

Support and Opposition to Migration: A cross national comparison of the politicization of migration (SOM) – Grant Agreement number: 225522

## D5.1 Report on Work Plan

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The logo consists of the letters 'SOM' in a bold, black, serif font. The 'O' is stylized with a white circular element inside it, creating a unique visual identity.

## 1. Introduction

In this report, we briefly introduce the data we intend to gather with regard to the dependent variable: politicization of immigration. Beginning with section two, we specifically focus on news media, which are a key data source for the measurement of politicization. We report the sampling procedure with regard to newspapers (section three), articles (sections four and six), and the time covered (section five). The resulting sample of articles will be analyzed at a later stage (see D5.2). The period of the study is 1995-2009.

We understand politicization to consist of three dimensions: salience, polarization, and framing. Salience addresses the level of attention that political actors give to an issue relative to other issues and it is measured over time. Polarization refers to the extent of conflict around an issue or, in other words, the differences in the positions of various actors voicing a position on migration. This addresses the support and opposition on migration policies among political actors. The framing of immigration refers to the way in which an issue becomes defined. It examines whether the issue is defined in—among others—cultural, economic, or legalistic terms. We understand framing to be the dimension on which actors support or oppose each other. Higher levels of salience and polarization indicate more politicization; framing, however, is related to politicization in ways that are more complex.

We intend to capture the complexity of the process of politicization of the issue of migration by looking at different arenas. We identify three core arenas: the public (citizens), the media (public sphere), and the parliament (political elites close to or part of the decision-making processes of government). Each arena will tell us something about the politicization of the issue of migration and it will help to identify and define politicization. At the same time, a simultaneous study of these different fields of politics (arenas) allows us to examine assumptions about the relationships between them. For each arena, we will measure the same concepts of salience, polarization, and framing of immigration. However, the distinct nature of each arena requires the use of fundamentally different data sources and methods of analysis to examine these concepts. The media arena is thus one out of three arenas that we intend to study.

This report deals with the method and type of data that is to be gathered from newspapers. Please refer to future reports for the evaluation of the information that is gathered on the public arena (public opinion) and parliamentary/party-political arena. In this report, we will discuss the sampling procedure of newspaper articles. The coding procedure of political claims will be reported in deliverable 5.2.

## 2. Measuring politicization via media

With newspapers, we will measure aspects of two distinct arenas: the narrow media arena and the arena of the public sphere more broadly. For this, we use editorials and regular newspaper articles respectively. First, the analysis of editorials addresses the political role of news organizations. This is the ‘narrow’ media arena consisting of potential political conflict among journalists and related to political positions of other actors. Second, in the analysis of political claims, the news media are treated as a source through which we can observe political activities taking place in the public

sphere. The news media function as a distinct arena for the conflict and cooperation among political actors that produces a certain level of politicization of immigration as an issue.

News media are a convenient source for the observation of politicization because they provide coverage of the political activities of a broad range of actors. This is despite a variety of methodological challenges, among others related to the selection function of journalists (producing media bias: Earl et al., 2004; Koopmans, 2004, footnote 41), archiving structures (Woolley, 2000) and differences between countries (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Our research approach relies to a large extent on the research strategies employed in the Europub project (Koopmans, 2002) and similar projects such as the MERCI project (Koopmans et al., 2005) and the LOCALMULTIDEM project (Cinalli and Giugni, 2007). The selection of articles per country (1995-2009) has three dimensions: newspapers, days, and topic. We will discuss each dimension below. We propose a manual article selection strategy.

### 3. Selecting newspapers

The newspapers are selected by the country teams. The specific characteristics of the media system and the possible variation of newspapers in terms of their pro- or anti-immigration position are taken into account. It seems that likely differences between newspapers in their pro- or anti-immigration position frequently correlate with differences in newspapers being ‘popular’ or ‘quality’. In the research proposal (p.18) and initial discussion at the kick-off meeting in Vienna, we suggested selecting two newspapers per country, maximizing likely pro- or anti-immigration positions (‘diverse voices’). These should cover the full period and should have a reasonably wide readership (but need not be the best selling ones).

These criteria (or any) are insufficient in producing truly comparable selections of newspapers for at least two reasons. First, there are cross-country differences in media systems (i.e. newspapers vary in quality or political position) and reporting styles (i.e. numbers of political claims per article/per day), that are further addressed below. Second, federal, multi lingual countries have multiple public spheres. This is especially the case for Belgium and Switzerland, and, to a lesser extent in Spain. There has been an extensive and constructive email discussion on this topic. Each of these countries requires a slightly different approach to account for the particularities of these countries, and we have decided the following: Belgium: two newspapers in Flanders – two newspapers in Wallonia (no separate data collection for the other work packages); Switzerland: two French, two German language newspapers; Spain: two national newspapers. This is reflected below in slightly larger and more thinly spread day-samples for Belgium and Switzerland.

### 4. Approaching articles

A sample of newspaper articles (excluding certain sections of the newspaper such as sports) is used for political claims analysis (Koopmans and Statham, 1999). We propose a *manual* selection of articles based on the *same* sample of days in various countries.

Manual selection means going to a physical archive (paper or microfilm) and either making copies of the relevant articles or noting the title and date of the article and printing them via a digital archive. Before discussing this in more detail, we evaluate two decisions we made in this process regarding key-word searches and country difference.

#### **4.1 Keyword Versus human selection**

Researchers have selected articles in either of two ways, depending on the aim of their research: either using a *manual* selection of articles on certain days of the week, or, by using a search string/key word search of digital versions of articles. Both ways have strengths and weaknesses (Maney and Oliver, 2001). Manual selection is labour-intensive, especially when the selection is small relative to the total number of articles. It requires high inter-coder reliability that depends on precise descriptions of articles to be included, training of coders and test- and control-procedures. At the same time, the pay-off could be substantial as coders can interpret articles over time and across countries in a flexible and precise manner. Flexibility is a potential downside of automated article selection based on search strings. That is, search strings need to be adapted per country/language and over time. This is needed to produce consistent and comparable selections of articles. The flexibility of human coders is made explicit in the adaptations to the search strings used in the automated searches, although recent developments significantly reduce or even remove this difference (Grimmer and King, 2009). The major benefit of digital search methods is its efficiency because it is possible to work on a narrowed selection of articles. A further benefit of digital searches is that they do not require a selection of days as a way to narrow down the coding sample beforehand. The major obstacle in the use of search strings to define the universe of potentially immigration-related newspaper articles is the absence of digitally available newspaper archives in all countries under study. Thus, whereas we find it attractive to construct a sample of articles based on search strings, we will have to rely on manual searches for practical (and methodological) reasons.

#### **4.2 Country differences**

It is well established that countries have different media systems and that newspapers have different reporting styles. Previous research has shown substantial cross-country differences in the number of policy-related news and political claims in newspapers (Koopmans, 2004). These differences are related to media systemic factors and do not follow from differences in the salience of certain topics. In other words, in certain countries newspapers provide a broader or different view on the politics in the public sphere than in other countries. We could attempt to correct for these differences based on earlier research or based on our own results at a later stage of the research. Such a correction could consist of two elements: First, it would mean an intentional bias of our sample towards certain countries in the number of days sampled for analysis – and a parallel weighting of this bias in cross-country analysis. This would imply that we would examine a larger sample of days in certain countries than in other countries and it would correct for differences in the number of political claims observed in the newspapers. However, at this stage of the research we do not know the weighting factor that should be used for such an adaptation. We will re-examine this when we

know the number of articles found in each country. The sample of days proposed below should be on the safe side in terms of the number of articles per country. Second, we may need to correct for the fact that the difference between newspapers varies from country to country. In other words, in cases where we have necessarily selected newspapers that are similar (e.g. in Spain), we need to correct for such a selection when comparing to countries where newspapers are more different (e.g. in the Netherlands).

## 5. Narrowing down the task: sampling days

The project will examine the politicization over the full period via a random sample of days and will focus on the precise political dynamics of full time-series on certain periods.

### 5.1 Sampling randomly

We have defined a random sample of days that is the same for all countries for the full period.<sup>1</sup> Other researchers have used stratified samples. The main reason for producing stratified samples is to control for the so-called news cycle throughout the week (e.g. fewer political news items on Mondays) and the year (e.g. fewer news items in summer) (Riffe and Aust, 1993; Riffe et al., 2005, 109). However, a random selection also controls for such variation by giving all days and seasons an equal likelihood to be selected. The main benefit of using a random sample is its flexibility. If, for some reasons, we need to increase or decrease the size of the sample this could be done easily. Furthermore, a random sample means that it is easier to control the exact number of days in our sample.

The sample consists of 700 days for the full period and excludes Sundays. It may include national holidays, but if no newspaper-issue was produced on a specific day in the sample, we take the next day. We produced a sampling frame of 50 days common to two newspapers in order to cross-validate potential differences between newspapers. We will not be able to compare politicization in different outlets based on this sample. As aforementioned, we use a different sampling frame of 325 days per newspaper, except for the slightly different sampling frames for Belgium and Switzerland. On average, we expect to find one or two articles on immigration per newspaper and day.

In terms of workload, we have done a small pilot project to estimate the time required for the selection of articles. We estimate that it takes on average 7 minutes to examine a single edition of a newspaper.

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<sup>1</sup> An Excel file with the list of days has been produced as follows: (1) A list of *all* days between 1 January 1995 and 31 December 2009 was constructed. (2) Sundays were removed using the *format cells* and the *text to columns* function in Excel. (3) The days were randomly sorted using the *random* formula in a separate column. (4) 50 days were cut and pasted into a separate worksheet, producing the part of the sample for both newspapers (with two columns indicating this). (5) Two times 325 days were cut and appended to the existing 50 days for each newspaper separately. A similar separate procedure was used to produce samples of days spread over a larger number of newspapers for Belgium (two times 500 divided by two newspapers) and Switzerland (700 divided by four newspapers).

This sample strategy will produce between 700 and 1400 articles. This expectation is based on the Europub findings. However, as discussed below in the definition of the topic, we expect the number of articles provided by the country teams to towards the higher end of the estimate. This is the case, because of the broad definition employed, and because the selectors are asked to make a wider selection relative to the coders.

## 5.2. Selecting critical cases

In addition to the selection of days outlined in the previous section, we expand this selection of days for specific uninterrupted periods. The purely random sample could be used on its own, as it will remain available in a manner that it is unbiased on aspects of the dependent variable (salience).

The proposed random selection of days does not produce full time-series nor specifically focus on so-called critical junctures of politicization. These things are however needed for at least two types of research questions: (1) questions on the precise dynamics of political conflict (interaction, sequence), and (2) questions that examine specific punctuations of the public debate—considered to have critical importance in explaining changes in the discursive opportunity structure or the framing of the issue. Such a selection strategy has been used by van de Steeg (2006). For the first question, any uninterrupted period is sufficient. For the second question, however, we expect that it is more likely that a reframing of the issue can be observed at moments of high attention. Preferably, we would define such periods based on our measurement of salience. This would however require returning to the selection of newspaper articles after the claims analysis of the random sample described above. While feasible, it is significantly more efficient and practical to define periods beforehand so that the articles for the uninterrupted periods can be selected at the same time as the article based on the random sample.

In other words, we want to focus on times, which we expect to affect the framing of immigration in a number of countries in our study. In order to allow for cross-country comparisons we propose a number of periods that apply for all country teams and two country-specific periods (to be selected by the country teams). The periods shared across countries are the months after the Madrid bombings (March 2004), after the events of September 2001, after the London bombings in July 2005, the election of Haider (February 2000), and the Cartoons crisis (February 2006). We cover all days (except Sundays) for at least one newspaper for the four weeks following these incidents. This additional selection of days is indicated in the Excel file by a more intense sampling immediately following the incidents. This adds to the workload of selecting and coding articles (four weeks times six days times six cases is 144 days per country). However, there are possibly some advantages of scale here: while the numbers of articles goes up, the numbers of days is limited.

## 6. Defining immigration

Regular newspaper articles are sought in the main news sections of the newspaper (this excludes specials, sports, culture sections, etc.). Editorials are defined as opinion articles recognizably representing the newspaper's point of view, often written by a journalist or editor of the newspaper (e.g. Pfetsch et al., 2002). Editorials tend to have

a special status within newspapers, and it should be relatively easy to select them based on their location in the newspaper.

Politicization involves conflict about the policies of government, conflict or cohesion in society more broadly or the definition of problems as collective problems. Articles addressing these aspects within the topic of immigration are selected. The topic of immigration is understood to include both migration itself and its social consequences. Thus, immigration related news includes:

- All coverage on government activities relating to the entry and exit of people from the country: the general policy direction, institutional framework, border controls, visa policies, and actions related to illegal entry.<sup>2</sup>
- All coverage on social/cultural/economic conflict or cohesion related to migrants. This includes government policies on targeted integration, language and citizenship programmes, and how migration affects existing government programmes (e.g. housing, education, police).<sup>3</sup> This also includes coverage on the activities, problems, social contributions of migrant communities.

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<sup>2</sup> Examples (from Europub/LOCALMULTIDEM codebook):

- institutional framework, responsibilities, procedures, costs: e.g. “create a special ministry of migration”, “search for a common European solution to immigration problems”, “financial support from the federal government for local communities in order to help them deal with the consequences of immigration”, “create a European high-level working group to study migration causes”, “equal distribution of refugees among EU countries”, “more personnel for border control”, “increase the say of the Bundesländer in matters concerning the expulsion of foreigners”

- entry and border controls: e.g. “stricter entry requirements for Eastern Europeans”, “no right to (re-) entry for foreigners who have committed crimes”, “stop influx of asylum seekers; “stop the influx of Aussiedler”, “fingerprint asylum-seekers”

- expulsions/deportations: e.g. “expulsion of foreign extremists”, “expulsion of criminal foreigners”, “send back asylum seekers who have arrived from safe third countries”, “draw up a list of countries to which asylum seekers cannot be sent back”, “deportation treaty between Austria and Turkey”

- migration programmes and quotas: e.g. “introduce an immigration law”, “an open Europe”, “set levels and forms of immigration as a function of Germany’s economic needs”; “recruit IT workers”, “raise quotas for seasonal workers, ”; “limit the number of workers from Eastern Europe”, “ease conditions for family reunification, Europe needs more migrants to counter demographic decline”, “reduce immigration”

- role of third parties in preventing migration: e.g. “prohibit airline companies to transport people without visa to Spain”, “combat the causes of migration through intensified aid for the Third World”, “combat the persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe”, “combat the causes of refugee flows”, “homeland governments should motivate foreigners to return”, “set up re-integration programmes for asylum seekers willing to return,” ”provide training and financial help to Eastern European border guards”

- visa and consular policy: e.g. “Set up common visa fee for Schengen states, encourage consular cooperation”, “visa applicants should prove means of support, take Bulgaria off the Schengen visa black list”, “impose transit visas for Iraqis, rotate consular personnel to prevent corruption”

- actions relating to smuggling and illegal entries: e.g. “intensified combat against organized ‘smuggling’ of asylum seekers across the border”, “stricter controls to prevent illegal immigration”, “increase penal sanctions against smugglers”

<sup>3</sup> - general minority integration: e.g. “strive for the integration of foreigners”, “prevent polarization in the debate on minority issues”, “strive for a multicultural society”, “the multicultural society leads to a racial hotchpotch”

- institutional framework minority integration: e.g. “more resources for state agencies dealing with foreigners”, “creation of a federal office for foreigners’ questions”

- Rights, citizenship: e.g. “equal rights and chances for foreigners”, “allow dual nationality”, “German citizenship for children born in Germany”, “naturalization conditional upon sufficient knowledge of the

In order to ease the selection of articles, the selectors are instructed to be very inclusive. Selectors scan through newspapers looking for articles potentially related to immigration (based on the headline etc.), a superficial reading of the first part of these articles (e.g. 100 words) should be sufficient to select relevant articles. At the later coding stage, articles could be excluded based on a more precise reading by the actual coders of the claims. At the selection stage, it is ignored whether political claims are present in the article (i.e. selectors need not define whether collective social problems are addressed nor whether purposive strategic action is covered).

As a way to cross-validate the article selection, each country team selects a small proportion of newspaper from a different country, overlapping the work of another country team (workload of a day). We use pairs of country teams that have easy access to each other's newspaper archives (and the same language): Belgium and the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Ireland, Switzerland and Austria, Switzerland (or Spain) and Belgium, etc. The main advantage of this procedure is that we work with data sources that we actually are using in our research (contrary to the procedure below). In addition to this procedure, we propose to select a number of days from which to select articles from the New York Times in order to evaluate inter-coder reliability (this procedure could also be used as an instruction-procedure in order to make our selection procedures more reliable across countries).

## 7. Concluding remarks

The procedure described produces a manageable, representative, and comparable selection of political news on immigration. This selection will be used for a political claims analysis at a later stage. As aforementioned, our approach builds upon earlier research projects, and it improved the method of selection in a number of ways. For example, we are able to focus on certain periods while maintaining the comparability of the selection.

## 8. References

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German language" "local voting rights for foreigners", "stimulate migrant political participation", "consult migrant organizations in decisions concerning them", "limit foreigners' right to demonstrate"; "right to participate in local and regional initiatives and referenda for EU citizens"; "reduce subventions for organizations of Aussiedler and Vertriebene"

- Participation in labour market, education etc: e.g. "introduce quotas for foreigners in certain professions", "improve the education opportunities of young foreigners"

- Religious and ethnic rights: e.g. "stimulate the construction of mosques", "recognition of Islam on an equal footing with Christian churches", "creation of possibilities for ritual slaughtering for Muslims", "creation of Islamic graveyards", "introduce Islamic religious education organized in Germany, not directed from the homeland countries", "integrate Islamic religious education in the normal school curriculum" "protect the cultural identity of foreigners", "recognize Kurds as a group separate from the Turks", "official minority status for Roma and Sinti"



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