

**Framing of Syrian Refugee Crises: Comparative Analysis of Cable
News Network (CNN), Deutsche Welle and Al-Jazeera**



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Accession No

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Syrian refugees.
Migrants.
Refugee crises.

Acknowledgement

I wish to express my special appreciation and sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. Zafar Iqbal for the continuous support of my research work. I am thankful to him for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge in the field of media. His guidance helped me a lot in the writing of this thesis. I could not imagine having a better advisor for my MS research work. I am also thankful to Yasir Ali Irfan for his valuable suggestions and help in my thesis. His support in research was quite helpful in thesis.

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of MS entitled "Framing of Syrian Refugee Crises: Comparative Analysis of Cable News Network (CNN), Deutsche Welle and Al-Jazeera" is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.



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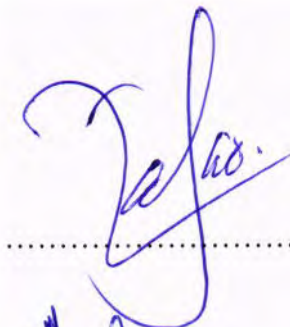
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It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled "Framing of Syrian Refugees, Comparative Analysis of Cable News Network, Al-Jazeera and Deutsche Welle" submitted by Arsalan Younis Khan. It is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

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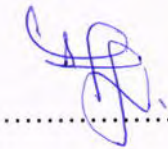
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Abstract

The Syrian war has stormed into 6 years now which result in world worst refugee crises. The conflict in Syria has got great attention from international media. The study set out to explain the Syrian crises and how the international media framed the crises and showed to the entire world. This study focused mainly on the framing tools by CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera and compares their framing strategies during the refugee crises. Data was collected from the websites of the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera and content analysis technique was used, for this purpose the Semetko and Valkenburg generic frames were used in order to get the results. The study was limited as it mainly covers the news stories one month before the Alyan Kurdi incident and one month after the incident. Results

Keywords: Syria, Syrian refuges, crises, migrants, etc.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	3
1.1 Syrian Crises.....	4
1.2 Conflict Actors	5
1.2.1 Local Stakeholders, Pro-Regime.....	5
1.2.1.1 Asad Family.....	5
1.2.1.2 Security Institution	5
1.2.1.3 Syrian Armed Force.....	6
1.2.1.4 Syrian Paramilitary Groups	6
1.2.1.5 Socio Economic and Minority Groups.....	7
1.2.2 Local Stakeholders, Anti-Regime	8
1.2.2.1 Opposition Institutions.....	8
1.2.2.2 Armed Opposition Groups.....	8
1.2.2.3 Kurdish Military.....	8
1.2.2.4 Islamic State.....	9
1.2.3 International Stakeholders.....	9
1.3 Syrian Refugee Crises	10
1.4 Coverage by International Media	12
1.4.1 Deutsche Welle	13
1.4.2 Al-Jazeera.....	14
1.4.3 Cable News Network.....	14
1.5 Problem Statement	14
1.6 Objectives of Study	15
1.7 Singnificance of study.....	16
Chapter 2:Literature Review	17
2.1 Review of the Related Literature.....	17
2.2 Framing in Media.....	21
2.3 Framing Refugees in Media	23

2.4	Theoretical Framework	27
2.5	Research Questions	28
Chapter 3: Methodology		32
3.1	Research Methodology	32
3.2	Sample Size	33
3.3	Reasons for Selection Sample	34
3.4	Sampling Method	34
3.5	Universe of Study	34
3.6	Research Instruments	34
3.7	Content Analysis	34
3.8	Coding	35
3.9	Conceptualization of Variables	36
3.10	Operationalization of Variables	37
3.11	Inter-Coder Reliability	39
Chapter 4: Analysis		40
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion		46
5.1	Discussion	49
5.2	Limitation of the Study	49
5.3	Suggestion for Future Research	49
5.4	Conclusion	50
References		51

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Syria officially known as Syrian Arab Republic, bordering with Lebanon to the West, and Turkey to the North and Jordan and Israel to South and Southwest respectively. Capital of Syria is Damascus and Aleppo is also the largest and historic city in Syria. Population is approximately 10.6 million in 1986, while Growth rate has been estimated as 3.7 percent per year. The name Syria was formerly synonymous to Levant known in Arabic as Al-Shams.

Mother tongue is generally Arabic as around 90 percent of population speaks Arabic while the rest who don't speak Arabic can understand it well. Minorities speak rest of the languages like Kirmanje, Armeni and Turkic while some of the educated minorities speak English and French. Around 85% population are associated to some forms of Islam. Always ranges in number from 13% to 15% of the population. 10% of population are associated to observe some form of Christianity, and about 3% are Druzis. Small numbers of Jews, Yazides are also included in population of Syria. (Collelo, 1987, p. 9).

Government system is based upon the Constitution of 13th March, 1973 which was presented by the father of Bashar-Ul-Assad. Like other countries, Syria has also divided the country power into executive, legislative and Judiciary but institutions are under the direct control of President Assad and his family. Also the Baath party has some power over the institutions. There are 195 parliament members which are directly elected for a four year term. The combination of Ottoman, French and Islamic laws make the judiciary. Some of the rights are revoked under martial law (Collelo, 1987, p. 16).

The ruling party is Baath party which is quite popular among the masses which is mainly providing the ideology of Syrian socialism. Baath party have 21 members command led by General Secretary of the Command. Instead of popularity the Baath party is in coalition with others parties through National Progressive Front (Collelo, 1987, p. 17).

1.1 Syrian Conflict

According to one of the report of the United Nations, about 250,000 Syrians have been killed in almost one and half year of the conflict which started with the riots against the government, which later on termed into a civil war within the Syria. The protests started in March 2011 in the City of Deraa, in which some teenagers were killed by security forces who painted slogans against the government on the wall of a school. The killing of teenagers triggered nationwide violence which demanded the Assad's resignation over the incident. As violence intensified the country entered into a civil war with the emerging of rebel forces in different regions of the country. From towns the fight spread to the cities even the capital Damascus and Aleppo observed fighting. From violence the fight has now converted into a sectarian war between the majority Sunni and Shia President. The emergence of different fighting groups has also occurred as ISIS is one of them. Since 2011 the war crimes have also increased in Syria as according to UN commission of inquiry shows evidence that both parties in Syria have been involved in war crimes such as torture, killing of civilians and disappearances. Both parties have also been blames for blocking access to shelter, water, food and health services (Rodgers, James & Patrick, 2016).

The human massacre is on top by the pro government forces as almost thousands of people were killed by the barrel bombs in deliberately targeted civilian gatherings. Also the Islamic state has

been accused of war crimes in order to force their ideologies on the opponents. After 2013, rockets filled with nerve agent sarin were fired at civilian causing much causality. The Syrian government was blamed for the chemical attack. The rise of ISIS an extremist group after the AL-Qaeda grew in Syria and Iraq and also taken control of the huge territory with these two countries (BBC, 2016).

As now the conflict of Syria enters its sixth year, still many challenges are remaining for peace building. Today Syria is plagued by violence, displacement of people, sectarianism, collapse of infrastructure and radicalization. Much of the natural resources are in the hands of extremists groups and international players are also playing their role according to their own capability.

After the unrest of the 2011 Arab Spring, major international powers have intervened in Syria and it became a multi-sided armed conflict with the passage of time. The specified region has experienced tremendous instability and humanitarian crises due to the unrest and international intervention (ARK, 2016). According to the UN special envoy for Syria, approximately 400,000 people have been killed so far over the five years; the war has also resulted in the largest refugee crises since World War II.

1.2 Conflict Actors

Almost all of the stakeholders in Syrian conflict are politically, militarily, economically and socially involved and invested in the conflict with some common interests who are often not publically disclosed. Always such conflicts are guided by such actors. This section will focus on the stakeholders who play different roles in the conflict. They may be classified into two conflict actors which are pro-regime and anti-regime.

1.2.1 Local Stakeholders: Pro-Regime

Local stakeholders have individuals and institutions which are mainly pro-regime and favor the survival of pre-2011 political, military and socio-economic arrangements in Syria. Pro-regime stakeholders include civilians and military actors also. These local stakeholders have acquired well off positions in Syria for supporting the war efforts by Assad regime. According (ARK, 2016) there are six local stakeholders who are supporting the Assad regime, they are

- The Assad family and the Bath party
- Security institutions
- Syrian Armed Forces
- Paramilitary groups
- Loyalist elites
- Religious minorities

1.2.1.1 Assad Family and the Bath Party

The foundation of Assad family date back to 1970 as series of coups brought the Arab Socialist Bath party into power which was devoted to socialism and freedom from non-Arab over the territory. Air force officer who belonged to the movement named Hafiz al-Assad set the pillars for Syrian governance which since been handed over to his son Bashar-ul-Assad. Since 1970 the Syrian state is experiencing a strong presidential system maintained by Assad family and Bath party. After his father, Assad also carries on the policies of father by family favoritism and Alawite privileges.

1.2.1.2 Security Institution

In Arab region, the Syrian state has most widespread civilian and military set up. The intelligence agencies are headed by Assad regime and loyalists and are mandated to suppress the

crises and movement against the Assad regime and family by tactics like arrest, imprisonment, sexual abuse and exile of opposition leaders.

1.2.1.3 Syrian Armed Forces

The largest force which is providing assistance to Assad regime and fighting against rebels in Syria is their armed forces which include army, air force and a small fleet of navy comprising of 150,000 men. SAF is fully instructed to fight the opposition military and demoralizing the civilian who are supporting the opposition. They have full control of provincial governments and capitals and exercising its authority in large geographical area of Syria.

1.2.1.4 Syrian Paramilitary Groups

Besides SAF, the Syrian government has 60,000 to 100,000 paramilitary troops which are mainly helping the SAF in different parts of the country. They also call them as National Defense Forces (NDF) which is an umbrella term for different militias in Syria. These militias are often funded by elites of the Syria or sometimes the countries who support Syria in the conflict.

1.2.1.5 Socio-Economic Elite and Minority Groups

The socio-economic elite of Syria have personal ties with the Assad family or in the form of blood ties. They attain social and economic privilege due to loyalty with the Assad family and government. They have free hand in the affairs of the government and also in illegal activities in Syria. Besides Syrian elites, some minorities are considered as the supporters of Assad regime. They include Alwaites, Shia, Ismaili and various Christian community in Syria.

1.2.2 Local Stake-Holders: Pro Opposition

The local stake-holders also include the pro opposition group which mainly consists of individuals and groups allied with Syria opposition with objective of toppling the Assad regime but on the other hand opposition actors differ extensively in their national and international alliances and have different vision for future of Syria. The pro-opposition mainly consists of following groups

- Opposition institutions
- Local civilian institutions
- Armed opposition groups
- The Islamic state in Iraq and in the Levant
- Kurdish military

1.2.2.1 Opposition Institutions

After the revolution, the Syrian opposition termed the acts from Assad regime as suppression and calls for political reforms. The Assad regime considered them as rebels while many spoke out from exile during the conflict. But the Syrian opposition has never formed a structure or get united in order to fight the Assad regime. They struggled to create a civilian entity. Now the coalition of opposition and revolutionary forces has formed which is also an attempt by the anti-regime and western governments to create some sort of opposition for Assad regime.

1.2.2.2 Armed Opposition Groups

After the revolution, the individual rejection of regime and their force give an opportunity to create some armed groups which mainly aim to fight against the Assad government. Many smaller armed opposition groups formed a coalition of army named as "Free Syrian Army". The

FSA became a force rapidly and have armed groups led by retired officers and ex-government servants but it failed to create a chain of command as many of the officers have fled the country.

1.2.2.3 Kurdish Military

The Kurdish population in Northern Syria, bordering with Turkey have their own military to curb the hostilities of Assad. The Kurdish army has three contingents which are highly organized and self-governing. After successfully fighting the ISIS and Assad regime army the Kurdish military have announced to form a political party which will work for the rights and protection of Kurdish people. They named the party as Kurdish Democratic Union Party.

1.2.2.4 Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIS)

The ISIS in Syrian is a violent organization which is well known for their violent acts in Syria and Iraq. The territory they control is rich in oil resources and situated around river Euphrates and Tigris. They belong to the Salafi-Jihadis groups led by Abu Zarqawi. The sub-chapter of ISIS has declared war in Syria with links in Afghanistan Al-Qaeda. ISIL was committed to establish an Islamic state by declaring a caliphate in 2014 and argued the Muslims from the world to migrate their territories. ISIS is considered as the most anti-regime force as many have speculated as they were being sponsored by the Western and Arab countries.

1.2.3 International Stakeholders

Besides national stakeholders, some international stakeholders are also involved in the Syrian conflict which results in different proxy war by those countries in Syria. International stakeholders are mainly of two groups, backers of the regime and backers of the opposition.

In international stakeholders Russia has taken a strong position in support of President Assad and regime since the beginning of the Syrian conflict, and after that intervening directly by carrying

out air strikes on opposition groups in Syria, while challenging the American dominance in the region. Also Iran remain the Assad most friendly international ally, playing a military role on ground and providing military aid to the Syrian pro-regime. As the Iranian revolutionary army has engaged in Syrian war along with Syrian army. Also Iran has assisted the Syrian regime in billions of dollars to curb the economic crises.

On the other hand United States was the first country to call Assad to step down, also US thinks that the collapse of the Assad regime will promise to limit the Iranian influence in the region, also Riyadh has employed the same course like US to support the opposition and rebels in Syria and confronting the Assad regime.

1.3 Syrian Refugee Crises

World has seen a growing refugee crises in past two years. After World War II, the highest number of displacement took place in 2013 which were forcibly displaced from their homes and cities to avoid the violence. Half of the population is displaced in the process as around four million have fled Syria, which made the largest refugee crises in history. Half of the population was exposed to violence and kept deprived from basic needs like shelter, education and protection (Amenesty, 2015, p. 5).

The Assad hard response to crises resulted in Syrian refugee crises which almost displaced around half of the population of the Syria. According to internal displacement monitoring service that the crises in Syria is considered to be the main source of refugee crises. Nearly 5 million have registered with United Nations in neighboring countries, and many million are unregistered. While many of them sought refuge in boarding countries like Turkey, Jordan and Iraq (UNCHR).

All that conflict and civil war give rise to the humanitarian crises in Syria, since the start of the crises around four million have fled the Syria to the neighboring countries and even Europe. The influx of refugee are also effecting the European countries as Syrians are fleeing war zones and have begun to risk their lives by dangerous journey through Mediterranean to European destination countries to find a better life.

It is one of the largest refugee migrations. Countries like Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan are accommodating the refugees. Also some surveys suggest that around 7.7 million Syrians have been internally displaced by the conflict in the country which makes a number of 12.2 million who left their homes. According to United Nation office of the high commission for Human Rights, more than half of all refugees by Syrian crises are under age and around 2 million are school-age children. While on the other hand the World Food Program has reduced food aid to one-third Syrian refugees due to lack of sufficient funds and assistance by international community. According to Fleming (2015), the crowded shelters homes in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan are struggling with little resources, insufficient health care and insecurity which forced them to reach Europe through the dangerous Medetarianan Sea route which has killed almost hundreds in the process, on the other hand, the European countries were not prepared enough to handle such massive number of incoming refugees and their settlement.

According to UNCHR the camps in Jordan and other neighboring countries are overcrowded and tents are congested with no privacy to the refugees. The situation becomes worse when it rains as dirt and rocks turn into pools. The conditions are harsh as temperatures are high at day and extreme cold at night. Diseases like Typhoid, Cholera and polio are spreading with the passage of time which may be life threatening for them. While many Syrians are struggling to find appropriate jobs as the neighboring countries are also suffering from poverty like Jordan where

86% people are living below poverty line. According to UNHCR, the photograph of Aylan Kurdi has also immediate impact on the Syrian crises as many countries have recognized the child's death as tragedy. The photograph by a Turkish photographer Demir provoked international sorrow and outrage. The donations have spiked after the incident. Even the British Prime Minister David Cameron confessed that he was "deeply moved" by the incident as a father and ordered to open borders to thousands of Syrian refugees and considering a military intervention in the region. The Human Rights Watch President tweeted " I couldn't help the Syrians, imagine that it was one of my son lying on the beach".

1.4. Coverage by International Media

Today media is far most modern, fragmented and diverse and also new practices have been adopted in digital communication. Living in such a fast world where events are tackling with seconds and every day the media have to tell something new. These events of daily life are reported by people hired by news organizations and institutions which mainly tell us about the significance of the event and issue. Never experienced the wars, conflicts and crises but due to the development of new media one can even see the crises in war zones with their own eyes. Those events, happenings and changes are shared by media which we never heard about, thus making a perception about an event or issue in our mind. But on the other hand are these media organizations are reliable? So questions mark on their accuracy too by the readers and viewers. Reporters and editors through their selection, influence the public perceptions by selecting and rejecting the day's events and news. Many pictures of the world are portrayed and presented to us by those media organizations just to give a picture that how they framed the events and news.

The conflict in Syria has widespread media attention since its outbreak in Arab Spring. Almost all the prominent news media across the world have devoted extensive coverage to the civil war in Syria and have produced varying media content.

According to a study conducted by European Institute of Peace, mainly from March 2015 to March 2016, terrorism and conflict news were dominant in the global media covering the Syrian crises while only 3% humanitarian issues were addressed. Although 85% of Syrian were not involved in hostile activities in the country. The reason behind covering terrorism and conflict in news more than humanitarian issues is that conflict related news attract more media attention than humanitarian stories. The lead stories of conflict sometimes overshadow the humanitarian stories. As Kean (2013) said that world is taking violent, each and everything, even the global system of communication as the editorial policy changes to "if it bleeds, it leads". Many researchers have argued that global news networks have transformed the international news reporting by extending the narrow and national political context of journalism beyond nations.

News media organizations like CNN, Euro news, Al-Jazeera and BBC world have focused on international distribution of news and set up a new form of communication through the presentation of global issues by global expanding elements.

1.4.1 Deutsche Welle

Deutsche Welle is German pronunciation of German Wave and is Germany International Broadcaster which mainly aimed towards audiences outside of Germany through radio, television and internet. Its radio broadcasts news in almost thirty languages and television service is consist of English, German, Spanish and Arabic. The broadcaster main goal is to present Germany as Liberal, democratic state based on the rule of law.

Deutsche Welle has been broadcasting since 1953 as its headquarter is situated in Bonn. Around 3,000 people are associated with DW in over 60 countries as its output reaches 100 million people worldwide every week. DW mainly broadcasts in 30 languages mainly in German, English, Arabic and Spanish.

1.4.2 Al-Jazeera

The literally meaning of Al-Jazeera is that of “The Island” which refers to Arabian Peninsula. Al-Jazeera is a Doha based international broadcaster which is funded by Qatar ruling family. The Ameer of Qatar Thani has direct influence on Al-Jazeera, that’s why Al-Jazeera blamed to have promoting its own agendas in reporting towards Arab world (el-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003).

At first, it was an Arabic news and current affairs TV channel, which later converted to several media outlets, like internet, social media and website with a wide range of viewers. Al-Jazeera has near 80 bureaus in the world which make it one of the largest media organization. Al-Jazeera programs has been disseminated to more than 250 million homes in almost 125 countries (Figenschou, 2014).

1.4.3 Cable News Network (CNN)

CNN is cable and satellite television news channel from United States which is owned by Turner broadcasting limited. Ted Turner founded CNN in 1980 who was considered as media tycoon in United States. It was the first 24 hours cable channel and was the first news television. CNN broadcast from Time Warner New York city and have studios in Washington and Los Angeles. On weekends in mainly operates from CNN center at Atlanta. According to media statistics, CNN is available to 100 million US viewers in 2010 (wikipedia).

CNN has a fleet of staff more than 4000 and reached nearly 260 million international audiences. Online news sites of CNN, Al-Jazeera and Douche Welle have proclaimed their global visions. The CNN share the same common multi-media attributes and features like that of Al-Jazeera and DW that include news Texts, photographs and social media (Taipei_Times, 2005).

1.5 Problem Statement

This study questions that how Syrian refugees were covered and framed in CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera news websites. On the basis of framing theory, the study conducts quantitative analysis which uses approach to measure which news frames were present in the news coverage of Syrian refugee crises and to highlight any significant change in coverage of crises after Alyan Kurdi.

The Alyan Kurdi period was selected because it observed a series of events and actions from international community which directly or indirectly affected the news coverage of Syrian refugees.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the research will be:

- To measure the coverage of Syrian refugees in international media
- To find out how did the international media framed the conflict
- To determine the difference in the coverage of the selected media outlets after Alyan Kurdi incident
- To explore the portrayal of Syrian Refugees in international news media.

Deutsche Welle, CN and Al Jazeera affected the reader's behavior about the crises and conflict going on in the region and influenced them to go against or in favor for a specific agenda. Also to find out the different images they are portraying to the public as DW is representing European

point view and Al Jazeera Arab point of view and CNN western point of view. The comparison among the three international broadcasters will be studied and especially their treatment of news related to refugees.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is to understandings into the role of the three international broadcasters on the general public. The main significance will be that it will possibly help in determining the Syrian Refugees crises and reporting issues to the world well. The study will provide an understanding into the role different media outlets and its significance of its frames to the general public. As the three are operating in different regions and everyone have easy access to them so it will show us that which factors have contributed to media tendency towards a specific event and frame. The study will be helpful to find out why Douche Welle, CNN and Al Jazeera is giving more coverage to the refugee crises more than any rival news channels. The study will also elaborate the importance of the news and reports about refugees and framing of the crises in accordance to the foreign policy of the country.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Review of the Related Literature

Besides educating and informing the mass media also shape the public attitude towards an issue or problem happening around. People are now well informed because of the timely and balanced news in media. This function of the media makes them to take decisions in order to react to different happenings. The challenges like time constraints, subjectivity challenge the media functions. Sometimes it is impossible to know about the truth in news events and issues, so the understanding of the frames came to rescue in order to address the issues and events by media. The study will tend to examine such frames which have attribute functions.

The concept of frames was first articulated and introduced by Erving Goffman around 25 years ago to social sciences that was a Canadian-American sociologist and writer of his time, and was considered as the most influential American sociologist of the twentieth century. Frames are treated as one of the key concepts in communication studies which means to select some of the aspects of reality and making it more dominant and salient in media text (Entman R. M., 1991).

Also one of the framing functions is to examine media frames, how issues, problems, crises and events are presented and covered in news (de Vreese, Peter& Semetko , 2001). In 2007 Goffman was the most cited author in the field of humanities and social sciences by the "Times Higher Education Guide" (wikipedia, Erving Goffman). Different disciplines studies framing and their effects in a variety of methods including communications, political science and psychology. Studies in such disciplines have focused on specially the effects of framing on public opinion, campaigns and policy issues (Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A, 1997).

economic consequences are the five generic frames. Public concern and perception are made by these five generic frames (Semetko, H. A. & Valkenburg, 2000). On the other hand some researchers still have differences with regard to framing and agenda setting as Entman urges that frames have four locations in the communication process: the communicator, text, receiver and culture. The concept of framing tells us about the power of a communication text (Angelo, 2002).

The Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) study found that conflict frames were the second most common frames used by the news media. These frames were mainly used to show conflict between the government and the opposition. As compared to the newspapers, the television news programs were likely to use that specific frame more frequently than any other media. (Semetko, H. A. & Valkenburg, 2000). According to Semetko and Valkenburg the economic consequences, human interest and morality frames were recognized in almost in all of the news but used less in international media outlets. These Semetko and Valkenburg generic frames pack the news with some frames, allowing the media to tell the story.

A quite remarkable work has been done in the field of framing but still shortage exists in framing effects. Hence this study aims to find out the framing effects and explore the characteristics of those frames through content analysis. It involves analyzing of the news story, and its purpose of detecting the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed in the news. Frames making can also be influenced by media settlers in many ways, like more the audiences know about an issue, the more effective frames are. News about social problems and issues can influence of casual and treatment responsibility, an effect observed in cognitive responses and assessment of political leaders (Iyengar, 1991).

The Logic working behind this concept was first identified by Iyengar as responsibility framing; he identified two types of news frames dealing with daily issues in mass media which are episodic frame which focus on individual and events and thematic news frame which places events and issues in context. Also the difference between the episodic and thematic frames is that episodic frame defines event in terms of personal experience and thematic frame in abstract term. Different frames have different perspective on the public on the same issue and problem, which cause them to assign responsibility to different actors. Thus news media have a critical role in shaping public opinion about who is responsible for causing or solving key social problems (Iyengar, S., & Kinder, 1987). Framing research explains the ways in which media highlight particular elements of an issue in order to bring it to general public (Entman R. M., 1991).

Specific aspects of a story are reflected by frames and then associate it with a specific theme. Social, political and humanitarian issues for its audience are defined by frames (Entman R. M., 1991). In order to make a news story more logical and familiar, journalists involve in packing of information. While writing a news story, certain ideas and themes are established to highlight the specific aspects of a news story more salient (Bloch-Elkon 2007, 25).

It emphasize that in many cases the public perceives the information positively or negatively, also the information which is framed have effects on both beliefs and importance audience attach to issues (Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A, 1997).

Framing effects has widened our understandings about how the media drive the public opinions and feelings about any specific event and idea. Framing is a key factor in decision making and shaping public, understanding of the world is easy after framing. The effects framing by media have now goes beyond the fact that it only effects the general public. Even the policy makers are

dependent on media outlets for their information and news as well as knowing public views on different issues. Making of frames are also influenced by media outlets as more audience know about an issue or event or problem more effective will be frames. Frames serve as links and bridges between problem or issue and comprehension of that issue. Sometimes foreign leaders are perceived as evil or brutal which shows that those suffering from leaders are dependent on framing of media reports.

Hess urges that Global media highlight the importance of certain countries and ignore most of the countries. The request for coverage of news stories in conflict areas has led to reporters jumping between war zones. These correspondents have been described as “parachutists”, who drop in conflicts. This means the public is getting a larger share of information about the world framed by action-seeking correspondents who may have little in-depth knowledge of the regions or conflicts they are covering. Hess estimated that while this region comprises only five percent of the world’s population, it received 35 percent of American foreign news television coverage.

2.2 Framing in Media

The media frames generally are unspoken and unknowledged which links the bridge between social and cultural reliams and everyday understandings of social interactions. The media framing of every issue always have great importance for political scientists and scholars because only media have the power to shape public opinion towards a specific issue or event. Kellner (1995) acknowledged that media frame cultivate representative picture in audience mind as it issues within the context of ideology, politics and culture. According to Gutlung and Rugh the main function of media is image forming and those images by media may be based upon frames which may be negative, positive or neutral. On the other hand, Kuyper (2009) termed the frames as powerful tools because they persuade us to filter our perception about a specific event and

issue. In particular way, some aspects of the reality are noted as more noticeable than others just because of frames (Kuypers, 2009).

Frames are powerful mechanism that can help in defining and solving the problems and also help in shaping the public opinion (Knight 1999), but media frame the news according to the audience interpretation of mediated news (Dietram A. Scheufele & David Tewksbury, 2007). People used to seek information related to crises in the news media and hence especially coverage of human suffering, disaster and crises specially refugee crises receive media attention because they result in human tragedies (An, S, & Gower, 2009).

Much of the researches on frames have been done on media frames in relation to public policy issues. Also by selecting frames, one has to decide as a news media frames a story on what to include in a story and what to exclude in a story (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). In some particular ways frames are considered as most powerful because they induce us to filter our perceptions. They make some information and issues more visible than others, also is both a process and effect (Tucker, 1998).

2.3 Framing Refugees in Media

In 2014, more than 200,000 refugees from different war affected countries escaped specially from Syria for safety across the Mediterranean Sea. For saving their lives they overcrowded the unsafe boats while many drowned in an attempt to reach their destination. Even Pop warned that the sea was becoming a graveyard for the refugees and migrants from different countries. Especially the early months of 2015 gave no relief on the number of casualties as alone in the month of April almost 1300 people drowned which is the highest number of refugees died during the crises. Throughout the crises many humanitarian organizations and global media engaged in

media advocacy exercises aiming at framing the refugee for their audience according to their own agendas and frames. The international media was mainly set to adjust the tone for the attention of the refugee crises at the time as according to a European Commission report in 2006, which states that public perception about migration and refugees is becoming negative throughout Europe after consuming much of the media content. The report also states that European societies are heavily influenced by the negative framing of the media regarding refugees.

The framing of refugees and migrants are always stereotypic in media which shows how effective news frames are on some particular groups. Van Dijk states around two decades ago about the framing of refugees, as framing refugees as threat for the host country or calling it economic refugees (Dijk, 1995). On the other hand, Wright analyzed the representation and coverage of refugees in different types of media, where he found that refugee coverage and images are affected by Christen iconography as they represent forced migration (Wright, 2002). According to Esses and Lawson, media mainly portray the negative role of refugees in region where there is threat and insecurity. The portrayal of refugees as bogus, terrorists, economic immigrants and carriers of diseases are labels to show the refugees in crises.

How refugees and migrants are described, divided and represented to us by politicians and news media matters a lot, indeed it has a great impact if it is done by politicians who represent us.

Inciting and dehumanizing comments about refugees is now increasingly recorded not just from law makers but some political parties too, for their hard stance on the refugee crises, even in July 2015 UK Prime Minister David Cameron passed the comments about refugees as “swarms of people coming across the Mediterranean Sea” which sparked some criticism from the

mainstream national and international politicians and even from humanitarian groups (BBC, 2016).

The framing of refugees has been determined by securitizing agendas which are dominant than humanitarian concerns. Frequency is important but also contexts in which the frames especially the humanitarian appears and how they are used. Sometimes the multiple and mixed and even seemingly contradictory frameworks of understandings may appear within a single frame. Certain frames when combined and linked with others frames, may sometimes transform the meanings of the frames. Refugees conflict history shows that media generally fueled framing which has generated hate and dislike in a society (Vardal, 2015).

By observing how refugees are highlighted in the media, Kolukissa concludes that news content in a media generally legitimize the problem and leave it unanswerable. Vardal is of the opinion that very little space was given to the humanitarian in frame in the Syrian refugee crises since almost all the news media handle the crises according to their own political and ideological interests and agendas.

Several studies have been conducted on media representation of Syrian Refugee, for example Venir examined the content analysis of four prominent English newspapers in United Kingdom, and they were Telegraph, Mirror, the Guardian and Sun to find the representation and framing of Syrian refugees during the crises. According to Venir, Syrian refugees were mainly treated as genuine refugees in contrast to economic refugees (Venir, 2016). After the Aylan Kurdi, many people were inspired from lying face down image of the drowned toddler who was fleeing the war hit Syria with his family; researcher Schaik analyzed the visual representation of the Aylan Kurdi in European Newspapers. Schaik found in his analysis that Aylan Kurdi was over-

represented in the crises and the photos of lying face down wearing a red t-shirt were used in order to get sympathies . He also depicted that the Syrian refugees are always in large groups and having modern smart phones. The number of children in Syrian refuges escaping the crises is almost very less as compared to adults (Schaik, 2015). Earlier the Palestinian refugee crisis was examined by a researcher Khatib who concentrated on the refugees of Arab-Israel conflict in 1949. His study found little coverage of refuges issues with little shifts.

Framing have ability a vital role in shaping audience because they don't have direct experience with the event or issue. Yaylaci and Karakus (2015), in their study of Syrian refugees in Turkey, found that media outlets present news content to their audience according to their ideological and political view as well as world view of target readers. Findings from Yaylaci and Karakus shows the political status of media outlets and their attitude towards Turkish government highly influences the way they frame the news about Syrian crises and refuges (Yaylaci, F., & Karakuş, M, 2015).

Generally refugees are coverage by inedia tends to be episodic as extensive attention dedicated to refugees and their arrival in the host country during the mass arrivals or international conflicts (Hier & Greenberg, 2002). Also some media outlets cover refugee crises which mainly focus on the costs associated with the refugee processing, detension and integration. According (Hier & Greenberg, 2002) framing mainly tell the audience to consider refugees as "takers" rather than "givers". Some of the early research emphasized that some newspapers and news media present refugees as they are suffering from mental illness, having mull-nutrition and simply disturbed. The word refugee sometime is used for showing suffering, deprivation and powerlessness (Kisiara, 2015).

The misrepresentation of refugee crises is directly related to misrepresentation of refugee experiences. According to Esses and Lawson media coverage dehumanizes refugees by underlining threats to the host society as they are mainly portrayed as outsiders in the host country and also there is a hierarchy of acceptance. The terminologies used to describe refugee sometimes adopt the language of panic and uncertainty which give them a sense of invasion by the host populations (Esses & Lawson, 2013).

Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison and Nicholson (2013) state, "Refugees are one of the most contested political issues in Australia." (p. 398). They mainly examined how media images of refugees were framed during two significant periods over the past decade in Australia. By conducting a content analysis of newspaper front pages, they found out that refugees have predominantly been portrayed "as medium or large groups and through a focus on boats" (p.398). Their findings suggest that this visual framing, mostly picture of a group of peoples in the boat and an absence of images that depict individual refugees as human beings and even with a recognizable facial feature, associates refugees as threats to sovereignty and security. (Bleiker, R., Campbell, D., Hutchison, E., & Nicholson,, 2015) , thus media framing of Syrian refugees, is important to study as it serves as a link between institutions and public.

Those who arrive through unsanctioned or other unofficial means to a host country are mainly consider as refugee and are depicted as asylum seekers, queue jumpers or economy drainers as we discussed before about the different terminologies used for them. Media frame the refugee according to their own meanings as for example refugee arrivals are often described in terms of "flood" "waves" or "flows" that suggest about a different scene. Similarly refugees flee from crises to find a better life in Europe, even in their transit routes, the refuges are treated as

economic refugees or asylum seekers. Many countries have warned the refugees to bear in mind the ladder of citizenship to get in the host country.

Refugees from the war affected countries have faced military borders, obstacles from police, detention centers and even faced deaths and violations of basic human rights, and considered them as cultural threat to the Europe. On the other hands some of the refugees were treated as guests, tolerated as escapers.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Framing theory

The study is designed to investigate the framing of Syrian refugees and crises in three international media outlets which shall build up its theoretical basis on framing theory. Almost journalism is supported by framing theory, still there is no standard definition of framing but broadly news framing refers to process of thematically, stylistically and factually organizing news stories to convey a specific message.

Recently the concept of framing has been explained as second level agenda setting. McCombs have argued that the concept of agenda setting and framing represent a junction, as framing is an extension of agenda setting. The object dominance is transmitted in the first level of agenda setting while in second level framing or the indicators shows how the media tell us how to think about event or issue (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997). Development of framing theory in mass media gives evolution to other communication theories as well, in particular agenda setting theory. The agenda setting theory was presented by McCombs and Shaw during the presidential elections in the United States. After which it passed through different stages which McCombs categorized into five active fields; attribute agenda setting, agenda setting effect, psychology

effects, sources of media agenda and last one is consequences of media agenda. According to McComb and Shaw, framing have direct impact and influence on behaviors, public opinion and perception.

The famous statement by Bernard Cohen that media tells us what to think about so the new research has quickly followed discussions on framing as second level of agenda setting as framing is responsible to activate thoughts and ideas about a news or event for audiences.

According to Entman, to frame is to select some features or characteristics of a observed reality and make them more dominant in a communication text, in a such a way to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation and moral evaluation (Entman, 1993). Gamson have found four different frames in the framing of Arab-Israel conflict; feuding neighbors, Arab intransigence, Israeli expansion and strategic conflict. According to Gamson, media even play a key role in promoting conflict just like the reporting conflict in covering the Iraq-US war.

Framing is in many ways close to Agenda setting theory, both focuses on how media draw the public attention to the specific topics, in this way they set the agenda. But on the other hand framing takes a step further in the way the news is presented creates frame for that information.

Here framing of the Douche Welle, Cable news network and Al-Jazeera will be related as how they bring all frames to the audience communications and information's. The theory was presented by Goffman. He suggests that how something is presented to the viewers and audience influences the choices people make about how to process that information.

Framing theory proposes that the way something is showed to audience, it mainly manipulates the audience viewpoint about an issue, and also it is similar to agenda setting theory but it further emphasizes the core of the matter or issue under study instead of concentrating only on a specific topic. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the

information they convey. Entman further clarifies that sometimes on matters of political and social interests, people are not generally so well active informed, but framing therefore influences their responses to communication which they are giving, same is the case with the Syrian refugee crises as many people were not so much informed about the crises but when the international broadcasters started coverage on specific events of the refugees, then they got much info about the events (Entman R. M., 1991).

Vreese have classified framing studies into two main types, the first one is called frame-building which is termed as how frames emerged as dependent variables, whereas the second is frame-setting which mainly focus on individuals and media frames (Vreese, 2005). Besides frame building and frame setting, a researcher Scheufele (1999) developed his framing model, which has two parts, one part is individual frame and other is feedback (Scheufele, 1999). Episodic frames cover news in personal terms providing specific cases and experiences while thematic frame include information relevant scope. So the framing theory is a key component in the study of interpretation of news as it told about the effects of the story and influence on public perception and are commonly observed in journalistic practice (Bullock & Williams, 2001).

The inductive and deductive approaches could be utilized for content analysis of news frames. The inductive approach analyzes small samples of news articles to extract possible frames of the news coverage. However the method is labor intensive and difficult while deductive approach is replicable and suitable for large samples to measure their occurrences in news articles to spot differences of mediums of mass media and forms of content (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

This study adopted the deductive approach by investigating the literature to define the news frames in news stories before measuring the frequency by which each frame is present in different news articles that cover the Syrian refugee crises in CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera. Framing

studies will be used as a reference for defining frames in the coding sheet. The study of Smetko and Valkenburg which identified five news frames of conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility can easily address the framing of Syrian refugee crises in our study. According to Smetko and Valkenburg the conflict frame shows the conflict among the parties or groups while human interest frame depends on emotions and actions to attract interest in a news story, whereas morality puts the issue or problem in religious and ethical context. Economic consequences frame tells about the economic consequences and their impact, while responsibility frame describe cause and its solutions to a particular group. Earlier Henans and Lange also applied these five generic frames on this specific topic of refugee crises which is similar to this study. Henans and Lange were unable to find morality frame in their results. Therefore this study also replicate on earlier studies to decide the most dominant generic frames in coverage of CNN,DW and Al-Jazeera as well as to decide the most salient frame between conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility.

2.5 Research Questions

This study measured the attention paid to Syrian refugee crises in AL-Jazeera, Deutche Welle and Cable news network as these three have high-standing political stance to deal with the issue. The study presumes differences in news coverage by the three international broadcasters. First all the study will expect that length and number of news stories will differ in accordance to the coverage and role of these three media outlets as they work in their respective regions. The first research question that addresses the coverage of Syrian refugee crises is as follows:

RQ1: How does the coverage of Syrian refugee crisis differ in the three media outlets in terms of length and number of stories?

RQ2: What has been the most dominant generic frame of the crises among all the three media outlets?

RQ3: What are the most dominant frames in the news stories of the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera dealing with Syrian refugees?

RQ4: Did there occurred any difference in the framing in these media outlets after the Alyan Kurdi incident?

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

This study conducted content analysis to examine how the Deutsche Welle, Cable news network and Al-Jazeera covered Syrian Refugee crises from 2nd August 2015 to 2nd October 2015. The content analysis is one of the most preferred methods of analysis because it is “unobtrusive” and comparatively economical. The content used for analysis is easily accessible and workable and it produces data that can be quantified.

The rationale for selecting such three international broadcasters are twofold, as these three broadcasters have feature of high readership and influential in setting the tone for coverage in their respective regions. Second such international broadcasters also provide broader and more comprehensive coverage of Syrian refugees and related national and international news.

The data was collected from 2nd August 2015 to 2nd October 2015 as the study consider the key event of Alyan Kurdi which took place on September 2, 2015. Highlighting the main event of Alyan Kurdi, help us understand whether that key event shaped the media framing and to examine if there was a significant difference of coverage by these three international broadcasters of Syrian refugee crises. The Alyan Kurdi incident not only bring along a growing attention of media but also help in creation of new frames or changing the existing frames in media. wearing blue short and red t-shirt , lying dead on Turkish beach caught the attention of public and garner the support for refugees and later on he became the face of millions of refugees seeking protection in western countries to escape the Syrian civil war. (Barnard A., & Shoumali, K, 2015).

3.2 Sample Size

The study used the three websites of the international broadcasters. The sample size in this study was the coverage of Syrian refugees in the websites of the three international media outlets from 2nd August 2015 to 2nd October 2015. The time frame was purposively chosen because it witnessed a series of events during that time period. Purposive sampling is a specific type of non-probability sampling that relies on data collection from population members who are usefully available for a purpose in a study.

For each news website, the following keywords were used to yield the news: Syrian, Syrian refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. The news were copied from their respective websites and double checked for any repetition and duplication. The study excluded news opinions, summaries, photos, books reviews, blogs and other events that have shown after keys words. The study also excluded opinion columns, editorials and feature articles because they usually represent the views of an individual and not that of the broadcaster. After excluding such data from the collecting, the news obtained from websites was revised one more time in order to confirm whether they fit the criteria of inclusion or not which was set for the study. The total news stories from one month before the Aylan kurdi incident and one month after the incident were calculated around 154 in total in which 40 from Cable news network (CNN), 64 from Deutsche Welle and 51 from Al-Jazeera were collected. So the purposive sampling technique were used in order to collect the data from three international media outlets.

3.3 Reason for Selection Sample

1. CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera are the main leading international media organizations as they have a lot of viewers and readers across the globe.

2. The Syrian refugees crisis is a very crucial issue of the world and considered as the worst ever humanitarian crisis that hit the planet earth.

3.4 Sampling Method

Sampling method in this study is Non-probability purposive sampling. According to this method of sampling, sample is selected on the basis of sample available during the specified time which can easily address our questions. Specified characteristics associated to purposive sampling are that they are easily approachable and assessable. Same goes for the study, as all the news stories related to Syrian refugees and Syrian crises on the websites of CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera are coded and analyzed during a specified time frame.

3.5 Universe of Study

All the news stories of the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera on Syrian refugee's crises that were present on the websites were the population of this study. Each news story on the selected time was coded and analyzed.

3.6 Research Instruments

There are two kinds of research instruments in research in order to get the desired results, one is survey research and the other is content analysis. In this study, the content analysis is being used for data collection.

3.7 Content Analysis

Content analysis in a research is a technique which is manifestation of content of communication by a objective, systematic and quantitative description. The actual content of media and internal features are focused in this research tool (Berelson, 1952). Content analysis is mainly used to examine and determine the presence of certain words, themes, sentences and concepts in

objective manner in a given text or data. So for this study too, content analysis is used as three media outlets are international broadcasters and have a greater impact on the viewers and audiences. CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera have a strong professional reputation covering almost all the important issues in the world and transmitting information regarding the issues to the viewers with objectivity and timeliness.

3.8 Coding

The unit of analysis for this study is one new news article. The coding consisted of the name of the name of the international broadcasters, time frame, length of the articles, five news generic frames and their associated questions. To measure the extent to which certain frames appear in the news stories, we used the coding scheme of Semetko and Valkenburg. Which mainly consist of five generic frames and their sub questions. Each generic frame may have maximum five questions and minimum three (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Each question was meant to measure one of the five generic frames in a news story. The study will list generic frames which often found in a news story and coded occurrences of these frames in the news stories related to Syrian refugee crises. Frames were recorded using instrument used by Semetko and Valkenburg which contain a series of response oriented questions to create a score for each frame. International broadcasters were coded as 1=CNN, 2=DW and 3=Al-Jazeera. After international broadcasters the five generic frames were coded as 1=responsibility, 2=human interest, 3=conflict, 4=morality and 5=economic consequences. The time frame was coded as 1=before the Alyan Kurdi incident and 2=-after the Alyan Kurdi incident in SPSS. (See appendix for coding sheet).

3.9 Conceptualization of Variables

Generic Frames

In this study, the generic frames of Semetko and Valkenburg 2000 were used which are mainly five: human interest, economic consequences, conflict, responsibility and morality. Generic frames were used in order to investigate whether or not the news story contains one or more generic frames as suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg. In order to know more about the generic frames of the Semetko and Valkenburg, they are conceptualized below;

3.9.1 Human Interest frame

This frame brings a human face or human view or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, news or problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). The Human interest frame generally stimulates sympathies and emotions towards an issues or problem. The human interest frame mainly works in crises situation by stimulating the psychological pulse of the people which sometimes lead to the more negative attitude toward a crises. According Cho and Gower (2006) the human interest frame tend to affect the emotional response of the participants and consider as the most significant predictor of blame and responsibility in a transgression crises. The human interest frame mainly refers to human face, empathy, care, outrage, anger or it affects individual personal lives. Sometimes the human interest frame was used by media outlets in order to get more viewership.

3.9.2 Conflict frame

The conflict frame is used to show conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups, parties and organizations. Neuman (1992) found that conflict was commonly used by western and US news media to show the consequences of the event or issue. Also according to Semetko and Valkenburg conflict frame is considered as the most common frame and more the serious news

media, the more conflict frame was there. The conflict frame mainly refers to disagreement, reproaching, fight, riot and violence among individuals, groups, parties and organizations.

3.9.3 Morality Frame

The morality frame of generic frames puts the event, news, issue or problem in the context of morals, social perceptions and religious tenets. According to Neuman (1992), the morality frame was commonly used indirectly by journalists and media owners through quotations and inference rather than directly because of the journalistic norms. The morality frame is generally used to affect person religious thoughts and act according to the lessons taught by his/her religion. The morality frame mainly refers to moral messages, religious tenets and behavior.

3.9.4 Economic Frame

Economic frame mainly reports on issues or problems in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individuals, groups or organizations or even countries. It is also considered as the common frame used in news. According to Graber the economic consequences are often considerable in a situation. Economic frame refers to loss or gain, cost or expense or course of any expense involved.

3.9.5 Attribution of responsibility frame

This frame is defined as a way of attributing responsibility for a cause or solution to either government or to an individual or group. According to Semetko and Valkenburg the responsibility frame was mostly used in serious newspapers and media outlet.

3.10 Operationalization of Generic frames

3.10.1 Conflict

Conflict will refer to stories about the opposite stands or groups which are fighting in Syria. It shows the fight, riot and violence among the Syrian groups and parties. Questions like Does the Syrian government blames the anti-regime groups for the crises? Is there any disagreement between the parties?

3.10.2 Attribution of responsibility

Responsibility stories will show how an issue or public problem will follow the attributes of responsibility. Is there any solution to the Syrian crises in the news? Such frame will also tend to investigate who is responsible for the crises, like asking question, does the story suggest that Assad and his family is responsible for the crises.

3.10.3. Morality

The morality frame mainly puts the events, news and problems of Syrian refugee crises in the context of social perceptions and religious tenets. Questions like Does the story contain any change in moral messages? Does the story make reference to God and morality? will be addressed in morality.

3.10.4 Human Interest

The human interest frame will bring a human face to the Syrian refugee crises and events associated to it. The sympathies and emotions towards Syrian refugees will be address here by asking certain questions which may address the crises; does the story have any feelings of outrage or caring? How the individuals are affected by the crises? Human interest frame will

generally address the feelings of sympathy, compassion and outrage in the news stories of Syrian crises.

3.10.5 Economic Consequences

The economic consequences frame mainly report on issues and problems of Syrian refugees which are associated to economic consequences like funding and aiding. Loss and gain, cost and expense involved in Syrian crises or course of expense involved will be addressed. Questions like; Is there a mention of financial losses or gains in the crises or Is there a mention of cost of expense involved.

3.11 Inter-coder Reliability

The data was collected and coded by the researcher himself. No any other coder was involved in the coding process. If the researcher himself collected the data and coding the sample, then there was no need of mentioning inter-coder reliability. As compared to other studies that examined the reliability data in articles and research paper, these numbers are a cause for concern when there are two or more than two coders in a study. Reliability may vary with the type and size of frame analyzed. Studies have shown that generic frames are likely to report reliability than research papers and studies which are analyzing specific frames.

3.12 Measurement

Each variable was measured for presence or absence in a news story, which is mainly done through a scale, which is composed of a number of questions. To get the desired results, each variable was coded for presence Yes=1 and absence No=0. To examine the research question 1 the elements like number of words and number of stories were considered which were recorded as it was.

Chapter 4

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

In total 154 news stories from CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera were analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). In 154 news stories, DW has the highest number of stories regarding the coverage of Syrian refugee crises which made a total of 64 in 154 news stories which was achieved by assigning 1=CNN, 2=DW and 3=Al-Jazeera. Also the five generic frames of Semetko and Valkenburg were coded from 1-5 on the scale in SPSS. The questions compiled by Semetko and Valkenburg are assigned with values like 1 for every Yes and 0 for every NO just like they did in their study. Assigning of numbers will create a scale for each frame in SPSS where researcher has to mark between 0 to 1. Higher score will have more visible frame in the coverage of Syrian refugee crises. The conflict frame indicates that it was the most common frame among the five generic frames of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). It also indicates that the conflict frame was used frequently in the whole sample of the study which made up to 33% of the total news published on the news websites of CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera. Followed by human interest frame and responsibility frame which made up to 26% and 22% respectively in three international broadcasters.

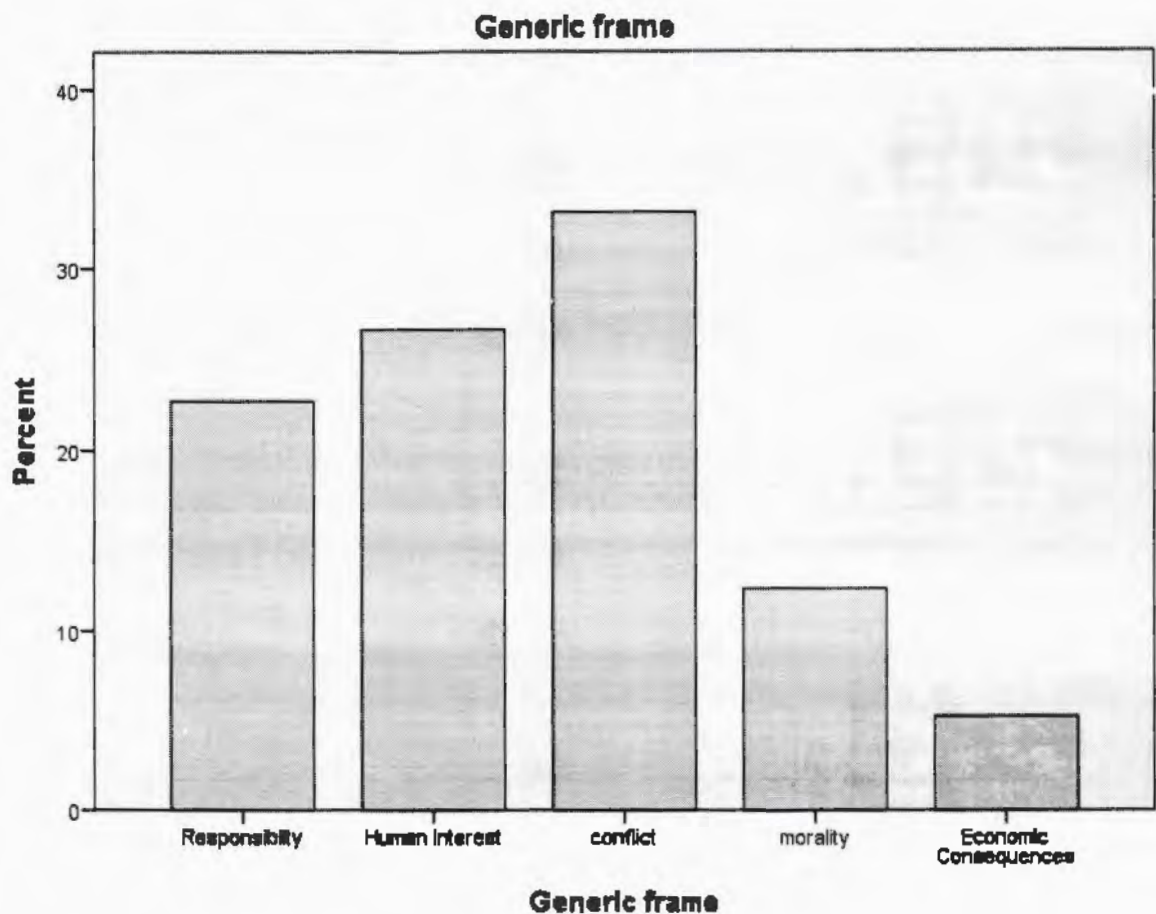
Percentage of Generic Frames

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Responsibility	35	22.7	22.7	22.7
Human Interest	41	26.6	26.6	49.4
Conflict	51	33.1	33.1	82.5
Valid Morality	19	12.3	12.3	94.8
Economic Consequences	8	5.2	5.2	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

The frequency of five news frames achieved by getting average of different answers to Frame questions and counting them for percentage. All the articles have almost one aspect present.

If one question answers yes in the sub questions or more than one question answer Yes, the news story will treated as using that specific frame. The number of answers in each frame does not matter but what matters is how many news stories are using at least one frame. In contrast to conflict and human interest frames, the morality and economic consequences frames were less found than rest of the frames as both only have 17% presence in the news stories of the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera.

According to results, around two-third news stories in the three news media outlets have endorsed the issue of the Syrian refugee crises. The two parties less employed the human face that create personal attributes that may stir feelings in describing the issue of refugees.



It could be argued that conflict frame was the most salient frame in framing the issue of Syrian refugee across the three international broadcasters with a highest percentage of 33%.

RQ-1

RQ1 examined the importance the Cable news network (CNN), Deutsche Welle and Al-Jazeera have given to the coverage of the Syrian Refugees crises in terms of number of articles and number of words. Overall (n=155) news stories were examined in which Cable News Network (CNN) have 40 news stories, Al-Jazeera have 51 news stories and DW have more than the two international broadcasters which constituted to 64 news stories during 1st August 2015 to 1st October 2015. The number of stories published in DW was higher than CNN and Al-Jazeera.

During one month before and after of the Alyan Kurdi incident, Out of the (n=155) news stories were examined, 27.3% were from the CNN (n=42), 40.9% were from the Deutsche Welle (n=63), 31.8% stories were from Al-Jazeera (n=49).

To measure importance according to number of words in each news story by three international broadcasters, they were divided into two categories, the articles which have less than five hundred words were coded as 1=Less than 500 words and 2=more than 500 words in SPSS.

According to statistics by SPSS, Deutsche Welle have more stories which were less than five hundred words than CNN and Al-Jazeera. While almost 80% of the CNN news stories have more than 500 words or even more than five hundred. The percentage of Al-Jazeera in terms of number of words for each story was equal, as half of the news stories were less than five hundred words and half were more than five hundred words. (See appendix 1 for RQ1)

RQ-2

RQ2 examined the dominant generic frame in the coverage of the Syrian refugee crises in the overall sample of the three international broadcasters. Between the three international media, the results showed that the generic frames were mentioned across 155 news articles in the CNN, Deuche Welle and Al-Jazeera. The conflict frame 51(32.90%) was the most dominant generic frame in the dataset. Other generic frames when ordered by frequency of their use were: human interest 41(26.62%), responsibility 35(22.72%), morality 19(12.33%) and economic consequences frame 8(5.1%). (See appendix2 for RQ2)

RQ-3

To examine the research question no3 which generally examined the dominant generic frames across the three media outlets, the results shows that conflict frame was dominant in the Al-

Jazeera compared to Deutsche Welle and Cable news network. The human interest frame was dominant in Deutsche welle than CNN and Al-Jazeera. Also the responsibility frame was most dominant in Al-Jazeera than Deutsche welle and CNN. By looking into the results its evident that across all the three international media outlets, the economic consequences frame is most dominant in Detche welle as compared to CNN and Al-Jazeera. Though the economic consequences frame was rarely used by the three media outlets, only few news in DW made to the data sheet. Besides economic consequences frame, the morality frame was also dominant in the DW as compared to the CNN and Al-Jazeera. (See appendix3 for RQ3)

RQ-4

RQ4 examined the significant differences in the coverage of Syrian refugee crises during the period of Alyan Kurdi incident across the CNN, Deutsche Welle and Al-Jazeera. The crosstab was used to get the results across the three media outlets. Results found that three out of five generic frames were significantly different across the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera before and after the Alyan Kurdi incident. Results showed that there is quite a significant difference in the conflict, human interest and responsibility frame. The results show that the number of stories about Syrian refuges has increased after the Alyan Kurdi incident like before Alyan Kurdi incident the news stories about Syrian refuges were 49 (31.8%) and after the incident stories were 105 (68.2%) which also proved that the coverage has increased after Alyan Kurdi incident. (See appendix4 for RQ4)

The significant difference after the Alyan Kurdi incident happened because of the sympathies and tragic death, lying face down on a Turkish beach. The frames differ significantly across the three international broadcasters because of the Alyan Kurdi tragic incident which caught the public attention to support the refugee crises. But the sympathies and affection towards Syrian

refugees' crises vary differently in some of the frames. Also results show that there was a slight difference in conflict frame even after the Aylan Kurdi incident that's because of the interests of the media organizations and their specific agendas towards refugees just like Kohen said that when "it bleeds, it leads". Results explained that there was little percent difference in conflict frame rather than one can expect a rise in human interest frame instead of conflict.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

Based on the Semetko and Valkenburg generic frames, this study investigated the framing of Syrian refugee crises during the coverage of the crises in the CNN, Deutsche Welle and Al-Jazeera. After results it has also investigated that the three media outlets have tremendous coverage of the Syrian refugees from the start of the conflict. These three media outlets represent three different regions from the world, like CNN represent the American point of view and DW as European and Al-Jazeera as Arab world. The three media outlets cover the Syrian refugees crises according to their own agendas.

Additionally the study also examined the salient and dominant generic frames used during the crises and specially the difference of coverage after the Alyan Kurdi incident. The study found that the conflict frame was the most dominant frame in the coverage of Syrian refugee crises which almost every media outlet have mentioned in specified time. Even the findings also match to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and IOM reports and statistics that over 10 million migrants arrived in Europe by sea and around 34000 by land because of the conflict. Over 56% of the arrivals in Greece were from the Syria during the conflict. The fact is that 2015 is the deadliest year for the Syrian conflict as many refugees lost their lives while crossing the Mediterranean Sea. So the UNHCR and IOM also termed the Syrian refugee crises as conflict of the decades.

On the other hand the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera could not deny the human interest frame during the crises and had to report about the individuals who died during crossing the Mediterranean sea

and by land borders and show their miseries to the world regardless of their frames and agendas they often follow. The study revealed that after the conflict frame the most dominant and used frame in the three media outlets was the human interest frame which mainly brought the human face or an emotional angle to the refugee crises. During the crises the human interest frame mainly stimulates the emotional response of the audiences which is mainly the predictor of the blame and responsibility in crises.

The study also revealed that after the conflict and morality frame the third frame which was widely used was the morality frame which put the Syrian refugee crises in the context of morals, social perceptions. The study revealed that responsibility, conflict and human interest frame were significantly different across CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera. The results also demonstrated that conflict frame was mostly used in the Al-Jazeera as compared to the CNN and DW. Specifically in terms of Al-Jazeera, a large number of news stories quotes from the local sufferers and offer audiences of in-depth narrative of the crises and miseries. But this is important to note that the economic consequences frame was silent, or almost rarely used in the Al-Jazeera and even in the CNN. Though the Al-Jazeera was associated with the Arab point of view.

But on the other hand it was quite encouraging that DW was reporting on economic consequences as the migrants reached Europe and the international broadcaster belong to the Europe, so as the more migrants reached Europe, the more money was allocated to them for their help and accommodation. Also the DW highlighted the immense problems that challenges to provide resources, accommodation, food and shelter. This is important to mention that DW covered the most stories regarding the Syrian refugee during the crises as compared to the CNN and Al-Jazeera.

According to a news report, A Syrian refugee cost 10 times more in Europe than the neighboring countries like Iraq, Turkey and Jordan. Like a budget of \$3,000 per refugee in Jordan, Turkey or Iraq would provide the basic needs to a refugee, it will cost \$30,000 in Germany. Also the DW used the economic consequences frame more than other two international broadcasters in the sense that the Europeans are more concerned about the settlement of the refugees and has been a hot topic among the European governments.

Additionally, the study illuminated that the conflict frame was also used in the three international broadcasters even after the Aylan Kurdi incident. In all the three news outlets around 32% of the news was of conflict which was the highest among the other four generic frames. In fact, the prevalence of the conflict frame in CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera highlights the tension among the individuals and groups or even in governments on the issue of the refugee crises and their future. For example the conflict frame in CNN was prominent because of the competing ideologies about the refugees in the presidential debates in the United States. Even 31 states government refused to the federal government action to resettle Syrian refugee in their states. Even the Presidential election alone brought the issue of immigration at the center of the US politics and debates as the President Trump told again and again in his presidential debate that no Syrian will be allowed to enter the United States as they may bring the ISIS members into the United States which will have security risks.

In fact, the dominance of conflict frame highlights the tension among the governments and refugees at different times and with occurrence of some events created some misunderstandings among the refugee takers countries and refugees like the Paris attacks and attacks on bars and hotels, after which several countries have decided to close their borders. This particular anti-refugee stance reflects the conflict frame.

The human interest frame mostly used in DW as compared to CNN and Al-Jazeera. It is important to mention that human interest frame might not be associated with the different events which caused the conflict frame to rise but rather than the different events which were going on during the refugees crises, like Canada was going through a change, as Justin Trudeau was about to sworn in as Prime Minister of Canada with some pro-immigrants government policies which were supportive towards the Syrian refugees as he promised to welcome 25,000 Syrian refugees as soon as he will join the office. The study also assumes that the government policies have profoundly impact in the country as well as the media frames like there was a government transition in Canada, USA and UK was voting for Brexit and Germany Chancellor Angelina Merkel was conducting a referendum on the crises.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

The first limitation of this study is that it applies only pre-defined frames while other frames in the news stories were ignored. So the findings are limited to only coverage of Syrian refugees crises. The second limitation is frame count, in a questionnaire there is a cluster of maximum five questions and have minimum three questions. Some news stories answered more than one questions and some are unable to answer one, also the Semetko and Valkenburg did not answer the fact behind this logic. Also the researcher who used the Semetko and Valkenburg generic frames did not mention anything about it. Therefore in this study I decided that if at least one question is addressed in the frames, the frame would be considered as detected.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

After the study on Syrian refugee crises, I would suggest the examining of editorials and blogs of the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera or any other prominent newspaper or news channel. I would also

suggest examining the content analysis of some of the hardliner newspapers about Syrian crises. Examining editorials can produce some solid results and understandings which directly refer to media or newspaper point of view. Future studies should pay attention to the feedback and social media section as a source of information.

5.4 Conclusion

In order to know how the CNN, DW and Al-Jazeera framed the Syrian refugee crises, this study examined them. A quantitative content analysis measured the attention paid to the crises and investigated the dominance of the five generic frames (economic consequences, human interest, responsibility, morality and conflict) of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The study found that the DW devoted more importance to the Syrian refugee crises and covered almost 50% more stories than the CNN and Al-Jazeera. The results also revealed that three out of five generic frames- conflict, human interest and responsibility frame differed significantly across the three international media outlets. This study also concluded that some events have influence on the media frames which provides a solid understanding of how media organizations employ them according to the scenario. It can also be concluded that framing Syrian refugees in news stories were mostly achieved through applying frame of conflict. This frame was found to be the most dominant and frequent in the five types of news frames which was directly followed by human interest and responsibility frame. The conflict frame was dominant in the news because of the disagreement of the parties and individuals about the crises. The overall portrayal of Syrian refugees tended to be balanced in DW as compared to CNN and Al-Jazeera.

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Appendix

Table-1

International broadcaster coverage by number of stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
CNN	42	27.3	27.3	27.3
DW	63	40.9	40.9	68.2
Al-Jazeera	49	31.8	31.8	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

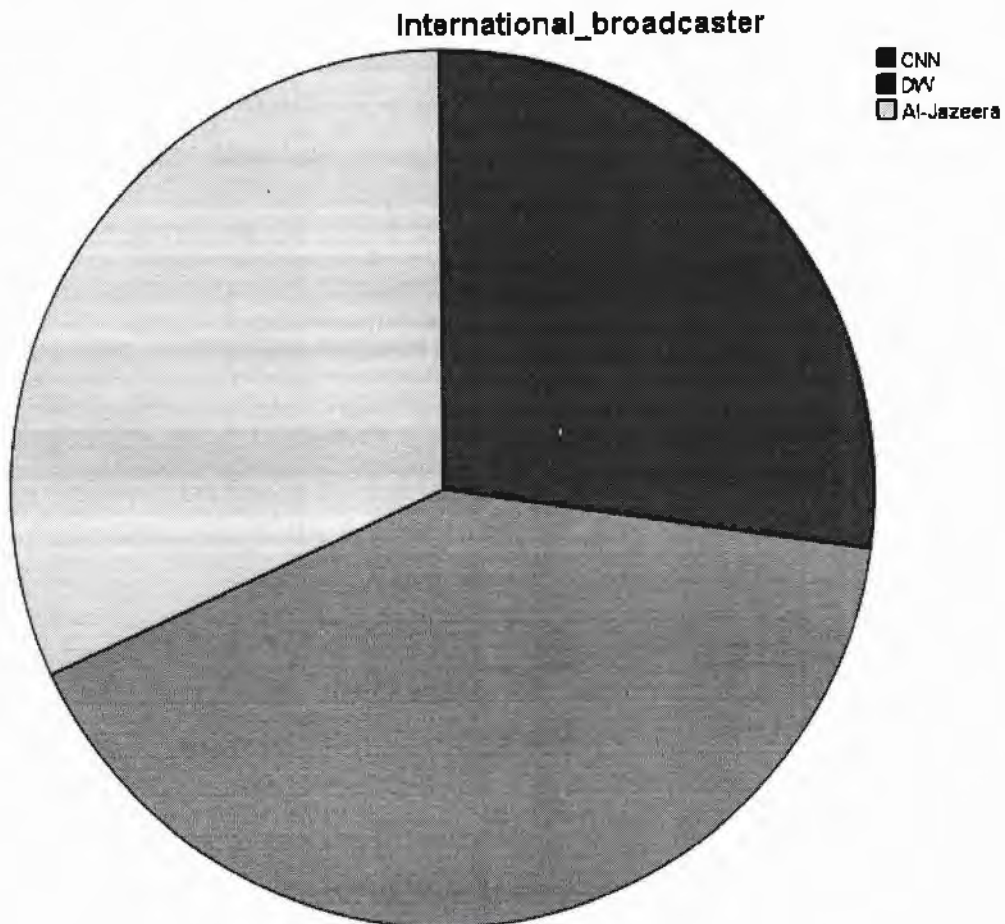


Table-2

International broadcaster * Length of story by words Cross tabulation

		Length of story by words		Total
		less than five hundred words	more than 500	
International broadcasters	CNN	8	34	42
	DW	32	31	63
	Al-Jazeera	15	34	49
Total		55	99	154

Length of story by words

- less than five hundred words
- more than 500

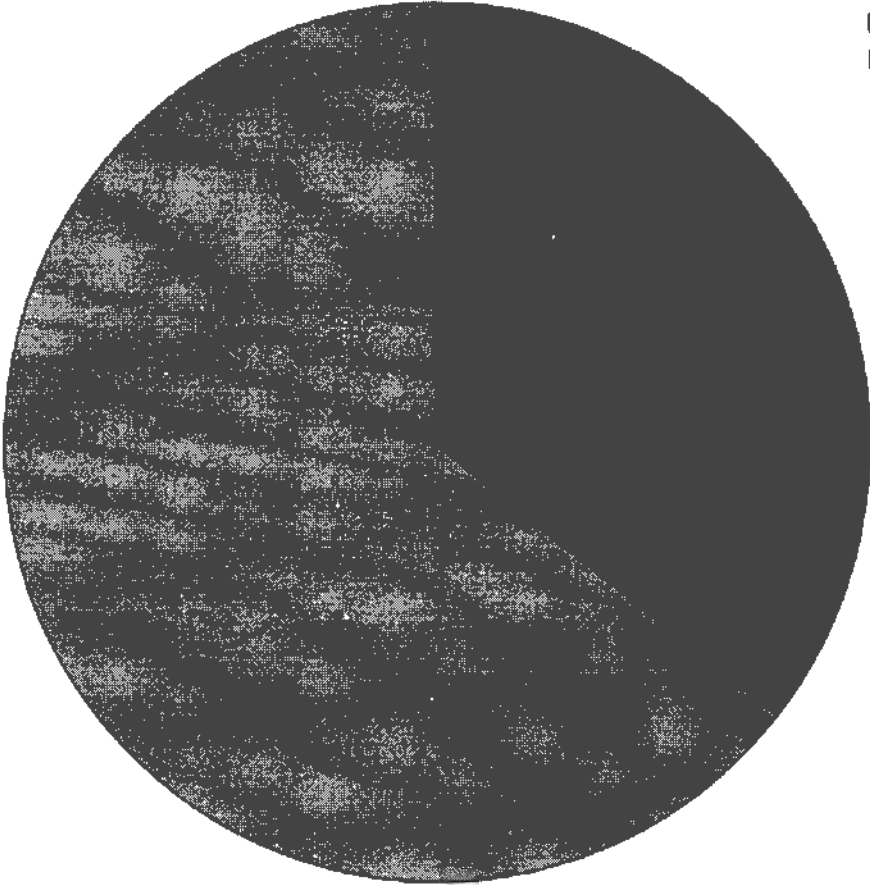


Table-3**International_broadcaster * Generic frame Crosstabulation**

		Generic frame			
		Responsibility	Human Interest	conflict	Morality
International_broadcaster	CNN	12	13	12	3
	DW	10	20	19	9
	Al-Jazeera	13	8	20	7
Total		35	41	51	19

International_broadcaster * Generic frame Crosstabulation

		Generic frame	Total
		Economic Consequences	
International_broadcaster	CNN	2	42
	DW	5	63
	Al-Jazeera	1	49
Total		8	154

Table#4

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Responsibility	35	22.7	22.7	22.7
Human Interest	41	26.6	26.6	49.4
Conflict	51	33.1	33.1	82.5
Morality	19	12.3	12.3	94.8
Economic Consequences	8	5.2	5.2	100.0
Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Generic frame

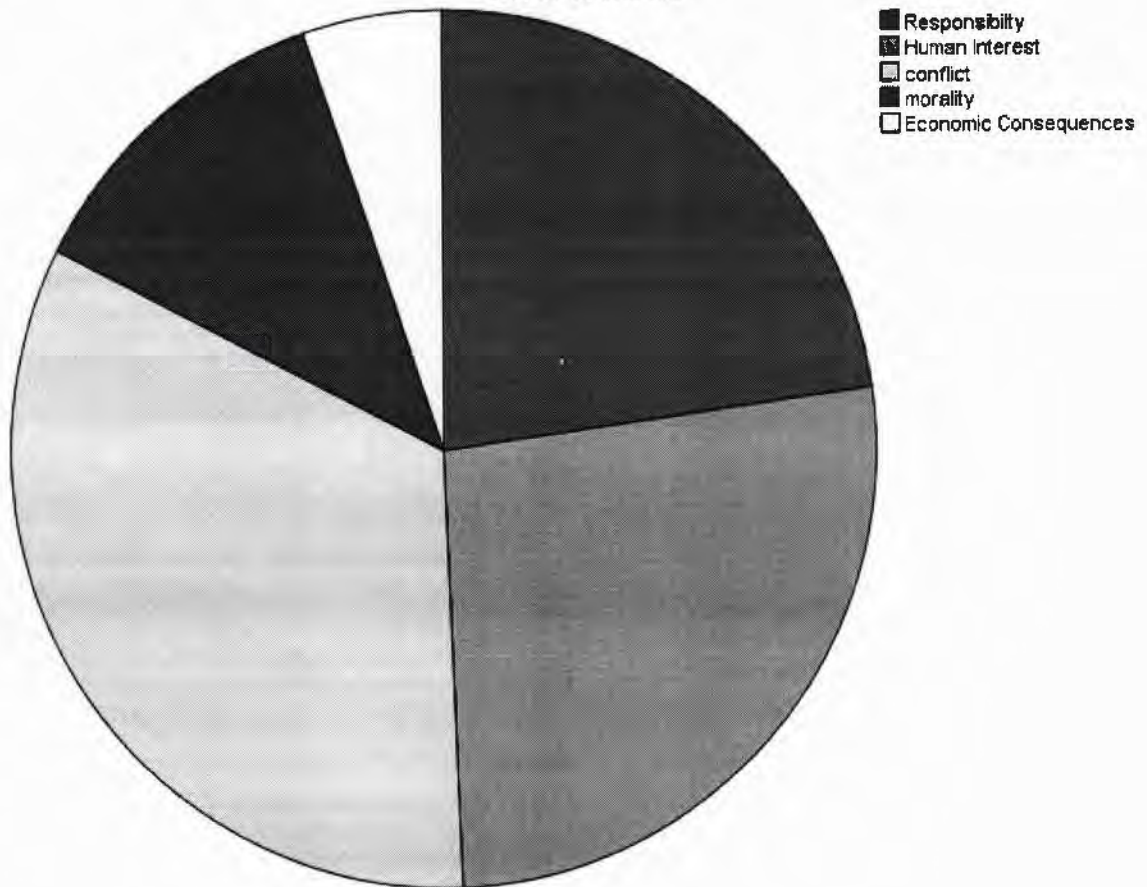


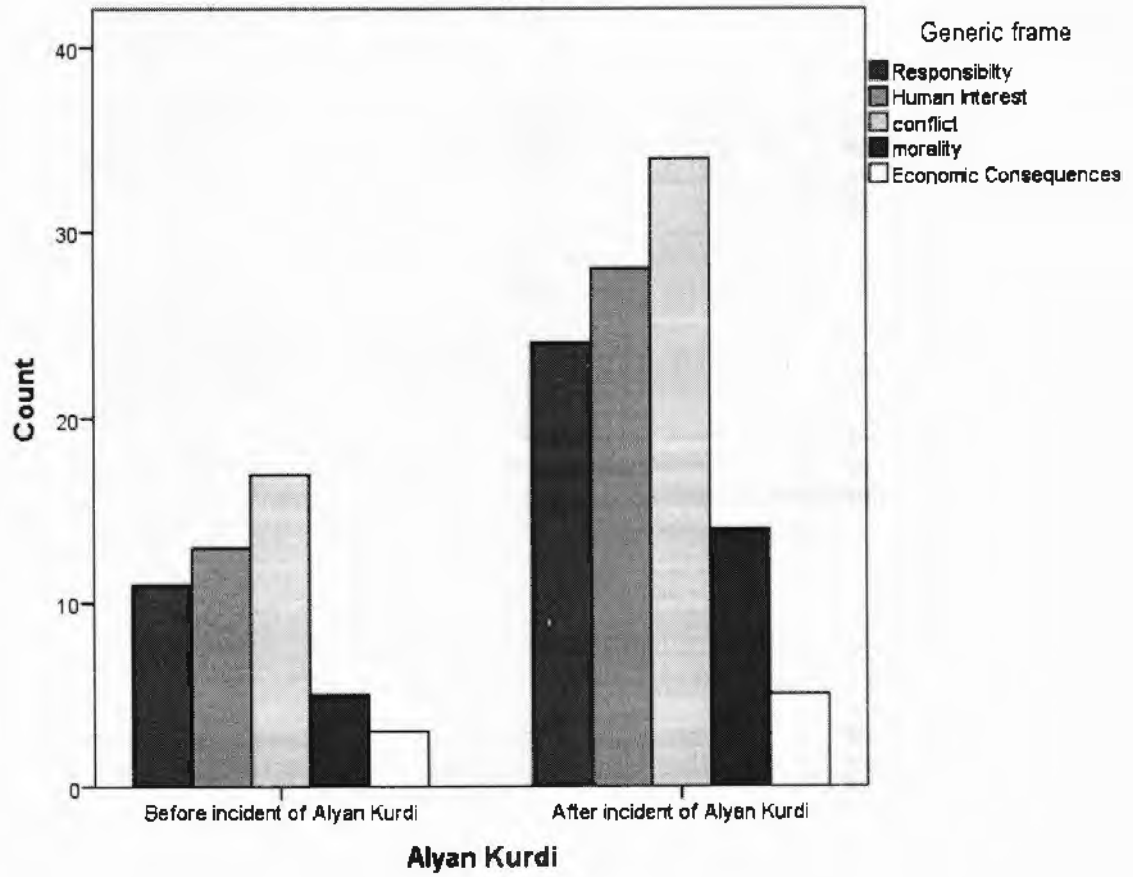
Table-5**Generic frame * Alyan Kurdi Cross tabulation**

		Alyan Kurdi		Total
		Before incident of Alyan Kurdi	After incident of Alyan Kurdi	
Generic frame	Responsibility	11	24	35
	Human Interest	13	28	41
	Conflict	17	34	51
	Morality	5	14	19
	Economic Consequences	3	5	8
Total		49	105	154

Table-6**Alyan Kurdi**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Before incident of Alyan Kurdi	49	31.8	31.8	31.8
	After incident of Alyan Kurdi	105	68.2	68.2	100.0
	Total	154	100.0	100.0	

Bar Chart



Bar Chart

