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MEDIA SOURCES TELL STORIES TO FRAME GROUPS:

A STUDY OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN QUEBEC

ANALYZED BY THE NARRATIVE POLICY

FRAMEWORK

by

Carine De Sy

Committee Approval

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Acknowledgements

After taking an abundance of courses and seminars, writing hundreds of papers, and presenting numerous research projects, writing this dissertation was the metaphorical cherry on the cake of an intense period of academic learning and personal growth. Arriving at the point of earning a doctoral degree is a dream come through. However, I could have never done this without the support of many people who contributed their part to this accomplishment.

Thank you, Dr. Donna Lybecker and Dr. Mark McBeth for your astonishing support during my doctoral education. From the moment I was accepted in the Doctor of Arts program, I looked up to both of you as amazing role models. It was an honor and great experience to work with you on academic papers and present our results at professional conferences.

Thank you, Dr. Donna Lybecker, for being my major advisor and chair of my dissertation committee. You inspired me to combine the fields of International Relations and Public Administration in my dissertation, you kept me on track focusing on my research question, you always took time to encourage me when I was overwhelmed while studying for my comprehensive exams, you taught me how to handle challenging students, you allowed me to team teach your International Relations course, you enriched my knowledge of environmental policies and world politics, and you earned my deepest respect for setting the standards high for teaching, researching, and team-working. I will miss hearing your contagious laugh echoing through the hallway!

My dearest sons, Menno and Jarne, I have no words to thank you for your endless support during my graduate career. It has not always been easy to raise you as a single mother in a foreign country while furthering my education. Never ever have I regretted the choice to go back to school, because studying and teaching part-time allowed me the freedom to attend most of your track and field or cross country meets, baseball and basketball games, band performances, debate contests, and choir and drama performances. You have always helped me out with household chores, yard work, doing your own laundry, and even with cooking. I am very proud to see you grow up and become responsible adults with good values and a good work ethic. I am immensely proud of both of you for graduating with honors from high school!

Menno, I cannot believe that you already finished your third year of college at Washington State University. Two of my nicest memories of you as a young man are: first, when you came visit us in Spring Break with 17 of your U.W. friends and turned our house into a lively college dorm, and second, when you and your roommates hosted your brother, Maggie, and me at your house in Seattle for Thanksgiving. I was so amazingly proud of you to see what have accomplished by now.

Jarne, what a stunning experience to graduate together with you: you from Century High School and I with my Doctorate from ISU. Two of my nicest memories of you are: first and above all, you letting me join you at the American Heritage Tour in eight grade and you and I becoming American citizens together. While it might be a punishment for many parents to go with three busloads of mixed gender eight grade kids with fluctuating hormones, it was my best educational trip ever! As a political scientist, I learned more than I can ever explain during this trip about this country's founding and

history. On that trip, I decided that I wanted to become an American citizen, which leads me to my second best memory of you and me: we became US Citizens together in January 2014. While I will miss you horribly, Jarne, I am so glad that you will leave the house next month to start your college journey at the University of Idaho in Moscow, ID. All the best!

Last but not least, I want to thank one of my best Pocatello buddies, Paul, for his continuing support and practical help while I was too busy with studying, doing research, or writing papers. Thank you so much, Paul, for being my kid-sitter when the boys were younger, my cook when we were hungry, my dog-walker when Jo-Jo needed to go out, my handy man when things around the house were falling apart, my driver to bring and pick up the kids to and from their extracurricular activities, my errand person when I was too busy to go shopping or take my car to be serviced, my house sitter when I went on vacation, my proofreader for more than one hundred papers – including this dissertation, my cheer-me-up person when it was all too much at times, my listener when I wanted to vent, etc. Paul, you are a true friend and I will horribly miss you when I have to move away because of a job.

Thank you to so many more people who played a role in guiding me to where I am now.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abstract

The main research question for this dissertation focuses on whether traditional media sources portray groups differently than new/social media sources do. Additionally, there are three sub-research questions to test whether media sources portray groups differently based on the language [*English vs. French*] in which the article/video is written/broadcasted, the ideology [*liberal vs. other-than-liberal*] of the source, and/or the coverage/distribution [*nationwide vs. local*] of the media outlet. To answer these research questions, the researcher chose the case of "Syrian refugees in Quebec" and focused on how media sources tell stories or narratives to frame Syrian refugees in Quebec benevolently or malignantly to influence public opinion on immigration policies. Refugees portrayed in a positive light are considered deserving of policy benefits and those framed negatively are considered to encounter burdens from immigration policies. The research outcomes reveal that first, most policy narratives – collected from ten different media outlets – portray the target population of Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of beneficial immigration policies. Second, policy narratives do not significantly differ in framing the target population when coming from *traditional* or *new/social media* sources. Third, *English* or *French* narratives lack significant differences in policy narratives about the Syrian refugees in Quebec. Fourth and most impressive difference is between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* sources. The researcher discovered six statistically significant differences between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* policy narratives and 1) overall portraying Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving*, 2) number of *villains*, 3) number of *heroes*, 4) *negative* tone, 5) *both positive and negative* tone, and 6)

positive tone. This means that the variable "*ideology*" is a very important predictor in

policy narrative research.

Chapter I:
Introduction

Human beings are socially constructed by social institutions in their environment, such as family, education, religion, politics, and the media. A social institution is commonly described as a particular agency that constructs or channels human behavior and actions in a way that is acceptable or desirable by society (Berger 1963). The media – as a social institution – is a tool to distribute mass communication. Twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, media outlets inform their audience on current events in local communities, states, nations, and on the international scene. People often believe that the stories in media sources are the truth, however, different media sources tell contradicting stories about the same issues.

In an attempt to add to research on the media, and in particular on different media sources and differing interpretations of the same issues, this dissertation looks at different *types of media* outlets. Looking specifically at *traditional* and *new/social media* sources, this research asks if these different types of media portray issues differently. The portrayal of issues will be analyzed through comparting policy narratives in both traditional and new/social media sources.

Policy narratives are, in this case, media stories that refer to decisions government officials make in the form of public policies. In other words, public policy is the result of government action or government inaction, or what a government chooses to do or not to do for a certain population in a particular situation (Clemons and McBeth 2001, 11). Media outlets often react to these governmental decisions in the form of stories or narratives about the population that is affected by these political decisions. With these

stories – whether supportive or opposing the governmental decisions – media outlets influence the public opinion about that population. For this dissertation, media policy narratives relating to governmental decisions about a specific case study were analyzed: Syrian refugees in Quebec, Canada.

Case Study: Syrian Refugees in Quebec, Canada

Syrian Refugees

The topic of the "Syrian refugee crisis" was chosen for this research due to the multitude of media attention at the time this dissertation was in its earliest stage. Figure 1 page shows how Google Trends (2016) graphically illustrates that media interest in the "Syrian War" that peaked in September 2013, after which it decreased to a low interest in November 2013 and remained more or less the same until August 2015, but peaked to an all-time-high in September 2015, and then declined again. Figure 2 presents a similar graphic in which Google Trends (2016) shows that media interest in "Syrian refugees" was as good as non-existing until July 2015, then peaked in September 2015 after which media interest quickly dropped in October 2015, peaked again in November 2015, and revealed a declining interest until July 2015.

FIGURE 1: INTERESTS ON THE SYRIAN WAR (Google Trends 2016)
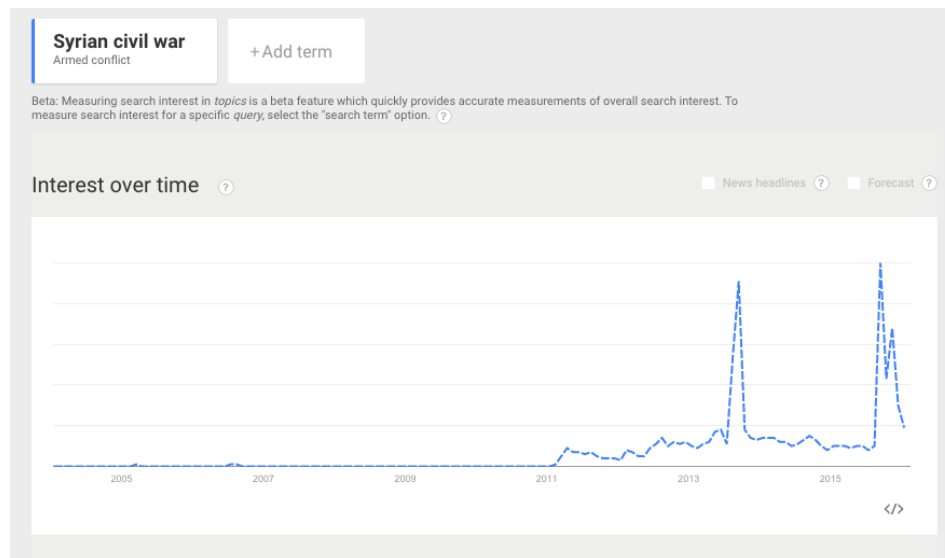
FIGURE 2: INTEREST ON SYRIAN REFUGEES (Google Trends 2016)
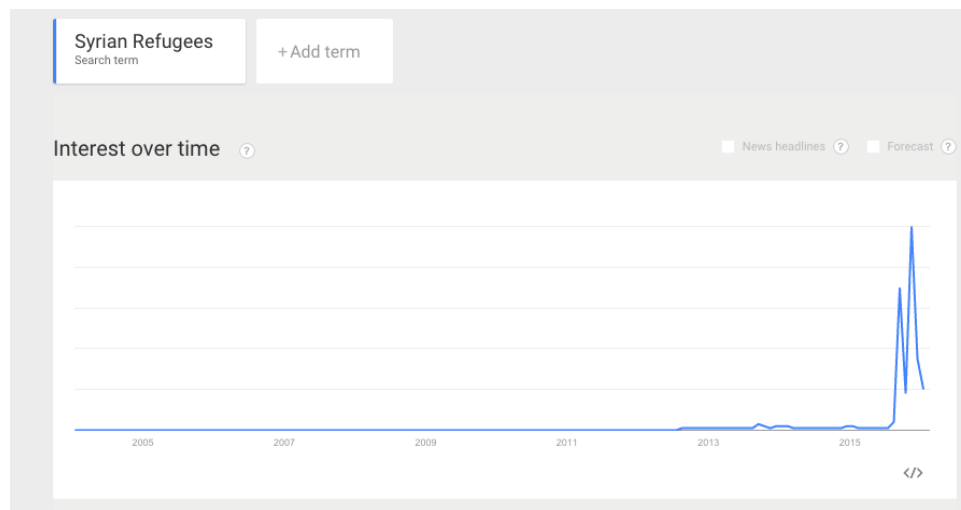
Syrian refugees began coming to Canada in March 2014 after Syrian internal conflicts that started in 2011 (Government of Canada 2016). By mid June 2016, the

Government of Canada (2016) reported that Canada accepted 28,449 Syrian refugees. At the same time, the United Nations Refugee Agency (2016) counted 4.9 million officially registered Syrian Refugees, which confirms the immensity of this conflict and the prognosis that this issue will not be solved in the immediate future. Therefore, the large scale of the Syrian refugee crisis is worth studying – in real time – because those five million refugees need to relocate and will influence refugee/immigration policies in many countries worldwide. Due to the relative large number of Syrian refugees in Canada, compared to other nations, the researcher decided to focus on Syrian refugees in Canada, specifically in the province of Quebec. Furthermore, this research is unique because it is done in real time and it fills a gap in the literature that analyzes how refugees are portrayed by media narratives created by different types of media sources.

Quebec, Canada

As soon as the Federal Canadian government announced its intention to bring Syrian refugees to Canada, the provincial Quebec government committed to contribute to resolving this humanitarian crisis by accepting Syrian refugees into their province (Ministry of Immigration, Diversity, and Refugees 2015). While Quebecois – with the majority of their population being French-speakers – used to have the reputation of living in isolation, in their own cultural and linguistic enclave from the rest of Canada (Salee 1994), both Anglophone and Francophone politicians as well as citizens seem to welcome Syrian refugees in their province during this refugee resettling effort.

Quebec Immigration Minister Kathleen Weil explains that the province of Quebec was pleased to accept Syrian refugees to help boost Quebec's working-age population,

which would help Quebec's economy (Planté 2016). Quebec was chosen as the geographic focus of this case study not only because of their welcoming attitude towards the refugees, but also due to its bilingualism – French and English. The bilingualism may play an additional role in how different media outlets tell their stories about Syrian refugees in Quebec: it may be that the French speaking community utilizes media differently than does the English speaking community. Thus the language issue adds to the examination of how an issue, in this case Syrian refugees, is portrayed in traditional and new/social media. The next section defines the research questions and the variables chosen for this dissertation research.

Research Question

The general research question for this work addresses whether these distinct *types of media* sources describe issues—in this case Syrian refugees in Quebec, Canada—differently. In order to determine if variation found is created by the varying *types of media*, it is also necessary to look at *language* [*English* versus *French* media outlets], geographical *coverage/distribution* of media sources [*nationwide* versus *local*], and *ideology* [*liberal* versus *other-than-liberal*] media outlets. Thus, the research question for this dissertation consists of one main question and three sub-questions: "Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ by media source – *traditional* or *new/social media* (main question) – when controlling for sub-questions 1) the language [*English* or *French*] in which the media source is published or broadcasted, 2) the ideology [*liberal* or o*ther-than-liberal*] of the media source, and/or 3) the coverage/distribution [*nationwide* or *local*] of the media source?"

5

For this research, each of these sub-questions is important due to the case study of Canada. In Canada, two distinct media sources represent two linguistic solitudes – the Anglophone and Francophone community – in diverse linguistic, cultural, provincial or federal political opinions (Kozolanka et al. 2012, 4-5). Liberal and other-than-liberal media sources are included since liberals are usually more likely to support immigration policies, while other-than-liberals, such as conservatives, nationalists, or libertarians, are more prone to oppose these policies (Liberal Party 2015). Media sources that cover the nation [nationwide] in addition to media sources that cover the Quebec area [local] are included due to the broader versus narrow geographical issue focus.

Thus, the underlying idea for focusing on these variables is to determine whether the media source [traditional versus new/social] plays a role in advantaging certain groups while disadvantaging other groups; and subsequently, if the language [English versus French], the ideology [liberal versus other-than-liberal], or the coverage/distribution [nationwide versus local] associated with different media types play a role in advantaging certain groups while disadvantaging other groups.

Research

In order to answer the research question, this research includes an analysis of stories, or "narratives," from newspapers (traditional media) and Google news and YouTube (new/social media). The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) is utilized to conduct a content analysis of the collected media stories. This media research is a meso level study because it focuses on a specific group – Syrian refugees – in a limited geographical space – Quebec, Canada, and not micro study that studies individuals, nor a

macro level study that studies broad structures or patterns. The NPF is an appropriate framework for this study because it illustrates how the media constructs the narratives, such as including characters (villains, victims, heroes), describing the setting in which the story takes place, adding a moral to the story, etc. The Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP) is used to further analyze the NPF analyses for social constructs. While the NPF illustrates how the narrative is constructed, the SCTP adds to the opportunity to evaluate the narrative's characters as deserving or undeserving of policy benefits. The combination of the NPF and the SCTP allows for a stronger empirical testing of the data. The results of this work will contribute to the academic literature in the field of public policy and will extend the existing literature on the Narrative Policy Framework and the Social Construction of Target Populations. Specifically, this research sheds a light on how media sources frame narratives that portray certain groups as deserving and others as undeserving of benefits of possible public policies. With these socially constructed narratives, media sources try to influence public opinion as well as sway politicians toward policy solutions. The academic study of narratives contributes to the insights of how powerful the media is influencing the public policy process.

Roadmap for this Dissertation

This research begins with an introduction to the work, Chapter I. Chapter II is the literature review, looking at the importance of media narratives in traditional media and new/social media, and discusses policy narratives found in traditional and new/social media. Chapter III examines the policy narrative and then discusses the theoretical framework for this dissertation, the use of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), and

the Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP). Chapter IV gives an overview of the case of the Syrian refugees, examining the situation at large and then in particular in Canada and Quebec. Chapter V focuses on the research data and the statistical methods. The chapter discusses in detail how the data were collected, sampled, and analyzed. Finally, Chapter VI reveals the research results and elaborates on the results in the form of discussion. The chapter also mentions suggestions for further research.

Chapter II:
Literature Review: Media Narratives

The way a government acts or refuses to act is expressed in public policy. According to Thomas Dye (1987, 1), public policy is something that a government decides to do or not do to solve a problem in its society. In many countries, such as Canada, most often these policies do address a problem. However, that is not to say that these policies are perfect, and even once successful policies can become antiquated. There are many ways to voice opinions, approval or disapproval, of policies. One of the most common, particularly in democracies, is through the media.

Through offering their audience universal access to a variety of stories, or narratives, in the form of knowledge, information, and pluralism of views on current topics, media outlets promote a democratic and open society (Gabszewicz et al. 2016, 3). Although media outlets may have a variety of reasons for printing their chosen stories, often the intention is to influence people's perceptions by using narratives to frame, or provide a structure or context from which to understand issues, problems or opinions (Watson and Riffe 2013, 462). Similarly, media narratives influence public opinion based on how their stories, which clarifies the role of the media as a contributor to the policy change process (Shanahan et al. 2008). Therefore, media outlets are immensely powerful, they can formulate narratives in order to highlight select information about a story, a technique that may lead their audience toward support or opposition of certain policies. The media influences public opinion based on accessibility bias, which means that the media influences the social and political agenda setting by priming its audience that processes information better when it is episodically or thematically framed in the form of

opinions, judgments, or decisions (Iyengar 1990). In other words, media sources can influence how the public understands certain controversial topics; the media is a social institution with an agenda setting role (McCombs 2004, 2). This means that people observe on which issues the media sources report or do not report, and which issues or groups the media portrays as positive or negative. Finally, due to technological expansion, the media can reach much of the public and thus can play a major role in creating, or impacting, the norms and values of the public and thus impacting the social and political world (Bagdikian 2004, 9-11).

Since the media plays a tremendous role in setting the social and political agenda, highlighting certain issues over others and influencing public opinion, the media is an interesting phenomenon for the academic world to study. Scholars use media outlets as a research tool to collect data on trends and developments in society. When scholars focus specifically on political issues and the media, data often focuses on different groups, such as political parties or interest groups. Not surprising, the groups that often receive the most media attention are those who are popular, or who spend time with prominent individuals, or who express controversial opinions on current events. These dominant groups are often represented more favorably than subordinate groups – those who are not as well known, and/or are not viewed as popular (Kellner and Durhan 2006, xxxii). As an example, in the 2015 Federal Elections in Canada, the media reported frequently on – among others – Stephen Harper from the Conservative Party and Justin Trudeau from the Liberal Party, while Jean-François Fortin from the lesser-known Strength in Democracy party was not even invited in the big media debates (Strength in Democracy 2015). Thus,

a media outlet's desire to pull in viewers (often achieved through showing more of the dominant groups) impacts a group's ability to set the agenda, or push certain issues.

Ownership of the Media and Its Consequences

In Canada, as well as in the US, the media is facing a trend of declining journalism and an increasing commercialized culture, in part due to a globalized neoliberal capitalist economy and a ram-shackled political culture that, with the increase of Internet access, became a corporate system (McChesney 2015). This shift is impacting not only the style of reporting, and the audience that is drawn to each media outlet (Hsu 2009), but also the information given to the public which can effect how the public perceives a policy issue or political group, positively or negatively.

In relation to the creation of public policy, for-profit media sources might utilize troublesome practices, such as accepting incentives in exchange for manipulating or suppressing information (Babe and Potter 2015). To explain, a company that produces food based on genetically modified organisms (GMOs) might pay scientists to research if GMO food is healthy for human consumption. Scientists might accept a rewarding payment for their study and leave out the dangers – if any – for consuming GMO alternated food in their research results. Thus, the media narrative that supporters of GMO food tell might be different from the media narrative that opponents of GMO food tell. Opposite interest groups often present "scientific" research to prove their point. Depending on which variables to include in their research, scientists might report contradicting findings on the same policy related issue.

Other variables, such as nationality and language of media owners, are also likely to play an influence on framing information (Babe and Potter 2015). Framing information means that media sources not just represent the interests of citizens, but they also shape citizens' opinions, interests, norms, and values (Clemons and McBeth 2001, 10). As an example of framing a group based on nationality, media sources owned by Western companies are more likely to promote Western values and influence public opinion that results in advancing Western populations that share the same culture, language, religion and critique other-than-Western values by which they disadvantage non-Western populations. A specific illustration of this phenomenon is described in a study by Worth (2002) on how the media portrayed sub-Saharan African male refugees in New Zeeland as sex offenders, HIV-carriers, and burdens to the economy. In Belgium, Dutch/Flemish-speaking and French-speaking media sources select different items to translate from international news source with the results that the two linguistic groups in the same country influence the political agenda setting for different policies (van Doorslaer 2009).

In an ideal society, all segments of a population's social-economic status would be represented equally in the media, but with a huge conglomerate ownership of the media, the marketplace of ideas is often biased to the benefit of certain groups of the population and thus disadvantages other groups (Babe and Potter 2015). Thus, overall, it is important to understanding both the power of the media and what influences the media today. The possibility of a lack of objectivity within media, which can be used to sway public opinion on policy issues, is worthy of study.

Traditional and New/Social Media

Different owners of media outlets reflect different perspectives on public policies and thus draw different audiences. Likewise, different media types – traditional and new/social – reach and influence different segments of the population. As mentioned earlier, public policy is what a government chooses to do or not to do to solve societal problems (Dye 1987, 1), and an efficient way to influence policymakers, as well as citizens, is using a variety of media sources. Traditional media sources, such as newspapers, magazine articles, radio and TV broadcasting, have long functioned as the main outlet for news. Yet with changing technology alternative types of media – new and social media – have developed and now provide additional arenas for influencing policymakers and the public. Thus in order to gain a solid understanding of how the media – as a social institution – creates policy narratives, it is necessary to look at traditional and new/social media.

Traditional Media

Traditional media sources are analog forms of communication and are transported physically, i.e. by trucks or distributed through transmission towers (Pridmore 2016). Historically, traditional media sources were the main source of information for the public and created a shared norm within society. The lack of choices of newspapers and, before cable TV, limited channels on television, produced a national population that read the same newspapers and watched the same TV shows (Jeffres 1978). Furthermore, traditional media sources move mostly in one direction, readers/viewers rarely get the opportunity to add to the discussion. Thus, historically societies found themselves shaped

by the same news outlets and without a means to question the issues, creating a society structured via limited perspectives on policy issues. Technology, including the advent of cable TV, but in particular the spread of new/social media, has changed this.

New/Social Media

While individual traditional media sources are struggling to survive in a high tech era, new/social media outlets are becoming more popular. Compared to traditional media, new/social media are easier to access due to fast distribution and lower costs. New/social media sources, including Twitter, Facebook, Flickr and YouTube, are gaining importance for the dissemination of political information. Although "new/social media sources" are often combined under a common denominator, there is a slight distinction in the purpose of "new" and "social media".

New media sources are products of the 21st century and are comprised of digital bits and bytes distributed through the Internet, digital receivers and cell phones (Pridmore 2016). New media outlets encompass all media that connects texts, sounds, and images to digital technology and is distributed via the Internet (Socha, Bailey and Barbara Eber-Schmid 2014). The easy access and fast delivery of information via new media increased the amount of people relying on new media.

Social media sources are extensions of new media sources with the added element of opportunity to participate in Internet-based conversations, contribute to originally created content, and/or join virtual communities online (Dewing 2012). For example, YouTube, a social medium created by Google in 2005, shares originally-created videos, connecting billions of people worldwide (YouTube N.D.). This digital medium allows

people to create digital messages and images, as well as to interact with other YouTube users on specific topics in the public sphere. As a form of social media, more and more academics include YouTube in their policy narrative research due to its popularity of spreading information and influencing public opinion (Bouvier 2015; Lybecker et al. 2015; Pace 2008).

In the 21st century, the use of media expanded beyond traditional sources to include more technologically advanced distribution channels. Although traditional media sources are still utilized as a policy tool and provide data for research, new/social media sources offer researchers additional, novel tools for examining public opinions concerning policy issues (Bouvier 2015; Coulson 2013; Lybecker et al. 2015; Merry 2015; Pace 2008).

The Use of Traditional and New/Social Media

As noted above, traditional media sources are still frequently utilized as a policy tool and provide data for much academic media research. Although all media outlets frame issues, problems, or opinions to influence their audience (Watson and Riffe 2013, 462), different types of media sources use different etiquette when creating their stories. Journalists publishing for traditional media sources are taught to follow the four major etiquette principles: prepare carefully when familiarizing themselves with the topic's background, establish a relationship with the source to obtain information, ask questions that are relevant for the source to be willing to talk about the topic, and attentively listen and watch (Columbia University N.D.). In contrast to the traditional media, the increasing access to the digital landscape leads to the question how lay people – not educated in

media etiquette – deal with contributing to the content of new and social media. While for-profit and non-profit organizations benefit from offering their organization's information/products/services to a larger segment of the population through new/social media, their control over what is posted on their sites is somewhat limited and thus people's comments may shift the messages originally presented on new/social media outlets. New media has limited etiquette, mainly the ability to take down (or not post) a message that contains abusive content, but does not have the same vetting process and thus etiquette to, in particular, determine objectivity of posts as do many traditional media sources. To illustrate, a study on Facebook use in higher education found that academics are excellent at providing the perfect technology for social media use, but lack creating protocol and etiquette for social media use (Kent and Leaver 2014, 69). Conversely, more and more organizations/ businesses include social media policies in their organization's household policies, but until now, there is no uniform all-binding policy for all new and social media users. For example, the European Association of Urology organized a stakeholder meeting to set up guidance and standards for the appropriate use of social media (Katz 2014); but again, these guidelines are specifically for their organization rather than a universal set of guidelines. This lack of etiquette for new/social media effects the information obtained by the public.

National and international scholars have long suggested that traditional and new/social media sources influence political, social, and cultural agendas and analyze the contribution to the creation of public opinion and public policies (McCombs 2004, 2). To illustrate the importance of different media types' influences on public opinion as well as

on public policies in a variety of fields, the next section will highlight examples of diverse academic studies which address the effects of traditional and new/social media.

<u>Traditional Media</u>

There exist many examples of diverse academic studies which focus on the impact traditional media has had on the public, the government, and the corporate world.

A study of traditional media sources on the Arizona anti-immigration bill (Arizona SB 1070) shows that both political ideology (liberal versus conservative) and distribution of a media source (local versus national) influence narrative framing (Fryberg et al. 2012, 97). This study showed that national newspapers are more likely than Arizona newspapers to support the anti-immigration bill based on threats to the economy or public safety and oppose the bill based on civil rights topics, such as racial profiling. Furthermore, it revealed that conservative newspapers are more likely than liberal newspapers to frame the bill based on economic and public safety threats, but do not differ in civil rights topics.

A new media study on the US-Mexico border researched how this border was socially constructed on YouTube and found that most videos on the US-Mexico border stories focused on violence, undocumented immigration, and drug issues and not about other topics, such as economics, health care, environmental issues, or legal border crossing (Lybecker et al. 2015). The authors concluded that YouTube as a new/social medium frames the both US-Mexico border and immigrants along the border with negative connotations, which is not much different than how traditional media sources portray the border and immigrants. Lybecker et al. explain that this similar portrayal of

the border by traditional and new/social media might be the result of reposting identical information from traditional media on new/social media.

The results of a media study of refugee narratives on CNN revealed that Arab refugees are often portrayed as potential threats rather than in humanitarian terms. Additionally, the research found that CNN lacked adding pictures, voices, or quotes of the Arab refugees (Elsamni 2016).

Gilbert (2011) researched readers' opinions on Mexican refugee claimants in 2007 in Canadian newsprint narratives and found that local media framed Mexicans as illegals, criminals, and fraudulent others. Additionally, the local newspapers reported about the enormous cost of refugee claims and the need for a control system of illegitimate Mexican claimants. The media discourses included overt racism and challenged tolerant multicultural acceptance (Gilbert 2011).

In all four listed stories, the media framed immigrants or refugees in a negative light.

Lang and Heasman (2015) analyzed traditional media sources researching how competition between food producers, processing companies, distributers, policymakers, and consumers leads to food wars. The researchers found that media narratives are framed differently based on whom the sources' authors supported. Environmentalists frame the food wars in the light of sustainable ecological food policies. Sociologists described food wars in the context of poor rural farmers versus corporate food processing conglomerates, which reflects social economic inequality policies. Sources coming from the medical world emphasize the nutritional value in the food distribution policies. Lang and Heasman also discovered that the food wars become more complex due to the change

in policy-making from a top down governmental affair to a bottom up governance with more stakeholders involved.

Corbett and Durfee (2004) researched public certainty on the science of global warming based on traditional news sources. In their experiment, the researchers added additional context and/or controversial content related to the treatment solutions of global warming to the original news stories. They found that readers with a pro-environmental ideology and prior knowledge of global warming were not swayed by the additional context and/or controversial information to confirm their certainty of global warming.

New/Social Media

Similar to traditional media, there also exist many examples of diverse academic studies which focus on new/social media sources. In one prominent example, Guggenheim et al. (2015) examined the dynamics of how mass shootings in the US are framed in "new" and "social media" sources. Looking at online news [new media] and Twitter [social media], the researchers found similarities between details of mass shootings in online news and in Twitter (Guggenheim et al. 2015, 207-224) suggesting that "new" and "social media" sources compete with one another for the most views. According to this research, the outcome of the competition is that "new" and "social media" sources frame the topic slightly differently in an attempt to draw more readers. Furthermore, Guggenheim et al. found that "new media" sources tend to base their information what has been distributed via traditional media sources while "social media" sources are based on information from social interaction. The researchers explain that "new media" sources are more likely to bring a version of news identical to previously

distributed traditional media sources and follow journalist etiquette, while "social media"

reveals the emotional reactions of those who are adding content to the news stream.

Scholars from diverse fields also utilize YouTube to gather data, and as a policy

tool to influence the public and policymakers. YouTube creates a dialectical interaction

forum between all kinds of people. As a social medium, YouTube offers the opportunity

to react to the content of a posting, which leads reciprocal diaglogue between the one

who posted the original content and his/her audience. This feature strengthens the

influence to shape and re-shape public policies. The impact of YouTube in shaping public

opinion can be seen in academic research on such diverse topics as environmental

policies, foreign policies, and health care policies.

Deschamps (2014) used YouTube as a policy tool for analyzing how citizens and

interest groups interact on numerous public policy topics. Specifically, by conducting a

content analysis of YouTube interactions related to the controversial debate on the

Canada-US Keystone XL oil pipeline, Deschamps found that YouTube users are more

likely to react to comments than to the video itself. Deschamps states that due to the

reciprocal interaction between citizens and government YouTube functions as a policy

tool.

Anna Todorovska (2015) also used YouTube as she researched diplomatic

relations in the sphere of digital affairs. Specifically, she focused on how the Public

Diplomacy Council of Catalonia used YouTube as a digital public policy tool to interact

with a worldwide audience about Catalonia's version of a story versus the dominant

policy narrative of the central Spanish government. Todorovska concluded that YouTube

created an opportunity for engaging wider audiences in diplomatic relations debates and

informally influence the foreign policy process.

Similarly, Sitaraman and Zionts (2015) also researched YouTube as policy tool for foreign policies. These authors explored the "YouTube Effect" as it referred to the video "Kony 2012" that went viral on the world wide web (2015, 540). They showed that because of YouTube, ordinary people all over the world let their legislators know they did not agree with actions taken by their governments. According to these scholars, and as exemplified in the Kony 2012 study, media sources are driven by providing impulses and images that work as a "psychic numbing" and "psychic priming" to their audiences (Sitaraman and Zionts 2015, 538). The authors explain that media sources prime their audiences with powerful images to get their attention and take actions toward their leaders to make certain decisions in war situations. YouTube creates opportunities for citizens to unite and hold their legislators responsible for decisions.

Jamwal and Kumar (2016) studied the role of YouTube in the distribution and interaction on palliative care for cancer patients. These scholars determined that while some YouTube videos distribute information that is not necessarily medically or professionally correct, overall YouTube is still an important forum that health care professionals, consumers, industries, governmental and non-governmental organizations use to provide consumer health information. Another study, by Del Casino (2015), showed that YouTube videos managed to shift public space discourse related to sexual health and sexual bodies to the material space of consumerism. This study showed how YouTube expanded the accessibility of health information.

To a large extend, past research shows that social media, such as YouTube, opens up an alternative manner of interaction between certain groups of people. Specifically,

the research shows an alternative for interactions between policy makers and their

constituents. This reveals YouTube is a viable tool to influence and shape public policy.

Overall, different types of media sources often emphasize policy topics differently and

may therefore have a different influence on public opinion as well as the public policy.

Despite differences, each of these media sources contributes to the study of policy

narratives and its influences on public opinion and public policies.

Chapter III:
Policy Narratives and Theoretical Framework

The Use of Narratives in Everyday Life

Human beings distinguish themselves from animals due to their ability to talk and tell one another stories. From early childhood on, most of us grew up with stories. Storytelling is a unique feature that distinguishes human beings from animals. Other than just a list of words or facts, a story has a given structure that begins with an introduction, followed by the main body of the story, and concludes with an ending. The storyteller initiates with picturing the environment in which the story takes place, i.e. the big forest on the edge of little red riding hood's village, the characters that play a role in the story, i.e. little red riding hood, her sick grandma, and the big bad wolf, and the issue or problem that is central to the story, i.e. little red riding hood needs to bring her sick grandma a basket of goodies. Then, the storyteller details how the characters are involved with their environment, i.e. little red riding hood hears noises in the dark forest and becomes scared, and with others, i.e. the confrontation with her sick grandma that has big ears and a big mouth, and how they handle the issues or problems to come to viable solutions, i.e. how little red riding hood screams for help when she realizes the big bad wolf ate her grandma and is about to eat her. Some stories include solutions to the problems, i.e. how the lumberjack – who heard the little girl screaming – saved their lives, and other stories leave the end open and up to the audience's fantasy. Good storytellers can instill a variety of emotions in their audience, such as fear, hope, compassion, attraction, and disapproval. Most stories teach the audience a deeper

meaning, or moral, that is hidden behind the content of the story. Finally, the storyteller summarizes what the story was about and leaves the audience with a message.

The Use of Narratives in Academic Research

Besides the use of narratives in daily life, narratives also acquired a popular social science research focus during the last three decades (Andrews et al. 2015; Bold 2012; Clandinin and Connelly 2004; De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2011; Elliot 2005; Freeman 2009; Herman 2009; Holstein and Gubrium 1999; Langellier and Peterson 2004; Mishler 1986; Ochs and Capps 2001; Plummer 2001; Polkinghorne 1988; Riessman 1993/2008; Roberts 2001; Sarbin 1986; Wengraf 2001). Although narrative research is utilized in multidisciplinary fields and for a multitude of purposes, this research narrows down to the role of narratives, looking specifically at the presentation of narratives concerning public policy within the media and how these narratives can guide public opinion.

Academics who research policy narratives in media pay attention both to groups who gain benefits from and those who are hindered by the results of government actions, such as rules, regulations, or laws (Fisher et al. 2015, 259), and how the media plays a role in these determinations.

Policy narrative research can utilize the media as a tool, focusing on the framed stories or narratives that media outlets present. In order to analyze whether various media sources frame media narratives differently to distribute benefits to some groups and burdens to other groups, two theoretical frameworks, the Narrative Policy Framework and the Social Construction of Target Populations, will be utilized.

Theoretical Framework

The Narrative Policy Framework

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) analyzes policy narratives, or stories, that relate to public policy. NPF scholars add to existing research that focuses on stories or narratives, such as Andrews et al. 2015; Bold 2012; Sarbin 1986; Wengraf 2001. Early narrative scholarship was mainly descriptive or interpretative and therefore often rejected due to lacking "scientific standards of hypothesis testing and falsifiability" (Jones et al. 2014, 3). As a reaction to this rejection, the founders of the NPF created a methodological strategy to analyze policy narrative in a scientific manner. The NPF, created in 2010[1] is a framework to study the power of narratives in the policy process through a "structuralist narrative interpretation" (McBeth et al. 2014, 225-228). For a story to be categorized as a "policy narrative," the narrative has to include four core elements: a "setting," one or more "characters," a "plot" and "moral."

The first core element is the setting. The setting is the policy context in which the policy problems take place, i.e. social, economic, legal, or geographical conditions. The second core element is character(s). A policy narrative requires a minimum of one character, a victim, villain, and/or hero. Victims are those harmed by villains, heroes bring solutions to the victims' problems, and villains are those harming the victims. The third core element, the plot, positions the characters in a setting with a beginning, a middle, and an end. Finally, the moral of the story suggests a positive or negative feeling and sometimes, although not always, illustrates a policy solution. Not all policy

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[1] While this framework was named the NPF in 2010, the first article analyzed by the framework – before it had its name – was published in 2004 (McBeth 2016)

narratives offer policy solutions, sometimes, they maintain the status quo (Jones et al. 2014, 7).

Scholars using the NPF collect data that is both descriptive and numerical. For example, when noting a narrative has a villain, a victim, and a hero, we know both the description of the character (type of character) and the number of character types within the narrative; likewise, a narrative with or without a policy solution has one or zero solutions. In this manner the NPF allows for the empirical quantification of policy narrative elements (McBeth, Shanahan, and Jones 2005).

NPF researchers utilize scientific methods when analyzing the quantifiable data. This use of scientific methods allows NPF scholars' public policy narrative analyses to be reliable, generalized and replicated. The NPF possesses two essential features to make it possible to generalize both the content and the strategy of the policy narrative (Jones et al. 2014, 7-9).

On the one hand, the NPF examines the operationalizing and intensifying of shared policy beliefs that hold groups with similar values or beliefs – also called advocacy coalitions – together and make content generalization possible (Weible 2005; Weible et al. 2009). In other words, the NPF suggests that different groups in society may advocate similar generalized policy topics.

On the other hand, the NPF focuses on how the narrative is used to control and shape the policy process through promoting or discouraging support and conflict expansion. This means trying to gain more support for a certain policy by elaborating on the policy issue via the media or minimize support by leaving it out of the media since those who support the policy are already in the majority (Schattschneider 1960; McBeth

2007). It can also mean utilizing heuristics, using certain methods to discover the policy solution in relation to the policy problem (Jones and McBeth 2010), and/or utilizing the "devil-angel shift," changing the dominant character's portrayal from positively (angel) or negatively (devil) portrayed in the policy narrative (Shanahan 2013). Overall, the NPF analyses allows public policymakers to base their policy decisions on empirical research.

In addition to the NPF's reliability and replicability, the NPF is also valuable in that it allows for greater understanding of narratives at various levels of analysis; the NPF can be used to analyze narrative research at different levels: the micro, meso, and macro levels. First, the micro level analysis focuses on the individual in the policy narrative and can be applied in interviews, experiments, or focus groups (Jones et al. 2014, 10). Second, at the meso level, researchers often employ content or network analyses from written or oral policy narratives to characterize groups or coalitions in support or opposition of certain policy solutions (Ibid.). And third, at the macro level researchers look at culture or institutional traits in historical or political developments, the system-level data, in order to gain an understanding of how the largest groups, such as countries, utilize narrative (Jones et al. 2014, 10).

Finally, NPF scholars focus on the "social construction" of the policy narrative, especially the meaning that individuals or groups attach to words, objects, situations, symbols, signs, or metaphors affiliate with public policies (McBeth et al. 2014.229-230). The use of positive, neutral, or negative language when discussing certain groups changes how the groups are portrayed. This may lead to members of the public changing their opinions and thus lead to different views of what public policy should be supported

depending on which group is favored and which group is disadvantaged in the policy narrative.

The NPF's understanding of the "social construction" of policy narratives adds insight to the use of narrative. However, to expand the understanding of these social constructions, this research uses the NPF in combination with the "Social Construction of Target Populations" (SCTP), which offers a viable method to empirically translate the NPF characters into deserving or undeserving recipients of policy benefits.

Social Construction of Target Populations

The Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP) is a framework, created by Schneider and Ingram in 1993. The SCTP focuses on social constructs influencing the public policy process and thereby intentionally advantaging certain individuals or groups – or "target populations" – and disadvantaging other individuals or groups (Schneider and Ingram 1993, 334).

Schneider and Ingram describe four types of target populations: the "advantaged" are positively constructed in the policy narrative and possess political power, the "dependents" are also portrayed in a positive light, but without the political power of the advantaged, the "contenders" are depicted negatively and carry political power, and the "deviants" are unfavorably pictured and do not enjoy political power (1993, 335). Understanding how populations are portrayed, along with their level of power, is valuable because policy makers design public policies in which they create distinctions between different groups in a population (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 2). While policy makers view one segment of a population as deserving or entitled, they view another segment of

28

that same population as undeserving and ineligible, which might lead to a controversial governance process (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 2-3). The media is a social institution that influences public opinion and plays a role in social and political agenda setting. Those portrayed as deserving in the media are more likely to benefit from public policies than those framed as undeserving because policy makers do not ignore the media and often follow public opinion – voiced in the media – when they create new policies.

According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), policymakers tend to create policies to benefit the advantaged, or those who are at the same time positively constructed as well as maintain political power, and deprive these benefits to the deviants, those that are unfavorably portrayed and lack political power. Additionally, even those without power, but that are portrayed positively, are more likely to benefit from policy than those who are portrayed negatively – with or without power (Scheider and Ingram 1993; Ingram and Schneider 2005). Thus, Schneider and Ingram define those who are portrayed positively in the policy narrative as the "deserving" and those who are framed negatively as the "undeserving" of beneficial public policies (1993, 336).

For example, a student who cannot afford college tuition can be framed in a policy story in a positive light, such as a smart, hardworking student that is unfortunate to be poor, and thus deserving of a policy that supports free access to college. However, that same student could be portrayed in another policy narrative in a negative light, such as a student that is too lazy to get an evening or weekend job to pay for college tuition, and is thus undeserving of tuition-free college. This example illustrates that the framing of target populations in policy narrative can be used to either defend or discredit existing public policy, or justify or contest proposed public policies.

Since Schneider and Ingram published the SCTP framework in 1993, numerous academics have utilized the framework to explain how unequal power relations in politics shape public policies to deliberately distribute the advantages and disadvantages to different groups (the deserving and undeserving, respectively) in society. Pierce et al. (2014) conducted a review of 111 empirical applications of the SCTP framework between 1993 and 2013. They found that national and international academics apply the SCTP in various policy areas to understanding how target populations are positioned as dependent, advantaged, contender, or deviant. The authors found that a given target population can be classified into any of the four categories by simply reframing the group within a narrative. In other words, most target populations can be explained in either a positive or negative light: one person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist.

As an example, immigrants, as a group, can be as well dependents, as contenders, as advantaged, as deviants. Immigrant farmers can be depicted as hard-working individuals who are simply trying to feed their families, dependents (Newton 2008). Likewise, these same immigrant farmers can be described as individuals who take jobs from hardworking citizens, deviants. Similarly, present-day Japanese immigrants are often categorized as advantaged, yet pre-World War II Japanese immigrants are generally depicted as contenders and Japanese immigrants during World War II as deviants (DiAlto 2005). This illustrates that those who write narratives have the power to create support for some groups in society and suggest opposition toward other groups; and this depiction can directly impact those groups' access to public policy.

In addition to research in immigrant policies, Pierce et al. (2014) analyzed policy narratives for: veterans, AIDS patients, environmental organizations, farm lobbyists,

Native American casino owners, health care workers, political activists, among others. In

each of the populations analyzed, Pierce et al. (2014) found the target populations were

framed in a manner to show that they were either deserving or undeserving of policy

benefits. The use of both the SCTP and the NPF will allow for a similar assessment

within this research.

Chapter IV:
The Case of Syrian Refugees

Public Policy is the result of government action or government inaction, or what a government chooses to do or not to do for a certain population in a particular situation (Clemons and McBeth 2001, 11). Media outlets often react to these governmental decisions in the form of stories or narratives about the population that is affected by these political decisions. With these stories – whether supportive or opposing the governmental decisions – media outlets influence the public opinion about that population. The topic of the "Syrian refugee crisis" was chosen for this research due to the multitude of media attention at the time this dissertation was in its earliest stage. Specifically, this study focuses on how different types of media report on Syrian refugees in Quebec in the light of immigration policy in Canada. A preliminary study with a small sample (N = 35) of various media narratives on Syrian refugees in Quebec revealed the applicability of this topic to the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) and the Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP).

Syrian Refugees

As of June 20, 2016, 54 percent of worldwide refugees come from three countries: Somalia with 1.1 million, Afghanistan with 2.7 million, and Syria with 4.9 million (United Nations Refugee Agency 2016). The Syrian people who fled their home country did not choose to become refugees, rather they were forced to flee their own

country due to fear of persecution in war-torn areas leaving them unable to return to their
home country (Government of Canada 2016).

The Syrian Civil War Leading to Millions of Syrian Refugees

The history of the Syrian problems goes back to the Ottoman Empire (Rodgers et
al. 2015). Although a full explanation is beyond the scope of this research project,
understanding the general history of unrest helps shed light on the current-day crisis with
Syrian refugees relocating all over the world.

Syria (see map of Syria in Figure 3) is a nation with a population of 22 million
ethnically and religiously diverse citizens (Rodgers et al. 2015).

FIGURE 3: MAP OF SYRIA SITUATED IN THE MIDDLE EAST (Engdahl 2012)

Source: http://www.globalresearch.ca/syria-turkey-israel-and-the-greater-middle-east-energy-war/5307902

According to Holliday (2011), the majority ethnic group (see Figure 4) in Syria consists of 60 percent Arab-Sunni, followed by 12 percent Arab-Alawite, nine percent Greek Orthodox Christian, nine percent Kurd- Sunni, four percent Armenian-Christina, three percent Arab-Druze, two percent Arab-Ismaeli, and one percent Turcoman, Circassian, Assyrian, and Jewish (Holliday 2011).

FIGURE 4: THE ETHNO-RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN SYRIA

SYRIAN ETHNO-RELIGIOUS GROUPS
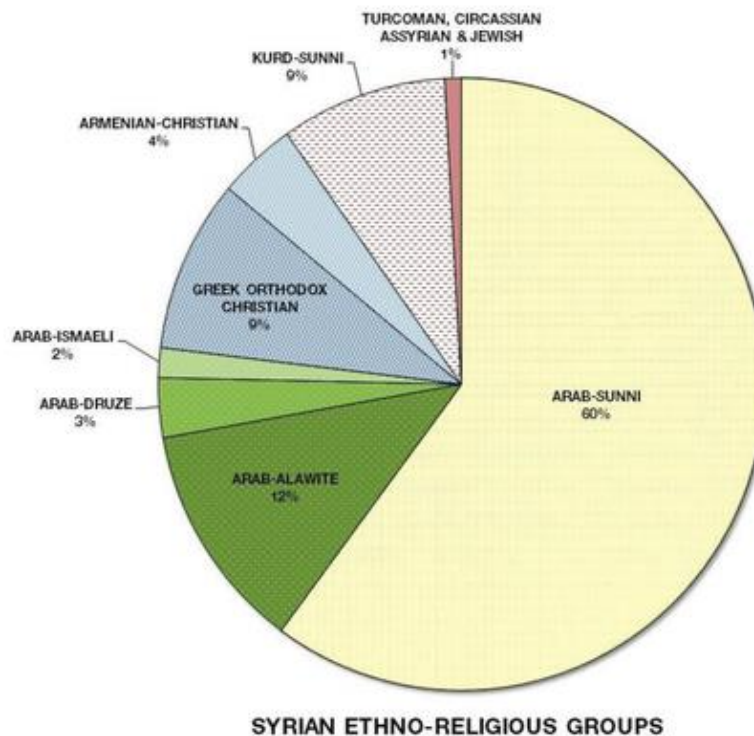
Source: http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Struggle_For_Syria.pdf

Since the 1950s following Syria's independence, Syria attempted several times [in 1950, 1962, 1964, 1966, and 1973] to create and amend a workable constitution and failed often due to putting certain religious groups in charge while ignoring other groups

which led to ethnic and religious conflicts (Tabler 2015). While most Syrians are Arab

Sunnis, President Bashar-al-Assad grants the ethnic minority of the Arab Alawites

privileges, which makes the Sunnis and other groups distrust the Alawites (Rodgers et al.

2015). These unequal treatments are not a new phenomenon and were already known in

colonial times.

More than one hundred years ago, most Arab people belonged to the Ottoman

Empire that was considered a multi-ethnic state in Istanbul (Alkhateeb 2012). In 1910,

the British colonizers caused the end of the Ottoman Empire and divided this

geographical area into new nations dividing Muslims across the Middle East and forced

people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to live together, which eventually

led to the political dysfunction in which this area still exists (Alkhateeb 2012). Despite

the dysfunction, the borders were maintained, at least to some degree, until 2011.

By 2011, larger numbers of citizens who believed they were not well represented

in government, took to protesting. In March 2011, the anti-western nationalist national

army fired at civilians peacefully protesting against their nation's dictatorship, and for

more freedom and a democratic political system (Rodgers et al. 2015). Civilians were

killed, stemming more protests and fights between government, rebels, and civilians. As a

part of this increase in violence, security forces started kidnapping, raping, torturing, and

killing people, leaving mutilated corpses in the streets (Rodgers et al. 2015). The entire

situation led to a brutal civil war in which hundreds of thousands of people were killed

(Rodgers et al. 2015). By December 2015, the United Nations reported 250,000 Syrians

killed and over 11 million Syrians forced to flee from their homes (Rodgers et al. 2015).

The Syrian war and its human death toll explains why the international media interest peaked in 2013, decreased to almost no media interest in 2014 and peaked again in 2015 (See Figure 1 & 2 – Google Trends 2016). Although focusing on a variety of issues, many of the international media outlets covered narratives about Syrian refugees. The magnitude of media coverage on the growing number of Syrian refugees entering North-American and European countries set the stage for a very controversial debate between those who see the Syrian refugee crisis as a humanitarian issue that needs to be resolved with the help of the international community and those who fear that Syrian refugees might be radicalized Muslims planning terrorist attacks in the West. Despite this debate, many countries, including Canada, are taking Syrian refugees into their country. The media – as a social institution – makes choices which stories to tell and how to frame the narratives. Slavoj Žižek states that the media draws attention to narratives or fictions and ignores what is really going on in the world (Flisfeder and Willis 2014). Žižek describes this as the "demise of symbolic efficiency" and believes that "the master narratives of modernity are not longer operative." According to Žižek, media sources pick and choose on which topics they want to create these subjective narratives that are "subject to symbolic structure of ideological proposition," (Flisfeder and Willis 2014). It is interesting how the media lacks to report the Syrian Humanitarian War in relation to a dictatorship in the way Apartheid in South Africa was reported. In South Africa, the white minority controlled the black majority (Sachdev and Bourhis 2011) and similarly in Syria, the Assad Regime as part of the Allowite minority controls all other ethno-religious groups (Holliday 2011). This phenomenon is a good illustration to show how the media shapes public opinion and suggests policy solutions they like.

Syrian Refugees in Canada

Syrian refugees – displaced by the recent conflict – began coming to Canada in March 2014 (Huffington Post Canada 2016). Their arrival was precipitated by the Syrian internal conflict that erupted in 2011 (The Huffington Post Canada 2016). By March 2013, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported one million Syrians received the status of registered refugee (Huffington Post Canada 2016). Refugees are "people fleeing conflict or persecution and are defined and protected in international law; they must not be expelled or returned to situations where their life and freedom are at risk" (United Nations Refugee Agency 2016). In June 2013, the UNHCR requested Canada – as a UN member state - to assist resettling vulnerable registered Syrian refugees (Huffington Post Canada 2016). In July 2014, Canada's conservative Harper administration reacted to the UNHCR, promising to welcome 1,300 Syrian refugees to Canada by the end of 2014 (Huffington Post Canada 2016). It took until March 2015 to reach this agreed upon number, but Harper's administration promised – if they would win the November 2015 election – they would welcome 10,000 more Syrian refugees to Canada over the next four years (Huffington Post Canada 2016).

In September 2015, the global – and Canadian – press reacted to a tragic incident in which a Syrian family lost their three-year-old son while escaping Syria; the toddler's dead body washed ashore on a Turkish beach (Huffington Post Canada 2016). Since the family applied to come to Canada, politicians from all over the ideological spectrum used this incident to garner support from Canadian citizens for their refugee resettlement plan during the 2015 election campaign (Huffington Post Canada 2016). Conservatives

promised to speed up the arrival for the additional 10,000 Syrian refugees, and liberals promised to welcome 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada (Huffington Post Canada 2016). Since the liberals won the election, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau followed through with his promise to accept 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada (Huffington Post Canada 2016).

According to UN spokesperson Adrian Edwards, Canada turned vocal support for refugees into practical programs that demonstrated true solidarity for Syrian refugees (United Nations Refugee Agency 2015). Canadians have always taken great pride in their compassion for humanitarian actions, such as helping refugees, for which they have been praised by the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (Government of Canada 2016). Continuing this trend, as of June 20, 2016, the Government of Canada reports 28,449 Syrian refugees, of which 15,768 are government-assisted refugees, 2,608 are blended visa-office referred, and 10,073 are privately sponsored refugees. The province of Quebec is one area that hosts many of these Syrian refugees.

Syrian Refugees in Quebec

Quebec (see map of Quebec within Canada in Figure 5) now hosts almost twenty percent (N = 5,636) of Canada's Syrian refugees (*Gouvernement Québec* 2016). According to their website, the Quebec Government wants to contribute to the international movement to help resolve the humanitarian crisis in Syria (Ministry of Immigration, Diversity, and Refugees 2016). Although not all Québecois are in agreement of the number of refugees to host, overall there is a support for hosting Syrian refugees. This is a shift from past policies.

FIGURE 5: THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC SITUATED IN CANADA (Knight N.D.)

From Isolating Quebec's Cultural In-Group to Welcoming Out-Group Syrian Refugees

Until the 1960s, Francophones, Anglophones, as well as immigrants in Quebec all lived in isolated social and institutional enclaves. The Québecois used to be inwardly, conservative, and refused to accept others – in particular those whose language, culture, and religion differed from their own – into their francophone society (Salee 1994). However, keeping the in-group isolated, and the resulting negative population growth, caused problems. Quebec's population has been declining due to a plummeting fertility

rate, which was in 2014 at 1.62 per female Quebec citizen, compared to 1.73 in 2008

(Gouvernement du Québec 2015, 10). Furthermore, Quebec has difficulty retaining

young people in their province; many move to a different province for studies or better

employment opportunities (Bendit and Hahn-Bleibtreu. 2008). Losing working-age

citizens is a concern for the economy.

One solution to gain population is to attract young people to areas with negative

or slow population growth. In this light, Quebec Immigration Minister Kathleen Weil

explains that the province of Quebec is pleased to accept Syrian refugees to help boost

Quebec's working-age population (Planté 2016). Weil wants to increase Quebec's annual

immigration quota to 60,000 to match Quebec's labor needs (Planté 2016). Working-aged

Syrian refugees can help Quebec's economy grow. Weil suggests Quebec will invest $4

million in French-language education for Syrian refugees in the Province of Quebec

(Planté 2016). Although a sad story for Syrian refugees who were forced to flee their

homeland, the Canadian Federal Government as well as the Quebec Provincial

Government are committed to offer many Syrian refugees the chance to begin a new life

in their country and province.

Overview

This dissertation is not trying to simply understand the media narratives

concerning Syrian refugees in Canada, rather it attempts to look specifically at varying

types of media, along with focus on language. Since Canada has two official languages,

English and French, a focus on how the refugees are portrayed in each language seemed

appropriate. In order to achieve this goal, the case study of Quebec was chosen, as it is

the main French speaking province in Canada. Comparing narratives from different types

of media, such as traditional media and new/social media sources as well as controlling for ideology [liberal versus other-than-liberal sources], language [English versus French sources], and geographical coverage/distribution [nationwide versus local coverage] based on immigration policies related to Syrian refugees in Quebec seemed very applicable for this media narrative research project. Immigration policies are a common topic in the international political world and offer the traditional and new/social media outlets ideal opportunities to frame immigrants and refugees in one way or another in order to influence public opinion on immigration policies. For these, among other reasons, it is worth researching immigration policy narratives created by the media, which in this research is applied to the Syrian refugees in Quebec. The next chapter defines the research methods and statistical tools utilized to analyze the data.

Chapter V: Research Data &
Statistical Methods

The research question for this dissertation is "Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ by media source – traditional or new/social media – when controlling for the language – English or French – in which the media source is published or broadcasted, the ideology – liberal or other-than-liberal – of the media source, and/or the distribution – nationwide or local – of the media source?" This chapter highlights the methods used to answer this question: research data collection, variables, and the statistical methods applied.

Data Collection

The research question examines different types of media, thus for this research, data were collected from traditional and new/social media sources. In addition, and also following the research question, these data were collected from liberal and other-than-liberal media sources, English and French media sources, and media sources that are distributed locally as well as nationwide. Specifically, within the traditional media sources, data came from the Canadian English language newspapers *the Globe and Mail, the National Post* and *The Montreal Gazette*, and the Canadian French language newspapers *Le Devoir*, *Le Journal de Québec*, and *La Presse.* For the English language newspapers, The *Globe and Mail* has national geographical coverage, and is known as a more liberal newspaper while *the National Post,* which also has national geographic coverage, is considered a more conservative/libertarian newspaper (Canada Alive. 2013). Additionally, data also came from *The Montreal Gazette*, a centrist newspaper that serves

the local Quebec's Anglophone minority (Canada Alive. 2013). Data from French

traditional media sources were collected from *Le Devoir,* an independent liberal

newspaper with national coverage, the conservative-separatist francophone newspaper

from Quebec with local coverage, *Le Journal de Québec*, and *La Presse,* a centrist

newspaper with local coverage (Canada Alive. 2013).

Data from new/social media sources were also collected from English and French

sources. Since new/social media sources are accessible on the Internet, these sources are

widely distributed at the national and even global level. New and social media sources

are often combined under a common denominator because these media types show

numerous similarities. However, there is a modest differentiation in the goal of new and

social media sources. On the one hand, new media sources are composed of digital bits

and bytes distributed through the Internet, digital receivers and cell phones (Pridmore

2016). On the other hand, social media sources are extensions of new media sources with

the added element of opportunity to participate in Internet-based conversations,

contribute to originally created content, and/or join virtual communities online (Dewing

2012). Despite these differences, and due to the similarities, this research combines the

new and social media sources as one type of "new/social media" source in comparison to

traditional media sources.

For the English new media source, the Canada version of Google News in English

was utilized. Data from French new media sources were collected from the Canada

version of Google News in French. Google News is referred to as a centrist/slightly

liberal new media source that has a mixed audience existing of liberals and conservatives

with the only exception of people with an extreme right ideological preference (Mitchel

et al. 2014). Google News posts are considered in the middle of the ideological spectrum, which is the reason why it attracts a broad audience, just lacking the extreme ends on either side. The social media source YouTube was utilized to gather social media narratives. While the new media source Google News has a Canadian version, the social media source YouTube does not have a Canadian version. Therefore, both English and French search terms were entered to collect social media narratives in both languages. YouTube is known as a liberal biased social media outlet (Sheppard and Sheppard 2006). However, people who contribute content to YouTube are not necessarily all liberals.

Data Sampling

With each of the listed sources, data were collected. The process to collecting these data included, first, finding the articles that dealt with the research topic, Syrian Refugees in Quebec. In order to do this, consistent search terms were utilized for all English language and French language sources. The search terms ["Syrian Refugees" and "Quebec"] were utilized for data collection within the English-language sources and ["*réfugiés syriens" et "Québec*"] for the French-language sources. The searched-for-terms were used to identify articles and a list of 50 articles/videos were compiled for each type of media, traditional and new/social media sources.

Table 1 shows the number of articles/videos that were available to read/watch on each of the media sources and the number of articles the researchers analyzed for this research sample. The total available number is the number of articles/videos that appeared after typing in the search terms, but this does not mean that all these articles/videos are policy narratives. As the table shows, the traditional media were more

than twice as likely to report on the Syrian refugees as were the social/new media.

Traditional media had an average of 31,814 articles per sources (with the vast majority

coming from *Le Devoir*), while new/social media had an average of 12,625 per source.

Additionally, the French sources were more than five times as likely to report (an average

of 41,083 per source) on Syrian refugees than were the English sources (7,194 per

source). Liberal sources reported more on Syrian refugees than did other-than-liberal

sources (39,189 and 1,562, on average, respectively). Finally, and not surprising, national

media sources reported more frequently on Syrian refugees (with an average of 30,149

per source) than did local sources (with an average of 97 per source).

Once the searched-for-terms were used to identify articles, a list of 50

articles/videos were compiled for each type of media, traditional and new/social media

sources. The list of articles/videos were kept as they originally appeared when the terms

were searched. Thus, if a search listed article "A" first, article "A" always maintained its

first position. As each list was compiled from an on-line source, this list is most often

ordered based on the number of hits – from highest to lowest – which is important as it

also means the articles/videos analyzed are the most read/watched. To clarify, the

researcher did not read/watch the total available articles/videos in each of the media

sources, but only those that were required for the sample size.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF ARTICLES/VIDEOS ON SYRIAN REFUGEES IN QUEBEC

| | Media Source | | | | | | | Articles/Videos | |
| Source | Type | | Language | | Ideology | | Distribution | | Analyzed | Total |
	Trad	N/Soc	Engl	Fren	Lib	Other	Nation	Local		
Globe & Mail	X		X		X		X		10	121
National Post	X		X			X	X		10	75
Montreal Gazette	X		X			X		X	10	122
Le Devoir	X			X	X		X		10	184,514
La Presse	X			X		X	X		10	5,980
Le Journal de Québec	X			X		X		X	10	71
Google News Canada		X	X		X		X		15	33,200
Google News Canada		X		X	X		X		15	13,000
YouTube		X	X		X		X		15	2,450
YouTube		X		X	X		X		15	1,850

Attention was given to garnering a relatively equal number of data for each source (traditional and new/social media), each language of the analyzed sources (English and French), and each ideological identification of the media source (liberal and other-than-liberal). The caveat, or exception, to this attempt to equal representation is with the geographical coverage/distribution area (nationwide and local) in which the nationwide sources dominated in number compared to the locally distributed sources. The number of nationwide sources is higher due to the accessibility of policy narratives on the Internet, by which the policy narratives are distributed nationwide (and beyond). While the variables [*media type*, *language*, and *ideology*] all had an equal number of research cases [*traditional* (N = 60) versus *new/social media* (N = 60), *English* (N = 60) versus *French* (N = 60), and *liberal* (N = 60) versus *other-than-liberal* (N = 60)], the variable *coverage/distribution* had an unequal number of sources [*nationwide* (N = 100) versus *local* (N = 20: *Montreal Gazette* (N = 10) and *Le Journal de Québec* (N = 10)]. The

reason for this difference is twofold: first, all of the *new/social media* sources are

accessible online and thus distributed *nationwide* (and beyond) and second, anyone

within the public, non-profit sector, government, or corporations can post a case online

that covers any geographical area. Therefore, the policy narratives from all 60 *new/social*

media sources are *nationwide* covered/distributed because of their accessibility on the

Internet.

The researcher then analyzed the articles/videos in the order they appeared on

their respective lists. The first step to this analysis was to determine if each article/video

included a policy narrative about Syrian immigration or immigrants in Quebec. Once this

had been determined, the articles/videos that were found to have policy narratives

concerning Syrian refugees within Quebec created the data set to be further analyzed. The

total number of qualified sources for the research is 120 cases, 60 from traditional media

sources and 60 from new/social media sources. Within the traditional sources, ten were

gathered from the Globe & Mail, ten from the National Post, ten from the Montreal

Gazette, ten from *Le Devoir*, ten from *La Presse*, and ten from *Le Journal de Québec*.

Among the new/social media sources, 15 cases were collected from the English-language

Canadian version of Google News, 15 from the French-language Google News Canada,

15 from YouTube based on English search terms, and 15 from YouTube based on French

search terms.

Data Analysis

Analyses were conducted on the data set using the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). In order to achieve this, a coding sheet (see Figure 6) was created which included the type of media source (traditional and new/social media), language (English and French), ideology of the media source (liberal and other-than-liberal), geographical coverage/distribution (nationwide or local), number of the article/video, the title of the article/ video, the date when the source was published or posted, the characteristics of the NPF [policy setting, plot, level of analysis (micro, meso, macro), characters (villains, victims, heroes), character combinations, metaphors, tone (positive, negative, neutral), policy solutions, etc.].

Dependent, Independent, and Control Variables

Again, in order to answer the research question, it was necessary to identify the dependent, independent and control variables. Variables are traits that can change values from case to case, in which the causes of these changes are called independent variables and the effects or results of these changes are identified as the dependent variables (Healey 2009, 3).

Dependent Variables

This study utilizes the NPF as its framework, therefore, the dependent variables in this research are the variables that qualify as a policy narrative. Specifically, the NPF dependent variables include: the *setting*, the *characters*, the *moral*, the *tone* and the *sponsor*.

FIGURE 6: CODING SHEET

Media Source: 0 Traditional   0 New/Social

Name source:

Language: 0 English   0 French

Ideology: 0 Liberal   0 Other-than-liberal

Coverage: 0 Nationwide   0 Local

Number + Title: #   Published/posted on:

Web address: Collected on:

Policy Setting: 0 Yes, immigration policy related   0 NOT policy related

Plot/Story: 0 beginning/middle/end

Characters: 0 villain   0 victim   0 hero

Level of Analysis: 0 micro   0 meso   0 macro

Combinations: 0 villain/victim   0 villain/hero   0 victim/hero   0 all 3

Tone: 0 positive   0 neutral   0 negative   0 positive & negative

Policy Solution: 0 yes: 0 no

Sponsor: 0 public   0 non-profit   0 government   0 corporate

                0 government + government   0 non-profit + government

Symbols/signs/metaphors:

The setting [Sett] refers to whether or not the narrative is categorized as a policy narrative in relation to Syrian refugees in Quebec. Some narratives were policy narratives but not in the context of this research thus they were coded as zero because it is not about immigration policies of Syrian refugees in Quebec. For example, a narrative that focuses on health care of the elderly in Alberta is a policy narrative, but was coded as zero.

The characters [Char] in the narrative were coded as *villains*, *victims*, or *heroes*, per the NPF. Additionally, *character combinations* [ChCo] were also coded. Character combinations show whether the narrative includes a single character or a combination of two or all three characters possible in the policy narratives, such as villain-victim, villain-hero, victim-hero, or villain-victim-hero combination.

The *moral* [Moral] indicates if the policy narrative suggests a policy solution for the problem. For this research, the moral is the inclusion of an immigration policy solution related to Syrian refugees in Quebec or a policy solution for some, but not for others, or no policy solution at all related to Syrian immigrants in Quebec. While this is one of the major characteristics of the NPF, a policy narrative does not necessarily have to include a policy solution to be qualified as a policy narrative; no policy solution and keeping the status quo is acceptable for a policy narrative. In case the narrative includes a policy solution, the moral is coded as one (1) and if there is not policy the moral is coded as zero (0).

The *tone* [Tone] highlights if the narrative is overwhelmingly positively, negatively, or neutrally written. In some occasions, the sources include positive as well as negative connotations. Therefore, the researcher coded zero (0) or one (1) of four options: negative, neutral, both positive and negative, or positive.

The *sponsor* [Spon] refers to who is responsible for distributing the policy narrative in the media: a private person or group is coded as public, an organization without commercial purpose as non-profit, a governmental individual or organization as government, a for-profit business or conglomerate as corporate, a combination of government and non-profit as government/non-profit, and a combination of government and business or conglomerate as government/corporate.

All the variables in this section are dependent variables, or the variables that show the results or effects caused by the independent variables. As a hypothetical example, an article/video from a new/social media source (independent variable) might include more – or fewer – villains (dependent) in their narratives than an article from a traditional media source. Thus the number of villains is impacted by, or depends in part upon the media source.

Independent variable

Independent variables are those whose variation does not depend on that of another. Within this research, the independent variable is the variable that indicates the type of media source [MedT] from which the narratives were collected. Concretely, the independent variables include the two types of media, both with different specific sources: traditional media sources [Globe & Mail, National Post, Montreal Gazette, *Le Devoir*, *La Presse*, and *Le Journal de Québec*] and new/social media sources [Google News Canada in the English-language, Google News Canada in the French-language, YouTube from which videos were collected based on English search terms, and YouTube from which videos were collected based on French search terms]. The independent

variables can cause the differences in the dependent variables. For example, articles from

the Globe & Mail – compared to *Le Journal de Québec* – might reveal differences in use

of characters within the narrative – likely based on the different readers supporting each

media type.

Additional Dependent Variables and the Social Construction of Target Populations

(SCTP)

In addition to the variables listed above, this research also utilized dependent

variables from the Social Construction of Target Populations. Thus, the following

dependent variables are also included: *advantaged* [Adv] refers to a group of people with

high power and that are positively framed in the narrative, *dependents* [Dep] or those

with low power and that are positively framed in the narrative, *contenders* [Con] or those

with high power and that are negatively framed in the narrative, and/or *deviants* [Dev] or

those with low power and that are negatively framed in the narrative. Furthermore, the

variables *deserving* [Des] and *undeserving* [Undes] are included in the research data. The

section of testing the research data further elaborates on these SCTP variables.

Control Variables

Finally, control variables are additional variables that control for effects on

variables in bivariate relationships (Frankfort-Nachmias and Leon-Guerrero 2009, 585).

For this study, the researcher did not only want to look at the effect that the independent

variables – traditional or new/social media sources – have on the dependent variables –

characteristics of the policy narrative. In addition, the researcher wanted to control for the

additional variables' effect on the dependent variables: *language* [lang], *ideology* [ideo], and *distribution* [dist]. Since the case study of this research project involves Syrian refugees in Quebec and the Quebec area is bilingual, both English and French language data were collected for this study. English-language sources were coded as one (1) and French-language sources were coded as zero (0). As mentioned in the literature review, sources from different ideological backgrounds might look at topics/populations/situations differently. Therefore, data from liberal sources were coded as one (1) and other-than-liberal data were coded as zero (0). The latter can include data from conservative, separatist, nationalist, or libertarian sources. For geographical coverage/distribution, data from nationwide distributed sources were coded as one (1) and data from locally distributed sources were coded as zero (0).

Coding of Variables

Table 2 shows how the dependent, independent, and control variables were coded. All variables were coded as dichotomous variables, "one" (1) for "yes" and "zero" (0) for "no." For example, for the language, variables were coded "one" (1) for "yes, English" and "zero" (0) for "no, not English but French." Similarly, the ideology was coded as "one" (1) for "yes, liberal" and "zero" (0) for "no, other-than-liberal."

For the media types and language, the researcher had a fixed number of traditional and new/social media sources and English and French sources. Focusing on ideology, the researcher did not automatically code the media source as liberal or other-than-liberal because the entire source is known as such. Instead, the researcher coded some sources from a source known as liberal source as other-than-liberal if the owner of the narrative

wrote/broadcasted his/her story in an other-than-liberal tone on a liberal source and vice

versa. Surprisingly, the total liberal and other-than-liberal sources summed up to 60 in

each ideological category.

TABLE 2: CODING OF THE VARIABLES

VARIABLES	DESCRIPTION	CODING	SOURCE
DEPENDENT	Dependent Variables		
Sett	Policy Narrative	Immigration Policy-related in context of Syrian Refugees in Canada 0 = no; 1 = yes	
Char	Character	Villain: 0 = no; 1 = yes Victim: 0 = no; 1 = yes Hero: 0 = no; 1 = yes	
ChCo	Character Combination	Villain-victim: 0 = no; 1 = yes Villain-hero: 0 = no; 1 = yes Victim-hero: 0 = no; 1 = yes All three: 0 = no; 1 = yes	
Moral	Policy Solution	Policy solution: 0 = no; 1 = yes	
Tone	Tone in Narrative	Positive: 0 = no; 1 = yes Negative: 0 = no; 1 = yes Pos/Neg: 0 = no; 1 = yes Neutral: 0 = no; 1 = yes	
Spon	Sponsor of Narrative	Public: 0 = no; 1 = yes Non-Profit: 0 = no; 1 = yes Government: 0 = no; 1 = yes Corporation: 0 = no; 1 = yes Gov/Corp: 0 = no; 1 = yes Gov/Non-pr: 0 = no; 1 = yes	
Adv	Advantaged	0 = no; 1 = yes	
Dep	Dependent	0 = no; 1 = yes	
Cont	Contender	0 = no; 1 = yes	
Dev	Deviant	0 = no; 1 = yes	
Des	Deserving	0 = no; 1 = yes	
INDEPENDENT	Independent Variable		
MedT	Type of Media Source	Traditional media source: 0 = no; 1 = yes New/social media source: 0 = no; 1 = yes	Newspapers GoogleNews.ca YouTube.ca
CONTROL	Control Variables		
Lang	Language in which Media Source is published or broadcasted	English: 0 = no; 1 = yes	*Le Devoir; La Presse; Le Journal de Québec; GoogleNews.ca; YouTube.ca* The Globe; The Post; The Gazette; *GoogleNews.ca; YouTube.ca*
Ideo	Ideology of the Media Source	Liberal: 0 = no; 1 = yes	The Globe; YouTube; The Gazette. GoogleNews; The Post; *Le Devoir; La Presse; Le Journal de Québec;*
Dist	Distribution of the Media Source	Nation-wide: 0 = no; 1 = yes	*Le Devoir; La Presse; Le Journal de Québec;* The Gazette. The Post; The Globe; GoogleNews.ca; YouTube.ca

Due to conventional ethics in scientific research, the researcher hired another doctoral student who is familiar with the Narrative Policy Framework and the Social Construction of Target Populations to second-code all 120 cases in order to avoid personal biased coding. After the second-coder finished coding all 120 cases, both coders compared their coding results for differences in coding. Both coders coded 99 per cent of the 120 cases similarly.

Testing the Research Data

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) functions as the guiding theoretical framework for this study. The NPF focuses on how policy narratives are framed differently by different sources. In order to answer the research question for this study "Do the policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ by media source – traditional or new/social media when controlling for the language – English or French – in which the media source is published or broadcasted, the ideology – liberal or other-than-liberal – of the media source, and/or the distribution – nationwide or local – of the media source?", the researcher included the NPF characteristics as dependent variables, the media types as independent variables, and the language, ideology, and geographical coverage/distribution as control variables. As explained earlier in this chapter, all variables were entered in an Excel table and in the statistical program PSPP as dichotomous numeric variables – or variables with two answer possibilities – and coded as "0" (zero) for "no" as an answer to the question or "1" (one) for "yes" as an answer to the question.

While the NPF provides a wealth of quantitative as well as qualitative information, it does not reveal the social construction of the policy narrative. This social construct refers to the meaning that people connect to words, objects, situations, symbols, signs, or metaphors affiliate with public policies (McBeth et al. 2014.229-230). These positive, neutral, or negative connotations attached to certain groups change how the groups are portrayed. In this research, this may lead to changes in the public opinion on Syrian refugees in Quebec and may result in supporting or opposing favorable immigration policies for this group.

In order to empirically test the research data, the researcher expanded the understanding of the social construction of the policy narratives on Syrian refugees in Quebec by combining the NPF and a second theoretical framework, the Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP) – created by Schneider and Ingram (1993) – in order to transfer the NPF data into a deserving or undeserving social construction of the target population in the policy narrative. To find out how the different media sources socially construct the NPF characters, these characters were transformed into one or more of the SCTP categories: advantaged (those with high power and that are positively framed in the narrative), dependents (those with low power and that are positively framed in the narrative), contenders (those with high power and that are negatively framed in the narrative), and/or deviants (those with low power and that are negatively framed in the narrative). Table 3 illustrates how the NPF coded data can also be coded as SCTP, based on how the narrator frames the characters in a positive or negative light and whether they possess or lack power.

For example, the deserving are portrayed in the story in a way that it is not their fault that something happened to them, i.e. if a child steals an apple from a store, it could be described in the narrative as "the poor child was so hungry and had nothing else to eat." In this case, there is an undertone of compassion for the child and the child would not undergo a sanction for stealing the apple, but perhaps the store owner might take the minor to a free lunch program. An example for the undeserving of policy benefits could be a young adult stealing a can of beer from a convenient store. If the youngster is portrayed in the narrative as a thief, he/she is framed as undeserving of policy benefits, but instead subject to undergo a sanction for violating the law.

Table 4 demonstrates how the narrators in different media sources suggest benefits or burdens for the Syrian Refugees. Policymakers usually want to benefit those who are portrayed in a positive light and with a substantial amount of power and deprive benefits from those portrayed in a negative light and who lack power. Based on this coding tool, it was possible to see which sources want to create beneficial immigration policies for Syrian Refugees and which ones want to suggest more restrictive immigration policies for this population. Once all NPF characters were transformed into SCTP categories and framed as deserving or undeserving of policy benefits, these data were empirically tested with the appropriate statistical method.

TABLE 3: TRANSFORMATION OF NPF CHARACTERS INTO SCTP

	ADVANTAGED Positive High Power	DEPENDENTS Positive Low Power	CONTENDERS Negative High Power	DEVIANTS Negative Low Power
Villains				
	Government Officials Conservatives Private Sector Syrian Refugees Muslims Vandals			
Victims				
	Syrian Refugees Muslims Canadians			
Heroes				
	Syrian Refugees Government Officials Liberals NGOs/IGOs Canadian Individuals/ Groups			

TABLE 4: SYRIAN REFUGEES PORTRAYED BY DIFFERENT MEDIA OUTLETS AS DESERVING OR UNDESERVING OF POLICY BENEFITS

	Deserving of Policy Benefits	Undeserving of Policy Benefits
Traditional Media		
Globe & Mail		
National Post		
Montreal Gazette		
Le Devoir		
La Presse		
Le Journal de Quebec		
New Media		
Google News Canada (F/E)		
Social Media		
YouTube (French/English)		

Statistical Method

This statistical method used for this research is Chi Square ($\chi2$), the most frequently used statistical test in the social sciences. In contrast to other statistics, Chi Square ($\chi2$) does not require assumptions about the shape of the population or sampling distribution and is flexible to use with variables at any level of measurement (Healey 2009, 260-261).

This study examines the difference – if any – between portrayals of policy narratives on Syrian refugees in Quebec as dependent variable (DV), depending on the type of media as independent variable (IV), the language of the media source, the ideology of the media source, and/or the spatial coverage of the media source as control variables (CVs). Although additional variables are not directly included in the research question, they are part of the overall NPF characteristics and therefore contribute to the

broader idea of how and why Syrian refugees are framed in one way or another. The

results and discussion chapters include some of these variables as a means to add more

detail to the social construction of Syrian refugees in Quebec.

Chapter VI:
Research Results, Discussion, and
Suggestions for Further Research

The research question for this dissertation consists of one main question and three sub-questions: "Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ by media source – *traditional* or *new/social media* (main question) – when controlling for sub-questions 1) the language – *English* or *French* – in which the media source is published or broadcasted, 2) the ideology – *liberal* or *other-than-liberal* – of the media source, and/or 3) the coverage/distribution – *nationwide* or *local* – of the media source?" The underlying idea for focusing on these variables is to determine whether the media source [*traditional* versus *new/social*] plays a role in advantaging certain groups while disadvantaging other groups; and subsequently, if the language [*English* versus *French*], the ideology [*liberal* versus *other-than-liberal*], or the coverage/distribution [*nationwide* versus *local*] associated with different media types play a role in advantaging certain groups while disadvantaging other groups.

The data were first analyzed according to the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) and then transferred to the Social Construction of Target Populations' (SCTP) categories "*deserving*" [*advantaged* population] of policy benefits or "*undeserving*" [*disadvantaged* population] of policy benefits. The researcher's overall question is thus "Are Syrian refugees in Quebec framed as "*deserving*" or "*undeserving*" of beneficial Canadian immigration policies by the media?" This chapter reveals the research results, answers the research question and sub-questions, and presents some other interesting outcomes.

Table 5 and Figure 7 show the results for the parts of the research question visually and the statistics are explained below.

Research Results

The following section addresses the main research question and the three sub-questions both with results and discussion of the larger issues. The results are visually illustrated in Figure 7 and Table 5.

FIGURE 7: (UN-)DESERVING CONSTRUCTIONS BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)
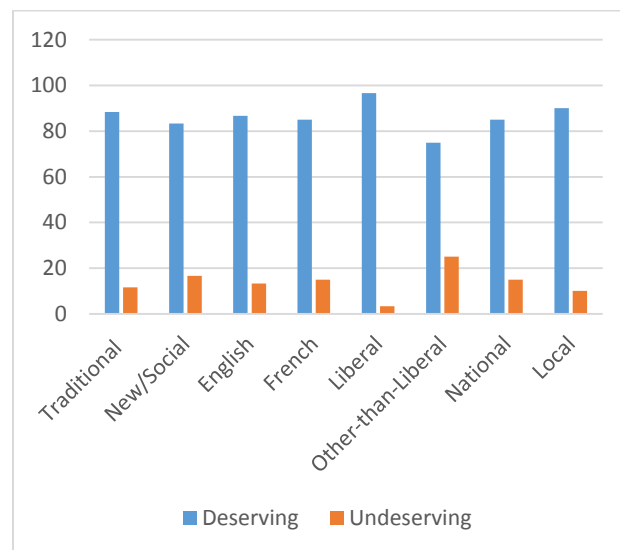
TABLE 5: (UN-)DESERVING CONSTRUCTIONS BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)

	Deserving		Undeserving		Chi Square
	N	%	N	%	χ^2
Traditional Media	53	88.33	7	11.67	0.62
New/Social Media	50	83.33	10	16.67	
English Media	52	86.67	8	13.33	0.07
French Media	51	85.00	9	15.00	
Liberal Media	58	96.67	2	3.33	11.58***
Other-than-Liberal Media	45	75.00	15	25.00	
Nationwide Coverage/Distribution	85	85.00	15	15.00	0.34
Local Coverage/Distribution	18	90.00	2	10.00	

(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)

Answer to the Main Research Question: Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in Quebec Differ by Media Source?

In this dissertation, the researcher addressed the question if *traditional media* sources differ from *new/social media* sources in the way they frame their narratives. The researcher analyzed 120 articles/videos, from which 60 were classified as *traditional media* sources [the liberal, Anglophone, and nationwide distributed *Globe and Mail* (N = 10), the conservative, Anglophone, and nationwide covered/distributed *National Post* (N = 10), the nationalist Anglophone, and locally covered/distributed *Montreal Gazette* (N = 10), the centrist, Francophone, nationwide covered/distributed *La Presse* (N = 10), the liberal, Francophone, nationwide covered/distributed *Le Devoir* (N = 10), and the Francophone, locally covered/distributed *Le Journal de Québec* (N = 10) and 60 as *new/social media* sources [the liberal, Anglophone, nationwide covered/distributed

Google News (N = 15), the liberal, Francophone, nationwide covered/distributed *Google News* (N = 15), the liberal, Anglophone, nationwide covered/distributed *YouTube* (N = 15), and the liberal, Francophone, nationwide covered/distributed *YouTube* (N = 15)].

Utilizing the SCTP, the descriptive information gathered from each article/video was translated into *deserving* or *non-deserving constructions* toward the subjects in this research case, Syrian Refugees in Quebec. This research shows that 88.33 percent of the *traditional media outlets* portray Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of immigration policy benefits, while only 83.33 percent of *new/social media* outlets do so. The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.62, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.432, which is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result (α = 0.1), so we may conclude that there is no statistical significant relationship between *traditional* and *new/social media* sources in framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 = 0.62; df = 1; p = 0.432].*

Beyond the difference between *traditional* and *social media* sources, the researcher also controlled for differences in three other areas: *language*, *ideology*, and *coverage/distribution* of the narratives.

Answer to Sub-Research Question 1) Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in Quebec Differ by Language?

From the 120 articles/videos analyzed, 60 were written/broadcasted in *English* [*Globe and Mail* (N = 10), *National Post* (N = 10), *Montreal Gazette* (N = 10), *Google News Canada English* (N = 15), and *YouTube English* (N=15) and 60 in *French* [*La*

Presse (N = 10), *Le Devoir* (N = 10), *Le Journal de Québec* (N = 10), *Google News*

Canada French (N = 15), and *YouTube French* (N = 15)].

The research shows that both *English* and *French* narratives framed Syrian refugees in

Quebec mostly as *deserving* of beneficial outcomes from immigration policies. While

86.67 percent of the *English* sources frames Syrian refugees as *deserving* of beneficial

immigration policies, 85.00 percent of the *French* sources also portrays the refugees as

deserving of benefits from immigration laws. The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.07,

the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.793, which

is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we may conclude

that there is no statistical significant relationship between *English* and *French media*

outlets in framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[$\chi2 = 0.07$; df = 1; p = 0.793].*

Answer to Sub-Research Question 2) Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in
Quebec Differ by Ideology?

From the 120 articles, 60 were collected from *liberal* and 60 from *other-than-*

liberal media outlets. When investigating political parties' platforms, it becomes clear

that political parties voice their opinions on current events. One of the popular issues in

these platforms is immigration policy. It is often assumed that *liberal* parties are more

tolerant of immigrants and refugees than are *other-than-liberal* parties. Therefore, it was

no surprise for the researcher to find evidence of this trend. Policy narratives in 96.67

percent of the *liberal media* sources portray Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of

immigration policy benefits, while only 75.00 percent of the *other-than-liberal media*

outlets do so. The value of chi square (obtained) is 11.58, the degrees of freedom is one,

and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.001, which is much smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$). Thus, we may conclude that there is a statistical significant relationship between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal media* outlets in framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 = 11.58; df = 1; p = 0.001]*.

Answer to Sub-Research Question 3) Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in Quebec Differ by Coverage/Distribution?

While the variables [*media type*, *language*, and *ideology*] all had an equal number of research cases [*traditional* (N = 60) versus *new/social media* (N = 60), *English* (N = 60) versus *French* (N = 60), and *liberal* (N = 60) versus *other-than-liberal* (N = 60)], the variable *coverage/distribution* had an unequal number of sources [*nationwide* (N = 100) versus *local* (N = 20): *Montreal Gazette* (N = 10) and *Le Journal de Québec* (N = 10)]. The policy narratives from all 60 *new/social media* sources are *nationwide* covered/distributed because of their accessibility on the Internet. In addition, 40 of the narratives from *traditional* sources are nationwide covered/distributed, which only leaves 10 narratives from a *traditional-English-local*, the *Montreal Gazette*, and 10 narratives from a *traditional-French-local* media outlet, *Le Journal de Québec,* which may skew the results.

The results from this research show that *nationwide* and *locally* covered/distributed media outlets do not portray Syrian refugees in Quebec very differently in their policy narratives. Policy narratives in 90.00 percent of the media outlets that cover/distribute their sources *locally* frame Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of beneficial immigration policies while 85.00 percent of the narratives from

nationwide media sources frame this population as *deserving*. The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.34, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.558, which is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result (α = 0.1), so we may conclude that there is no statistical significant relationship between *nationwide* and *local media* outlets in framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 = 0.34; df = 1; p = 0.558].*

Other Interesting Research Results

In addition to including the variables to address the major research question and sub-questions, the researcher also analyzed other variables in this research – those which are characteristics of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) and/or Social Construction of Target Populations (SCTP). The results from analyzing these variables contribute to interesting findings which are reported in the following sections: (*un*)*deserving construction* by *narrative ownership*, *characters* by *media type*, *language*, *ideology*, and *coverage/distribution*, *character combinations* by *media type*, *tone* by *media type*, and *policy solution* by *media type*.

Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in Quebec Differ by Narrative Ownership?

As previously mentioned in Chapter II, the Media – as a *Social Institution* – is becoming more and more a part of the globalized capitalist economy and corporate system (McChesney 2015). Subsequently, noting media ownership, whether *corporate*, *non-profit*, *public*, or *government* ownership, is important. Babe and Potter (2015)

warned of manipulation of policy narratives *by corporate* media sources. Was this true

for the case study of Syrian immigrants in Quebec? Did the different owners portray

Syrian refugees differently because they have different secret agendas to cover, such as

personal gains, please their constituents, etc.? Figure 8 and Table 6 below show that most

narratives analyzed in this study (N = 93) are written, posted, or broadcasted by

corporate media sources, and that in 85.32 percent of these *corporate media* sources, the

Syrian refugees in Quebec are framed as *deserving* of immigration policy benefits.

FIGURE 8: DESERVING AND UNDESERVING CONSTRUCTIONS BY NARRATIVE OWNERSHIP (N = 120)
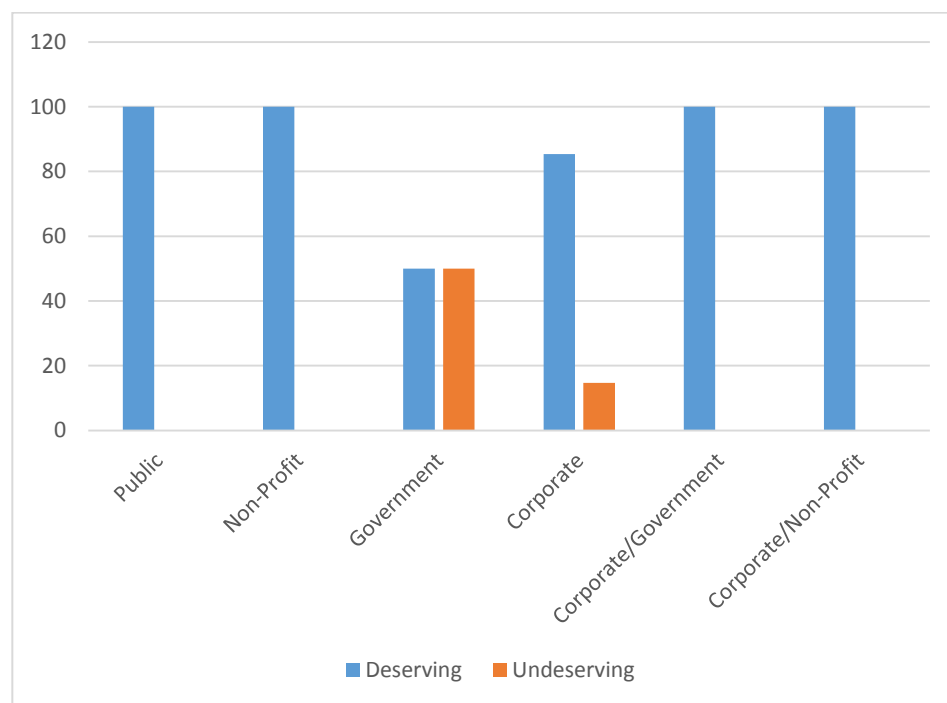
TABLE 6: DESERVING/UNDESERVING CONSTRUCTIONS BY NARRATIVE OWNERSHIP (N = 120)

(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)

	Deserving		Undeserving		Chi Square
	N	%	N	%	χ^2
Public	2	100.00	0	0.00	0.34
Non-Profit	4	100.00	0	0.00	0.68
Government	1	50.00	1	50.00	2.15
Corporate	93	85.32	16	14.68	0.26
Corporate/Government	2	100.00	0	0.00	0.34
Corporate/Non-Profit	1	100.00	0	0.00	0.17

The remaining narratives are written, posted, or broadcasted by other groups, such as the *public*, *non-profit*, *government*, or combinations with *corporate* and the former. Since the numbers of the latter are minimal, this research can not generalize the results based on these statistics. None of the *ownership* relations and *deserving* or *undeserving* construction show statistical significance. The important finding here is that most narratives are owned by *corporate media* sources and that they overwhelmingly frame Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of beneficial immigration policies.

Do Policy Narratives Covering Syrian Refugees in Quebec Differ in Characters by Media Type, Language, Ideology, and/or Coverage/Distribution?

Characters are important elements in the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). Changes in dominant character's portrayals can happen in either direction from positive

to negative – "devil shift" - or from negative to positive – "angel shift" (Shanahan 2013). To illustrate, in several sources before the November 2015 federal election, Justin Trudeau was portrayed by the Harper administration as the *villain*, who overacted by inviting tens of thousands of Syrian refugees to begin a new life in Canada. Once Justin Trudeau won the elections and became the Canadian Prime Minister, many sources framed Justin Trudeau as the *hero* because of his humanitarian acts toward Syrian refugees. This example confirms Shanahan's "angel shift" in which Justin Trudeau changed roles from *villain* or *devil* to *hero* or *angel*.

Figure 9 and Table 7 reveal that there is little difference in the narratives from different *media sources, language, ideology,* or *coverage/distribution* when it comes to *victims*.

FIGURE 9: CHARACTERS BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)
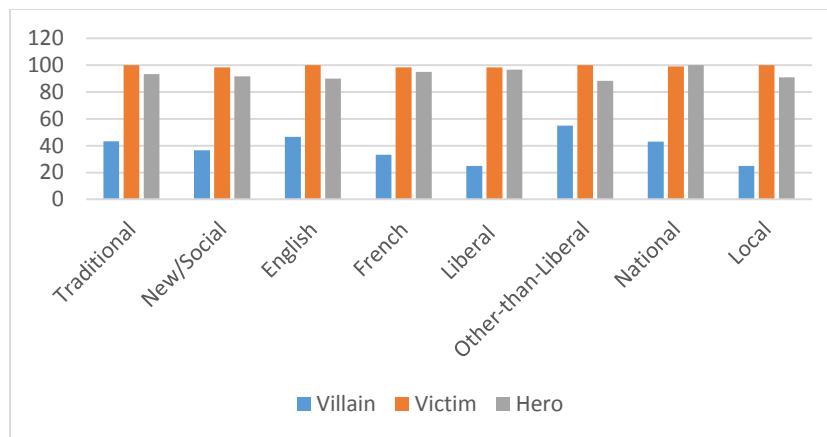
TABLE 7: CHARACTERS BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)

	Villain			Victim			Hero		
	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2
Traditional Media	26	43.33	0.56	60	100.00	1.01	56	93.33	0.12
New/Social Media	22	36.67		59	98.33		55	91.67	
English Media	28	46.67	2.22	60	100.00	1.01	54	90.00	1.08
French Media	20	33.33		59	98.33		57	95.00	
Liberal Media	15	25.00	11.25***	59	98.33	1.01	58	96.67	3.00*
Other-than-Liberal	33	55.00		60	100.00		53	88.33	
Nationwide Cov/Distr	43	43.00	2.25	99	99.00	0.20	91	91.00	1.95
Local Cov/Distibution	5	25.00		20	100.00		20	100.00	

(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)

Since the case for this dissertation is Syrian refugees in Quebec and refugees are *victims* who are forced to leave their home, it is not surprising that almost all narratives include victims in nearly one hundred per cent of their stories. Looking at *villains*, there are more differences among the policy narratives. Results show overall 43.33 percent of *traditional sources* include *villains* in their stories and 36.67 percent of *new/social media* sources do so. The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.56, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.456, which is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we may conclude that there is no statistical significant relationship between *traditional* and *new/social media* sources in framing

Syrian refugees in Quebec [$\chi2 = 0.56$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.456$]. *Language* and

coverage/distribution also show a difference, but no statistical significance.

The greatest difference between narratives with greater or fewer *villains* is

overwhelmingly based on *ideology*. Only 25.00 percent of *liberal* sources use *villains* in

their narratives, compared to 55.00 percent of *other-than-liberal* sources. The value of

chi square (obtained) is 11.25, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance

of the chi square is 0.001, which is much smaller than the standard indicator of a

significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we may conclude that there is a statistical significant

relationship between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal media* sources in including – or

lacking to include – *villains* in their narratives [$\chi2 = 11.25$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.001$]. This

means that in 99.999 percent of the cases, the variable "*ideology*" can predict that *liberal*

media sources are less likely to use *villains* in their policy narratives than *other-than-*

liberal stories. *Liberal* sources also more frequently use *heroes* in their stories. Of the

liberal sources, 96.67 percent contained one or more heroes; for *other-than-liberal*

sources, 88.33 percent contained one or more heroes. The value of chi square (obtained)

is 3.00, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is

0.083, which is smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we

may conclude that there is a statistical significant relationship between *liberal* and *other-*

than-liberal media sources related to including in their stories [$\chi2 = 3.00$; $df = 1$; $p =$

0.083]. Thus, while the difference in the use of heroes is statistically significant, it is not

as highly significant as the use of *villains*.

However, the *liberal* sources use *heroes* in their policy narratives 96.67 percent of time,

which means that the variable "*ideology*" is again a good predictor in policy research.

Heroes are the fixers of the victims' policy problems – in this research Syrian refugees'

possible immigration policy problems – thus, *liberal* sources include more *heroes* that fix

the immigration problems for the Syrian refugees in Quebec.

Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ in character combinations

by media type? (see Figure 10 below and Table 8)

FIGURE 10: CHARACTER COMBINATIONS BY MEDIA TYPE (N = 120)
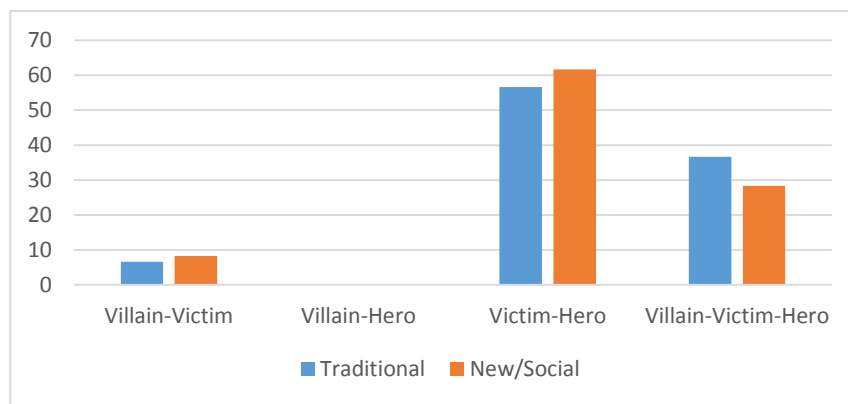
TABLE 8: CHARACTER COMBINATIONS BY MEDIA TYPE able 4: (N = 120)

	Villain-Victim			Villain-Hero			Victim-Hero			Villain-Victim-Hero		
	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2
Traditional Media	4	6.67	0.12	0	0.00	N.A.	3	56.67	0.31	2	36.67	0.95
							4			2		
New/Social Media	5	8.33		0	0.00		3	61.67		1	28.33	
							7			7		

(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)

None of the 120 narratives included a *villain-hero* combination (N = 0). Very few narratives showed a *villain-victim* combination [*traditional media* – N = 4 (6.67 percent) and *new/social media* – N = 5 (8.83 percent)]. The narratives contained mainly *victim-hero* combinations, in which *new/social media* (61.67 percent) took the lead over *traditional media* (56.67 percent). The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.31, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.577, which is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result (α = 0.1), so we may conclude that there is no statistically significant relationship between *traditional* and *new/social media* sources in using *victim-hero* combinations when framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 = 0.31; df = 1; p = 0.577]*. Within the *traditional media* outlets, 36.67 percent used all three characters [*villain-victim-hero*] within one narrative in comparison with *new/social media* where only 28.33 percent used all three characters. The value of chi square (obtained) is 0.95, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.330, which is greater than the standard indicator of a significant result (α =

0.1), so we may conclude that there is no statistical significant relationship between *traditional* and *new/social media* sources when using *villain-victim-hero* combination when framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 = 0.95; df = 1; p = 0.330].*

Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ in tone by media type, language, ideology and coverage/distribution?

Figure 11 and Table 9 indicate that most of the narratives are told in a *positive* tone, although some stories include both *positive and negative* elements, others are rather *neutral*, and few are *negative*.

FIGURE 11: TONE BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)
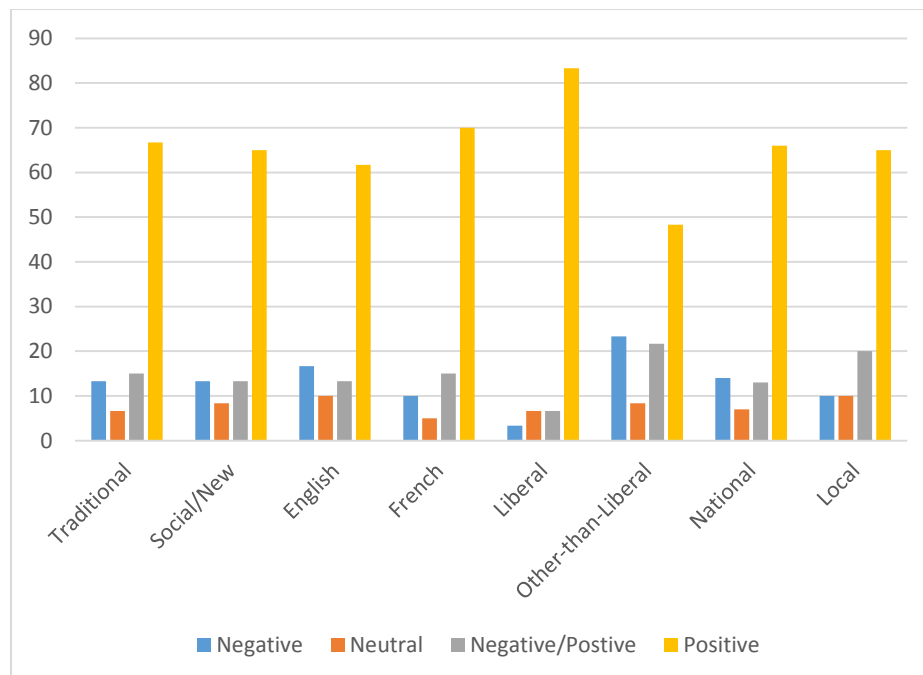
TABLE 9: TONE BY MEDIA TYPE, LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY, AND COVERAGE/DISTRIBUTION (N = 120)

	Negative			Neutral			Positive/Negative			Positive		
	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2
Trad Med	8	13.33	N.A.	4	6.67	0.12	9	15.00	0.07	40	66.67	0.04
N/S Med	8	13.33		5	8.33		8	13.33		39	65.00	
Engl	10	16.67	1.15	6	10.00	1.08	8	13.33	0.07	37	61.67	0.93
Fr	6	10.00		3	5.00		9	15.00		42	70.00	
Lib	2	3.33	10.38***	4	6.67	0.12	4	6.67	5.55*	50	83.33	16.34***
O-L	14	23.33		5	8.33		13	21.67		29	48.33	
Nat	14	14.00	0.23	7	7.00	0.22	4	20.00	0.67	66	66.00	0.01
Loc	2	10.00		2	10.00		13	13.00		13	65.00	

(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)

Table 9 indicates that there are no statistically significant relations between *traditional* and *new/social media*, *English* and *French*, and *nationwide* and *local* media sources. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the variable "*ideology*" has an important predicting characteristic in policy narratives. Table 9 shows three statistically significant values for *ideology*. First, related to the use of a *negative* tone, the value of chi square (obtained) for narratives from liberal sources with a *negative* tone is 10.38, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.001, which is much smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result (α = 0.1), so we may conclude that there is a statistically significant relationship between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal media* sources when using a *negative tone* in their narratives when framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[χ2 =10.38; df = 1; p = 0.001]*. Second, the use of both *positive and*

negative characteristics, the value of chi square (obtained) for narratives from *liberal* sources with a mixed tone of *positive and negative* opinions is 5.55, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.018, which is smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we may conclude that there is a statistical significant relationship between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal media* sources when using a mixed tone (*positive and negative*) in their narratives when framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[$\chi 2 = 5.55$; df = 1; p = 0.018]*. Third, in relation to using a *positive* tone, the value of chi square (obtained) for narratives from *liberal* sources with a *positive* tone is 16.34, the degrees of freedom is one, and the exact significance of the chi square is 0.000, which is much smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result ($\alpha = 0.1$), so we may conclude that there is a statistical significant relationship between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal media* sources when using a *positive tone* in their narratives when framing Syrian refugees in Quebec *[$\chi 2 = 16.34$; df = 1; p = 0.000]*.

Do policy narratives covering Syrian refugees in Quebec differ in Policy Solution by Media Type?

Figure 12 and Table 10 illustrate that most narratives include a policy solution [*traditional media* – N = 45 (75 percent) and *new/social media* – N = 46 (76.67 percent)]. Few narratives include a policy solution for some but not for others [*traditional media* – N = 8 (13.33 percent) and *new/social media* – N = 4 (6.67 percent)], and, similarly, a few have no policy solution at all [*traditional media* – N = 7 (11.67 percent) and *new/social media* – N = 10 (16.67 percent)].

FIGURE 12: POLICY SOLUTION BY MEDIA TYPE
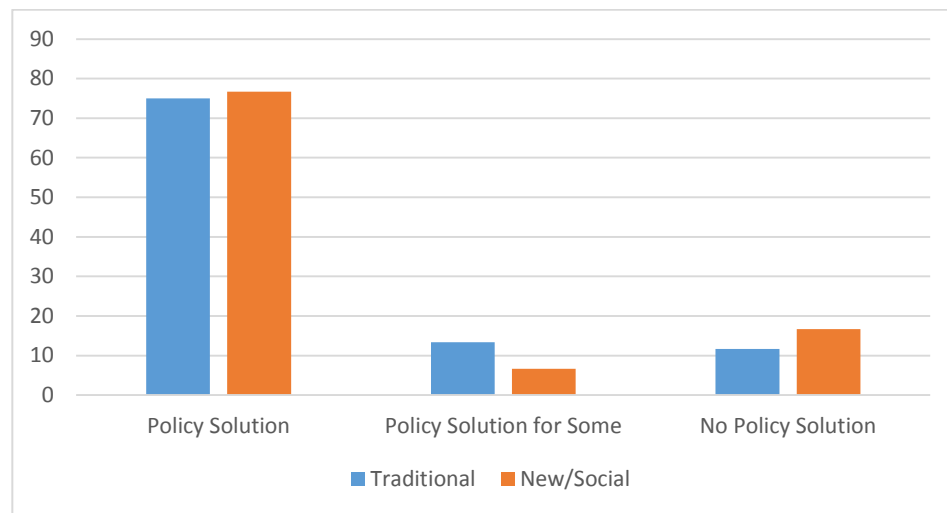
TABLE 10: POLICY SOLUTION BY MEDIA TYPE (N = 120)

	Policy Solution			Policy Solution for Some			No Policy Solution		
	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2	N	%	χ2
Traditional Media	45	75.00	0.05	8	13.33	1.48	7	11.67	0.62
New/Social Media	46	76.67		4	6.67		10	16.67	
(p ≤ 0.1*; p ≤ 0.01**; p ≤ 0.001***)									

There are no statistically significant differences between traditional and new/social media related to the inclusion of policy narratives because none of the exact significance numbers of the chi square is equal to or smaller than the standard indicator of a significant result (α = 0.1).

This research referred mostly to accepting Syrian refugees in Quebec. Neither *traditional* nor *new/social media* significantly differed in offering *policy solutions* in their policy narratives. As mentioned previously in the outcomes of this research, *new/social media* sources often repost what appears in *traditional media*. If *traditional media* sources offer *policy solutions* in their narratives and *new/social media* sources repost this information, there will not be a statistically significant difference in offering *policy solutions* between the two media types.

In the section above, the research results showed the findings based on statistically significant differences between variables. While six significant variables were found, statistics do not reveal the entire meaning behind this research. The following section explains the meaning of these statistics and also clarifies meanings

Discussion

The meaning behind the answers to the research question

The answer to the main research question – if traditional and new/social media sources frame Syrian refugees differently in relation to beneficial immigrant policies – is no, they are not significantly different. This does not mean that there are no other meanings behind the research findings. While the two types of media sources offer different tools to research and influence public opinion on public issues, this research reveals that both traditional and new/social media sources frame Syrian refugees much more as deserving than undeserving of beneficial outcomes from immigration policies. There is minimal difference between the two media types, traditional media outlets portray Syrian refugees in Quebec as deserving of beneficial outcomes from immigration

policies slightly more frequently than do the new/social media sources. This finding differs from literature noted in Chapter II, suggesting that new/social media outlets present novel tools that examine public opinions compared to those the traditional media sources offered (Coulson 2013; Merry 2015).

Thus, to answer the main research question, traditional and new/social media sources do not substantially differ (five percent difference, not statistically significant) in framing Canadian immigration policy narratives related to Syrian refugees in Quebec. It is important to note, as a point in explaining the lack of difference between the types of media, that many of the new/social media sources simply re-post stories from the traditional media. This may clarify why there is no significant difference between the two. The outcome of this research confirms what Lybecker et al. (2015) found in their research on the US-Mexico border, in which they suggest that new/social media is influenced by traditional media in a way that new/social media sources are embedding the content covered in traditional media sources in new/social media sources. Similarly, Guggenheim et al. (2015) found that new/social media sources often repeat information that has earlier been distributed through traditional media sources.

Besides the small differences in media source type narrative, this research shows an overwhelming positive and deserving portrayal of refugees. This finding contradicts with several studies conducted on immigrants/refugees that I mentioned in the literature review. First, Lybecker et al. (2015) concluded that YouTube as a new/social medium frames the US-Mexico border in a negative light, often referring to undocumented/illegal immigrants. Second, Elsamni (2016) found that CNN framed Arab refugees as threats. Third, Gilbert (2011) revealed that Canadian newsprint portrayed Mexicans as illegals,

criminals, and fraudulent others. These three studies draw a totally different image of immigrants/refugees than the deserving narratives in this dissertation study. This is a unique contribution to the existing academic literature.

The answer to the first sub-research question - if English and French media sources frame Syrian refugees differently in relation to beneficial immigrant policies – is no, they are not significantly different. Also here, this does not mean that the two sources identically portray the refugees. Both English and French sources frame the refugees as deserving. The following quotes, one from an English media source, Google News Canada English, and another from a French media source, *Le Journal de Québec,* illustrate how policy narratives frame Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of immigration policy benefits:

> "Provincial governments are jumping on board with significant financial contributions toward Syrian refugee resettlement in Canada. Mayors of Calgary, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver are sticking their necks out by encouraging private sponsors to partner with the federal government to make sure we do our part to assist in resolving one of the most serious refugee crisis of our time. And the general public is clamouring to jump on board" (*Google News Canada* 2015).

> *"Faute de logements disponibles, des villes comme Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa et Halifax ont récemment réclamé du federal une pause momentanée dans l'arrivée des réfugiens syriens. Une telle difficulté ne se poserait pas pour le moment à Québec. On a une bonne banque de logements, a soutenu Madame Lachance. Nous ne sommes pas dépassés par la situation et tout se déroule rondement"* (*Le Journal de Québec* 2016).
> Translated in English: "Due to lack of available housing, cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Halifax have recently requested the federal government for a pause in the arrival of Syrian refugees. This difficulty does not arise in Quebec. We have a good housing bank, says Mrs. Lachance. We are not overwhelmed by the situation and everything goes smoothly." (*Le Journal de Québec* 2016).

This finding is not totally surprising as Chapter IV, on the case of Syrian refugees in Quebec, revealed the welcoming attitude of Québecois and Quebec Provincial politicians. Another reason for the similarities between French and English sources is that French sources often simply translate the content from English sources and distribute this on their French outlets. However, this results contradicts with a number of earlier studies mentioned in the literature review. First, Salee (1994) stated that Québecois [Francophones] have the reputation of living in isolation, in their own cultural and linguistic enclave from the rest of Canada [Anglophone]. The narratives in this research do not confirm Salee's statement because Quebec is very eager to attract Syrian refugees to their province. Second, Worth (2002) found in his research on Sub-Saharan African refugees in New-Zealand that the media frames groups differently based on their nationality, culture, religion, and language. Third, van Doorslaer (2009) discovered in his research on Belgian media that Dutch/Flemish-speaking media sources select different items to translate from international news source with the results that the two linguistic media sources in the same country influence policies based on their language. These previous studies show opposite results about media portrayals based on language.

There are some plausible explanations for the lack of difference in media narrative based on language in this research about Syrian refugees in Quebec. First, language might not be Quebec's main policy issue, since the province of Quebec has a reverse demographic growth, as referred to in Chapter IV *(Gouvernement du Québec* 2015, 10). Quebec's economy is weakening due to the decreasing working-aged population (Bendit and Hahn-Bleibtreu. 2008). While the Francophone won their language battle some decades earlier, the linguistic focus faded away, and the Québecois

– whether they are Francophone or Anglophone – prefer a solution that would boost their economy. This economic preference was clear in some of the media narratives, as described in Chapter IV, how Quebec Immigration Minister Kathleen Weil explains Quebec is pleased to accept Syrian refugees to help boost Quebec's working-age population (Planté 2016). A second reason for the lack of difference in the French and English narratives is that French media outlets translate the content of a story in an English media outlet, and thus there is no difference in media outlets by language. However, the economic reason seems more likely to attract Syrian refugees to the province of Quebec.

The answer to the second sub-research question - if liberal and other-then-liberal media sources frame Syrian refugees differently in relation to beneficial immigrant policies – is yes, they are significantly different. To illustrate, the following quotes – one from the Globe and Mail, a liberal media source, and one from *La Presse*, an other-than-liberal media source – show how liberal media sources portray Syrian refugees as deserving of immigration policy benefits and how other-than-liberal media sources portray Syrian refugees in Quebec as undeserving of immigration policy benefits:

> "Operation Provision has been a tremendous opportunity to showcase leadership and Canadian values on the world stage and we will continue to stand in support of this whole-of-government effort, ready to assist [Syrian refugees] wherever and however we are needed, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjjan said" (*Globe and Mail* 2016).

> "*Une banderole "Réfugiés NON Merci!" accrochée sur un viaduct, était bien visible au-dessus de l'autoroute Henri-IV, à Québec*" (*La Presse* 2016). Translated in English: "A banner "Refugees NO thank you!" hooked on a viaduct was visible above the highway Henri-IV in Quebec City" (*La Presse* 2016).

The control variable "ideology" is an important predictor in policy narrative research. This variable is statistically significant at a probability level of $p \leq 0.001$, which means that in 99.999 percent of the cases, we can predict that liberal media outlets will portray policy narratives differently than other-than-liberal media outlets. This finding is consistent with Fryberg et al.'s (2012) statement that liberal and conservative – in this research, other-than-liberal – narratives influence public opinion in opposite ways immigration policies.

The answer to the third sub-research question - if nationwide and locally covered/distributed media sources frame Syrian refugees differently in relation to beneficial immigrant policies – is no, they are not significantly different. While this research found not statistically significant difference, it contradicts with what Fryberg et al. (2012) found in their research on the Arizona anti-immigration bill (AZ SB 1070). Furthermore, since both *local* and *national* sources frame refugees as *deserving*, it is likely that Syrian refugees will be treated well in Canada and even more so in the Province of Quebec. It is also interesting to note that *local* media sources often repeat what *nationwide* media sources publish/broadcast, just like Lybecker et al. (2015), Guggenheim et al. (2015), and this research found that *new/social media* sources repost narratives from *traditional media* sources.

The answers to the main research question and the three sub-research questions reveal that this research contributes to the academic research on media in a way that in some cases, it confirms existing research and in other ways, it contradicts previously conducted studies.

<u>Other interesting findings</u>

Besides the rich meanings behind the answers to the research question, this study reveals additional knowledge on how the media constructs narratives to influence public opinion on policies the media sources like. Related to the use of characters in their narratives, this study found that liberal sources influence policymakers to create immigration policies so that immigrants/refugees would receive benefits from these policies and that other-than-media sources influence policymakers to oppose that kind of policies. Policy narratives often identified liberal policymakers as heroes that suggest immigration policy solutions for the Syrian refugees in Quebec. This research finding confirms what the Canadian Liberal Party (2015) addresses in their party platform by saying that liberals are usually more likely to support immigration policies, while other-than-liberals, such as conservatives, nationalists, or libertarians, are more prone to oppose these policies. The interesting fact about this research is that within the time of this project, Canada's federal elections from November 2015 caused the country to change from former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's other-than-liberal government to current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's liberal government. With liberal politicians in power, immigration policies will likely advantage immigrants – or in this specific research, "advantage Syrian refugees" – rather than disadvantage this target population.

The following quotes illustrate how, on the one hand, liberal media sources praise federal politicians – with main hero Prime Minister Justin Trudeau – and provincial politicians – with heroes Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard, Quebec Immigration Minister Kathleen Weil, and Quebec Public Security Minister Pierre Moreau – for their support for Syrian Refugees and how, on the other hand, other-than-liberal media sources

highlight how other-than-liberal politicians oppose Syrian refugees to immigrate to

Canada.

> "The election winner, Justin Trudeau of the Liberal Party, outlined the most ambitious agenda, to bring 25,000 [Syrian] refugees to Canada by the end of the year*" (Google News Canada 2015).*

> "*Le premier ministre de Québec, Philippe Couillard, a décidé de parrainer l'acceuil d'une famille de réfugiés syriens dans la province, a indiqué mardi son port-parole, confirmant des informations de presse* (*Le Devoir 2015*).
> Translated in English: "Quebec's Prime Minister, Philippe Couillard, has decided to sponsor the home of a family of Syrian refugees in the province, said his spokesman on Tuesday, confirming press reports" (*Le Devoir 2015*).

> "A day after the federal government offered details on its Syrian refugee plan, Quebec government revealed its own $ 29-million plan to take in thousands of refugees. Public Security Minister Pierre Moreau and Immigration Minister Kathleen Weil laid out the province's plan at a news conference" (Google News Canada 2015).

> "*En campagne électorale, le premier ministre sortant, Stephen Harper, s'était montré récitent à accueillir advantage de réfugiés syriens. Il a mis en relief la menance sécuritaire que risque de poser l'arrivée de migrants provenants d'une zone de guerre où sévissent des groups radicaux"* (*La Presse* 2015). Translated in English: "During the election campaign, the outgoing Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, was reluctant to accept more Syrian refugees. He highlighted the security threat that could pose risks to the arrival of migrants from a war zone with rampant radical groups (*La Presse* 2015).

> "We cannot open the floodgates and airlift tens of thousands of refugees out of a terrorist war zone without proper process. That is too great a risk for Canada, Harper said" (Google News Canada 2015).

This research show the most frequent character combinations were victim-hero

combinations. This suggests that the overall policy narratives would rather talk about the

victim and the hero, or fixer of the victim's problem, than about those who harm the

victim. For this research, this means that most policy narratives report on those who want

to help the Syrian refugees in Quebec. Since the majority of the media narratives in this study are deserving narratives, this is not a surprise.

Similarly, the overall overwhelming positive tone and the repetitive confirmation that liberal sources report their policy narratives in a positive way explains again that liberals are more likely to advantage Syrian refugees in Quebec than are other-than-liberals. With the current liberal Prime Minister Trudeau, Syrian refugees are framed with positive connotations rather than in the other-than-liberal former Prime Minister Harper's legislation.

Conclusion

This dissertation focusing on media narratives related to Syrian refugees in Quebec provides interesting findings. First, this study reveals that most policy narratives collected from ten different media outlets portray the target population of Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving* of beneficial immigration policies. Second, policy narratives do not significantly differ in framing the target population when coming from *traditional* or *new/social media* sources. This finding confirms earlier research that suggests that *new/social media* often repeats the policy narratives that appeared in *traditional media* sources and therefore have similar stories (Lybecker et al. 2015; Guggenheim et al. 2015). Third, *English* or *French* narratives lack significant differences in policy narratives about the Syrian refugees in Quebec. This contradicts the attitude of the Francophone Québecois in the 1960s who lived in isolation from Anglophone Quebecers and refused out-group members in their francophone community (Salee 1994). In addition, policy stories from either language is often simply translated into the other

language, which clarifies the similarities in outcomes. Fourth and most impressive difference is between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* sources. The researcher discovered six statistically significant differences between *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* policy narratives and 1) overall portraying Syrian refugees in Quebec as *deserving*, 2) number of *villains*, 3) number of *heroes*, 4) *negative* tone, 5) *both positive and negative* tone, and 6) *positive* tone. This means that the variable "*ideology*" is a very important predictor in policy narrative research.

In sum, the main research research question shows no significant difference by *media types*' (*traditional* versus *new/social media*) portrayal of Syrian refugees in Quebec. However, this research still presents interesting significant differences in the portrayal of Syrian refugees by *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* sources, the number of characters, and the *tone* in which the narratives are published/broadcasted. Where statistics do not reveal significant differences, the qualitative descriptions illustrate the richness of details in the minimal differences between the variables. Based on these results, the final section suggests ideas for further research.

Suggestions for Further Research

One crucial research finding for this research reveals that *liberal* and *other-than-liberal* media sources portray target populations differently, especially in the light of receiving benefits rather than burdens as a result of implemented public policies. Further media research should include "ideology" as a major variable, especially where the media tries to influence public opinion on controversial topic, such as higher education tuition, affordable health care, union power in the labor market, etc.

The overwhelmingly positive attitudes of Canadians – and Québecois in particular – toward Syrian refugees triggers the urge for the researcher to examine if citizens from other countries – where Syrian refugees started new lives – act as positively toward the refugees as Canadians do or if they act more negatively toward the refugees. Media stories in the United States – especially in the months before the upcoming presidential elections with Donald Trump as the Republican front runner – are not very promising for immigrants and refugees. Therefore, it would be interesting to apply this research to the US.

Public policies do not only benefit human beings, but can also advantage or disadvantage animals. With growing ethical laws to protect animals, insects, and plants, the researcher is interested to apply the theoretical frameworks of the Narrative Policy Framework and the Social Construction of Target Populations to fauna and flora populations.

While no significant statistical differences found in this dissertation research between traditional and new/social media sources, the researcher is anxious to add another dimension to media studies by examining "letters from readers/viewers to the editor" in traditional media sources and "electronic comments from readers/viewers on articles/videos" in new/social media sources in order to find significant differences between the two media types.

To conclude, this dissertation research as well as the suggested future research projects will add additional depth to academic media studies, will further clarify the role of the media as an influential social institution, and will provide insight into the crucial

and powerful role of the media in setting the social and political agenda and even in the

policy-making process.

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