

The Impact of Ethnic and Mainstream News Media Collaboration on Immigrant News:

A Content Analysis of the *Sahan Journal/Star Tribune* Partnership

A Thesis

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Tracy Lavenia Gunapalan

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Dedication

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Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Dedication</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Literature Review</i>	<i>5</i>
Representation, Framing and Attempts at Equitable Reporting.....	6
<i>Representation In News Coverage</i>	6
<i>News Coverage of Immigrants</i>	9
<i>Framing and Power Differentials in Journalism</i>	11
<i>Framing Immigrants and Immigration</i>	14
<i>Addressing an Unfair Institution</i>	18
<i>Partnerships In Newsrooms</i>	20
Differences Across News Institutions and The Case of The <i>Sahan Journal/Star Tribune</i> Partnership..	23
<i>Ethnic Media: An Alternative to The Mainstream</i>	24
<i>The Case of The Sahan Journal/Star Tribune Partnership</i>	26
<i>Chapter 3: Methods</i>	<i>32</i>
Sample.....	34
Coding Process.....	35
Operationalized Variables.....	37
<i>Stereotypical/Negative Frames</i>	37
<i>Positive Frames</i>	39
Other Coded Variables.....	39
<i>Chapter 4: Results</i>	<i>41</i>
Research Question One: Representation.....	42
Research Question Two: Patterns of Coverage.....	43
Research Question Three: Differences Across Immigrant Communities.....	51
<i>Chapter 5: Discussion</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Chapter 6: Conclusion</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Endnotes</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>References</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Appendices</i>	<i>94</i>

List of Tables

<i>Table 1: Summary of Frames Used in the Star Tribune's Coverage of Immigrants and Immigration.....</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Table 2: Frames Used in Partnership Coverage of Immigration for 2022</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Table 3: Pre and Post-Partnership Immigration Articles By the Appearance of Frames.....</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>Table 4. Frame Usage over Time by Authorship.....</i>	<i>49</i>

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Frequency of Frames Found in Stories of Non-European and European Immigrants</i>	52
<i>Figure 2. Frequency of Frames Found in Stories of Non-European and European Immigrants by Year</i>	56

Abstract

This thesis uses a quantitative content analysis of the *Star Tribune*'s coverage of immigrant communities and immigration between the year prior to its partnership with *Sahan Journal* and the year during it. With the goal of examining how patterns of coverage shifted with the partnership, this work considers the visibility of immigrants and immigration coverage across two years as well as the types of frames that were most often deployed in these types of news stories. Considering the complexities of race in this discourse, differences across European and non-European immigrant communities were also examined. Findings reveal that the partnership saw decreased coverage of immigrants and immigration but that it also resulted in the utilization of more positive frames in these stories, regardless of whether subjects were European immigrants or not. However, results also demonstrate that the criminalization of immigration remains a significant issue in mainstream coverage of immigrant communities. This research suggests that while ethnic/mainstream partnerships may be helpful for creating more positive coverage of immigrant communities, further efforts are necessary to address persisting news values and norms that misrepresent and neglect communities of color.

Keywords: representation, immigration, news coverage, framing, content analysis

Chapter 1: Introduction

The perpetuation of inaccurate, harmful representations of immigrants has long been a significant area of critique of mainstream news media (Fariz & Mohamed, 2017; Chavez, Whiteford & Hoewe, 2010; Cisneros, 2008). Whether it be the invisibility of their everyday stories (Sui & Paul, 2017) or the overrepresentation of their communities in negative contexts (Figueroa-Caballero & Mastro, 2019), immigrants have not received the diverse and comprehensive coverage they deserve. In a media environment that consistently stereotypes and overlooks these groups, there have been calls to explore new ways of approaching journalism — one that results in lasting and meaningful change (Ford, Gonzales & Quade, 2020; Jaakkola, 2020).

The imbalance of coverage that demonizes and criminalizes communities of color can be understood from the perspective of framing theory, which involves the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of a story based on existing news values, norms, and ideals (Entman, 1993). All news stories are constructed with frames. Tewksbury and Scheufele (2019) position journalism as the “practice of framing,” arguing that news stories rely on the use of frames that build off existing cultural associations to help audiences process and categorize information. Over time, the repetition of these frames in news coverage and become largely routinized and unquestioned by both journalists and audiences. Framing itself does not inherently produce misrepresentations of marginalized communities. Brüggemann (2014) notes that journalists contribute to the formation of news frames and build upon interactions with their peers in the newsroom. Therefore, because newsrooms are predominantly white spaces (Larson, 2006), the ideas that are shared and reinforced within news coverage are not reflective non-white communities. Quinsa

(2014) further supports this critique, emphasizing that the role of social power and dominance in dictating how stories are told.

An initiative that has emerged in recent years in response to demands for inclusive coverage is journalistic partnerships (Konieczka, 2020; Alcorn, 2017). To quell existing resource constraints within the newsroom, expand audience reach and maintain high standards of journalism, many news organizations around the world have leaned into the idea of working with other media outlets (Center for Cooperative Media, 2018). Existing research on collaborative efforts between news organizations have highlighted the value in efforts like these as an avenue for knowledge exchange and access to broader journalistic networks (Stonebely, 2017).

Another form of news partnership that is gaining traction in the industry is the collaboration between mainstream news outlets and non-profit, mission-driven news outlets. Commercial, traditional news outlets are now pursuing newsrooms initiatives with smaller, community-focused news organizations as a means of helping bridge existing gaps in traditional news coverage and reflect historically marginalized communities more accurately and inclusively (Jenkins & Graves, 2019).

The thesis examines one example of a partnership between a mainstream news outlet (the *Star Tribune*) and a non-profit, ethnic news organization (*Sahan Journal*). Following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, Minneapolis became the epicenter of racial reconciliation in a global reckoning with racism. The tragedy of Floyd's death brought visibility to the prevalence of institutional and systemic racism that continues to harm communities of color – in policing, education, healthcare, and housing. To these marginalized groups, the news media was also identified as another institution that is just as “problematic as [larger] the system they are fighting” (LeBow, 2020). Edelman (2021) illustrates the institutional distrust that followed this

moment in history, showing evidence that the general public insisted that the media was actually “fueling racism.”

The *Star Tribune*, despite being one of the leading mainstream news outlets in Minneapolis, was not exempt from these calls for accountability. In 2021, the legacy publication was called out for its irresponsible reporting when it comes to communities of color (Levy-Armstrong, 2021), and more specifically, immigrants (Omar, 2021). This lack of reporting comes despite the state of Minnesota being home to 490,000 immigrants and hosting the country’s largest population of Somali residents (Almond, 2017). Although Minnesota is not one of the leading states in terms of immigration populations, its history has been greatly shaped by immigration (Minnesota Compass, N.D). This makes efforts to improve coverage of immigrants and immigration even more important.

Amongst other inclusion efforts aimed at rectifying inaccuracies in coverage and imbalances in newsroom representation (Star Tribune, 2020), the *Star Tribune* announced a partnership with *Sahan Journal*, a non-profit, ethnic media outlet committed to reporting on “for and with Minnesota’s immigrants and communities of color (Sahan Journal, N.D.). Established in 2022, this partnership was implemented as a means of connecting the *Star Tribune*’s readership with more “authentic, diverse stories” (Twitter, 2022) and expanding its reach to communities that historically have been left out in past coverage. This ongoing initiative serves as an example of a content partnership as it involves the *Star Tribune*’s publication of *Sahan Journal* stories weekly on its digital platforms and in their Sunday print. This partnership provides fruitful grounds for discussion given both news organizations’ positionality — the *Star Tribune*’s legacy as Minnesota’s leading mainstream publication and *Sahan Journal*’s place as an ethnic media organization focused on reporting on immigrant communities.

This thesis looks at how news partnerships between mainstream and ethnic media can impact coverage patterns of immigration and immigrant communities. Considering race as a central aspect of immigration coverage, this research also looks at how an immigrant's region of origin impacts the kind of coverage they receive prior to and during the partnership. Data from this study suggest that while news partnerships don't necessarily lead to more coverage of these communities and topics, collaborations of this nature can impact how stories are framed. Further analysis also reveal that this partnership had differential effects on news selection and news production practices.

The findings presented in this study present a challenge to news organizations – a challenge to look beyond existing norms that disadvantage marginalized groups. As equality continues to be a topic of conversation at all levels of society, it is important that news organizations evolve and try new ways of improving their coverage and developing trust with their audiences.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following section discusses issues of representation in mainstream media, considering how marginalized groups have been historically portrayed in the news and the newsroom systems that reinforce these narratives. First, the literature walks through the ways in which race plays a role in determining the level of visibility and diversity of coverage that communities receive. Drawing on the body of literature surrounding news coverage of BIPOC communities, the next section highlights how the relationship between race and media is replicated in representations of immigrants and immigration. Framing theory is proposed as a framework for understanding how narratives of immigrant communities are shaped in the news. Enduring news routines combined with a lack of newsroom diversity are highlighted as a contributing factor to stereotypical and limited coverage of migrants. Modern attempts at addressing these inequities in mainstream news coverage are examined while also bringing attention to the barriers that are hindering progress. Newsroom partnerships are proposed as a means of bridging the gap in knowledge, expertise and experiences that mainstream media struggles to reflect in their reporting of immigrant communities.

The second section takes the logic outlined in representation and framing section to discuss how partnerships particularly between mainstream and ethnic news media could be considered a meaningful pursuit for tackling the issue of immigrant representation. Differences in routines, priorities, and values across news institutions – mainstream and ethnic media, are utilized to set up the relevancy of the *Star Tribune/Sahan Journal* partnership as a case study for understanding how partnerships could impact coverage patterns. Further background surrounding both publications is also included to illustrate how the issues, goals, and intentions of the

partnership tie back to the literature and further contribute to scholarship surrounding newsroom collaborations.

Representation, Framing and Attempts at Equitable Reporting

This portion of the literature review has six sections: (1) representation in news coverage, (2) news coverage of immigrants, (3) framing and power differentials in journalism, (4) framing immigrants and immigration, (5) addressing an unfair institution and (6) partnerships in the newsroom. This literature will map out how the relationship between the underrepresented groups and news media before drawing on framing theory to understand why disparities in news coverage persist. This section will also review existing efforts to address gaps in news coverage before introducing news partnerships as a limited area of inquiry for journalism research.

Representation In News Coverage

Despite the growing levels of diversity in the United States population over the past decade (Johnson, 2021), the stories, experiences and issues faced by communities of color remain largely unrepresented in the current news environment. A study conducted on the digital publications *New York Times* and *Fox News* between 2000 and 2020 found that white men were severely overrepresented in online news articles, at almost six times the rate of Black, Hispanic and Asian people (Ash et. al, 2021). A report published by Nielsen in 2021 revealed that representations of marginalized groups in the television news are not all that different. Similarly to the study of digital news articles, racial and ethnic minorities were underrepresented on television news with Hispanic and Asian people being the least visible (Nielsen, 2021). This phenomenon is not only being recognized by media practitioners and scholars within the

industry, but it is also reflected in how news audiences feel about the current news environment. Poll results published by the Knight Foundation in 2020 reveal that a majority of Americans believe that the news media is doing “poorly” or “very poorly” when it comes to representing the diversity of the U.S population (Holcomb & Stubbs, 2020).

The experiences and issues faced by communities of color have not been prioritized in the same way that the issues of non-minority populations have. A study of local news coverage in twelve U.S cities in the 1990s found that an overwhelming 54% of all stories had a “white focus” with stories centering Black, Latino and Asian people averaging below 10% (Poindexter et. al., 2003). Entman (1994) also brings attention to the lack of variation and diversity in coverage of Black communities when compared to coverage of white populations. Franklin and Murphy (1998) speak to the narrow scope of story types that Black communities are depicted in, with most of this coverage reflecting stories that played into existing stereotypes of their groups. Everyday experiences of white Americans are consistently depicted in the media, while marginalized communities remain at the periphery.

The issue of invisibility is not exclusive to the narrow scope of news stories that are written about minority communities — it is also perpetuated in the way that these groups are intentionally left out of the process in which news narratives are constructed. Research shows that white males are still the most dominant news sources that are consulted for mainstream news stories (Humphrecht & Esser, 2017), which Deavours, Heath, and Broussard (2022) argue is a significant barrier for minority groups when it comes to participating in or “influencing the news.” Unlike white men, Black and Brown communities are predominantly sourced when it comes to issues that are happening within their communities and are rarely ever consulted when it comes to “non-Black issues” (Poindexter et. al., 2003). The tendency to neglect the

perspectives of communities of color and gatekeep those who have access to contributing to news narratives creates an incomplete perception of the real world. Communities of color have been systematically restricted from receiving fair and diversified coverage that assigns them agency over storytelling on mainstream news platforms.

There are, however, exceptions to this lack of coverage when it comes to minority communities. Quite possibly as damaging as their lack of representation in the news, if not more, is the overrepresentation of marginalized groups in contexts that demonize and disparage Black and Brown communities. Stories about communities of color receive overwhelming visibility when they play into existing stereotypes or misconceptions and can be framed as “stories about whites as (self-defined) victims of acts of minority group members or of ethnic relations in general” (van Dijk, 1993). Non-white communities are disproportionately represented in the news as poverty-stricken, violent groups (Rios et. al, 2003) who are overwhelmingly the primary perpetrators of crime (Gilliam et. al, 1996). A study conducted in 2017 (Dixon, 2017) found that while white families were often depicted as sources of social stability who are financially successful and attain high levels of education, Black families were primarily portrayed as the opposite, often overrepresented in stories about welfare reliance, depicting them as sources of social instability. News media has displayed a tendency to whitewash how it presents the American reality by centering the experiences of white communities and depicting Black and Brown Americans as a “problem or interruption” (Holt & Carnahan, 2019). The few positive stories relating to communities of color are overshadowed by negative imagery, contributing to further misperceptions about non-white communities and increasingly “racialized” views on societal issues like violence and crime (Saperstein, 2013).

Whether it be the issue of underrepresentation or overrepresentation, the research shows that communities of color have not, and presently, do not receive coverage that accurately and fairly represents their realities. Black and Brown folks have not been subject to storytelling that highlights the diversity in their life stories and experiences but are, instead, reduced to stereotypical portrayals that fit into ill-informed, preexisting notions and assumptions about their identities.

News Coverage of Immigrants

There has been extensive research of mainstream news coverage of racial minorities in the United States, most of which demonstrate a tendency to either ignore, stereotype, or demonize them. The limited visibility that immigrants receive in mainstream news media follows a similar pattern that consistently criminalizes (Farris & Mohamed, 2017) and “others” (Epps & Furman, 2016) these groups, often depicting them as “inferior”, “naive” and/or “uncivilized” (Ramasubramaniam, 2007). A study of television news in 2005 even found that immigrants were often referred to as “dangerous, destructive pollutants” (Cisneros, 2008). The continuous dehumanization of immigrants in media reports creates heightened anxiety towards immigrants and the act of immigration (Brader et. al, 2008).

News coverage of immigrants is highly racialized as well. As highlighted in the context of immigrants and communities of color more broadly, the way in which news coverage takes shape is heavily dependent on race. Benson (2013) talks about the shift in immigration coverage that happened between the 1970s and mid-2000s that made conversations about immigration less focused on globalization and economy and more entrenched in racism. Although there has been limited acknowledgement of the relationship between race and immigration in academic

scholarship (Sáenz & Manges Douglas, 2015) and policymaking (Bernstein et. al, 2021), the distinction between immigrants of color and immigrants of European origin presents extremely different realities in the United States. As Sáenz and Manges Douglas (2015) write:

For immigrants, collective amnesia results from incomplete historiographies that overwhelmingly focus on the experiences of European immigrants and mythologize a narrative of the United States as a welcoming beacon to the world's huddled masses. Instead, the reality of immigration policies is one that has been racially restrictive with occasional bursts of liberalism rather than the opposite more popular accounting. (p. 174)

The immigrant experience is shaped by proximity to the "American" identity, which holds significant ties to Eurocentrism (Hecht et. al, 2003). Casarez (2020) points to the hierarchy of race in conceptualizations of American identity, arguing the inherent privilege of whiteness in shaping experiences of immigration.

Research shows that depictions and perceptions of immigrants are not uniform and that they differ significantly based on an immigrant's country of origin. Ford (2011) details the hierarchy that exists between different groups of immigrants, with white, culturally proximate migrants being more positively regarded and accepted than non-white, culturally different migrants. Brader, Valentino, and Suhay (2004) echo these findings noting that there tends to be a negative perception and an increased anxiety towards immigrants who are not of European origin. Yogeeswaran et. al (2011) asserts that the United States seems to favor ethnic diversity but not when migrant groups express a strong connection or affiliation for their ethnic identification.

These perspectives are reflected in the way that the news covers immigrant communities. Woods and Arthur (2014) find that non-European immigrants are disproportionately subject to negative framing in mainstream news stories, directly correlating with broader research of how the media portrays racial minorities. In the United States, a significant portion of immigration coverage is focused on the Southern border predominantly centered around Latinx immigrants. Estrada et. Al (2020) note that negative representations of these groups are less overt in the media today but that the ideology associated immigration strategically uses “race-neutral” sentiments to tie Latinx immigrants to criminality and immorality.

The relevancy of race in discussions about news media representations of immigrants and immigration cannot be denied. The way in which immigrants of color are framed in the media parallels how Black and Brown see themselves represented in the news. The complexities of national, cultural and racial identity further complicate the relationship that immigrants have with the media and their migrant countries.

Framing and Power Differentials in Journalism

An approach to understanding the imbalances in news coverage between white communities and communities of color lies within the intersections of the framing and race in journalism. Gitlin (1980) introduces frames as “persistent patterns of information presentation” that shape the discussion of an issue using “selection, emphasis or exclusion.” This strategic construction of media narratives is fulfilled through the act of framing which is the selection of certain aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in media texts (Entman, 1993). As the pace of information exchange continues to rise, journalists have embraced a reliance on the use of frames in their reporting to manage their workloads. These frameworks for

reporting help them keep up with the rigorous news cycle by allowing them to efficiently make sense of, categorize and package information into formats that can be quickly produced (Gitlin, 1980). Framing also impacts audiences – Goffman (1974) highlights the importance of frames as a means for individuals to be able to situate, locate and process information within their own “interpretive schemas.” Frames help with the presentation of complex information in a way that relies on existing ideas, references and knowledge that draw on familiarity to establish a common understanding (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

While framing is an important tool for information exchange, the framework of knowledge from which it is derived presents a dilemma for how it is used in journalistic practices. Brüggemann (2014) draws attention to the importance of considering how journalists construct and reinforce media frames in news coverage, arguing that journalists draw upon a “frame repository” that is “culturally and cognitively available,” which can sometimes be offered by journalists’ peers or other proximate actors. These frames, which originate from existing routines, values and norms of reporting (Mourão et. Al, 2021), are reflective of the fact that newsrooms are predominantly white spaces (Larson, 2006) that favor a wealthy, privileged perspective of the world (Usher, 2021). Gans (1979) points to the fact that disorders that occur in affluent or “elite” institutions are more likely to be reported, highlighting how this process can impact the visibility of certain stories over others in mainstream news. Logan et. Al (2007) speaks about how this affinity for elite perspectives impacts who gets to be involved in the storytelling, emphasizing how overrepresentations of elite sources can do a disservice to the quality of reporting.

The routines that solidify an elite-focus of narratives perpetuated by traditional newsroom explains why mainstream media tends to run into issues when trying to report on non-white

communities. However, as Coleman (2003) argues, these frames are often unconsciously woven into reporting and come from an inability to recognize and address biases. Gitlin (1980) captures the relationship between journalists and frames, saying that frames are “largely unspoken and unacknowledged” that organize the world for journalists and their audiences.

Diversity in newsrooms has become an important consideration for addressing the stereotypical, narrow representations of marginalized groups in news coverage. Taking into consideration Brüggemann’s (2014) analysis of frames as a result of the journalists in the newsrooms — i.e. their peers – it becomes increasingly clear that a lack of racial diversity in mainstream newsrooms impacts how communities of color are covered in the news. In an investigation of newsroom gender diversity and its impact on news coverage of women, researchers found coverage improved in quantity and quality when women were included in the news making process (Rodgers & Thorson, 2006). Researchers have found that the journalists belonging to marginalized groups are driven by a need to represent their in-group members (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996) and tend to source more diversely than their white colleagues (Zeldes & Fico, 2005). Robinson and Culver (2016) also bring attention to the value in hiring diverse journalists as a means for establishing trust within smaller communities that they might not have existing connections to.

However, it is also important to note that the inclusion of more journalists of color does not immediately result in improvements in news coverage of marginalized groups. Research has pointed to the persistence of biases in news production that cater to the white, male perspective that serve as a barrier to changes in news reporting (Usher, 2021). Rivas-Rodriquez et. al (2010) also notes that this is a result of overwhelmingly white leadership and editorial control which hinders progress by controlling journalistic practices, the selection of stories, as well as in

framing and sourcing tactics. While inclusion of journalists of diverse backgrounds can lead to more comprehensive coverage, incorporating interventions at the editorial and managerial levels might be necessary to result in more impactful changes in coverage of marginalized communities.

Framing is a part of the news making process — it gives journalists a starting point from which they can begin to connect various elements of a story together. It allows news professionals to connect with their audiences by providing them with the context they need to understand the world around them. However, the underrepresentation of BIPOC journalists in the news industry at the editorial and managerial level creates an incomplete perspective of how stories can and should be constructed. Frames that are constructed within this environment cannot hope to serve communities who were not involved in the meaning making process.

Framing Immigrants and Immigration

The impact of media framing on immigrant communities and immigration are consistent with coverage of marginalized communities more broadly. Milioni et. al (2015) reiterate the role of framing in upholding journalistic norms that limit representations of marginalized groups, particularly immigrants. Their research points to instances where frames that emphasize “dramatic” or “victimizing” frames in association with immigrant communities are utilized frequently. Hooper (2014) furthers this argument by noting that the lack of adherence to the predetermined frames can lead to a story’s legibility for publishing as it might “diminish” a story’s news value. Furthermore, Milioni et. al. (2015) states that coverage of immigration, much like coverage of marginalized communities more broadly (Gans, 1979; Logan et. al, 2007), is “elite-sourced” and often does not incorporate the perspectives of immigrants specifically and

instead focuses on elite sources to shape stories about immigration. In other words, journalists are not encouraged to pursue stories about immigration and immigrants that don't fall into the limited scope of frames that have been predetermined by those who have the power to influence news production.

The frames that are most used in narratives of immigrant communities involve ones that criminalize and victimize them (Miloni et. al., 2015). Criminality frames, which associate immigrants or the act of immigration with crime and violence, are cited the most in coverage of this topic. The criminality frame has been operationalized by many scholars in many ways. Immigrants have been tied to criminality by references to their *status*, which involves explicit mentions of their presence as illegal or unauthorized (Pearson, 2010), as well as to specific *setting(s)*, which depicts immigrants in close association to the criminal justice system (Chan, 2013). Immigrants are also often associated with crime, *post-migration*, whereby they are overrepresented as the perpetrators of crime (Rumbaut & Ewing, 2019). The act of *immigration* is also framed in close association to criminality (Rumbaut et. al, 2018), positioning the implications of it as a 'threat' to safety and country.

In regards to victimization, the media tends to deploy frames that depict them as "helpless *victims* of their own circumstances" pertaining to wars, conflict and violence in their home countries (Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019). This victimization is further supported by the *savior* frame, which positions an immigrant's country of settlement as the "promised land" or the "land of opportunity" that one might "yearn" for (Quinsaas, 2014). Another frame that aids in the victimization of immigrants in news coverage is the "burden" frame that depicts immigrants as heavily reliant on social and government welfare who cannot "meet their own subsistence needs" (Galletly, 2022). Both the criminalizing and victimizing frames serve the purpose of

delegitimizing and dehumanizing immigrants but show up often in coverage of immigrant communities.

There have been increasing instances at which immigration coverage is tied to more positive frames that humanizes these populations and their positive contributions to society. The *human interest* frame, which is the use of a single human face or experience to bring attention to a problem (Aalberg & Beyer, 2015) in a way that elicits empathy and further accentuates a challenge or issue (Parrott et. al, 2019), is a commonly deployed frame in immigrant coverage. Parrott et. al (2019) also found that the utilization of the *human interest* frame in coverage of immigrant communities resulted in increased positive emotions and attitudes towards these groups.

A less prevalent, increasingly utilized frame is the *benefit* frame which highlights the positive contributions that the act of immigration or immigrants bring (Patler & Gonzales, 2015). This frame primarily focuses on the economic contributions of immigration (Igartua & Cheng, 2009) but can also include the highlights of specific skills, knowledge, and expertise that immigrant communities bring.

Although more positive frames are appearing in immigration coverage more recently, narratives of immigrants in the news are predominantly negative. As previously noted, racism plays a role in why certain immigrant groups are portrayed unfavorably (Ford, 2011), but the way in which the overall act of immigration is criminalized in news media stems from a social and political apprehension towards immigration. Although scholars most often suggest that journalism shapes public opinion (Lewis & Reese, 2009; Deuze & Dimoudi, 2002), recent scholarship has addressed the way in which the political landscape affects news making. Wolfsfeld's (2011) introduction of the Politics-Media-Politics principle (PMP) illustrates how

the media develops news frames alongside changes within the political landscape. News coverage of social issues shift over time, depending on the political climate, and because immigration is highly politicized, the way in which it is covered by mainstream media is reflective of that.

Immigration policies and legislation within the United States, both historically and presently, are stringent and unwelcoming to immigrants (Reuters, 2007). Because narratives about immigration in the news are deeply influenced by interactions between elite sources and institutions – like the government and journalists (Wolfgang et. al, 2021), stories about immigration tend to be heavily criminalized. This cycle is reinforced in the news making process with most of immigration coverage portraying the immigration and immigrants in a negative light. Hooper (2014) also argues that the repeated representation of immigrants in this light is a result of “sloppy reporting” which happens because of an inability to move away from these established norms and frameworks.

The overrepresentation of immigrants and immigration in these negative frames have real world impacts on perceptions and attitudes towards migrant communities. Immigrants face threats to their social identity because of these representations (Schmader et. al, 2015) and experience an increase in negative emotions like stress and anger (Jauregui et. al, 2021). In a study of the impact that negative media portrayals of immigration have on the lives of Latino immigrants, Menjívar (2016) found that immigrants often have to “reshape” who they are to distance themselves from stereotypes about their criminality in fear of hostility they might encounter.

The media can significantly impact how people react to immigration – but they also have the ability to influence how immigrants feel about themselves. Harmful misrepresentations that

confine immigrants into stereotyped roles and functions have been inhibiting positive progress when it comes to portrayals of these communities. Both quantity and quality are important when it comes to representation of minorities in the media (Tukachinsky et. al, 2015). Immigrant communities have a complex relationship with the media — one that is helpful to consider when thinking about further conversations about how to diverge from routine coverage that further emphasizes existing stereotypes of marginalized groups.

Addressing an Unfair Institution

Calls for a renewed approach to journalism that adequately and accurately covers minority communities – including immigrants – are not all that new. Back in 1968, The Kerner Commission released a report that investigated the causes for the racial riots of 1967 and found that the mainstream media played a role in exacerbating racial tensions in the United States by “reporting and writing from the standpoint of a white man’s world” and failing to acknowledge the experiences of Black Americans (The Kerner Commission, 1968). The report included recommendations that encouraged media outlets to focus more on issues facing African Americans and to improve representation within the newsroom. More than 50 years later, the same tendencies are reflected in mainstream media and newsroom diversity remains an issue of concern.

A key moment challenging this reluctance for change is the racial reckoning that followed the murder of George Floyd. This moment was a catalyst that forced corporations and institutions to assess and amend existing structures that were not facilitating diversity — news organizations were not exempt. Coverage of Black people in mainstream news doubled between 2016 and 2020, highlighting the impact that this event had on the prominence of minority stories

in the news (Media Portrayals of Minorities Project, 2020). Pushes against the existing standards of newsroom representation came to the forefront with a study from 2021 (Cherubini et. al, 2021) that found ethnic diversity to be ranked the highest priority for media companies across the globe. This shift emphasizes the rise in demand for reporting that met the demands of both its publishers and its audiences. The strive to address the lack of diversity has been primarily focused on more intentional hiring processes that prioritize diverse talent (Chang, 2022), but there are concerns about whether this shift alone is enough to result in more inclusive, comprehensive coverage (Mellinger, 2016). Journalism scholars urge news professionals to avoid oversimplifying the relationship between minority representation newsrooms, the stories they produce and the audiences they reach. Nishikawa (2009) argues that the presence of more journalists of color in these spaces do not ensure the production of more community-oriented stories and the immediate appeal to more diverse audiences. Norms of objectivity and traditional conceptualizations of what the news should be about (Shoemaker et. al, 2001) prevent minority journalists from covering communities of color as they are only encouraged to report on stories that fit into existing judgements of news value. This is not to say that increasing diversity in news organizations is unimportant, but this critique challenges journalism professionals to think beyond hiring practices as a mechanism for rectifying poor coverage of minority communities. Journalism scholars have also pointed out the need to lean into new practices in the production process that can contribute to more complete narratives of minority communities such as diverse sourcing (Massey, 1998). However, as noted by findings in a study of a newsroom cultural competency project, sourcing from non-traditional sources is not an initiative that is valued at all levels of news organizations (Wenzel, 2020).

Although these initiatives have forced news professionals to consider diversity more centrally in their work, it is clear that the challenges of a white-established newsroom impede upon the progress that these diversity efforts hope to provide. These challenges prompt consideration of an alternative approach to meeting the needs for fair and accurate reporting of marginalized communities.

Recognizing the lasting structures and practices in newsrooms that continue to leave certain populations out of the news cycle, news organizations have turned to other, smaller publishers that hold commitments to serving these underrepresented communities. As the journalistic field begins to embrace a more collaborative approach to storytelling, partnerships have become a prevalent area of inquiry.

Partnerships In Newsrooms

Partnerships have become an integral business strategy in the age of globalization. With some arguing that it has the potential to drive innovation (Caiazza & Stanton, 2016) and improve organizational efficiency (McQuaid, 2010), many organizations are leaning into this approach as a means of keeping up with the demands of global markets, technological advancements, and economic pressures (Reed & Reed, 2008). Wildridge et. al (2008) writes:

We live in a global society. It is no longer effective for organizations to work alone.

Within the public, private and voluntary sectors, the need for partnership working, often cross-sectoral working or working beyond the boundaries, is recognized as a vital component of success. (p. 3)

As industries continue to become more expansive and multifaceted, so does the demand for more interconnectivity between skills, knowledge, and ability both within and across different fields.

The same is true for the news industry.

Ananny (2018) notes that partnerships between news organizations echo a similar intent that promotes the leveraging of “cultural power” and “technological skill” across organizations. With shared resources and influence, these collaborations can draw in larger audiences and provide them with more information (Ali et. al, 2018). But more importantly, as noted by Tanglao (2022), they have the ability to foster “multidisciplinary, intersectional coverage” that challenges the “surface-level reporting” we see in mainstream media today. A study published by The Pew Research Center suggests the industry is leaning into this renewed approach to reporting. Findings presented in the report predict an increasing implementation of “shared work” across newsrooms through partnerships and in order to attend to the different needs across media organizations (Edmonds & Mitchell, 2014).

While the term “news partnership” is limited in journalism scholarship, there has been extensive research into how and why cross-organizational affiliations are a valuable approach to the modern news industry. In discussions of the collaborative potential of journalism, Konieczka (2020) uses the terms “partnership,” “collaboration” and “convergence” interchangeably, arguing that they all provide insights for fruitful discussion for how we can begin to understand news work taking place between newsrooms that might be seen as traditionally seen as competitors. Scholars have conducted research on collaborations between journalistic organizations on local, national and even international levels (Heft, 2021). A common theme that emerges in the literature is the potential for partnerships to garner a larger, wider impact that enhances the distribution, access and visibility of content (Cueva Chacón & Saldaña, 2020). Although

research primarily focuses on the benefits of partnerships on an organizational level, Carson and Farhall (2019) also highlight the impact that initiatives like this have on journalists. In a review of investigative journalism collaborations, they found that shared work alleviated journalists of the competitive pressure to produce quality work and instead enabled them to produce comprehensive coverage with help from others. The Reuters Institute found that journalists not only felt that they were able to engage with topics more deeply as a result of partnerships, it also enabled them to be exposed to and report on stories they wouldn't normally seek out (Jenkins & Graves, 2019).

It is important to highlight that news partnerships are structured in many different ways and can range in when it comes to functions, levels of intervention and duration. Dailey, Demo and Spillman (2005) developed the “convergence continuum,” which serves as a means for examining and articulating these different forms of partnerships that exist between newsrooms. Organized from the lowest level of cooperation and interaction to the highest, the 5 Cs of Dailey's convergence model is as follows:

- (1) Cross Promotion: Verbal/visual promotion of other organization
- (2) Cloning: Republishing content between organizations with little to no editing
- (3) Coopetition: Sharing information in the news making process
- (4) Content Sharing: Exchanging of ideas and feedback before publication
- (5) Full Convergence: Establishing a shared assignment desk with reporters from both organizations

The convergence continuum is helpful for summarizing and categorizing cross-organizational partnerships, building upon previous research on media convergence. Dailey, Demo and Spillman (2005) suggest that this model will be helpful as the news industry and scholarly research begins to embrace a “multidisciplinary” approach to news. This model provides a reference for how scholars can begin to understand how different levels of collaboration might facilitate different outcomes.

In many ways, partnerships present a solution to issues with representation of marginalized communities in modern day journalism. There are many pressures facing the news industry in the digital age — decreased resources, the demand to continuously produce, an increasingly competitive market, and an audience characterized by distrust. In light of these challenges, many news organizations have turned to partnerships as a way to maintain standards of quality and in-depth journalism with its existing resources (Alcorn, 2017). Because news partnerships build upon an exchange of skills, knowledge and ability through a larger workforce, more diverse backgrounds, and more expansive areas of expertise (Boyles, 2020), some scholars believe in the potential for collaboration to bring stories that aren’t traditionally prioritized to the forefront (Graves & Jenkins, 2019). Therefore, in theory, partnerships offer the potential solution to the issue of misrepresentation and invisibility of minority communities in the news.

Differences Across News Institutions and The Case of The *Sahan Journal/Star Tribune* Partnership

This next section has two parts: (1) ethnic media: an alternative to the mainstream and (2) the case of the *Star Tribune/Sahan Journal* partnership. Literature in this section highlights ethnic media as an alternative to mainstream media and introduces the *Star Tribune* and *Sahan*

Journal as an example of a mainstream/ethnic news partnership. Before providing important background for each publication and the partnership, this section walks through the history of ethnic media and its significance in today's news landscape.

Ethnic Media: An Alternative to The Mainstream

The ethnic press has a long history in the United States. The Black press, which first emerged in the 1800s, set out to “uplift and protest against racial injustice” (Gallon, 2021) by centering the experiences of Black Americans and by bringing visibility to the humanity and resilience of their communities which were overshadowed by misrepresentations in the mainstream press. Fazilleau (2012) highlights the Black press as a pivotal instrument in giving Black communities the space to organize, express and advocate for themselves. *Freedom's Journal* was the first Black owned and operated publication in the United States (Nieman Reports, 2020). The publication embraced the motto, “We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us” — embodying the essence of ethnic media as a counter-narrative to the mainstream.

Ethnic media, sometimes referred to as minority media, is a more targeted form of journalism that tends to cater towards smaller communities, often associated with a specific nationality or culture (Deuze, 2006). Although ethnic media seems like a minimal part of the news media landscape, statistics reveal that the size of the minority media audience is rather significant. A study commissioned by the Center for American Progress found that roughly 29 million Americans prefer ethnic media over traditional media (NCM, 2005). An overarching sentiment shared by most of the participants emphasized that this preference was based on the fact that ethnic media was a more trusted source for information about issues affecting their

communities and native countries (Matsaganis et. al, 2010). The goal of this type of journalism is to preserve ethnic identity, centering the stories of ethnic communities and disseminating information to keep the community connected (Johnson, 2000). A common idea that sums up the nature of ethnic media is its work for and by their communities (Matsaganis et. al, 2010). The stories covered by ethnic media are told in a way that favors minority expressions and perspectives over majority interests (Caspi & Elias, 2011).

Non-minority communities' experiences, encounters and perceptions of the news media differ vastly from those pertaining to people of color. Whiteness has ingrained itself in the practices, norms and routines of journalism — creating a media ecosystem that has catered towards their views of the world around them (Kil, 2020). The news engages in the construction of reality that falls as a stark contrast to the actuality of facts, manipulated for the purpose of playing into the “white racial interests” and the “racial status quo” (Dolan, 2011). Audiences of color don't trust white journalists to capture and relay their stories in a meaningful way, but ethnic media poses another approach to representing marginalized groups.

Deuze (2006) maps out the relationship that ethnic media has to community journalism, offering an explanation for the increase in popularity, traction and relevance of this form of press in the modern day. As news becomes increasingly digital and as audiences become aware of the plethora of news sources that are available, Wenzel and Crittenden (2021) argue that the community-aspect of journalism that encourages journalists to be involved and active within the communities they report on will become increasingly important in keeping audiences engaged. Ethnic media occupies a unique position within this dialogue – one that situates it as a form of journalism that prioritizes community-oriented and involved reporting.

An alternative to the mainstream narrative, ethnic media positions itself as committed to providing a platform for members of minority groups to have their interests, concerns and experiences highlighted — stories that would not otherwise be addressed in the mainstream news (Matsaganis et. al, 2010). Aside from visibility, audiences of ethnic background have more trust in ethnic media due to a very closely established relationship between ethnic media producers and consumers (Matsaganis & Katz, 2014). In a comparative analysis of Spanish and English-language media, Branton and Dunaway (2008) found that Spanish-language media produced a higher volume of immigration coverage which was more positive than English-language media. Feeling a sense of acknowledgement and visibility connects people of color with the news in ways that have not been observed with traditional news media. Unlike mainstream media, those involved in the production of ethnic media are often part of the communities that they are writing about (Nelson, 2005). As a result, stories are pursued in more depth and with more expertise than it would be in the mainstream news.

Ethnic media emphasizes a commitment to capturing, sharing, and preserving the stories of underrepresented groups in a way that mainstream media has historically struggled to do. For communities of color, trust in news is reliant on seeing themselves authentically and accurately represented in news stories. News that prioritizes a *media-for* and *media-by* approach to storytelling is one that mainstream media needs to lean into in order to connect with BIPOC communities.

The Case of The Sahan Journal/Star Tribune Partnership

On January 29, 2022, Minneapolis-based publication The *Star Tribune* published its first article in partnership with the local non-profit news organization, *Sahan Journal* (Peters, 2022).

After both publications announced their collaboration on social media, online users were quick to express their excitement at the potential impact that the partnership could bring. While many users pointed to *Sahan Journal*'s in-depth reporting as a win for the *Star Tribune*, others celebrated the decision for its potential to positively impact the quality of local news coverage (Twitter, 2022). The *Star Tribune* has presented itself as Minnesota's "most trusted" news source for decades now (Star Tribune, 2014), but as Usher (2021) notes, news is not always produced with all groups in mind.

The *Star Tribune*, first established in 1867, is Minnesota's leading local news publication. Since its foundation, the local news organization has faced many challenges in the digital age. Despite declining print revenues, mergers (Minnesota Historical Society, N.D.) and even bankruptcy filing (Phelps, 2009), the now 156-year-old publication has managed to stay afloat. As a for-profit news organization, the *Star Tribune* relies on revenue from advertising and subscriptions – the company brings in \$10 million in revenue in digital subscriptions a year (Schulte, 2019), only a small portion of their overall earnings. But as Edmonds (2018) notes, a key contributor to the *Star Tribune*'s continued success lies in its ownership. Unlike other large media organizations in the Twin Cities, the *Star Tribune* does not have ties to a larger media conglomerate and instead, is independently owned by local billionaire Glen Taylor. This ownership structure, one that is not hindered by high profit expectations, has allowed the publication to pursue new, innovative approaches to journalism – like partnerships.

Home to just over 240 newsroom staffers, The *Star Tribune* has established itself as an essential part of the Minneapolis news market and has solidified itself as one of the leading sources of information about the Twin Cities and broader Minnesota. The company has seen an

array of recognitions and awards since it was founded, all of which celebrate the organization's commitment to quality journalism (Star Tribune, N.D.).

However, the *Star Tribune* has demonstrated that it is not an institution that prioritizes a commitment to fair and comprehensive reporting for everyone. Following renewed discussions surrounding race sparked by the murder of George Floyd, employees at the Star Tribune wrote an open letter to the publication's management expressing their frustrations with longstanding newsroom practices that "centered whiteness" and demanded that the *Star Tribune* foster a newsroom that allows for "complete coverage of all communities with care and context" (Star Tribune, 2020). Two months, the *Star Tribune* responded to calls for culturally competent reporting by appointing Kyndell Harkness, a longtime journalist and photo editor at the publication, to the role of Assistant Managing Editor of Diversity and Community. Harkness' role set out to "create a more equitable newsroom culture" that emphasized accountability in its news coverage of marginalized communities (Smith, 2020). While this promotion signaled a shift in the publication's approach to covering issues of race more carefully, multiple incidents thereafter demonstrated that there was more work to be done.

Although the publication was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the killing of George Floyd (Walsh, 2021) the year after, local activists and politicians have pointed to numerous instances thereafter of the *Star Tribune* demonstrating an inability to accurately and fairly cover communities of color. The Minnesotan publication came under fire in 2021 for its inaccurate coverage of the killing of Winston Smith (Harkness, 2021) with some arguing that it has long demonstrated a tendency to "demonize Black men" and "reinforce white supremacy" (Levy-Armstrong, 2021). Not long after that incident, Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar also condemned the *Star Tribune* for an editorial piece that she claimed used "Islamophobic,

racist language” (Omar, 2021). These instances, two of many, are reflective of a larger phenomenon that faces the journalistic landscape today — mainstream media’s shortcomings when it comes to coverage of marginalized groups.

Sahan Journal, founded in 2019, is a non-profit news organization focused on “reporting for immigrants and communities of color” (Sahan Journal, N.D.). Mukhtar Ibrahim, a long-time reporter and an immigrant himself, owns and runs the *Sahan Journal*, a publication he hopes to fill a gap in the news for communities he feels are left out of the local news (Propel Nonprofits, 2021). Ibrahim, who had previously worked for the *Star Tribune*, attributed the reason for his departure to the publication’s lack of effort and interest in covering local immigrant communities (The Investigative Reporters & Editors Journal, 2020). He hopes that the *Sahan Journal* will foster coverage that captures the complexities and nuances of the immigrant experience.

Unlike the *Star Tribune*, *Sahan Journal* functions with a much smaller newsroom. The publication, based in St. Paul, runs with just under 20 staffers who cover beats including community, justice, health, education amongst others. The organization’s status as a non-profit means that its funding primarily comes from donations and grants. Over the past two years, *Sahan Journal* received around \$3.6 million in grants from local nonprofits and national foundations including McKnight, American Journalism Project and the Google News Initiative. While 77% of its funding comes from grants, its subscribers contribute to 9% of their overall revenue (Sahan Journal, 2021).

While the *Sahan Journal* has been recognized for its innovative and creative coverage (Janzer, 2019) its reach pales in comparison to other news organizations in the Twin Cities. In the span of two years, the non-profit digital news platform website saw 2 million visitors (Sahan Journal, 2021), but this number is merely a fraction of what mainstream news outlets in the Twin

Cities, including the *Star Tribune*, see in a month. Although Ibrahim notes that the *Sahan Journal* is committed to reporting on stories that center immigrants and communities of color, he has noted his interest in having these narratives reach “all Minnesotans” (Owen, 2019).

The *Sahan Journal*'s push to reach the broader Minnesotan audience is a challenge that the *Star Tribune* has demonstrated an ability to address. The partnership between these two organizations appears to play into the challenges and strengths of each one — *Sahan Journal*'s being a lack of reach and the *Star Tribune*'s being a lack of expertise when it comes to covering marginalized communities. In the announcement regarding their collaboration, the *Star Tribune* outlined the goal of the partnership which was concerned with “expanding the reach of journalism that connects with and authentically tells the stories of Minnesota’s diverse communities” (Twitter, 2022). The objectives outlined as the guiding principles of this partnership represent a combination of what each organization brings to table and how they can come together to result in more impactful reporting. By centering the *Star Tribune*'s partnership with *Sahan Journal* as a case study, this research attempts to understand whether collaborative efforts within the news industry can lead to diversified, quality mainstream coverage of marginalized communities.

As of spring 2023, a year after the announcement, collaboration between both news organizations is still ongoing. The partnership involves the cross-posting stories between the both the *Sahan Journal* and *Star Tribune*'s online platforms as well as a weekly story featured in the *Star Tribune*'s Sunday print.

Following the definition of Matsaganis and Katz (2013), this study positions the *Star Tribune* as a mainstream media outlet based on its goals to produce content about and for the mainstream. Based on the commitment that *Sahan Journal* has to centering immigrant

communities (Johnson, 2000), this study situates this publication as an ethnic media organization. Based on this positioning, existing literature shows promise for the partnership's ability to increase representation of immigrant communities and create more positive patterns of coverage. Knowing that immigration coverage is dependent on an immigrant's region of origin (Ford, 2011), this research will also consider how the racialization of immigrants and immigration impacts the partnership's effects on immigrant coverage. Therefore, the research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

Representation (Quantity)

RQ1: Was there a difference in the number of articles published about immigrants and immigration in the *Star Tribune* in the year preceding the partnership, compared to the year following the partnership?

Patterns of Coverage (Quality)

RQ2: Was there a difference in frame qualities (i.e: more positive/less stereotypical) of articles published about immigrants in the *Star Tribune* in the year preceding the partnership, compared to the year following the partnership?

Differences Across Immigrant Communities

RQ3: Were there differences in how much coverage non-European and European immigrants received? Was there a difference between European or non-European immigrant community coverage with respect to article framing of that immigrant/immigrant community? Was there a difference in the use of frames published about immigrants in the *Star Tribune* in the year preceding the partnership, compared to the year following the partnership?

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter explains the methodological choices and procedures used in this thesis. It first emphasizes the applicability of a content analysis for this research, discussing the advantages and limitations of using a quantitative methodology to answer all three research questions. Then, detailed information about how data was selected and retrieved are highlighted in the sample section before the next section, which summarizes the coding process. Finally, operationalized definitions of the frames that are utilized in this study are outlined alongside their intercoder-reliability values.

The Value of Content Analysis

A deductive, quantitative content analysis was deployed for the purpose of this study. The frames used in the content analysis were derived from a review of numerous studies of immigration coverage (Pearson, 2010; Chan, 2013; Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007; Rumbaut et. al, 2018; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019; Quinsaat, 2014; Galletly, 2022; Parrott et. al, 2019; Patler & Gonzales, 2015). While these predetermined frames are helpful for guiding research and providing a template to go off, Matthes and Kohrig (2008) note that this approach can limit the frames that could be encountered and analyzed. They also highlight how detrimental this can be for research that tries to capture an “evolving issue” and given the topic of this research, this factor was taken into consideration. Immigration policy is an ever-changing issue – the Migration Policy Institute points to the 472 administrative changes that President Donald Trump made in just 4 years of his presidency (Bolter et. al, 2022).

Despite these limitations, a content analysis was still deployed in this research due to (1) the prevalence of existing discourse that suggests overlap and (2) its pertinence to the central research question. Due to the wealth of information and research surrounding media framing of immigrants and immigration, the reliance on a deductive approach to this content analysis was deemed appropriate. There have been many studies that have set out to understand the ways in which immigrants are framed with the use of a content analysis (Famulari, 2020, Quinsaas, 2014; Patler & Gonzalez, 2015), many of which result in similar findings – dehumanizing, delegitimizing coverage. Because this research is not necessarily concerned with how immigration coverage more generally has evolved and is instead focused on how the usage of these existing frames shifted along with the introduction of the partnership, concerns about overlooking frames are not as consequential. Neuendorf (2017) notes that content analysis “summarizes rather than reports all details,” which further solidifies how frames relate to this research as a measure for identifying shifts in coverage.

The prevalence of this methodology in mass communication research also encouraged its usage in this research. A review of 10 major mass communication journals revealed that content analysis was the second most used methodology and that a substantial portion of research projects, 30%, utilized this method (Kamhawi & Weaver, 2003). Lombard et. al (2002), acknowledges how “fundamental” content analysis is in order to consistently and objectively study messages. While content analysis provides the capability to examine a broad scope of texts over time, it is clear that additional research is required to paint a more nuanced explanation of news coverage.

Sample

This study uses a content analysis of digital news articles published about immigrant communities by the *Star Tribune* in the year prior to and during its partnership with *Sahan Journal*. The first article published in connection to the partnership was released January 29, 2022 so the sample includes all relevant articles published between January 1, 2021 — a year prior to the partnership, and December 31, 2022 — the end to a year’s worth of coverage during the partnership. Although the partnership is still ongoing, the sample only included articles up to December 31 to allow for balanced time periods for comparison. The study considers the period preceding partnership between January 1, 2021, and January 29, 2022; the study considers the period following partnership as January 30, 2022 through December 31, 2022.

The sample of relevant articles was retrieved with the keywords “immigrant” and “immigration” using the database NewsWhip (2011). These keywords were selected in order to understand how the partnership affected coverage patterns that specifically involved immigrant communities and immigration. The database search returned a total of 437 articles. Of those articles, 64 editorial articles, obituaries, promotional articles and duplicates were removed. In addition to that, 58 articles were removed for a lack of relevancy – articles that only mentioned the term “immigrant” or “immigration” in passing and did not feature immigration policy or an immigrant’s experience as a central part of the story. After sorting through all the content, 315 articles were coded for the purpose of this study. All articles were only coded for textual content, so images, videos and galleries were not coded and articles that only featured graphic elements were tagged as irrelevant.

NewsWhip did not retrieve any of the articles that were part of the *Sahan Journal/Star Tribune* partnership. All 36 articles that were part of the partnership in 2022 were pulled

manually from a search on the *Star Tribune* with the boilerplate text included on all *Sahan Journal* articles. Of these 36 articles, only 11 included references to the terms “immigrant” or “immigration”. These eleven articles were then added to the final sample of 326. This manual addition of articles to the sample, although necessary for thorough analysis, reveals a limitation in the replicability of this study. Future research could utilize other databases or methods for retrieving data to ensure that a complete sample is created.

Of the final sample, 87.1 percent of the articles ($n= 284$) were aggregated from the Associated Press, 9.5 percent of the articles ($n= 31$) were authored by the *Star Tribune* and 3.4 percent of the articles were part of the partnership with the *Sahan Journal* ($n= 11$). Articles syndicated from the Associated Press were included in the sample as they still represent coverage that was intentionally selected to publish by the *Star Tribune*'s editorial team. In the data pulled from NewsWhip, articles that were republished from the *Associated Press* were clearly identified and attributed as such. As noted by Horne and Adali (2018), this form of attribution is standard practice when articles are republished verbatim from wire news services, so for the purpose of coding, articles that were attributed to the *Associated Press* but no longer had live links on the *Star Tribune* were retrieved using a headline search on the *Associated Press* website.

Coding Process

Full sample coding was completed by one human coder and was facilitated using a Google Forms questionnaire. In this questionnaire, the coder was instructed to indicate the presence or absence of media frames routinely used to report on immigrant communities. The headline and body of each article was coded for all frames, and an individual article could be coded for multiple frames. One other human coder, a graduate student, was put through three

separate training sessions — with a sample of 5 articles, then 25, before contributing to the final reliability test of 40. Reliability tests were conducted on a random sample of 40 articles, following the recommendation for inter-coder reliability tests provided by (Neuendorf, 2017), which suggests a sample of 10% of the full dataset. For each training session, the coder was given a coding instruction sheet that provided detailed explanations of each frame as well as specific examples of how they might show up. This sheet, outlined in Appendix 2, also included information about explicit instances of what content should be excluded.

ReCal (Freelon, 2013) was used to calculate inter-coder reliability for each variable which were then expressed in Krippendorff's Alpha scores in accordance with recommendations for mass communication research (Lombard, 2002). Alphas for each variable are included below all ranging between ($\alpha=0.64$) and ($\alpha=0.852$). Although Krippendorff highlights an Alpha of $\alpha=0.8$ or higher as a good indication of reliability, it is also noted that “tentative conclusions” are still acceptable at $\alpha \geq .667$. (2004). Additionally, the variable with the lowest Alpha score still obtained a percentage agreement of 85%, with only 6 instances of disagreements. The variable below this threshold was the *burden* variable at an $\alpha=0.64$, which was then assessed for discrepancies and were further clarified and “better defined” in the codebook alongside the other human coder to include more consistent, clear language before the final phase of data collection (Neuendorf, 2017). Other variables that fell below “tolerable” standards for exploratory studies ($\alpha=0.7$) (Nili et. al, 2020) — *victim* and *savior*, although still acceptable by Krippendorff's standards, were only used for frequency analyses and not tests for statistical significance.

Operationalized Variables

The variables that were utilized in this study are media frames that emerged in a review of recent studies published on immigrant and immigration framing in the United States (Pearson, 2010; Chan, 2013; Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007; Rumbaut et. al, 2018; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2019; Quinsaas, 2014; Galletly, 2022; Parrott et. al, 2019). The *benefit* frame, although not as prevalent in existing research as other frames, was included in this study for its increased visibility in news coverage more recently (Patler & Gonzales, 2015). The coding sheet with detailed explanations of each variable and step-by-step procedures for coding can be found in Appendix 1.

Stereotypical/Negative Frames

Crime-Immigration ($\alpha=.852$): This variable looked for any connection or association between the act of immigration and violence/crime or framed it as a threat to safety or country. Articles that pointed to the prevalence/crisis/act of unlawful migration or that explicitly mentioned “illegal immigration” were attributed to this variable.

Crime-Status ($\alpha=.783$): This variable looked for explicit references to an immigrant/immigrant community as unlawful, illegitimate in regard to their immigration status. Articles that included the terms “illegal”, “alien”, “undocumented” or “unauthorized” or “unlawful” were indicated as present.

Crime-Post ($\alpha = .783$): This variable looked at instances whereby an immigrant is identified as a victim/perpetrator of a crime, unrelated to the act of immigration. Articles that depicted an

immigrant/immigrant communities' involvement in crimes or criminal activity outside of the act of migrating was connected to this variable.

Crime-Setting ($\alpha = .852$): This variable looked for representations of immigrants/immigrant communities in physical settings that associate them with criminality. Articles that depict immigrants under detention, in court, jail or involved with law enforcement were selected for this variable.

Burden ($\alpha = .643$): This variable looked for any positioning of an immigrant/immigrant community as reliant on government assistance or social welfare. Articles that made mentions of immigrants who are in the process of acquiring financial assistance through grants, government programs/policies, non-profits, official community organizations were included as present.

Victim ($\alpha = .697$): This variable looked for instances in which immigrants/immigrant communities are positioned as helpless victims of their country of origin. Articles that described an immigrant/immigrant community's country of origin that indicates it to be in distress/in ruins that these groups had to "flee" were tied to this variable.

Savior ($\alpha = .674$): This variable looked for instances where the country of settlement is positioned as a fresh start/new opportunity/salvation/solution to all problems. Verbiage that attributed the success of an immigrant to their decision to migrate or that placed an emphasis on the new country as a source of opportunity or ability (rather than the attributing this success to the actions or qualities of the immigrants) was assigned to this variable.

Positive Frames

Human Interest ($\alpha = .819$): This variable looked for the use of singular face/experience/trauma to either tell the story of a larger experience or to speak about broader issues. Articles that included a highly personalized narrative that did not follow the traditional format of a news story were connected to this variable.

Benefit ($\alpha = .796$): This variable looked at narratives that highlighted the positive impact brought about by an immigrant/immigrant community or immigration more broadly. Articles that featured positive impact resulting from the actions of an immigrant/immigrant community or any indication that the act of immigration could bring beneficial outcomes was associated with this variable.

Appendix 2 includes a summary of each variable's operational definition as noted in the coding sheet for training as well as examples of how they appeared in the coded sample.

Other Coded Variables

Origin: This variable looked at whether the immigrant community/immigrant discussed in the article was of European origin or not. Cases where there was no explicit mention of an immigrant/immigrant community's origin were coded as "unsure."

Partner: This variable asked if the article was (1) a *Star Tribune*-authored article, (2) an Associated Press article or (3) a *Star Tribune/Sahan Journal* partnership article.

Time: This variable asked if the article was published prior to the partnership (before January 29, 2021) or after it began.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter reports the results of the content analysis, broken down by research question. Starting with research question one, each part of the analysis is conducted with the overall sample before more specific variables like *time* and *partner*.

Analysis of the findings were conducted through SPSS with the use of descriptive statistics. Frequency analyses were primarily used to answer questions about quantity and patterns of coverage. Cross tab analyses were also used to look at how the types of frames deployed in coverage differed based on the type of immigrant group and to explore the difference in coverage pre- and during the partnership in changing what frames were used.

Findings reveal that there was an overall decrease in the *Star Tribune's* coverage of immigrants and immigration with the introduction of the partnership. However, an analysis of the dominant frames between 2021 and 2022 demonstrated an increase in one positive frame — the *benefit* frame, and a slight decrease in negative frames — *criminality* frames. An analysis of immigrants' regions of origin in relation to patterns of coverage found that the partnership seemed to impact coverage of both European and non-European immigrant/immigrant community groups positively, even though there were imbalances in how positive coverage was experienced in the year prior. Finally, articles that were published in collaboration with *Sahan Journal* as well as aggregated articles from the *Associated Press* were analyzed to determine the direct impact of the partnership in the *Star Tribune's* coverage of immigration. Findings reveal that *Sahan Journal* articles were overwhelmingly associated with the utilization of positive frames and that aggregated content was accounting for increased recognition of the *benefit* frame.

Research Question One: Representation

RQ1 examines how the quantitative representation of immigrant communities and immigration changed with the introduction of the *Star Tribune/Sahan Journal* partnership. To answer this question, this section looks at the number of articles published about immigrants and immigration in the year prior to the partnership (2021) and compares it to the year of the partnership (2022). Then, an isolated analysis on *Star Tribune*-authored articles is conducted to review direct impacts of the partnership.

Overall Coverage

Of all the news stories that were retrieved in the search, 307 of them were published in the year prior to the partnership between January 1, 2021 and January 29th, 2022. Once the partnership was established, there were a total of 131 articles about immigrants and immigration that were included in the *Star Tribune*'s year of coverage. This shift represents a 57.3 percent decrease in coverage surrounding immigration and immigration communities between the year prior to the partnership and the year the partnership was launched. Although the impact might be of marginal influence, it should be noted that the pre-partnership sample recorded articles published across 393 days while the partnership sample included articles across 336 days – a 57 day difference.

Star Tribune-Authored Articles

This overall trend that presents a decrease in coverage of immigrants and immigration in overall coverage is reflected even when considering differences across aggregated and *Star*

Tribune-authored coverage. In 2021, the *Star Tribune*'s coverage of immigration consisted of 90.2 percent ($n=212$) of articles aggregated from the *Associated Press* and only 9.8 percent ($n=23$) of articles from its own newsroom. The year of the partnership, in 2022, these ratios look similar with the *Associated Press* contributing 79.1 percent ($n=72$) of all articles published by the *Star Tribune* and only 8.8 percent ($n=8$) coming from its own staff.

Research Question Two: Patterns of Coverage

RQ2 looked to investigate how the presence of negative and positive frames in coverage of immigrant communities changed with the introduction of the partnership. To answer this question this section compares the frequencies at which each frame was deployed prior to and during the partnership year. A cross tab analysis is then used to further examine the relationship between frame use and pre/post-partnership articles. Finally, an isolated analysis of frame usage in *Star Tribune*-authored articles is conducted to identify how post partnership coverage of immigrants is framed by this source.

Overall Coverage

RQ2 looks at how narratives of immigrant communities may or may not have changed along with the introduction of the *Sahan Journal* partnership. An overview of all the coded articles reveals that the most used frame was *crime-immigration*, which appeared in 39.6 percent of all stories in 2021 and 2022. An overwhelming majority of articles included in the sample made references to “illegal immigration” and described the act of border crossing as “unlawful” in discussions about government policies such as the “Remain In Mexico” act and the dismantling of the “Zero-Tolerance policy” with the Biden administration. A secondary analysis

examining the relationship between the presence of two conceptually related frames confirms the nature of this coverage. The appearance of the *crime-immigration* frame was, in many cases, accompanied by a referral to an immigrant's unlawful immigration status" – the *crime-status* frame ($\chi^2(1)= 15.317, p <.001$), which appeared in 33.1 percent of all articles in the sample set.

Pre-Partnership Frames

To factor in how the partnership influenced the deployment of certain frames over others, the variable “time” was isolated to determine how the prevalence of certain frames over others shifted. A review of the 235 articles that were coded in 2021 revealed a similar pattern to the overall sample. The *crime-immigration* was the most utilized frame (40%), with *crime-set* (35.7%) and *crime-status* (34.5%) following closely behind. The positive frames *human interest* (14.5%) and *benefit* (16.2%) were found in much fewer of the articles, less than half of the time that criminality-associated frames appeared.

Post-Partnership Frames

The following year, during the partnership, the most utilized frame in stories about immigrants and immigrant communities remained the *crime-immigration* frame, which showed up in a slightly lower proportion of articles (37.4%). However, one of the positive frames was used at almost twice the rate of the year prior — the *benefit* frame was used more frequently (33%) in 2022, more than *crime-set* (18.7%) which was one of the top three frames used in the year prior. The prevalence of the *human interest* frame remained low at 16.5%, only appearing in 15 articles. Table 1 captures the shifts in frames used in coverage of immigrants and immigration across 2021 and 2022.

Table 1: Summary of Frames Used in the Star Tribune's Coverage of Immigrants and Immigration

Year	Stereotypical Frames							Positive Frames	
	Crime-Immigration	Crime-Status	Crime-Post	Crime-Set	Burden	Victim	Savior	Human Interest	Benefit
2021	95 (40.4%)	81 (34.5%)	36 (15.3%)	84 (35.7%)	45 (19.1%)	66 (28.1%)	22 (9.4%)	34 (14.5%)	38 (16.2%)
2022	34 (37.4%)	27 (29.7%)	15 (16.5%)	17 (18.7%)	11 (12.1%)	19 (20.9%)	13 (14.3%)	15 (16.5%)	30 (33.0%)

Note: The values listed above reflect proportions based on a sample of 326 articles, 235 articles published in 2021 and 91 articles published in 2022. Chi square tests revealed a statistically significant relationship between the articles published in the year of the partnership (2022) and the presence of the benefit frame ($\chi^2(1) 11.211, p < .001$).

These findings suggest that although the use of the crime-immigration remains prevalent in immigrant and immigration coverage, the articles published in the year of the partnership did demonstrate increased usage of one of the two positive frames.

The Impact of the Partnership

The research question that underlies this study asks how the partnership between the *Star Tribune* and *Sahan Journal* affected coverage patterns of immigration and immigrant communities. To understand the significance of the partnership in relation to coverage patterns, the frequency of frames deployed in articles that were part of the partnership were measured.

Table 2. Frames Used in Partnership Coverage of Immigration for 2022

2022	Stereotypical Frames							Positive Frames	
	Crime- Immigration	Crime- Status	Crime- Post	Crime- Set	Burden	Victim	Savior	Human Interest	Benefit
Non- Partnership	50%	50%	25%	N/A	37.5%	50%	37%	37.5%	37.5%
Partnership	N/A	9.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	18.2%	9.1%	63.6%	72.7%

Table 2 reveals that articles that were part of the *Sahan Journal* partnership predominantly featured the positive frame, the *human interest* frame as well as the *benefit* frame. In this sample, criminality frames were virtually absent in the partnership articles – with exception to the *crime-status* frame. In the non-partnership sample however, the three most cited

frames were the *crime-immigration*, *crime-status* and *victim* frame. The lowest cited frame was the *crime-post* frame, followed by the *human interest* and *benefit* frames. Another key observation from this table is that the *crime-set* was absent in both the non-partnership and partnership articles.

To examine this finding and test the relationship between partnership-coverage of immigration and the presence or absence of certain frames, a Chi-square analysis was conducted.

Table 3. Pre and Post-Partnership Immigration Articles By the Appearance of Frames

	2021	2022	χ^2
<i>Negative Frames</i>			
Crime-Immigration	40.4%	37.3%	.257
Crime-Status	34.5%	29.7%	.682
Crime-Post	15.3%	16.5%	.067
Crime-Set	35.7%	18.7%	8.93*
Burden	19.2%	12.1%	2.29
Victim	28.1%	20.9%	1.77
Savior	9.3%	14.3%	1.66
<i>Positive Frames</i>			
Human Interest	14.4%	16.4%	.209
Benefit	16.2%	33.0%	11.21**

*p<.05; **p<.001.

The percentages listed above reflect proportions based on a sample of 326 articles which included 235 articles pre-partnership (published in 2021) and 91 articles post-partnership (published in 2022).

Table 2 reveals statistically significant relationships between the variable *time* and the *benefit* and *crime-set* frames. The year of the partnership was associated with an increase in the use of the *benefit* frame ($\chi^2=(1) 8.932, p=0.03$) and a decrease in the use of the *crime-set* frame ($\chi^2=(1) 11.211, p<.001$). The association between these frames with the variable of time suggests that the partnership reduced the use of negative frames and increased the utilization of positive frames. The connection of the partnership to this change is further supported by the significant relationship that exists between the articles that are a product of the partnership — *Sahan Journal/Star Tribune* articles, and the presence of the *benefit* frame ($\chi^2=(2) 40.624, p<.001$) and the absence of the *crime-set* frame ($\chi^2=(2) 9.193, p=0.01$).

In summary, results indicate that partnership-related articles were associated with more positive coverage of immigrant communities and immigration. This insight provides reason to believe that the partnership brings a positive influence on patterns of coverage. To explore differences across non-partnership articles further, a secondary analysis disaggregated the stories from the pre-partnership period and the partnership year dataset to examine differences by partner (source) in framing. Table 3 reports on the frequency of frame type by *Associated Press* articles, *Sahan Journal/Star Tribune* partnership articles, or *Star Tribune*-authored articles.

Table 4. Frame Usage over Time by Authorship

Source	<i>Associated Press</i>		<i>Star Tribune</i>		<i>Sahan Journal</i>	
	2021	2022	2021	2022	2021	2022
Crime-Immigration	91 (42.9%)	30 (41.7%)	4 (17.4%)	4 (50.0%)	N/A	N/A
Crime-Status	75 (35.4%)	22 (30.6%)	6 (26.1%)	4 (50.0%)	N/A	1 (9.1%)
Crime-Set	79 (37.3%)	17 (23.6%)	5 (21.7%)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Crime-Post	32 (15.1%)	13 (18.1%)	4 (17.4%)	2 (25.0%)	N/A	N/A
Burden	40 (18.9%)	8 (11.1%)	5 (21.7%)	3 (37.5%)	N/A	N/A
Victim	58 (27.4%)	13 (18.1%)	8 (34.8%)	4 (50.0%)	N/A	2 (18.2%)
Savior	14 (6.6%)	9 (12.5%)	8 (34.8%)	3 (37.5%)	N/A	1 (9.1%)
Human Interest	21 (9.9%)	5 (6.9%)	13 (56.5%)	3 (37.5%)	N/A	7 (63.6%)
Benefit	25 (11.8%)	19 (26.4%)	13 (56.5%)	3 (37.5%)	N/A	8 (72.7%)

Star Tribune-Authored Articles

Unlike overall coverage, looking specifically at articles authored by the *Star Tribune* (isolated from the other partner sources) in the year prior to (2021) and during the partnership (2022), data reveal that increased recognition of the *benefit* frame was not seen in non-aggregated content. Prior to the partnership, articles that were written by the *Star Tribune* most often used the human interest and benefit frames, both of which appeared in 56.5 percent of the articles ($n=13$) published in 2021. The two frames that received the least visibility in this year were the *crime-immigration* and *crime-post* frames, both only appearing in 17.6 percent of the articles ($n=4$). The following year, once the partnership was introduced, positive frames were no longer the leading frames. Instead, three criminality frames (*crime-immigration*, *crime-post* and *crime-status*) were present in 50 percent of all articles ($n=4$) while the *benefit* and *human interest* frame appeared in fewer articles (37.5%).

The analysis of overall coverage found there was an increase in visibility for the *benefit* frame between the year prior to and during the partnership. Upon further review, this table shows that articles that were not authored by the *Star Tribune* – aggregated articles from the *Associated Press* and partner articles from the *Sahan Journal*, accounted for most of this increase. Usage of the *benefit* frame in aggregated articles from the *Associated Press* doubled in percentages between the pre-partnership and post-partnership year. Additionally, coverage from the *Sahan Journal*, although much less prevalent in the overall sample, featured the *benefit* frame in more than 70 percent of its articles ($n=8$), further contributing to this increase in the use of this one positive frame.

These findings point to larger considerations for how observations in overall coverage can be understood and interpreted. Additional context for differentiating between aggregated and non-aggregated coverage is required to provide a comprehensive explanation of the data.

Research Question Three: Differences Across Immigrant Communities

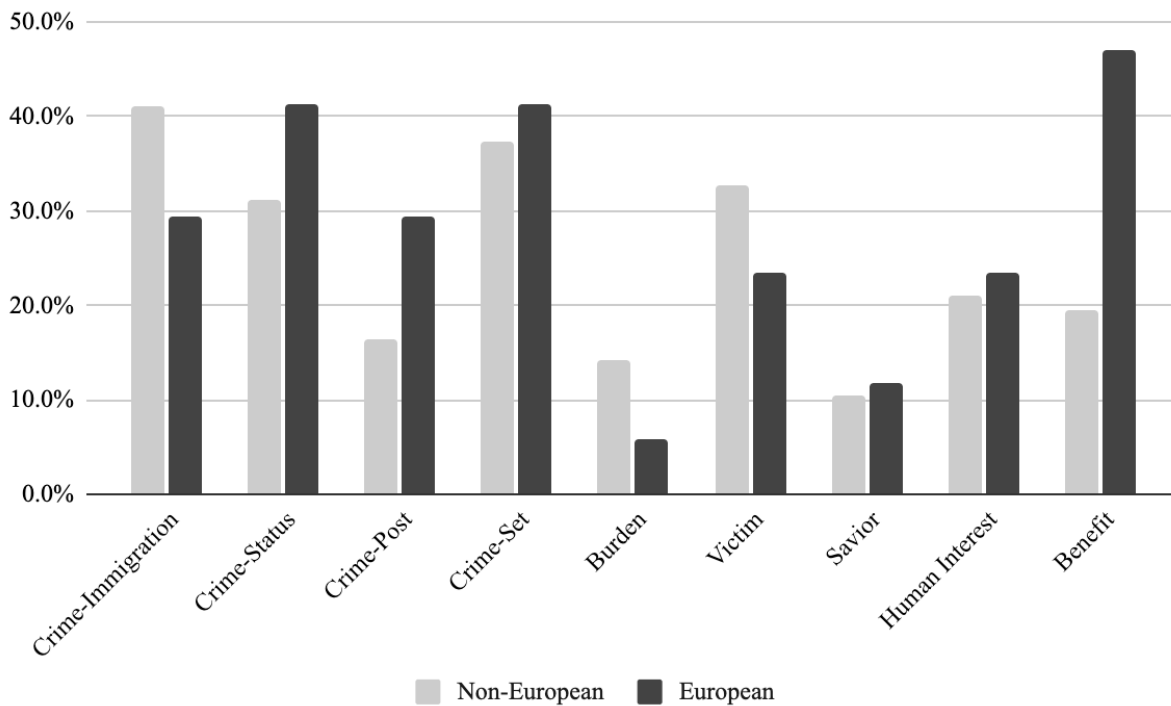
RQ3 looks at the frames that are most associated with European immigrants and compares this with non-European immigrants. To address this question, only articles that featured European and non-European immigrants were analyzed for frames that were most frequently deployed in coverage of each group. A chi-square analysis tested whether there was a difference in the coverage of non-European or European immigrants with respect to the types of frames that were deployed in coverage. Finally, these comparisons are compared across time, to see if the partnership had differential coverage implications for different immigrant communities.

Overall Coverage

Within the full sample, immigrants that were identified to be of European origin only appeared in 17 articles, roughly 4 percent of all the articles included in the sample. However, within these few articles, the most widely utilized frame was the *benefit* frame, which appeared in 47.1 percent of the articles that centered around an immigrant of European origin. The frames that were the second and third most cited in the sample were the *crime-set* frame and the *crime-status* frame, both appearing in 41.2 percent of all articles about immigrants of European origin. The least used frames included the burden frame (5.9%) and the savior frame, which showed up in 11.8 percent of all the articles ($n=2$).

The opposite was true for immigrants who were not of European origin. In all 190 of the news articles written about non-European immigrants, the top two frames that emerged in the full sample were two of the criminality frames, *crime-immigration* (41.1%) and *crime-set* (37.4%). The third most utilized frame for immigrant communities that were not of European origin was the *victim* frame, which showed up in 32.6 percent of these stories. A summary of these findings are listed in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Frequency of Frames Found in Stories of Non-European and European Immigrants



Note: Frequencies represent numbers from 207 articles about Non-European/European immigrants in the sample.

While coverage of European immigrants was substantially lower than coverage of non-European immigrants, stories that focused on immigrants of European origin were likely to demonstrate more positive coverage than non-European immigrants. Chi square tests revealed that the only significant relationship was between an immigrant community and the *benefit* frame. Coverage of European immigrants in news stories was more likely to be associated with the presence of a *benefit* frame ($\chi^2(1) = 6.979, p < .008$), compared to coverage of non-European immigrants in news stories across the two years of sampled coverage.

It is important to note that criminality frames are still highly utilized in coverage of both groups, but the prevalence of the benefit frame in association with European immigrants reveals an imbalance in groups that qualify for positive coverage. In order to understand if the partnership influenced this relationship, the following section examines whether time was related to coverage of immigrant communities.

Pre-Partnership Coverage of Different Immigrant Communities

In the year 2021, there were a total of 136 articles written about non-European immigrants, a stark contrast to coverage of immigrants of European origin which showed up in only 10 of all articles published. Although there was a total of 235 articles published about immigrants in 2021, only 146 articles clearly identified a specific immigrant community — 89 were coded as “unsure” and left out of this analysis.

In the sample of stories reporting on non-European immigrants that were covered in 2021, the frame that was most deployed in reporting included the *crime-set* frame, which was cited in 45.6 percent of all articles about non-European immigrants ($n=62$). Two other frames that were most deployed for immigrants of non-European origin in 2021 were the *crime-*

immigration (41.2%) and *victim* frame (36.8%). The frames that showed up the least within this year of coverage as it pertained to immigrants of non-European origin were the *savior* (10.3%) and *benefit* frames (14%). This mirrors a similar pattern to the overall sample with exception to the frequencies at which the *crime-immigration* and *crime-set* frames were used. Immigrants of European origin that were covered in 2021 were associated with the *crime-immigration* frame most frequently (50%), but were also likely to be associated with the *benefit* (40%) and *human interest* frames (40%). The frames that showed up the least when looking at news coverage of European immigrants in 2021 were the *savior* frame, which only showed up in 10 percent of the articles ($n=1$), and the *burden* frame, which did not show up at all. This finding is a departure from the overall sample due to the emergence of the *crime-immigration* frame as the most frequently used.

Post-Partnership Coverage of Different Immigrant Communities

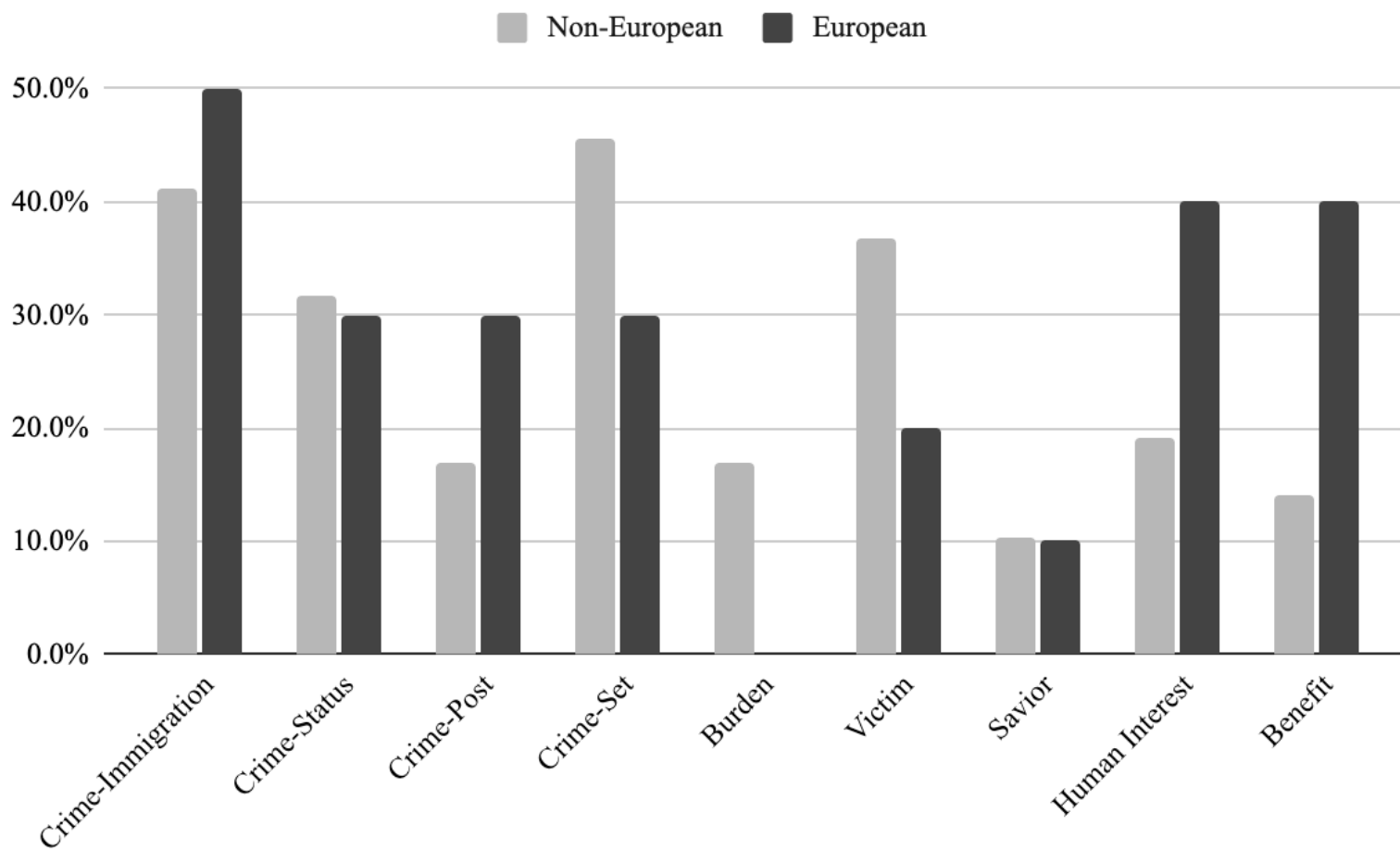
2022 saw much less coverage of immigrant communities than the year prior. A total of 54 articles were written about non-European immigrants while only 7 were written about immigrants of European origin. The year of the partnership saw an increase in the proportion at which European immigrants were covered in comparison to non-European immigrants. In 2021, non-European immigrants were covered 19 times more than immigrants of European origin. However, in 2022, non-European immigrants were centered in articles at 6 times more than immigrants of European origin.

Looking at the frames that were most deployed in coverage of non-European immigrants, *crime-immigration* remained the most prevalent frame in news articles (40.7%) followed by the *benefit* frame (33.3%). The third most utilized frame in 2022 remained the *crime-status* frame,

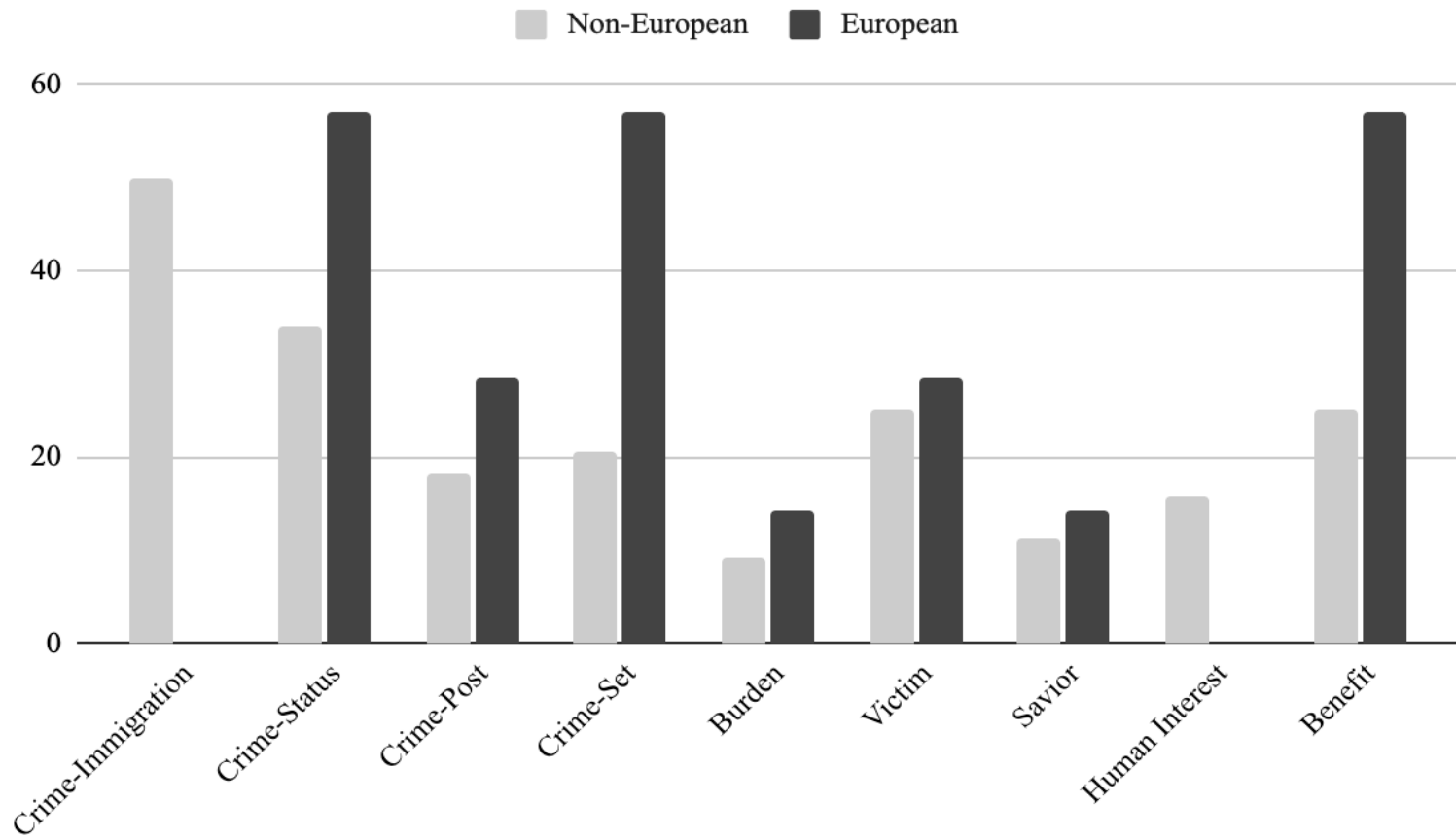
which showed up in 29.6 percent of articles associated with non-European immigrants. The least prevalent frames in the sample were the *burden* frame (7.4%) and the *savior* frame (11.1%). Although the criminality frames remain in the top three most prominently deployed frames for non-European immigrants during the partnership, a key difference is the increased visibility of the *benefit* frame between 2021 and 2022.

Immigrants of European origin, although only visible in 7 articles in 2022, produced similar but slightly different findings. While *benefit* (57.1%) remained one of the most commonly cited frames in articles pertaining to European immigrants, two other frames — the *crime-set* and *crime-status*, were found in just as many of the articles as the *benefit* frame. As for the frames that were used the least in association with European immigrants in 2022, both the *human interest* frame and the *crime-immigration* frame were completely absent in all coverage of European immigrants. A summary of the findings between 2021 and 2022 are included in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Frequency of Frames Found in Stories of Non-European and European Immigrants by Year



Note: Percentages from 2021



Note: Percentages from 2022

Findings suggest that the partnership impacted patterns of coverage similarly for immigrants of different origins. Prior to the partnership, both non-European and European immigrants were linked to criminality-related frames more than any other frames. In 2022, once the partnership had been established, the *benefit* frame appeared more often than in the previous year for both groups, alongside criminality-related frames.

Summary

This chapter examined the overarching research question that considers how partnerships between ethnic and mainstream media can impact patterns of coverage as it pertains to immigrants and immigration. This question was examined in three key ways: (1) how the partnership impacted quantity of coverage, (2) how the partnership impacted the quality of coverage (i.e: shifts in the types of frames that were used) and (3) whether these changes were implemented differently across non-European and European immigrant communities. Using descriptive statistics, this chapter found that the partnership did not increase coverage of immigrants but that the framing of coverage was more positive in the year of the partnership. However, criminality-related frames were the exception; they remained prevalent across both years. Additional analysis also revealed that there were differences between how the qualities of frames were dependent on whether articles were authored by the *Star Tribune*, aggregated from the *Associated Press* or part of the partnership with the *Sahan Journal*. Finally, looking across coverage of non-European and European immigrants found that the European immigrants were subject to more positive coverage than non-Europeans, but that both groups received more positive coverage in the year of the partnership.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This research reviewed how the partnership between the *Star Tribune* and *Sahan Journal* impacted coverage patterns of immigrant communities. Results in the previous chapter showed that the partnership did not directly result in increased coverage of immigrant communities, but that coverage was notably more positive than the year prior. Another key finding was that although there were differences in the types of frames that were most utilized for coverage of European and non-European between both years, coverage for both groups improved with the introduction of the partnership.

This chapter digs deeper into what these findings mean. After analyzing the findings, it connects these findings with existing research on newsroom partnerships and takes the case of the *Star Tribune* and *Sahan Journal* partnership to speak about the potential impact of partnerships between ethnic media and mainstream media. It seeks to understand collaborative initiatives like this could serve as a means for improving coverage of historically marginalized communities.

RQ1: The Partnership Did Not Directly Lead to Increased Representation or Visibility

Findings revealed that there was a significant decrease in the number of articles about immigrant communities that were published before and during the partnership. It might be hypothesized that the partnership would have only affected articles authored by the *Star Tribune* and not articles syndicated from the *Associated Press*, but results suggest minimal differences even when reviewing these outlets independently. In 2021, the *Star Tribune*'s coverage of immigration consisted of 90.2 percent ($n=212$) of articles aggregated from the Associated Press

and only 9.8 percent ($n=23$) of articles from its own newsroom. The year of the partnership, in 2022, these ratios look similar with the Associated Press contributing 79.1 percent ($n=72$) of all articles published by the *Star Tribune* and only 8.8 percent ($n=8$) coming from its own staff. The remaining 12.1 percent of articles were partnership articles authored by the *Sahan Journal*. Looking at these figures suggest that although the decrease in coverage is much less drastic, the partnership cannot be attributed to an increase in immigration and immigrant-focused coverage from the *Star Tribune*.

Although it was anticipated that the *Star Tribune*'s collaboration with *Sahan Journal* would lead to more coverage of these communities, the results of this content analysis suggest that this partnership alone was not enough to increase the visibility and prevalence of immigrant populations in the mainstream. This finding represents a departure from existing research on the implications of partnerships on coverage of marginalized populations. As Graves and Jenkins (2019) noted, newsroom partnerships have been found to result in an increased level of diversity in the types of stories that journalists report on. Taking into consideration *Sahan Journal*'s positionality as an "immigrant-focused" (Graves, 2019) publication, it was expected that this diversity would be reflected in an increase of the number of articles published about immigrant communities in the year of the partnership. However, this logic was not expressed in this study.

Literature surrounding newsroom cultures and partnership structures provides a possible explanation for why there was a decrease in articles written about immigrants alongside the introduction of the partnership. Bodinger-de Uriarte and Valgeirsson (2015) highlight the strength of existing newsroom cultures that "impede" upon mechanisms of change that set out to diversify news coverage. Mainstream media demonstrates a tendency to reflect the interests, opinions and narratives that serve white, affluent communities (Usher, 2021) and while efforts

aimed at increasing newsroom and narrative diversity have been increasingly common, the constraints of existing norms that reinforce white stereotypes might have proven to limit its overall impact. While ethnic media does, in many cases, bring the stories of underrepresented communities to the forefront (Matsaganis et. al, 2010), it can be argued that the partnership did not allow its impact to overshadow the dominance of mainstream media's existing culture.

This finding can also be attributed to the level of collaboration between both news organizations, which falls into the "cloning" category of the Convergence Continuum as proposed by Dailey, Demo and Spillman (2005). The authors suggest that merely republishing content from partners does not challenge gatekeepers to collaboratively agree on coverage that resonates with both news organizations. Instead, they note that newsrooms will continue to engage in an editorial process that relies on existing news values as a means for deciding what stories will be accepted and shared. In the context of the *Star Tribune/Sahan Journal* partnership, the limited collaboration that occurred within this partnership did not allow for the impacts of the partnership to be fully told as the *Star Tribune* still dictated what coverage was included in publication.

While the frequency of representations of immigrant communities were investigated in this work, a larger emphasis was placed on understanding how immigrants were depicted in the *Star Tribune's* coverage. In order to assess shifts in patterns of coverage, the presence of stereotypical media frames of immigrants was observed and recorded and reviewed over the year prior to the partnership and during it.

RQ2: Despite the partnership, immigration coverage was still highly criminalized.

Although recognition of the benefit frame rose, this was predominantly associated with aggregated content.

Within the full sample, criminality-related frames were most often cited in coverage of immigrants and immigration in both 2021 and 2022. In 2021, the three most cited frames in the sample were *crime-immigration*, *crime-set* and *crime-status*. In the following year, the most cited frame was still *crime-immigration*, but the next most prevalent frames were, in order, the *benefit* frame and the *crime-set* frame. Two main takeaways from this section were the (1) persistence of the association between immigration and crime and (2) an increase in the prevalence of the positive frame, the *benefit* frame across the year before and during the partnership.

The continued use of the *crime-immigration* frame in coverage of immigrant communities aligns with the literature surrounding the criminalization of immigration in news coverage. Multiple studies have illustrated the regularity of associations between crime and immigration in news coverage (Mai, 2005; Milioni, Spyridou & Vadratsikas, 2015). Beckers and Aelst (2019) tie this tendency to news production values that favor conflict and violence. Even though it has been widely documented that immigration holds no causal connection to crime (National Institute of Justice, 2021; Flagg, 2019; Ewing, 2015), mainstream media continues to associate the act of immigration and immigrants with criminality, as supported by the findings of this study. Similarly to discussions about newsroom culture inhibiting progress, Grimm (2015) highlights how the “resilience” of news routines surrounding immigration continue to perpetuate the criminalization of immigrants and immigration. Although the introduction of the partnership saw a minute change in how often the *crime-immigration* frame was used, it was not able to address its prominence as a frame associated most with immigrant-related coverage.

On the other hand, this study found an increase in the use of more positive frames — specifically the *benefit* frame, following the introduction of the partnership. This finding is supported by existing literature surrounding ethnic media and representations of marginalized groups. Ramasubramiam, Doshi and Saleem (2017) highlight the tendency for ethnic media to present more positive depictions of ethnic groups than what is observed in mainstream media. Caspi (2011) further describes the distinction between *media-for* (mainstream) and *media-by* (ethnic) marginalized communities, associating minority-led media with more authentic, empowering portrayals of these groups. These observations help explain the increasing prevalence of the *benefit* frame in the *Star Tribune*'s coverage. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that partnership articles were associated with a high dependence on positive frames.

While this presents promising findings for the impact of the partnership on the *Star Tribune*'s overall coverage of immigration and immigrant communities, additional analysis into the *Star Tribune*'s direct coverage reveals an added layer of complexity. As previously noted, this research looks at how the partnership shifted overall patterns of coverage which can include what types of stories are selected. However, isolating the *Star Tribune*'s coverage from *Sahan Journal* and *Associated Press* authored articles reveal an alternative narrative. When looking at the *Star Tribune*-authored articles independently from partnership and aggregated content, findings reveal that the *Star Tribune* did not see an increase in the use of more positive frames. The leading frames associated with *Star Tribune*-authored articles, excluding partnership articles, were criminality frames at 50 percent ($n= 4$) and the *burden*, *victim* and *benefit* frame at 37.5 percent ($n=3$).

As discussed in the methods, it is important to look at syndicated content as well as it still represents the editorial decisions of the *Star Tribune*. A closer look at *Associated Press* articles explains why overall coverage demonstrated an increase in visibility for the benefit frame, even if it wasn't reflected in *Star Tribune*-authored articles. Analysis of *Associated Press* articles chosen for publication by the *Star Tribune*, although mostly associated with criminality – the top two frames were the *crime-immigration* (41.7%) and *crime-set* (30.6%) frames, there was an increase in the percentage of articles that featured the *benefit* frame compared to the year prior. This insight highlights how this partnership had differential effects for the news selection and news production processes within the *Star Tribune*.

Although the *Star Tribune*'s direct coverage did not demonstrate positive changes in immigration coverage, the increase in visibility of the *benefit* frame in the articles syndicated from the *Associated Press* suggest that there was a possible shift in how news was selected for publication. Welbers et. al (2016) discuss the importance of audiences in shaping news selection practices in the digital age. They argue that although there are tensions between professionalism and audience preferences, data suggests that the influence of the audience is becoming increasingly central to what stories newsrooms choose to publish. The increase in the prevalence of the *benefit* frame in content aggregated from the *Associated Press* could be attributed to a shift in news selection criteria. An awareness of the *Star Tribune*'s goal to “connect with and authentically tell the stories of Minnesota’s diverse communities” (Twitter, 2022) could have impacted the how wire news was selected and what stories were prioritized. But news selection is one thing – the process through which news is produced is another.

While results demonstrate that wire news selection after the partnership was associated with articles containing more positive framing of immigrants and immigration, this was not

observed in the *Star Tribune*'s direct coverage. As previously noted, patterns of coverage, norms and values within newsrooms are hard to change (Grimm, 2015; Coleman, 2003; Brüggemann, 2014). Journalists have struggled to connect with and represent communities of color in their reporting, with many scholars attributing this to disparities in how news is sourced, framed and constructed. This lack of change in *Star Tribune*-authored articles can be tied to lasting routines of news making that rely on existing frames that are largely unquestioned (Gitlin, 1980) that continue to inform the basis of how immigration coverage is represented in mainstream media. Scheufele (2006) notes that these frames are stabilized over time in newsrooms and can be difficult to shift. Why news selection practices for syndicate content changed but not direct news coverage from the *Star Tribune* could be attributed to an editorial process that has historically relied on frames that stereotype immigrant communities, one that require more than cross-publishing to fix.

While this section demonstrates mainstream media's struggle to depart from constraining news norms and values that continue to be attached to immigrant communities, the increased visibility of positive framing shows the kind of impact that stories from ethnic media can have on overall coverage patterns. Even though coverage was still predominantly associated with criminality, the *Star Tribune*'s partnership with *Sahan Journal* led to more visibility of positive framing in stories about immigrants and immigration. However, an overview of the *Star Tribune*'s reporting independent from syndicated content from the *Associated Press* or *Sahan Journal* suggest that while news selection practices might have changed for the better, direct authorship did not produce beneficial results for the impact of the partnership.

RQ3: Coverage frames of immigrant communities depend on whether they are European or non-European, and this variation continued post-partnership. However, the year of the partnership increased the visibility of the benefit frame for both groups.

Results from this study found that non-European immigrants were covered by the *Star Tribune* 10 times more often than European immigrants. While it may appear that this indicates a renewed focus on non-European immigrants in modern day news coverage, this finding might also be further contextualized by the negative connotations that come along with the term “immigrant” and complexities of assimilation and acculturation that allow European immigrants to isolate themselves from the term itself. Gerber (1999) speaks about the way in which European immigrants were able to “lay claim” to being white and were privy to “informal privileges of whiteness” (Rigby & Seguin, 2018). The access to the freedoms and benefits of whiteness that immigrants of European origin experience relies on a separation from their identification as immigrants and with other immigrant groups (Fouka & Tabellini, 2021). The lack of visibility of immigrants in the context of is also seen in the work of Chavez (2001) where a review of 76 images of immigrants on magazine covers only revealed 10% of immigrants depicted were identified as white. This finding, in connection with broader literature about immigration, further emphasizes the prevalence of racialized immigration coverage in mainstream news.

Prior to the partnership, there were noteworthy differences in the types of frames that were most used in coverage of immigrant communities. While European immigrants were most often associated with the *benefit* frame, non-European immigrants were associated with the *crime-immigration* frame. This finding is congruent with existing literature surrounding race and journalism as well as mainstream news coverage of marginalized groups. As Murray (2007)

notes, framing provides an explanation for why white people receive more positive coverage than people of color. Scheufele (2006) points to the idea of news frames as a meaningful factor in influencing the kinds of frames that are utilized in news media's coverage of specific groups, events or ideas. Given that mainstream newsrooms are predominantly white spaces and that journalists operate within a "pack mentality" that relies on enduring, stereotypical news frames (Mourão et. al, 2021) that misrepresent communities of color.

In the year of the partnership, however, stories of immigrants of non-European origin and immigrants of European origin saw increased representations of the *benefit* frame. This aligns with literature about ethnic media that emphasizes its commitment to centering the stories of ethnic communities (Johnson, 2000) and further supports Branton and Dunaway's (2008) study that associated ethnic media with more positive coverage of immigrants. The fact that this frame showed up more with the introduction partnership is indicative of ethnic media's ability to influence mainstream media narratives positively.

Summary

This section connects findings with literature about immigration coverage, news production and ethnic media to explain trends that emerged from the analysis. Overall, this work was consistent with research on the framing of immigration, newsroom routines and the mission of ethnic media. However, this discussion also revealed limitations in the influence of partnerships as a mechanism for increasing and diversifying coverage of marginalized groups. The following section explores the implications of these findings in relation to the journalism industry as well as recommendations for further research that would deepen understanding of newsroom collaborations of this nature.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis looks at how news partnerships between mainstream and ethnic media can impact coverage patterns of immigration and immigrant communities. Data from this study suggest that while news partnerships don't necessarily lead to more coverage of these communities and topics, collaborations of this nature can impact how stories are framed. As determined in RQ2, the partnership led to the utilization of more positive frames – particularly the *benefit* frame. However, a huge hindrance to improvements in coverage is the tendency of mainstream media to criminalize immigrants and immigration. Although there was an increase in the use of the *benefit* frame, criminality frames were still most prevalent in news coverage, even after the partnership. Additionally, further analysis revealed that there could have been differential effects for the partnership in how news was selected and how it was produced. Finally, considering race more centrally in research on immigrant communities, the partnership resulted in more positive coverage of both European and non-European immigrants.

These findings contribute to growing literature surrounding newsroom initiatives aimed at improving relationships with communities of color and pursuing reporting that comprehensively and accurately represents the diversity of experiences for historically underrepresented groups. Consistent with other research surrounding news partnerships, this work emphasizes the value and impact of sharing resources, expertise, and knowledge across newsrooms — showing that collaboration can, to an extent, challenge news organizations to think about how they select and produce news stories. This work also brings attention to the need to address lasting newsroom norms, values and practices that favor a white, wealthy perspective of the world which can end up negatively impacting marginalized groups.

As news organizations continue to look for ways to improve coverage of marginalized groups, results from this study indicate that partnerships can be a helpful avenue for bringing attention to the everyday stories of BIPOC communities that are often overlooked in the mainstream news cycle. This work encourages newsrooms to embrace new perspectives, stories and ideas that might not traditionally align with what they consider to be news. News organizations should look to previous coverage of underrepresented groups and consider how personal biases and outdated frames of reference might be feeding into their reporting.

Study Limitations and Future Directions

With any research, limitations should be noted. A key limitation in this project was time. Given the recency of the partnership, findings were only reflective of changes that occurred over the course of one year. Initiatives aimed at tackling larger issues such as the representation of marginalized groups take time to fully set in. Change is not instant, and the impact of partnership cannot be expected to happen immediately. Future research should focus on the progression of news coverage over an extended period and should utilize data across multiple years as opposed to articles solely from the year before and during the partnership.

The third research questions asked how framing was different across European and non-European immigrant communities to connect conversations about ethnic identity to immigration scholarship. Although European and non-European categories provided space to discuss how ethnic identity factors into how immigrants are portrayed, the lack of detailed information on the specific countries that were portrayed in this research limited how comprehensively ethnic identity determines the types of news frames that are used to depict specific immigrant groups.

Given the goal of this research, which was to determine how narratives of immigrant communities shifted with the partnership, a content analysis was utilized. However, although the analysis provides a helpful way of looking at the changes in coverage, it misses out on the nuances of what the partnership looked like behind-the-scenes, amongst newsrooms. Information surrounding the partnership was limited so including an interview component might have helped provide additional context. Future research should consider a multi-method approach to this study, involving the perspective of journalists working within the newsroom where the partnership is taking place. In-depth interviews that dig deeper into the complexities of newsroom norms – asking how journalists and editorial leadership view their roles when they collaborate with other news organizations – could help address additional questions surrounding news selection and production. Combining these insights with a content analysis of coverage could provide a richer dataset for further investigation and reveal where specific barriers to progress lie.

Finally, an additional layer of consideration for future research could be pursued with a slight adjustment to the coding scheme. In discussions about framing and its connection to an elite sourcing and perspectives, gathering data on sourcing practices to understand the entities involved in constructing the narratives of immigration-related stories could provide meaningful insight into another area for reflection and improvement in the news making process. Placing an emphasis on who is quoted in these articles is valuable because it demonstrates the relationship between elite perspectives and its influence on the types of frames deployed in news stories highlighting historically marginalized groups. This information could reveal another avenue of inquiry in the pursuit for more equitable reporting.

This thesis set out to understand how the *Star Tribune*'s news coverage of immigrants and immigration shifted alongside the introduction of its partnership with the *Sahan Journal*. The findings of this research contribute to existing journalism scholarship on newsroom partnerships as well as approaches to addressing gaps in coverage of BIPOC communities. While content from the *Sahan Journal* created more emphasis on immigrants in a positive light, a larger issue that comes out of this study is the continued criminalization of immigration more broadly. It can be argued that partnerships with ethnic media have the ability to increase representations of immigrants in empowering, meaningful ways, as shown by the results of the study. But these findings also point for the need for mainstream media outlets to reckon with the existing structures, norms and values that continue to hinder progress towards more inclusive representations of marginalized groups.

Endnotes

1. Omar, I. @IlhanMN (2021) “We can no longer be silent. The @StribOpinion regularly uses Islamophobic and racist language in their coverage of communities of color. Proud of the Minnesotans who led and signed this letter calling for systematic changes to their personnel and policies.”
2. Star Tribune. @StarTribune (2022) “We’re excited to announce a new partnership with @sahanjournal , a nonprofit newsroom dedicated to covering Minnesota's immigrants and communities of color. Launched in 2019 by former Star Tribune reporter @mukhtaryare , it’s become a trusted source of news for Minnesotans.”

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Coding Instructions

[Coding Sheet: Mainstream Narratives of Immigrant Communities](#)

****Please read this whole document before coding****

Key Links: Google Form **and** Corresponding Spreadsheet

Overview of Study: This study looks at the presence and prevalence of common media frames in mainstream coverage of immigrant communities.

Unit of Data Analysis: The dataset includes a sample set of digital news articles pulled from a search on NewsWhip featuring the keywords “immigrant” and “immigration”. The complete dataset was retrieved March 3, 2023 and includes all articles published on The Star Tribune website with the specified keywords between January 1, 2021 and December 31, 2022. The 10 articles you will be coding were selected for training and inter-coder reliability tests.

General Coding Instructions:

1. Open up the Google Form included in your email invitation. Keep that tab open.
2. Please refer to the spreadsheet made available to you over email and click on the “ICR Sample” sheet (bottom left of screen). Click on the link listed in the third column to open up the article.
3. Before coding, glance through the article and answer the first three questions in the Google Form:

CODER ID: Please input your assigned coder ID – this is listed in the spreadsheet.

ARTICLE NUMBER: Please type in the number listed in the first column that corresponds to the article that you have opened.

PARTNERSHIP: Please indicate whether or not this article is part of the partnership.

This can be determined through a quick glance through the article. Articles that are part of the Sahan Journal partnership will include information in the byline (NAME, SAHAN

JOURNAL) or a statement at the end of the article saying "This story comes to you from Sahan Journal, a nonprofit newsroom dedicated to covering Minnesota's immigrants and communities of color." If the article is part of the partnership, click on "Yes: This article is part of the partnership". If this is not part of the partnership, but is a Star Tribune article, click on "No this is a Star Tribune article". If this is an article hosted on AP, click on "No this is an AP article (previously hosted on the Star Tribune)."

4. Once the first three questions have been answered, all the following questions will be about the content of the article. Please read the full article before answering any of the questions.
5. Feel free to refer back to the article as you work through the form, answering all the listed questions. Do not leave any blanks.
6. Once you have completed the form, click on submit. This will bring you to the final page – make sure that this says, "Your response has been recorded".
7. If you have more articles to code, click on "submit another response". Each article requires you to fill out the entire form. You will have to submit 10 separate entries to complete this coding.
8. After completing all 10 submissions, email Tracy at gunap002@umn.edu to confirm your entries.

Other Coding Instructions:

- This study will be looking at the textual content of the news article (i.e: headline, lede, subheading, body) so do not include text in ads, relevant articles or comments. Please do not code the text listed by/under photos included in the article.
- If you come across any paywalled articles, please log into the Star Tribune account with the username: “tracygmy” and the password: “JOUR8504Coding”.

Presence of Frames Section:

This includes additional context for each question listed in the second portion of the form. For this section, it would be most helpful to use this as a reference while you are coding.

 Frame

 Subframe

 Response Options

****Do not code videos.**

ORIGIN: Determine which community is being discussed. Look for explicit mentions of their origin. Do not assume ethnicity based on images/names.

Yes: Answer yes if the immigrant/immigrant community identified to be of European origin (e.g: Scandinavian, Finish, Italian, etc.)

No: Answer no if the immigrant community does not originate from the European continent (e.g: Nigerian, Indian, Latin America)

Unsure/there is more than one immigrant/immigrant community listed: Answer “unsure” if there is not explicit mention of an immigrant/immigrant community’s origin or if there are multiple listed.

HUMAN INTEREST: This is the way in which an article focuses on a singular face/experience/trauma to tell a larger story/speak about broader issues. It is a highly personalized narrative that does not follow the traditional format of a news story. Often, an article will introduce a key subject before telling the whole story if this frame is present.

Yes: Answer yes if one immigrant/immigrant family’s experience is centered in this article (i.e: the article follows the story of one immigrant/one immigrant community and includes highly personal details of the subject)

No: Answer no if this is not a personalized account of an experience/event

****Do not code yes if an immigrant/immigrant family is merely quoted in the article. Their experience must be the main focus of the article.**

CRIMINALITY: This is the way in which the media tends to associate a group, in this case – immigrants, with crime and violence. This question will ask you to indicate whether a subframe is “present” or “absent”.

Subframes

CRIMINAL-IMMIGRATION: “Discusses immigration in association with criminality (i.e: mentions of illegal, unauthorized immigration/crossings be it past or present)”.

Here I am looking for any relation between the act of immigration and crime. This is where a news article might directly say “illegal immigration” explicitly or where they might point to the prevalence/crisis/act of unlawful migration.

CRIMINAL-IMMIGRANT STATUS: “Refers to immigrants/an immigrant community as “illegal”, “alien”, “undocumented” or "unauthorized" or “unlawful”.

Here I am looking for any explicit reference to an immigrant/immigrant community as unlawful, illegitimate in regards to their immigration status.

CRIMINAL-POST MIGRATION: “Mentions criminal activity post-migration, unrelated to the act of migration itself (i.e: being involved in a crime either as a victim or perpetrator)”.

Here I am looking for any instance whereby an immigrant is identified as a victim/perpetrator of a crime, unrelated to the act of immigration (i.e: pulled over without a license, involved in a shooting etc.).

****Do not** code present if criminality is talked about in relation to migration.

CRIMINAL-SETTING: “Depicts immigrant/immigrant community in a criminal setting (i.e court, under detention, interacting with authorities)”.

Here I am looking for any representation that connects an immigrant/immigrant community to a criminal setting that involves authorities or the criminal justice system. Look for words that relate to “detention”, “jail”, “arrests”, “courts” or related legal proceedings.

BURDEN: This is the way in which the media tends to position immigrants as reliant/dependent on welfare/government/social assistance.

Yes: Answer yes if an immigrant/immigrant community is mentioned to have benefited from/is in the process of acquiring financial assistance through grants, government programs/policies, non-profits, official community organizations.

No: Answer no if there is no mention of financial assistance or if the assistance is informal or crowdfunded.

****Do not code yes if the article talks about private/bank loans and instances of assistance that are informal (i.e: crowdfunding).**

VICTIM: This is the way in which immigrants/immigrant communities are positioned as a victim of their country of origin (i.e: facing misfortune/bad living conditions/violence/persecution). Here I am looking for any description of an immigrant/immigrant community's country of origin that indicates it to be in distress/in ruins that these groups had to "flee".

Yes: Answer yes is an immigrant/immigrant community's country of origin/migrant country is described as war-torn/violent/unsafe/unlivable/any other similar terms

No: Answer no if this the immigrant/immigrant community's country of origin is not described in these ways or not described at all.

SAVIOR: Here I am looking for any description of the new country/the country that an

immigrant/immigrant community wants to move to that positions it as a fresh start/new opportunity/salvation/solution to problems. Include mentions of the “American dream”, the pursuit of a “better life”.

Yes: Answer yes if the new country/the country that an immigrant/immigrant community wants to move to is described as a land of opportunity, an escape, a chance at a better life (i.e: in pursuit of a job. better social/financial stability).

No: Answer no if this the new country/the country that an immigrant/immigrant community wants to move to is not described in these ways or not described at all.

BENEFIT: This is the way in which an immigrant/immigration might be positively impacting the community. These do not have to be limited to professional contributions – any positive impact resulting from the actions of an immigrant. Any indication that the act of immigration could bring beneficial outcomes should be coded as present.

Yes: Answer yes if “an immigrant (individual, family or community) is positively impacting society (i.e: they own a business, are pioneering research, are solving a community-based/social problem, bringing a unique skill, demonstrating excellence of character or ability etc.). Also answer yes if immigration, broadly, is highlighted as a positive (i.e: bringing diverse perspectives, filling a gap, meeting labor demands, fostering community etc.)

No: Answer no if contributions/impacts of an immigrant/immigrant community/immigration is not mentioned.

Appendix 2. Codebook Definitions of Variables

Variable Name	Operationalized Definition	Example From Sample
<i>Crime-Immigration</i>	Does the article discuss immigration in association with crime (i.e: mentions of illegal, unauthorized immigration/crossings, instances of smuggling, or any negative association between safety and immigration)?	<i>"Abbott called the inspections a "zero tolerance policy for unsafe vehicles" smuggling migrants."</i>
<i>Crime-Status</i>	Does the article refer to immigrants/an immigrant community as "illegal", "alien", "undocumented" or "unauthorized", mentions a fear of deportation/arrest)	<i>"The reason: her husband, Felix Pliego, is an unauthorized immigrant from Mexico"</i>
<i>Crime-Post</i>	Does the article mention criminal activity post-migration, unrelated to the act of migration itself (i.e: being involved in a crime either as a victim or perpetrator)	<i>"A Bangladeshi immigrant who set off a pipe bomb attached to his chest in New York City's busiest subway station..."</i>
<i>Crime-Setting</i>	Does the article depict an immigrant/immigrant community in a criminal setting (i.e court, border facilities, under detention)	<i>"She was kept in ICE detention for 15 hours and has since lived in fear of deportation."</i>
<i>Burden</i>	Does the article depict an immigrant/immigrant community as having <u>financially</u> benefited/trying to benefit from welfare/government/social programs?	<i>"At the center of the case before the justices is a federal law that says that green card applicants can't be burdens to the country or "public charges."</i>
<i>Victim</i>	Is an immigrant/immigrant community's country described as war torn/violent/unsafe/unlivable/in ruins/a country that was "fled"? Is the reason for their departure highlighted as due to a fear of persecution or economic/social instability?	<i>"When war followed their family to Guinea, where Kwity was born, Agnes Paye reached out to her grandmother in Rhode Island"</i>
<i>Savior</i>	Is the new country (country of settlement)/country that an immigrant community wants to migrate to described as a land of opportunity/a fresh start/salvation/solution to problems/a chance at a better life?	<i>"Presa's parents moved him and three older brothers in 1981 to New York, where they had cousins, to make a better life..."</i>
<i>Human Interest</i>	Does the article use the personal trauma/life experience of one immigrant/immigrant family to tell a story/point to a larger story/issue?	<i>"His name is Khyber Sakhi, but American soldiers once knew him as John, their interpreter in Afghanistan's deadly eastern borderlands."</i>
<i>Benefit</i>	Does the article portray the act of immigration or the impact of an immigrant/immigrant community positively?	<i>"She wanted to combine her culture with her interest in sustainability, so in June, she launched JY Line, a small business that sells biodegradable, Hmong-inspired dinnerware."</i>