Borders in the South:
Migration News in South Asia and the Pacific

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Abstract: In the age of unprecedented movement of people, many migrants end up in the industrialized countries but originate from all over the world. A fuller picture of migration journalism thus warrants examining news from both the 'source' and 'receiving' countries of migration. However, most of the studies undertaken in this particular area deal with the issues from the perspectives of North America and Europe (i.e., 'receiving' countries), an approach which is inconsistent with the broad goal of comparative studies. The current study examines migration news from both the source and receiving countries. Given that South Asia and the Pacific are two regions that tend to be overlooked in the comparative studies literature, we studied the coverage of migration issues in six prominent English-language newspapers from six countries of these regions (Australia, Bangladesh, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) over a four-month period in 2014. Our study utilized an exploratory frame analysis to determine whether, in line with several earlier studies, issues of migration are depicted as a crisis to be managed in the receiving countries. Moreover, we examined the emphasis attached to the subject matter by the source countries' media. The findings suggest that the media frames in receiving countries are more diverse than expected. While newspapers in some countries follow the previously found crisis frame, others highlight the economic benefits of migration. Similarly, in the source countries, the frames are varied. Most newspapers portray migration as a problem to be solved, but some do focus on protecting the interests of the migrants.

Keywords: migration news; news frame; comparative journalism, South Asia; Pacific, crisis, welfare

Introduction

The recent unprecedented movement of refugees from conflict-ridden regions of Asia and Africa to Europe captured world news headlines. The global media's relentless coverage of the humanitarian crisis (White, 2015) and its political, social and security fallout influence contemporary perceptions of the movement of people. This is, however, only a small part of the whole story of human migration. While the issues of refugees and migration are closely linked, in the current study we focus on migration as a whole. Its broad scope provides the opportunity to engage in a wider range of critical scrutiny. In recent times, migration news has

attracted a degree of scholarly attention; however, as we suggest later, most studies examine or compare news coverage from the migration 'receiving' countries' perspectives. Our aim has been to include 'source' countries in our research approach and examine the news coverage of migration issues from diverse contexts. This approach has enabled us to obtain a comparative picture, and to analyze the multiplicity of the global coverage pattern. We intend to delineate the differences, if any, between coverage found in migration-receiving and source countries.

The nature of the media portrayal of immigration issues is relevant to how we perceive human migration. However, Moore (2012, p. 2) argues that our understanding of migration news is less than ideal because the news media invariably emphasize the emergencies and crises associated with the managing of an influx of people or portray migrants as a threat to the preservation of a particular ethnic and cultural identity. The 'crises' are rarely related to the harsh experiences of those who migrate; rather, they are oriented towards those who feel threatened or challenged by the arrival of migrants in receiving countries (King & Wood, 2001). A 'receiving' country is a country in which substantial numbers of international migrants end up and which might be juxtaposed against a particular 'source' country, i.e., the country of origin of the migrants. The crisis mindset renders migrants undesirable in the receiving countries, which is evident from even a cursory glance at the contemporary news coverage of refugees and migrants. A similarly quick look at the source countries' news coverage is likely to reveal a less negative view about them than that of the receiving countries.

Migration News in the Receiving Countries

In many receiving countries today, migrants are regarded as "threatening outsiders" (Sassen, 1999, p. 1) albeit as Sassen claims, the basis of this undesirability is not well founded. In her historical account of immigration in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, Sassen observes that migrant receiving countries have often behaved as if they were "not parties to the process of immigration". But they were and are in fact parties because migration entails "a number of economic and geopolitical processes that link the countries involved" (ibid.). Sassen further maintains that contrary to popular perception, migration has never been an indiscriminate flow from poverty and repression: it is "not simply the outcome of individuals in search of better opportunities" (ibid.) but a systematic and patterned process, which is "bounded in scale and duration, and conditioned on several particular processes" (ibid., p. xiv).

This idea of migration as a systematic process is clearly a nuanced view of peoples' movements in Europe from within and beyond, and reasonably applicable to migration in other contexts as well (Castles & Miller, 2009). However, this view contradicts the crisis perspective evident in the news coverage of the issue and

examined in various studies (e.g., Moore, 2012; Benson, 2013; Dell'Orto & Birchfield, 2014). The crisis view seems to be inadequately grounded because it misunderstands waves of migration as problems only to be managed and solved. This type of media portrayal has important policy ramifications:

> When policy makers and the general public [in the receiving countries] misunderstand migration as caused by the poverty or persecutions in poor countries, they are left with very few policy options. The seemingly logical response to a mass invasion should be to close all the borders. Xenophobia and racism are but the most extreme expression of this option in a country's political culture (Sassen, 1999, pp. 1-2).

In recent times, precisely these reactions—border closures and a rise of xenophobic political forces—have been clearly evident in some European countries in the face of a new wave of immigrants and refugees. Such reactions make Sassen's observation highly relevant for understanding media portrayals of migration. Employing this perspective, it is possible to devise empirical examinations to explore whether news content (i.e., news frames) either contributes to or dispels the misunderstandings that surround migration. The perspective of 'crisis' in migration news underpins Dell'Orto and Birchfield's (2014) conclusion that national identity, border security and law and order have become important foci of migration news in the second decade of the 21st century. However, they base their conclusion on empirical studies of news content from 'receiving' countries only, e.g., Zamith's (2014) examination of the migration coverage by the Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) in the US and France, and Popkova's (2014) study of readers' comments on online immigration articles in the *New York Times* and *The Guardian*. Similarly, other recent contributions (King & Wood, 2002; Moore, Gross & Threadgold, 2012; Benson, 2013) almost exclusively examine the news coverage of cross-border movements in the United States and Europe. This exclusivity raises the legitimate question of whether such a conclusion about the characteristics of migration news would pass the scrutiny of a comparison of news coverage between source and receiving countries. Examination of both sides' perspectives has the potential to present a more rounded view of the subject matter. With this in mind, the current study focuses on identifying and comparing news frames of migration coverage in source and receiving countries. While the examination of migration news in the source countries is few and far between (e.g., Wu, 2000), comparisons of the two are even more rare.

However, the empirical limitations of the above-mentioned studies do not necessarily reduce their relevance and value. For example, Benson (2013) in his recent book-length treatment compares American and French migration news and analyses them from a field theory perspective. He elaborates the frames identified in the two countries' migration news that are potentially useful in any comparison of migration news from other countries and regions. Using specific frames in migration news, Benson (2013) offers a detailed comparison of the hyper-commercialized American and political commentary-oriented French journalistic

fields. When comparing American journalism with French journalism, he argues that the American journalism's commercial imperative makes it prone to using a "personalized narrative" to connect the individual with a larger social structure. However, the personal narrative and structural context are not always easily reconciled. This difficulty of relating the individual to the structure in many instances turns the news into a mere descriptive detail rather than a deeper analysis and useful tool for understanding the complex problems of migration. As a consequence, immigration debates in the American news media have tended to focus on dramatic developments and emotional dualism between public order and humanitarian compassion. Despite the enduring differences between the two countries' overall journalistic practices and internal professional logics, Benson argues that compared to commercial media, in both countries less commercialized news organizations are more likely to offer better in-depth and critical coverage of the issue of migration. In this study, we employ Benson's (2013) mode of identifying the dominant frames in migration news and extend it to encompass the 'source' countries as well.

The Study Context and Data Collection

For the purpose of this study, we deliberately decided to remain within the theoretical bounds of framing (Entman, 1993). We see this widely-used notion as useful for identifying the dominant features of migration news in a comparative study. This study poses the following question: What are the predominant news frames that emerge from a comparison of media coverage of migration issues between source and receiving countries? Previous studies suggest that migration is framed predominantly as a 'crisis' in the receiving countries. In this study, particular focus is upon whether or not this is also the case in the source countries.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative measures has been adopted to address the research problems. While the quantitative data helped identify various frames evident in the news content, the qualitative approach helped address the issue of 'crisis' by analyzing the content further through frame diagnosis. As regards the collection of news content, we considered a few factors when selecting suitable sources. First, in regards to the type of news media, we decided to examine newspaper content given that newspapers still enjoy a prominent place in the world of journalism. Second, regarding specific countries, we decided upon a selection from South Asia and the Pacific because these regions represent both source and receiving countries of migration. Moreover, they are relatively less examined in the comparative journalism studies literature. The selected countries are: Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Third, when selecting specific newspapers, we considered a few characteristics including the publication language, circulation figures, background, editorial policy and overall standing of the newspaper in the respective countries. The selected newspapers are: *The Australian*, *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Indian Express*,

the *Dawn* (Pakistan), the *Daily News* (Sri Lanka) and *The Daily Star* (Bangladesh). The above characteristics proved useful when making appropriate choices in the context of the study's aims (comparing news frames), its exploratory nature, and convenience and resource limitations (i.e., limited to English-language publications and unable to include more than one newspaper from each country). Despite these restrictions, the above selection includes a diverse range of public-cations particularly in terms of their editorial stands. While *The Australian* is perceived as a center-right publication, *The New Zealand Herald* can be labelled center-left; the *Dawn* (Pakistan) and *The Indian Express* are perceived as centrist, the *Daily News* (Sri Lanka) is an inherently pro-establishment newspaper, whereas *The Daily Star* (Bangladesh) could hardly be labelled this way. Although broader coverage would have lent stronger support for our study, feasibility considerations restricted our examination to one newspaper per country.

The South Asian countries share some common characteristics including recently booming economies, large functioning democracies and nuclear rivalry. These countries are also marked by large population, widespread poverty, low productivity, on-going or recent conflict, political unrest and environmental threats – conditions that are ripe for the widespread displacement of people. Indeed, a large number of migrants from South Asia go to the Middle East, Europe, North America, South-East Asia, Africa and the Pacific (Castles & Miller, 2009). These movements include both skilled and unskilled individuals as well as temporary (i.e., for work or education) and permanent movements (fleeing wars, political or religious persecutions, economic or environmental migrations). There is also evidence of the movement of people internally within the region. Taken together, these countries are considered to be migration 'source' countries. From South Asia, a good number of people migrate to the Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand. These two countries' systematic programs accept skilled and other migrants as well as refugees from across the world. In effect, they are migrant 'receiving' countries in the contemporary context.

For content collection, we conducted database searches using Factiva and the search terms 'migrant', 'migration', 'immigrant' and 'immigration'. The time frame included the months of January, February, November and December in 2014. Editorial content including news, features, editorials and commentary were included to obtain a comprehensive picture of migration. *The Daily Star* (Bangla-desh) was an exception because its content was not available through the Factiva database. Therefore, a manual search was conducted in its web archive (www.dailystar.net) which allowed a limited search by date. To keep the amount of content within the manageable limit, we collected content over a period of four months only. The year 2014 was selected because there were no particularly prominent news events relating to migration issues in the two regions during this period. By selecting this timeframe, we arguably avoided 'episodic' escalation of the news coverage (Iyengar, 1991), and were able to scrutinize some profound, long-term and underlying issues that were likely to surface during a relatively quiet

period of news flow. Many studies of migration news examine the 'episodic' coverage patterns, which all too often leave the 'thematic' coverage patterns unexamined.

Framing as a sampling strategy

We assumed that the notion of framing was useful for this study because it was considered beneficial for understanding how journalists offer salience to certain events or issues over others, and what processes they follow to give meaning to various phenomena in the news coverage of any given issue (Tuchman, 1978; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Entman, 1993). Embedded in the approach is the recognition that frames help to make sense of the world. As Kendall states, "a frame constitutes a storyline or an unfolding narrative about an issue. These narratives organize experience and bring order to events. As such, they wield power, because they influence how we make sense of the world" (Kendall, 2011, p. 3). Making sense of the world from a journalistic perspective is enhanced by adopting a framing analysis. It enables capture of the intentional as well as unintentional "selective presentation" of issues by journalists (Schudson, 2011, p. 30). It also helps to avoid the reductionist perspective in which critics overemphasize balance and objectivity in journalism. During the examination, we considered the categories of news frames discussed in Entman (1993) as well as specific migration news frames identified by Benson (2013) and Kim et al. (2011).

However, we did not use the exact categories of frames, but modified them to suit the purpose of comparing migration news from the two types of countries. Entman's (1993) broad diagnosis of framing, i.e., defining reality, identifying causes, attributing responsibility and proposing solutions, was used to orient the migration news frames in this study. However, while these abstract categories were useful for sorting news content into sections, they needed to be further specified to make better sense of the content and to obtain a more detailed understanding of the migration news. For this reason, we considered specific frames of migration news to devise the following frames for our purpose: policy, economy, law and order, welfare, diaspora and racial tension. It is worth mentioning here that, in accordance with some previous observations, we expected that most articles would contain multiple frames in our identification process. However, we decided to count only the 'dominant' frame found in the selected articles. The policy frame, which was related to government or legislative responses to migration issues, included the public dealing with the migrants and the protection of the migrants' interests (e.g., wages and conditions, health, education and general welfare). Our assumption was that various authorities would demonstrate diverse and at times conflicting policy responses to migration issues. The economy frame revolved around the question of migrants' economic contributions to the source and receiving countries. The dominant assumption was that migrants made a positive contribution to the economy. However, some news articles stereotyped migrants as

economic burdens. The law and order frame related to the legal aspects of the individual and group behaviors. Most of the articles linked migrants and relevant organizations and businesses with the violation of immigration rules (individuals breaching visa conditions; recruiting agents providing false information to migrant workers etc.). According to the welfare frame, migrants were portrayed as victims of maltreatment who deserved sympathy and support. Issues in this frame included migrant workers' low wages, severe disadvantages in their work and living conditions, and crimes committed against them (e.g., violent abduction or kidnapping during the journey to, as well as in the destination country). The diaspora frame related to the cultural activities and life experiences of migrant communities which both enriched and diversified the receiving society. The racial tension frame related to the dislike of new arrivals by some in the receiving countries as the migrants were perceived to be a threat to national identity. In brief, the frames can be summarized as follows:

Frame	Frame statement
Policy frame	Policy responses are diverse and conflicting at times
Economy frame	Migrants contribute positively to the receiving country's economy
Law & order frame	Some migrants and groups/businesses violate immigration rules
Welfare frame	Maltreated migrants deserve sympathy and support
Diaspora frame	Migrants enrich and diversify the receiving countries' cultural life
Racial tension	Migrants are a threat to national identity

This examination of the 'perceived reality' of migration news has paved the way for a further scrutiny of the content by identifying Entman's three diagnostic categories for each of the above frames. The coding of the selected content was conducted manually by the researchers through a close reading of each article. The process involved random selection of ten articles from six newspapers: news articles, features, opinion pieces and editorial commentary. This selection was followed by an inductive reading of the content to assess and identify any recurring themes. During this process, the categories of various frames were determined and descriptions of them developed through constant review and detailed discussion between the two researchers. Although lexical choices including words and metaphors were important components of the identification process, the frames could have arguably also been present in the text as a latent feature. We sought to capture the latent aspects of the contents, and developed their descriptions to guide us through the identification stages. The process produced the six frames of migration news discussed above. It was repeated through scrutiny of frame diagnosis, i.e., implications or reasoning devices of the framing. At this stage, the whole article was analyzed to determine which emphasis was prominent overall in the particular frame. These reasoning devices enabled us to determine whether the news content contributed to or dispelled any misunderstandings surrounding migration (i.e., whether the news media under examination framed migration as a 'crisis' to be managed or an 'opportunity' to be exploited).

Careful consideration was given to data reliability. The degree of consistency in the coding procedure of different variables and values was tested by assessing "the correlation between judgements of the same sample of relevant items made by different coders" (Bell, 1994, p, 21; also Hansen et al., 1998). Following Holsti (1969), we conducted an inter-coder reliability test on selected 60 articles, both for frame identification and frame diagnosis. The inter-coder reliability measure was 91 percent for frame identification and 87 percent for frame diagnosis or particular emphasis on certain aspects of framing in the article.

Findings

Database and manual (*The Daily Star*) searches yielded 1,032 articles from the six newspapers. After careful readings, we discarded about 55 percent of these articles (563) as they contained only marginal or passing reference to one or more search terms that were not necessarily related to migration issues. This left a total of 469 articles which were subjected to detailed examination. The most common type of articles was news (291), followed by feature articles (91), opinion pieces (54) and editorials (33). News articles were the dominant type in all of the newspapers (*The Australian*—127, *The New Zealand Herald*—36, *The Indian Express*—42, the *Dawn*—28, the *Daily News*—27, *The Daily Star*—31). Features were the second most dominant type in all but the *Daily News* (Sri Lanka). The number of editorials was the highest in *The Australian* (15) and the lowest in the *Dawn* (no editorials). *The New Zealand Herald* published 12 editorials, *The Indian Express* 4, the *Daily News* and *The Daily Star* one each during the study period. However, this low number was not unexpected because the editorial commentary is, in general, a rarity in the news content. Rather, the fact that each newspaper published approximately 1.4 editorials a month on average was testimony to the high significance that these publications sought to attach to this subject matter. The predominance of news articles was also within the expected norm. But, one could extrapolate that this meant episodic emphasis rather than thematic coverage of migration issues. However, without further detail analysis such a conclusion would be at best hasty. The number of opinion pieces was also significant: *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Indian Express* publishing 16 articles each; *The Australian* 11; the *Daily News* seven; and, the *Dawn* and *The Daily Star* two pieces each.

We analyzed the articles further to reveal the predominant frames in each article. As mentioned in the methodology section, this was done by a thorough reading of the content and by applying the categories developed for this purpose. This analysis revealed frames in each of the newspapers according to the number of articles. The following table presents the statistical analysis.

Table 1: Dominant frames in articles by newspapers (N=469)

Newspaper	1st ranked frame	2nd ranked frame	3rd ranked frame	4th ranked frame	5th ranked frame	6th ranked frame
The Australian	Policy 90 49.5%	Law & Order 40 22%	Welfare 27 14.8%	Economy 12 6.6%	Diaspora 11 6%	Racial Tension 2 1.1%
New Zealand Herald	Economy 33 36.6%	Policy 17 18.9%	Diaspora 16 17.8%	Law & Order 14 15.6%	Welfare 8 8.9%	Racial Tension 2 2.2%
The Indian Express	Policy 25 32.1%	Law & Order 16 20.5%	Welfare 15 19.2%	Diaspora 12 15.4%	Racial Tension 6 7.7%	Economy 4 5.1%
Daily News	Policy 15 40.6%	Economy 10 27%	Welfare 8 21.6%	Law & Order 2 5.4%	Diaspora 2 5.4%	Racial Tension 0 0%
Dawn	Policy 16 28.6%	Welfare 14 25%	Law & Order 11 19.6%	Economy 9 16.1%	Diaspora 4 7.1%	Racial Tension 2 3.6%
The Daily Star	Welfare 14 35.9%	Policy 11 28.2%	Economy 6 15.4%	Law & Order 5 12.8%	Racial Tension 2 5.1%	Diaspora 1 2.6%

The most prominent frames in all the newspapers were policy, economy and welfare frames. The policy frame dominated in four newspapers (*The Australian*, *The Indian Express*, the *Dawn* and the *Daily News*), the economy in one (*The New Zealand Herald),* and the welfare in one as well (*The Daily Star).* Law and order was the second most prominent frame in two newspapers (*The Australian* and *The Indian Express*); as was the policy frame (*The Daily Star* and *The New Zealand Herald).* The economy frame was the second most prominent frame in the *Daily News* as was the welfare frame in Pakistan's *Dawn.* The prominence of particular frames was a good measure of importance attached to various aspects of migration by these publications. Yet, this is not a complete analysis until particular contexts of the news organizations and countries are considered.

Frame Descriptions

In the case of *The Australian*, the policy frame was prominent in almost half of the articles, followed by law and order and welfare frames. The economy and diaspora frames were dominant in only a small number of articles. Migration policy issues included the government's handling of immigrants and asylum seekers (i.e. policies concerning welcome and unwelcome arrivals), bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia vis-à-vis boat movements and border protection issues, and the assumed threat posed by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)

to the integrity of the then Abbott government's immigration policy as well as to the national interest and sovereignty of Australia. When emphases in these frames were analyzed further (frame diagnosis), it was found that particular focus was upon the 'causes' of issues related to migration. For example, the articles discussed the tension between Indonesia and Australia due to the 'towing back' of asylum seeker boats by the Australian border protection agencies into Indonesian territorial waters and the reasons underpinning the government's secrecy surrounding its 'boat turn back' policy. On the bilateral issue, articles that supported the towing back of asylum seeker boats argued that it was justifiable because the government's "Sovereign Border" policy has not only stopped the people smuggling trade, but has also prevented drowning at sea.

The articles in *The Australian* supporting this 'solution' (Table 2; below) considered illegal boat arrivals a problem and lauded the government's immigration policy as a good deterrent. The authors of some opinion columns and editorials railed against parties critical of the government's border protection policy. A case in point was China's criticism of Australia's asylum seeker policy and the ABC's investigative reporting of the Australian Navy's 'inappropriate' handling of asylum seekers. The authors of the articles deemed China's criticism of Australia's human rights records as "hypocritical" and the ABC's reporting as testament to its "inability to accomplish the most basic task" of fact checking.

Unlike *The Australian*, the most dominant frame in *The New Zealand Herald* was the economy frame. A close reading of the articles in *The New Zealand Herald* revealed that some viewed immigrants as a possible 'solution' to the problems affecting the economic sector. For example, they saw new immigrants as a contributing factor to strong growth in the real estate property market. Some articles stressed the fact that "net population gain from migration" could benefit the country's economy. Others, however, expressed concern regarding the migration-led economy arguing that it was driving house prices up in the urban areas at the expense of property values in the country's rural areas. A further concern was the Kiwis' external migration to Australia: some articles analyzed this perceived problem under the policy frame. These articles discussed how Australia's immigration policy impacted on New Zealanders living in Australia by granting them only "non-protected visas". Some articles expressed concern regarding the New Zealand government's immigration policy which provides taxpayer support to foreign investors. Overall, while there was a mild sense of crisis regarding government policy, the main message in these articles was that immigration makes a positive contribution to New Zealand's economy.

Compared to the content from the Pacific region, newspaper articles in South Asia emphasized similar issues albeit in different ways. In India, for example, articles with the policy frame as the predominant frame expressed concern for internal migrants (or internally displaced people) from different parts of the country who were working in urban areas and other development sites without adequate access to the required amenities. These articles addressed the causes of this pattern of

internal migration and the inefficacy of policy initiatives such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) to create adequate rural employment and arrest 'distress migration', particularly during the lean period (January–July). Some articles also revealed how these displaced people (or internal migrants) were often subjected to exploitation by their employers or labor contractors. The second most dominant frame in *The Indian Express* articles was welfare (see Table 2). Discussion centered on the 'causes' of the hardship endured by many migrant workers. These articles discussed the sufferings endured by underpaid and overworked internal migrants who toil under harsh working conditions and are often afflicted by physical illness.

This policy frame was also predominant in articles from Sri Lanka, which placed emphasis on the 'solution' to the problems of external migrants. These articles discussed specific plans and government action that aimed to address issues related to "illegal migrants" and Sri Lankan overseas migrant workers. They emphasized how the government had stopped illegal migration to Australia, an action which by extension strengthened productive bilateral relations between Australia and Sri Lanka. Also mentioned were training and awareness programs for potential migrants, i.e., two-way dialogue between the origin and destination countries (for example, Sri Lanka—Saudi Arabia), and participation in the regional consultative process ('Colombo Process') for the management of Asian migrant workers. Similar to the policy frame articles, emphasis on 'solution' was also demonstrated in the economy frame, the second dominant frame in the coverage of migrant issues in the *Daily News*. While the policy frame coverage explored various aspects of government initiatives, the economy frame showed how Sri Lankan migrant workers are contributing to the country's economy.

Similar to the Indian news content, the policy frame articles in Pakistan's *Dawn* discussed the problems attributable to internally displaced peoples and how to stop migration from the rural to urban areas. Focus was upon how to sustain people in the country's rural areas in order to prevent displacement, the United Nations Human Rights Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) plan regarding the return of Afghan refugees, and the problems faced by Pakistan's overseas migrant workers. The policy frame highlighted the 'causes' of migration, e.g., successive droughts and lack of water in regions such as Thari. These circumstances have not only increased the number of internally displaced people from the rural areas to the urban/city areas, but have also strengthened the Afghan residents' unwillingness to return to their home country despite the UNHCR statement that "not every Afghan living in Pakistan is a refugee". A close reading of the 'cause' of the plight of migrant workers revealed how Pakistani migrant workers were depicted as acting as "money movers" for their country. However, these articles stressed the fact that earning money for remittance is not always easy; often these workers fall victim to harsh working conditions in foreign lands, e.g., Saudi Arabia and Libya. The articles highlighted some welfare measures such as the negotiations initiated by the Justice Project for Peace (JPP), a non-governmental organization,

for migrant workers who receive death penalties overseas, and the initiative to bring back workers who have been stranded overseas due to the political turmoil engulfing the Middle East. The well-being of refugees and internally displaced people was also grouped under the welfare frame, the second dominant frame in the coverage by *Dawn*. Frame diagnosis showed emphasis on the 'cause' of the rise of poliomyelitis, inadequate protection of polio workers and increasing numbers of displaced peoples.

In Bangladesh, welfare was the most dominant frame in *The Daily Star* articles. Emphasis was also upon policy, the second most dominant frame. Both frames were invoked for describing the plight of migrant workers overseas, particularly in the Middle East where many Bangladeshis seek to stay and work. Articles highlighted the fact that in these countries, overseas workers had few rights: they often fell victims to abuse or even abduction by illegal human traffickers. Two frames placed emphasis on the 'causes' of concern for migrant workers, such as rising numbers of migrant deaths overseas and lack of government action to protect migrant workers' rights. Some articles emphasized that in their home countries, these workers often received poor treatment from "illicit manpower businesses", despite contributing significantly to the country's economy by sending remittances. The coverage also raised concern regarding transferring the migrant recruiting process to private recruiting agencies instead of keeping them under government supervision.

Table 2 below shows the statistical details of the dominant frames identified in the articles as well as the emphases identified in them (i.e., Entman's three categories). The figures were arrived at following the same process of intense reading of articles, which helped us to generate the above descriptions.

Table 2: Dominant frames and frame emphasis

Frame / Country	Frame Emphasis ↓	Policy	Economy	Law & Order	Welfare	Diaspora	Racial Tension
Australia	Solution	26	7	14	6	2	0
	Definition	24	1	6	1	5	0
	Cause/reason	40	3	20	20	4	2
	Total	90	11	40	27	11	2
New Zealand	Solution	5	16	6	2	9	0
	Definition	3	4	0	1	4	0
	Cause/reason	9	13	8	5	3	2
	Total	17	33	14	8	16	2
India	Solution	8	1	10	2	6	0
	Definition	1	3	2	1	6	0
	Cause/reason	16	0	4	14	0	4
	Total	25	4	16	17	12	4
Sri Lanka	Solution	9	8	2	6	1	0
	Definition	2	2	0	1	1	0
	Cause/reason	4	0	0	1	0	0
	Total	15	10	2	8	2	0
Pakistan	Solution	5	5	5	2	1	0
	Definition	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Cause/Reason	13	2	6	14	0	3
	Total	18	7	11	16	1	3
Bangladesh	Solution	2	4	1	0	0	0
	Definition	2	0	1	0	1	0
	Cause/reason	8	1	4	12	0	2
	Total	12	5	6	12	1	2

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, there was contrast in the coverage between Australia and New Zealand; but, in the other four countries, policy and welfare frames gained traction with emphasis on cause. The coverage in New Zealand was of particular interest for its predominance of the economy frame and emphasis on solution. The Sri Lankan articles also emphasized solutions, but they were located in the policy frame. As Table 2 shows, in Australia and New Zealand, the prominent frames were policy and economy. Close readings of the relevant articles revealed emphasis on the cause of concern for boat people policy and the emphasis on 'solution', i.e., showing how immigrants were making positive contributions to the New Zealand economy. The Indian and Pakistani newspapers demonstrated that their causes of concern were associated with policies directed towards internally displaced people and migrant workers overseas. In Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, while focus was also on the welfare of overseas workers, the solutions proposed were significantly different.

The above descriptions of the various emphases in the identified frames render several aspects evident, the most significant being the differences in the ways in which migration was framed and emphasized by different newspapers. This difference made it challenging to find common ground when describing the dominant issues addressed in the news coverage. However, instead of treating these differences as analytical challenges, we deemed it more fruitful to treat them as the strength of the study. The differences, for example, between the Australian and New Zealand coverage—despite both being 'receiving' countries—draw attention to the overall public policy emphases in these two countries. *The Australian* treats the issue of migration as a 'problem'. It constantly emphasizes politicians' claims that boat arrivals need to be stopped, and that asylum seekers must be stationed in offshore camps, denying them permission to stay in Australia. The emphasis on the policy frame and solution of the problem of migration — although negative from the migrants' point of view—is thus consistent with the broad national emphasis. Conversely, the predominance of the economy frame in New Zealand (immigration has a positive impact), and emphasis on the solution—not so negative for the migrants—clearly supports Spoonley and Butcher's (2009) argument that there has been a "transformation in the nature of media discourses" in that country. According to them, a more "sympathetic and nuanced" reporting of the issues of immigration started to emerge at the turn of the century due to the growing engagement of journalists with the "super-diversity" of New Zealand's society. The term "super-diversity" in this context refers to the way in which New Zealand shifted its immigrant intake from Europe (UK, Ireland), Polynesia and the Pacific to the Asian regions in the mid-1980s. This shift has challenged the mass media's dominant approach to the representation of migrants in New Zealand. The difference in news framing between Australia and New Zealand can also be explained by individual news organization's editorial policy focus (e.g., *The Australian*'s pro-government outlook and *The New Zealand Herald*'s neutral or critical stance).

The differences in the receiving countries are also matched by the differences in the source countries. In other words, there is no universal common denominator in describing the portrayal of migration issues by the news media in these countries. However, this does not necessarily exclude any possibility of finding similarities among the South Asian newspapers regarding certain aspects of the coverage. For example, in both India and Pakistan, internally displaced people are a common concern of newspapers. The articles from these countries expressed concern about government policies as well as the welfare of the affected people. Similarly, in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, there was a commonality in highlighting the welfare of overseas migrant workers. Newspaper articles from these countries brought to the fore topics such as the problems and difficulties of migrant workers (lack of awareness of their rights, exploitation and sufferings). However, difference is also evident within this similarity: while the Sri Lankan news articles demonstrate tacit support for government initiatives to resolve this problem, there is little criticism of government policies. *The Daily Star* articles, on the other hand,

strongly criticized the government bodies and other organizations considered at least partially responsible for the maltreatment of overseas Bangladeshi migrant workers. This difference indicates different attribution of responsibility vis-à-vis causes of concern for migrants originating from these countries.

These differences and similarities in framing migration issues between the source and receiving countries as well as among similar types of countries necessitate a reconsideration of the scholarly emphasis on crisis. In other words, the 'crisis' mode of thinking—predominant in the existing body of works on migration news—may not be adequate for a grounded understanding of the issue of migration. Empirical evidence shows that any generalization about migration as either a 'crisis' or an 'opportunity' is difficult. Both Australia and New Zealand are migrant receiving countries. Yet, their media frame this issue differently (crisis versus economic opportunity). So is the case with the source countries: Bangladeshi media content differs significantly from that of Indian and Pakistani newspapers (overseas workers' welfare versus internal migrants' problems). This finding goes well with the findings of Benson's (2013) study of American and French media coverage. Despite the two being migration receiving countries, the issue of migration has been framed by the US and French media differently (a crisis of order and security vs. a political problem to be deliberated and resolved). The media coverage in the source countries equally shows significant differences in framing the issue: the welfare of overseas migrant workers vs. concern for internal migrants.

The scale of the above concerns may explain the media focus in this case: overseas migrant workers send remittances back to the South Asian countries, making a significant contribution to these countries' economies. This fact explains why Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan media emphasize the welfare of those poor workers who often toil under harsh conditions in foreign lands. Indian and Pakistani overseas workers also send remittances; however, the sheer number of displaced people within these countries has a greater ability to draw media attention than the plight of these countries' overseas migrants. This evidence also indicates that there are different framings of migration news in different countries irrespective of their 'source' or 'receiving' status. However, this conclusion could be an overgeneralization. Differences are expected and inherent in any comparison of media representations. A more meaningful conclusion is the fact that in the source countries, newspapers are prone to identifying and addressing the most prominent problems appertaining to migration, avoiding a 'crisis' frame in general and instead significantly highlighting solutions. In the receiving countries in this study, solutions to various problems have also been discussed; nevertheless, the emphasis on causes remains significantly high compared to that of the source countries. The prominence of the 'crisis' mindset, particularly in *The Australian*'s coverage (overall, 30 percent of stories focused on solutions while 50 percent discussed causes only), is not particularly surprising as it corresponds to the findings of previous studies.

Although the study's empirical scope is limited, it is possible to make an assertion about the general attitude towards migration that emanates from the news coverage. In the source countries, the underlying attitude towards the broad phenomenon of human migration is more positive than that of the receiving countries. The source countries' content gives the impression that migration is an important phenomenon to these countries, and that the governments should be able to deal with the issues and concerns pertinent to it. Conversely, many newspaper articles from the receiving countries depict it as mostly a problem of illegal arrivals, who should be deterred. For the authors of those articles, migration is a problem of others and should be resolved by others. In the overall comparison, Sassen's insightful observation to the effect that migrants move not indiscriminately but rather in a systematic manner is relevant for this conclusion. An approach portraying migration issues in a more measured manner, evident in some source countries in this study, seems in line with the above 'systematic' movement view of migration. In these countries' news media, migration is not an indiscriminate behavior but a real concern that has some observable patterns, although these patterns do not necessarily make it easier to manage the problems of migration. The receiving countries' 'crisis' mode of portrayal sits oddly with this insight because the crisis coverage portrays migration as an arbitrary movement of people instead of treating it as a systematic and patterned movement.

However, any definite conclusion regarding the nature of media portrayal of migration issues in the above countries needs to take into consideration the empirical limitations of this study. We have been able to examine only one newspaper from each country, which despite all our efforts remains a significant limitation. No single newspaper can meaningfully encompass a diverse range of opinions and viewpoints available in a country on such a complex issue as human migration. Additionally, the scrutiny of only the most prominent frame of each article may be viewed as a limitation, albeit this is a convention in many news framing studies. The exploratory nature of the simultaneous examination of the migration source and receiving countries provides some justification for these limitations. To reach more robust conclusions, the scale of the examination would need to be significantly expanded empirically. For example, a longitudinal data collection strategy could be adopted to examine the longevity of certain news frames identified in this study. Also, more newspapers and other news outlets can be included from each country to test the extent and strength of the conclusions. Regarding the examination of news frames, the analysis would be enriched by a scrutiny of multiple frames simultaneously present in most news articles.

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