Immigration in French Newspapers Post Terrorist Attacks

A study of the framing of immigration in *Le Monde* & *Le Figaro* after the *Charlie Hebdo* Attack

By: Dahlia Marklund

Supervisor: Walid Al-Saqaf
Södertörns högskola | Institution of Social Sciences
Master’s thesis 15 hp
Journalism | Spring 2018
International Master’s Program
Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the topic of immigration was framed by the two French newspapers *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* in their political online sections during the two weeks following the terror attack on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015. Applying frame analyses on textual articles published during this time, this paper can conclude that five frames manifested themselves. Furthermore, a high degree of political parallelism, characterized by what Robert Entman refers to as content biased news coverage, was detected that greatly distinguished the two newspapers coverage of immigration. *Le Monde*, commonly erred to as a left-centrist paper, never openly criticized the ruling leftist government during the time frame studied. Contrastingly, *Le Figaro*, commonly referred to as a right-centrist paper, was overtly sceptic towards the socialist party, and framed multiple articles arguing that the right-wing populist party Front National was unjustly treated by the left as well as arguing for the legitimacy of the right-center party UMP. Based on the theoretical approach of framing, this thesis concludes that the media culture of both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* display characteristics greatly influenced by their political orientations. This paper also concludes that the two newspapers’ framing of the immigration topic was directly and consequently related to actions by the controversial right-wing populist party Front National. This implies a salience of ideological orientation of the newspapers in their framing of the news framing. Whether and how this framing of the news related to the terror attacks affected the opinions of their readers would be an interesting focus for future research.

Key Words: Framing, Immigration, Terrorism, *Charlie Hebdo, Le Monde, Le Figaro*
Table of Contents

Abstract ......................................................................................................................... II

1. Introduction ............................................................................................................. 1
   1.1 Research Problem & Questions ........................................................................ 3
   1.2 Disposition ................................................................................................ ...... 5
   1.3 Definitions & Clarifications ............................................................................ 5

2. Background .............................................................................................................. 7
   2.1 Brief History of French Immigration ................................................................ 8
   2.2 French Media Culture .................................................................................... 8
   2.3 Le Monde & Le Figaro .................................................................................... 10
   2.4 The Attack on Charlie Hebdo ........................................................................ 11

3. Previous Research .................................................................................................. 11
   3.1 Previous Research on Framing ....................................................................... 12
   3.2 Framing in Comparative Studies ..................................................................... 13

4. Theoretical Framework ......................................................................................... 15
   4.1 Frames – A Product of Culture ..................................................................... 17
   4.2 Media Content Bias ........................................................................................ 18

5. Methodology .......................................................................................................... 19
   5.1 Frame Analysis ............................................................................................... 20
      5.1.1 Method of analysis ................................................................................... 20
   5.2 Methodological Discussion ............................................................................. 22
      5.2.1 Limitations & Generalizability ................................................................. 23
      5.2.2 Validity & Reliability .............................................................................. 24

6. Findings from Frame Analyses .............................................................................. 24
   6.1 Empirical Indicators ....................................................................................... 26
      6.1.1 Homage & skepticism towards ruling leaders ........................................... 27
      6.1.2 Unobtainable unity in the political sphere ................................................. 28
      6.1.4 Immigration & radical Islam/terrorism ................................................... 31
   6.2 Identified Frames ............................................................................................. 33
      Immigration = Terrorism .................................................................................. 35
      Immigration → Problems ............................................................................... 36
      Political Exclusion .......................................................................................... 37
      Congenial Unity ............................................................................................... 37
      Success ≈ Doubt .............................................................................................. 38

7. Analysis of Framing in Le Monde & Le Figaro ....................................................... 39

8. Conclusions ............................................................................................................. 44

References .................................................................................................................. 47

Appendix ...................................................................................................................... 52
1. Introduction

France, historically one of the greater powers of the Western world, both geopolitically and financially, has in recent years been subjected to multiple terror attacks, costing more than 200 civilians their lives between 2015 and 2016. With France’s historically significant role in both World Wars and being an integral part of international co-operations such as the EU, the country now finds itself facing the challenges of fundamentalist terror attacks (Rudolph 2006). Meanwhile, conflict and unrest in the world has instigated migration waves of people fleeing from terror to countries such as France, Germany, and Sweden, to name a few (Hollifield et al. 2014, p.6). Despite France’s long history of immigration, dating back to mid-19th century, controlling or managing migration is a reality that all countries are forced to face today, which may pose especially acute dilemmas for advanced industrial economies (Hollifield 2014, pp.157, 282). The granting of independence, and essentially the end of France’s colonial era, of countries particularly in North Africa during the second half of the 20th century meant a new approach to the movement of people between France and the former colonies (Ibid, p.160). Since then, French immigration legislation has undergone multiple changes, from an optimistic attitude in the 1960s towards an immigration policy regulated by labor needs, leading up to a somewhat repressed approach in recent years (Hollifield 2014; Caldwell 2009, p.11; Schain 2008).

The dismantling of the French colonial Empire, based upon republican and nationalist values, was accompanied by controversies and periods of crises due to fear for the loss of national identity, culture, and norms (Hollifield 2014, p.160). Some argue that the consequences of the Algerian War (1954-1962) and its liberation, caused racial and ethnic fault lines that persist today (see Hollifield 2014; Rudolph 2006). The peace agreements formulated upon the country’s liberation granted Algerian citizens the right to freely move between the two countries and, although this agreement was amended not long afterwards, France has had great influx of immigrants from the previous colonies in North Africa since then (Hollifield et al. 2014, pp.7,14). As the political populist right-wing party Front National rose during the 1980s, effectively placing immigration at the center of the political discussions, with topics such as the immigrant suburbs (called “the Islamic suburbs”) and the significance of veiled women to French culture and national identity, a sense of crisis in French politics emerged (Ibid, pp.166-167). Meanwhile, some argue that media has throughout the past 40 years multiple times demonstrated how immigration successfully can be discussed to further the democratic public
forum for debate (see Benson 2014). The French media, characterized by its incorporation of multiple voices and perspectives, grants room for in-depth analyses of events and topics which could be said to further a diverse civil society (Benson 2014, p.2).

The upswing for right-wing populist political parties all over Europe in recent years has prompted questions regarding the Western worlds’ attitude towards immigration. With upgraded border control, increased numbers of refugee and asylum seekers, and tensions related to cultural identities as some key challenges, the topic of immigration has incited strong emotional responses among both policy makers and the general public within Western democracies (Rudolph 2006; Benson 2013; Hollifield et al. 2014; Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2017, p.249; Truedson 2016, p.10). The wave of terrorist attacks performed by outspoken Islamist radicals in the Western world, many supporters from Al-Qaeda or ISIS can arguably be said to have further fueled that notion (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2017). Front National’s steady rise in popularity, with 33,9% of the votes in the 2017 election (Franceinfo 2018), and its issue-specific agenda arguably contributed to an increased sense of xenophobia particularly towards Muslim immigration from Arab countries, something the party consistently has opposed (Hollifield 2014).

The dynamics between politics and media coverage are important to gain knowledge and understanding of who is accorded agency in the public debate, and thereby granted the chance to furthers one’s own agenda (Entman 2007, p.163). Whether immigration is legislatively regulated and controlled or not, the public’s greatest source of information on international and domestic news is regulated and controlled (to some extent) by what the media chooses to spread (Benson 2013). In this regard, journalists not only hold power over what information that reaches the public, but in some respects also what should be considered important, by promoting certain themes in the content and making them more salient (Shahin 2015; Van Gorp 2007, p.66; Entman 1993, p.55). Accepting the premise that the media should function as a fourth estate of society, as a watchdog, understanding the media’s power in information-spreading and how journalists choose, consciously or not, to frame the subject of immigration is of great importance when considering journalistic agency in a world of people constantly on the move (Entman 2007, p.163; Hollifield et al. 2014, p.6). Drawing on previous studies exploring agenda setting, readers/viewers/listeners of news media rely to a large extent on the content in news coverage for their reflections on the world and the society they live in (Wanta 2009, p.55). The concept of framing further fuels this narrative, upholding that the selection of
certain words and topics in communication may have enormous effects on the way in which it is understood by recipients of a message (Ben-Porath 2010, p.2; Entman 1993). When further contemplating whether the framing of media can be related to politically relevant patterns, one enters the cross-over realm between political studies and media studies, potentially succeeding in shedding light on the fundamental question: “Who gets what, when, and how?” (Entman 2007, p.164; Lasswell, 1966). Hence, exploring journalistic frames implemented in news reporting is important to further understand the power of media in society, for the enhancement of certain details or the mere selection of topics in the news may influence the public’s perception of what aspects in their lives carry salience over others.

1.1 Research Problem & Questions
The rise of terrorism, religious extremism and political violence, not only changes the concept of war, but also has implications on the media communication of conflicts (Polonska-Kiumunguyi & Gillespie 2017, p.249). As immigration has become an increasingly controversial topic in political debates all over the Western world, the relationship between immigration and politics, as well as religious fundamentalist movements and terrorist attacks, is granted more and more attention (Polonska-Kiumunguyi & Gillespie 2017). Previous research on agenda-setting theory and audience response to media coverage shows that the latter can have great effect on the former. Furthermore, as the framing in news coverage can be both unconsciously performed and function as a direct representation of the culture regarding specific fields, it prompts the question how specific topics are framed following specific events (Entman 2007).

The purpose of this thesis has therefore been to answer such a question. The aim has been to explore how two French newspapers, Le Monde and Le Figaro, covered immigration in their political sections in the immediate aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack in 2015, and whether the framing of that attack differed between the two newspapers. Le Monde and Le Figaro are regarded by many as “left-centrist” and “right-centrist” respectively.

RQ1: Which frames can be identified in the political newspaper coverage of immigration during the two weeks following the terror attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in

A) Le Monde
B) Le Figaro

And, if so, how do these frames manifest themselves in the two newspapers?
RQ2: Do identical frames manifest themselves in both newspapers? If not, what are the differences in the frames implemented in the papers’ coverage and how can such differences be understood by the theoretical concept of framing?

The media’s ability to select which topics the public should concern themselves with can in its essence be viewed as the explicit way one exerts political influence in democratic societies. And, it is by means of framing that political players shape the texts that further influence the considerations and agendas of people (Entman 2007, p.165). By exploring and further identifying frames implemented in the political coverage of immigration in the direct aftermath of a terror attack, this thesis aims to explore the way in which established newspapers report about such events. Additionally, by applying a comparative perspective, this thesis will seek to contribute to the wider field of media culture studies of how different media outputs, although similar in many ways, may react in diverse manners following shocking events.

To reach the aim and address the research questions, this thesis has applied a theoretical framework based on the concept of framing and a methodological apparatus developed by Baldwin Van Gorp (2010). I think that these analytical tools have great strengths for this study. However, they have also paved way for some challenges and arguably a few weaknesses. The theory of framing entails interpretative aspects, while mostly articulated with great abstraction. Therefore, the chosen qualitative orientation of the text analyses made it at times hard to reliably and validly examine the material. It is for this reason that Van Gorp’s method of analysis was incorporated in this study, as it is developed specifically to deal with the issue of subjectivity in framing analysis (Van Gorp 2010, pp.84-109). The theoretical framework was dealt with in part by selecting salient perspectives of the concept of framing and further comprehensively addressing them in an effort to specify and focus the abstraction and interpretative aspects. These perspectives were also later used to interpret the results of the analyses and further supported by previous research when it was possible. In summary, I think that the concept of framing, in combination with Van Gorp’s method of analysis to explore framing, are valuable tools for a study such as this one. The basic reason for this is that they offer nuanced understandings of a specific topic and, assuming they are supported by great transparency, yield great depth to the results generated.
1.2 Disposition

The following paper will begin by providing certain definitions and clarifications of concepts and topics relevant to the field of study at hand. This will be followed by a contextual overview of the France’s historical ties to immigration, seen from a political, societal, and media perspective in order to further understand the underlying components that may prove relevant for the analysis. Chapter 3 will provide an overview of previous research of past studies regarding framing analysis in media research, prevalently in relation to news coverage of immigration, from both a single-case foundation and a comparative studies-outlook. Chapter 4 will present the theoretical framework of framing in media and political communication. In chapter 5 the methodological approach will be presented in detail together with a discussion of methodological limitations and a critical discussion on the grounds of validity, reliability, and generalizability. Chapter 6 will present the results and findings of the frame analyses, in different manners in relation to different dimensions of the analysis. Section 6. In chapter 7 a thorough overview of key patterns identified in the material will be analyzed and problematized in relation to the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 8 will conclude the study and indicating interesting paths for further research.

1.3 Definitions & Clarifications

As this thesis concerns a field of study characterized by great complexity, regarding aspects such as immigration, terrorism, and media coverage, further clarifications of the most relevant concepts are necessary.

**Immigration**

Immigration will in this thesis be based on a broad definition, not limited by certain types of immigration, such as refugee-oriented, illegal/legal, origin, etc. This, in order to allow the empiricism guide any significant considerations. Therefore, the concept of immigration will throughout the text relate to the movement of people into France, from any part of the world, in any manner and for any reason.
Framing

As the academic and theoretical foundation of this thesis will be based on the concept of framing, and while the field of framing studies extends to many disciplines, the understanding of framing for this paper will primarily derive from the works of Robert Entman and Baldwin Van Gorp, and further supplemented by other influential characters in the field, such as Erving Goffman, Robert Benson, to name a few.

Terror Attack on Charlie Hebdo

The terror attack on weekly satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015 will figure as a point of departure for this thesis. As the research questions seek to explore the usage of framing in the media coverage following this specific attack, the material relevant for analysis will be retrieved following said event and stretch for two weeks. Considering that the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* was part of a succession of attacks between the 7th and 9th of January, involving a hostage situation of a shop in another part of Paris and the shooting of a police officer in the days after (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2016, p.569), it is important to emphasize that this thesis will limit itself to studying news coverage following the first mentioned.

Political Orientations & French Political Context of 2015

As this thesis studies specific newspapers’ political coverage, political orientations and significant political parties of the time in question should be accounted for:

*Center-left, Center-Right & Right-Wing Populist* – The labels center-left and center-right refer to the left-right ideological political spectrum, where the farther out on either end one is located, the more ideologically oriented one is. The left side typically refers to various accounts of egalitarianism while the right is commonly associated with libertarian standards, conservatism, and nationalism (Dunne *et al.* 2016) The right-extreme wave previously referred to as washing over the Western world in recent decades would thereby be placed on the far-right end of the spectrum. Such movements and political parties are generally referred to as right-wing populist (Ibid). In this paper, previous research will be included claiming that the two newspapers, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, typically are located in the center-left and center-right dimensions respectively.
Parti Socialiste – Although the party originally was located farther to the left, the Socialist Party (PS), formally established in 1905, is today the largest party of the French center-left. The party’s ideological positioning can be likened to the Swedish Social Democrats. At the time of the Charlie Hebdo attack, PS ruled the government, with François Hollande as the French President and Manuel Valls as Prime Minister (Safran 2017).

Union pour un Mouvement Populaire – Union for a Popular Movement (UMP), labelled a center-right party, was in 2015 led by the former President Nicolas Sarkozy who ruled France when the party was in power between 2007 and 2012. At the time of the Charlie Hebdo attack, the party was in opposition (Buchan 2018).

Front National – Founded in 1972, Front National (FN) has been a strong supporter of French nationalism, immigration control, and often accused of encouraging both anti-Semitism and xenophobic lines of thought (Ray 2017). Marine Le Pen, the current leader of the party, finished third in the presidential elections of 2012, behind Hollande and Sarkozy, earning 18% of the votes making it the highest total in a first-round presidential election for the party (Ibid). This was followed by the party receiving about 33,9% of the votes in the elections for the European Parliament in 2014, superseding their previous result masterfully (Ray 2017).

2. Background

The World Wars of the 20th century generated a different Europe, with unprecedented economic growth, spurred by rapid technological development, together with the birth and development of the European Union (EU) (Thränhardt & Miles 1995, p.5). These processes, driven by geopolitical conflicts, civil wars, globalization, unemployment and poverty outside of Europe as well as within, have also considerably changed the international migration patterns (Rudolph 2003, p.604; Thränhardt, Miles 1995, p.4; Hollifield & Wong 2015, pp.230, 231). Consequently, immigration has become an increasing and continuous challenge for governments all over the world (Hollifield et al. 2014, p.6). A significant aspect of the geopolitical changes that have occurred has been the emerging and spreading of Islamist extremist movements and terrorist attacks, with roots in military conflicts and civil wars particularly in the Middle East and North Africa (Nye & Welch 2013, p.321). In recent decades, terrorist attacks by Islamic radicals, foremost Al-Qaida and ISIS, have had worldwide effect. The 9/11 attacks in the United States for instance, affected not only the U.S. but also domestic

2.1 Brief History of French Immigration

Migration into France has historically been dominated by European immigration (Rudolph 2003). However, economic growth in the West during the 1960s resulted in migration asymmetries between the Northern and Southern parts of the world which contributed to considerable changes in migration patterns. For example, Italians accounted for just over 66% of immigrants in 1955 and decreasing to 4.6% in 1973. During the same period, North African immigration increased from almost 13% to 30% in 1975 (Rudolph 2003, pp.608, 610). Previous studies on French immigration policy concludes that, based on government records and legislation texts, public opinion polls, and newspaper articles, France has gone from a quite open immigration policy, often regulated by labor force needs, to direct discouragement of settler immigration, at times explicitly directed towards North Africans (Hollifield 2014, pp.157, 160-165; Schain 2008, pp.39, 46). As employers were encouraged to seek immigrant work labor in the 1969s, the increased amount of North African immigrants, in combination with integration challenges caused a rise in French immigration policy concern, which in turn brought about a strive for decreasing the North African immigration flow (Schain 2008, pp.63, 47, 51). Viewed from a national security perspective, studies have concluded that France’s approach to immigration has, since 1945, moved towards a societal sovereignty, where societal insecurities carry more weight today than it previously has (Rudolph 2006, pp.15, 23; Ibid 2003, p.618).

2.2 French Media Culture

France is regarded as part of the Polarized Pluralist Model in Hallin and Mancini’s comparative framework of journalistic cultures around the world. This model generally applies to the Mediterranean countries, with a few exemptions and mixed cases (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.11). It pertains to countries with a high degree of political parallelism, where newspapers identify themselves with certain ideological tendencies and journalism in the format of commentary basis is common (Ibid., p.61). It is unlikely that countries fitting this model adhere
to the strict agenda of neutral journalism and they are often characterized by a history of regime changes and political conflicts, which furthermore prompts the politicization of the media (Ibid). Similarly, France has been characterized and influenced throughout the years by violent and revolutionary political developments, in the monarchy decades in the end of the 18th century and further by its various government changes, with its fifth republic currently active (Martin 1997).

During the 1980s, the French press was greatly influenced by two significant pieces of legislation. The first, established in 1981, was an attempt to roll back the previous century’s limitations on freedom of expression following the French revolution. The second, in 1982, established freedom of programming for media such as television and radio, while also abolishing state monopoly on media (Martin 1997, p.334). According to Marc Martin’s book on the media and journalists of the French Republic, there is a long-standing relationship between media, journalists, and the political class (1997, p.13). However, he argues, any faltering with regards to the print media should be understood by a general trend of de-politicization of public life, rather than simply by the competition from new media platforms. This because printed press is most commonly associated with the editorializing of the minds of the public and politics (Ibid).

The notion of an ever-present political identity within French media culture is not uncommon in previous studies (See Chalaby 2004; Benson 2013; Hallin & Mancini 2004). National newspapers with daily publications in France are frequently claimed to have political ties to various ideologies, like Le Monde, Le Figaro, and Libération. These newspapers are generally referred to as having center-left, center-right, and leftist identities respectively (Chalaby 2004, pp.1201-1202). A newspaper’s political ties can affect both which topics are covered in the day-to-day news, but also which aspects of such events that are reported. The principal occupation does not necessarily lie with the facts of a story, but rather with the different kinds of comprehension of political and social events (Ibid, p.1202).

The political orientations of media companies in France is comprehensible when taking into consideration the history of ownership. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, there was an aim to prevent industrial control of the printed press, a direct consequence of corruption during the war (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.115). This resulted in, among other things, Le Figaro being bought by the politically active Robert Hersant and the entire French press remaining
linked to the political establishment. Contrarily, control over *Le Monde* was eventually turned over to the journalists themselves, allowing them to vote for whomever they considered most appropriate for the role of director (Ibid., p.117). Even though the ownership status of the two papers have somewhat changed throughout the years, the ideological interpretations of past regulations of control hint towards right vs. left-leaning tendencies (Hallini & Mancini 2004).

### 2.3 *Le Monde* & *Le Figaro*

Despite there being newspapers in France whose political identifications supersede others in distinctness, the major Parisian dailies represent broad political tendencies (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.98). *Le Figaro* and *France-Soir* reflecting the center-right aspects, while *Le Monde* and *Libération* center-left. Due to polemical cultural structures, French journalism is often referred to as one of expression rather than observation, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon type of journalism (Ibid). It should be noted that neither one of the newspapers divulge that they are influenced by a specific type of coverage due to political orientations, let alone claim that they in fact have political leanings (*Le Monde* 2016-12-06; *Le Figaro* 2018).

*Le Figaro* was established in 1826 and is currently the oldest daily newspaper still active in France. It is a paper commonly referred to as having an editorial influenced by conservative tendencies and its readers typically lean to the right ideologically and essentially representing the center-right on the political scale (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.98). Since 2004, it is owned by the former senator and current businessman Serge Dassault, with a circulation of over 300,000 in 2017 (Benson 2013, p.46; ACPM 2017). Often referred to as the direct descendant of *Le Temps*, a Parisian daily newspaper that was active between 1861-1942, *Le Monde* is one of the major daily newspapers in France (Atkins 2002, pp.16-17). During World War II, the French government banned all newspapers that continued to publish after the Nazi incursion into southern France in 1942. This was an attempt to punish Nazi collaborators, which shut down *Le Temps* (Ibid). Its editorial is often referred to as left-centrist, despite the paper itself objecting to this representation and upholds that it adheres to non-partisan journalism (Hallin & Mancini 2004, p.98). It is currently owned and operated by the press group Groupe Le Monde, with ties to the leftist party Parti Socialiste, and two businessmen, Xavier Niel and Matthieu Pigasse, and has a circulation of just under 300,000 (Benson 2013, pp.45, 47; ACPM 2017).
2.4 The Attack on *Charlie Hebdo*

On January 7th 2015, the satirical weekly magazine *Charlie Hebdo* was attacked by the brothers Chérif and Said Kouachi, killing 12 people and wounding 11 (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2016, p.569). In the days following the attack, multiple other attacks were carried out by Amédy Coulibaly, a police officer was shot and killed, several customers were held hostages in a shop in Paris, where four additional people were gunned down before the perpetrator was shot by French police (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2016). The men involved in the attacks all claimed that the attacks were carried out in the name of the radical Islamist movement Al-Qaeda in Yemen (Aljazeera 2015; Independent 2015; Washington Post 2015).

*Charlie Hebdo* is known for humoring famous personalities, religious beliefs and politics (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2016, p.569). The motive behind the attack was the magazines publishing of cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed, which was considered to be offensive to Muslims (Ibid). Caricatures of the Prophet had also been published in 2012, which had been met by law suits pursued by French Muslim communities against *Charlie Hebdo*, and the magazine received several threats which prompted the French police force to dispense officers to heighten security for the journalists right to free expression (Ibid). The attack prompted demonstrations worldwide protesting what was referred to as a deliberate attempt to intimidate freedom of expression (Ferenčik 2017, p.54). Historically, Islamic terrorism with regards to France first became significant during the Algerian war of independence and the Algerian freedom party FLN’s rhetoric often derived from Islam (Fetzer & Soper 2005). The wave of terrorist attacks during the 1990s was largely explained by and blamed on the immigrants in France, which further fueled the already tense relations between the ethnic French people and those with North African heritage (Polonska-Kimunguyi & Gillespie 2016, p.571).

3. Previous Research

As this thesis explores the framing in news coverage from a media studies perspective, this chapter will provide an overview of previous research that offer significant insights into the research questions at hand.
3.1 Previous Research on Framing

Denise Sommer and Georg Ruhrmann’s article from 2010 explores the framing of people with migration background in German TV news. Through cluster analysis, Sommer and Ruhrmann identify four frames that appear in TV news: 1) Crime; 2) Migration Policy; 3) Cultural Proximity; 4) Terrorism Risk. According to their study, the identified frames indicate that the public perception of people with migration background is one of negativity and bias. In particular, the Crime-frame displayed a specific type of news coverage, characterized by negativity and aggression towards said people (Sommer & Ruhrmann 2010, p.11). The most apparent problem definition in the pronounced frames with regards to the coverage of people with migration background, was that of terrorism. Although Sommer and Ruhrmann conclude that this pattern is not abnormal in a world post 9/11, they problematize the thematic change in coverage as well as the broadcasting coverage of diffuse threats/risks which implies danger and potentially produces fear (Ibid).

Saif Shahin’s study (2016) on the framing of “bad news” in American newspapers following tragic events makes a distinction between the affixing of responsibility of an event on human agents and the removal of blame from human agents entirely, labelling them as the “blame frame” and the “explain frame”. He uses these frames to study the coverage of the Boston bombings and the West fertilizer plant blast, exploring how Muslims and Arabs tend to be portrayed in the American media either as mere suppliers of oil or potential terrorists, the latter having become increasingly prevalent in the aftermath of 9/11 (Ibid., p.648). Aysel Morin did a similar study (2016) on the strategies employed by newspapers in the United States following two almost identical events of lone gunmen opening fire at American soldiers and on American soil. The difference between the two being that one was labelled a terrorist, and the other not (Morin 2016, p.987). Morin makes the connection of the gunman framed as a terrorist being of immigrant background and a Muslim, without specifying if he was a first-generation immigrant or not. This suggests that the label ‘immigrant’ may be employed fairly loosely in the media to refer to anyone of immigrant heritage, foreign racial or ethnic heritage (Ibid, p.992). He problematizes how perpetrators of immigrant origin tend to be framed by media as a permanent foreigner, disregarding the current citizenship status of the person (Ibid., p.992).
3.2 Framing in Comparative Studies

Migration studies and journalism and media studies occasionally merge in studies of framing in the news. As this is a comparative study, previous research that have attempted similar comparative approaches are of particular interest. Rodney Benson’s comparative study (2013) on French and American framing of immigration in media between 1973 and 2006 displays similarities with this thesis. Adopting a field-study approach, Benson includes a broader spectrum of journalistic news production. This allows him to bridge the micro and the macro levels of cultural production, fusing together both the social and semiotic perspective of journalism framing (2013, p.23). As Benson’s study covers a broader field than this study, his methodology regarding the construction of frames may present valuable insights for the methodological reflections. He develops nine frames, divided into three overall themes: Victim Frames, Hero Frames, Threat Frames (Benson 2013, p.8). He further uses these frames, interviews with journalists from both France and the United States, as well as secondary data on the journalistic market and public opinion in both countries, to understand how journalism affects the public debate (Ibid, p.12). The Public order frame (Threat) and the Humanitarian (Victim frame) dominated in both countries news. However, while the U.S. press often employed individualist market-oriented frame (Threat), France’s news coverage was characterized by a larger presence of both the critical global economy-frame (Victim), and the national cohesion frame (Threat). Apart from the identified frames, he concludes that the French news media tends to be of a more multi-perspective kind than the U.S. news media. He also argues that French media to a greater extent employs structural explanations, while being more critical toward the government and to leading political parties. Finally, he reasons that commercialism is reciprocally related to ideological diversity in journalistic news coverage (Benson 2013).

In a study of Belgian press coverage of the topic of asylum, Baldwin Van Gorp not only analyzes framing from an issue-specific angle, but simultaneously provides a methodological outlook on the conceptualization of frames in media (Van Gorp 2005). His contribution to frame analysis is further implemented on a test case. He chooses to deductively analyze 1489 newspaper articles from Belgian newspapers spread geographically in Belgium, using a victim-frame and an intruder-frame (Ibid, pp.490, 494). According to Van Gorp, mentioned frames are both associated commonly used to represent asylum-seekers. The victimization of people is widely used as a dramaturgic technique in media, often depicting the elderly or the poor who
find themselves in situations they have no control over and are not to blame for (Ibid). The intruder-frame is commonly deployed to symbolize the ‘other’ as a cultural and/or economic threat (Ibid, p.489). Using a homogeneity analysis through a HOMALS graph, identifying clusters and dimensions, as a complement to frame analysis, Van Gorp seeks to understand and establish the frames in the news more accurately. He concludes that the one out of five Belgian newspapers framed asylum-seekers as innocent victims, while one out of four framed them as intruders, where the main division was located between the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking part of Belgium (Ibid, p.503). The French-speaking Belgian papers were dominated by the use of the victim-frame and an emphasis on a humanitarian policy regarding asylum-seekers, while the stereotype ‘all strangers are intruders’ more commonly manifested itself in the Dutch press. Van Gorp reasons that the Dutch-speaking press could be subject to influence by the right-wing populist party Vlaams Blok and their anti-immigration discourse (Ibid).

Eva Polonska-Kimunguyi and Marie Gillespie’s study published in 2016 on terrorism discourse in French international broadcasting following the Charlie Hebdo attacks the previous year provides insights on media’s coverage of terrorism and the assigning of guilt to North African and Muslim populations. The study, building on France 24’s broadcasting in the aftermath of the attacks, pointed towards the attack taking place due to non-French factors, thereby blaming extremist organizations outside of France and overall Islamist ideologues (Polonska-Limunguyi & Gillespie 2016). Internal factors, such as discrimination, lack of job opportunities or education, and deficiencies in the relationship between Muslim communities and law enforcement, are not reflected upon by the broadcaster (Ibid). Polonska-Kimunguyi and Gillespie conclude that this type of media coverage, where terrorism is reduced to pertaining only to Islamic indoctrination, could result in further alienation of Muslim communities in France and excluding long-term policy solutions that do not concern stricter monitoring of Muslim communities (Ibid). Their study of French and German broadcasting on Islamist terrorism in Africa (2017) builds on their previous research, further illustrating the relationship between Western states and Africa as well as media and terrorism. They emphasize that the relationship between media and violent extremism, as is often the case with terrorism, is not a novel notion, for terrorist groups need media coverage to obtain legitimacy by capitalizing on emotional impact of their violent actions (2017, p.246). According to Polonska-Kimunguyi and Gillespie, national discourses surrounding Muslims in France is mostly characterized by the portrayal of them as a homogenous group reluctant to assimilate with the wider population (2017, p.252). They conclude that French broadcasting’s employment of the ‘clash of the
civilizations’ narrative, quite possibly contributes to the fortification of the extremist cause by falling victim to extremists’ objectives in their reporting, unintentionally aiding in their identity creation process (Ibid, pp.246, 269).

The previous research presented in this chapter have contributed to the interpretations and understanding of the results generated in this study. Although they all share some similarities with the study at hand, none of them address the framing of the specific topic of immigration following the terror attack on Charlie Hebdo. Hence, I would argue that previous studies exploring framing, either of people with migration background, overall immigration, and/or terror attacks, contribute to the broader academic field of framing studies. However, the review of previous framing research indicate limited research on newspapers’ framing of immigration post specific terror attacks. It is this particular gap in previous research that this thesis has sought to fill.

4. Theoretical Framework

The concept of framing refers to the selection of certain words or topics in communication, thereby granting salience to specific concepts, as well as how these selections affect the recipients (Ben-Porath 2010, p.2; Entman 1993). With Erving Goffman as one of its earliest influencers, the field of framing studies is one that is in constant growth. Based on a sociological foundation, Goffman articulated the strategy of ‘frame analysis’ in the 1970s, in an effort to uncover unconscious and/or hidden meaning in his search for social ‘meaning mechanisms’ (Willems 2004, p.45; Goffman 1974). Commonly implemented in mass communication and political communication studies, the theory of framing facilitates the understanding of how certain themes become more salient than others in both the written and spoken word (Van Gorp 2010, p.84; Entman 2010). It emanates from the premise that news media can have a determining effect on citizens, e.g. the political preferences of the public in an upcoming election (Hurtíková 2013, p.28). As French media adheres to a model where political parallelism is apparent, and ideological tendencies and commentary basis appears frequently in news coverage, the possibility that media may infer angling of the news slanting them in favor of certain political orientations should be regarded as highly plausible (Hallin & Mancini 2004, pp.11, 61).
This theoretical approach has entered into the field of media studies under the assumption that it is inevitable for journalists to superimpose their own frames in their production of news (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010). Framing is closely related to the theoretical approach of agenda setting, exploring what effects exposure to news media may have on the recipients. The concept is centralized around the idea of the media not necessarily telling people what to think, but rather what to think about, although some firmly believe that the former applies nonetheless (see Entman 2007, p.165; Wanta 2009, p.55). In both regards, journalists are thought of as influencers of the public’s perceptions of which topics and issues are important in the public debate (Ibid). Even though audience members, e.g. readers of a newspaper, may invest little thought into how news are framed, it should not be assumed that they remain passive in relation to the dominating frames in media (Entman 2010, p.333). On the contrary, perceived public opinion can influence the future framing by journalists and other elites, through e.g. polls (Ibid). The framing in media can also have an impact on the societal level, by shaping social processes such as decision-making and collective actions (Vreese 2005, p.52).

Framing as a theoretical consideration is implemented in different kinds of studies, e.g. locating frames in receivers of news, news sources, news texts, organizations, as well as overall journalistic cultures (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010, p.2). According to Claes de Vreese, it is imperative that one is aware of the different types of frames present in a given context or text in order to be able to understand why and when they are at work (2005, p.51). Hence, the concept of framing is not only a method of analysis, but is also considered a theoretical approach. What this approach reveals about the field of news production is that it may very well be both context-dependent (situational) and person-dependent (journalists), regarding what topics or ideas are included in a story, and which are excluded (Ben-Porath 2010, p.5). The following pages will offer an overview of the two theoretical perspectives of framing that are of importance to this study, namely the cultural outlook on frames in media coverage and biased content through news slanting.
4.1 Frames – A Product of Culture

According to the literature on framing, one encounters frames in every step of the communication process. Frames should be regarded as media packages, made up of several indicators. Aside from lexical choices, e.g. selection of words and phrases, a fully developed frame ordinarily performs at least four functions (Entman 1993; Van Gorp 2010, p.96), see figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Four Functions of Frames

One may argue that frames exist in the minds of the media producers and the audience, in the media content as well as the overall culture (see Entman 1993). At the same time, others understand frames exclusively as a product of the culture, independent of the individual (see Goffman 1974; Ibid. 1981, p.63; Van Gorp 2005, p.487; Ibid 2007, p.62). However, one thing everyone seems to agree on is that frames require interaction between the journalist and the recipients, via the journalistic product, for cultural motives to be established, through e.g. stereotypes or shared beliefs (Van Gorp 2005, p.487; see Scheufele 1999, p.107). Frames, as reflections of culture, are appealing for journalists to use because they are ready for use whenever it suits the story. Depending on the narrative at hand, culturally embedded frames offer journalists the chance to assign various roles to the actors manifested in the journalistic product, as e.g. advocate-opponent or good-bad which essentially contributes to the emotional appeal, relatability of the audience and dramatization of the news (Van Gorp 2010, p.87). This type of frames, as opposed to issue-specific frames, do not solely focus on a specific topic, but rather assumes a topic to push for a larger narrative, a narrative that the recipients can relate to.
through role-associations (Ibid). This distinction, between culturally embedded and issue-specific frames will further aid in the interpretation of the frames generated by this study. Based on this theoretical perspective of framing, the results yielded from the analyses of newspaper articles should reveal important traits of the journalistic media culture of *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, not only the specific thoughts and opinions of the journalists themselves, or the thoughts of the readers of the newspapers.

### 4.2 Media Content Bias

To understand the relationships between frames and politically relevant patterns, the concept of bias needs to be explained in relation to relevant theoretical concepts (Entman 2007). According to Entman, there are three types of significant meanings for the concept of bias: 1) Distortion bias, refers to the purposeful distortion of reality in the news; 2) Content bias, refers to the favoring of one side or not granting equivalent treatment in a political conflict to both sides; 3) Decision-making bias, refers to the potential mindsets of journalists themselves being a factor in their framing of news (Entman 2007, p.163). Bias should be distinguished from the terminology *news slant*, which is characterized by the angling of news reports and editorials in its framing to favor one side. Often, mainstream news organizations deny that they employ this strategy, adhering to the journalistic code of conduct related to objectivity, although it is very common that political actors, at times for strategic reasons, dispute this and argue that media favors their competition (Entman 2007, p.165). In order to determine the existence of media content bias, one must identify regular patterns of news slanting in journalistic products (Ibid, p.166). Specifically, the active and systematic attempt by media companies to systematically advocate for certain actors to further influence the views of the readers/viewers/listeners would imply a regular pattern of news slanting in their favor. This would further imply that the media itself is politically oriented (Entman 2007, p.166). As this thesis will remain focused on specific news coverage content, rather than the overall context of the time or the thoughts and beliefs of the journalists themselves, the concept of media content bias through slanted framing may help to explore and understand the empirical material of this study.

Previous research that specifically focuses on bias regarding how media occasionally favor one side in political contexts is limited (Ibid, p.164). However, past studies have often showed that a majority of the public believes the media to be biased, in favor of liberal politics (Entman
Studies of media content bias often appear in research regarding political communication and power, and not seldom the framing of migration. By seeking to answer whether the framing of media texts fall into politically relevant patterns, one may be able to shed light on one of the fundamental questions within politics, “who gets what, when, and how?”, using media as a means to that end (Lasswell, 1966; Entman 2007, p.164).

5. Methodology

As this thesis incorporates the concept of framing, both as a central component of the theoretical framework and as a method of analysis, this chapter will discuss the methodological perspective of framing analysis on textual material. Even though extensive research has been carried out in recent years using framing as a concept, no single methodological approach has been formulated that could take into account all subjects of study, and even less so in the discipline of media and communication studies regarding political communication through news coverage (Hurtíková 2013, p.28).

Studies on the framing of news are often carried out in a quantitative manner in order to include great samples of data (see Shahin 2015; Van Gorp 2007, p.71). However, the abstract nature of frames calls for at least a combination of quantitative and qualitative aspects, making the essential interpretative depth possible in such analyses (Van Gorp 2007, p.72). This thesis strives to attain an in-depth understanding of a limited amount of texts relating to a specific subject, further narrowed down by one single event. Such limitations need not be governed by the attractiveness of quantitatively measuring the frequency of specific words, as is standard with quantitatively oriented methods of analysis, but rather by the possibility of assessing the potential underlying meanings of such words (Benson 2013, p.2; Silverman 2013, p.142). This study aims to explore how immigration was framed in the aftermath of the attack on the French satirical journal Charlie Hebdo through qualitatively oriented analyses of newspaper articles.

The ambition is to analyze the entirety of the articles, as well as parts of them, in the contexts in which they are produced (i.e. the Charlie Hebdo attack), thereby applying a hermeneutic approach (Esaiasson et al. 2012, p.210). This, in an attempt to further enable the coding of larger thematic structures while evaluating such structures against the attack (Bryman 2012, pp.559-560; Matthes & Kohring 2008).
5.1 Frame Analysis

As the goal of frame analysis is to reveal structural patterns within, in this case, newspaper articles, a repeated examination of the source material, through different manners of analysis, will offer the opportunity to support and document findings in a thorough manner (Van Gorp 2005, p.488; Ibid 2010, p.93). Although one may argue that many frames could be manifest in regard to a subject such as immigration (see Benson 2013), this thesis seeks to explore whether any specific frames can be identified in the sampled material, and if so, which ones, considering the short time span of only two weeks and the material being solely from the political coverage. Following the analyses, a test was issued, based on Van Gorp’s method of ascertaining validity and reliability. The test involved assessing whether: 1) the list of frames is complete? And 2) if the articulated frames were the most dominant ones in the material? (2010, p.97). This test was conducted through several read-throughs of the texts to ascertain that no other themes were dominant. In a following step, each text was sorted into piles according to the frames identified.

If a text would have been found to be without a relationship to a frame, it would have implied that it was either frameless or that a frame would yet have to be identified (ibid). However, it was established that no additional coding cycle was necessary since all texts displayed relationships to the frames already articulated (Ibid; see Appendix).

5.1.1 Method of analysis

The method of analysis for this thesis followed the step-by-step instructions pronounced by Baldwin Van Gorp (2010) for conducting inductive framing analysis. This approach is in part chosen due to its expressed clarity regarding each step, in part due to its systematic technique explicitly seeking to limit the subjective involvement of the researcher, thereby increasing the degree of transparency and improving the validity and reliability of this paper (Van Gorp 2010, p.90).

Step 1: Collect source material

The sampling of material was not founded on statistical grounds, but rather on the research questions of this thesis, thereby applying a purposive sampling method to the selection of material (Silverman 2013, pp.146, 150-151). The framing of political communication in newspapers, regarding the topic of immigration, was therefore used to collect material. As both newspapers provide an online database to subscribers, searches were carried out to limit down the number of articles relevant for analysis. Apart from the specific time frame of two weeks
following the attack, 2015-01-08 – 2015-01-22, a word search using *Immigration* (the same spelling of the word in English, i.e. immigration) was necessary. This selection procedure generated 58 hits for *Le Monde* and 92 hits for *Le Figaro* between 2015-01-08 and 2015-01-22. Applying a purposive sampling method, the material for analysis must present relevance to the pronounced research questions and aim (Silverman 2010, p.144). As the research questions seek to explore frames expressed in articles pertaining to the newspapers’ political coverage of immigration, the material was further narrowed down to articles published in their political sections. This yielded 14 articles and 11 articles published under the sections “Politique” (eng. politics) in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* respectively (see Appendix Tables A1 and A2 for complete list of articles selected).

**Step 2: Open coding**

As a first step of the analyses, the texts were processed in their entirety with the aim of creating an inventory of empirical indicators visible in the material. According to Van Gorp, this step should involve a constant reflection on *how* the story was told rather than *what* the text was about, e.g. who was given voice in the text, and how the topic of immigration was presented. Each article was examined for framing and reasoning devices by examining all articles for lexical choices in phrasing, the contrasting of actors, appeals to emotional angles, symbols, etc. All details that brought meaning to the overall impression of the texts were further catalogued in a table of inventory (Van Gorp 2010, p.95; see table 6.1 for an example).

**Step 3: Axial coding**

This step involved examining the previously established inventory of indicators to further identify patterns of framing and reasoning devices that together symbolized patterns of overarching ideas (Van Gorp 2010, p.96). Differences and similarities between the articles were summarized, and the framing and reasoning devices previously identified were reduced to dimensions, or categories (Ibid). This step culminated in a second reading of all articles viewed through the inventories and the recently established empirical indicators (see 6.1 Empirical Indicators).

**Step 4: Selective coding**

Upon the identification of several empirical indicators, the categories were examined for the last time in order to determine if distinct frames could be expressed. The previous steps would
at this point merge in the construction of frame matrixes, or frame packages, in order to
pronounce the very nature of the individual frames (Van Gorp 2010, p.96). The frames located
were at this point explored for logical combinations that together made up each package, using
primarily Entman’s four indicators of frames: Definitions, responsibility, solutions, and any
passing of moral judgement (Entman 1993; Van Gorp 2010, p.96; Van Gorp 2005).

5.2 Methodological Discussion
Considering that this study is limited in scale, the generated patterns in the framing of news
coverage should be treated with caution in terms of wider generalizability. The choice to study
the material through qualitatively oriented frame analysis to decipher underlying patterns is
based on my personal wish to reach in-depth knowledge and understanding of the texts, rather
than focusing on the frequency of specific concepts. However, this method is accompanied by
risks of subjectivity, as the human factor in the interpretative process is a subjective element.
Therefore, transparency of the step-by-step method of analysis, as well as constant self-
reflection regarding various hazards linked to the interpretative process, will serve as the main
route to limit such risks, although it may never be entirely eliminated (Esaiasson et al. 2012,
p.57; Van Gorp 2010, p.87).

Noteworthy regarding the material, two articles were basically repackaged ready-made news
from the international agency Agence France Presse. However, acknowledging that the number
of articles that pertained to this format was so low that including them in the overall study
should not be deemed as devaluing of the validity or reliability of the study. An additional two
articles from Le Monde lacked bylines, which is regrettable considering it would be interesting
to understand who is responsible for the framing of every individual text. Also, among the 25
articles that were analyzed, only 11 different journalists figured, five reoccurring in Le Figaro’s
reporting and six in Le Monde’s (see information in Material, p.48). However, as this thesis is
not focusing on the journalists per se, but rather attempts to understand the media culture of the
newspapers as a whole, this is not regarded as particularly problematic for this study.

It is worth mentioning that the material analyzed in this study originate from the online editions
of the two newspapers, and not from the printed versions, which may undergo changes post
publishing, in the form of factual changes and/or updates. As each article has a date and time
stamp, it is however possible to note which articles have undergone such changes, although it
is impossible today to determine what those changes were. However, potential revisions in articles should not affect either the generalizability, validity or reliability of the study, as they would still shed light on the research questions of this paper, regardless of changes. They should therefore be viewed as elements of framing structures comparable to the other articles.

5.2.1 Limitations & Generalizability

Regarding the limitations for this thesis, they have been made in part to make the study manageable, but also due to the nature of specificity regarding this thesis’ research questions. That is, only two newspapers have been chosen as cases of study, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. Furthermore, only articles published in their political sections on their online papers have been chosen for analysis, during the two weeks following the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, and only textual material has been examined. However, such limitations also mean that potentially significant material, e.g. pictures and videos, have been excluded from the study. Although their presence in the articles may carry weight for the general results, it makes any results yielded nonetheless interesting for the field of media culture studies. Hence, a suggestion for future research could be an advancement of the study at hand, with an inclusion of *all* materials attached to the news articles.

The research of news coverage by *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* should be regarded as a combination of intrinsic and instrumental case studies (Silverman 2010). On the one hand, the findings will not be relevant to generalization for other newspapers’ overall coverage, due to the particularity of the limitations for this study. On the other hand, the newspapers, along with the articulated contextual time frame, serve to provide essential insights into the issue of media coverage of specific topics in the aftermath of particularly shocking events (Silverman 2010, pp.138-139). For complete generalizability, the sampled material ought to be considerably bigger in order to obtain a higher degree of representativeness and possibly include a multitude of cases (Silverman 2010, p.139). However, social practices, e.g. language use, as is studied in this paper, are in all probability manifest in all different contexts, even if they are not actualized in the same ways in different settings, which speaks to the legitimacy of this study despite its small size (Ibid, p.147).

23
5.2.2 Validity & Reliability

The concepts of validity and reliability have been considered throughout the entire study, from the process of selecting the material to the evaluative stage of interpreting the significance of the results yielded by the analyses. Qualitative research often falls subject to criticism regarding the validity, or truth, of their various lines of reasoning due to its several layers of analysis that lie underneath the surface, as opposed to the oftentimes clearly articulated layers of quantitatively oriented studies (Silverman 2010, p.275). That is not saying, however, that studies such as this one is unable to comprehensively reach a high level of validity, but merely that it is important to articulate each step of the process. Therefore, any reflections made have sought to be governed and characterized by nuance and transparency to not exclude potentially relevant information from the conclusions (Silverman 2010, p.275).

Although this study has aimed to maintain a high degree of reliability throughout its course, the risk of it entailing certain flaws should be acknowledged. Regardless of how transparent I as an interpreter of the material attempts to remain, it is difficult for me to judge whether another researcher would catalogue and identify patterns similar to those I have found in this study (Silverman 2010, p.288). In this regard, the above-mentioned four-step method of analysis should figure as a potential contributor to a higher degree of reliability, due to its various different kinds of coding in order for relevant information not to be excluded at an early stage. The different steps also require me, as the interpreter, to catalogue each decision made, which increases the study’s potential of replicability.

6. Findings from Frame Analyses

This chapter will present the results yielded by the frame analyses of the newspaper articles studied. In doing so, the frames identified in the newspapers will be presented. Following this section, framing patterns will be interpreted and evaluated in terms of their significance based on the theoretical approach of framing and in the light of previous research. Identified frames will also be discussed with regards to their significance for the media culture at Le Figaro and Le Monde as they reveal themselves in the weeks following the attack on Charlie Hebdo (7. Analysis of Framing in Le Monde & Le Figaro). Following the steps presented in the previous chapters, the various types of coding conducted on the sampled material provided results in different dimensions. Step 2 of the analyses revealed framing and reasoning devices for each
article that, when compiled, yielded certain overarching ideas (or empirical indicators), which furthermore made it possible to detect similarities and differences between the articles. Each article was processed through individual tables where framing and reasoning devices were exhaustively catalogued. Table 6.1 demonstrates an example of such a table pertaining to an article published in Le Figaro on the 9th of January, two days after the attack (Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN).

Table 6.1 Example of Open Coding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source text</th>
<th>Framing devices (contrast of actors, emotional appeal, context, symbol, lexical choices)</th>
<th>Reasoning devices</th>
<th>Who is heard/quoted?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The grand republican march on Sunday will reunite PS, UMP, UDI, MoDem, EE-LV, PRG, Front de gauche and Debout la France, but not Front National, whom the left do not want attending.&quot;</td>
<td>Contrast of actors: Without specifying which parties represent the left, journalist contrasts the vaguely worded &quot;left&quot; and Front National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The president of FN has denounced [...] the exclusion of which her party is victim, announcing that they will not take part in the procession.&quot;</td>
<td>Emotional appeal &amp; lexical choice: Victimizing of Front National</td>
<td>Wording, 'victim', suggests almost a bullying attitude by established parties towards FN.</td>
<td>Mainly the journalists (three authors) are heard in this text, using quotes by representatives from ruling party, Parti Socialiste, and Front National as references.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;There cannot be any exclusions [...]. But the leader of government did not pick up his phone to call Marine Le Pen, like he had done on Wednesday with the president of UMP [...].&quot;</td>
<td>Contrast of actors: Contrasting the integrity of sitting prime minister Valls for treatment of FN and other parties.</td>
<td>Seemingly questioning the ruling party's will for unity while simultaneously practicing exclusion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;According to him (François Lamy), those who affirm that immigration is the cause of problems and stigmatize a religion don't have a place at this rally.&quot;</td>
<td>Lexical choice: Quote suggests that FN believes immigration caused attack, journalist never opposes/problematizes quote.</td>
<td>Both immigration and religion (assumingly Islam) is contrasted with FN in relation to attack.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Marine Le Pen having noted the opposition of the PS, François Fillon said that one could 'not talk about national unity by excluding several million French [...] It is not acceptable that the FN be excluded from a demonstration about national unity&quot;.</td>
<td>Contrast of actors: placing the PS at a disadvantage, seemingly at odds with other parties for excluding FN. Lexical choice: &quot;opposition of the PS&quot;, and chosen quotes for enhancement.</td>
<td>Journalists using voices of other politicians to further drive the narrative of victimization/bullying and the conflict between unison &amp; exclusion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The identification of patterns in the articles, searching for linkages between framing, reasoning devices and overarching ideas through re-reads of the articles in the light of the inventories produced in the previous step, using the tables as catalogues, revealed several reoccurring themes. This process was further combined with a review of the literature relevant to this thesis to guide the mapping of textual elements and their significance. This yielded three overarching ideas, or categories, within which each article could be placed in at least one (see figure 6.1 for overarching ideas). Following these categories, and the division of the articles among them,
distinctive frames could be discerned, which I will discuss in the following sections of this chapter.

6.1 Empirical Indicators

Following the open coding in step 2, the framing and reasoning devices altogether made up a series of categories that separated and combined the different articles (see figure 6.1). Other factors that differed and combined certain texts concerning whether the journalist allowed other voices to be heard rather than his/her own, and the various lexical choices made by the journalist. While all articles are represented in abovementioned categories, some displayed similarities with more than one category (see Appendix Table A1 and A2 for translations).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.2 Empirical Indicatory Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immigration &amp; radical Islam/terrorism</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Alain Juppé: “L’exécutif a été à la hauteur des événements” (Le Monde 14/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. L’UMP socieuse de prévenir les dérapages (Le Monde 9/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Le pire n’est pas toujours sûr (Le Monde 12/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pour le FN, la guerre est ouverte contre l’Islam radical (Le Monde 8/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés (Le Monde 17/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Terrorisme: Sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale, Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes (Le Figaro 12/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Les propositions de Marine Le Pen pur lutter contre le communautarisme (Le Figaro 16/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Robert Ménard : “Nous constatons un climat inquiétant à Béziers” (Le Figaro 20/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. À la radio ce matin: Le Pen, Le Drian, Guéant évoquent l’après 11-janvier (Le monde 13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Marine Le Pen: “Ce que nous vivons aujourd’hui, c’est le résultat de vingt ans d’erreurs” (Le Monde 19/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Le discours de Valls à l’Assemblée quasi unanimement salué par la classe politique (Le Monde 13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Marine Le Pen: “La peur est là” (Le Monde 8/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu (Le Monde 19/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Immigration, diplomatie...Marine Le Pen veut passer à l’offensive (Le Monde 13/1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all articles in each category addressed the ideas from the same perspective. While some of the articles found in the category “Immigration & radical Islam/terrorism” called for a direct relationship between immigration and terrorism, others presented a more careful image of this supposed relationship, and some rejected the link between the two altogether. Some articles simply included the topic of immigration in the background, while focusing on various politicians’ stances on immigration policy. I will discuss these discrepancies further below.

6.1.1 Homage & skepticism towards ruling leaders

Three articles were included in this category, all originating from Le Figaro. The authors of these texts often celebrated the actions of the ruling leaders in the aftermath of the attack, i.e. Prime minister Manuel Valls and President François Hollande, while simultaneously criticizing their ability to keep up the good work. A common feature in these articles was that the person most visible in the texts were the journalist him/herself, rather than the journalist remaining in the background and allowing facts and quotes regarding news events to speak for themselves.

Ex. 1.
“For François Hollande, these bloody attacks that have bereaved France indisputably mark a turning point […] That does not mean that his policy suddenly will be acclaimed, far from it.”

“Les nouveaux défis de François Hollande”
(Le Figaro 2015-01-13)

Ex. 2
“These two speeches will remain two highlights of this extraordinary chain of events. Can François Hollande keep this momentum up?”

“Les limites de l’expression présidentielle permanente”
(Le Figaro 2015-01-15)

Ex. 3
“It is, for the leader of government [Manuel Valls], a joyful consequence – if one can say – of the terrorist attacks that have bloodied Paris.”

“Après les attentats, Valls est quasi assuré de rester à Matignon jusqu’en 2017”
(Le Figaro 2015-01-21)
These three articles are all written by different journalists at *Le Figaro* and yet they share similarities regarding both framing and reasoning devices. They use lexical choices, words such as ‘bloody’, ‘bereaved’, ‘highlights’, ‘momentum’, and ‘joyful’ in a contrasting manner to describe the actions taken by the two leaders in the days following the attack. Although the two leaders are granted great credit for the way in which they have managed the evolving events since the attack, the journalists in these articles all reveal skepticisms concerning their ability to carry on in this manner. They point towards immigration policy as potentially bringing an end to their success, further suggesting that they have no clearly phrased solutions to deal with immigration.

### 6.1.2 Unobtainable unity in the political sphere

This is one of the categories where a relatively large number of articles were found. These articles lend themselves to the problematizing of unity along the political spectrum, or lack thereof in the aftermath of the terror attack. One aspect that they all share is that all journalists seemingly argue that political unison is unobtainable, and any attempt by the politicians at reaching it generally ends in different sorts of exclusions of the Front National, due to dissidence regarding values and policy in relation to immigration. Of the twelve articles in this category, six originate from *Le Figaro* and six from *Le Monde*. Significant aspects of the articles in this category are that the framing devices employed by the journalists are mainly emotional appeals and different lexical choices. And, the most forthcoming voices heard are those of the journalists themselves. To present a contrasting image among on the one hand the ruling government (and at times other established parties) and on the other hand either individual politicians and/or the Front National, the journalists make use of sarcasm, emotionally charged words, detailed language (at times hyperbolic), and enlargement of certain quotes.

A distinctive difference can be detected between the two papers in terms of who they most commonly target in their framing of problem definitions. *Le Figaro* most often appear on the opposite side of the ruling party Parti Socialiste (PS), whereas *Le Monde* highlight the behavior of Nicolas Sarkozy, leader of the opposition party UMP, and Front National in a way that conflicts with the ruling party’s.
Ex. 4

“Primarily established as a manifestation of unity in the face of terrorism, the organized ‘Republican march’ will take place without the Front National […] The President of the FN denounced […] the ‘exclusion’ of which her party is victim.”

*Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN (Le Figaro 2015-01-09)*

Evidently, the lexical choice of words, referring to the Front National as “victims” of an “exclusion”, is made by the journalists themselves, thereby giving an impression of suggestiveness of unjust treatment. Later in the same article, they include the voice of a member from PS, seemingly in order to provide a counter-argument to the general narrative.

Ex. 5

“Those who assure that immigration is the cause of problems and who stigmatize a religion do not have a place at this rally.”

*Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN (Le Figaro 2015-01-09)*

However, this narrative is not further expanded upon, aside from three sentences, quote included, which decreases the significance of this for the general narrative. This is not the only narrative employed by journalists at *Le Figaro* to express the unobtainable unity within the political sphere. In another article, three different mayors, all from Front National (FN), are heard throughout the text voicing their plans to independently arrange demonstrations in their towns because of their recent “exclusion”. Even though the journalist incorporates quotes from the individual mayors, his own voice is heard in the short insertions he makes. Lexical choices such as “a touch of anger” plead to emotions of frustration (see Ex. 6). The choice of quote in Ex. 6 is particularly interesting as it appeals to a similar narrative as the previous one. It highlights the victimization of the excluded Front National, as the voice heard seemingly calls for sympathy. However, in this case it is not only the voice of the journalist that emerges. Exemplified in this quote is also an offense-oriented narrative, blaming the leftist parties for the terror attacks happening due to bad immigration policy, while the previous article (Ex. 5 and 7) criticizes Manuel Valls for not treating every politician and party the same way, like a bully.

Ex. 6

“All the more so, according to him, that those, on the left, who have dismissed the FN, ‘should not dictate what one should do or not’. He adds, with a touch of anger: ‘These people can’t teach me
any lessons, I am French, like them, I was moved, like them, the only difference being that my party
could not be responsible for what happened with regards to immigration [...].”

*Fréjus, Hénin-Beaumont, Beaucaire: les maires FN manifestent “en hommage aux victimes”*
(Le Figaro 2015-01-10)

Ex. 7

“But the head of government did not get his phone to call Marine Le Pen, as he had done Wednesday
with the President of the UMP and former President of the Republic, at the request of François
Hollande.”

*Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN*
(Le Figaro 2015-01-09)

Regarding *Le Monde*’s articles in this category, similar framing and reasoning devices are
implemented by the journalists. However, they often do so with a different focal point. Sarkozy,
the former president and current leader of UMP, is more than once referred to as one of the key
persons at the time whom is having trouble finding his place in the political arena.

Ex. 8

“Nicolas Sarkozy managed to find a place in the photo […] elbowing his way, cleverly slipping
from the third rank to the first, upsetting the protocol with his acceleration of the pace and subtle
movements, under the mocking eye of internet users.”

*Nicolas Sarkozy peine à trouver sa place*
(Le Monde 2015-01-13)

Using undermining language, the journalist presents an image of the former president as small
and excluded from the front row of the manifestation, where the chancellor of Germany walked
together with François Hollande, Benyamin Netanyahou, Mahmoud Abbas, among others.
Interestingly, the journalist employs a writing style that reminds one of literary techniques often
seen in novels to illustrate the comportment of Sarkozy using descriptive details such as
“elbowing”, “cleverly slipping”, and “under the mocking eye”. I would argue that this style
both undermines and ridicules Sarkozy’s political image.

Ex. 9

“The situation was complicated for Mrs. Le Pen […] stressing how much her strategic positioning
of the Front National - neither right nor left and anti-system, while proclaiming herself ‘demonized’
- can be a political stalemate.”

*Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu*
(Le Monde 2015-01-19)
Example 9 portrays an image of failure of the Front National, using phrases such as “political stalemate” and suggesting that Marine Le Pen self-proclaimed herself and her party as being “demonized”. This image is further combined with the journalist essentially suggesting that Le Pen is to blame for her party’s exclusion, saying that it is her “strategic positioning” of FN as opposite to the entire political system.

6.1.4 Immigration & radical Islam/terrorism

This category was the one most apparent in the articles analyzed. Despite that they are not all approaching the subject similarly, they all attempt to consider the linkages between immigration and the development of radical Islam in France and/or actually resulting in terror attacks. At times this is specifically related to immigration of Muslims and North Africans and/or neighborhoods largely inhabited by Muslims. Fourteen articles are found in this category, eleven from *Le Monde* and three from *Le Figaro*. There are two prominent narratives exhibited in these articles, primarily divided by newspaper:

1) Politicians claim there is a direct connection between immigration (at times specific) and radical Islam/terrorism.

2) Politicians believe bad immigration policy, and the absence of effective integration policy, contributes to developments of radical Islam, which may result in terror attacks.

Disregarding the blunt dislike for Marine Le Pen in e.g. *Le Monde*’s article “Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu” (2015-01-19) when declaring it a “devastating image” describing the chanting of “President Marine” during manifestations held, the journalists are visible in the paper’s texts in this category. In broader terms, the articles from *Le Monde* best fit the first narrative, and articles from *Le Figaro* best fit the second one.

In the three articles from *Le Figaro*, only one briefly mentions Le Pen’s claim of it being “illusionary and dangerous” to think that there is no link between immigration and the development of radical Islam on French territory (*Les propositions de Marine Le Pen pour lutter contre le communautarisme*, 2015-01-16). This same quote is included in several articles from *Le Monde*, however in those instances it is further developed to include FN’s articulation of specific immigration being problematic.
Ex. 9

“While posing as a ruler of a country bruised, she does not hesitate to strongly support the supposed link between Maghreb immigration and Islamic terrorism”

*Pour le FN, la guerre est ouverte contre l’islam radical*  
(*Le Monde* 2015-01-08)

The articulation used by the journalist in the above-mentioned example not only undermines Le Pen’s integrity using words such as “posing” and phrases like “a country bruised”. But the latter phrase also appeals to the emotionally charged context at the time, possibly insinuating that Le Pen is willing to take advantage of grief for political advancement. Furthermore, the journalist counteracts her reasoning of the link between North African immigration and Islamic terrorism by describing it as “supposed”, thereby indicating that the argument at hand is not credible. Even though articles found in this category from *Le Figaro* most often related to the above-mentioned second narrative, the article discussed previously manifested traits of the same sort of specificity and directness as those of *Le Monde’s* articles. With that said, it should be noted that a crucial difference between Ex. 9 and Ex. 10 is the way the journalists use their own voices and quotes respectively as reinforcement.

Ex. 10

“She points to mass immigration, ‘specifically from countries of Muslim culture’, that, according to her, has ‘fortified’ the problems of assimilation.”

*Les propositions de Marine Le Pen pour lutter contre le communautarisme*  
(*Le Figaro* 2015-01-16)

While the journalist from *Le Monde* takes on an active role in the text, thereby allowing himself to freely frame the story accordingly, the journalist from *Le Figaro* incorporates shorter excerpts from quotes by concerned politicians (see Ex. 9 & 10). This way, the journalist takes on a fairly small and passive role in the text as opposed to the journalist from *Le Monde*. Also, the absence of the journalist in *Le Figaro’s* article creates a scenario where the journalist cannot be blamed for saying anything wrong or treating anyone out of order, for he/she simply reiterates what other people have said.

Ex. 11

"It is certain that we cannot continue like this. The immigration is not linked to terrorism but it complicates things […] This immigration that we have difficulties curbing creates the difficulty of
integration. The difficulty of integration creates communitarianism and within communitarianism individuals like those we have seen may creep.”

_Terrorisme: sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes_  
*(Le Figaro 2015-01-12)*

In Ex. 11, the journalist has included a longer quote from Sarkozy voicing his thoughts about the relationship between immigration and radical Islam. Even though the journalist’s presence could be interpreted as being detectable by the mere choice of including the quote in its entirety in the text, he allows it to speak for itself, not offering any remarks or further reflection, which again minimizes the voice of the journalist. This stands in direct opposition to the articles pertaining to the first narrative, where the texts often include the journalists’ analytical reasonings as complements to quotes.

Ex.12

“If Mrs. Marine Le Pen ‘condemns acts that target Muslim places of worship’ and considers that ‘all our Muslim compatriots are not communitarians’, her basic analysis remains the same: ‘there is a link between immigration and the development of Radical Islamism on our territory’. For her, recent terrorist attacks are the results of ‘scoundrels who all have the same profile’.”

_Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés_  
*(Le Monde 2015-01-08)*

Whether the journalist’s conclusion is sound or not, the framing and reasoning devices in this case contributes to the perception of its validity. By employing an ‘if A and if B then C” reasoning, the argument framed seemingly logical and thereby not portrayed as subjective as opposed to if it would have been presented as simply an opinion. Through the insertion of common interjections, such as “for her”, the journalist uses conventional framing devices to further argue his point.

### 6.2 Identified Frames

This section will present the frames that were identified in the articles, thereby answering to the first research question:

RQ1: Which frames can be identified in the political newspaper coverage of immigration during the two weeks following the terror attack on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in

A) _Le Monde_
B) Le Figaro

And, if so, how do these frames manifest themselves in the two newspapers.

Five frames were identified using the empirical indicators from the axial coding. While I am aware that the process of frame labelling itself contains subjective interpretation of the analyses, the intention has been to articulate names that would express the focal point of the idea in each frame while incorporating enough abstraction for the frame to be applicable to multiple articles (Van Gorp 2005, p.97; see table 6.2). Although some articles display traces of more than one frame, they all adhere to at least one of the frames listed below (Ibid; see appendix for comprehensive division of articles).

Frame #1: Immigration = Terrorism
Frame #2: Immigration → Problems
Frame #3: Political Exclusion
Frame #4: Congenial Unity
Frame #5: Success ≈ Doubt

As the frames were articulated, I decided to include two additional indicators in the frame matrix to further demonstrate the meaning of each frame; Framing & Reasoning Devices and Subjects/Voices. The former refers to the second step of analysis, which enabled the identification of prominent lexical choices made by journalists in the texts, and which varied for some frames. The latter refers to the variation among the frames regarding which voices that were dominant in the texts, sometimes being the journalists themselves taking on an active role by reasoning out loud, while the journalists at other times used an immense amount of longer quotes thereby ruling out one’s own voice. In the matrix, the rows represent frames that have been located, while each column should reflect the diversity of the framing functions, e.g. manners in which the topic is defined (Van Gorp 2010, p.96).
### Table 6.3 Frame Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame (problem)</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Framing &amp; Reasoning Devices</th>
<th>Subjects/Voices</th>
<th>Blame/Responsibility</th>
<th>Solutions</th>
<th>Moral Judgment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration = Terrorism</td>
<td>Certain politicians firmly believe that immigration results in terrorism, which is unreasonable.</td>
<td>Employing sound logic to articulate analytical arguments on behalf of politicians; lexical choices made to undermine politicians &amp; dispute standpoint.</td>
<td>Journalists themselves take an active role in text while quotes from concerned politicians are used as shorter references; Mostly figures Marine Le Pen.</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen responsible for attempting to profit off of a national disaster;</td>
<td>By analyzing Marine Le Pen’s linkage immigration to terrorism, her argument falls apart. One must therefore question her reasoning.</td>
<td>It is morally incorrect for Marine Le Pen to exploit the recent tragic events in order to further her unreasonable theory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration → Problems</td>
<td>Immigration leads to difficulties in integration, which may lead to terrorism.</td>
<td>Longer direct quotes from concerned politicians.</td>
<td>Journalist takes on a passive role, using quotes to speak for themselves; overwhelmingly about Marine Le Pen, occasionally other voices.</td>
<td>Implicitly blaming anyone not willing to discuss the negative impact that immigration can have on societal threats.</td>
<td>Politicians must deal with immigration so that it does not lead to bad integration and possible terrorism.</td>
<td>It is morally incorrect not to problematize French immigration policy, for it bears significance in the fight against terrorism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Exclusion</td>
<td>Unjust treatment of certain figures on political scene for no valid reason.</td>
<td>Concerned persons portrayed as victim using emotionally charged language.</td>
<td>Journalists appear actively throughout texts as well as quotes from both Front National &amp; mainstream parties.</td>
<td>Parti Socialiste (ruling party) and the general left blamed for exclusion &amp; unfair treatment.</td>
<td>All parties should be included in the national cohesion.</td>
<td>It is morally incorrect and unbecoming of leaders to exclude someone due to dissidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congenial Unity</td>
<td>All those who concur with our values and norms are welcome to participate in our unity; others shall be excluded.</td>
<td>Dehumanizing descriptions of politicians not included in unity.</td>
<td>Journalist takes on an active role and quotes are seldom used to further the narrative.</td>
<td>Journalists often speak of Marine Le Pen, Front National, and Nicolas Sarkozy.</td>
<td>The excluded parties/persons are to blame for their own exclusion.</td>
<td>It is morally incorrect to allow individuals who believe certain people/religions/cultures are to blame for society’s problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success = Doubt</td>
<td>It is highly unlikely that the currently successful momentum will be long-lived for the ruling party.</td>
<td>Using lexical choices such as emotionally charged words to separate the leaders’ sudden and dignified behaviour from their usual behaviour.</td>
<td>Journalist adopts an active role in text; about either François Hollande or Manuel Valls.</td>
<td>It is because of the terrorist attack that the momentum is occurring.</td>
<td>The success will end once the shock of the attack settles &amp; questions surrounding immigration policy are asked.</td>
<td>It is morally incorrect to assume that François Hollande and Manuel Valls will be great leaders from hereon as they are not willing to change French immigration policy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Immigration = Terrorism

This was the most apparent frame in the eleven articles in which it was identified. It refers to the notion that certain politicians argue for a direct link between immigration and domestic terrorist attacks. Some articles also specify what kind of immigration that poses the greatest threat to the risk of terror attacks occurring. In these cases, it is North African and Muslim immigration that is argued to cause the greatest threats. The journalist takes on an active role in these articles, not seldom voicing his/her own opinions with the use of analytical argumentation.

The targeted subject was in these texts predominantly Marine Le Pen, although her own words are rarely or only to a very limited extent incorporated in these texts, thereby granting the journalist him/herself the opportunity to re-formulate her words. Thereby, and possibly purposely, framing her statements so as to fit the narrative of the linkages between immigration and terrorism.

Significant for this frame is the way in which the journalist articulates a conflict between Marine Le Pen’s argument that immigration is to blame for terrorist attacks and his/her own opinion. Without writing it out plainly, the journalist articulates a dismay and disbelief for the
politician’s theory. Opposite to the other frames, this frame is based on a contradictory approach, which made the process of constructing the frame package somewhat difficult. Following Entman’s indicators of frames, explicitly articulated solutions were hard to distinguish, for the journalists seldom pronounced prophecies regarding future actions in relation to Le Pen’s theory and thereby never expressed what should be done to prevent such arguments and developments. However, in line with a key assumption within framing theory, declaring that devices and indicators need not be explicitly manifest in a text in order to be elicited by the larger frame package present (Van Gorp 2005, p.487). Therefore, I argue that the articulated solution for this frame is related to the journalists’ calls to shatter Le Pen’s attempts at linking the process of immigration to terrorism, by essentially questioning her arguments and way of reasoning. This frame appeared solely in articles published by *Le Monde*, evenly spread out throughout the two-week search period.

**Immigration → Problems**

Although sharing similarities with the former frame, the foundations of the two differ greatly. This frame also attempts to express a linkage between immigration and terrorism, although not in the direct manner, as was the case with the former. When this frame is employed, the journalists take on a passive role, incorporating longer quotes and letting them speak for themselves rather than guiding the reader with independent reasoning. Instead of framing immigration as being a direct cause of terrorism, it portrays it as contributing to the development of radical Islam, which further down the road can develop into terrorism. In this manner, the journalists often present the relationship between immigration and terrorism as an evolutionary process, where immigration leads to difficulties in integration, and issues of assimilation may result in the unfolding of radical Islamist ideology that ultimately may end in domestic terrorist attacks. Compared to the first frame, this frame does not contradict Marine Le Pen’s argument of there being a causal relationship between immigration and terrorism, but rather presents it with a more cautionary undertone. Even though Le Pen was the most prominent voice for this frame, other established politicians also appear, often Nicolas Sarkozy or other politicians from the UMP party. In such contexts, the narrative tends to lean towards the UMP not being willing to allow the Front National party to monopolize the immigration topic in politics. The choice of allowing other politicians to be heard, outside of the right-wing populist party FN, should be regarded as yet another sign of the previously stated cautionary tone, not necessarily arguing against the legitimacy of Le Pen’s reasoning but rather allowing for a less provocative version
of it. This frame was apparent in three articles published by *Le Figaro* between the 12\textsuperscript{th} and the 16\textsuperscript{th} of January.

**Political Exclusion**

This is one of the frames that emerged from the empirical indicator dealing with unobtainable unity in the political sphere. While many articles displaying the polemic dynamic between inclusion and exclusion of political parties and politicians in relation to national unity following the attack, six articles problematized how the ruling party Parti Socialiste seemed to exclude Front National unfairly. In those articles, the journalists appear in an active manner throughout the texts and coincidentally incorporates quotes from both Front National and other mainstream parties. The journalist thereby employs his/her own reasoning through, on the one hand, emotionally charged language aside from the quotes, and, on the other hand, uses quotes from concerned parties to further the narrative of ongoing unjust treatment of certain figures on the political scene. The blame is placed on the ruling party, PS, and the general left for exclusion and unfair treatment of FN, calling for an inclusion of all parties for any national cohesion to be possible in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo*-attack. The moral judgement thereby entails that it is incorrect of politicians and leaders of the country to actively exclude any persons due to mere dissidence.

Significant for this frame is the way in which the narrative is moved forward, as the journalists’ voice and the quotes of concerned parties complement each other. Already in the first article published with this frame, it is the journalists themselves that first refer to the excluded Front National as a victim of the ruling party’s exclusion which directly suggests a disapproving outlook on the behavior of the government. The six articles in which this frame figured were all published by *Le Figaro* evenly distributed over the two-week search period. This further illustrates how journalists from both newspapers at some point or another adopts an active role in their coverage, not shying away from expressing their own voices.

**Congenial Unity**

The second frame detected by the empirical indicator of unobtainable unity in the political sphere is the one of Congenial Unity. Articles manifesting this frame were published between the 13\textsuperscript{th} and the 20\textsuperscript{th} of January, making it six articles from *Le Monde*. The frame drives the narrative that all those who do not concur with the ruling party’s norms and values could not
be part of the national political unity. Contrastingly, it does not problematize the exclusion of specific parties and persons, as was the case with the Political Exclusion-frame. Framing and reasoning devices employed within this frame mainly involved de-meaning descriptions of any and all politicians/parties not allowed to participate in the unison, often with a somewhat sarcastic undertone. The journalists are often very visible in the texts and, contrary to some of the previous frames, quotes by concerned parties are seldom incorporated to further the narrative. Instead, the journalists reiterate quotes by Le Pen and Sarkozy, granting him/her the opportunity to independently rephrase their comments, possibly in order to fit the chosen narrative. The solutions presented in this frame is mainly related to it being imperative for the other parties to understand where and with who the power to control whom is allowed to be part of the national unity lies – namely with the ruling party PS and the president François Hollande, along with the general left. Although this is not something that is explicitly articulated by any of the journalists in these articles, the sub context of the problem definition and solution, along with the way in which it reflects the opposite of the previous frame, of the frame suggests that the angling of articles reflects a political orientation that favors either the opposition or the ruling party PS.

**Success \approx Doubt**

Despite the ruling party in several articles being accredited with celebratory remarks regarding their actions following the attack on the 7th of January, some articles further developed this narrative to include a sharply skeptic approach to the future persistence of the increase in poll numbers enjoyed by president François Hollande and prime minister Manuel Valls. Three articles published in *Le Figaro* employed this frame, arguing for the low likelihood that the currently successful momentum of the two leaders will be long-lived, and that it subsequently will come to an end as the shock of the attack settles and questions regarding possible revisions to immigration policy are asked. This suggests that the journalists in these articles argue that the reason for the recent momentum is the terrorist attack, rather than good leadership on the part of PS, while implicitly connecting the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* to the discussion of immigration policy.

The journalists adopt an active role when this frame is employed, and involves either Hollande or Valls, using lexical choices such as emotionally charged words to separate the leaders’ behavior from before the attack and the short period following it. By doing so, the journalists
further the idea of their being a before and after way of conduct for the two politicians. In this manner, they imply that they were fortunate that the attack occurred, as they would otherwise never have been able to be acknowledged for their leadership skills as these skills never would have had opportunities to manifest themselves. In this regard, it is interesting that the journalists, while presenting the positive connotations of the attack for the two leaders, strongly emphasize the soon-to-be end to their successful comportment, indicating the incapacity to lead by both Hollande and Valls.

7. Analysis of Framing in *Le Monde* & *Le Figaro*

Based on previous research and the theoretical framework presented in chapter 4, this chapter will evaluate and seek to understand the results that have been generated with the focus on RQ2:

RQ2: Do identical frames manifest themselves in both newspapers? If not, what are the differences in the frames implemented in the papers’ coverage and how can such differences be understood by the theoretical concept of framing?

The analyses showed that the five frames that were identified did not manifest themselves in both newspapers. Instead, there was a clear difference between the articles’ framing regarding favoring of political orientations. Three frames manifested themselves in *Le Figaro*’s coverage and two in *Le Monde*’s (Tables included in Appendix). Although similar topics were covered by the two newspapers, their angling of the stories either being in favor of the ruling party PS or the opposition parties, UMP and FN, suggested a slanting of the news corresponding to the newspapers’ political orientations. Both Hallin and Mancini’s study of media systems and politics, as well as Benson’s comparative study on immigration framing in French and U.S. news coverage, corroborates this depiction of French media culture as politically diverse (Hallin & Mancini 2004; Benson 2014). Whether it was the *Charlie Hebdo* attack that prompted the news coverage of immigration at all in the weeks to follow remains to be clarified. However, it is apparent from the articles that both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* allowed its news stories to be influenced by the politically intriguing topic of immigration in the wake of the terror attack. Although the process employed in the selection of material was based on a word search using ‘immigration’ and each article analyzed thereby at least mentions the word in the text, it was never simply used in a passing manner. On the contrary, when the article at hand did not make immigration its central focus, it instead used it to either convey dissidence with certain political
parties/politicians, or to approve of them. This suggests that both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro’s* framing was characterized by culturally embedded frames, rather than issue-specific ones (Van Gorp 2010, p.87). As Van Gorp argues, culturally embedded frames function as familiar molds in which new events and topics, in this case the topic of immigration, may resonate with the readers. Hence, by using the subject of immigration to either advocate for or against certain political entities, the frame may have influenced the readers interpretation of the message, as the political orientation of the news slanting may evoke recognition and even consensus depending on who is favored by the news slanting (Van Gorp 2010, p.87).

Drawing on this, and the signs of a high degree of political parallelism present in both newspapers, an understanding of the field of news production regarding the two newspapers can be reached. One explanatory dimension suggests that the predominated media culture conveyed by the two newspapers values newsworthiness based on how far or close political parties are ideologically positioned from themselves. This would not only entail a presence of a high degree of political parallelism, but also indicate that political orientations dictate which stories reach the public, and which are deemed as unimportant (Benson 2013, p.12; Van Gorp 2010). Hence, and although this paper has not aimed to study the opinions of the journalists themselves, the analyses point towards the framing in their coverage not being person-dependent, but rather newspaper-dependent (Ben-Porath 2010, p.5). With that said, although it is possible that not only the politicians’ actions influenced the content of the articles, the content of the articles analyzed suggests that it was the opposition of- or advocacy for the right-wing populist party FN that instigated the reporting of that specific subject (see Figure 7.1).
The employed frames in both newspapers coverage, using various textual devices to drive specific narratives and thereby assign good-bad and advocate-opponent roles, further illustrates this link between the papers’ news slanting and political orientations (Van Gorp 2010, p.87; Entman 2007, p.166). Even though frames #1 and #2 (Immigration=Terrorism and Immigration→Problems) shared similarities in the selected topics of salience, and were identified in Le Monde’s and Le Figaro’s articles respectively, the frames implemented were predominately dissimilar depending on the paper and its political orientation. Frame #1 manifested in Le Monde portrayed Le Pen’s argument of there being an explicit link between immigration and terrorism as invalid and unappreciated, essentially making her out to be the “bad guy” of the narrative. Frame #2 in Le Figaro, although not as direct in its argumentations, did not express any good-bad roles regarding the actors active in the texts, but rather manifested an approach of advocacy for the UMP leader’s stance on the same topic (Van Gorp 2010, p.87; Terrorisme: sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes; Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés). Arguably, the absence of the journalist’s active voice in frame #2 could be interpreted as the newspaper’s reluctance to drive the political narrative too hard, for fear of being interpreted as being pro-Front National in their calling for a linkage between immigration and terrorism.
Despite *Le Monde* never dedicating a celebratory article regarding the comportment of the ruling party PS during the search period, no article of theirs ever openly criticized the leftist parties or displayed any distrust towards their ability to govern in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. This as opposed to *Le Figaro*’s multiple articles expressing both skepticism and doubt in their capabilities following the events of January 7th. Specifically prominent was Hollande’s and Valls’ exclusion of Front National from the national political show of unison in the ‘Republican March’ as a particularly deficient move. With that said, the analyses of articles from *Le Figaro* did manifest the need for a distinction to be made between A) standing in opposition to the leftist government and B) directly sympathizing with the right-wing populist FN and Le Pen. This distinction was expressed in frame #2 where the articles featured the leader of the center-right party UMP, Nicolas Sarkozy, speaking of the evolutionary relationship between immigration and terrorism while emphasizing that the UMP wishes not to grant the right-wing populist party Front National ownership and monopolization of the immigration discussion. Hence, although the newspapers covered all the same topics, the way in which they framed the news stories depending on their political orientations corresponded to Chalaby’s claim that political ties of a newspaper may affect which aspects of a story that is made salient (Chalaby 2004, p.1202).

A significant difference between the frames identified in the articles was how the journalists let their own voices be explicitly manifested in certain frames, as opposed to others where they incorporated quotes from concerned politicians to either counter an argument already developed or emphasized an argument articulated by the journalist him/herself. Out of the five frames, most of them included an active role by the journalist, while frame #2 was the only one in which the journalist adopted a passive role. In the other four frames, structural argumentation was widely employed as reasoning devices to either argue in favor of the ruling party and against the Front National and UMP, or against PS and the left-oriented political parties. Similarly to what Benson managed to conclude in his study (2013), editorialized news coverage was evident in the articles, with the majority of them manifesting an unafraid urge to freely advocate for or against parties positioned opposite to the newspapers’ orientations through the journalist him/herself.

As Entman argues that public opinion can influence the framing of news coverage, both frames #4 and #5, Congenial Unity and Success ≈ Doubt manifested, in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* respectively, could be the result of perceived public opinion. The successful handling of the
attack by the leaders, could have prompted an image of an increased support for the left party. Meanwhile, journalists from *Le Monde* continuously framed the ruling party in a positive way. Simultaneously, *Le Figaro* articulated skepticism and doubt for the leaders’ capability, all the while confirming that they had done a good job thus far. This should be interpreted as yet another example of political parallelism (Entman 2010, p.333). In parallel, *Le Monde*’s defensive framing of the party’s decision to exclude FN in frame #4, Congenial Unity could be interpreted as a direct consequence of the perceived positively oriented public opinion towards the ruling leaders (Ibid).

One of the frames, frame #1 Immigration = Terrorism, distinctly different characteristics separating it from the remaining four should be regarded as particularly interesting for the understanding of *Le Monde*’s media culture. The way in which it approached its problem definition from a perspective of opposition, the journalist positioning him/herself in contrast to the topic presented, in combination with the problem solution never being explicitly pronounced in the articles should be interpreted as potentially significant framing devices to further the narrative. Viewed from one perspective, this was the frame that most clearly demonstrated political orientation, as the journalists’ voices were dominant and analytical reasoning was often employed. In this regard, one could argue that the explicit, conscious or not, news slanting of these articles point towards *Le Monde* advocating for the interests of all parties in opposition to FN, possibly even an attempt to influence their readers of this import ant opposition (Entman 2007, p.166). Viewed from another perspective, the absence of a well-articulated problem solution, which made it necessary for myself to articulate one based on implicit reading of the analyses and thereby entailing an interpretative dimension, weakens the reliability of that frame (Van Gorp 2005, p.487). Although this is a common obstacle, and sometimes necessary although undesired, it could signify a need for further research to be made on this frame (Van Gorp 2005; Ibid 2010; Entman 2007).

Even though many of the articles analyzed displayed traces of news slanting, it was especially noticeable in frame # 5 (Success ≈ Doubt), viewed from two aspects. The first regarding the characterization of the frame package being influenced by the ruling party’s recent momentum in the opinion polls owing to the terrorist attack horridness, suggesting an air of incompetence surrounding the leftist party. This stance was further developed by the journalist’s argumentation for their success soon coming to an end due to their inability to offer changes and solutions to the issue of immigration. This maneuver could be interpreted as an inadvertent
attempt to slant the articles in favor of the opposition parties Front National and UMP. The way in which the journalists, while remarking on the positive opinion implications of the attack for the leaders of the ruling party, strongly emphasized the end to their recent successes in the near future. The reason for it being their inability to deal with questions pertaining to immigration, and a suggested incapacity to lead by Hollande and Valls concurrent, hence implicitly advocating for the opposition (or at least in opposing PS). As this thesis has not studied the effects of employed media frames on public opinions, it is not possible to draw any conclusions regarding whether the news slanting actually influenced the readers in favor of the ruling party or the opposition parties without further research.

8. Conclusions

This thesis has sought to explore and understand the framing of immigration in political newspaper coverage by Le Monde and Le Figaro in the two weeks following the terror attack carried out on the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in the beginning of 2015. The research questions upon which the study was based were:

RQ1: Which frames can be identified in the political newspaper coverage of immigration during the two weeks following the terror attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in

C) Le Monde
D) Le Figaro

And, if so, how do these frames manifest themselves in the two newspapers.

RQ2: Do identical frames manifest themselves in both newspapers? If not, what are the differences in the frames implemented in the papers’ coverage and how can such differences be understood by the theoretical concept of framing?

By addressing these questions, this thesis has aimed at exploring the media culture of Le Monde and Le Figaro through analysis of the texts published by the two, and how the concept of framing manifested itself in their news coverage pertaining to the specific topic of immigration following a terror attack. Applying framing analyses on 25 articles, selected through purposive sampling, five frames were identified in the coverage:

1) Immigration = Terrorism
Having carried out qualitatively oriented frame analyses on the articles, it could be concluded that none of these frames were manifested in both newspapers. Instead, a clear difference was expressed between the two newspapers in relation to the different frames. The two first frames were only identified in articles published by Le Monde, while the other three were only manifested in Le Figaro. The framing displayed differences regarding the articulated problem definitions and the assigning of blame/responsibility, varying depending on whether the political parties referred to in the texts coincided or differed from the respective political orientations of the newspapers. Le Monde, commonly referred to as a center-left paper, never openly criticized the ruling leftist government during the time frame studied. Contrastingly, Le Figaro was overtly sceptic towards the socialist party, and framed multiple articles advocating for the unjust treatment by the left of the right-wing populist party Front National and the legitimacy of the right-center party UMP. Based on the theoretical approach of framing, this thesis concludes that the media culture of both Le Monde and Le Figaro were greatly influenced by their political orientations.

Rather than resembling frames of issue-specific nature, all frames employed a structure similar to those of culturally embedded frames. Hence, the issue of immigration was always employed in reference to the right-wing populist party Front National, further used by the journalists to illustrate dissidence or consensus for either the ruling party Parti Socialiste, the opposition party UMP, or the Front National (at times a combination of the latter). Employing culturally embedded frames allowed for media content bias, through news slanting, in the form of assigning roles of advocacy/opposition, good/bad, and thereby establishing a playing field made up of a limited number of actors, either ideologically left, right or far right.

In conclusion, this study points towards Le Monde’s and Le Figaro’s media culture being greatly influenced by ideologically political orientations, that further significantly manifested itself in their coverage of immigration following the terror attack on the magazine Charlie Hebdo in 2015. Whether such political orientations further affected the opinions of their readers and henceforth the shaping of social processes remains to be seen through future research.
List of References


Appendix

Material:

Le Figaro


---

**Le Figaro**


# Tables

## Table A1. Source Material from *Le Monde*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pour le FN, la guerre est ouverte contre l’Islam radical (Abel Mestre 8/1)</td>
<td>For the FN, the war is open against radical Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>L’UMP soucieuse de prévenir les dérapages (Alexandre Lemarié 9/1)</td>
<td>The UMP anxious to prevent slippage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Le pire n’est pas toujours sûr (Gérard Courtois 12/1)</td>
<td>The worst is not always sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>A la radio ce matin: Le Pen, Le Drian, Guéant évoquent l’après 11- janvier (<em>Le Monde</em> &amp; AFP 13/1)</td>
<td>On the radio this morning: Le Pen, Le Drian, Guéant recall after 11th of January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nicolas Sarkozy peine à trouver sa place (Vanessa Schneider 13/1)</td>
<td>Nicolas Sarkozy struggles to find his place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Immigration, diplomatie…Marine Le Pen veut passer à l’offensive (Abel Mestre 13/1)</td>
<td>Immigration, diplomatie…Marine Le Pen wants to go on the offensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Le discours de Valls à l’Assemblée quasi unanimement salué par la classe politique (<em>Le Monde</em> &amp; AFP 13/1)</td>
<td>Valls’s speech to the Assembly almost unanimously hailed by the political class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Alain Juppé: “Lexécutif a été à la hauteur des événements” (<em>Le Monde</em> 14/1)</td>
<td>Alain Juppé: “the leaders have been on top of the events”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés (Amos Reichman 17/1)</td>
<td>For Marine Le Pen, immigration and radical islam are linked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen: “Ce que nous vivons aujourd’hui, c’est le résultat de vingt ans d’erreurs” (<em>Le Monde</em> 19/1)</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen: “What we are living through today is the result of 20 years of mistakes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu (Abel Mestre 19/1)</td>
<td>How Marine Le Pen was benched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen: “Oui, nous espérons la Victoire de Syriza” (Abel Mestre 20/1)</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen: “Yes, we are hoping for a win for Syriza”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A2. Source Material from *Le Figaro*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN (Sophie Ravinel, Anne Rovan, Judith Waintraub 9/1)</td>
<td>Charlie Hebdo: National unity will be built without the FN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Terrorisme: sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale, Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes (Jean-Baptiste Garat 12/1)</td>
<td>Terrorism: without wanting to hurt the national unity, Sarkozy and UMP advance their agendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Les nouveaux défis de François Hollande (Solenn De Royer 13/1)</td>
<td>François Hollande’s new challenges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>L’UMP précise ses propositions sur la déchéance de nationalité des terroristes (Jean-Baptiste Garat 14/1)</td>
<td>UMP clarifies its proposals on the deprivation of nationality of terrorists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Les limites de l’expression présidentielle permanente (Tabard Guillaume 15/1)</td>
<td>The limits of the presidential expression’s survival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>François Hollande veut rassurer les musulmans (Solenn De Royer 15/1)</td>
<td>François Hollande wants to reassure the Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Les propositions de Marine Le Pen pour lutter contre le communautarisme (Emmanuel Galiero 16/1)</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen’s proposals to fight against the communitarianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen demande à François Hollande et Manuel Valls un grand débat national (Emmanuel Galiero 19/1)</td>
<td>Marine Le Pen asks François Hollande and Manuel Valls for a large national debate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Robert Ménard: “Nous constatons un climat inquiétant à Béziers” (Emmanuel Galiero 20/1)</td>
<td>Robert Ménard: “We ascertain that it’s a worrying climate in Béziers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Après les attentats, Valls est quasi assure de rester à Matignon jusqu’en 2017 (Anne Rovan 21/1)</td>
<td>After the attacks, Valls is almost sure to stay in Matignon until 2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A3. Distribution of articles according to frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigration = Terrorism</th>
<th>Congenial Unity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. L’UMP socieuse de prévenir les dérapages (9/1)</td>
<td>1. Le discours de Valls à l’Assemblée quasi unanimement salué par la classe politique (13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alain Juppé: “L’exécutif a été à la hauteur des événements” (14/1)</td>
<td>2. Marine Le Pen: “Oui nous espérons la Victoire de Syriza” (20/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Le pire n’est pas toujours sûr (12/1)</td>
<td>3. Nicolas Sarkozy peine à trouver sa place (13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pour Marine Le Pen, immigration et islamisme radical sont liés (17/1)</td>
<td>4. À la radio ce matin: Le Pen, Le Drian, Guéant évoquent l’après 11-janvier (13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. À la radio ce matin: Le Pen, Le Drian, Guéant évoquent l’après 11-janvier (13/1)</td>
<td>5. Sécurité: Nicolas Sarkozy fait pression sur l’exécutif (12/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Marine Le Pen: “Ce que nous vivons aujourd’hui, c’est le résultat de vingt ans d’erreurs” (19/1)</td>
<td>6. Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu (19/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Le discours de Valls à l’Assemblée quasi unanimement salué par la classe politique (13/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Marine Le Pen: “La peur est là” (8/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Comment Marine Le Pen s’est mise hors jeu (19/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Immigration, diplomatie…Marine Le Pen veut passer à l’offensive (13/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Le Monde

Table A4. Distribution of articles according to frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigration → Problems</th>
<th>Political Exclusion</th>
<th>Success = Doubt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Terrorisme: Sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale, Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes (12/1)</td>
<td>1. Charlie Hebdo: l’unité nationale se construit sans le FN (9/1)</td>
<td>1. Les nouveaux défis de François Hollande (13/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Les propositions de Marine Le Pen pur lutter contre le communautarisme (16/1)</td>
<td>2. Fréjus, Hénin-Beaumont, Beaucaire: les maires FN manifestent “en hommage aux victimes” (10/1)</td>
<td>2. Les limites de l’expression présidentielle permanente (15/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Robert Ménard : “Nous constatons un climat inquiétant à Béziers” (20/1)</td>
<td>3. Terrorisme: Sans vouloir briser l’unité nationale, Sarkozy et l’UMP avancent leurs pistes (12/1)</td>
<td>3. Après les attentats, Valls est quasi assuré de rester à Matignon jusqu’en 2017 (21/1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. François Hollande veut rassurer les musulmans (15/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. L’UMP précise ses propositions sur la déchéance de nationalité des terroristes (15/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Marine Le Pen demande à François Hollande et Manuel Valls un grand débat national (19/1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>