43, Applicable = 4, Final = 1
1. *A Turn in Canada Refugee Policy*
2. The Komagata Through a Media Lens
3. Immigration Debate in Canada: How newspapers reported 1996-2004
4. Justice, Morality and the Dehumanization of Refugees

JSTOR and Social Work Database: 0, Final = 0

News Title Analysis (Adjectives) Search Strategy Results

CBCA

- legitimate
- tougher
- failed
- bogus
- masked
- environmental
- forgotten
- terrorist
- criminal
- real
- climate
- lifeboat
- mystery
- richest
- invisible
- suspicious
- starving
- victims
- political
- religious
- illegal
- fearful
- haunted
- queue jumping
- desert
- seagram

- abused
- latest
- penniless
- shell-shocked
- radiation
- boat-people
- true
- genital
- unreported
- junk-mail
- gender
- fake
- would-be
- economic
- genuine
- revolutionary
- illegitimate
- scapegoat
- desperate
- phony
- unknown
- terrified
- wartime
- homeless
- "flood of"
- would-be

- unwanted
- weary
- errant
- home-sick
- most-in-need
- caged birds
- missing
- false
- government-assisted
- unwanted
- internal
- undocumented
- prospective
- scared
- tidal-wave
- boatload
- vulnerable
- delinquent
- well-fed
- job-hunting
- so-called
- failed
- bona-fide
- jubilant

CPIQ

- forgotten
- stranded
- vulnerable
- jungle
- climate
- true
- other
- terrorism
- boat people
- war(s)
- school-bound
- bogus
- tide of

- genuine
- sham
- internal
- successful
- financial
- economic
- environmental
- drought
- radiation
- LGBTQ
- Desperate
- Phony
- Prospective

- Lifeboat
- Frightened
- Drug-war
- Missing
- Fearful
- Ethnic
- Job-hunting
- Stampede of
- Overload of
- Academic
- Weary
- political
- war-weary

Appendix C: Data Charting Form Template

Title & Year	Author	Methodology	Events	Findings (Themes)	Recommendation/Discussion

Appendix D: Coded Adjective List

Positive	Neutral (Other)	Negative	
Thankful	Little	Bogus	Scapegoat
Academic	Boat	Masked	Unknown
Grateful	Political	Fake	Terrified
Qualified	Air travel	Drug-war	Unwanted
Successful	Sun Sea	Undocumented	Weary
True	High-tech	Sick	Errant
Genuine	Resort	Dangerous	Home-sick
Real	School-bound	Delinquent	Scared
Bona-fide	Environmental	War	Vulnerable
Most-in-need	Lifeboat	Despondent	Stranded
Legitimate	Religious	Needy	Desperate
Government- assisted	Seagram	Phony	Unprotected
Skilled	Latest	Terrorist	Wrong
	Radiation	Criminal	Disaster
	Gender	War-torn	Sham
	Internal	Paralyzed	Frightened
	One-time	False	Over-load of
	Long	Disabled	Boatload of
	Sidewalk	Failed	Job-hunting
	Prospective	Suspicious	Mystery
	Climate-change	Starving	'would-be'
	LGBTQ	Illegal	So-called
	Government-assisted	Fearful	Island-of
	Desert	Haunted	Food of
	Genital	Queue jumping	Tidal wave of
		Abused	Tragic tide of
		Penniless	Caged birds
		Shell-shocked	Stampede of

Total number of words (94) in each theme and sub-theme

Positive		Negative		Neutral	
Canada's	3	Burden:	2	Types of refugees	9
Compassion		Uninvited outsider:	3	Origin	6
Contributors	4	Criminality & Terrorism	5	(Method of Travel)	
(useful)		Uncertainty	2	Outliers	10
Legitimate:	7	Illegality	13		
		Metaphors	6		
		Victims & Conflicts	25		
TOTAL:	14		56		25

Appendix E: Data Charting Form (Completed)

Title & Year	Author	Methodology	Events	Findings (Themes)	Recommendation/Discussion
Framing Immigration in the Canadian and British News Media **2015**	Lawlor, Andrea	Automated Content Analysis Timeline: 1999-2013 Newspapers: The Globe and Mail, The National Post, The Toronto Star The London Times, The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian Database: Factiva immigration, immigrant(s), refugee(s), immigrate(s/d/ing) 10,542 stories, 5274 Canadian, 5268 British time range → pre/post analysis of two major global focusing events Three-part analysis: identify/extract frames assess frequency of frame coverage assess tone over time	9/11 2005 London Bombings	Despite differences in immigration levels, volumes and origins and public opinion. Five frames used in Canada and British newspapers: - refugee and asylum - illegality and security - economic and labour - social services - diversity Canadian coverage is driven by – event driven framing style, focusing on an event i.e. terror attack or large scale refugee claims vs. Britain media 'over-time' shift There remains a strong undercurrent of negative debate in the mainstream news that cannot simply be attributed to those who are 'anti-immigration' caution Canadians making broad claims about the comparative depths of Canadian tolerance and acceptance of newcomers Illegality and refugee framing form the majority of the media framing, even though there are no evidence that they are more responsible for crimes than other citizens → the volume and tone of these frames has the potential to impact perceptions of how immigrants and refugees fit into society	Future research into linking findings to individual level perceptions on the impact of media intake on perceptions of the place of migrants in society

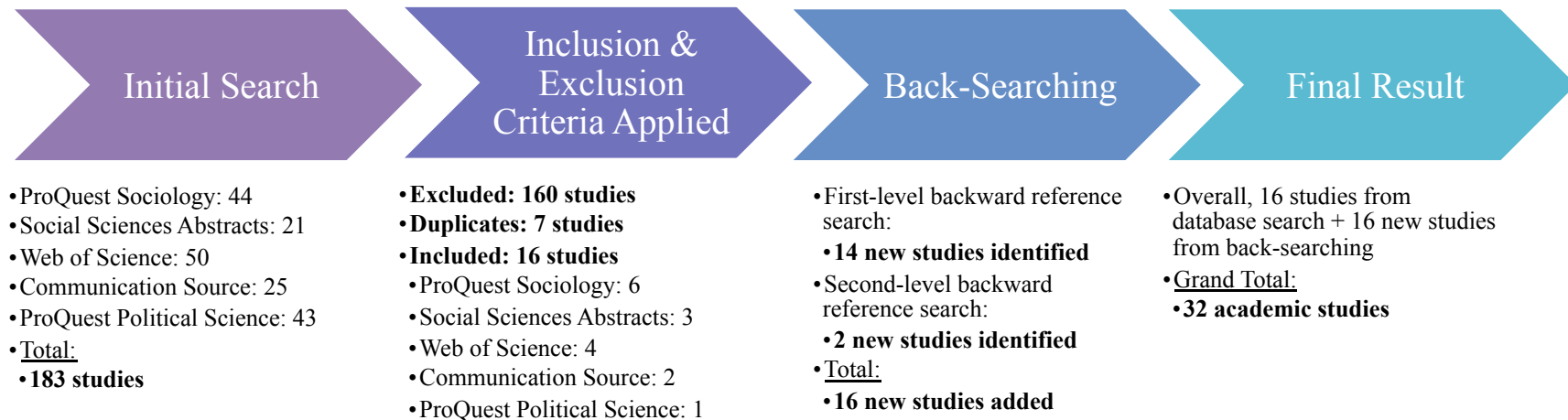| Queue-jumpers, terrorists, breeders: representations of Tamil migrants in Canadian Popular Media 2013	Krishnamurti, Sailaja	Analysis of articles, comments, blog posts and message boards. Newspapers examined were: The Globe and Mail, The National Post, The Vancouver Sun, Sun Media chain of newspapers. July 2010 to May 2011	Arrival of the MV Sun Sea on the BC coast in August 2010 with 492 Tamil passengers	Queue jumpers and migrant illegitimacy 'butting in' ahead of other legitimate refugees illegality is inextricably linked to the group's identity as Tamils misleading → these groups of migrants are in competition with 'real' refugees discursive image of 'queue jumper' → symbolic to affront Canadian values migrants are perceived as physically inserting bodies into a regulates institutionalised bureaucratic system even if they are legitimate refugees, means of travel and entry is illegal and therefore the legitimacy is nullified method of travel is criminal Terrorism and the spectre of criminality presumptions of terrorist associations the fear of terrorism and terrorist has become the guiding principle behind host of changes to immigration policies and public attitudes (pg.148) within popular media → Tamil and tiger were seen as being inextricable → part of a global network of terrorist → physical threat to the safety of Canadians Breeders, or the fear of the productive body Pregnant women were also constructed as exploiter of social welfare system Women and future children were implicated as terrorists Seen as a source of terror, terrorist, nurturer of terrorist and producer of more Vectors of crime, disease and conflict (how the anxiety of and fear of pregnant migrant body is manifested)	Wider shift in public sentiment, a move away from a humanitarian nation to one in need of defence of itself and its institutions (similar to the case in Australia) Reinserting compassion into public discourse Recognition required of the migrant body being more than its discursive images

Please note: the complete chart is available upon request

Appendix F: Separate News Title Group Analyses

Group	Words	Discussion Notes
1	- Fake, bogus, phony, wrong, false, illegal, illegitimate, failed - Dangerous, unreported, unprotected, diseased, sick, scapegoat, terrorist, criminal, delinquent, undocumented, masked, caged birds, disillusioned, burdensome - Suspicious, mystery, unknown, mysterious, missing	How outsiders characterize refugees – Othering - fear inciting of the unknown, they'll cause chaos, disorders, disruption - they are "other"
2	- boat, boat people, lifeboat, little, long, many - tidal-wave, stranded, fewer, boatload, air travel	Referring to methods of travel - reminiscent of slave trade, the "boat", emblematizes an overwhelming poorness of people forced to leave their homes (involuntarily) - strong emotional associations - air plane vs. boat people (refugees are more legitimate if travelling from air and a narrative of illegality is incorporated in boat travel) - travelling from fear
3	- so-called, overload of, school-bound, island of, flood of, tragic tide of, tidal wave of, tide of, river of, boat-people, stampede of, junk-mail, would-be, heavy burden of, victims of terror	"so called" - Addressing the euphemisms that are used to overwhelm our sense/perceptions of refugees: "tidal, river, flood, stampede, heavy burden" highlights an "us vs. them" mentality versus the dichotomy referencing to "junk, would-be and boat-people"
4	- Government assisted, political, environmental, religious, economic, ethnic, climate, corporate, meltdown, climate change	"stress on the system" - looking at the impact of refugee, migration on society → characterized negatively - 'meltdown', 'recession' → issues host society has with the influx of refugees - categories of refugees - religion: other than Christianity background, integration of refugees is seen as a threat

5	- war, drug-war, war(s), desert, homeless, war-torn, jungle, wartime, terrorism, disaster	Origin
		- a method of describing the homeland of refugees, drawing stark difference against our "civilized" Canadian society
		- fleeing from violence:
		  - humanitarian
		  - creates fear that "they" will bring

			violence back to Canada
6	-	frightened, scared, unwanted, despondent, scared, war-weary, starving, hungry, invisible, homesick, haunted, vulnerable, desperate, shell-shocked, needy, disabled, fearful, passive, forgotten, other, terrified, paralyzed, - genuine, true, legitimate, well-fed, grateful, real,rainbow, theatrical, thankful	Emotional Associations - how we characterize refugees; what/how do we think they feel about themselves as they try to integrate into new surroundings - there are two times as many negative association than positive - works to create a generally more negative frame of reference
7	-	sham, tougher, errant, angry, weary, queue-jumping	- Portraying refugees as nuisance - Unfair for jumping the queue → processed ahead of persons who may have been waiting prior - Angry at what they deem an unfair system - Think laws need to be tougher
8	-	Successful, high-tech, genuine, qualified, academic, prospective, bona-fide,	Ideal refugees - those who brings assets and skills into the country - the less reported class of refugees because its less newsworthy - an atmosphere of fear benefits corporations and other institutions
9	- -	victims, most-in-need, low-skilled, victims, exhausted, unfair, penniless job-hunting	The "deserving class"
10	-	gender, LGBTQ, genital	Underrepresented refugees
11	-	sunsea, seagram, one-time, radiation, resort, sidewalk, internal, latest, half-hearted	Outliers

Appendix G: Extent of the Literature

Initial Search	Inclusion & Exclusion Criteria Applied	Back-Searching	Final Result

Initial Search
- ProQuest Sociology: 44
- Social Sciences Abstracts: 21
- Web of Science: 50
- Communication Source: 25
- ProQuest Political Science: 43
- Total:
  - **183 studies**

Inclusion & Exclusion Criteria Applied
- **Excluded: 160 studies**
- **Duplicates: 7 studies**
- **Included: 16 studies**
- ProQuest Sociology: 6
- Social Sciences Abstracts: 3
- Web of Science: 4
- Communication Source: 2
- ProQuest Political Science: 1

Back-Searching
- First-level backward reference search:
  - **14 new studies identified**
- Second-level backward reference search:
  - **2 new studies identified**
- Total:
  - **16 new studies added**

Final Result
- Overall, 16 studies from database search + 16 new studies from back-searching
- Grand Total:
  - **32 academic studies**

Appendix H: Nature of the literature meeting the inclusion criteria of the study

Details of the literature meeting the inclusion criteria of the study displayed in alphabetical order

Reference	Type of Study	Study Topic (Event)	Methodology
(Adelman, 2002)	Qualitative	9/11 Bill C-36	Policy Review
(Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007)	Qualitative	Congolese visitor to Canada (suspected of carrying ebola)	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Bauder, 2008a)	Qualitative	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) Bill C-18	Critical Discourse Analysis (Topoi Analysis Tool)
(Bauder, 2008b)	Qualitative	Immigration Reform 1996-2001	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Bradimore and Bauder, 2011)	Qualitative	76 Tamil Refugees in 2009	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Cameron, 2014)	Qualitative	Hungarian refugees (1956-1957)	Newspaper Analysis
(Esses et al., 2008)	Mixed-Methods	N/A	Correlational analyses Structural equation
(Esses et al., 2013)	Qualitative	Tamil Boat People 2010	Participants read an online biography of the actor Steve Martin, and answered questions about it. Participants in this study to read an editorial about current affairs in Canada and to answer some questions
(Esses, Dovidio, Jackson and Armstrong, 2001)	Mixed-Methods	General role of media in dehumanizing refugees and the attitudes towards them	Questionnaire on perceived role of competition, social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, zero-sum beliefs
(Gilbert, 2013)	Qualitative	Mexico 2007 Visa Requirement in 2009	Newspaper Analysis
(Greenberg, 2000) (Hier & Greenberg, 2001)	Qualitative	Fujian "boat people" 1999 Fujian boat arrival in 1999	Content and Discourse Analysis Numeric analysis of quoted news sources and paragraph POV Critical Discourse Analysis
(Hier and Greenberg, 2002)	Qualitative	599 Fujian Chinese "boat people" in 1999	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Huot et al., 2016)	Qualitative	Bill C-31- "Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act (PCISA)"	Critical discourse analysis Bacchi's (2009) methodology for policy review
(Ibrahim, 2005)	Qualitative	599 Fujian Chinese "boat people" in 1999 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) 2002	Critical review of the case study and implementation of policy
(Jenicek, Wong and Lee, 2009)	Qualitative	Sexual minority refugees	Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and secondary textual analysis of articles

			from Canadian English-language newspapers
(Krishnamurti, 2013)	Qualitative	492 Tamil refugees in 2010	Newspaper Analysis
(Lawlor and Tolley, 2017)	Mixed-Methods	Immigrant vs. Refugees	Automated Content Analysis Hierarchal Clustering
(Lawlor, 2015)	Qualitative	Immigration in Canadian and British News (1999-2013)	Automated Content Analysis Policy Review
(Lawlor, 2015)	Qualitative	Comparison of immigration coverage in national and local newspaper in Canada and U.K.	Computer Automated Analysis
(Mahtani, 2001)	Qualitative	Media-minority relations in Canada	Critical review of the literature on media representations of minorities
(Mann, 2009)	Qualitative	Komagata Maru 1914 Tamil Asylum Seekers in 1986 and 2009	Discourse analysis
(Panesar, Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes, 2017)	Qualitative	Komagata Maru in 1914	Newspaper Analysis (Thematically Coded)
(Reitmanov and Gustafson, 2012)	Qualitative	Racialization of tuberculosis since 1970	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Reitmanova et al., 2015)	Qualitative	Racialization of immigrant health and public health policies	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014)	Qualitative	Immigration and Refugee Policies	Literature/Policy Review and Practice
(Stelian et al., 2015)	Qualitative	Refugee arrivals by sea in Canada - 1986: Tamil - 1987: Sikh - 1999: Fujian - 2009 & 2010: Tamil Bill C-55, Bill C-49	Newspaper Article Analysis using Coding Scheme and Coding Procedure
(Szuchewycz, 2000)	Qualitative	Denial of racism in Canadian press	Critical Discourse Analysis
(di Tomasso, 2012)	Qualitative	Tamil Boat People (2010)	Critical Discourse Analysis
(Villegas, 2013)	Qualitative	Visa requirement imposed onto Mexican nationals travelling to Canada (2009)	Hook (2001) focus on the materiality of discourse and participant interviews
(Vukov, 2003)	Qualitative	Desirable vs. Undesirable refugees and immigrants and government policies	Literature Review Analysis
(Watson, 2007)	Qualitative	Tamil Refugees in 1986 Sikh asylum seekers in 1987 Bill C-55	Thematic Textual Analysis

Appendix I: Summary of themes covered in the 32 sources included in the Literature Review (multiple themes possible)

Reference	Descriptive Themes							
Author & Year	Securitization		Immigration		Legitimacy	Economic	Racialization	
	Danger (Threat)	Crisis	Policies	Humanitarian (National Identity)	Genuine vs. Bogus	Contributors vs. Drain (Burden)	Othering	Disease Carriers
(Adelman, 2002)			✓				✓	
(Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007)	✓	✓					✓	✓
(Bauder, 2008a)	✓		✓	✓		✓		
(Bauder, 2008b)	✓			✓	✓			
(Bradimore and Bauder, 2011)	✓				✓			
(Cameron, 2014)				✓				
(Esses et al., 2001)						✓		
(Esses et al., 2008)					✓		✓	
(Esses et al., 2013)	✓		✓		✓			
(Gilbert, 2013)		✓	✓		✓		✓	
(Greenberg, 2000)	✓	✓			✓		✓	
(Hier and Greenberg, 2001)	✓	✓		✓	✓			
(Hier and Greenberg, 2002)		✓			✓		✓	
(Huot et al., 2016)	✓		✓		✓			
(Ibrahim, 2005)	✓		✓		✓		✓	
(Jenicek, Wong and Lee, 2009)				✓	✓		✓	
(Krishnamurti, 2013)	✓		✓		✓			
(Lawlor and Tolley, 2017)	✓				✓			
(Lawlor, 2015)	✓		✓		✓	✓		
(Lawlor, 2015)	✓		✓		✓	✓		
(Mahtani, 2001)	✓				✓		✓	
(Mann, 2009)	✓		✓		✓		✓	
(Panesar, Pottie-Sherman and Wilkes, 2017)	✓				✓	✓	✓	
(Reitmanov and Gustafson, 2012)	✓						✓	✓
(Reitmanova et al., 2015)	✓				✓		✓	✓
(Reynolds and Hyndman, 2014)	✓		✓		✓			
(Stelian et al., 2015)	✓		✓	✓	✓			
(Szuchewycz, 2000)							✓	
(di Tomasso, 2012)	✓				✓		✓	
(Villegas, 2013)	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
(Vukov, 2003)			✓		✓			
(Watson, 2007)	✓		✓		✓	✓		

✓' indicates that a theme is covered.