

Depictions of Asylum Seekers in Canadian Media

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## Abstract

Media are often the principal way for citizens of a state to obtain knowledge about other individuals and to indirectly interact with them. Thus, this research seeks to determine how asylum seekers, who are often thought of as being welcomed in Canada due to the image the nation projects of itself, are depicted in Canadian printed media. This study focuses on the Tamil asylum seekers who arrived by sea in 2009, the Syrian refugees who were mainly flown in by the Canadian government in 2015, and the irregular asylum seekers who crossed the border between the United States and Canada in 2017. Newspaper articles published in the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, the *Vancouver Sun*, the *Toronto Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* were analyzed by using framing techniques based on Entman's (1993) concept of *frame*.

The findings demonstrate that different groups of asylum seekers are both depicted in similar and dissimilar manners. There is a tendency for them and their country of origin to be Othered and spoken of negatively. However, the way these asylum claimants arrive within the state's territory play a role in shaping the way they are represented in media. Should they arrive without prior authorization from the state, asylum seekers will generally be depicted as embodiments of the state's fear of losing control over its territory, its people, and its power to establish who is Us and who is Them.

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction of the Topic

Canada has a large population of foreign-born Canadians and of native-born individuals who self-identify as being a member of an ethnic minority (Government of Canada, 2018). The interethnic relations between these groups and those who are descended from those who are considered the “founding peoples” of Canada (with no regard for Indigenous peoples) largely French or British Whites, have been improving with time. In Canada, according to Parkin and Mendelsohn (2003), there has been no proof of systematic violent reactions against immigrants or ethnic minorities. In fact, immigration has also not led to a “deterioration in social cohesion” (Ferrer, Picot, & Riddell, 2014, p. 862): one of the fears greatly associated to immigration. First-generation immigrants and ethnic minorities have a tendency to become isolated economically and geographically (Kidd, 2016) for a variety of reasons, such as preferring to reside in areas where other members of their community already reside, or having difficulty finding accommodation elsewhere. However, as time goes by, they master the language, adapt to cultural differences and find better employment: all factors that increase their socioeconomic status and allow them to leave, if they choose, these ethnic communities (Apparicio, Leloup, & Rivet, 2007; Fong, Chiang, & Denton, 2013). This suggests that many individuals who are part of the dominant groups of Canada do not necessarily interact with these individuals on a regular basis. The media can therefore become the primary way to obtain representations of these Others. However, news articles are limited in the space available to describe situations and events, which forces journalists to write concisely. This means that they will often tend to use archetypes: simple representations of actors that are accorded to a whole group (Kidd, 2016). These are used in order to make it easier for the audience to identify who the actors are and what their role they play in the story being told.

In their essence, archetypes are not necessarily negative. However, in order to simplify the representations of individuals in a way that makes sense for the audience, they are often based on mainly negative stereotypes, especially when it comes to ethnic minorities. These negative representations in turn lead to “negative interpretations of [the] actions” (Kidd, 2016, p. 26) of ethnic minorities.

Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013) argue that these representations are justified by the dominant national group(s) by claiming that they protect “the ingroup from the ‘threats’ that immigrants and refugees are seen to pose” (p. 531). Huot et al. (2015) also state that “forced migrants are constructed in particular ways through discourses of neoliberalism and security.” (p. 133) In this context, this research will attempt to look into whether and how different groups of asylum seekers are represented as threats to Canada, and how discourses surrounding security are mobilized in order to justify these representations. More specifically, inspired by Macklin’s (2009) research, this thesis will examine how the sovereignty of the state, in other words, the control that a state has over its borders, can be a determining factor when it comes to how migrants are represented.

Thus, the research question that will guide this thesis will be: *How are media representations of Tamil, Syrian and irregular asylum seekers in Canadian newspapers linked to the control Canada has over its borders?*

## **1.2 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is composed of 10 chapters: introduction, literature review, theory, methodology, one chapter each for results obtained after coding the articles about Tamil asylum seekers, Syrian refugees, and asylum seekers, results obtained when comparing articles from each paper, discussion, and conclusion. While chapter 1 refers to the current chapter, chapter 2, the

literature review, is divided in five main sections: representation of migrants in media, the economic cost of migrants, the possible difficulties in integrating migrants, the ways migrants are linked to criminality, and the representations of refugeehood.

Chapter 3 offers a theory that possibly allows for the research question to be answered. First, it explores how migrants are constructed as undesirable or desirable depending on who they are. Second, the media, who distribute these depictions are examined and their agenda setting power is highlighted. Third, this is followed by presenting how sovereignty is linked to representations of migrants in media. Finally, this chapter explores how migrants are often depicted as folk devils, or carriers of risk.

Chapter 4, methodology, is comprised of two sections. First comes the constitution of the corpus, where the criteria used to select the articles for this research are outlined and explained. Second, the analytical approach where the technique used to analyze the articles will be presented.

Chapter 5 will present the results obtained during the coding process for the Tamil asylum seekers. First, the results obtained for the articles published in the Globe and Mail will be presented. Second, the results obtained for the articles published in the National Post. Third, the results obtained for the articles published in the Vancouver Sun. Fourth, the results obtained in all the papers will be compared and contrasted.

Chapter 6 will present the results obtained during the coding process for the Syrian refugees. First, the results obtained for the articles published in the Globe and Mail will be presented. Second, the results obtained for the articles published in the National Post. Third, the results obtained for the articles published in the Toronto Star. Fourth, the results obtained in all the papers will be compared and contrasted.

Chapter 7 will present the results obtained during the coding process for the irregular asylum seekers. First, the results obtained for the articles published in the Globe and Mail will be presented. Second, the results obtained for the articles published in the National Post. Third, the results obtained for the articles published in the Winnipeg Free Press. Fourth, the results obtained in all the papers will be compared and contrasted.

Chapter 8 will present how an overview of how each paper depicted the asylum seekers and refugees. First, the Globe and Mail representations will be presented. Second, the National Post representations. Third, the representations from the local papers, or the Vancouver Sun, the Toronto Star, and the Winnipeg Free Press.

Chapter 9, discussion, will be an analysis of the results obtained in chapter 5 through to chapter 8. This chapter is divided in six sections. The first section presents how asylum seekers are othered in Canadian newspapers, and the second section presents how other countries are also othered in Canadian newspapers. The third section deals with how asylum seekers are used in various ways as a form of nation-building. The fourth section is about how the articles used for this research depict the nation's power to choose who it wants to accept. The fifth section presents the local and national differences in the portrayals of asylum seekers and refugees. The sixth section of this chapter explores how asylum seekers and refugees, in Canadian newspapers, are depicted as folk devils, according to Cohen's criteria.

Chapter 10, the conclusion, summarizes the discussion points and presents the limitations, as well as the possible future researches that could be derived from this one.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Before reviewing the literature surrounding the representations of asylum seekers and refugees in the media, it is necessary to address two elements: the type of literature that is reviewed and the appropriate terminology that is used in this thesis. Firstly, while some authors have examined how asylum seekers and refugees have been represented in Canadian media, the breadth of this literature review will consider how other types of migrants, such as economic migrants, and ethnic minorities are depicted in the media. This will ultimately help to establish frames of representations that might apply to the Tamil asylum seeker, the Syrian refugees or the irregular asylum seekers. Not only that, but since there is only a small amount of Canadian literature pertaining to the media representations of immigrants, this thesis will also consider research originating from the United States and European countries. However, while this literature may be useful to identify possible frames of representations, there is also the possibility that these will not be found or applicable in the Canadian context: between each country, there are a variety of differences, such as the national models of integration (ex: multiculturalism), type of market economy (social versus liberal) or type of immigration society (settler versus ethnic) that interact with one another (Alba & Foner, 2014) in order to determine how migrants are integrated and thought of in various societies.

Secondly, it is necessary to discuss the terminology that has been used so far, and that will continue to be used to describe those who are crossing Canada's southern border. Because these individuals cross the border without the State's explicit permission, in many cases they are referred to as "illegal migrants" or "illegal asylum seekers". The use of "illegal" has been found to be a problematic way to describe migrants who do not immediately report their arrival to the relevant authorities. Rather than criminalizing the act of entering in the country without permission, this

terminology criminalizes the individual. However, as the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees points out, states (such as Canada) that are signatories of the convention cannot penalize refugees who enter illegally, “provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence.” (UNHCR, 1951, p. 29) This thesis will therefore continue to refer to individuals who cross the border without permission from the state as “irregular” migrants. By using “irregular” instead of “illegal”, the migrants themselves will not be criminalized or seen in a negative light from the beginning, but their untraditional way of arrival into the country will still be taken into account.

## **2.1 Representation of Migrants in Media**

When looking at how migrants are represented in media, one can notice that they are severely underrepresented (Christoph, 2012; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Henry & Tator, 2000; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011): as Mahtani says, “the lack of minorities in the Canadian media is the rule, rather than the exception” (2001, p. 102). Their lack of representation suggests that they are seen as being unimportant, non-existent and on the margins of media. Johnson-Cartee (2005) argues that journalists do this because they are afraid that by paying attention to marginalized groups, individuals who are a part of the dominant culture will feel alienated. The migrants’ position of marginality translates back to their position in society: they lack models that they can relate to, reinforcing feelings of rejection, devaluating their “role as citizens in their nations” (Mahtani, 2001, p. 102) and contributing to a feeling of otherness.

Sui & Paul (2017) have found that Latinos in the United States are largely underrepresented in television programs, television news as well as print news, but, when they are talked about, the same negative stereotypes appear time after time. In fact, most scholars agree that when talked about in the media, migrants and ethnic minorities tend to be represented in a negative manner or

associated with negative topics (e.g., Christoph, 2012; Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011; van Dijk, 2012; Vicsek, Keszi, & Markus, 2008). These negative representations can culminate in their dehumanization - the “ultimate form of intolerance of ‘otherness,’ in which immigrants and refugees are not even permitted entry into the human ingroup” (Esses et al., 2013). Marko tells us that this “language of ‘otherness’ is transformed into the language of ‘fear’” (2013, p. 202), which in turn only exacerbates the differences between “Us” and “Them”, or “Good” and “Bad” (Marko, 2013). These representations contribute to maintaining the Us versus Them divide, and place Canada and Canadians in a position of superiority over migrant and ethnic minorities (Gilbert, 2013; Henry & Tator, 2000).

It is also necessary to remember that media do not operate alone: they may decide how much information is given on a certain topic and how they frame them (M. E. McCombs & Shaw, 1972), but their messages often rely heavily on sources such as celebrities, experts or politicians (Spencer, 2014) who are “constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 177). When looking at the literature, it is possible to notice three main frames of representations for migrants in the media: (1) the economic burden they pose on society; (2) cultural differences that influence their integration; (3) and the threats they pose to society.

## **2.2 The Economic Cost of Migrants**

In many instances, migrants in Canada and across the world are depicted as being economic burdens and threats: they are said to steal jobs from Canadians and, in a variety of countries, are seen as a strain on the welfare system (Banks, 2012; Gemi, Ulasiuk, & Triandafyllidou, 2013; Horsti, 2016; Sui & Paul, 2017; van Dijk, 2012; Vicsek et al., 2008). When talked about in European media, migrants are seen as figures, costs or statistics that their host society must deal

with (Vicsek et al., 2008). Often, they are considered an “official matter” (Vicsek et al., 2008, p. 90) that politicians must deal with, mainly during election campaigns in order to sway or gain votes (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011).

Given that most migrants coming to Canada are economic migrants, it is no surprise that one fear reflected in the media is that they are going to “steal” jobs from Canadians and raise unemployment rates for “real” Canadians (Lawlor, 2015; van Dijk, 2012). For instance, Mexican asylum seekers in Canada, in 2007-2008, were depicted in newspapers as stealing jobs on two fronts: first, by coming to Canada for illegitimate reasons (such as claiming asylum) and taking jobs away from Canadian workers, and second, by blaming them for the relocation of more and more industries from Canada to other countries (such as Mexico) in order to cut costs (Gilbert, 2013). Greenberg's (2000) study of the representations of Chinese boat people in Canada found that the media was extremely doubtful of asylum seekers' claims, suggesting that they were actually economic migrants, attempting to obtain upward socioeconomic mobility rather than safety from persecution. In addition, their work is not seen as a contribution to the country, “but rather as a hindrance to continuing economic, social and political growth and development” (Greenberg, 2000, p. 529). Nevertheless, migrants are also often depicted as being naturally suited for menial labor, by having small, soft hands that are especially appropriate to handle tasks such as apple picking (Bauder, 2005). They are represented as being passive, yet highly productive workers, but they are still not seen as human beings. This dehumanization that they face then justifies, according to Bauder (2005), their exclusion from the community in which they work, their exploitation, as well as the need “to protect the community from the presence of foreign workers” (p. 51). All the while, Canada is portrayed as being the “superior place to work” (Bauder, 2005, p. 51), having better salaries and working conditions than the countries from which they

come from (Bauder, 2005).

These representations can occur even before migrants arrive in the country, but, as van Dijk (2012) points out, once they actually arrive in another country, discussions about migrants will tend to shift towards discussing the various social benefits they can receive as well as their integration. Not only are migrants shown to benefit financially from their employment in Canada, they are also portrayed as reaping (or wasting) social and health benefits that they do not deserve (Horsti, 2016; van Dijk, 2012). The state is already thought to be struggling to cope with demands for social assistance and the arrival of asylum seekers only causes “indelibly harmful impact[s]” (Greenberg, 2000, p. 529) on resources and welfare that should go to “real” Canadians who are struggling (van Dijk, 2012). Asylum claims occur at great cost to the host society, the narrative goes, and when the claims are found to be illegitimate, claimants are seen to be a burden on the system and wasting Canada’s resources (Huot et al., 2015; Rasinger, 2010; Vicsek et al., 2008): “Too many tax dollars are spent on asylum claimants who are not in need of protection” (Government of Canada, 2012, cited in Huot et al., 2015, p. 135). “Tab”, “overload” and “crunch” (Gilbert, 2013, p. 831) are often used in relation to asylum claims, and various social services are claimed to belong only to Canadians and not to individuals who are not yet a part of Us (Gilbert, 2013). This can be especially true for female claimants who arrive in Canada while pregnant (Krishnamurti, 2013). They are said to exploit the Canadian welfare system while using their child as an anchor, legitimizing and facilitating their claim to citizenship (Krishnamurti, 2013). Not only do these women need to be supported by the Canadian health care system, but their children “are also seen as a tax burden in regard to their claims on the health care, education and social services” (Krishnamurti, 2013, p. 151).

### 2.3 Difficulties in Integration

Christoph argues that media play a large part in the integration of immigrants: “this negative portrayal of migrants leads to a refusal of integration by the host society and to an inhibition of integration by minorities” (2012, p. 100). Often, by being racially and culturally different from the dominant group, their ability to properly integrate is questioned; although, on occasion, there are some articles that describe the problems that immigrants face, instead of the problems they cause for Us (van Dijk, 2012). According to Horsti (2016), the more migrants differ from the citizens of the country they arrive in, the less “deserving” of protection and help they are said to be, and the more they have to work in order to be accepted.

Bauder (2005) has found that economic migrants are discursively excluded from society because of the work they supposedly steal from Canadians. However, cultural and racial differences are also used by Americans to justify their lack of integration: the media argue that migrants will “bring an unwanted ideology and proselytize [...] the homogenous [...] public to the country’s detriment” (Rogerson, 2016, p. 853). In many cases, the media perpetuates stereotypes, portraying migrants or ethnic minorities as being particularly exotic or foreign, thus representing the whole group as threatening to the majority. The media also selects certain characteristics of these individuals, such as religion, and argue that it makes them integrate poorly into the dominant culture (Castles & Miller, 1998; Christoph, 2012). This is especially true for Muslims: stereotyped images of oppressed Muslim women, religious fanatics and honour killings (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011; Krishnamurti, 2013) and the notion that their culture is “primordial, static and regressive” (Castles & Miller, 1998, p. 37) are put forward by media and in the end, by being marginalized, migrants themselves feel as though they do not belong. As Trebbe & Schoenhagen (2011) put it, “the more foreign the people, the more negative their representation in the media”

(p. 424).

Due to these negative representations, not only is the host society less willing to assist in the integration of ethnic minorities, but they are less willing to put an effort into integrating themselves into mainstream society (Christoph, 2012; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). This in turn leads the “real” citizens of the country to perceive the strange or “un-Canadian habits” (Fleras & Kunz, 2001, p. 65; van Dijk, 2012) that migrants have kept from their country of origin, as well as their so-called refusal to learn the official language, as being a threat to the dominant culture and proof that their culture of origin is less advanced. As Castles and Miller (1998) put it: “Linguistic and cultural maintenance is taken as proof of inability to come to terms with an advanced industrial society” (p. 37). Nevertheless, local media in many European countries have been found to have much more positive representations of migrants than their national counterparts. Instead of considering them as bogus or cheating the system, they are seen as being part of the community, included and accepted, leading to better integration (Mangone & Pece, 2017; Vicsek, Kesz, & Markus, 2008).

## **2.4 Migrants and Criminality**

Much of the literature on migrants in the media focuses on how they are (or can be) linked to criminal activities (Banks, 2012; Huot et al., 2015; Krishnamurti, 2013; Sui & Paul, 2017; van Dijk, 2012; Vicsek et al., 2008). Individuals who arrive at the border in order to seek asylum, like Tamils, are often depicted in the media as being queue jumpers and that their sudden arrival will place them ahead of other (better) asylum seekers, who are waiting their turn to be processed: in this way, they are shown to be trying to beat the system, to benefit from resources and services that they are not entitled to (Krishnamurti, 2013). In many cases, these same media articles do not discuss the events that lead to individuals seeking asylum in Canada, especially since in some

countries, there is no armed conflict, but individuals still live in fear for various reasons and desire to seek asylum (Krishnamurti, 2013; Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017). Because of this, their claims, in the media, are dismissed as being illegitimate and untrue, and their way of arrival is “an insult to the integrity of Canadian citizenship” (Greenberg, 2000, p. 517). In addition, should they arrive in Canada by using smugglers at any point in their journey, they would also be depicted as “abusing the Canadian refugee system” (Huot et al., 2015, p. 136). The justification behind this is that “those who apply to come to Canada legitimately and play by the rules are not penalized by those who try to jump the queue” (Huot et al., 2015, p. 136). By using smugglers, Krishnamurti (2013) argues, asylum seekers are directly associated with criminals, and therefore represented as criminals themselves.

Asylum seekers are also overrepresented as criminals or terrorists in the media, either being the perpetrators of “criminal acts, or starring in events with dramatic implications” (Mangone & Pece, 2017, p. 105). If and when acts are committed by migrants, their nationality is almost always mentioned, while the same act, if committed by a non-immigrant remains largely ignored (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). Certain crimes, such as drug distribution or hold-ups, are therefore largely associated with foreigners, even though the majority are committed by citizens (van Dijk, 2012). However, asylum seekers can also be represented as being tied to crimes simply by the way they dress. Banks (2011) has found that asylum seekers in England who wear “hooded jacket[s] and visored beanie[s] are associated with street crime [and] anti-social behaviour” (p. 304), and should therefore be avoided. Some also argue that these representations are put forward in order for those in power (the state) to impose “measure[s] that effectively curtail the rights of these groups in entering or remaining within the nation” (Gilbert, 2013, p. 830). Media are also known to use a variety of metaphors, often used to describe ecological disasters, such as “wave” or “flood”, thus

associating migrants with an unpredictable and uncontrollable force that cannot be stopped (Rasinger, 2010). The number of migrants arriving is often discussed in media: it is used as another way to spread fear of these individuals, even “if only by quantity” (Gilbert, 2013, p. 831), by representing them as invaders who are overrepresented in certain situations, thus “leading the public to think that there are many more foreigners in the country than is actually the case” (Christoph, 2012, p. 100).

## **2.5 Media Representations of Refugeehood**

It is argued that media are also used in order to inform us on what a “real” asylum seeker or refugee looks like: they are victims (Bennett, Ter Wal, Lipiński, Fabiszak, & Krzyżanowski, 2013; Horsti, 2016), they are people who need help, who have poor living conditions and flee these conditions (Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017). It is consequently the responsibility of these asylum seekers to prove that they are really persecuted. They need to prove, objectify and quantify their fear in order for it to be recognized by the dominant groups and sanctioned by their host country’s legal system. In other words, they need to present themselves as being exemplary victims in order to not be confused with other types of migrants, such as economic migrants (Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017). Herlihy states that in many cases, since there is no physical evidence that refugee claimants have faced persecution, the decision to give out refugee status rests largely on “whether or not the claimant and their story are credible” (Herlihy et al, 2010, p. 352, cited in Watzlawik & de Luna, 2017, p. 247). There exists an imbalance of power between those who claim refugee status, and those who have the power to determine who is a legitimate refugee. Because of this, they must attempt to conform to the dominant society’s idea of what a refugee is in order to obtain their status, otherwise the legitimacy of their claim is questioned.

In summary, while migrants are underrepresented in the media, when they are discussed, they are often seen as being problematic. They are also seen as being threats to the nation by burdening existing systems (such as the welfare system), by bringing with them a different culture that threatens the dominant one and by being criminals or dangerous individuals. Additionally, if those arriving are refugees, or are claiming asylum, they are often depicted as being threats to the immigration system and it falls upon them to prove their claims, to prove they are victimized.

## CHAPTER 3 THEORY

This chapter will briefly present Canada's perspective on immigration, followed by how the media work and operate in order to set a certain agenda, that is to say, how it operates in order to put forward certain representations. This will be followed by an overview of the way states exert their power over migrants through sovereignty, and will discuss how the media represents migrants as folk devils and embodiments of risk.

### **3.1 Immigration to Canada: Desirables and Undesirables**

The literature review section has established that immigrants in Canada as well as in other countries are represented negatively and are constructed as undesirables who threaten communities across the world on an economic, cultural and personal level. However, these conceptions of migrants do not exist solely in the media: Canada's current immigration system also emphasizes that certain migrants are desirable, while others are less desirable. This contrasts with the country's official stance on immigration. As a settler society, Canada's image is one of a peaceful, tolerant and multicultural state that "has a proud history and tradition of welcoming immigrants" (Government of Canada, 2012), as exemplified by Prime Minister Trudeau's tweet: "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada" (Ljunggren & Mehler Paperny, 2017). This official stance is something that sets Canada apart from other western developed states (Ferrer et al., 2014). With an immigration system that is said to be one of the "fundamental building block[s] of the nation" (Sweetman & Warman, 2013, p. S141), Canada also describes itself as being "world leader in refugee resettlement" (Government of Canada, 2013), since 1 out of 10 resettled refugees worldwide are located in Canada, which is more than any other country in the world (Government of Canada, 2013). Despite this, the Canadian immigration system "tend[s] to emphasize economic

priorities while understating family reunification and humanitarian concerns” (Huot et al., 2015, p. 131).

The way we construct migrants as desirables and undesirables in public discourse also has real life implications. As Gilbert (2013) found, media representations of Mexican refugee claimants are directly responsible for changes in the visa requirements for individuals of Mexican origin, thus making it much more difficult to claim asylum. For the past decade, Canada has granted residence to around 250,000 individuals each year (Government of Canada, 2018a). Generally speaking, 60% of these individuals are economic migrants, 25% are sponsored by members of their family already residing in Canada, and 10% are resettled refugees, while the remaining 5% can include immigrants who were granted permanent resident status, but do not fall in the aforementioned categories (Government of Canada, 2018, 2019). Thus, access to the country is granted to those who are constructed as desirable, such as skilled economic migrants, over those who are constructed as “undesirable”, such as unskilled economic migrants, but also refugees and asylum seekers (Huot et al., 2015).

### **3.2 Agenda Setting Media**

These representations of individuals as desirable and others as undesirable often come from media. Media has the power to set a certain agenda, that is to say, that while an agenda is a series of issues that are determined to be of importance in a specific context,

agenda setting offers an explanation of why information about certain issues, and not other issues, is available to the public in a democracy; how public opinion is shaped; and why certain issues are addressed through policy actions while other issues are not. (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 2)

In other words, media, and the discourse that is presented through it, has the power to tell readers “what to think about and how to think about it.” (Greenberg, 2000, p. 521)

In order for media to be recognized and to function as powerful institutions, they must draw upon various institutional processes and must conform to certain practices. One of these practices is associating themselves with other institutions in order to obtain newsworthy information. In fact, news organizations are considered to be “all[ies] of legitimated institutions” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 4) who provide them with “persuasive and authoritative messages” (Spencer, 2014, p. xix). In other words, the news that is produced is “the product of a social institution, and it is embedded in relationships with other institutions” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 5). By referring to certain sources, the media serves to promote a certain agenda, reinforcing the values and ideals that must be adhered to, thus establishing and maintaining what it means to be a part of the nation, or a part of Us. For example, the media depend so much on governmental sources that it is possible to argue that stories are dependent on state interests. This is especially true in times of crisis, where the state attempts to control how audiences perceive certain events or topics “through a variety of means, from direct censorship through a whole spectrum of more subtle techniques, to ensure that a certain perspective dominates.” (Spencer, 2014, p. 10)

Scheufele (1999) proposes a model to explain how agenda setting functions by using framing as a method. Factors such as organizational pressures and restraints, ideologies, attitudes and professional norms of journalists interact with one another in order to form frames. These frames, when presented to the public, serve to set the agenda, to identify information that is salient, and to which the audience should pay attention. This leads to “individual effects of framing” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 117), where the frames that are presented influence the audience’s behavior, attitudes, and cognition. The final link that Scheufele (1999) establishes is to remind us that

journalists are also members of the audience: influenced by what they read, they themselves write about these topics and these frames. In most cases, the frames or stories that attract the most attention and appear the most tend to be based on the amount of conflict that appears in these stories: the more conflict or drama, the more stories are considered interesting and are likely to be published (Spencer, 2014). This means that articles that contain more negative themes, such as crimes or disasters, are published more often than those containing “good” news (Spencer, 2014).

However, scholars admit that there is a representation gap, in which there is a difference between the reality of a situation and how it is portrayed in the media, because “[r]epresentation is not the thing, the event, the phenomenon itself: it is an encoded interpretation of the thing, event, phenomenon.” (Spencer, 2014, p. 7) This is done in a way that seems natural, as a part of everyday life, while, in reality, it is the product of the nation’s culture and can take place through discourse.

While “discourse” colloquially refers to a spoken language, in the social sciences, its definition is not limited to this. Van Dijk suggests that those who analyze discourse understand that it typically refers to the way language is used, but they must go “beyond such common-sense definitions” (van Dijk, 1997, p. 2). For example, Henry and Tator define discourse as “a way of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster or formation of ideas, images, and practices that provide ways of talking about forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity, or institutional site in society” (2000, p. 26).

Van Dijk (1997) suggests that there are three dimensions that characterize discourse. First is the use of language, which can range from public speeches to ways of speaking. However, the first dimension is not limited to spoken words: written or printed language, such as newspaper articles, are also considered to be a way to use language. Second is the more functional aspect of discourse: the communication of ideas or beliefs or, in other words, the how, when and why of a

“communicative event” (van Dijk, 1997, p. 2). Third is an interaction in a social situation. Discourse is not simply used, but requires an interaction with either another person, such as a phone call or a lesson, or interaction with an object, such as reading the newspaper. And while the interaction in a social situation, the third dimension of discourse, may be more difficult to see by using language this way, there are still “many similarities between the ways people speak and write when using language to communicate their ideas, and the same is true for listening or reading to spoken and written discourse” (van Dijk, 1997, p. 3).

It is also necessary to note that the agenda that is communicated through media is not the same everywhere. While there is a tendency for media to “*agree in the number of, or the proportion of, news stories that they devote to a particular issue*” (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 90) since repetition is key to convey the importance of a topic (M. McCombs, 2004), location plays an important role in determining what is news and what readers want and will know about (Tuchman, 1978). This is because “reporters cannot write about occurrences hidden from view by their social location, that is, either their geographic location or social class.” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 23-24). Territory is therefore considered to be, according to Tuchman (1978), a factor employed to structure the news media. In addition, these different territories can also have distinct cultures, which play a role in what kind of agenda is set. For instance, Palmgreen and Clarke found that media tend to grant a higher importance to national issues, even at the local level, since local papers tend to have weaker agenda setting impacts (Protess & McCombs, 1991). As Woolley explains, these differences can be due to the fact that these local papers have a different audience and market than the national papers, thus leading to differences in representation (Woolley, 2000, cited in Layton Atkinson, Lovett, & Baumgartner, 2014). In other words, certain media put forward certain representations of migrants at the forefront. These representations create what Foucault refers to

*regimes of truth*, or “the acceptable formulation of problems and also solutions to those problems” (Stenson & Watt, 1999, p. 192). In these regimes, we are not concerned if the discourse that is presented is truthful or false, but rather on its effectiveness in organizing and maintaining power (Henry & Tator, 2000). These formulations make use of specific narratives, used to turn certain individuals or groups into problematic objects to which we must find a solution for (Stenson & Watt, 1999). These narratives that are put forward are based on a specific time’s, a specific place’s and a specific community’s ideology (Henry & Tator, 2000). This ideology refers to the mental frameworks which are employed to “make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works” (Hall, 1996, p. 26, cited in Henry & Tator, 2000, p. 20), by constituting a baseline that structures thought, determining a community’s attitudes, goals, ideals and interest, as well as how various systems of society, such as culture, politics or economy, are interpreted (Henry & Tator, 2000). However, these ideologies, though they are found in the media and through the discourse that is presented in them, do not exist solely in them. To be found in media, they must be a part of the “*repertoire* of frames that we dispose of in our culture to represent reality” (Van Gorp, 2005, p. 487).

Thus, different cultures will represent issues in different fashions: in the case of this research, local newspapers should represent immigrants differently than national newspapers. These local papers are found in different regions of the country and Elkins and Simeon (1980) argue that these different territories or regions are “a ‘small world’ within the wider context of Canada” (p. 2). These different worlds have cleavages and conflicts, as well as similarities, that are based on demographic factors, such as religion or national origin, psychological factors, such as attitudes and behaviour, and structural factors, such as the type of government (Elkins & Simeon, 1980; Schwartz, 1974). Thus, this suggests that national newspapers and local newspapers

in Canada may offer diverging representations of asylum seekers, especially when it come to the three aspects that emerged in the literature review: portrayals of migrants as an economic burden, as being difficult to integrate and as being threats to the nation. This thesis proposes that, in addition to these aspects, there may be differences in the way sovereignty and control over those who enter the state are depicted in various papers.

### **3.3 Sovereignty of the state**

Macklin (2009) proposes that sovereignty is closely linked to the way migrants are represented within the state. Ivan (2012) describes territory as being the “foundational basis of sovereignty” (p. 76), where the state can exercise its power. In fact, the power to decide who can enter the territory and who cannot is one of the founding elements of sovereignty (Macklin, 2009). According to Linklater (1998, cited in Ivan, 2012), the state is created based on the assumption that territory, sovereignty, nationality and citizenship must coincide. The creation of the state and the establishment of sovereignty over a specific territory occur in such a way that seems completely natural for the citizens, even though, in reality, states have been “historically constructed as an instrument of domination” (Ivan, 2012, p. 79) over others by deciding who is a part of a community or a nation. A territory’s borders are also physical and tangible markers that clearly define who is a part of Us and who is Them: Otherness is needed in order to construct the nation’s identity and to identify who has rights and who doesn’t (Ivan, 2012; Stilz, 2011).

In order to protect the state and consolidate it, those within it are known to perform collective acts of violence. Those who are not a part of the community make for the ideal victims, especially if they are from “[e]thnic and religious minorities [which] tend to polarize majorities against them” (Ivan, 2012, p. 83). These acts of violence can often manifest themselves as specific discourses or narratives against Others: depicting them as being untrustworthy individuals and

dangerous (Ivan, 2012). According to Macklin, these narratives often take the form of metaphors that serve to structure our thoughts and lead us to have biases toward certain things or phenomena. In fact, the metaphors used when talking about migration have been so effective that their metaphorical character (Macklin, 2009, p. 124) is no longer noticeable. Therefore, talking about desirable versus undesirable, citizen versus stranger, refugee versus immigrant, legal versus illegal, us versus them, good versus threat, etc., becomes natural.

Macklin (2009) informs us that there are two other concepts that follow this analogy: the autonomy or sovereignty of the state, and the autonomy of the migrant. In this case, autonomy of the migrant is still seen as being a threatening thing, depicting the migrants as invaders while attempts to cross the border and enter the territory are seen as encroaching onto the sovereignty of the state. In this case, the relationship between these actors is also reciprocal: states violate the autonomy of the migrants by excluding them, and migrants violate the sovereignty of the state by entering without authorization. However, in theory, refugees should be able to escape this analogy: they are forced to migrate, and states are forced to take them in due to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees; therefore, neither should encroach over the other. In reality, states still attempt to retain their sovereignty, especially when those seeking asylum were not given permission to enter the territory to begin with. Consequently, in order for the state to have some control over the situation, asylum seekers are vilified, portrayed as threats to national security, and discouraged from seeking asylum.

In short, individuals who arrive at the border without prior warning or who cross the border irregularly threaten the sovereignty of the state, which leads members of the nation to believe and act in a certain way that does not allow citizens of the nation to capitulate before asylum seekers who do not follow the state's rules (Macklin, 2009). Macklin (2009) tells us that this is what

determines how states and citizens exclude migrants: their representations are not determined by the type of migrant they are (i.e. economic or refugee), but rather, they are based on whether they had permission to enter the country or not. In retaliation, those within the state use the tools at its disposal, such as the media, to depict them as threats to the state and its sovereignty, while reinforcing the distinction between Us and Them, as well as discussing the need for more control over the border (Ivan, 2012).

### **3.4 Folk Devils and Risk**

Not only do media reinforce notions of sovereignty, but they also commonly set out to create panic surrounding the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in order to protect the State. They are able to convey this panic by representing these individuals as threats to society, thus constructing them as undesirables. Cohen's (1980) concept of a *Moral Panic* can help us understand the way that media create these panics or the idea that there are risks surrounding us. They are comprised of five elements: (1) concern or fear, about the threat; (2) hostility towards the actors, the embodiments of the concern or those responsible for it; (3) consensus that the threat exists and that something should be done about it; (4) the concern is disproportionately exaggerated; (5) the concern arrives and disappears suddenly (Cohen, 1980, p. xxvi-xxvii).

The state fears that if it cannot control its border and those who pass through it, then it cannot retain sovereign power over its territory. Migrants, especially those who arrive at the border or cross it without prior warning, therefore embody the state's fear: their crossing signifies that the state does not have full control or power over its own territory by not being able to limit or regulate their entry. The media, basing themselves on expert and politician testimonies, depict these border crossers in a negative way. These representations then lead asylum seekers and refugees to be considered as Folk Devils (Cohen, 1980), or the embodiments of society's fears and anxieties,

though they themselves are not the cause of this fear. They become a “stand-in, a constructed embodied representative of preexisting anxieties rooted deeply within the community” (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011, p. 642). In this way, risk and fear therefore become attached to migrant bodies (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011).

Through media discourse, risk, when attached to migrant bodies, becomes a part of everyday life. According to Ulrich Beck, we have moved away from a society organized around class to a society organized around risk, which could potentially be found anywhere: risks are the “dominant force in history and society” (Beck, 1992, p. 22) and have become “a *systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself*” (Beck, 1992, p. 21). In order to mitigate these hazards and insecurities, “promise[s] of security” (Beck, 1992, p. 20) must be offered by states or organizations in order to reassure the public, to turn these threats into more manageable risks. Blame, or risk of threat, is then placed onto asylum seekers or refugees in order for them to become an identifiable problem, for which the state can begin to form a solution (Esses et al., 2013).

In summary, media are powerful institutions who have the power to set the agenda, and to influence what audiences think about and how they think about it. Since governments are one of the main sources of information for the media, portrayals of migrants and refugees are therefore dependent on state interests. Additionally, these media representations can vary depending on the level they are published in (local or national) since these different locations will have, for example, different levels of government with different interests. These different governments attempt to exert and maintain their power over their territory by promoting negative representations of refugees in order to deter them from seeking asylum in Canada or settling into their regions. They may depict them as economic burdens, being difficult to integrate and as being threats, as

mentioned in the literature review. However, they can also be portrayed as being threats to the state itself, being folk devils, and/or sources of risk.

## CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the various methodological aspects pertaining to this thesis research will be presented. First comes a description of the constitution of this corpus, followed by the analytical approach used.

### 4.1 Constitution of the Corpus

The newspaper articles that constitute the corpus of this thesis were collected by using the *Canadian Major Dailies* database, which hosts articles from both regional and national papers in Canada from 1985 and onwards. Three different criteria were set in order to collect these articles and were comprised of five elements: (1) refugee group keywords, (2) national papers, (3) local paper, (4) beginning date of publication and (5) ending date of publication.

The refugee group keywords identified to select the articles had to be different for each group, since there are three different populations that are the topic of this thesis. However, there was also the need for these keywords to be similar, in order for comparable articles to be found through the database. Therefore, it was decided that these keywords would be basic descriptors of the refugee groups themselves, in order to obtain all relevant articles. “Tamil\*” and “Syrian\*” were used for the Tamil and Syrian refugees respectively. In the case of irregular asylum seekers, since they are not composed of a homogenous population, it was not possible to have a keyword that encompassed the entire group of individuals seeking asylum in Canada, as it was for the Tamils or Syrians. Choosing the appropriate terminology for this group was also a challenge, since many newspaper articles may label these individuals differently, such as describing them as being “illegal” or as committing “illegal” acts by crossing the border without the authorization from the Canadian government. However, as noted previously, this terminology can be problematic, and, if chosen as one of the keywords used to select this thesis’s articles, this choice may have an influence

on the topics as well as the tones of the articles. If, from the beginning of the research process, a negative or biased keyword were used to collect the articles, there would be the possibility that the articles themselves would also be negative or biased. For this reason, the keywords “asylum” and “border” were used simultaneously to select the articles: this allows for the selection of the corpus to not be limited to articles that contain negative language or ideas from the beginning, while also allowing for the possibility that the articles describe these individuals as “illegal border crossers”, for example.

The next two elements of the criteria were related to the newspaper publications from which the articles will be retrieved from. First of all, the same national newspapers, the Globe and Mail and the National Post, were selected for all three groups. Secondly, for each group, a local newspaper was also selected. By choosing to analyze two national papers and three local papers, this will allow me to determine if the ideas being put forward are dependent on the ‘national’ or ‘local’ status of the paper, rather than being determined by the political orientation of the paper, for example. These local papers are those that have the majority of their readership within the province they are located in, and were selected based on the location where the refugee groups first arrived. For the Tamils, since they arrived at the Canadian border in British Columbia, the local paper that will be compared to the national paper is the Vancouver Sun, which is also the most-read newspaper in British Columbia. Since the Syrian refugees first arrived in Toronto and since around 12% of those in Canada are also located in Toronto (Government of Canada, 2017), the chosen local paper for this group is the Toronto Star. As for the irregular asylum seekers, the local paper will be the Winnipeg Free Press, the most circulated paper in Manitoba, since, when asylum seekers were beginning to cross into Canada irregularly, they were entering through Emerson, Manitoba, located just south of Winnipeg.

Finally, the last two elements of the criteria that were established in order to collect newspaper articles through the *Canadian Major Dailies* database refer to the dates between which the articles must have been published. As with the refugee group keywords, these final elements also sought to be consistent for each group studied and it would have been impossible, in the context of this thesis, to analyze the entirety of the articles that met the aforementioned criteria. Therefore, all the articles used for this research were published up to one month following the first day these individuals arrived into Canada. This time period was determined in order to put the focus on the arrival of these asylum seekers itself. It is possible that, even before their arrival in the country, they might have been framed in a certain way, especially when considering that Canadian news on immigration seems to be “largely event driven; peaks of interest are reasonably short-lived, with framing dropping off considerably shortly after.” (Lawlor, 2015, p. 345). However, the focus of this thesis is on their arrival itself and what this means for the nation. This means that the select articles will have been inclusively published between October 17, 2009 (the day the *Ocean Lady* docked into Canada), and November 17, 2009, for the Tamil asylum seekers, and between December 10, 2015 (the day the first planeload of Syrians arrived in Toronto) and January 10, 2016, for the Syrian refugees. As for the articles concerning irregular asylum seekers, it is slightly more challenging to establish the date they first came into Canada. A quick search on Canadian Major Dailies makes it clear that before February 2017, there were only a handful of articles published concerning asylum seekers irregularly crossing the border from the United States (when using the keywords “border” and “asylum”). After February, the number of articles published on this subject rose dramatically. For this reason, I decided to look into articles that have been published between February 15, 2017, and March 15, 2017.

All the articles that matched these criteria were collected no matter the type of article they were. For example, even though opinion pieces are often seen as being less reliable sources of information “on the basis that [opinion articles] are not bound by the conventional journalistic standards of objectivity, fairness and balance” (Hier & Greenberg, 2002, p. 495, cited in Bradimore & Bauder, 2011, p. 645). The way these articles are structured make it as though the author is addressing the reader directly and the fact that they are not bound by these journalistic conventions, yet are still published in reputable newspapers, can allow authors to be more at liberty to express their opinions or feelings about a situation and can therefore be more revealing and interesting for this thesis.

Table 1 presents the criteria for each group of refugees, while Table 2 illustrates how many articles were found and collected when using these sets of criteria.

Table 1  
*Criteria to find the articles*

Group	Keywords	National papers	Local paper	Beginning date	Ending date
Tamil	Tamil*	Globe and Mail, and National Post	Vancouver Sun	2009/10/17	2009/11/17
Syrian	Syrian*	Globe and Mail, and National Post	Toronto Star	2015/12/10	2016/01/10
Irregular asylum seeker	“asylum” and “border”	Globe and Mail, and National Post	Winnipeg Free Press	2017/02/15	2017/03/17

Table 2  
*Number of articles collected using the specified sets of criteria*

Number of articles	Group of asylum seekers or refugees		
	Tamils	Syrians	Irregular asylum seekers
Number of articles from the local newspaper	19	110	40
Number of articles from the National Post	23	84	16
Number of articles from the Globe and Mail	25	94	30
Total number of articles	67	288	86

Given that there were considerably more articles about Syrian refugees than Tamil or irregular asylum seekers, only half of all the articles about Syrians were analyzed in order to make the number of articles more comparable. In order to select those used for analysis, the articles were organized based on the publication date, and every second article was selected and kept. In addition, some articles were also removed from the corpus during the coding process, for various reasons. If duplicates appeared within the same paper, only one was retained, or if articles did not pertain to the various asylum groups in Canada or if there was less than one sentence discussing these groups, they were not taken into account for the analysis. For example, around the same time that Tamil asylum seekers arrived in Canada, others made their way to Australia. This thesis is only concerned with those who come to Canada. When taking these additional criteria into account, the total corpus for this research is composed of 174 newspaper articles (see Table 3).

Table 3  
*Number of articles collected*

Number of articles	Group of asylum seekers or refugees		
	Tamils	Syrians	Irregular asylum seekers
Number of articles in the local paper	10	23	34
Number of articles in the National Post	12	22	11
Number of articles in the Globe and Mail	25	21	16
Total number of articles	47	66	61

#### **4.2 Analytical Approach**

These articles, once collected, were then analyzed using framing techniques in order to analyze the discourse that is presented in them. While identifying these frames has become the focus of many studies in a variety of fields of study, such as communication or media studies, there is no single author or technique attached to it, or its creation (Van Gorp, 2005). Therefore, a variety of definitions exist and are employed to describe exactly what frames and framing are (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016; Jorg Matthes, 2009): from being an “inventory of schemata for structuring, classifying, and interpreting experiences” (Fillmore, 1976, p. 25) to a being a tool used by individuals to organize and interpret their daily experiences (Goffman, 1974, cited in Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016), or being used by media as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143, cited in Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016, p. 5). In other words, they do not tell the readers what to think, but rather tell them “what to think about and how to think about it.”

(Greenberg, 2000, p. 521) For this thesis, the definition of frame that will be used is provided by Entman, who states that

To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

In this case, these frames, according to Matthes & Kohring (2008) are composed of several separate, but related, elements that emerge while coding texts. These elements, when seen “together systematically in a specific way, [...] form a pattern that can be identified across several texts in a sample” (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 263). However, as Van Gorp (2010) reminds us, we cannot forget about the context behind these frames. That is to say, it is necessary to take into account the fact that journalists carry with them various cultural notions and use these to structure how they will frame issues. Additionally, the frames must be taken within the context of the whole article, otherwise they would be unrecognizable, “mere happenings of mere talk, incomprehensible sounds” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 192).

Not only does framing have multiple definitions, but, because it can be used for a variety of subjects and fields, there also exists multiple methods to determine these frames. Matthes and Kohring (2008) provide a comprehensive review of different studies regarding the identification of frames, and distinguish five main methodological approaches: the hermeneutic approach, the linguistic approach, the manual holistic approach, the computer assisted approach and the deductive approach. The two approaches that will be used for this thesis are the deductive and the manual holistic approaches. When using the deductive approach, frames are “deriv[ed] [...] from the literature and code[d] [...] in standard content analysis” (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 262).

The difficulty with this approach is that although it is necessary to know the frames beforehand, they might not end up suiting the particular topic that is being studied. It is also quite difficult to identify new frames with this approach (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). In the manual holistic approach, some texts are selected from the corpus and are coded, thus generating frames. After that, the rest of the corpus is analyzed by using these working frames. The validity of this approach is often questioned, since it can be unclear how these frames emerged (Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

In order to make up for the shortcomings of each of these approaches and to have a better understanding of the situation at hand, this thesis will combine both of them. The literature review of this thesis has served to identify the necessary themes for the deductive approach: migrants in the media are framed as being economic costs, difficult to integrate and linked to criminality. These elements make up Section 3 of the coding scheme that was created in order to code all the articles in a consistent manner (See Appendix A for the full coding scheme). This was followed by using the manual holistic approach to pre-code 10% of all articles without any preconceived notions in order to generate some frames that may not have yet emerged in the literature review. This coding method did not reveal frames that had yet to be identified in the literature. However, it was useful in order to put together a coding scheme, in order to analyze the rest of the articles for this thesis.

This coding scheme was constructed in order to make it possible to answer this thesis's research question: *How are media representations of Tamil, Syrian and irregular asylum seekers in Canadian newspapers linked to the control Canada has over its borders?* Based on the representations that emerged in the literature review, this coding scheme seeks to determine if Tamils, Syrians and irregular asylum seekers are framed similarly to other types of migrants in the literature. The coding scheme also looks into if the sovereignty of the state mentioned and what is said about the border to determine if journalists pose the fear of losing sovereign power as being a

particular problem or as being related to the arrival of these asylum seekers. Doing this will allow me to determine if the journalists selected certain aspects of reality that I am interested in analyzing and made them salient in their articles.

## CHAPTER 5 RESULTS: TAMIL ASYLUM SEEKERS

The five following chapters of this thesis will be concerned with presenting and discussing the results obtained from the analysis of the articles as coded. This coding, based on the coding scheme found in Appendix A, seeks to establish two things. First, if the groups of asylum seekers chosen for this research are depicted in Canadian newsprint media similarly or differently to other migrants, that is to say as economic burdens, difficult to integrate or threats to society. Second, it seeks to establish if the asylum seekers' depictions are connected to sovereignty and the control the state<sup>1</sup> can exert over those who seek to enter its territory.

The first chapter presenting the results, about the Tamil asylum seekers, will begin presenting both elements of context surrounding the arrival of these individuals, and the ways they have been previously depicted in news media. This will be followed by presenting the results obtained for each newspaper as well as a comparison of each newspaper's results. The next two chapters, on Syrian refugees and irregular asylum seekers respectively, will be structured in the same manner. The fourth chapter will present similarities and differences in the representations of the groups and discuss the overall ways the different papers (local and national) portray these issues.

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<sup>1</sup> "Nation", or "state" are often used interchangeably though there exist some differences between each term. First, in this research, the term "nation" will be employed and will be defined as, using Wimmer's (2002) definition, an imagined political community based on a common origin and history. It is a "social, economic, political and cultural unit" (Wimmer, 2002, p. 53), defined by borders which distinguish "us" from "them". Additionally, again according to Wimmer (2002), "[e]ach nation requires its own state to defend the interests of those who are both equal and alike against any outside interference, thus preserving the nation as a distinct political community." (p. 54) However, it is considered to be "imagined", according to Anderson (2006) as most individuals who are members of "us" will never interact with each other, yet they are still seen to be part of the group or the community. Second, when using the term "state" this research will refer to Weber's definition: "A compulsory political organization with continuous operations will be called a 'state' in so far as its administrative staff successfully upholds the claims to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order" (Weber, 1978, pp. 55-56, cited in Pierson, 2012, p. 6).

## 5.1 Introduction

A few elements of context must be presented before analyzing the representations of the select groups of asylum seekers, in order to better understand how these representations emerged. It is necessary to present these elements because media frames are created by specific historical, social and political contexts (Van Gorp, 2005): they “depend on contexted experiences; that is, the contexts within which we have experienced the objects, properties or feelings that provide the perceptual or experiential base of our knowledge” (Fillmore, 1976, p. 24).

First, let us take note of some contextual elements necessary to better understand the media representations of Tamil asylum seekers. In 2009, 76 individuals boarded the MV *Ocean Lady* and made their way towards Canada, where they arrived on October 17. The ship was intercepted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) off the coast of British Columbia, after it crossed into Canadian waters, and the passengers later disembarked and were taken into custody (P. Fong, 2009). Once in Canada, these individuals claimed asylum and based their claim on the escalating violence between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan government (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011).

The Sri Lankan civil war began in 1983, and is the longest war to have ever occurred in South Asia. Nadarajah and Sriskandarajah (2005) identify two main frameworks from which this conflict has been justified. In the first framework, the LTTE argues that this conflict is a result of the long-standing institutionalized racism and violence that the Tamil people have faced at the hands of the government. In this scenario, the LTTE are freedom fighters, struggling to obtain the right to self-determination and liberty of its people. They were a well-organized group that had successfully established and maintained a civil administration structure in the areas it control[led], including a police force, justice system and a humanitarian assistance arm. It

operate[d] a taxation system, both in the territory under its control and in government-held areas, and a customs regime at ‘borders’ on the frontlines (Nadarajah & Sriskandarajah, 2005, p. 89).

The second framework is from the point of view of the Sri Lankan government. According to it, the LTTE is a violent terrorist organization that threatens the “authority, unity and territorial integrity” (Nadarajah & Sriskandarajah, 2005, p. 88) of the government. By identifying the LTTE as a terrorist organization, the Sri Lankan government managed to delegitimize Tamil political independence, elicit sympathy from the Sinhala – the dominant ethnic group - towards the government and its actions, as well as evoke sympathy from the international community (Nadarajah & Sriskandarajah, 2005). At the end of the civil war, most Western countries, including Canada, as well as neighbouring countries had recognized the LTTE as being a terrorist organization. The war had caused 80,000 to 100,000 deaths, the internal displacement of approximately 660,000 Sri Lankans and had produced over its 26 years over a million refugees (Ashutosh, 2013; Sriskandarajah, 2008)

Canada, though it had largely attempted to remain out of the conflict itself, did put in place special immigration provisions to facilitate their access to refugee status and to make it easier for Tamil refugees to sponsor family once landed. This therefore linked Canada inextricably to this population: 250,000 to 300,000 Sri Lankan Tamils now reside in Canada, the majority of them in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), making it the largest concentration of Sri Lankan Tamils outside of Sri Lanka (Ashutosh, 2013; Sriskandarajah, 2008).

After the Sri Lankan government withdrew from the ceasefire agreement in January 2008, the conflict became even more violent, causing more individuals to flee (such as those who boarded the MV *Ocean Lady*), as well as public outcry from the Tamils residing in Canada. However, their

protests to assist in the effort to end the war and to recognize the Tamil’s right to self-determination were seen by the public, the media, and the political bodies to be a threat to national security. By manifesting publicly, Tamils were highly associated to terrorism in the media. According to Sriskandarajah, “Tigers were viewed as terrorists, all Tamils were seen as or supporters of the Tigers, and therefore all Tamils were seen as terrorists” (2008, p. 181). Their protests were seen to be anti-Canadian or to be tactics used to hold the true Canadians “hostage” (Eisan, 2009, A17, cited in Sriskandarajah, 2008, p. 181).

## 5.2 Results Obtained

In total, 41 articles were used for this analysis: 19 from the *Globe and Mail*, 12 from the *National Post*, and 10 from the *Vancouver Sun*. Figure 1 illustrates how these articles were spread out within the collection period, with almost three quarters published within two weeks of their arrival in Canada. Table 4 also presents the distribution of the types of articles published by each paper.

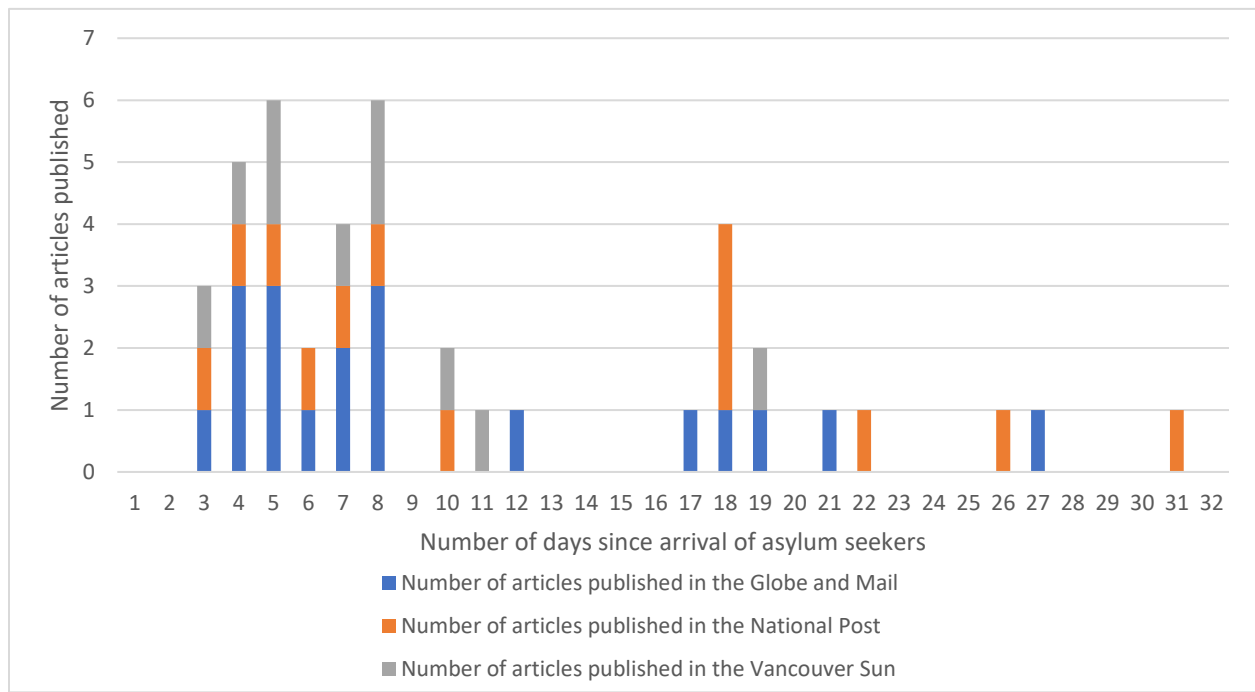


Figure 1. Distribution of articles on Tamil asylum seekers.

Table 4

*Type of article published by each newspaper on Tamil asylum seekers*

Type of article	Newspaper		
	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	<i>National Post</i>	<i>Vancouver Sun</i>
Editorial	16 <sup>2</sup>	0	10
Letter to the editor	10	33	10
News	74	59	70
Opinion <sup>3</sup>	0	8	10

The articles found in the *Globe and Mail* tended to be quite negative. They had a tendency to focus on how Tamil asylum seekers were unknown and dangerous, as well as how they were possible terrorists. Additionally, though the state was shown in the articles to supposedly be able to control who had a right to enter the state's territory, the asylum seekers were often shown as disregarding the laws and policies in place. In a similar vein, the articles found in the *National Post* also depicted the Tamil asylum seekers as potential dangers. Their arrival into Canada was also shown to undermine the current immigration system and immigration policies in place. As for the *Vancouver Sun* articles, it once again depicted the asylum seekers as threats, but also as legitimate victims of the conflict who should be helped.

### 5.2.1 The *Globe and Mail*.

Table 5

*Coding results on the representations of Tamil asylum seekers in the *Globe and Mail**

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	11	58	21	11
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	32	68		
Is their integration mentioned?	63	37		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	74	26		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	74	26		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	47	53		
Is there a sense of panic?	42	58		

<sup>2</sup> The tables found in the following chapters represent the results by the analysis of the articles as coded. Unless specified, all results are percentages and have been rounded up to the nearest whole number.

<sup>3</sup> The categories "Column", "Commentary", and "Opinion", given their similarities to each other have been grouped together under the "Opinion" category. The category "Crime" was also grouped with the "News" category.

As seen in Table 4 shown above, the majority of the articles published in the *Globe and Mail* are news articles. In addition, most of these were also written by one of two journalists: Jill Mahoney and Jane Armstrong. This suggests that there was the possibility that, if these authors held certain ideas about the asylum seekers, they would have appeared more frequently since these authors wrote the majority of the articles. The vast majority of these articles depicted Tamils in a negative manner and revolved largely around two topics<sup>4</sup>. The first topic being issues concerning security surrounding their arrival since the Sri Lankan war had prompted “an exodus of migrants – and militants” (T.GM.9)<sup>56</sup>, and the second being about the legitimacy of their claim to asylum, or rather the illegitimacy of their claim. Bandula Jayasekara, the consul general in Toronto, cited in article T.GM.5, argued that if Canada was willing to allow these illegitimate asylum seekers to claim asylum, “others [would] follow”.

However, the negative representations of Tamils were not limited to these two topics. In fact, although there were only three articles that discussed the economic cost of these asylum seekers, they were all depicted in the same manner. That is to say, they were represented as being

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<sup>4</sup> As a reminder, when referring to positive, negative, neutral or mixed articles tones, this refers to how the content of the articles depicted the asylum seekers.

<sup>5</sup> When referencing the articles in the following analysis sections, a Reference Code will be used in order to easily identify the source and the surrounding context, in a way that simply using the author’s name would not permit. All Reference Codes are composed of the three following elements: (1) Group identifier: Tamil (T), Syrian (S), or irregular asylum seeker (I); (2) Newspaper: Globe and Mail (GM), National Post (NP), Vancouver Sun (VS), Toronto Star (TS), or Winnipeg Free Press (WP); (3) Order of publication. For example, an article with the reference code T.GM.6 would reference an article published about the Tamil asylum seekers in the Globe and Mail. This article is the sixth article published, as of the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 2009 (the beginning date of publication for the articles found for the Tamils). Table 16, found in Appendix B, lists all the Reference Codes and the articles to which they refer.

<sup>6</sup> In the presentation of the results and in the analysis, news and editorial articles, which have a tendency to be more objective, and letters to the editor and opinion pieces, which tend to be more subjective, will be differentiated in the following manner. First, all articles cited will bear the Reference Code, as established in the previous footnote. Second, all news or editorial articles will be referred to only by the article’s Reference Code. This is because, in theory these types of articles should be, no matter who wrote them, relatively similar since they are based on events or facts. Third, all letters to the editor or opinion pieces will be cited with the Reference Code, and the author of the article will be named. This is because, since the articles present the author’s opinion rather than factual events, the content can significantly differ, depending on the author.

burdens to Canada, because they were “gobbl[ng] border officials’ time and money” (T.GM.10) with their illegitimate claims. As well, the fact that they allegedly paid \$45,000 to be smuggled in suggested that they would now be impoverished and need to be supported (T.GM.7). Interestingly, these same articles were also among the rare articles that did not acknowledge the fact that most of the asylum seekers had friends or family in the country who could support them financially, which would contradict the idea that they arrived “penniless and homeless” (T.GM.7).

Article T.GM.8 also stated that these same family members would be the ones to “supervise them if they [were] released from detention”. This is because most of the articles, as mentioned previously, represented the Tamil asylum seekers as being security concerns. The *Globe and Mail*’s depictions of Tamils as threats could be grouped in two types: first, they were unknown and dangerous strangers, and second, they could be (or were) Tamil Tigers in disguise. Not only was the vessel they arrived in was portrayed as being mysterious and unknown, but the migrants themselves were also portrayed as dangerous (T.GM.9). The asylum seekers were said to be potential carriers of diseases. In fact, the navy crew that intercepted the ship was equipped with “guns, armour and hand sanitizer to ward off H1N1 flu” (T.GM.14). Additionally, at the time of writing the articles, “their identities hadn’t been confirmed” (T.GM.15) and they were being “held until their identities [were] verified” (T.GM.17) since they were “deemed flight risks” (T.GM.8). As one *Globe and Mail* article put it, if we did not know who they were, we do not know what their intentions were either:

But their choice of putting themselves into the hands of "people smugglers" who may have planned to put them on the shores of Canada surreptitiously, so they might be able to disappear into the general population as illegal immigrants, does invite questions about their good faith. (T.GM.13)

This idea was further reiterated by portraying them as terrorists. Since one of the men aboard this ship was the subject of an Interpol notice against him for being “a key player in a Tamil Tiger network that transported weapons from North Korea to Sri Lanka” (T.GM.19), the remainder of the asylum seekers were also seen as possibly having “ties to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, viewed by Canada as a terrorist group” (T.GM.17). A few of the articles published in this paper also insisted on the fact that these individuals should be returned to their country of origin because of these security issues and because of the fear that the Tigers would use Canada as a place to regroup: “Canada should not be a home for war criminals, and cannot be a sanctuary from which a terror group can conduct fundraising and re-constitute its leadership” (T.GM.16). This is echoed in another article, by quoting Rohan Gunaratna, head of a terrorism think tank at Nanyang University:

They see Canada as a place where they can do that. There has been a tradition in Canada of being soft on terrorism. There is no better place for Tamil Tigers to reconstitute than in Canada. They chose Canada as their destination. (T.GM.19)

However, the articles also pointed out that just because the asylum seekers chose Canada as their destination, it did not mean that they would be allowed entry into the country. This is because the state was the one with the authority to determine who was allowed to enter and obtain legal status. Thus, most articles insisted on the fact that the Tamils’ claims were not legitimate and that it was the role of government authorities, such as the Canada Border Services Agency, to “sort out the legitimate refugees” (T.GM.9) from those who would try to take advantage of the state with false claims. In other words, “Canada should accept genuine victims of persecution, under the criteria of the UN Convention, but not economic immigrants who try to evade Canadian immigration processes and policies” (T.GM.4). Furthermore, Tamils were represented as

threatening “the integrity of Canadian immigration and refugee policy” (T.GM.13). In response to their arrival, the state was shown to need to harden immigration policies in order to stop them from arriving into the country, often by quoting then Immigration Minister Jason Kenney who stated that the “welcome mat” (T.GM.2) needed to be pulled back and “we need to do a much better job of shutting the back door of immigration for those who seek to abuse that asylum system.” (T.GM.15) This idea of using the back door to enter the country was portrayed in a few articles. They depicted this as being a way to take advantage of the system, or of a status that did not apply to them.

In about half the articles, the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers was also seen as losing control over the immigration system. It was not seen as functioning properly according to some articles, since these individuals were arriving and taking advantage of the state’s resources even though they did not arrive in a regular manner. It should thus be reformed in order to retain power over who can enter and who cannot. Additionally, many articles referred to the possibility of more Tamils coming to Canada in order to demonstrate the fact that the state, more specifically the state’s current immigration system, could not control these asylum seekers. For example, Geringas made this extremely clear by claiming that “[w]e can't control who comes in” (T.GM.6). He argued that allowing these Tamils to claim refugee status would incite others to do the same and Canada would end up with many more “little rusty boats full of desperate people [that would] continue to land on [its] shores.” (T.GM.6) Additionally, the articles that proposed that there was loss of control over the state also had a tendency to present the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers as being panic inducing for Canada’s citizens. Article T.GM.9 argued that their arrival suggested that “Sri Lanka's 30-year bloody conflict hasn't ended so much as moved offshore.” Thus, Canada could become the next battlefield of the conflict, where Tamil Tigers could regroup and commit more

acts of terrorism. By using smugglers, they can enter “surreptitiously” (T.GM.13) and disappear to commit these acts, without the government knowing or being able to control them.

### 5.2.2 The *National Post*.

Table 6

*Coding results on the representations of Tamil asylum seekers in the National Post*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	0	67	25	8
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	17	83		
Is their integration mentioned?	25	75		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	67	33		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	42	58		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	0	100		
Is there a sense of panic?	17	83		

In the *National Post*, most articles were written by one journalist: Stewart Bell. While there was no dominant theme in these articles, the most common one consisted of discussing the illegitimacy of the asylum seekers’ claims, such as Collacott, who stated in his article that “the recent boat arrivals [would] have a hard time proving they [were] members of a persecuted minority in Sri Lanka” (T.NP.12). Most of the articles were published in the “Crime” section of the newspaper, thus setting the tone for their representations, which was overwhelmingly negative. In fact, the *National Post* did not offer any positive toned articles. Only one article represented Tamil asylum seekers negatively when it came to the burden they pose on Canadian society; Tarplett asked “[w]hatever possessed the federal government to even consider allowing the Ocean Lady to enter Canadian waters, as we know full well the interminable and costly problems this would cause to an already overburdened refugee process?” (T.NP.6). The *National Post* journalists’ negative articles rather focused on portraying Tamils as threats in one of three ways.

First, they were unknown strangers, and Canadian officials had to “investigate the identity and backgrounds of the men” (T.NP.3) by using “fingerprints and other methods to establish their identities” (T.NP.4) of the men aboard the ship. The ship itself was also portrayed as being a

“mystery ship” (T.NP.5) with unknown origins. Second, those aboard the ship were potential Tamil Tigers, either because they used smugglers, and, according to Tarplett, this “great deal of money (\$45,000) to ‘charter a place’ on this boat, [...] raise[d] suspicions that they [were] linked to the Tamil Tigers” (T.NP.6), or because most of them were young males. As Hansen established, “[s]uch a profile, however, just happened to be identical with that of male Tamil Tiger guerrillas” (T.NP.9). They were also associated with Tamil asylum seekers who “threatened to cause an explosion if they were not immediately resettled in Australia or another country” (T.NP.2). Third, the asylum seekers were shown to threaten the state. Various articles mentioned that Canada was no place for “terrorists, thugs, snakeheads and other violent foreign criminals” (T.NP.5) and that these asylum seekers were attempting to undermine the immigration system by arriving unannounced at the border, that is to say, by “jump[ing] the queue” (T.NP.5). Collacott also argued that there is also the fear that these asylum seekers, or these Tamil Tigers in disguise, were simply coming to Canada in order to regroup, to regain their forces, “with the intention of making Canada the base for their separatist movement and a future insurgency in the wake of their military defeat in Sri Lanka” (T.NP.9).

Though there is this fear that Tamil asylum seekers could arrive in order to regroup, the *National Post* did not argue that there should be increased control over those who arrive. Very few articles discussed the state’s sovereign power over its territory. Of the articles that did mention it, they specified that the migrants must submit to Canadian law, such as the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (T.NP.1), and that though “it’s very hard for us to sit here and stop” (T.NP.3), Canada would not allow the creation of a “two-tier immigration system” (T.NP.4).

While the articles for this paper were not putting forward as much of a sense of panic as the *Globe and Mail*, the tone of panic that was created was quite different. While the majority of

articles published in the *Globe and Mail* mentioned the fact that most of the 76 asylum seekers aboard the *MV Ocean Lady* had family members waiting for them in Canada that could host and support them, this was largely ignored by the *National Post* articles. In fact, the *National Post* used the fact that there is a large community of Tamils in Toronto in order to create a sense of fear, by insinuating that they could be Tigers in disguise: “Canada is ‘one of the few places in the world where LTTE terrorists and supporters might seek to hide in plain sight, and potentially launch terrorist operations’” (T.NP.8). Some journalists, such as Collacott, also presented in their articles that the arrival of these asylum seekers thus served the purpose of “strengthening the ranks of their supporters in this country.” (T.NP.9) In addition, the focus of these articles was placed on how their arrival threatened the state as well as society’s order, as we know it:

The result of our largesse in making it so easy for terrorists and their supporters to get into Canada through the refugee system was to be seen in their ability to mobilize large numbers of people to block traffic in Toronto and Ottawa earlier this year in the hopes of getting Canada to pressure the Sri Lankan government into a ceasefire that might have saved Tamil Tiger forces from complete oblivion. (T.NP.9)

### 5.2.3 The *Vancouver Sun*.

Table 7

*Coding results on the representations of Tamil asylum seekers in the Vancouver Sun*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	20	20	20	40
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	10	90		
Is their integration mentioned?	40	60		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	80	20		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	40	60		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	30	70		
Is there a sense of panic?	30	70		

The *Vancouver Sun*, contrary to the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, did not emphasize the illegitimacy of their asylum claim, and rather focused on issues of security. In some articles, the asylum seekers were clearly presented as threats by saying that “[t]here [was] a security question” (T.VS.3) related to their arrival, while other journalists insisted that “it was too soon to conclude whether any of those who arrived aboard the ship posed a threat to Canada” (T.VS.10).

The articles published in this paper did not portray the asylum seekers as a burden or as difficult to integrate as a major issue. That is to say, there were no articles that discussed how they were a burden to the community or the state. There were also very few articles that mentioned that they had friends or family that could help to support them or help them adapt to the country. In fact, around three quarters of the articles in the *Vancouver Sun* focused on the fact that these individuals are criminals or threats, by representing them as unknown individuals. Some articles stated that “the CBSA [did] not know what documents they have or where the boat originated” (T.VS.4) while others stated that the asylum seekers “arrived with either fraudulent documentation or none at all” (T.VS.5). Since their identities were unknown, their intentions were unknown as well. Article T.VS.3 asked the reader: “Are they simply Tamil Tiger supporters or actual Tamil Tiger fighters who are fleeing so the authorities won't prosecute them?” Though they were represented as being threats in many cases, they were still shown to be victims of the Sri Lankan civil war: “[t]hese are legitimate refugees fleeing persecution and they deserve due process and the regular refugee application procedure.” (T.VS.7) In addition, contrary to what one would expect given this, the articles published in the *Vancouver Sun* were generally much more positive than those in the national papers, describing the asylum seekers as “polite, well-groomed young men” (T.VS.9) and acknowledging that “in Canada, the rhetoric of terrorism [was] now being used

to sweep a broad brush over everybody in a group which the dominant population considers undesirable and inferior” (T.VS.7).

In this paper, Canada’s sovereign power over those in its territory was described in a much vaguer way than in the other papers. For example, some articles expressed that the asylum seekers were disregarding the immigration system by not going through the proper channels (T.VS.3; T.VS.10). Sahota added to this by stating that “our visa officers have to be very vigilant to make sure that those who are coming to Canada do so legally.’ Our government frowns on people attempting to buy their way into Canada and throws them in jail.” (T.VS.8) These articles thus suggested that government officials were the ones with the power to determine if individuals, in this case Tamil asylum seekers, had legitimate claims and should be allowed to stay in the territory. In fact, their method of arrival, that is by being smuggled, was shown in a few articles published in the *Vancouver Sun* to be uncontrollable, and it was “something Canada and other countries must try to combat.” (T.VS.6) Their illegal or irregular arrival also highlighted that the current immigration system did not allow for the state to have total control over others and should be revamped.

#### **5.2.4 Overall Representations and Comparison**

When it came to the Tamil’s representations and the differences or similarities that existed at the national (i.e. in the *Globe and Mail* or *National Post*) or at the local level (i.e. in the *Vancouver Sun*), here are a few of the key points. First, almost all the articles were published during the three weeks after their arrival in the country, and while the majority of the national articles were written by a few select journalists, the *Vancouver Sun* was the only paper that had numerous authors publishing articles about these asylum seekers. The composition of the articles (i.e. whether they were news, or letters to the editor, or other) did not vary greatly across all the

papers, with most of the articles being considered “news” articles. However, when it came to the tones of the articles, it was possible to notice a difference between the national and the local articles. In both national papers, the tones were overwhelmingly negative, in fact, the *National Post* did not publish any articles that positively portray Tamil asylum seekers, while the local paper, the *Vancouver Sun*, presented a variety of perspectives, with over half of its articles being either positive- or mixed-toned.

The main themes of the articles themselves also varied depending on if the article was published in a local or a national paper. In the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, articles often focused on the legitimacy of their claim and whether or not they were refugees or if they were Tigers in disguise. These findings were similar to what other researchers have found, such as Sriskandarajah (2008) who found that Tamil asylum seekers were typically highly associated with terrorism of terrorist activities.

However, in the *Vancouver Sun*, articles tended to focus more on issues surrounding security and the immigration process. In fact, the *Vancouver Sun* was the paper that framed most of these individuals as being threats, but the representations that were put forward were different from those in the national papers. While the national papers insisted on the danger that they might pose, the *Vancouver Sun* also insisted on how their arrival was illegal because of their use of smugglers. This leads their claim to be portrayed as being illegitimate, which was also how Krishnamurti (2013) found Tamil asylum seekers were depicted. This is because their use of smugglers disregarded Canada’s immigration system and attempted to “create a two-tier immigration system: one tier for law-abiding immigrants who wait patiently in the queue, and a second, for-profit tier for criminals and terrorists who pay human smugglers to help them jump the queue” (T.VS.5).

While there exist some elements that indicate a local versus national discrepancy, there still existed differences between both national papers. For example, the fact that most Tamils already had a support system in Canada was often discussed in the *Globe and Mail*, as well as in the *Vancouver Sun*, while this idea appeared much less frequently in the *National Post*. The *Globe and Mail* also differentiated itself in the fact that it had framed Canada's sovereignty claims much more than the other two papers. However, it proposed the same ideas as the *National Post*, that is to say that Canada was the one with the authority to control those who enter. For its part, the *Vancouver Sun* distinguished itself slightly by focusing on the fact that their arrival was a threat to the state. Interestingly, one other difference was that the *National Post*, in its articles, did not represent a sense of loss of control, while over a third of all the articles published in the other two papers did. It also portrayed a sense of panic only very briefly, compared to the other papers, but in all cases, no matter the paper, the panic was linked to the migrants themselves.

Previous research has demonstrated that Tamil asylum seekers have been depicted in Canadian media in a similar manner to the results obtained here. Krishnamurti (2013) found that the Tamil asylum seekers that arrived to Canada by boat were also negatively represented: politicians represented these individuals as being illegitimate asylum seekers and as being terrorists being smuggled across the Canadian border. This fear was demonstrated in all three papers studied in this research. Additionally, Angus-Reid polls conducted in 2010 in Canada have also revealed that even if they may have had legitimate reasons for obtaining refugee status, most Canadians believed that they should be deported (Krishnamurti, 2013). This was also reflected in the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post* and the *Vancouver Sun*, as the government was shown to be the one who should have the authority to determine who was a real and who was a fake refugee. Other research has found that upon their arrival in Canada, the media were quickly critical about

their “true” identity as well as whether they were really refugees, and expressed concern for the security of Canadians (Bauder, 2008, cited in Krishnamurti, 2013, p. 139). These security concerns were also reflected in Bradimore and Bauder’s findings (2011). Media have used language to describe the Tamil asylum seekers which is typically employed to describe criminals and police. Words such as “seized”, “question” or “mysterious” or the use of the term “illegal migrant” all serve to reinforce the danger these people pose in the public’s mind (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011). The findings of these various studies are thus comparable to the findings obtained in this research, as the three selected papers often criminalized the Tamil asylum seekers through language and by frequently associating them with terrorists, terrorist organizations or criminals.

## CHAPTER 6

### RESULTS: SYRIAN REFUGEES

#### 6.1 Introduction

As of 2017, over 41,000 Syrian refugees have landed in Canada: a total of 3,089 under the Harper's Conservative government and 40,081 under Trudeau's Liberal government (Government of Canada, 2017). Though the majority of them arrived in Toronto through chartered military and commercial planes, the refugees were spread out among 350 "welcoming communities" (Government of Canada, 2017) across the country, though the majority are located in either Ontario, Quebec, or Alberta. They arrived as resettled refugees, meaning that their claim had already been deemed to be legitimate by the United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) when they were offered to be sent to Canada ("Claiming asylum in Canada – what happens?," 2018; "Syrian Refugees Horizontal Initiative," 2018). According to MacKinnon (2017) Canada is receiving the poorest and most vulnerable individuals, typically composed of families "often with female heads of households, the men often having died in the war".

The Syrian civil began in 2011 after a group of schoolchildren, some only ten years old, wrote on a wall "The people want to overthrow the regime" and "It's your turn, Doctor" (Briggs, Soderlund, & Najem, 2017; Danahar, 2013). These writings were reminiscent of similar slogans used in Tunisia and Egypt during the Arab Spring. The youngsters were quickly arrested and tortured, sparking outrage among the general population. Across the country, individuals gathered to protest the regime's corruption and nepotism (Hashemi & Postel, 2013). At the beginning, these protests were peaceful and did not wish to "overthrow" the regime, but rather to call for necessary reforms to the country. However, "[t]he regime ... depicted all mass protests as violent, led by Islamist-leaning criminals, and supported by foreign countries plotting against Syria" (Droz-

Vincent, 2014, p. 6 cited in Briggs et al., 2017, p. 19) and ruthlessly attempted to stop these protests through any means necessary (Hashemi & Postel, 2013).

In March 2011, the regime began shooting at the protesters. A few months later, the protesters began shooting back. Over the years, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the UN have meticulously documented instances where the regime has committed war crimes and crimes against humanity (Briggs et al., 2017), and called this the worst humanitarian crisis of our time (Amnesty International, 2015). As of 2017, over 400,000 people had died because of this war, with another 6 million internally displaced and 5 million seeking asylum in other countries (“Syria: Events of 2017,” 2017).

Canada, unlike Syria’s neighbours, has largely not been directly affected by the conflict. Before the war, there were only around 22,000 Canadians who had Syrian origins, and while trading with Syria has ceased, it was never one of Canada’s major trading partners (Juneau, 2015). However, the death of Alan Kurdi in 2015 on a Turkish beach represents a major turning point for Canada. Kurdi’s family was trying to make its way to Canada and the child’s death brought to light the severity of the crisis and “became an election issue and later a point of nation building as Canadians rose to the occasion to support refugees” (Ramos, 2016, p. 5).

After the Liberals won the 2015 federal elections, three programs were put into place to sponsor Syrian refugees to come to Canada: the *Government-Assisted Refugee Resettlement Program*, the *Privately Sponsored Refugee Resettlement Program* and the *Blended Visa Office-Referred Refugee Resettlement Program* (Government of Canada, 2017). No matter what type of program is used, there are certain aspects that are common to all three: resettlement into Canada can take six months or more; a medical examination, background checks and security checks are necessary; travel costs and medical examination costs are covered by a loan; and loan repayments

must begin within 30 days of arrival in Canada (Government of Canada, 2017). The main differences between these programs are the amount of time financial support will be given, as well as by whom it is given. In the case of Privately Sponsored refugees, groups of 5 Canadians or more can rally together to provide a minimum of one year's support to the refugees ("2. Private sponsorship of refugees program," 2018).

## 6.2 Results Obtained

For the Syrian refugees, 66 articles were used for this analysis: 21 in the *Globe and Mail*, 22 in the *National Post* and, 23 in the *Toronto Star*. Figure 2 illustrates how these articles were spread out within the collection period, with more than half being published within two weeks of their arrival in Canada. Table 8 also presents the distribution of the types of articles published by each paper.

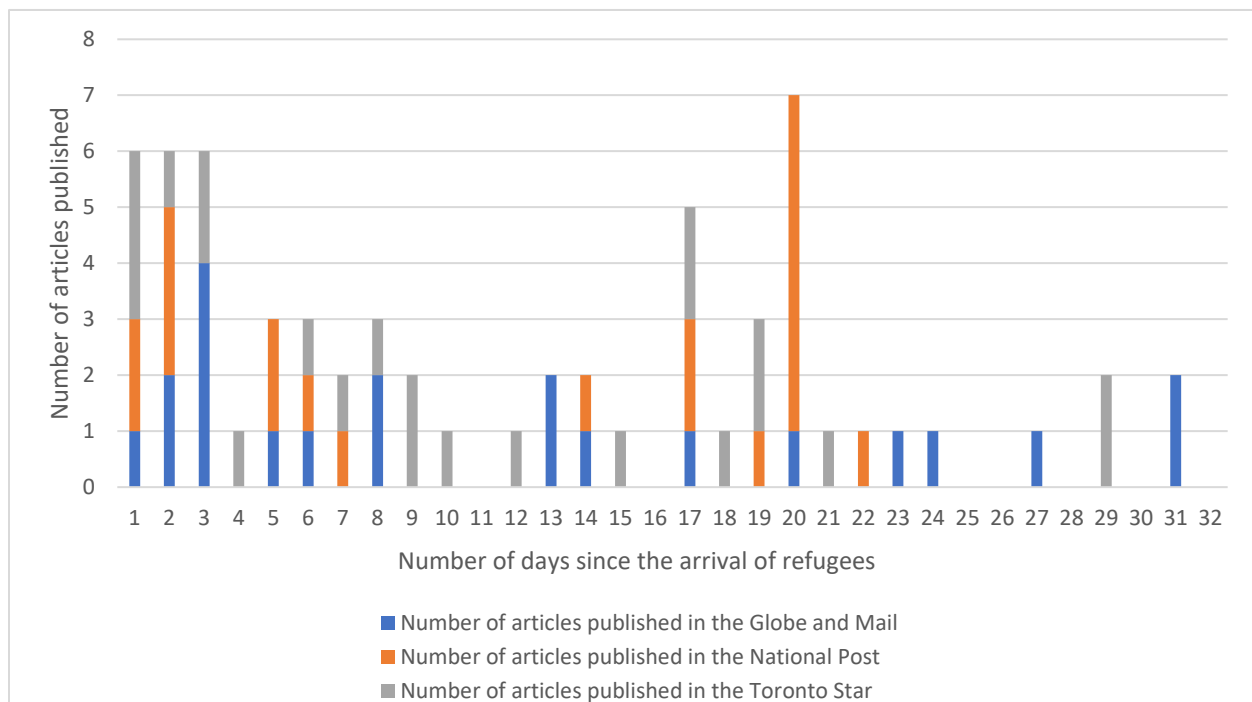


Figure 2. Distribution of articles on Syrian refugees.

Table 8  
*Type of article published by each newspaper on Syrian refugees*

Type of article	Newspaper		
	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	<i>National Post</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>
Editorial	14	0	4
Letter to the editor	10	36	13
News	71	32	83
Opinion	5	32	0

The majority of the articles published in the *Globe and Mail* were neutral and presented a variety of different topics. This paper was the one that discussed financial aspects related to the arrival of Syrian refugees the more than the other papers, but insisted that the refugees were quite shy about receiving this kind of help. The articles in this paper tended to focus on the integration of these individuals, and the role that Canadians had to play in this. For their part, the articles published in the *National Post* were also mainly neutral and instead of being shown as being reluctant to accept help, they were portrayed as benefiting from resources that were not theirs and that should not necessarily be going to them. As well, integration was seen as not being the responsibility of the refugees but of Canadians themselves. As for the *Toronto Star*, it framed the Syrians refugees' integration differently than the national papers did. That is to say that while it did present integration as being the responsibility of the citizens, it also depicted it as being the refugees' responsibility.

### 6.2.1 The *Globe and Mail*.

Table 9  
*Coding results on the representations of Syrian refugees in the *Globe and Mail**

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	24	10	57	10
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	33	67		
Is their integration mentioned?	67	33		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	19	81		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	33	67		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	0	100		
Is there a sense of panic?	5	95		

The articles published in the *Globe and Mail* about Syrian refugees, especially when compared to the articles about Tamil asylum seekers, offer a larger variety of themes. In fact, there was no dominant theme in this paper, though two topics did reoccur a few times. First of all, a few articles focused on whether or not the Liberal government would be able to meet its set goal of accepting 25000 Syrian refugees before 2016. Some journalists argued that:

the Liberals got the principles right but, at least at first, got the policy wrong. The principle was that Canada should be generous, open and welcoming. Liberal, you might say. But on the campaign trail, Liberal policy was a rash promise to admit 25,000 Syrian refugees by the end of the year, no matter what. (S.GM.13)

Secondly, some articles focused on personal stories about various Syrian refugees, including the Kurdi family, describing their former lives, how the civil war affected them, and how they felt about Canada. The majority of the articles also portrayed the refugees in a neutral manner, though around a quarter of the articles did represent them more positively.

When it came to the three main ways asylum seekers are represented in media that have been identified in the literature review, around a quarter of the *Globe and Mail* articles presented the Syrian refugees as being a financial burden. They had “access to full health benefits” (S.GM.10) and resettlement-assistance organizations had seen “an increase of 25 per cent in their usual federal funding, to help ease the transition of the arriving Syrians” (S.GM.1). A few of the articles also mentioned the fact that the Syrian refugees felt “very shy” (S.GM.8) to receive this kind of help and were reluctant to accept such help from their Canadian sponsors.

The aspect of integration came up in most of the *Globe and Mail* articles. However, these discussions on integration did not focus on difficulties in integration, as has been noted in the

literature review, but rather on Canada's willingness to help integrate the refugees. In short, they were not actively attempting to integrate, but rather, Canada and Canadians were the ones who were working to integrate them. For example, Minister McCallum in article S.GM.1 mentioned that he believed that "a large majority of Canadians want[ed] to welcome these people coming from the scourge of civil war to our country, make them feel comfortable, help them adjust and hope that they will get jobs as soon as possible". The articles published in this paper often discussed that the responsibility of integrating the Syrian refugees and providing them with "housing, food and education" (S.GM.4) was the responsibility of the groups sponsoring them, with some opting to take "a two-day training course" (S.GM.9) to prepare themselves for the arrival of the refugees. Another aspect that came up when discussing integration concerned Canada's reputation as being a leader in refugee resettlement: "[i]t was as if a previous version of Canada had been instantly resurrected: Here was a country that offered a helping hand, a warm cuppa and a service-sector job in small-town Saskatchewan" (S.GM.21). Howell developed this sentiment further:

The Syrian refugees have already made a great contribution to our country: They have given us the opportunity to reconfirm our commitment to Canada as an open and multicultural country. They have given us the chance to show to ourselves and to others that we continue to believe in basic human rights and decency, notwithstanding some of the terrible events that have happened in the world and the pressure to give in to fear and to shut our doors. They have given us the opportunity to show generosity and kindness on a very personal level to so many people in need. They have made us feel good about our country and grateful to be Canadians. (S.GM.15)

Furthermore, less than a quarter of the articles published in the *Globe and Mail* identified the refugees as threats or criminals. These articles often questioned the government's lack of

concern over security matters, particularly screening the refugees. Ms. Rempel, a Conservative MP was quoted questioning whether “staff doing the work [screening refugees] ha[d] the time and resources to do everything by the book” (S.GM.5), while Wentz wondered if “Canadians [were] soft on terror” (S.GM.11) considering it takes the United States much longer to vet refugees.

The *Globe and Mail* articles demonstrated that Canada had complete control over the refugees by choosing who was permitted to obtain refugee status and who was granted permission to enter and stay in the country. In fact, Canadian officials were the ones who were “working their way through [the] applications” (S.GM.1) in order to identify those who could be selected by Canada for resettlement (S.GM.17). In essence, everything from processing applications to “arranging exit visas and travel documents” (S.GM.3) was “organized by the Canadian government” (S.GM.2). Since the state had total decision-making power in this situation, there were no articles that portrayed a sense of loss of control, unlike with the Tamil asylum seekers, for example. Additionally, there was only one article that presents a sense of panic surrounding the potential threat they posed. Wentz highlighted: “[a]ll it would take would be one Islamic State-inspired, Paris- or San Bernardino-style attack, a catastrophe that's unfortunately all too conceivable.” (S.GM.11)

### 6.2.2 The *National Post*.

Table 10

*Coding results on the representations of Syrian refugees in the National Post*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	5	18	68	9
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	18	82		
Is their integration mentioned?	32	68		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	27	73		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	23	77		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	5	95		
Is there a sense of panic?	5	95		

The majority of the articles published in the *National Post* consisted of “letters to the editor” or “opinion” pieces. Just like the *Globe and Mail*, there was also no dominant theme found throughout these articles, though a few focused either on the Syrians’ arrival, “where they [were] coming from, how they [were] being selected and what they [could] expect as they adapt to life in Canada” (S.NP.5), or on security issues because, according to Rogers, “Syrian refugees [were] [...] from a failed state where pernicious ideology abound” (S.NP.7). Despite this, articles remained of a somewhat neutral tone, but did present fewer positive tones than the *Globe and Mail*. In addition, when compared to the *Globe and Mail*, integration, though it was still present, was not as big an issue with slightly less than a third of the *National Post* articles discussing it.

Though this paper presented less how Syrian refugees were a burden than the *Globe and Mail*, what was said about the burden they pose was quite different: in the *National Post*, Syrian refugees were portrayed more negatively. McGregor depicted them as coming from “a war-torn, Third World hellhole” (S.NP.19) and, once they arrived in Canada, “all [their] flight, food, lodging and health-care expenses [were] paid - and all for the minimal, implied price of being a Liberal voter for life.” (S.NP.19) They were also shown to benefit from financial resources that should not be going to them; these resources should go to “real” Canadians. Additionally, Urback focused on the fact that the refugees were receiving unnecessary things, such as “\$15 hotel breakfasts” (S.NP.14), and thus radically increasing the amount of funding they were receiving. Comeau expressed this much more explicitly, stating that “[t]his [was] scandalous, with so many of Canada's starving poor on the streets of our cities, coping with the lack of food and freezing temperatures because of unavailable and affordable housing [...] [t]he entire plan needs to be rethought” (S.NP.10) because “we don't want to put them in a privileged position relative to other Canadians who are themselves working hard to find housing” (S.NP.2).

Though the *Globe and Mail* discussed the integration of the refugees in more than half of its articles, and the *National Post* only discussed these concerns in around a third of its articles, both papers discussed the integration of the refugees in a similar way. That is to say, integration was not seen as being solely the responsibility of refugees. The articles published in this paper presented integration as being the work of the citizen, not the immigrant, such as Rankin who stated:

I care for many vulnerable people. Those who will be arriving in the coming weeks and months are also vulnerable. [...] We all have a role to play to ensure these new Canadians feel a sense of belonging. I know I plan to do my part. (S.NP.3)

Warnica also depicted the benefits of their integration as not affecting the refugees, but rather affecting the sponsors,

At its heart, sponsorship is an invitation, to a stranger, from another country and another culture, into the centre of one's own circle of circles. [...] It is, in other words, a heavy thing. It has weight. And in a way that often gets lost in easy narratives, it can be difficult and profound: full of joy and misunderstanding, anger, sorrow and in some cases a connection that can be deep and lifelong. (S.NP.4)

Or, as Hicks put it, the integration of these individuals also affected Canada's reputation as being a humanitarian and refugee-accepting society,

Even though we presently have problems meeting the needs of many poor Canadians, our doors for refugees must remain open. [...] It would certainly be a real black mark on Canada, or any other country, that reduces or stops the process of helping refugees because of fear or a lack of compassion. Canada is proud to be a country known for tolerance,

goodwill, compassion and respect for others. Let's hope that never changes, and let's hope other countries will follow our lead. (S.NP.13)

Mamzer's article was the only one that described refugee's role in their own integration by stating that, after Canada had helped them integrate, they would become "industrious people [who] will reward us for our generosity and make this great country even greater." (S.NP.18) For the final way of representation identified in the literature review, representations of migrants as threats or criminals, the articles published in the *National Post* were split between two different representations. Firstly, Syrian refugees were not a threat. Any "security anxieties" (S.NP.9) about them were entirely misplaced, since they only sought to start a new life and "contribute" (S.NP.9) to Canadian society. Second, other articles brought up security concerns with the vetting process. Rogers asked, "how can Canadians be expected to believe government assurances that Syrian refugee applicants will be properly screened?" (S.NP.7), while Adamson expected "Liberal voters [were] prepared to suffer the embarrassment and shame of even one Islamic terrorist among the 25,000 deceiving Canadian immigration scrutineers and furtively crossing the U.S.-Canada border to murder U.S. innocents" (S.NP.1).

Only a few articles published in the *National Post* discussed sovereignty, and they all did so in a similar manner: the state, or its officials, decided who could enter Canada's territory. Many articles, both news and opinion pieces, acknowledged that Canadian officials were the individuals who could process refugee applications and related paperwork and thus approve the refugees (S.NP.2; S.NP.17). Another article further supported this by detailing the application and vetting process for refugees, while highlighting the role government officials had in this process (S.NP.5). Just like the *Globe and Mail* articles, the state could determine who came in, therefore there were no articles that portrayed a sense of loss of control.

### 6.2.3 The *Toronto Star*.

Table 11

*Coding results on the representations of Syrian refugees in the Toronto Star*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	13	0	78	9
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	17	83		
Is their integration mentioned?	40	60		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	17	83		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	22	78		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	0	100		
Is there a sense of panic?	0	100		

The local paper, the *Toronto Star*, presented mainly “news” articles, and while there were no themes found throughout the articles, though, like in the *Globe and Mail*, a few articles focused on whether or not the government would meet its “campaign commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees before the end of the year” (S.TS.8) as well as on personal stories of the refugees. There were also no articles that presented the refugees in a negative tone. In fact, one letter to the editor mentioned that “[e]ven though we presently have problems meeting the needs of many poor Canadians” (S.TS.21), this should not stop us from helping the refugees. Additionally, another article attempted to disprove the idea that “[r]efugees to Canada [...] [got] more financial help from the federal government than Canadian pensioners [did].” (S.TS.6) To this effect, article S.TS.18 recounted the story of Christine Youssef and her mother who have worked tirelessly to “bring their family members to Canada” and support them financially, while article S.TS.11 quoted Aseefa Sarang of Across Boundaries, a Toronto health agency, who stated that “[w]e often position refugees as lacking, as a burden. Instead of recognizing their resilience, we are assuming their deficiencies and that we are doing them a favour”.

While less than half of the *Toronto Star* articles discussed their integration, there were a variety of perspectives that were presented. Some articles discussed how Syrian refugees were

“full of optimism and hope” (S.TS.18) they were at the thought of being in Canada, and how they were working towards being integrated. For example, one letter to the editor emphasized that while Syrians might have some trouble integrating at first, in the end, they would become part of our nation, part of us: “[s]ome people want to treat Muslims and Syrian refugees as the other. But we will not. They are not the other, they are us.” (S.TS.4). The refugees’ own words were also used to demonstrate this. For example, 15 year-old Mohammad, was cited in one article saying he wanted to become a “Canadian doctor so [he] can be part of Canada” (S.TS.22). There was also a letter to the editor that presented integration as happening on the part of Canadians: “[e]very generation has to choose: are you one of the comfortable majority who is fighting to help them survive, or are you closing your eyes, heart or your door? I am sure you will open your heart.” (S.TS.4) “[G]oodwill and compassion” (S.TS.21) on behalf of Canadians was necessary for the refugees’ integration and, in the end, “the real winners [will be] Canadians, who finally got a chance to feel good about themselves.” (S.TS.19)

There were two articles in the *Toronto Star* that discussed the threat that these individuals could pose. When the articles did mention it, it was said in a vaguer way, by citing security concerns. For example, “a certain number of precautions have been taken in terms of safety and security” (S.TS.14) and “that health and security checks” (S.TS.15) were conducted on the refugees.

These checks were part of the “long and tedious job” (S.TS.13) that befalls refugee claimants in order to prove their claim to Canadian officials in order to “be ‘certified’ as Canadian permanent residents by the end of [the] year” (S.TS.15). This was all part of a larger purpose, one of “blending stagecraft with statecraft” (S.TS.7). The nation was presented as being humanitarian,

while in fact picking and choosing the best, those who would be able to contribute the most to Canadian society (S.TS.7).

#### **6.2.4 Overall Representations and Comparison**

The majority of the articles in all the papers were published within the first three weeks of the refugees' arrival. We can also notice a difference in the type of articles that are published, with both the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* publishing mainly “news” articles, while the *National Post* was publishing mainly “letters to the editor” or “column” articles. All three papers were also incredibly similar when it came to the tones of the published articles, the only major difference being that the *National Post* published slightly more negative and less positive articles than the *Globe and Mail* or the *Toronto Star*.

When it came to the main themes of the articles published, we could still continue to see a local versus national distinction, as with the articles about Tamils: the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* both giving some importance to their arrival. However, there still existed a strong similarity between the main themes in the *Globe and Mail* and in the *Toronto Star*, since they both presented many articles discussing if the government would meet its goal of accepting 25000 refugees, as well as personal stories from various Syrian families, something that was barely present in the *National Post* articles.

When it came to the three aspects identified in the literature review, that is to say the tendency to represent migrants as economic burdens, difficult to integrate, and threatening to society, it is possible to notice that the amount of coverage the “economic burden” aspect received was quite similar across all three papers. Both national papers focused on the fact that the refugees, once they had arrived, would benefit from many services and have access to various resources. The *Globe and Mail* focused on how they could repay the help they received and how the refugees

were grateful for the help, while the *National Post* emphasized that the refugees were causing unnecessary expenses for the state. On the other hand, the local paper attempted to disprove what was said in the national papers by stating that they were not costing us as much as some proposed, and they worked hard in order to repay the state.

The *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* were more similar to each other when it came to the coverage of integration issues, presenting in many articles just how the Syrian refugees were “wonderful new Canadians” (S.GM.17). For its part, the *National Post* did not discuss this idea much, though it still presented the same ideas and portrayed them as already being a part of the nation. In fact, the *National Post* differentiated itself by being particularly neutral when it came to the representations of Syrians and not putting much emphasis on any of the elements that stood out in the literature review. Though all of the newspapers portrayed integration as being the work of the citizens of the state, the local paper here also acknowledged that the refugees themselves also had a role to play.

Here also there were differences at the national and the local level, though it was much more subtle. None of the papers tended to represent Syrian refugees as threats: they were rather shown as being exemplary victims of the war, legitimate refugees whom we should help. Because they were seen as “real” victims and not terrorists, as we have seen with the Tamils asylum seekers, the papers rarely portrayed a sense of panic or of loss of control due to their arrival. The national articles that discussed this did so very briefly, by arguing that there was the possibility that the refugees could be improperly screened before their arrival and they could commit terrorist acts, either in Canada or in the United States. In the case of the local paper, the *Toronto Star*, the journalists merely suggested that there were precautions that needed to be taken, but nothing as concrete as the national newspapers’ articles was mentioned.

Discussing issues of sovereignty was also not of major importance in any of the papers. Though while the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* focused more on the immigration system and how the state's officials were the ones who could grant asylum seekers authorization to enter the country, one article in the *Toronto Star* proposed that the humanitarian side that Canada puts forward by allowing Syrian refugees to enter was a way to retain power, by choosing who was allowed to be granted refugee status. Due to their controlled arrival, none of the papers insisted on presenting a sense of panic or of loss of control over the state.

Previous research has demonstrated that Tamil asylum seekers have been depicted in Canadian media in a similar manner to the results obtained here. Canadian media have tended to portray the Syrian refugees as needing help, being threatened and desperate and it was Canada's responsibility to "save" them. Consistently, this research has found that Syrian refugees are often depicted as exemplary victims of the war who are deserving of assistance. However, their representations have not always been constant, with both Wallace (2018) and Winter, Patzelt, & Beauregard (2018) finding that various events have influenced how media portrayed them. Before Alan Kurdi drowned on a Turkish beach, most articles discussed the conflict itself and unlike the Tamil asylum seekers, they were not represented as being terrorists, but rather as being the ones who flee terrorists (Wallace, 2018; Winter et al., 2018). After Kurdi drowned and refugees started arriving in Canada, news coverage started to focus more and more on issues of integration, housing and employment (Beauregard, Winter, Murret-Labarthe, & Patzelt, 2018; Wallace, 2018). The tones of the articles also changed after the 2015/2016 New Year's Eve sexual attacks in Cologne, Germany, as there was a small discussion in the media concerning how Syrian refugees might pose a threat to Canadians. Similarly, this also happened after the Paris terrorist attacks in November 2015, where, mostly, single men were represented as being a threat (Beauregard et al., 2018;

Tyyskä, Blower, DeBoer, Kawai, & Walcott, 2017). Though this research cannot comment on the variations in themes and tones caused by different events, there were some security concerns that were associated with the arrival of the Syrian refugees, these concerns tended not to be associated with the refugees themselves, as found in Beauregard et al. (2018) and (Tyyskä et al. (2017), but rather with the screening process itself.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **RESULTS: IRREGULAR ASYLUM SEEKERS**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

Irregular asylum seekers entering Canada from the United States present a peculiar situation for Canada because of the country from which these asylum seekers are fleeing. Crossing the border irregularly between the two countries is not a new phenomenon: the Safe Third Country Agreement, which came into effect in 2004, was put into place, in part, to no longer permit asylum seekers from arriving in Canada, but making their claim in the United States (Gibney, 1991). In addition, the arrival these asylum seekers in the past few years is unusual because of the sheer number of individuals crossing irregularly. From 2016 to 2017, the province of Manitoba saw a large increase in the number of asylum seekers crossing the border between the United States and Canada. In 2016, 145 people, mainly originating from African countries (Pauls, 2017), had presented themselves at the border and 90 at inland offices of the IRCC in order to make asylum claims. In 2017, these numbers rose to 810 at the border and 285 at inland offices (Government of Canada, 2018a). Starting in July 2017, in Manitoba, these numbers started decreasing. At the same time, the number of individuals making asylum claims in Quebec increased dramatically (Government of Canada, 2018a), rising from 1 695 border claims and 2 555 inland claims in 2016, to 36 75 border claims and 19 965 inland claims in 2017, reportedly from many people originally from Haiti (Government of Canada, 2018a; Radio-Canada, 2017).

Many of the individuals who are crossing irregularly are doing so because they do not have permanent status in the United States or feel unsafe because of “the anti-refugee and anti-Muslim measures adopted by the new administration” (“Refugees entering from US and Safe Third Country: FAQ,” 2017). For example, many Haitians who had temporary protected status in the United States after the 2010 earthquake found their status revoked in 2017, after the country was

declared safe by the United States government:

The decision to terminate TPS for Haiti was made after a review of the conditions upon which the country's original designation were based and whether those extraordinary but temporary conditions prevented Haiti from adequately handling the return of their nationals, as required by statute. Based on all available information, [...] Acting Secretary Duke determined that those extraordinary but temporary conditions caused by the 2010 earthquake no longer exist. Thus, under the applicable statute, the current TPS designation must be terminated. (Department of Homeland Security, 2017)

Although, as a general rule, anyone can present themselves at a Canadian point of entry in order to ask for asylum, the Safe Third Country Agreement between Canada and the United States stipulates that asylum seekers must present their claim to the first 'safe' country they arrive in, which would be, in this case, the United States (Government of Canada, 2018b). This means that should an individual present themselves at an official port of entry, from the United States, and ask for asylum, they would not be given entry into Canada. However, there are five exceptions to this agreement: if they have family in Canada, if they are unaccompanied minors, if they have a valid Canadian visa, if they committed an offence that could subject them to the death penalty, or if they enter Canada without going through an official point of entry. Article 31 of the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees also stipulates that the Contracting State, Canada in this case,

shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of article 1, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present

themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence. (UNHCR, 1951, p. 29)

This has led the asylum seekers to cross irregularly into Canada: by being on Canadian soil when asking for asylum, and therefore being covered by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms' protection, they cannot be turned back by immigration services and Canada must process their claim.

## 7.2 Results Obtained

For the irregular asylum seekers, 61 articles were used for this analysis: 16 in the *Globe and Mail*, 11 in the *National Post*, and 34 in the *Winnipeg Free Press*. Figure 3 illustrates how these articles were spread out within the collection period. Table 12 also presents the distribution of the types of articles published by each paper.

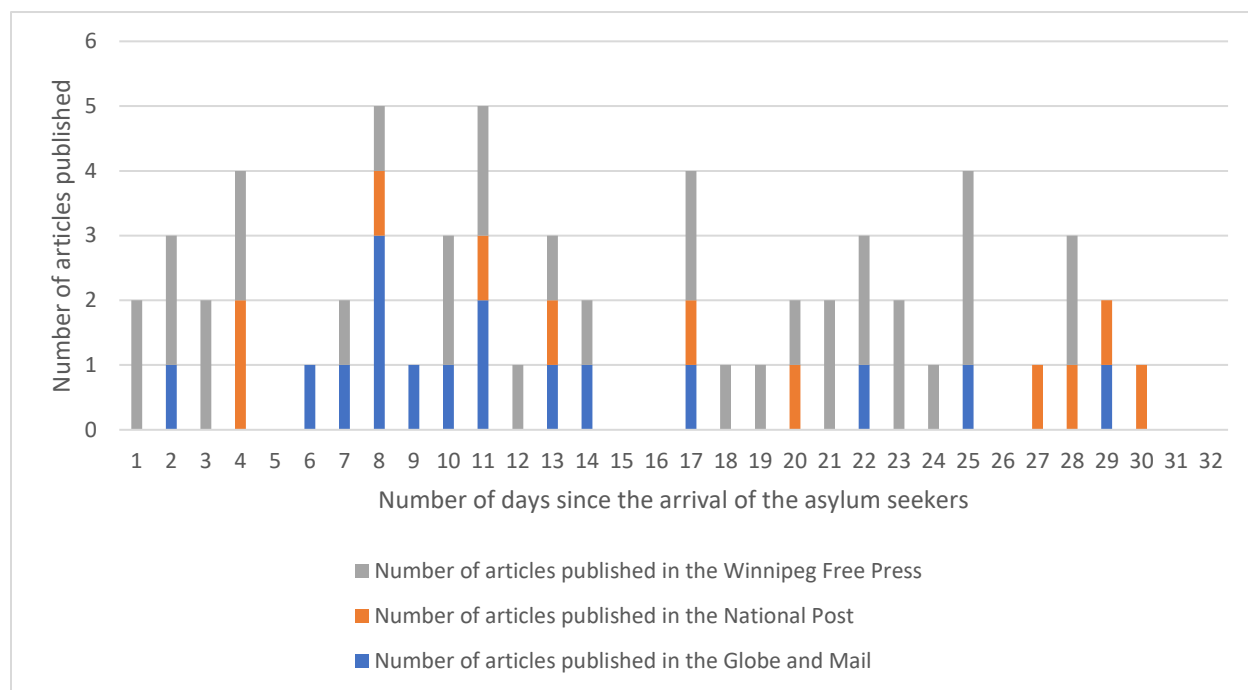


Figure 3. Distribution of articles on irregular asylum seekers.

Table 12

*Type of article published by each newspaper on irregular asylum seekers*

Type of article	Newspaper		
	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	<i>National Post</i>	<i>Winnipeg Free Press</i>
Editorial	6	9	11
Letter to the editor	0	9	3
News	69	64	86
Opinion	25	18	0

The articles in the *Globe and Mail* often highlighted the fact that the nation should be in control of allowing individuals to enter its territory, rather than letting them enter by their own volition. However, since the irregular asylum seekers do not allow this, they were either depicted as threats to the immigration system or to the welfare system, since they took resources away from Canadians. In the *National Post*, some articles focused more on the threats the irregular asylum seekers posed, in some cases suggesting they were terrorists or associated with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). Additionally, these same articles would suggest that the border needed to be controlled and secured. In the *Winnipeg Free Press*, they were mostly depicted as being burdens to the local community and, though they were not feared or depicted as threats to security, it was suggested that they respect the current refugee system and not cross the border irregularly.

### 7.2.1 The *Globe and Mail*.

Table 13

*Coding results on the representations of irregular asylum seekers in the *Globe and Mail**

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	13	13	63	13
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	31	69		
Is their integration mentioned?	13	88		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	69	31		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	94	6		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	75	25		
Is there a sense of panic?	63	38		

The *Globe and Mail* articles focused largely on two issues during this time period: the Canadian immigration system, as well basic articles detailing how these individuals arrived in Canada. These articles presented a variety of tones, though the majority were neutral. Often, the articles discussed very briefly the irregular border crossers, such as two articles which informed us that “Canada ha[d] seen an increase in the number of refugee claimants walking across the border to request asylum” (I.GM.11) or that in “Quebec alone, the number ha[d] risen from 42 in January, 2015, to 452 [in January 2016]” (I.GM.3).

Around a third of the articles published in this paper discussed how asylum seekers were burdens, how they were taking advantage of what Wentz called a “perverse loophole [that] allows those who enter the country illegally to make refugee claims and be housed, fed and provided with free legal advice as their claims are heard” (I.GM.12). In the words of Yakabuski, they would “enjoy the same access to most government services as Canadian citizens” (I.GM.7). Saunders argued that the constantly increasing number of asylum seekers arriving could “overwhelm our resources, cause tragic deaths and undermine support for the refugee system” (I.GM.10). This was especially true for Montreal, according to one article, since there was talk of making it a sanctuary city. According to Wentz, such a situation would allow for “failed refugee claimants [to] disappear, or stay for years before they were deported” (I.GM.12). On the other hand, Bloemraad and Omidvar argued that we should allow for irregular asylum seekers to obtain refugee status since some of them could “hold incredible promise for Canada” (I.GM.8). They could be highly educated, have significant job experience and be able to contribute financially to the state.

Most articles also discussed in some capacity how these asylum seekers were threats to Canada. The articles insisted on the illegality of their arrival and how they threaten “the integrity, successful functioning and public support of Canada's refugee and immigration systems”

(I.GM.10). The articles showed that asylum seekers knew this fact, and were taking advantage of a loophole in the Canada-U.S. Safe Third Country Agreement in order to claim asylum. The walk itself was also shown to be dangerous to the migrants, as “two [had] already lost fingers in minus 30 C weather, which could easily kill” (I.GM.10), in 2017 according to Saunders. In other words, “[it was] not safe for the people who [were] running across the fields. It [was] not safe for the community” (I.GM.4). A few articles also highlighted the idea that these individuals were arrested as they entered Canada, although “none of the hundreds of asylum seekers who [have] come to Canada [have] been charged for illegal entry” (I.GM.13).

Most articles published in this paper, such as Wente’s article cited below, discussed Canada’s sovereignty by arguing that Canada was the one with the power to control who could enter the state’s territory and to establish which channels they must use to enter it:

The accident of geography has spared Canada the migrant torrent, so our hospitality has not been really tested. [...] But if Canadians lose faith in the government's ability to manage our borders, all bets are off. No one knows if today's migrant stream will turn into a flood. It's still awfully hard to get to Canada illegally. But spring is coming. And asylum seekers (along with human-smuggling networks) respond to market signals. (I.GM.12)

As Yakabuski stated, “[w]hat has sustained our generous attitudes toward newcomers is public faith in the integrity of our immigration and refugee systems. [...] More than most countries, we still control who gets in and the conditions of their entry.” (I.GM.7) Various articles also demonstrated the desire for “regular, safe, legal migration, not unsafe illegal migration” (I.GM.11). For example, Bloemraad and Omidvar suggested allowing DACA recipients into Canada, should their status get revoked in the United States. They would fit in with the state’s current immigration

goal, and “a targeted program of 10,000-30,000 [individuals] would allow Canada to select the very best matches with Canadian society and the economy” (I.GM.8).

The sheer number of asylum seekers crossing the border was shown by Saunders to “overwhelm our resources, cause tragic deaths and undermine support for the refugee system” (I.GM.10). They were described by Wente as being a “surge” (I.GM.12) of illegal asylum seekers, people simply “hoping to get a better deal in Canada” (I.GM.12) than in the United States. This situation caused “chaos” (I.GM.5) and “there [was] nothing Canadian police [could] do to stop a person from stepping over the boundary” (I.GM.3). Thus, the *Globe and Mails* asked at the time: “Are we prepared for a refugee crisis?” (I.GM.6).

### 7.2.2 The *National Post*.

Table 14

*Coding results on the representations of irregular asylum seekers in the National Post*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	0	36	55	9
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	18	82		
Is their integration mentioned?	0	100		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	27	73		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	27	73		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	27	73		
Is there a sense of panic?	36	64		

For its part, the *National Post* did not have themes that were present throughout all its articles, rather publishing articles on a variety of topics, such as the politics surrounding the US border with Mexico, the immigration process, or funding necessary services for the asylum seekers. While most of the articles published were, as in the *Globe and Mail*, more neutral, presenting facts about the situation, there was also a much higher proportion of negative articles published in this national paper than in the other national newspaper. These negative articles focused more on issues of economic burden, with a few articles stating that the “asylum seekers

[were] straining provincial resources” (I.NP.10), while another article stated that they could be beneficial to the country as Canada “st[ood] to benefit from ‘a pretty strong brain gain.’” (I.NP.2) Other negative articles also focused on issues of threats, insisting that they were terrorists, or were “almost certainly ISIL plants” (I.NP.10). They were sneaking into the country and were “not reporting to authorities because they [had] ‘bad intentions.’” (I.NP.6) The fear that these asylum seekers could be responsible for a terrorist attack was also “loom[ing] large” (I.NP.8) in some articles. Thus, “Canadians [had] good reason to be vigilant, for our own safety, about those we welcome to our country” (I.NP.8) because “[o]nce they're in the country, good luck to try to find them” (I.NP.6).

When it came to discussing the state’s sovereignty, one editorial made it quite clear, by stating that,

maintaining the integrity of our borders and protecting the safety of everyone, including those crossing our frontier, is not just a moral and legal obligation. It is literally what governments, in free societies, exist to do. This is Job One. (I.NP.4)

However, the migrants were taking advantage of a loophole in the Safe Third Country Agreement, and thus were crossing the Canadian border without authorization. Jean-Pierre Fortin, head of the union that represents border officers, said in an interview: “[w]e're like Swiss cheese right now” (I.NP.6). That is to say, “[t]he trickle may turn into a flood” (I.NP.4) and we had to “be vigilant, for our own safety, about those we welcome to our country” (I.NP.8).

### 7.2.3 The *Winnipeg Free Press*.

Table 15

*Coding results on the representations of irregular asylum seekers in the Winnipeg Free Press*

Question taken from the coding scheme	Yes	No	Neutral	Mixed
Are the tones of the articles positive?	9	20	57	14
Are the asylum seekers represented as burdens?	51	49		
Is their integration mentioned?	9	91		
Are they depicted as being threats in some way?	26	74		
Is sovereignty mentioned in some way?	37	63		
Is there a sense of loss of control?	26	74		
Is there a sense of panic?	34	66		

The local paper, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, also presented a variety of themes during the period when these articles were collected, though a few of the more common ones ranged from providing facts about the arrival of asylum seekers and that there has been “111 [asylum seekers] since Jan. 1” (I.WP.12), to personal stories following individuals crossing the border, and to describing the Canadian immigration system which had an alleged “loophole [that was] encouraging asylum seekers to flood over the Canadian border illegally” (I.WP.23). As with the other two papers, most articles were neutral, only briefly mentioning the irregular asylum seekers and giving general facts about them since the focus was not on them as individuals but rather on surrounding issues. This can be seen, for example, in article I.WP.23, where the focus was on the immigration system and asylum process or in article I.WP.11, which focused on organizations that provide assistance to asylum seekers.

Nearly half of all the articles in this paper presented the irregular asylum seekers as being a burden to the local community. Most of these individuals were crossing through Emerson, and the small community was “struggling with limited resources and emergency services” (I.WP.9). In fact, the cost of dealing with asylum seekers had doubled from the year prior to their arrival in 2017 (I.WP.29). The journalists also highlighted that “Ottawa [was] aware of the burden this is

placing on provinces” (I.WP.22) and the federal cabinet planned a meeting in order to “discuss the asylum seekers, a discussion that should include more resources to help financially strapped provinces such as Manitoba deal with the costs” (I.WP.22). Additionally, the few articles that discussed the integration of the asylum seekers insisted that since they wanted to become Canadians, we should allow them to do so: “[t]he authorities should take full advantage of their eagerness to live in Canada and set them on a path to becoming model citizens” (I.WP.4).

There were also a few articles that presented these individuals as not being a threat since they rarely had criminal records (I.WP.30). In addition,

almost any study suggests that criminality is less of a concern among recent newcomers than the settled population.’ Besides, Rehaag said, the first act of those who would threaten harm to the country or its citizens -- upon setting foot on Canadian soil -- would probably not be volunteering to be arrested and questioned by immigration authorities. They are neither trying to sneak in nor remain undetected. ‘If I’m a terrorist and I want to come into Canada to cause trouble, I don’t come in this way,’ he said. ‘I’m exposing myself to screening. There are lots of very easy ways to get into the country if you’ve got a little money, enough to purchase most documents, that would allow you to escape scrutiny entirely. (I.WP.15)

One Emerson resident also stated: “I am not afraid of these people whatsoever [...] The ones I’ve run across have been only very grateful to be in Canada” (I.WP.7). Despite this, the articles published in the *Winnipeg Free Press* often used specific terms that are employed to portray the asylum seekers as threats or criminals. They would commit “illegal” (I.WP.9) acts that lead to them being “stopped” (I.WP.26) and “arrested” (I.WP.26). After, they are “detained” (I.WP.19) until they could be “identif[ied]” (I.WP.31) and their claims “verif[ied]” (I.WP.31).

This paper is the only one among all groups, in all local and national, that barely described Canada, or its sovereignty. The only article that mentioned it highlighted that, even though inaccurate, “[h]ere, we have just one immigration authority, the government of Canada” (I.WP.4), and thus irregular asylum seekers had no business crossing the border and entering Canada without authorization. However, a great number of them were still crossing the border. This was used in the *Winnipeg Free Press* in order to create a sense of panic. Articles insisted on the possibility that “there seems to be no end in sight” (I.WP.25) and asked the reader: “What if 500 people showed up, what do we have in place? What if 100 people show up in one day, what do we have in place?” (I.WP.11).

#### **7.2.4 Overall Representations and Comparison**

While the *Globe and Mail* published most of its articles in the first three weeks after the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 2017, the articles found in the *National Post* and in the *Winnipeg Free Press* were distributed more equally over the collection period. All three papers represented irregular asylum seekers quite similarly, in both tones and themes. The articles were predominantly neutral, with both articles giving basic facts about their arrival and articles describing the immigration process occurring more often. However, the *Winnipeg Free Press* distinguished itself on this aspect by also presenting many personal stories in its articles, something that rarely occurred in the national papers for this group of asylum seekers. Despite presenting more personal stories, the *Winnipeg Free Press* did not discuss the integration of these individuals into its community any more than the *Globe and Mail* or the *National Post* did. Rather, the local paper focused more on how these individuals were a burden for the community, while this idea only briefly appeared in the national papers.

The *Globe and Mail* also presented fear-based representations much more than the other national paper and the local paper. These representations were often based on the idea that these irregular asylum seekers were a danger to communities and to the immigration system. In fact, almost all the articles published in the *Globe and Mail* discussed how the asylum seekers were a threat to the system, and how the government should be the one in control of those who enter, should be the one that grants permission for their entry. The *Globe and Mail* also discussed the loss of control over the border much more than the *National Post* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and Saunders used this to portray a sense of panic to his readers, that the asylum seeker's arrival was a "crisis" (I.GM.10) and a "problem" (I.GM.10) for Canada.

Additionally, the *National Post* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* offered representations of the irregular asylum seekers that were much more similar to each other than to the *Globe and Mail*. Neither of these papers, unlike the *Globe and Mail*, emphasized a rhetoric of fear about the asylum seekers: they were not often depicted to be threats and both a sense of panic and of loss of control over who enters was not discussed frequently. Discussions about sovereignty rarely occurred in these two papers, especially when compared to the *Globe and Mail* although, overall, the same ideas were presented: Canada needs to be the one with the power to decide who enters or not - it should not be left to the migrants themselves to decide if they can enter or not.

The *Winnipeg Free Press* was the only one among all groups, in all local and national newspapers, that barely described Canada, or its sovereignty. That is to say, in this paper, the arrival of these asylum seekers was presented as a local issue, especially on the economic front. The irregular asylum seekers were shown to be a "strain on local resources" (I.WP.13) such as "housing, social services, education -- especially English as an additional language -- and Legal Aid Manitoba, which handles the paperwork and legal process for the newcomers" (I.WP.21).

## CHAPTER 8 OVERALL PAPER REPRESENTATIONS

### 8.1 The *Globe and Mail* Representations

The majority of the articles published in the *Globe and Mail* were news articles as opposed to editorials or opinion pieces. The tones varied greatly from group to group, with articles about Tamils being overwhelmingly negative and articles about Syrian and irregular asylum seekers being predominantly neutral. However, there was some consistency in the themes throughout the paper. Though each group of asylum seekers had its own themes that were associated with them, the *Globe and Mail* had a tendency to publish an important number of articles that were descriptive of the situation or that were focused not on the migrants themselves, but rather on surrounding issues.

Overall, the *Globe and Mail* mainly relied on the voice and testimonies of government officials in the articles, meaning the asylum seekers were not given an opportunity to speak or to describe their reality. While portraying the asylum seekers as an economic burden was never a major representation in the *Globe and Mail*, it consistently had approximately a third of its articles discussing this idea. However, what was said about this varied from group to group. Economic representations of Tamils varied from depicting them as “economic immigrants who try to evade Canadian immigration processes and policies” (T.GM.4) to saying they had “gobbled border officials' time and money” (T.GM.10) because of their illegitimate claims. On the other hand, Syrian refugees were depicted as feeling “embarrassed” (S.GM.8) for needing financial assistance and as being able to contribute to Canada’s future economy: “the country's coffers would be replenished many times over through the integration of people who arrive” (S.GM.16). The *Globe and Mail* also presented the integration of the asylum seekers the most out of all selected newspapers, but what was said varied depending on whom the articles are about: Syrian refugees

were mostly described as being able to integrate properly into society, Tamils as already having a community to rely on in Canada, and irregular asylum seekers as laying down roots in Canada, whether they were wanted or not.

The *Globe and Mail* was also the paper that proposed more nationalistic ideas, presenting how the government should be in control of its territory and its border, much more than any other paper, national or local. Additionally, with the exception of the articles concerning Syrian refugees, it was the paper that also promoted a more fear-based agenda, that is to say, that the ideas of panic and of loss of control over the state were employed so the readership would be fearful of these individuals.

## **8.2 The *National Post* Representations**

The *National Post* had a tendency to publish more “opinion” and “letter to the editor” than “news” articles. While the themes for each group varied, there was a certain kind of consistency in the tones of the articles: the representations of asylum seekers in this paper were much more negative than in the *Globe and Mail* or in the local papers. Indeed, the *National Post* tended to focus on two elements to represent them in a negative light: their claims were illegitimate and they represented a threat to the state. This paper often extensively detailed why their claims were illegitimate, such as in Collacott’s article where he stated that Tamils,

have almost certainly brought with them carefully prepared stories of how they have suffered, because they are Tamils, at the hands of the mainly Sinhalese government of Sri Lanka. [...] The suggestion that Tamils are being persecuted as a people in Sri Lanka, however, is nonsense and is a myth propagated by Tamil extremists. (T.NP.9)

Irregular asylum seekers were also depicted as having illegitimate claims since they arrived by taking advantage of a loophole in the Safe Third Country Agreement,

Ottawa needs to deal with the absurd situation resulting from the agreement's so-called 'loophole,' which allows refugee claimants to sidestep the agreement if they enter illegally. [...] The RCMP officials near Hemmingford, Que., or Emerson, Man., are applying the agreement with its 'loophole' - pretending the refugees had no opportunity to claim refugee status in the U.S. - when they actually witness claimants crossing the land border at unauthorized locations. (I.NP.7)

In addition, overall, the idea of sovereignty was not frequently discussed in the *National Post* articles, but it did represent Canada's sovereignty in the same manner as the *Globe and Mail*. For all three select groups of asylum seekers, borders and their method of arrival were the least discussed in the *National Post* as opposed to all other newspapers, and when these topics were presented, they were portrayed in a vague manner. For example, the *National Post* would describe these same individuals as "arriving in a non-conventional fashion [which] raises concerns ... of human smuggling" (T.NP.1). The *National Post* articles also presented the least fear-based depictions out of all the papers by not associating the arrival of these select asylum seekers with an impression of loss of control or panic over the state.

### **8.3 The Local Paper Representations**

Though the local papers were concerned with different groups of asylum seekers and were located in different regions, there were some similarities in the themes and the tones of the articles published in the *Vancouver Sun*, the *Toronto Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. Overall, there were not only fewer negative articles in the local papers, but also more positive articles than in the national papers. There were also two recurrent themes in these papers: the immigration process, which was a major theme in both the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and the

presentation of personal stories, which frequently occurred in both the *Toronto Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*.

Nonetheless, there were greater differences between each group's representations in the local papers than in the group's representations in the national papers. For example, the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Toronto Star* similarly covered Tamil asylum seekers and Syrian refugees as economic burdens while the *Winnipeg Free Press* articles focused more on how asylum seekers were often depicted as "lacking, as a burden. Instead of recognizing their resilience, we are assuming their deficiencies and that we are doing them a favour" (S.TS.11). There was also the need to "throw out these assumptions and stereotypes and help these refugees see their values and strengths" (S.TS.11) and not portray them as a burden to the community, while they had "family in Canada to support them" (T.VS.10).

The local papers also diverged when it came to how often questions of legitimacy pertaining to their asylum claim and to whether or not they were threats were covered. Depending on the group in question, these issues were either central, such as in the *Vancouver Sun* where almost every article dealt with such issues, or was barely touched upon, as in the *Toronto Star*.

## CHAPTER 9 DISCUSSION

This chapter serves to analyze and discuss the results obtained in the four previous chapters and is divided into six sections. First, it presents how Tamil asylum seekers, Syrian refugees and irregular asylum seekers are Othered in the articles used for this research. As Others, they are often depicted as threatening strangers and are not given the opportunity to speak for themselves. Second, this chapter examines how not only are the asylum seekers themselves Othered, but how their countries of origin or asylum-receiving countries are Othered as well, while Canada is often referred to as being better than these countries. Third, the ways that the depiction of the asylum seekers are used as a form of nation-building are examined. The state builds and maintains the nation by only allowing certain people into the state's territory and by only allowing certain individuals to become part of "us". The fourth section presents how the asylum seekers are chosen to enter the state's territory or chosen to become "us". The articles reflect that the state has the power to select who can enter the territory, in theory. In cases where this is not capacity is circumvented, discourses on those who enter the territory unofficially are punishing and are used to qualify these individuals as undesirable. Fifth, differences between local and national portrayals of asylum seekers and refugees are presented. The context behind these articles, that is to say the political orientation of the newspapers and the historical context of where these newspapers are located is also taken into account. Sixth, the ways asylum seekers are shown to be folk devils are discussed, based on Cohen's (1980) definition of folk devils.

### **9.1 Othering Asylum Seekers in Canadian Newspapers**

One aspect that is common in all groups analyzed for this thesis, no matter what paper the articles are published in: the asylum seekers are often "Othered" in the articles. In other words, they are almost always positioned as being different from real Canadians, and in most cases, they

are almost shrouded in mystery. This can occur in one of two ways: (1) they are unknown individuals and (2) are excluded from the narratives by not being given a voice in the articles

First, they are considered to be unknown others. In many articles, they are not thought of as individuals entering Canada, but rather seen as a group. Such is the case for irregular asylum seekers, who are most often described as being part of “[h]undreds of people” (I.WP.11) or even the “thousands, or hundreds of thousands, who might now be pondering a northern exodus” (I.NP.4). Their individuality or individual experiences are often times ignored in the selected articles thus leading them to be anonymous, to blend in with the others seeking asylum and remain unknown.

Tamil asylum seekers are also often framed as being unknown individuals. Except for their gender and their potential affiliation to the LTTE, the media do not describe these individuals in any way. Their voyage is not described, their living conditions in Sri Lanka are not examined, and who they are is not explored in any way, in any articles published: they are simply migrants who arrive without authorization, who have potential connections to the Tamil Tigers. In fact, some articles only present them as being LTTE members. Collacott, as cited in Greenaway, asks: “Are they simply Tamil Tiger supporters or actual Tamil Tiger fighters who are fleeing so the authorities won't prosecute them?” (T.VS.3).

These articles do not allow for any other representations of Tamils to exist. There is no other way to conceptualize them: they must be, in some way, affiliated to the LTTE. This is especially the case because they are framed as being illegitimate refugees or asylum seekers. Quite a few articles present the fact that they, allegedly, paid \$45,000 in order to charter a place aboard the *Ocean Lady*. This goes against everything the state's citizens know about refugees. In order to be considered a refugee, the would-be asylum seekers must meet the requirements of the state and

its citizens, as well as those established by international law. These requirements are based on “[i]nner concepts (schemata) [that] guide our perception of ‘the other.’” (Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017, p. 246) Refugees are most often considered to be victims of war or persecution, they need to be helped since they cannot help themselves or help their situation. Accordingly, the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees identifies a refugee as being an individual who

owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR, 1951, p. 14)

This definition, in a way, does not apply to the Tamil asylum seekers, in Canadian media. By paying smugglers to help them leave Sri Lanka in order to arrive to Canada, the Ocean Lady passengers went against what non-refugees expected of real refugees (Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017). Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna (2017) found that refugees can be regarded as fake or legitimate depending on which images of them are put forward. That is to say, on the one hand individuals who are shown to be living in shelters with hundreds of others, or trekking with their families are depicted as legitimate refugees. On the other hand, if they are shown as smiling or using smartphones, these representations do not fit with the typical ways refugees are thought of (Watzlawik & Brescó de Luna, 2017).

Thus, should Tamil asylum seekers be able to afford paying smugglers to bring them to Canada, this would “rais[e] suspicions that they are linked to the Tamil Tigers” (T.NP.6). Such expenses would therefore suggest that the asylum seekers are actually economic migrants, since

People who can afford the exorbitant amounts being charged by the smugglers for less than luxurious ocean voyages could presumably have afforded airplane tickets, [...]. It seems unlikely that the Sri Lankan government, which has an interest in strengthening the demographic majority of the Sinhalese ethnicity, would prevent members of the Tamil minority from leaving (T.GM.13).

If they are not refugees, then they must be Tamil Tigers, according to the media. Overall, the Tamils are seen as entering the country under false pretense. In other words, they are lying about being refugees, and the state does not know who they are in reality. Most articles also insist on the idea that their identities must be verified. Since we do not know who they are, who they are associated with or what they will do, even though they have a community in Canada, friends and family, they cannot be trusted: there is always the possibility that “this latest group of arrivals is the vanguard of large numbers of Tamil Tigers and their supporters planning to come here with the intention of making Canada the base for their separatist movement and a future insurgency” (T.NP.9). Therefore, they are seen as being strangers who have come to Canada for nefarious reasons, thus explaining why the majority of the articles portrayed them as being Tamil Tigers or as threats.

Secondly, even if they are not portrayed as being unknown, they are still excluded from the narratives by not being given a voice in the articles. That is to say, the individuals themselves are not the focus of the articles. Rarely are they described and rarely are they given the opportunity to tell their own stories. At the most, only one or two articles per paper have allowed for the asylum

seekers or refugees to have a say in their reality or their experiences. For example, only two articles published in the *Globe and Mail*, concerning the arrival of Tamil asylum seekers, referenced former Tamil refugees themselves, in order to shed light on their situation. In fact, both times, they insist on the fact that “[i]t is a desperate situation. People want to escape from the country and have a better life,” (T.GM.3) and that if “someone is willing to get on a boat, it just shows how desperate they are.” (T.GM.1)

Additionally, when a voice is given to Syrian refugees or to irregular asylum seekers, they are not employed in order to discuss their situation or their reasons for coming to Canada. Rather, they are used in order to promote a certain narrative about Canada. That is to say, these individuals who have the power to speak in these articles all insist on the fact that Canada is a great place to be: “‘Canada is wonderful,’ Hanaa says. ‘Everyone is helping us here. Toronto is amazing. All the people are so beautiful. So nice.’” (S.TS.18). They also feel grateful towards the state by saying how “blessed” (S.TS.18) they are to be here and how “[i]t’s a very good country” (I.GM.2).

The use of voices from former Tamil asylum seekers also distinguishes itself from the majority of the articles published, since they most often rely on more “official” sources, such as ministers, politicians, or high-ranking government employees, for example. Though the individuals who are quoted in these articles are not themselves asylum seekers who are arriving at the moment, they can offer some insight into their situation. Although they might seem less legitimate, at the same time, they can offer a perspective that encourages readers to be empathetic for the asylum seekers’ plight. However, across all the newspapers, the use of this type of voice is uncommon, with the majority relying on governmental sources.

In short, their voices are either suppressed or used in order to promote a certain narrative. In turn, these narratives allow the nation and its citizens to indulge in an “almost delirious self-

congratulatory chest-beating” (S.NP.17) and reinforce the stories that are held and seem to be natural, or part of the cultural fabric of the nation. These narratives also do not permit for asylum seekers to exist as experts in their own lives, since they do not get to talk about their own experiences, in Canadian newsprint media. They are rather left out of their own stories, barely described and pushed to the sidelines while government officials have the power to identify them and discuss them.

## **9.2 Othering of Different Countries in Canadian Newspapers**

Othering does not simply occur towards individuals: it also occurs towards other countries. No matter what group of migrants is talked about, journalists often position Canada as being the superior country, thus denigrating other states. On the one hand, across papers and groups of asylum seekers, Canada is often referred to as being better than other countries. It is seen as being “a compassionate country [...] that attracts desperate Sri Lankan Tamils” (T.VS.1) or as a “compassionate and immigrant-positive country” (S.GM.11) that is a “kinder, gentler analogue to its larger neighbour to the south” (I.NP.4). On the other hand, other countries are often positioned as being lacking. This occurs in one of two ways. First, it occurs by depreciating the countries where the asylum seekers are from. Sri Lanka is described as having such poor conditions that it is no surprise that Tamils would desire to come to Canada, while Syria is more explicitly described as being a “war-torn, Third World hellhole” (S.NP.19). Secondly, it occurs by disparaging other refugee-accepting countries. Other refugee-accepting countries are shown as lacking when compared to Canada, so it is not “surprising that they should choose Canada [as] their destination” (T.NP.9) since it has one of the world’s “most generous system of benefits for refugee claimants” (T.NP.9). The Canadian immigration or refugee system is also seen as being quite a contrast to “the anti-immigrant rhetoric” (S.GM.17) found in the United States, while having a “greater

tolerance” (I.NP.3) towards refugees than European countries. This allows Canada and Canadians to feel “morally superior” (S.NP.17) to other states. Accepting refugees is also a way for Canada to set an example to the rest of the world. It maintains its image by accepting much more refugees than other states, for example, it “accepted 50% more claims from [Sri Lankan Tamils] than did all the other countries of the world combined” (T.NP.9). In other words, accepting refugees allows “to show the world how to open our hearts” (S.TS.7), as well as to teach the rest of the world about “human rights and decency” (S.GM.15).

Thus, Canada is portrayed as being a better place to be because of how accepting of refugees it is. In the case of Syrian refugees, previous research has shown that the nation is depicted as being a kind savior. In this way, “Canada is constructed in negation to Syrian refugees who are desperate, vulnerable and without agency. The Canadian nation is therefore depicted as being a society with the necessary agency to welcome the Syrian refugees and to offer them a new life (Beauregard et al., 2018).

The idea of it being morally superior is often reiterated in the articles used for this research in order to promote a certain way of seeing the nation. However, as is acknowledged by some of the journalists in their articles, this is just an illusion, or an act that is consciously, or unconsciously done, in order to maintain certain stories that already exist about the nation. The articles selected for this research suggest that the current immigration system exists in order to maintain control over the state and over those who enter its territory, as well as to create or maintain a certain sense of nation-building. In other words, this sense of nation-building and the representations found in Canadian newspapers “suggest who we are as Canadians, who is allowed to belong, and who is located on the peripheries of Canadianness” (Mahtani, 2001, p. 100).

### 9.3 Depictions of Asylum Seekers as a Form of Nation-building

Nation-building is the structural process within which deliberate policies are put in place by the state in order to obtain “the homogenization of a state along the lines of a specific constitutive story” (Mylonas, 2017); in other words, it seeks to attain “national integration” (Mylonas, 2017). Additionally, Wimmer & Glick Schiller (2002) demonstrate that “nation-state building processes have fundamentally shaped the ways immigration has been perceived and received. These perceptions have in turn influenced, though not completely determined, social science theory and methodology and, more specifically, its discourse on immigration and integration.” (p. 301-302)

Articles on the Tamil asylum seekers, the Syrian refugees and the irregular asylum seekers portray nation-building in two main ways. First, they portray the arrival of certain individuals as building the nation, maintaining it and creating it. Picking and choosing who is allowed to gain access to a certain status, in this case the refugee status or even permanent resident status, allows for the nation to build itself. In other words, by choosing those who are considered to be a better fit to the nation, it is possible to create one’s desired type of nation. These individuals can be chosen for a variety of reasons, ranging from being the ones who are most educated, the ones with relevant work experience, knowledge of certain languages, etc. This is particularly exemplified by Bloemraad and Omidvar (I.GM.8). When talking about Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients, the authors argue that these types of individuals should be allowed into the country:

These are precisely the people that Canada looks for in its immigration program. The economic advisory council to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau recommended Canada focus a growing immigration strategy on business talent and international students. The DACA

kids are young, with a lifetime of economic contribution in front of them. They are fluent in English, went to U.S. schools, have North American work experience - often in companies that can be found on either side of the Canada-U.S. border - and some have university degrees. To get DACA status, they had to be screened for security threats and criminal background, making them a pre-vetted group. These young people hold incredible promise for Canada. They are exceptional people. It is not easy to go to college or university when you are undocumented. But within the flagship University of California public system, hundreds of dreamers are pursuing higher education in degrees ranging from math to sociology (I.GM.8).

Thus, these types of individuals are welcomed and allowed to enter the state because they fit a certain profile that allows it to attain certain objectives or goals as well as perpetuate the stories that are told about the nation, while others who do not meet this profile are excluded. In the aforementioned article, these goals are obtaining talented and educated individuals who can contribute economically to the state. Otherwise said, they are “assessed as to their suitability” (T.VS.1) to enter and stay in the country. They can also contribute to another goal: maintaining how the nation perceives itself. When talking about Tamil asylum seekers, Mahoney quotes Anandakumar Sothinathan, a Tamil refugee who arrived in Canada in 1986,

‘It is a desperate situation. People want to escape from the country and have a better life,’ he said. ‘Canada is a good country and especially there's a good chance for immigrants. It's good for Canada and it's good for the people who come here, too.’ (T.GM.3)

In cases like this, the arrival of asylum seekers or refugees is seen as a good thing for Canada: it is in line with the ideas that the nation puts forward about itself and proves that it's

reputation for being a refugee-accepting country is true. As one article states, the arrival of these individuals was responsible for “making Canada great again” (S.TS.10).

Second, the nation is also built in a much more subtle way than choosing those who can enter it: it can also occur through the integration process. This is particularly exemplified by the way the Syrian refugees were portrayed in Canadian newspapers. In many cases, integration is depicted as being the work of Canadians: the citizens were the ones who were willing to integrate the refugees, and to help them become a part of the nation. As is seen in Andrew-gee and Galloway’s article, “[t]hey are our family” (S.GM.2). Cohn sheds light on this situation in his article by stating that “[t]here is much to be said for a nation-state self-consciously showcasing its treatment of stateless refugees.” (S.TS.7) This reveals how Tamil, Syrian and irregular asylum seekers are depicted in Canadian newspapers. It acknowledges what has been mentioned previously: the representations put forward are, in some way, an illusion or an act. Accepting refugees and making them a part of the nation, by having current citizens teach them what it means to be a citizen, is a conscious act committed in order to reward those who enter through legitimate ways. In this case, this allows for Syrian refugees to be depicted as being worthy of help as they are the “stateless refugees” (S.TS.7) that Cohn refers to. On the other hand, Tamils and irregular asylum seekers, were never depicted as being assisted in their integration by those who were already citizens. In fact, in the case of Tamil asylum seekers, the majority of these individuals had family to turn to or to help them integrate. However, these family members were also seen as a danger, a threat to the state, since those arriving, and those already in the country were seen as either Tamil Tigers or sympathizers. There was also no mention of assisting these individuals in their integration. In the case of the irregular asylum seekers, journalists were discouraging their

integration, stating that they need to be sent back as soon as possible, otherwise they will establish “roots in Canada, creating a second set of crises” (I.GM.10).

#### **9.4 Choosing Asylum Seekers**

The articles also seem to want to punish those who enter through unconventional means by presenting negative depictions of them. Journalists state that the arrival of these kinds of asylum seekers are a danger “to the integrity, successful functioning and public support of Canada's refugee and immigration systems.” (I.GM.10) That is to say, they are disrupting Canada’s power over who is allowed to enter its territory by using the so-called “back door”. Their way of arrival is depicted as disregarding the laws and policies that have been put in place by the state in order to control who is permitted to enter and who isn’t. It is also possible to notice that because of their way of arrival, which does not allow Canada to control them, the state retaliates in a way and makes this clear to the readers. It seeks to toughen the immigration legislation in order to punish those who arrive without prior approval, while rewarding “law-abiding immigrants who patiently wait to come to the country” (T.GM.2). Further punishment occurs by restricting what these individuals are allowed to do once in the country. For example, they are questioned, restrained or detained by the CBSA. The state reacts in such a way because it believes that it should be the one with the sovereign power to allow Others to enter its territory. This is exemplified in some *Globe and Mail* articles on Tamils, where the journalists express that “Canada has signalled it intends to fight the claims” (T.GM.15) since they are illegitimate.

These discourses also serve to, in a way, to build the nation. They identify those who are less desirable and attempt to discourage them from entering the state. This can be done in a quite literal way, in the case of irregular asylum seekers where government officials are quoted saying that they are “strongly discourag[ing] those attempting to cross the border from making the trek”

(I.WP.28). Additionally, this can be done by presenting the asylum seekers in a negative light and by presenting the possible consequences of their arrival, such as for the Tamil asylum seekers who were often depicted as being detained, arrested, shackled or questioned. In other words, they are faced with punishing discourses for not allowing the state to retain its sovereign power of being able to choose who is on its territory. In short, the media puts forward certain depictions of the state and of these asylum seekers in order to build a specific kind of nation: one where certain groups are encouraged to enter and are taught what it means to belong, to be a part of “us”. Put another way, this is done in order to retain control over the nation, over those who come in and what they do or how they act once they are here.

This idea of maintaining control over those who enter the state’s territory is also quite present in the newspapers articles by outlining how the state has the power to pick and choose whose claim is legitimate, and who can enter legally. In fact, the newspapers used for this thesis present many more articles concerning Syrian refugees, with over 250 articles these refugees originally published within the established time frame while less than 100 for Tamils or irregular asylum seekers. In other words, the articles that discuss topics that go against what the state encourages, that is to say legal and regular immigration, are more prevalent than articles that discuss illegal or irregular immigration. Generally, these discussions are uncommon in the case of Syrian refugees, since there is already full control over those who arrive in Canada, and retaining control over these individuals is therefore not seen as an issue. In the case of these refugees, the state has all the power by being able to process them abroad and identify individuals for “possible selection by Canada” (S.GM.17).

Nevertheless, whether these articles covered these groups briefly or extensively, the majority of them frame Canada, or government officials, as having the power or the authority to

determine if asylum claims are legitimate and determine if the asylum seekers should be granted refugee status. Put differently, the state has the authority to pick and chose who they determine has a rightful claim and who are more (or less) desirable, while making it seem as though Canada is a generous country. For instance, Crohn expressed that

it would be wrong to get carried away by our latest performance, for it is precisely that - a deliberate display of controlled goodwill far removed from the uncontrollable chaos of migrant upheavals. We must admit that for all our earnest declarations and determined actions, Canada remains in a privileged position. We have not been tested like Germany or Greece, both brimming with migrants of indeterminate origin. By virtue of our splendid geographic isolation, we are largely spared the waves of boat people who risk drowning at sea, or the stampedes at border crossings that wreak havoc with sovereignty. We can afford to take our time, consider our options and select refugees with our own timelines linked to the latest headlines. We get to "cherry-pick" families in remote Middle Eastern camps, where families are pre-vetted by the United Nations as bona fide refugees. Applicants wait patiently for text messages summoning them to interviews, followed by notifications of their scheduled airlifts. If people don't make the Canadian cut, we don't have to contend with anyone storming the borders or slicing through barbed wire. How very orderly. Europe has no such margin of manoeuvre, nor the luxury of moral clarity that Canadian officials can count on in UN refugee camps - where everyone is on the run. European governments must grapple with economic migrants distorting the decision-making process in real time.

(S.TS.7)

The articles selected for this research exclusively depicted the state, or representatives of the state, such as lawyers, politicians, or public servants, as being those with the authority to

determine if claims are legitimate. This relates back to the status of “other” that is accorded to the asylum seekers: as others, they are not given a voice or a chance to speak for themselves in these articles. Although they themselves might identify as refugees, and although there might be legitimate reasons to perceive them as being genuine refugees, such as the Tamil asylum seekers whose claims have “a success rate of more than nine in 10” (T.GM.9), asylum seekers and refugees are depicted as relying on government officials in order to legitimize their claims, to “sort out” (T.GM.9) the legitimate victims from those attempting to take advantage of the immigration system.

In addition to framing this idea of picking and choosing the types of migrants who are wanted for the nation as being the responsibility of the state and its representatives, many articles also frame the process of choosing those who are most deserving as having to follow the laws established by the state. Not only do government officials decide who can be granted refugee status, but the current immigration or refugee system itself is created and put into place in order to control migrants’ entry as well. For example, Giovannetti quotes Conservative immigration critic Michelle Rempel stating that a “plan to enforce, and if necessary, strengthen our laws to stop” (I.GM.2) the arrival of irregular asylum seekers must be put into place. These plans or laws thus guide government officials in their decision-making process: “The immigration legislation allows for granting refugee protection to persons who are displaced, persecuted or in danger” (T.NP.1). However, one can also interpret from these select articles that the immigration system itself is made in order to only allow the best or most deserving individuals to be granted legal status, as it attempts to shut itself off from those who would seek to go around it. As former Minister Jason Kenney states in several articles, “we need to do a much better job of shutting the back door of immigration for those who seek to abuse that asylum system.” (T.GM.15) Similarly, other articles

also reinforce the idea that laws should be strict in order to only allow authentic refugees: “Canada should accept genuine victims of persecution, under the criteria of the UN Convention, but not economic immigrants who try to evade Canadian immigration processes and policies” (T.GM.4).

Though the system is framed in the selected articles as being able to control who gets to enter the state’s territory, it is at the same time, in most cases, depicted as being under threat by the very same people it attempts to control. By entering the territory in an irregular fashion, the asylum seekers are portrayed as threatening the “integrity” (T.GM.13; I.GM.7; I.WP.23) of the whole system, while refugees who are chosen before their arrival, such as Syrian refugees, are not shown as threatening the system. Instead, they show their respect for the immigration system by “waiting their turn” (S.GM.19). Likewise, Tamil and irregular asylum seekers are depicted as being threats to the state, while Syrians are not: rather, they are new Canadians who need help adjusting to their new lives.

### **9.5 Local and National Differences in Portrayals of Asylum Seekers**

This research analyzed articles from five Canadian newspapers: two national newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, as well as three local newspapers which were the *Vancouver Sun*, the *Toronto Star* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. The first national paper, the *Globe and Mail*, located in Toronto, is the most widely circulated paper in Canada, as of 2016 (Meyer, 2017). Owned by The Globe and Mail Inc., this paper is a more center-right paper and previously held strong ties with the Bay Street bankers and brokers (Henry & Tator, 2000). The second national paper, the *National Post*, owned by Postmedia, is a right-wing broadsheet that targets a “highbrow” audience composed of political and corporate elites and is known to hold a strong anti-immigration ideology (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2000).

The *Vancouver Sun*, the local paper analyzed for the Tamil asylum seekers, is also owned by Postmedia. It is the most widely circulated paper in British Columbia and caters to a more middle class, socially and economically diverse audience (Bradimore & Bauder, 2011). After the *Globe and Mail*, the *Toronto Star* is the most widely circulated paper in Ontario. Owned by the Torstar Corporation, it caters, like the *Vancouver Sun*, to a liberal, economically and socially diverse population. Finally, the *Winnipeg Free Press* is owned by FP Canadian Newspapers LP and describes itself as being a paper for the people of the province: “there is no other major newspaper in Canada that is so closely associated with the hopes, dreams and ambitions of its readers than the Free Press” (“History,” 2019; News Media Canada, n.d.).

The representations of refugees and asylum seekers that were found can not only depend on which end of the political spectrum the newspaper situates itself, but can also be influenced by different experiences of the regions the papers in which the papers are published. The newspapers analyzed for this thesis are located in three different locations of the country: Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg. As established in the chapter 3, the local versus national status of these newspapers may be one of the factors that could explain the differences of representations of the asylum seeker groups (if indeed there are any). In addition, as noted above, these local and national differences in representation may be due to regional differences: each location would have similarities and differences in their histories, cultures, policies and political attitudes, as well as in their demography, institutions and economy (Wesley, 2016), thus potentially leading to differences in their ways of seeing the Other. Authors typically propose a variety of ways to divide the regions of Canada: often, it is either based on the way the country is currently divided in provinces and territories, or based on more natural factors such as geology or climate (Wesley, 2016; Westfall, 1983). For this thesis, we will consider that each Canadian province or territory represents a

different region of Canada, and the focus will be placed on one aspect of regional differences: political culture.

Firstly, the political culture of the three provinces is quite different. British Columbia, where Vancouver is located, is considered by some to be the “spoilt child” (Black, 1996, cited in Wesley, 2016, p. 171) of the nation. Historically a populist-liberal province, it is one of the more individualistic, liberal, radical and utopian regions of the country, characterized by a sort of resentment towards federal politics and policies (Elkins & Simeon, 1980; Wesley, 2016). British Columbians are, in a way, isolated from the rest of the country and benefit from wealth that suggests “the people of British Columbia have a rather distinct and optimistic feeling of self-centeredness and self-satisfaction” (Dyck, 1986, p. 509, cited in Wesley, 2016, p. 171).

Toronto, located in Ontario, is seen as being in the quintessential Canadian province. It has deep ties to the Canadian federation on a cultural, economic, demographic and political level (Wesley, 2016). In fact, both Elkins & Simeon (1980) and Wesley (2016) have found that Ontarians identify more strongly with their country than with their province compared to all other regions. While it has historically been considered one of the most distinct regions of Canada, “World wars, economic depression, and immigration into the province” (Wesley, 2016, p. 104) have changed this distinctness and transformed Ontario’s political culture into a “big, bland and diffuse” one (Wesley, 2016; Elkins & Simeon, 1980).

Winnipeg, located in Manitoba, is characterized by modesty and moderation and has historically been led by a labor-socialist government, alternating mostly with conservative governments. Located between Central Canada and the Pacific Coast, it represents a sort of “fuzzy middle ground where the East ends and the West begins” (Marshall, 1970, cited in Wesley, 2016, p. 122). Being neighbourly or agreeable to one another are important values for Manitobans

because they strongly believe that it is necessary for them to work together in order to “maintain social peace and achieve common goals” (Wesley, 2016, p. 122).

In the case of Tamil and irregular asylum seekers, the national and local papers were not published in the same regions and there were more obvious differences in how the articles published about them treated them as threats to the state. This is particularly noticeable in the case of irregular asylum seekers, who were most often portrayed as being risks to the province. For example, the *Winnipeg Free Press* largely situated the arrival of these individuals as a provincial issue, rather than a national one. By emphasizing local issues, the paper stays in accordance with how it presents itself as a newspaper by the people for the people. As Martin identifies in his article:

Because asylum seekers are crossing from the U.S. in only three or four provinces and because it may not be seen as a large problem on a national scale, Ottawa may be treating it as a Manitoba problem rather than a Canadian one (I.WP.21).

Since the province is responsible for offering services, such as housing, health services, social services and education, as well as dispensing resources in order to patrol the area where migrants are crossing the U.S.-Canada border, the selected articles largely frame this as being more of a local issue. As for the national newspapers, they demonstrate their closer ties to the idea of the nation than to local issues, by often depicting the irregular asylum seekers as taking advantage and threatening larger systems, such as the immigration system.

Local articles on Tamil or irregular asylum seekers tend to frame these individuals as being a threat differently than their national counterparts, since their arrival disrupts and becomes a burden for the local community. Although this is acknowledged in some of the national articles, it is less frequently portrayed than in the local paper. These depictions of asylum seekers do not often

occur in the selected articles and actually stands in contrast with how Syrian refugees were represented, especially in the national papers. They were, in many cases, portrayed as feeling “very shy” (S.GM.8) over receiving financial help, while Tamil and irregular asylum seekers’ thoughts on accepting assistance were never discussed. Rather, they would simply be shown as taking advantage of the state’s generosity.

For the articles on Tamil asylum seekers, the differences between the national and local articles were more subtle than the articles about irregular asylum seekers. The articles published in the *Vancouver Sun* tended to be more positive, less negative and more “mixed” (that is to say, presenting both positive and negative aspects of this situation) than the national counterparts. This was also the case for the articles regarding Syrian or irregular asylum seekers, where tones in the local papers were generally less negative than in the articles found in the *Globe and Mail* or the *National Post*. In the case of Tamil asylum seekers, national newspapers also demonstrated a stronger connection to the state, and how the arrival of these individuals was threatening existing systems. The *Vancouver Sun*, possibly demonstrating its province’s distaste for federalism, tended to go against such representations and also depicted Tamil asylum seekers as victims of the conflict in Sri Lanka rather than as threats to the state.

In the case of Syrian refugees, there were also no major differences in the representations of these individuals in national or local papers. This could be explained by the fact that both national newspapers as well as the local paper were in the same region (the greater Toronto area) and thus, there would not be a local stake at play that could influence the representations of Syrian refugees. However, one difference found in the representations of Syrian refugees could be due to the audience each paper targets. The *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* were both more highbrow and right leaning, while the *Toronto Star* targets a more liberal and diverse audience.

Accordingly, it also presented more personal stories in its articles and tended to show the refugees more positively, as being resilient and optimistic individuals, than the national newspapers, perhaps due to having a more ethnically or culturally diverse audience.

Overall, if there were differences in the local and national depictions of the three groups of asylum seekers chosen for this research, the differences were not found in the aspects identified in the literature review, for example. Rather, they occur on the general theme of the articles. For example, in the case of Tamil asylum seekers, national articles focused on the legitimacy of their claim, while the local articles focused on issues surrounding security and the immigration process. National articles about irregular asylum seekers presented more general topics, offering descriptions of the events, of their crossing, while local articles focused on the impacts of their arrival for the community and presented stories with a more personal touch. In the case of Syrian refugees, where the local and national papers were published in the same region, there were no major differences in the topics presented in the articles, apart from the national newspapers presenting articles slightly more often concerning the arrival of the refugees than the local newspaper.

## **9.6 Asylum Seekers as Folk Devils**

Despite some local differences, asylum seekers, more specifically those who enter the state's territory without prior authorization, are overall depicted as folk devils or carriers of risk. The previous chapters and subsection of this chapter have demonstrated that there is a tendency to portray asylum seekers as being unknown and as a threat to the state in many aspects. This is particularly noticeable in cases where they were not granted permission to enter the state's territory before their arrival. Accordingly, Syrian refugees are, overall, depicted less as being threatening individuals; there is no sense of loss of control over the state or sense of panic associated with their

arrival, contrary to depictions of Tamil or irregular asylum seekers, who can cause a panic surrounding their arrival.

Media are able to convey this panic by representing these individuals as threats to society, thus constructing them as undesirables or folk devils. Chapter 3, which presents the theoretical framework guiding this research, outlines what Cohen (1980) identifies as the five markers that define folk devils. First, there is concern or fear about the threat. Overall, the selected articles have made it clear that asylum seekers and refugees are welcome as long as they follow the rules established by the state. That is to say, as long as they wait to be granted permission to enter its territory. In cases where these individuals do not follow these rules, such as in the case of Tamil or irregular asylum seekers, a concern exists due to the fact that the state is not permitted to select those to whom it grants permission to enter the territory.

Second, there is hostility towards the actors who are the embodiments of the concern or are those responsible for it. Chapters 6 through 9, as well as what has been stated previously in this chapter, have shown that Canadian newspaper articles frame asylum seekers in a negative, or hostile, manner by portraying them as being either burdens or threats to communities. Cohen (1980) and Bradimore & Bauder (2011) identify asylum seekers and refugees specifically as being embodiments, or objects, of moral panics, or anxieties in a given community. That is to say, there is an existing fear of not being in control over the state and its territory, and the arrival of groups of asylum seekers embodies this fear, leading to negative depictions of these groups. In addition, according to Cohen, while refugees are shown to be worthy of some level of compassion, their counterparts, so-called “bogus” asylum seekers, are not. In the articles selected for this research, this was reflected as, on the one hand, Syrian refugees being often depicted as new Canadians who need assistance in order to properly integrate and become full-fledged members of society as

opposed to not being portrayed as threats. On the other hand, Tamil and irregular asylum seekers were often framed as seeking asylum for illegitimate reasons, and were often depicted as being either economic burdens or threats.

Third, there is a consensus that the threat exists and that something should be done about it. Cohen argues that in the case of asylum seekers and refugees, the consensus about what should happen to them occurs in three ways: first there is consensus that “we must keep out as many refugee-type of foreigners as possible” (Cohen, 1980, p. xxii); second, their claims are illegitimate; and third, strict criteria must be established and enforced to determine the legitimacy of their claims. These three aspects were observed in the articles selected for this research. The Tamil and irregular asylum seekers are trying to be kept out in various ways, with some articles discussing whether or not building a wall on the U.S.-Canada border would solve the problem (I.NP.2; I.NP.8), actively discouraging them from coming to Canada (I.WP.28) or stating that the government does not want “people to get into rickety boats, pay thousands of dollars, cross the oceans and come to Canada illegally” (T.VS.6). They are also in many cases assumed to have illegitimate claims and to be seeking asylum under false pretenses and, in response to their arrival, the state is shown to take measures, such as toughening laws, in order to limit the number of asylum seekers who are granted refugee status.

Fourth, the concern is disproportionately exaggerated. Though this can be difficult to establish due to the nature of this research, some articles suggest that journalists employ hyperboles in order to create a larger sense of panic among their readership. This is often done by suggesting that allowing these groups to obtain legal status in Canada would only encourage others who have similarly illegitimate claims to attempt the crossing as well: “[i]f we’re willing to let this lot in, others will follow” (T.GM.5). In fact, some articles insist on the fact that not much can be done to

stop them from coming. In the case of Tamil asylum seekers “patrolling the wide open ocean to the west of British Columbia” (T.GM.13) is unfeasible while for the irregular asylum seekers, “[t]here's no law to stop a person legally in the United States from leaving the country [and] there is nothing Canadian police can do to stop a person from stepping over the boundary” (I.GM.3).

Fifth, the concern arrives and disappears suddenly. Though this is difficult to establish due to the chosen sample of articles (published up to one month after their arrival), the articles do suggest that the concern disappears just as suddenly as it appeared. This is because, three weeks after the asylum seekers first arrive, the number of articles published decreases significantly (see Figure 4), thus suggesting that the concern diminishes over time.

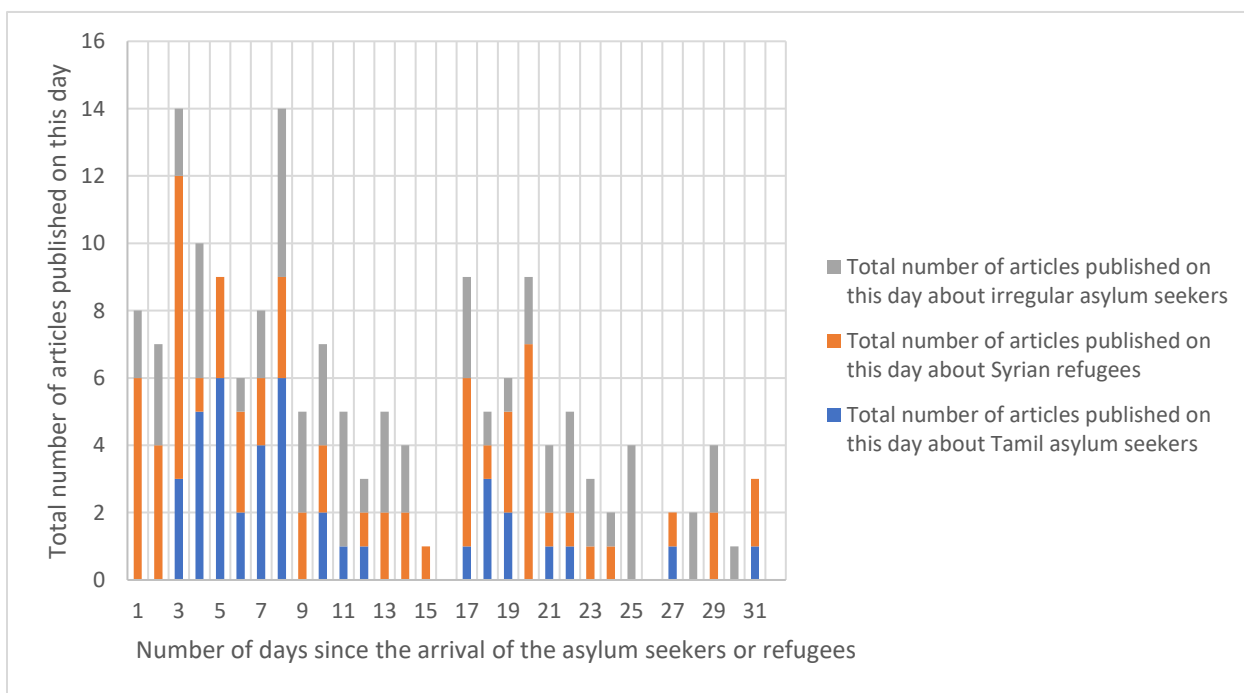


Figure 4. Distribution of articles on all asylum seekers.

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrated that Tamil asylum seekers, Syrian refugees and irregular asylum seekers are Othered by Canadian media. As unknown individuals who have no voice, their individuality is ignored and they are grouped together in order to more easily portray them as dangers or threats to the state. Though when they are given a voice, it is used in order to

portray the state in a positive light: as a helpful, wonderful place to be. However, Othering did not only apply to the asylum seekers but also to other states. That is to say, media position the Canadian state much more positively than the countries where the asylum seekers are from and the countries that are also accepting these groups of refugees. In short, Canada is depicted as the place to be if one is a refugee claimant.

Thus, Canada promoted an image of being welcoming and of living up to its charitable nature. However, allowing these asylum seekers and refugees to enter the state's territory was shown to serve a purpose other than living up to this projected image: it was also utilized to build the nation. First, by determining who can attain refugee status, where often the best of the best are picked. Second, by having citizens teach these new arrivals what it takes to become part of the nation or to become "us". Furthermore, in the cases where the state was not allowed to determine who can enter its territory (i.e. the cases where the asylum seekers side-stepped the state's selection process), Canadian media often used punishing discourses towards these asylum claimants and clearly identified those who were desirable and those who were undesirable.

Overall, the newspapers studied in this research all depicted these ideas, no matter the region or the type of paper (local or national) in which the articles were published. Even the ways the asylum seekers were constructed as undesirables tended to be the same across the newspapers: the focus was placed on how they were threats to the state or to the nation. When there were existing differences between articles published in a local paper and articles published in a national paper, the differences were surrounding the general themes of the articles.

The final way asylum seekers are constructed as undesirables was to depict them as folk devils. Tamil and irregular asylum seeker meet the criteria in order to be considered folk devils, according to Cohen. Though they are often set aside and ignored in their own stories, when they

are depicted, they are often embodiments of threats and of fears that the state holds. Their depictions are also employed to put forward certain ways of thinking about the state itself, such as establishing who is granted permission to enter it and who is chosen to contribute to it.

## CHAPTER 10 CONCLUSION

### 10.1 Final Remarks

The research question that guided this research was: *How are media representations of Tamil, Syrian and irregular asylum seekers in Canadian newspapers linked to the control Canada has over its borders?* In order to formulate an answer to this, two other questions first had to be answered. First, how are Tamil, Syrian and irregular asylum seekers represented in Canadian newspapers? Second, how are these representations linked to control over the border?

Asylum seekers who arrived without prior authorization from the state, that is to say Tamil and irregular asylum seekers, were depicted more unfavorably than those who entered the nation's territory with authorization. Therefore, Tamil asylum seekers were, more often than not, depicted negatively. While they did not represent an economic burden or have obvious difficulties with integrating into the state, since most of them already had family members already in it, they were mostly depicted as being threats. Overall, they were not seen as legitimate victims of the Sri Lankan civil war, but rather as being Tamil Tigers in disguise. Thus, they would represent threats to national security, by using Canada as a place to regroup and to reorganize.

Additionally, irregular asylum seekers were subject to more variable depictions than Tamil asylum seekers or Syrian refugees. Framing these asylum seekers as difficult to integrate was not made salient in any of the selected newspapers. However, depicting them as a financial burden on the local community was quite prominent in the Winnipeg Free Press. The Globe and Mail also prominently depicted them as being threats to society, while the National Post and the Winnipeg Free Press did not identify this as a common issue in their articles.

Syrian refugees were depicted in a completely different manner than the Tamil and irregular asylum seekers. They were often seen as being the perfect victims of the Syrian civil war:

they left their country with nothing, lived in refugee camps for years, and, more importantly, waited their turn to come to Canada as refugees. They were rarely seen as threats or as economic burdens. In fact, most of the articles about them were much more positive than the articles about Tamil or irregular asylum seekers and depicted them as new Canadians that need help in order for them to integrate properly into society.

These results, when considering other research concerning migrant depictions in the media, can be somewhat surprising. This research's literature review clearly revealed that migrants have a tendency to be portrayed in a negative fashion in media. However, one aspect that did emerge but was not fully developed in the literature review was the fact that Muslim individuals are overwhelmingly depicted negatively in media (e.g., Alsultany, 2013; Rahman, 2018). Given that Syrian refugees were mostly Muslim, and that this was clearly indicated in some of the articles analyzed in this research, one would have expected them to be presented negatively, using the same stereotypes.

This fact thus suggests that there is something that can surpass characteristics such as religion or race as being the determining element when it comes to depictions of individuals in the media. This research has sought to establish that this determining element could be the control that the state has over its borders and over those that cross its borders.

Nonetheless, the link between these representations and controlling the border or sovereignty claims can be complex to establish. As a reminder, as seen in chapter 3, what this research refers to when discussing sovereignty is the power that is exerted over a specific territory. Additionally, Macklin (2009) has argued that the autonomy of the migrant and the autonomy of the state are competing ideas and this was reflected in the selected articles of this research. On the one hand, the asylum seekers who did not make use of their autonomy or their agency, in this case

Syrian refugees, were portrayed quite positively. In many articles, they were essentially praised for waiting their turn to arrive in Canada, and allowing the government to pick and chose those who would make the best fit to fulfill the needs of the state. In other words, as individuals who do not use their autonomy in order to travel to Canada without prior authorization from the proper authorities, they do not encroach onto the autonomy of the state and its power to make decisions over who it allows in. In the case of these refugees, the government also made a great “show” of welcoming them, bringing them into the nation, and giving them permission to live in the country. One need only think of Prime Minister Trudeau greeting newly arrived Syrian refugees at Toronto’s Pearson airport to begin to understand how the government played a role in admitting and integrating these refugees.

On the other hand, in the case of Tamil and irregular asylum seekers, by making their way to Canada without prior authorization to do so, and therefore utilizing their own autonomy or agency in order to reach Canada, they encroach on the state’s autonomy, or right to decide who can enter. They do not allow for the state to control who, when, how, and how many individuals arrive and attempt to enter its territory. Consequently, these individuals are vilified, portrayed as threats to national security and discouraged from seeking asylum. In other words, by not respecting the state’s desire to pick and chose who comes in before their arrival, they are depicted negatively in Canadian newspapers.

## **10.2 Limitations and Future Research**

As stated earlier, there may be other factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender and class that can influence the representations found in this research. A limitation of this research is related to the coding of the articles. More specifically, due to the fact that there was only one person coding the chosen articles, there was no “intercoder reliability” where two or more

individuals compare their coding results in order to determine if the results are reliable, or if one is simply obtaining the results one wants to find. In order to negate this limitation as much as possible, the coding scheme was created with all answers to the established questions having to be supported by direct quotes from the articles. For example, after the question “Are the asylum seekers depicted as being burdens on the welfare state, as benefitting from services they should not be entitled to, as stealing jobs, etc.?” the next step is to provide a brief summary of how they are, or not, depicted as financial burdens, followed by all the quotes in the article that demonstrate this.

This research is also not representative of all asylum seekers or refugees coming to Canada, but rather representative of three groups: Tamils, Syrians and irregular asylum seekers arriving from the United States. Different results could be obtained due to different contexts such as differences in groups of asylum seekers, types of newspapers, or regions. Factors that were not necessarily taken into account for this research, such as political context, time period, race and gender of the asylum seekers, to only name a few, could also impact how they are depicted in Canadian news media.

Therefore, further research using the aforementioned factors would be needed in order to confirm the results obtained here and the possible relationship between the type of asylum seeker and Canada’s sovereignty.

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Wingrove, J. (2009, November 2). Trace explosives found on Tamils' ship, clothing, affidavits say; Lawyers for the migrants have concerns about the lack of detail in the allegations, claim the government seeking to detain men as suspected members of Tamil Tigers. *The Globe and Mail*.

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## Appendix A Coding Scheme

Table 16  
*Coding Scheme*

Element of Coding	Description of the Element of Coding
<i>Section 1: Basic Article Information</i>	
Article title	What is the full title of the article that is being coded?
Date of publication	Using the “Year-Month-Day” format, when was the article in question published?
Publication	What is the name of the newspaper the article is published in?
Type of paper	Is the newspaper in question a local or a national one?
Author	Using the “Last name, First name” format, who is credited as being the journalist who wrote the article?
Which group is it about?	Is the article about Tamil, Syrian or irregular asylum seekers?
What type of article?	What type of article is being coded (Ex: news, opinion, letter to the editor, etc.)?
<i>Section 2: Article Overall Representations</i>	
Theme 1	Graneheim, Lindgren and Lundman define the theme as being the “‘the red thread’ that does not vary through various parts of the text” (2017, p. 33). In the article that is being analyzed, what is the main ‘red thread’ that is present throughout?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Theme 2	In the article that is being analyzed, what is the second ‘red thread’ that is most present, if there is one?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Theme 3	In the article that is being analyzed, what is the third ‘red thread’ that is most present, if there is one?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.

Tone of article	Does the article represent the asylum seekers from a more positive, negative, neutral or mixed point of view?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
<i>Section 3: Representations of the asylum seekers based on the literature</i>	
Economic burden	Are the asylum seekers depicted as being burdens on the welfare state, as benefitting from services they should not be entitled to, as stealing jobs, etc.? (Yes or no answer.)
What is said about their economic burden?	If they are represented as being burdens, give a brief description/summary of what is said about it.
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Integration	Are the asylum seekers portrayed as having ease or difficulties integrating? Are their differences (racial or cultural) reasons that would inhibit their integration? (Yes or no answer.)
What is said about their integration?	If they are represented as being difficult to integrate, give a brief description/summary of what is said about it.
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer
Threats	Are asylum seekers associated to crimes or to terrorism? Are they shown to be abusing the Canadian immigration system?
What is said about the threat they pose?	If they are represented as threats, criminals, etc., give a brief description/summary of what is said about them?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Is their claim seen as legitimate?	Are they represented as legitimate asylum seekers or are they taking advantage of the Canadian immigration system? Are their claims justified or are they coming into Canada under false pretexts? (Yes or no answer)
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to the frame elements that emerged in the manual holistic approach.
<i>Section 4: Links to Canada/Sovereignty/Borders</i>	

Is the sovereignty of the state mentioned?	Is the control Canada exerting over its territory or the people within it mentioned? (Yes or no answer)
What is said about the sovereignty of the state?	If Canada's sovereignty is mentioned, give a brief description/summary of what is said it. How are Canada's decisions/control over its territory, people, etc. demonstrated in the articles.
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Borders	Are the Canadian borders mentioned? (Yes or no answer)
What is said about the border?	If the border is mentioned, give a brief description/summary of what is said about it, how the people are crossing it.
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Loss of control	Is there a sense of a loss of control over the border/those that come in? (Yes or no answer)
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Panic	Is the author of the article telling us that we should be worried/panicking about the arrival of the immigrants? (Yes or no answer)
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Who is responsible for the panic?	If there is a sense of panic that is being put forward by the author, to whom is the panic linked? Who or what is "responsible" for it? Is the panic linked to the migrants or to the border?
In what way are they linked?	If there is a sense of panic linked to the migrants, how are they shown to be linked to it? If there is a sense of panic linked to the border, how are it shown to be linked to it?
Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Canada's representation	If Canada is mentioned, give a brief description/summary of how it is depicted.

Quote	Provide all quotes pertaining to this, in order to demonstrate the previous answer.
Extra elements of coding	This section allows for additional elements to be found during the coding phase. While the initial manual holistic coding approach was employed in order to generating frames, there is still the possibility that an element of coding was missed during this process. This section in the coding scheme allows for these elements that might have been missed to be coded and taken into account during the analysis process.

## Appendix B Reference Codes

Table 17

### Reference Codes and Article References

Reference Code	Article Reference
T.GM.1	Armstrong, J. (2009a, October 19). Dozens of boat migrants await their fate. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
T.GM.2	Armstrong, J., & Ibbitson, J. (2009, October 20). Seeking a safe haven, finding a closed door. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
T.GM.3	Mahoney, J. (2009a, October 20). He once sought refuge, now urges compassion. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.9.
T.GM.4	Dubious appearances. (2009, October 20). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.16.
T.GM.5	Armstrong, J., Amos, H., & Mahoney, J. (2009, October 21). Migrants reach out to families. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
T.GM.6	Geringas, E. (2009, October 21). Where's our compassion? <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.20.
T.GM.7	Pitt, S. (2009, October 21). Where's our compassion? <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.20.
T.GM.8	Mahoney, J., & Armstrong, J. (2009a, October 22). Sri Lankan migrants suffered gruelling journey. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. S.7.
T.GM.9	Freeze, C. (2009a, October 23). Ships of fleeing Tamils stir fear of hidden Tigers. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.18.
T.GM.10	Mahoney, J., & Armstrong, J. (2009b, October 23). Migrant's arrival relieves Canadian relatives. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.18.
T.GM.11	Armstrong, J. (2009b, October 24). Man from migrant ship ordered released. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.5.
T.GM.12	Boles, D. (2009, October 24). Tamil times. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.26.
T.GM.13	Ships should look out for ships. (2009, October 24). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.26.
T.GM.14	Mahoney, J. (2009b, October 28). Well-prepared navy took migrant ship. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.7.
T.GM.15	Wingrove, J. (2009, November 2). Trace explosives found on Tamils' ship, clothing, affidavits say; Lawyers for the migrants have concerns about the lack of detail in the allegations, claim the government seeking to detain men as suspected members of Tamil Tigers. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> .
T.GM.16	Engage on all levels. (2009, November 3). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.18.
T.GM.17	Armstrong, J. (2009c, November 4). Tamil migrant held over possible ties to terror group. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.7.
T.GM.18	Armstrong, J. (2009d, November 6). Lawyers for migrants challenge expert's credentials. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.10.
T.GM.19	Armstrong, J. (2009e, November 12). Expert claims migrants are Tamil Tigers. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.9.
T.NP.1	Petrescu, S. (2009, October 19). Human smuggling suspected; 76 men aboard ship seized off Vancouver Island. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.4.

T.NP.2	Dawson, F. (2009, October 20). Illegal migrants paid US\$45,000 each; report; One of four ships. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.2.
T.NP.3	Bell, S., & Hutchinson, B. (2009, October 21). Canada tipped off to ship; "Foreign intelligence" tracked migrants. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.1.
T.NP.4	Bell, S. (2009, October 22). Passenger Wanted In Sri Lanka. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.1.
T.NP.5	Bell, S. (2009, October 23). Ship left India last month, records show; Migrant vessel; One passenger had rebel tattoo. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.10.
T.NP.6	Tarplett, B. (2009, October 24). Send them back. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.25.
T.NP.7	Bell, S. (2009, October 26). Sri Lankan migrant wanted for smuggling; Accused of working for Tamil Tigers. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.1.
T.NP.8	Bell, S. (2009, November 3). Tamils' ship alleged to have traces of explosives; Suspected gunboat. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.1.
T.NP.9	Collacott, M. (2009, November 3). Slow down, you're granting asylum too fast. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.17.
T.NP.10	Poopalapillai, D. (2009, November 7). 'Normal' in Sri Lanka is not good enough. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.29.
T.NP.11	Allen, R. (2009, November 11). Not true refugees. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.21.
T.NP.12	Collacott, M. (2009, November 16). In Sri Lanka, "Tamils can live in a state of security." <i>National Post</i> , p. A.15.
T.VS.1	Bolan, K., & Tebrake, R. (2009, October 19). Mystery ship suspected of human smuggling; Officials question 76 passengers as rights, Tamil groups call for compassion. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.3.
T.VS.2	Hume, S. (2009, October 20). Chill out, and let the refugee claim process do its work. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.1.
T.VS.3	Greenaway, N. (2009, October 21). Minister determined to fight "human smuggling"; Refugee claims will be handled as usual, he says. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.9.
T.VS.4	Sinoski, K., & O'Brian, A. (2009, October 21). Detention hearing detains two migrants; Immigration board concerned the men who were among 76 on board rogue ship wouldn't reappear. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.9.
T.VS.5	Bell, S. (2009, October 23). Cargo ship passenger wanted in Sri Lanka for terrorism; Subject of Interpol notice wanted for unspecified offence among 76 migrants detained after arriving off B.C. coast Saturday. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.8.
T.VS.6	Hansen, D. (2009, October 24). Marathon round of hearings decides fate of men who arrived on ship. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.4.
T.VS.7	Nadeau, D. (2009, October 24). Consider the context from which boat people came. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. C.3.
T.VS.8	Sahota, R. S. (2009, October 26). How should Canada deal with refugees who land on our shores? <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.14.
T.VS.9	Hansen, D. (2009, October 27). Sri Lankan asylum-seekers plead for release from detention; Proof of identity a major hurdle as most have no authentic documents. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. A.3.
T.VS.10	Bell, S. (2009, November 4). Officials allege Ocean Lady was used to smuggle explosives; Immigration lawyer for Sri Lankan refugees accuses

	police of “poisoning the well” with disinformation to cast the men in a negative light. <i>The Vancouver Sun</i> , p. B.3.
S.GM.1	Galloway, G. (2015, December 10). Refugees en route to Toronto, Montreal. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.3.
S.GM.2	Andrew-gee, E., & Galloway, G. (2015, December 11). PM on hand to greet first wave in refugee airlift. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
S.GM.3	Kullab, S. (2015, December 11). Still Waiting. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.10.
S.GM.4	Cryderman, K. (2015, December 12). Family’s delay a shock to sponsors. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.11.
S.GM.5	Leblanc, D. (2015, December 12). Opposition seeks details about the airlift. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.6.
S.GM.6	White, P., & Chowdhry, A. (2015, December 12). Newcomers exhausted but happy after long journey. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.6.
S.GM.7	This welcoming country. (2015, December 12). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. F.8.
S.GM.8	Ross, S. (2015, December 14). Family stranded in Beirut to leave for Canada. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.4.
S.GM.9	Hager, M. (2015, December 15). ‘Attentive listening is a treatment by itself’. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. S.1.
S.GM.10	Leblanc, D. (2015, December 17). Liberals aim to bring in 9,000 Syrians by Dec. 31. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.6.
S.GM.11	Wente, M. (2015, December 17). We embrace our Syrian newcomers - for now. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.17.
S.GM.12	Younglai, R. (2015, December 22). Privately sponsored refugees fare better in job market. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
S.GM.13	What are the Liberals doing in Iraq? (2015, December 22). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.10.
S.GM.14	Hager, M. (2015, December 23). Ottawa to modify loan program to lighten refugee debt load. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
S.GM.15	Howell, D. (2015, December 26). Gifts from refugees. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. F.9.
S.GM.16	Should refugees be welcomed with debt? (2015, December 29). <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.10.
S.GM.17	Friesen, J. (2016, January 1). Liberals fall short of year-end goal for refugee resettlement. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.1.
S.GM.18	Galloway, G. (2016, January 2). From homesick refugee to political power. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.6.
S.GM.19	Craig-Kerr, W. (2016, January 5). Offering refuge. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. A.10.
S.GM.20	Burgmann, T. (2016, January 9). Mayor “honoured” by haircut at Kurdis’ salon. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. S.3.
S.GM.21	Poplak, R. (2016, January 9). Invisible Cities. <i>The Globe and Mail</i> , p. R.13.
S.NP.1	Adamson, W. (2015, December 10). Follow U.S. example. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.9.
S.NP.2	Berthiaume, L. (2015, December 10). Trudeau hails approach of first refugee airlift; Arriving Thursday. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.6.

S.NP.3	Rankin, A. B. (2015, December 11). Welcome to refugees includes health care. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.13.
S.NP.4	Warnica, R. (2015, December 12). The gift of giving; Sponsors of Syrian refugees face a challenging - but potentially rewarding - task in months ahead. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.8.
S.NP.5	A long journey to a new home. (2015, December 12). <i>National Post</i> , p. A.10.
S.NP.6	Leuprecht, C., & Speer, S. (2015, December 14). Meeting the refugee crisis. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.10.
S.NP.7	Rogers, S. (2015, December 14). Proper screening. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.9.
S.NP.8	Selley, C. (2015, December 14). Our curiously risk-averse society. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.10.
S.NP.9	Kassenaar, L., & Bochove, D. E. (2015, December 15). Business leaders jumpstart Syrian resettlement; 'A Canadian Thing'. <i>National Post</i> , p. FP.3.
S.NP.10	Comeau, L. (2015, December 16). Rethink approach to refugees. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.11.
S.NP.11	O'Connor, J. (2015, December 19). The other refugees; 26,000 arrive annually without fanfare or prime ministerial greeting. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.13.
S.NP.12	Friedman, S. (2015, December 23). What about other refugees? <i>National Post</i> , p. A.11.
S.NP.13	Hicks, B. (2015, December 26). Canadians proud to set an example. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.15.
S.NP.14	Urback, R. (2015, December 26). Start using pencil for those pledges, sir. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.14.
S.NP.15	Quan, D. (2015, December 28). Refugee hotel bill \$2 million: Liberals; figure revised. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.4.
S.NP.16	Carman, T. (2015, December 29). "Dream comes true" for newest arrivals; Vancouver Reunion. <i>National Post</i> , p. A.3.
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