6   Just off the Wire

AP's and AFP's Coverage of Immigration in France and the United States

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One of the core premises of this book is that a central site for the debate over immigration, especially in its border security and integration parameters, has been the mass media, which play an important role in how publics come to understand controversial issues.[1] This is particularly true for newswire services, whose stories are reproduced in thousands of newspapers every day.[2] Furthermore, newswire stories often serve as a starting point for original work, thereby setting initial boundaries for reporting.[3] Newswire services are therefore important locales in which the construction of meaning occurs, yet they remain largely unstudied in academic literature. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the first systematic analysis and comparison of the social realities of immigration constructed and disseminated nationally by the leading newswire agencies in France and the United States—Agence France-Presse and The Associated Press—between 2007 and 2011.

WIRES, FRAMES AND STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS

Media scholars have long contended that mass media play a significant role in the formation of knowledge[4] and that media depictions influence the construction of meaning by individuals.[5] A useful framework for conceptualizing the power of communicating texts may be drawn from framing theory, which posits that the manner in which media present issues affects receivers' understanding of those issues.[6] This study relies primarily on the conceptualization of media frames offered by William Gamson and Andre Modigliani, who define them as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events."[7]

Because the purpose is to analyze the reality constructed through news content, this study focuses on occurrence of media frames at the textual level.[8] In order to assess this coverage, I performed a frame analysis, which systematically examines texts for the selection of framing devices (e.g., metaphors, keywords, and appeals to principle) and reasoning devices (defining problems, interpreting causes, making moral evaluations, prescribing solutions) in order to promote a particular understanding of an issue.[9] As

several scholars have noted, differences in the selection of words, phrases, and images can exert appreciable influences on citizens' perceptions of and attitudes toward issues in several ways, including issue interpretation and attitudes,[10] cynicism and negative associations,[11] and support for policies.[12] More specifically, in the context of immigration, Juan-José Igartua and Lifen Cheng found that the type of frame stressed in a news story affected individuals' perceptions of the extent to which immigration is a problem, as well as their attitudes toward immigration and beliefs about the consequences of immigration for the country.[13] This is particularly important, as attitudes toward immigration are grounded more in individuals' perceptions—largely shaped by messages from politicians and the media—than in objective economic or demographic conditions at the national level.[14]

News media—both in print and online—in the United States and Europe have become increasingly reliant on newswire services in recent years, due to economic pressures and the increased workload faced by journalists.[15] However, despite this trend, studies of newswire services remain scarce and are almost nonexistent in the context of immigration. As the use of newswires becomes more prevalent, it becomes increasingly important to study them and the messages they disseminate.

According to Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, there are four key macro-level factors that influence media content: journalistic routines and norms, the structure of the media organization, contextual factors like the political environment, and ideology.[16] The little existent scholarly literature on newswire agencies suggests that there are limited differences between The Associated Press and Agence France-Presse across two of these factors: journalistic norms and ideology. Both AP and AFP consider objectivity to be a key goal and employ similar routines.[17] Furthermore, both newswire services focus on episodic spot news, with speed and competition characterizing their modus operandi, leading them to "speak in the language of breaking stories."[18] The two agencies also strive to be nonideological and have a shared understanding of the nature and definition of news.[19] Indeed, as noted by Chris Paterson, "because news agencies must please all news editors, everywhere, they must work harder than their client journalists to create the appearance of objectivity and neutrality."[20]

In terms of structure and external factors, the two agencies show marked differences, although some similarities remain. Both AP and AFP have their main headquarters in the United States and France, respectively, as well as regional bureaus in major economic capitals around the world and a number of correspondents elsewhere.[21] However, the two have distinct sources of funding and very different relationships with their national governments. According to Rodney Benson, the French press receives fewer legal protections and is more likely to be subject to overt interference by the government than the US press.[22] Furthermore, in contrast to its US counterpart, the French press receives considerable subsidies,[23] which Benson notes may be used to induce a form of covert pressure. AFP, in particular, is a

government-chartered public corporation that, although officially independent of the French government and operating with a mandate of independence and neutrality, nonetheless includes government representatives on its executive board and receives indirect subsidies from the French government in the form of subscriptions for its various services.[24] AP, meanwhile, operates as a not-for-profit cooperative that is entirely independent of the US government.

Furthermore, the two countries share some similarities in the composition of their populations and in the nature of the debate over immigration but have employed distinct policies to address it. Both France and the United States have a history of being immigrant-receiving countries, and foreign-born individuals now account for 12.7 percent and 11.6 percent of their overall population, respectively, percentages largely made up of immigrants coming through the host country's southern borders.[25] Indeed, the two largest immigrant groups in France are Algerians and Moroccans, which together account for roughly one-quarter of the country's foreign-born population.[26] In the United States, Mexicans constitute the largest immigrant group, accounting for 30.4 percent of the country's foreign-born population.[27] Additionally, immigration policy has been hotly contested in both countries by similar social actors, including political parties, interest groups, and academics, and the debates are dominated by similar themes, including illegal immigration, economic benefits and threats, and the impact on the domestic culture.[28]

However, as Martin Schain notes, over the past 40 years, the immigration policy objectives of France and the United States have been quite distinct, with French policy seeking to drastically reduce immigration and American policy seeking to permit immigration on the basis of criteria of family unification, labor needs, and diversity.[29] He adds that political parties in France have largely framed the issue in terms of identity, emphasizing restriction, rather than openness. In particular, the growing influence of the extreme right in France in recent years has led to greater marginalization of immigrants. This is contrasted by the political parties in the United States, which have tended to view immigrant voters as a political resource, thus promoting more open policies.[30] However, a recent wave of anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States has also led to anti-immigrant proposals by several US legislators, at both the national and the state levels.

Structural and political factors therefore suggest that there may be differences in the coverage of immigration in the United States and in France by Agence France-Presse and The Associated Press, despite the similarities in ideology and journalistic routines. This study thus sought to explore such potential differences by asking: Where is the coverage of immigration by AFP and AP coming from? How does AP's coverage of immigration in the United States compare to its coverage of immigration in France? How does AFP's coverage of immigration in France compare to its coverage of immigration in the United States? And, finally, how does the coverage of immigration in

the United States by AP compare with that of AFP, and how does the coverage of immigration in France by AFP compare with that of AP?

A NOTE ON METHOD

According to Roberto Suro, although the influx of foreign-born individuals to the United States has remained fairly steady in recent years, media coverage of and public interest in the issue of immigration has been marked by sharp ups and downs.[31] In light of this, I adopted a longitudinal design in order to mitigate the risk of a short-term spike in the salience of the issue. News stories were obtained through a search in the LexisNexis database for articles in which the words "immigrant*" or "immigration" appeared in either the headline or the lead of articles dated between January 1, 2007, and December 31, 2011. These dates were selected to generate a substantial amount of recent coverage and to negate the risk of event-driven bias. Last, articles had to appear in the English-language feeds of either The Associated Press or Agence France-Presse. After I removed briefs and duplicate stories, the sample consisted of 6,286 news stories (2,312 from AFP and 3,974 from AP).[32]

In order to comprehensively and reliably assess a substantial amount of coverage, I adopted a mixed-method, exploratory design.[33] I first performed an inductive reading of 20 random news stories each for AP and AFP in both France and the United States (*n* = 80). The purpose of this part of the analysis was to identify the recurring frames in the coverage, evaluate narratives in a holistic manner, and assess the depictions of immigrants. I also identified key words that were used repeatedly in association with frames and themes, which I later used in the computer-assisted analysis. Frames were noted only if they included a combination of framing devices (e.g., metaphors, keywords, and appeals to principle) and reasoning devices (defining problems, interpreting causes, making moral evaluations, prescribing solutions) and were salient in the coverage.[34] A total of nine frames, shown in Table 6.1, and 42 associated themes were identified during this analysis.

In order to assess the depiction of immigrants, I focused on the language used to describe them (e.g., positive or negative adjectives), the extent to which they were factored into the article (e.g., central focus or peripheral focus), the depth in which they were discussed (e.g., treated as individuals or as a distant mass), and the frames and contexts that were associated with them in the news text. Thus, stories that associated immigrants with lawlessness and crime or painted them as thieves of natives' jobs would be categorized as containing unfavorable depictions. Conversely, stories that associated immigrants with social or economic benefits or painted them as hardworking individuals diligently pursuing a better life would be categorized as containing favorable depictions. Whenever stories contained both positive and negative depictions, I paid attention to which type of depiction was most salient in the news story as well as the placement of the depictions,

Table 6.1   Frame Definitions

Frame Name	Description
Border Security	The need to secure or police borders, including the building of fences or the expansion of border patrols
Driving Factors	The reasons why immigrants migrate, including a search for the American Dream or an escape from violence or other turmoil
Law and Order	Associations with law enforcement, including depictions of lawless immigrants, enforcement of employment verification, and matters of deportation and detention
Legal	Legal challenges to or rulings about the lawfulness of legislation and ordinances or criminal trials and asylum pleas
Morality	Evaluations of the morality of the issue, including discussions about immigrants' civil rights, the exploitation of immigrants, and the separation of families
National Identity	The threats posed by immigration to national identity, including the dimensions of integration, language, and values
Policy	Legislative responses to the issue of immigration, including amnesty, definitions of citizenship, and immigration reform
Politics	The political effects of addressing the issue, including the impact on candidates' election prospects
Social Movement	Collective action by activist actors in support of or opposition to particular issue-relevant aims, including rallies and demonstrations

with depictions occurring close to the beginning of the article being assessed as having greater prominence and therefore given more weight.

After the interpretive analysis was completed, I created a custom computer program to analyze each news article in the final sample.[35] This program systematically assessed whether themes were present in an article on the basis of the use of combinations of keywords, with the expectation that certain themes would likely, though not necessarily, suggest the presence of specific frames.[36] While lexical choice is certainly an important component of frames, it is worth noting that frames often manifest themselves in latent manners, which the computer program used in this study would be unable to pick up. Findings from the interpretive and computer-assisted analyses, which were conducted separately, were largely consistent.

FRAMING IMMIGRATION ON THE WIRES

Origin of Stories

In the United States—where 75.3 percent (*n* = 2,991) of AP's global coverage originated—articles were derived from 418 unique locations, with 52.8

percent of the articles coming from the top 10 cities. AFP's coverage of immigration in the United States—which accounted for 22.6 percent (*n* = 523) of its global coverage—originated in 51 unique locations, with 88.3 percent of the articles coming from the top 10 cities. Although there are distinct differences in the long tail, the bulk of the coverage still originated from the same few cities for both AP and AFP. Indeed, nine of the top 10 cities were the same for AP and AFP, and Washington, DC, accounted for a disproportionate amount of the coverage in both samples, although significantly more so in AFP's case.

In France—where 2.5 percent (*n* = 100) of AP's global coverage originated—articles were derived from 21 unique locations, with 89.0 percent of the articles coming from the top 10 cities. AFP's coverage of immigration in France—which accounted for 8.7 percent (n = 201) of its global coverage—originated in 30 unique locations, with 90.5 percent of the articles coming from the top 10 cities. As with the US coverage, there was a substantial amount of overlap among the top 10 cities, with six of them appearing on both lists; additionally, a vast amount of coverage originated from Paris for both AP and AFP (see Table 6.2).

In terms of the US coverage, this indicates that, although AP reported from far more locations and had a notably lower degree of concentration than AFP, the bulk of the coverage still originated in the same few cities. In France, there was also considerable overlap between AP and AFP in the bulk of the coverage, though less than in the United States; additionally, there was far less geographical diversity and a very high degree of concentration of stories by both outlets. These findings suggest that there was significant geographic overlap among the bulk of the stories—certainly in France and to a lesser extent in the United States—thus minimizing the added geographic diversity in the long tail offered by AP in the United States and AFP in France. Also noteworthy was that AFP devoted more coverage to immigration in the United States than in France, although this may have been influenced by the sample, which included only stories from the English-language newswire.

Immigration in the United States

AP's coverage of immigration in the United States was most likely to invoke the policy and law-and-order frames, with the politics frame also receiving substantial attention (see Table 6.3). The interpretive analysis indicated that AP focused on federal-level policies, which were frequently depicted neutrally and in terms of procedural actions in legislative bodies, although particularly controversial state legislation also received some attention. There was also a substantial amount of coverage devoted to the enforcement of existing laws, especially in terms of raids on immigrants and issues relating to employment verification. Last, electoral politics loomed large, with the issue of immigration often raised either in terms of how it would affect a candidate's chances or as part of the candidate's platform.

Table 6.2 Top 10 Cities in France and US Coverage by AP and AFP

| | US Coverage | | | | France Coverage | | | |
| | Associated Press | | Agence France-Presse | | Associated Press | | Agence France-Presse | |
Rank	City	%	City	%	City	%	City	%
1	Washington, DC	21.9	Washington, DC	54.3	Paris	69.0	Paris	71.6
2	Phoenix	7.0	New York	9.6	Cannes	4.0	Strasbourg	5.5
3	New York	6.9	Los Angeles	7.1	Villiers-le-Bel	4.0	Calais	5.0
4	Los Angeles	4.8	Phoenix	5.4	Strasbourg	3.0	Tours	3.5
5	Miami	2.4	Miami	4.4	Calais	2.0	Argenteuil	1.0
6	Boston	2.3	Chicago	3.8	Clichy-sous-Bois	2.0	Vaulx-en-Velin	1.0
7	San Francisco	2.0	El Paso	1.1	Tours	2.0	Cannes	1.0
8	El Paso	1.9	San Francisco	1.0	Argenteuil	1.0	Marseille	1.0
9	Chicago	1.7	Wichita	1.0	Douai	1.0	Henin Beaumont	0.5
10	Atlanta	1.7	Atlanta	0.8	Evian	1.0	Lille	0.5

Note: The percent column refers to the amount of coverage within the respective region and by the respective outlet. For US coverage, The Associated Press figures add up to 52.8% ($n = 1,578$); Agence France-Presse figures add up to 88.3% ($n = 462$). For France coverage, The Associated Press figures add up to 89.0% ($n = 89$); Agence France-Presse figures add up to 90.5% ($n = 182$). Article origin is derived from its dateline.

Table 6.3 Frame Salience in France and US Coverage by AP and AFP

	US Coverage		France Coverage	
Frame	Associated Press	Agence France-Presse	Associated Press	Agence France-Presse
Border Security	13.3%	21.4%	4.0%	6.5%
Driving Factors	6.9%	5.9%	7.0%	3.5%
Law and Order	33.1%	19.1%	7.0%	11.4%
Legal	19.5%	14.0%	6.0%	6.0%
Morality	12.0%	15.1%	10.0%	11.4%
National Identity	4.1%	6.7%	29.0%	25.4%
Policy	38.1%	41.7%	33.0%	25.4%
Politics	29.0%	41.5%	58.0%	55.2%
Social Movement	14.6%	16.8%	16.0%	19.9%

Note: Individual articles may contain more than one frame and columns thus do not add up to 100%.

AFP's coverage of immigration in the United States was most likely to invoke the policy and politics frames (see Table 6.3). The interpretive analysis indicated that AFP also focused on federal-level policies and on controversial state legislation and similarly employed a script of conflict, both within and between parties and in terms of how it would impact candidates' standing and electoral chances. Last, substantial attention was devoted to the importance of securing the border with Mexico by highlighting statements by officials to that effect as well as by explicitly noting how legislative acts would achieve it.

As shown in Table 6.3, there were considerable differences between AP's and AFP's US coverage among four of the frames: AFP was more likely to emphasize the politics and border-security frames, while AP was more likely to emphasize the law-and-order and legal frames. Lesser differences were found among the remaining five frames, with AFP being more likely to emphasize the policy, morality, national-identity, and social-movement frames, while AP was more likely to emphasize the driving-factors frame.

Regarding the depiction of immigrants in the news articles, both AP and AFP tended to follow similar schemas. The majority of the stories failed to either quote immigrants or devote significant attention to individual immigrants, instead treating them abstractly. Indeed, the issue of immigration was largely discussed in a manner that was detached from the actual immigrants. As a result, the majority of the coverage treated immigrants neutrally, although there was a notable amount of unfavorable portrayals as a result of associations of immigrants with lawlessness—especially in AP coverage—and the juxtaposition of their cheap labor with the economic hardship faced by Americans. When immigrants were described at length,

they were more likely to be depicted favorably, with narratives generally characterizing them as hardworking individuals and highlighting their plight or calling attention to the negative effects that state and federal policies had on them. Notably, the majority of stories treated immigration predominantly as a Latino issue; for example, stories including the politics frame often referenced the impact candidates' positions would have on their ability to secure the Latino vote. Furthermore, the majority of immigrants featured in news stories were Latino, often identified explicitly through references to their country of origin or implicitly through their surnames.

Last, a framework of illegality was present in more than half of the coverage of immigration in the United States by both AP and AFP. AP used this schema in 57.8 percent of its articles, while AFP used it in 52.2 percent of its articles.

Immigration in France

AP's coverage of immigration in France was most likely to invoke the politics frame, with the policy and national-identity frames also receiving substantial attention (see Table 6.3). The interpretive analysis indicated that AP focused on electoral politics, with a substantial amount of the coverage discussing candidates' positions in relation to those of Front National, the third-largest political party in France, which has adopted a hardline stance against immigration as a centerpiece of its platform. AP also devoted attention to immigration policies, particularly at the national level, which were frequently associated with individual political leaders, such as the president and the minister of the interior. Last, the impact of immigration and of immigrants on French identity was very salient in the coverage, especially in political statements by both candidates and incumbents remarking on the inability of immigrants to integrate into society.

AFP's coverage of immigration in France was also most likely to invoke the politics frame, with the policy and national-identity frames similarly receiving substantial attention (see Table 6.3). The interpretive analysis indicated that AFP also focused on electoral politics, with a substantial amount of the coverage discussing candidates' positions in relation to those of the Front National. National immigration policies also received some attention and were frequently associated with particular political leaders rather than large legislative bodies. Last, the impact of immigration and of immigrants on French identity was also salient in the coverage, manifesting itself most often in political statements by political actors.

As shown in Table 6.3, there was only one frame that exhibited a notable difference in AP's and AFP's France coverage: the policy frame, which AP was more likely than AFP to emphasize. Lesser differences were found among the remaining eight frames, with AFP being more likely to emphasize the law-and-order, social-movement, border-security, and morality frames, while AP was more likely to emphasize the national-identity, driving-factors,

and politics frames; the legal frame was equally emphasized by both outlets. Both the interpretive and the computer-assisted analyses suggested that there was greater congruity between AP and AFP in the coverage of immigration in France than in their coverage of immigration in the United States.

Regarding the depiction of immigrants in the news articles, again both AP and AFP tended to follow similar schemas. The majority of the stories failed either to quote immigrants or to devote significant attention to individual immigrants, and both organizations tended to depict immigrants in a neutral manner, although negative depictions appeared in several articles quoting institutional actors' remarks about the threat that immigrants posed to French values and norms. The majority of articles using such quotes offered limited context; additionally, if a rebuttal by another source was made, it was generally placed below the negative depiction. When immigrants were described at length, depictions were only slightly more often favorable than unfavorable. Favorable depictions generally manifested themselves in references to the inadequate social conditions and institutional challenges faced by immigrants in France, as well as to their efforts to deal with these difficulties. Notably, the majority of stories treated immigration predominantly as a Muslim and North African issue, with a large number of immigrants featured in news stories being first- or second-generation immigrants from the Maghreb.

Last, a framework of illegality was present in less than one-third of the coverage of immigration in France by both AP and AFP. AP used this schema in 32.0 percent of its articles, while AFP used it in 28.4 percent of its articles.

Differences Between Nations

As shown in Table 6.3, there were considerable differences between AP's coverage of immigration in the United States and in France in five of the frames: the US-based coverage was more likely to emphasize the law-and-order, legal, and border-security frames, while the France-based coverage was more likely to emphasize the politics and national frames. Lesser differences were found among the remaining four frames, with the US-based coverage emphasizing the policy and morality frames and the France-based coverage emphasizing the social-movement and driving-factors frames.

Similarly, there were considerable differences between AFP's coverage of immigration in the United States and in France on five of the frames: the US-based coverage was more likely to emphasize the policy, border-security, and legal frames, while the France-based coverage was more likely to emphasize the national-identity and politics frames (see Table 6.3). Lesser differences were found among the remaining four frames, with the US-based coverage emphasizing the law-and-order, morality, and driving-factors frames and the France-based coverage emphasizing the social-movement frame.

Regarding the depiction of immigrants in the news articles, both AP and AFP generally failed either to quote immigrants or to devote significant attention to individual immigrants, although immigrants were more

likely to be quoted in stories about immigration in France than they were in stories about immigration in the United States. The majority of the coverage by both outlets depicted immigrants in a neutral manner, although the US-based coverage was more likely to include favorable depictions. Favorable depictions of immigrants in the United States were more likely to emphasize their hardworking nature, while those in France were more likely to emphasize immigrants' efforts to overcome social challenges like poverty. Negative depictions of immigrants in the United States were more likely to highlight their lawlessness, while those of immigrants in France were more likely to highlight their threat to French values and norms. Additionally, both organizations tended to associate the issue of immigration with Latinos in the United States and with Muslims and North Africans in France.

Last, both AP and AFP were more likely to use a framework of illegality in their news stories about immigration in the United States (57.8% and 52.2%, respectively) than they were about immigration in France (32.0% and 28.4%, respectively).

Frames of Immigration on International Wires

This chapter argues that there were significant differences in the coverage of immigration in the United States and France by The Associated Press and Agence France-Presse in terms of frame selection, depiction of immigrants, and the use of a framework of illegality. However, while the differences were pronounced between the two countries, they were far more limited between the two newswire agencies.

In particular, coverage about immigration in the United States was far more likely to emphasize law and order and border security, whereas coverage about immigration in France was far more likely to emphasize national identity. News coverage of immigration in France was thus arguably more likely to associate immigrants with a threat to native values and norms, whereas coverage about immigration in the United States was more likely to associate immigrants with a threat to native livelihood and security. The "other," therefore, became hazardous to social cohesion in one context and to individual safety in the other.

Additionally, the issue of immigration was treated almost exclusively by both newswire agencies as a Latino matter in the United States and as a Muslim or North African matter in France. In promoting these associations, both organizations appear not only to oversimplify the issue but also to misinform their audience. Indeed, more than 45 percent of the United States' foreign-born population immigrated from places outside Latin America,[37] and more than 57 percent of France's foreign-born population immigrated from places outside Africa.[38]

Furthermore, there were distinct differences in the use of a framework of illegality, with both AP's and AFP's coverage about immigration in the United States being far more likely to employ such a schema than their coverage

of immigration in France. The finding that immigration in the United States was more often discussed in terms of illegal than legal immigration, which is consistent with the work of Banu Akdenizli and colleagues,[39] has serious implications for public understanding of the issue and for policymaking. Indeed, through this distortion—undocumented immigrants make up less than one-third of both the inflow of immigrants and the country's foreign-born population[40]—both AP and AFP arguably perpetuated the notion of an out-of-control problem that must be resolved through drastic measures. Consequent to such framing is a perceived necessity for any policy attempting to address any aspect of immigration to include a component that addresses illegal immigration, which, given the loaded nature of that debate, often results in the polarization of actors, thereby hindering legislators' ability to compromise. This has serious implications for critical immigration matters like foreign worker visas, refugee protection, and reform of the naturalization process. The finding that immigration in France was more often discussed outside these bounds arguably suggests that it might be easier for readers of AP and AFP copy to distinguish between legal and illegal immigration there. However, the disproportionate use of the politics frame suggests that the issue may be just as politicized in France as in the United States, if not more so. This, too, poses serious challenges to developing rational policies about immigration.

These differences may in many ways be byproducts of the distinct political contexts surrounding immigration in these two nations, and they are worthy of further study. Indeed, the findings in this chapter in many ways reflect the policies and the political discourse surrounding the issue in those two countries, with French political parties largely framing immigration in terms of identity and French policies emphasizing restriction in order to protect French culture, while US policy has been comparatively more inclusive as political parties increasingly view immigrant voters as a valuable political resource. It is thus unsurprising that the difference in the use of the national-identity frame in the coverage of immigration in the United States and in France was the greatest among all frames and that its use was more prevalent in France. Similarly, it is perhaps not unexpected that immigrants in the United States were more likely to be depicted in a positive manner than those in France, although this difference was not as marked.

However, despite these distinct differences between the two contexts, this study also found a remarkable amount of congruity in the coverage. Indeed, the bulk of the coverage originated in the same few cities, although it is worth noting that in the United States AP had a notably lower degree of concentration than AFP. Furthermore, both newswires largely relied on the same frames in covering immigration in France and had some notable overlaps in their coverage of immigration in the United States. They also focused overwhelmingly on specific immigrant groups within the two different countries and largely depicted them abstractly and in a neutral manner. Last, their use of a framework of illegality was quite similar.

While it was expected that differences in the structures of AP and AFP would yield some distinctiveness in their reporting, it is possible that such differences were minimized by the relative harmony of their journalistic norms and their nonideological nature. Furthermore, these similarities may perhaps offer further evidence of the increasing homogenization of news.[41] According to Pablo Boczkowski, the coupling of journalistic practices and norms, such as monitoring, with the instant access afforded by modern technologies results in news that looks more and more alike in competing news media. In an effort to match each other's work, these two agencies may be, in effect, replicating each other's material. Unfortunately, this analysis cannot indicate the extent to which these similarities are actually a by-product of replication, nor can it provide insight into the potential leader-follower relationship. Nonetheless, these similarities raise some concerns about the ability of these two newswire agencies to bring distinct and diverse viewpoints to the public sphere.

CONCLUSION

This study provides the first systematic comparative analysis of the coverage of immigration by the leading newswire agencies in the United States and France. The study found distinct differences in the coverage of immigration in the two countries between 2007 and 2011 but remarkable similarities in the coverage by the two newswire agencies. In particular, coverage of immigration in the United States was far more likely to emphasize law and order and border security than the coverage in France, whereas the coverage in France was far more likely to emphasize national identity than the coverage in the United States. More than half of the coverage of immigration in the United States by both newswire agencies used a framework of illegality, which was present in less than one-third of the coverage of immigration in France. Additionally, the issue of immigration was treated almost exclusively by both newswire agencies as a Latino matter in the United States and as a Muslim or North African matter in France. Last, the bulk of the coverage in both countries originated in the same few locations, although the concentration was notably higher in France.

Given how fundamental newswires are to the shaping of overall media coverage, these findings have important practical and theoretical implications. First and foremost, the difference in the repeated characterization of immigrant "otherness" may facilitate efforts by anti-immigrant advocates to depict immigration as hazardous to social cohesion in France and to individual and national safety in the United States. Second, by associating immigration with specific groups, the newswire agencies may be priming readers to link immigration with Latinos in the United States and with Muslims and North Africans in France, possibly lending further legitimacy to efforts to "control" immigration through racial and ethnic profiling or through quota

systems. Third, the difference in the use of a framework of illegality arguably makes it easier for policymakers in France to address legal immigration separately from illegal immigration than in the United States, though the issue remains highly politicized in France as well.

Theoretically, the substantial congruity in several aspects of AP's and AFP's coverage may be interpreted as support for the idea that news products are becoming increasingly homogenized or that journalistic norms and ideology may be more important determinants of the journalistic product than the structure of media organizations or certain extramedia factors, at least as far as global news agencies are concerned. Additionally, the finding that distinctive differences existed between the coverage of immigration in the United States and in France and that these differences in many ways reflected the policies and political discourse surrounding the issue in these two countries suggests that, in the context of immigration, there may indeed be a close, interconnected, and interdependent relationship between policymaking and the construction of media narratives.

NOTES

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32. The original search yielded 4,077 articles from AFP and 5,417 from AP. Briefs were defined as articles that consisted of 250 or fewer words. Duplicates were removed through the use of a custom program that systematically identified and removed duplicate items. This program used "fuzzy string" searching, a technique for identifying strings based on approximate, rather than exact, matches, to identify and remove duplicate stories appearing within the same outlet. I used a conservative approach that removed exact duplicates and only articles that both were similar and appeared in proximity to each other. When duplicates were identified, the most recent article was retained because it is assumed that the most recent article represents the final version of that article.

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35. Because I analyzed all stories within the given parameters (e.g., keywords, length, and nonduplicate), I consider this to be a census of the relevant reports disseminated by the two agencies within the five-year period 2007–2011 and not a random sample of a larger hypothetical population. I thus opted not to report the results of any inferential statistical tests in the main text of this chapter. However, because some readers may nonetheless be interested in these results, I report them here. For the frame salience in news articles about immigration, I performed separate chi-square analyses for each frame. In the US-based coverage ($n = 3,494$), there was a statistically significant difference between AP and AFP among five frames: border security ($\chi^2 = 23.636$, $p < .01$), law and order ($\chi^2 = 40.730$, $p < .01$), legal ($\chi^2 = 8.863$, $p < .01$), morality ($\chi^2 = 3.978$, $p < .05$), national identity ($\chi^2 = 6.929$, $p < .01$),

and politics (χ^2 = 32.246, p < .01). In the France-based coverage (n = 301), there were no statistically significant differences between AP and AFP. There were statistically significant differences among five frames between AP's US- and France-based coverage (n = 3,071): border security (χ^2 = 7.394, p < .01), law and order (χ^2 = 30.199, p < .01), legal (χ^2 = 11.372, p < .01), national identity (χ^2 = 128.233, p < .01), and politics (χ^2 = 38.624, p < .01). There were statistically significant differences among six frames between AFP's US- and France-based coverage (n = 724): border security (χ^2 = 22.710, p < .01), law and order (χ^2 = 6.069, p < .05), legal (χ^2 = 8.941, p < .01), national identity (χ^2 = 48.408, p < .01), policy (χ^2 = 16.541, p < .01), and politics (χ^2 = 11.050, p < .01). In terms of the use of a framework of illegality, there was a statistically significant difference in the US-based coverage between AP and AFP (χ^2 (1, n = 3,494) = 5.675, p < .05). There was no such difference in the France-based coverage (n = 301). Last, there were statistically significant differences in the use of a framework of illegality by both outlets between US and France (χ^2 (1, n = 3,071) = 26.250, p < .001 for AP and χ^2 (1, n = 724) = 33.271, p < .001 for AFP).

36. Specifically, the program opened individual news articles and ran a series of Boolean queries on each sentence using a predefined set of rules. These rules were developed through a combination of a study of the lexical choices during the interpretive analysis and an analysis of the most commonly used words in the entire sample, obtained through the use of another computer program I developed. In total, there were 57 distinct rules to account for the 42 themes previously identified. Rules could include 'AND', 'OR', and 'NOT' operators. Sample rule: (humane OR humanely OR lenient) AND (immigrant OR immigrants OR migrant OR migrants OR alien OR aliens OR undocumented) NOT (sentence OR sentencing OR crime OR ruling OR judgment). These rules were refined several times and pretested on a random sample of 200 news stories to improve instrument validity. Articles were additionally coded for the presence of the terms of 'illegal' or 'undocumented' in conjunction with 'alien*', 'immigrant*', 'immigration', or 'worker*' to assess whether the article discussed the issue within a framework of illegality.
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