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# Oughts and ideals – Framing people with migration background in TV news[2]

*Kurzfassung*: Basierend auf dem Framing-Ansatz werden Kontext und Strukturen der TV-Nachrichtenberichterstattung über Minderheiten untersucht. Innerhalb des letzten Jahrzehnts hat sich der politische Diskurs über Standards und Absichten von Integration dramatisch geändert. Im Mittelpunkt der Studie stehen deshalb Facetten der Zielformulierung (graduell versus absolut). Eine Stichprobe von 285 TV-Nachrichten über Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland wird auf implizite thematische Strukturen und politische Zielformulierungen hin analysiert. Die Clusteranalyse ergibt vier Nachrichten-Frames: Kriminalität, Migrationspolitik, Kulturelle Nähe und Terrorismus-Risiko. Sie weisen darauf hin, dass das öffentliche Bild von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund als relevante Minderheitsgruppen in Deutschland weiterhin negativ und implizit verzerrt bleibt. Das zeigt sich in der großen Häufigkeit von Risikokommunikation über mutmaßliche Terrorpläne sowie der vorherrschenden Formulierung absoluter Ziele anstatt gradueller. Die Integration des Framing-Ansatzes sowie der spezifischen Zielformulierungen erweist sich theoretisch und methodisch als fruchtbar, um den aktuellen medialen Integrationsdiskurs genau zu erfassen.

*Abstract*: Based on the framing concept the paper explores the context and structure of TV news coverage about minority groups. A sample of 285 TV news reports on people with migration background in Germany is analyzed for its implicit plot structures and particular political goal expressions. Cluster analysis reveals four news frames: Crime, Migration Policy, Cultural Proximity, and Terrorism Risk, indicating that the public image of people with migration background in Germany remains negative and implicitly biased. This becomes evident by the large amount of risk communication about potential terrorist attacks and the prevailing expression of absolute goals compared to gradual ones. Theoretically and methodically, integrating the framing concept and specific types of goals promises deeper insight into the current discourse on integration issues.

## 1.      Introduction

Empirical research has so far been concerned with various detailed aspects of media and integration. Several studies have investigated media coverage in the press and (though much less frequently) on television with regard to the integration of minorities in many different countries. Results show that news coverage about minority groups certainly has an influence on their image and evaluation in the public (Downing & Husband, 2005; Duck, Lalonde, & Weiss, 2003; Gorham, 2006). However, considering the complex relationship between different aspects of media coverage about minorities (i.e. topics and evaluations, language and discourse, news factors, news bias etc.) *integrative* theory and research is quite rare.

Within the last decade terrorist attacks on western civilization have sensitized the public and rekindled conflicts between different social and ethnic groups. In the context of the political debate, this may have an important impact on the perception of minority groups in our societies (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003; Ross, 2003). Indeed, the evaluation criteria and standards of integration have been publicly revised by experts and politicians. Aims and consequences of a possibly inappropriate integration policy are discussed (Allievi, 2009). This raises questions that are rather classical content analytical ones but need to be inquired from a new perspective: Which topics concerned with minority groups are selected as relevant news? How are they explained and accounted for? How are they evaluated? What do journalists claim and demand and which consequences do they expect? Hence, the *context* of coverage on minority groups, rarely considered up to now, comes into focus.

Therefore this paper attempts to examine the complex and selective nature of news coverage about integration in a complex approach that tries to capture the context factors of changing public discourses about the integration of people with migration background in Germany. Particularly, we explore German TV news coverage about people with migration background, who represent relevant minority groups in the German society, in a two-step-procedure. First, a content analysis identifies content elements like topics, style factors, news factors, attention index (news value) and discursive devices. In a second step, we explore the data in order to detect implicit plot structures inherent in the aforementioned explicit features of coverage. Based on the framing concept introduced by Gitlin (1980), Gamson (1989) and Miller (1997) and on the motivational approach of minimal and maximal goals (Brendl & Higgins, 1996) the study elaborates the specific combination of frame elements in coverage on integration.

Framing studies have shown changes in news frames after certain key events (Ross, 2003; Scheufele, 2006). Thus it makes sense to consult the framing concept for an analysis that is sensitive to context factors and their potential change. Further-

more, in dealing with integration, the existence of different political aims becomes obvious. Therefore, we also base this research on a specific motivational goal concept – minimal and maximal goals – in order to differentiate between facets and types of remedy and treatment recommendations (Fritsche, Kessler, Mummendey, & Neumann, 2009; Neumann, Mummendey, Kessler, & Waldzus, 2005).

## 2.      The framing concept

Frames can be described as clusters of frame elements. In other words: If certain elements of media coverage group together systematically in a specific way, they form a pattern that can be identified across several news texts in a sample (Kempf, 2006; Nerad, 2009; B. Scheufele, 2006; D. Scheufele, 1999). Thus, a frame concept is needed that provides a clear operational definition of frame elements. A widely accepted definition is offered by Entman 1993, p. 52: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Based on recent work by Matthes and Kohring (2008) we understand these elements as groups of variables, each of which may be split up into several categories that can be coded in content analysis. For instance, a *problem definition* emphasizes a specific issue to be presented in the news. A *causal interpretation* attributes risks or benefits to the activity of political groups (for example people with migration background or politicians). A *moral evaluation* can be negative, neutral or positive and refer to different issues or objects. A *treatment recommendation* can include a call for or against a certain action, in most cases in a political and/or normative direction.

The fourth frame element in particular, treatment recommendation, is supposedly crucial in public communication about integration. Therefore we introduce and focus on the motivational concept of different goal expectations (i.e. minimal and maximal goals) (Brendl & Higgins, 1996; Fritsche et al., 2009) which are sensitive to the different semantic facets of expressing remedies and solutions. If such remedies and solutions are considered within the *treatment recommendation* frame element (Entman, 1993), they can be either expressed as absolute ought (or minimal goal) standing for an obligatory standard that must be obeyed. However, they can also be presented as a gradual ideal that is subject to aspirations. We propose that the consideration of goal expectations is especially fruitful for a deeper understanding of treatment recommendations as one central framing element.

Framing refers to the mode of presentation of news schema categories (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) such as actors, topics (objects), evaluations, causes and consequences (Entman, 1993; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Analyzing frames implies observing how journalists deal with frame elements regarding the issue in question. Entman states that "[a]ll four of these framing functions hold together in a kind of cultural logic, each helping sustain others (…)" (Entman, 2004, p. 6).

Recent research points out that frames can be identified by analyzing the four elements *and* their specific patterns, which can be imaged in clusters of news. This holds especially true for media frames operationalized as clusters characterized by typical combinations of the four frame elements. These clusters are each homogenous in their specific pattern of frame elements but significantly distinct from each other (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Such a procedure ensures the identification of media frames independent from singular topics (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) and avoids defining frames per se as coding variables (Edy & Meirick, 2007).

### 2.1      Framing News Coverage about Minorities

### 2.1.1      Defining minority groups

Since the 1960s integration has become an important topic in German public discourse. Nowadays, about 12 million people in Germany have a migration background from a diverse variety of nations and ethnicities. Meanwhile it is widely accepted that Germany represents a modern multicultural society. However, people with migration background still form the most important minority groups in the country concerning the political debate (Beck, 2009; Geissler & Pöttker, 2006).

Therefore, first of all, it is essential to discuss which minority groups are addressed in this investigation and why. In the study at hand, the discourse about minority groups is explored for the specific case of coverage about people with migration background in Germany. *People with migration background* are thereby defined as follows:

Persons who:

- either themselves (have) come to Germany from abroad and (want to) live here temporarily or permanently or
- whose families came to Germany one or two generations before.
- They either have a cultural background differing from the German one or

- have lived for several generations in a culturally distinct area while being of German origin (= "ethnisch Zugehörige").

Hence, the study focused on people with migration background in general, without differentiating between length of stay, place of birth or specific nationalities or ethnicities of origin. By applying such a broad definition we

1. attempted to reveal which subgroups of people with migration background are treated in particular ways and
2. were able to test whether there are tendencies of generalization or projection concerning the 'whole' category of people with migration background.

In addition, another criterion applied to the sample. Our study focused on people with migration background who are neither celebrities nor any other kind of publicly known persons. We concentrate on the 'average citizen'. Thus, people with migration background well-known from sports, arts or the media were not included in the study sample. Research has demonstrated that people with migration background who have come to a status of fame or celebrity are treated differently in the media: In contrast to the 'average citizen' they are no longer subject to stigmatization, negativity and generalization (Agergaard, 2008; Wodak, 2010). However, the political debate on integration, its standards, aims and consequences, does not focus on a small privileged group of famous and successful people with migration background but on the majority of citizens representing a wide array of origins, biographies and lifestyles that are quite often just generalized to one group of 'foreigners'.

### 2.1.2   Empirical findings on coverage about minorities

In the following section major findings on news coverage about 1) minority groups in general as well as 2) the integration of people with migration background in Germany in particular are reported. They represent the state of the art in research on mass media and integration and identify open questions. In order to contextualize these findings for our investigation they are structured in terms of media framing. This synopsis reveals that studies about the presentation of integration in the German media mostly yield results referring to single frame elements.

*Problem Definitions.* Corresponding to the concept of news values, general non-content-related aspects of any event may increase the newsworthiness[1] depending on factors like controversy, aggression, damage and demonstration (Eilders, 2006; Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008; Schulz, 1982). This holds specifically true for coverage about people with migration background in Germany (Hinterhuber, 2009). Moreover, sensations as well as emotions usually dominate the reports. Furthermore, "key events" (Scheufele, 2006) dramatically affect and change media coverage. The discourse about terrorism and the potential danger of further attacks lead to a transformation of coverage about Muslim minorities in Germany: From political discussions about integration, traditions and equality the mass media increasingly turned towards security risks, suspicions, imprisonments and trials (Allievi, 2009; Beck, 2009; Croissant, Wagschal, Schwank, & Trinn, 2009).

*Causal Attributions.* News reports quite often present minority groups, like for example people with migration background in Germany, showing them as responsible for crime (Dixon & Linz, 2002; Zillmann & Brosius, 2000). Risks associated with migration are usually covered in a biased fashion, overestimating the amount of people with migration background as well as their crime rates (Müller, 2005). People with migration background are treated as 'objects' without any influence. They do not play an active part in political communication (Allievi, 2009). Similar results have been yielded in several analyses of coverage about different minority groups in other European countries (Allievi, 2009; Downing & Husband, 2005; d'Haenens, 2009) as well as in Australia (Poynting & Mason, 2007), Canada (Fleras, 2009) and the United States (Entman & Rojecki, 2001; Starck, 2009).

*(Moral) Evaluations.* Research findings show that minorities are presented with stylistic variations, signaling the relationship between the majority ("us") and the minority ("them") (Bell, 2007). Evaluations of minorities are usually expressed in a semantically negative and generalizing language (Maass, 1999; Maass, Corvino, & Arcuri, 1994). Well-established and integrated minority members who have been supporting their host countries for years are mostly presented as individual cases. They only serve as a subcategory to the larger category of their group, i.e. they are regarded as an 'exception to the rule' (Richards & Hewstone, 2001).

*Treatment Recommendations.* „Oughts" and „ideals" define motivational dimensions of journalistic treatment recommendations (Neuendorf, 2002), which are essential for message framing (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981) in the special case of intergroup conflict (Fritsche et al., 2009). Goal achievement can be demanded in a more or less complex manner as Iyengar (1996) strikingly demonstrated. Hereby, the specific ways of goal expression are essential for message framing (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Two types of goal expression that have not been explored so far will be presented in the following.

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1. The difference between framing and newsworthiness is rarely explained: 1) News factors are independent from news content, frames however are content bound. (2) News factors work independently of each other and (3) are not dependent on prior news decisions, while frames, activated and fitted by specific schemata can be consistent with an existing frame or not (Scheufele, 2006).

## 2.2    Oughts and Ideals

*Minimal goals.* Minimal goals or *oughts* can be defined as a general standard whose violation is seen as strongly dangerous and barely acceptable. Such minimal goals separate two different areas of valence: Failure of minimal goals clearly results in negative valence, whereas achieving a minimal goal produces a non-negative area of valence (Brendl & Higgins, 1996). Thus, minimal goals express absolute standards. As compliance with minimal goals is usually taken for granted, this situation is understood as normal and not negative. However, it is not positively evaluated either (Fritsche et al., 2009).

*Maximal goals.* Maximal goals, in contrast, can be understood as positively evaluated, less binding goals, comparable to *ideals* whose achievement is highly positively assessed, but not absolutely necessary. Achieving maximal goals results in a positively valued situation, whereas failure means a non-positive valence but not a negative one (Brendl & Higgins, 1996). Hence, in contrast to minimal goals maximal goals are gradual, not absolute.

Treatment recommendations thus can be expressed either in the form of a minimal or of a maximal goal. The goal that people with migration background need to learn the language of their host country, for example, can on the one hand be phrased as the minimal goal that every person living in Germany has to learn the German language and will be tested on it as a prerequisite for staying. On the other hand, it can be presented as the maximal goal that as many people with migration background as possible should learn the German language by offering them free classes which they can attend voluntarily.

Another example is the minimal goal that German society strictly expects every person with migration background to obey all rules of the social etiquette without any exceptions even if these contradict their (religious or cultural) beliefs or differ from rules in the countries of their origin. In contrast, the maximal goal would be that people with migration background follow the German social and cultural obligations as far as compatible with their own habits and traditions.

In the academic literature, scholars assume that violations of minimal goals are perceived as massive threats. Hence, conflicts resulting from these violations are supposed to be especially strong. Conflicts about maximal goals on the other hand are mostly interpreted as an expectable and legitimate situation of competition. Therefore, this differentiation provides quite a reasonable explanation for social conflict (Fritsche et al., 2009).

Compliance with minimal goals is usually taken for granted by the members of a society. However, as cultures vary in their behavioral standards and laws, people with migration background cannot always be expected to have the same oughts. Nevertheless, many of them try to adapt and to comply with the minimal goals of their host country. According to the theory, minimal goal attainment is evaluated in a non-negative way (Brendl & Higgins, 1996). The result is that this adaptation and compliance are just neither noticed nor reported because of the way they are evaluated. But as conflict between groups and negative events involving the violation of minimal goals are more likely to be reported by the media than compliance with these goals, the public image of people with migration background is endangered to remain one-sided resulting in attribution bias, outgroup hate and rejection (Downing & Husband, 2005).

From our understanding the concept of goal formulation as part of a frame offers fruitful new insights as it differentiates between more than two evaluative dimensions of treatment recommendations or remedy promotions (Entman, 2004): Non-negative does not mean positive and vice versa. This is especially important for the analysis of frames, as news selection usually follows strong criteria (Scheufele, 2006): Particularly extremely negative and negatively biased (Meffert, Chung, Joiner, Waks, & Garst, 2006) or exceptionally positive facts are reported much more often than comparatively neutral or 'taken-for-granted' events.

Based upon this reasoning one advantage for the application of this motivational concept is a methodical one. Content analyses of coverage about minorities usually measure implicit and explicit evaluations (Neuendorf, 2002). However, in most cases the assessment of evaluations is limited to positive and negative evaluations of treatment recommendations exclusively (Krippendorff, 2004). By considering the concept of minimal and maximal goals the importance of a more differentiated measurement becomes obvious. Consequently, in measuring minimal and maximal goals we gain *additional information* about the presentation of minority groups (like people with migration background in Germany) going beyond the usual evaluative dimensions.

The second reason for dealing with minimal and maximal goals is that in economical and political crisis – like for example the one arising after September 11th 2001 – *standards* of a country's cultural conception change. Existing demands on integration and inclusion were newly reflected and evaluated in the German public debate on migration (Müller, 2005). *Definitions and criteria* of what integration is – or may be – were discussed in the public sphere (Trebbe & Weiss, 2007; van Dijk, 2006). Resulting from this, new demands and treatment recommendations were addressed publicly: Former ideals of integration like speaking (or learning) the German language as well as accepting (and internalizing) the values of the German culture were now defined as oughts (Geissler & Weber-Menges, 2009; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passay, 2005; Moser, Hermann, & Hansteder, 2009).

Moreover, this happens within the context of risk communication that is contingent upon the actual *issue* or topic of economic, social or religious disintegration being assessed (Beck, 2009; Seidel, 2008). One cannot only differentiate between qualities, specific gradual steps or intensities of disintegration (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006), but also between specific types of violations of minimal goals which for instance include riots in schools or subareas of towns and terrorist attacks (Tuman, 2003; Weidner, 2008). Consequently, absolute treatment recommendations as well as coverage about risks and potential dangers of disintegration now determine the discourse on integration (Ruhrmann, Sommer, & Uhlemann, 2006).

When examining the issue of integration, it is thus important to keep in mind that this process is communicated in a *journalistic* way (Seidel, 2008). Therefore we ask how the criteria and goals of integration are selected and described by the media, i.e. the journalists. Are they depicted appropriately concerning journalistic judgments and rational or emotional evaluations? Can we find displaced media frames in the discourse about integration?

## 3. Research Questions

The objective of this study is to analyze news frames concerning people with migration background and – within the frame element of treatment recommendations – to examine the role of the above-mentioned goal dimensions. Research has demonstrated that the key events of terrorism (Nossek, 2008; Scheufele, 2006) have changed news coverage about minorities (and specifically people with migration background in Germany). However, this finding is mainly based on the analysis of topic categories, evaluations and news factors. Context sensitive studies considering all frame elements are quite rare. Thus, we 1) postulate that different ways of treatment recommendations are crucial for the assessment of frames, and 2) ask for the context of and the relationships between the frame elements in coverage about people with migration background in Germany.

Two specific research questions (RQ) are addressed:

*RQ 1:* Which frames and contexts of news coverage about people with migration background can be revealed in German TV news?

*RQ 2:* How are treatment recommendations (gradual vs. absolute) expressed and which influence do they exert on general news framing?

## 4. Method

### 4.1 Sample

A content analysis was conducted covering the main news programs[1] broadcasted by the four major German television stations within the year 2003. All reports meeting the following criteria were included:

- Reports dealing with issues of migration and integration, like for instance migration policy or law, efforts against discrimination etc.
- Reports of any kind that had actors with migration background in them, be it as perpetrators or victims of crimes, as persons concerned by the problem covered or as interviewees for any topic.
- However, the actors with migration background were no celebreties or famous personalities.

The final sample contained 285 news reports about integration and people with migration background which met the selection criteria. News reports served as units of analysis.

### 4.2 Coding scheme and procedure

The four frame elements, i.e. problem definitions, attributions, evaluations and treatment recommendations, namely minimal and maximal goals, were assessed in these reports. In order to characterize the news, the coding scheme measured four groups of variables.

*Problem definition.* According to the functional model, news items are regarded as a result of journalistic assignment, and news factors are the means to control news values (Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008; Scheufele, 2006). Consequently, the topic categories *Crime*, *Terrorism*, *Migration* and the news factors *range of people affected*, *controversy*, *damage*, *aggression*, *visualization* and *cultural proximity* represented the "problem definition" frame element. Topic categories were measured

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1. ,ARD Tagesschau', ,ZDF heute', ,RTL aktuell' and ,SAT.1 18:30'.

as dummy variables, news factors were assessed by 4-point Likert scales recording their respective intensities ("no"- "low"- "medium"-"high") ( Eilders, 2006; Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008).

i In order to measure the "causal attribution" frame element (Entman, 1993) the potential active role of people with migration background and the group categorization of persons involved in conflict were both coded using ordinal rating scales[1]. Moreover, we assessed whether the events were reported in a personalized fashion, discovering individual responsibilities: The news factor personalization, measured by means of a 3-point Likert scale (see Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008) was used as operationalization. The structure of causality relations ranged from simple unilateral explanations to complex coverage of background and context information according to Iyengar's (1996) findings. In a sum index, all the components of causality relations mentioned in the report were added (possible components: 1) context information, 2) reasons, 3) causes, 4) effects and 5) consequences).

*Moral evaluation.* Operationalizing moral evaluation, variables such as journalistic style (Bell, 2007; Neuendorf, 2002) were coded by applying semantic differentials. The twelve single variables (each represented by an adjective-pair rated on a 5-point Likert scale) were then computed by a factor analysis resulting in two style factors representing 1) an informative-neutral (detailed, differentiating, boring) or 2) an emotional-negative tone (biased, metaphoric, one-sided) of coverage.

*Treatment recommendation.* Regarding the "treatment recommendation" frame element, the variable "demand for action" was coded, measuring whether and how the necessity of political problem solving is communicated by journalists (i.e. Who demands an action from whom? Which type of action is requested? How is the demand expressed: recommendation/advice, claim, threat?). These were measured by multiple categories each of which was dummy coded later on.

Minimal and maximal goals were measured on various levels. Coders first had to decide whether these goals were mentioned in the reports. Minimal goals were coded when proved criminal activities (no suspicions) were mentioned in the reports. Moreover, any universally valid and absolute claim or law forcing everyone to obey was interpreted as minimal goal. Maximal goals were coded when suggestions were made, when claims were gradual or when the reports mentioned compromises that had been made. If coders chose 'yes', they would also specify whose minimal and maximal goals had been mentioned – goals of the ingroup, outgroup or both. Furthermore, the coding scheme asked for the violation of minimal goals and maximal goals and for goal conflict (see appendix for detailed coder instructions).

*Newsworthiness.* In addition to the frame elements the newsworthiness of each report was determined. Two variables were included in an attention index (Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008) identical with the composite index of news item prominence (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006): The index is composed from a measure for the length of the TV news report as well as a ranking of its position within the newscast.[2]

*Reliability.* Reports were coded by two independent student assistants who had been trained on the coding scheme beforehand. For each of the categories examples and indicators were listed to serve as anchors. Agreement between coders was calculated after a pretest with approximately 15 percent of the reports in the sample. Cohen's $\kappa$ ranged from .60 to .75 on the pragmatic level of coding (variables with an interpretive range: style, demand for action, causality index, minimal and maximal goals, news factor intensity). On the semantic level (names, labels and categorizations: perpetrator/victim role, nationality/religion/ethnicity, active or passive role of actors) as well as on the formal-syntactical level (identifiers like date, rank of the report in the show and formal variables like length, type of coverage) it reached values from .80 to .95, respectively.

*Data Analysis.* The news reports were initially explored by descriptive statistics to learn how the relevant variables were distributed. Typical formal and plot structures of TV news reports were selected on the basis of an explorative cluster anal-

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1. The *potential active role* of people with migration background was operationalized on 3 stages: 1) passive role (the report talks about them and their affairs in a general and impersonal fashion, without covering their respective actions or talking with/to them), 2) active role described (the report mentions actions by people with migration background but they do not speak out or are directly shown in the course of action) and 3) active expression of opinion or operation (people with migration background are interviewed and express their views or are filmed while clearly engaging in action).
   The *categorization of people involved in conflict* was also assessed by 3 categories: 1) no explicit coverage of persons or parties involved in conflict, 2) presentation of single individuals as involved in the conflict, 3) presentation of specific groups (nationality, religion) involved in the conflict.
2. For the ranking of position within the newscast the first to third report are ascribed four points, reports ranking on fourth to sixth position are assigned three points, positions seven to nine are worth two points, and from position ten on one point is assigned. Regarding the length of the report an analogue technique is applied: Reports lasting 30 seconds or less are ascribed one point, reports of 31 to 60 seconds are worth two points, reports of 61 to 90 seconds get three points and to every report lasting more than 91 seconds four points are assigned. The index is built by adding up the scores for these two variables for each report and dividing them by two. Thus, the index can range between a maximum of four and a minimum of one (see Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008, pp. 203-204).

ysis using the CONCLUS-algorithm (Bardeleben, 1995).[1] The cluster analysis included all variables described in the context of frame-elements: topics, news factors, activity, categorization and personalization, the causality index, style, demand for action, minimal and maximal goals. Furthermore, the attention index as well as the TV stations (dummy coded) were included as these are usually related to news factors (Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008). Some further external variables served to characterize the cluster solution afterwards: these were formal variables like the journalistic type of coverage as well as qualifying variables like nationalities, religious categorizations and labels which had all been coded as nominal variables with multiple categories.

Additionally, one-way ANOVAs were conducted in order to investigate how reports with different qualities of goal formulation differed concerning other relevant variables like news factors.

## 5. Results

### 5.1 Descriptives

Preliminary data analyses show – as illustrated in Figure 1 – that more than 35 percent of all analyzed news reports deal with terrorism, which is the most frequent category – though closely followed by reports about crime (34.4 percent).
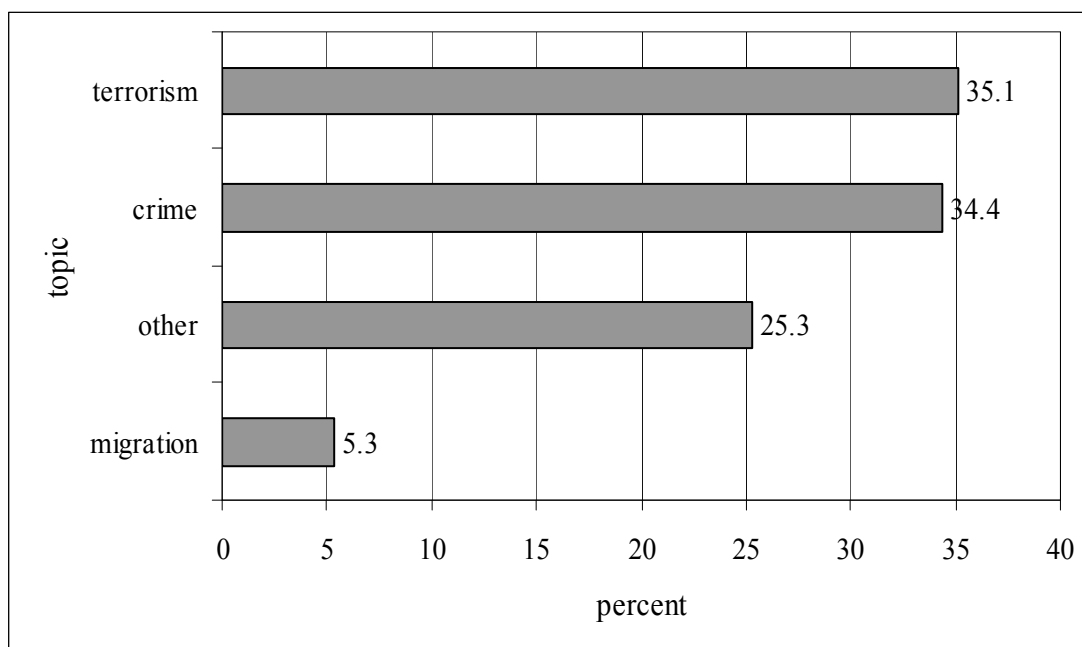


Figure 1: Distribution of topics in the analyzed reports

Most cases in the first topic category address terrorism or Islamic fundamentalism in describing trials or crackdowns and reporting on police investigations against presumable terrorists. This is especially evident by looking at the person and group categorizations, respectively: Nationalities of origin mentioned most frequently are Moroccan (31 entries, 22 percent) and Turkish (27 entries, 19 percent) indicating – together with the other nationality labels frequently used – that most people with migration background mentioned in German TV news are Muslims stemming from geographically and politically distant countries (see Figure 2). In particular, the group of people with Moroccan heritage is highly overestimated in the sample compared to the actual amount of people with Moroccan origin in Germany. Other relevant groups of people with immigration background, in contrast, are either not mentioned at all or not categorized specifically.

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1. The software CONCLUS (Constrained Cluster Analysis), developed by Bardeleben, 1995 uses a hill-climbing technique which combines hierarchical and iterative clustering techniques on the basis of maximum-likelihood-estimations. Squared euclidian distances were used as distance measures, the optimal amount of clusters was determined with delta-eta², which describes the increase in explained variance from cluster-solution *k* to cluster-solution *k+1*.
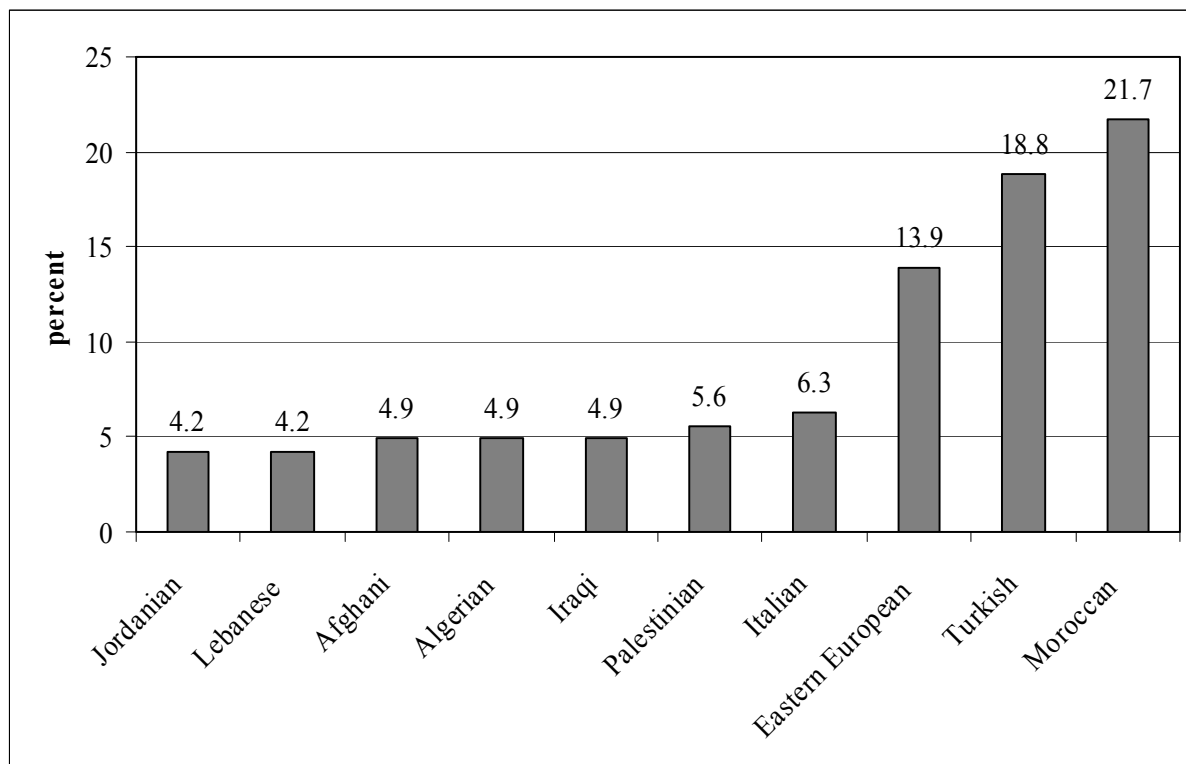
Figure 2: Distribution of the most frequent nationalities mentioned in the analyzed reports

The results demonstrate that beside the amount of coverage about crime, which corresponds to prior findings, there is a new topic category related to crime but with the specific focus on terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. Reports about classical integration topics like legislation issues are broadcasted in only 5.3 percent of the coverage which is especially remarkable as integration has been a highly relevant political issue in Germany.

## 5.2    Frames and contexts of coverage about migrants

In a second step we were interested in the complex structures of TV news on integration that can be detected beyond topics and group categories. The aforementioned variables representing the four frame elements were thus clustered in order to answer *RQ1*. As the structure and number of frames were not supposed to be predicted, an explorative cluster analysis was conducted. The goodness of fit index for a four-cluster-solution resulted in eta² = .30[1] with satisfying cluster consistencies[2] between .20 and .37. Four consistent clusters representing distinct news frames of coverage about people with migration background were yielded. Their structure is displayed in Table 1.

In particular, the four clusters can be described as follows:

*Crime.* Cluster 1 ("Crime Frame") contains 87 cases (31 percent) which have mainly been broadcasted by commercial television stations. These reports deal with crime or (less frequently) with terrorism often presented as violations of minimal goals. They are covered in a sensational fashion. The problem definition of this frame is aggression, which is relevant for selecting and presenting the events as news. Referring to causal attribution, there are frequent group categorizations in terms of nationality, ethnicity and religion, labeling specific persons involved in the conflict. Many of the labels used are negatively connotated, like for example "islamic fundamentalist", "presumed terrorist" and so forth. However, not only Muslims are actors in these reports, we also find Eastern Europeans and Italians as protagonists. Concerning the treatment recommendation frame element, violation of minimal goals plays a significant role here compared to the other clusters. Typical reports in this cluster dealt with bus hijackings by young Muslim men in Bremen and Berlin. Another characteristic

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1.  *eta²* describes the relation of the variance explained by a cluster solution (B) to the overall variance (T) of the model: eta² = B/T. Consequently, eta² indicates, how much variance is reduced by the cluster solution (Giegler, 1985, p. 341).
2.  Cluster consistency is a measure of cluster homogeneity which is calculated as follows: con($k$) = 1 - W($k$). W($k$) indicates the variance within a cluster: the lower W($k$), the more homogeneous the cluster (Bardeleben, 1995, p. 248).

example was a spectacular murder case in a town in Western Germany: A Turkish man was suspected to have hired a killer who had murdered the Turkish man's wife as well as two of her colleagues. Other reports dealt with crimes like burglary, extortion, homicide and rape.

| | Cluster 1 | Cluster 2 | Cluster 3 | Cluster 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Topic: Terrorism | -.734** | -.591** | | 1.358** |
| Topic: Crime | 1.317** | -.669* | -.420** | -.717** |
| Topic: Migration | -.507** | 1.493** | | -.586** |
| Cultural proximity | | | .356* | -.592** |
| Aggression | .730** | -.403** | -.876** | .416** |
| Active role of person with migration background | | .536* | -.683** | .349* |
| Group categorization of persons involved in conflict | .371* | -.553** | -.665** | .703** |
| Personalization | | | -.435** | .800** |
| Causality index | | 1.080** | -.509** | |
| Factor emotional-negative style | | | -.714** | .492** |
| Factor informative-neutral style | | .535** | -.426** | |
| Minimal goal violation | .743** | -.620** | -.769** | .405** |
| Demand for action | -.362* | | | .351* |
| Attention index (news value) | | .618** | -.696** | .492** |
| N | 87 | 44 | 85 | 69 |
| *p <.01, **p <.001 | | | | |

Table 1: Z-Means[1] of Variables in clusters

*Migration policy.* Cluster 2 ("Migration Policy Frame") consists of 44 cases (15 percent) that typically cover political and societal problems of integration and their political implications in the widest sense. Problem definitions of this news are structural in their nature, whereas causal attributions are quite complex and refer to political accounts. People with migration background mainly play active roles in the reports, which are characterized by an informative writing style with the implication of neutral or positive moral evaluation. This is also true for treatment recommendation: Violations of minimal goals are not considered. In contrast, this frame refers to the achievement of central political goals by politicians and people with migration background. The attention index of news in this cluster reaches a maximum, representing the great newsworthiness of this frame in Germany. Representative examples for this cluster are reports about an open day in German mosques or demonstrations against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan where people with and without migration background equally act as protagonists and express their opinions towards the issues covered.

*Cultural proximity.* Cluster 3 ("Cultural Proximity Frame") (85 reports, 30 percent) comprises short reports addressing either political issues or crime. These reports are presented without any background information. Cultural proximity of people with migration background is a strong feature in the problem definitions of this cluster. People with migration background do not play active roles in these reports; causal attributions are individual and vague. There are no significant neutral or negative moral evaluations and also no treatment recommendations. Moreover, the newsworthiness of reports in this cluster is very low. In this category, we find a broad mixture of topics ranging from reports about crime and terror investigations and suspicions over short statements on migration policy to news about education. They are usually quite condensed and generalizing.

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1. Only deviations from the cluster centroid exceeding a total mean in z-scores of <-.33 or >.33 are reported. (The t-test indicates if a cluster mean differs significantly from the general mean.)

*Terrorism risk.* Cluster 4 ("Terrorism Risk Frame") encompasses 69 reports, i.e. 24 percent. The majority of these news reports deals with terrorism. They describe the damage of prevented terrorist attacks and deal with the uncertainty of upcoming attacks as well as the lack of knowledge about the terrorist infrastructure. Cultural proximity is again an important characteristic of the problem definition, as well as aggression. Causal attributions are determined by a high degree of group categorization (as Muslim, Arabian) presented in a personalized and stereotypical fashion. People with migration background are shown in active roles. Thus, the conflicting groups become visible and are morally evaluated in a generalized and oversimplified way, which is constituted by an emotional-negative style. Regarding treatment recommendations we find many violations of minimal goals resulting in strict political demands that represent an essential debate about the limits of integration policy. In this cluster we find for instance reports about a Turkish leader of a forbidden fundamental Muslim organization and his followers as well as many news features covering either investigations or lawsuits against suspects of terroristic attempts. Interestingly, the reports in this cluster show a two-dimensional structure, well known in *risk perception*, dealing with the "dread risk" of attacks that happened, and with the dimension of "unknown risk" about potential terrorism (Lindell & Perry, 2004; Tuman, 2003).

## 5.3  Treatment recommendations

Focusing on *RQ 2*, the impact of oughts and ideals on the analyzed news coverage was inquired in particular. News frames seem to be sensitive to the gradual versus absolute expression of treatment recommendations, indeed. Specifically, the articulation of absolute treatment recommendations, represented by minimal goals, appeared quite often (60.4 percent) on TV news about people with migration background. Maximal goals, in contrast, do not play a major role in phrasing treatment recommendations (9.2 percent). Most reports mentioning minimal goals also address the *violation* of these oughts (85.0 percent) indicating that compliance with minimal goals might indeed be taken for granted and ignored by journalists who instead overrepresent the *missing* compliance with these goals. This could be explained by negativity bias and is plausible considering the amount of reports on crime which were mostly coded as minimal goal violations.

|  | minimal goals mentioned | N | Mean (SD) | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| personalization | No | 113 | 1.05 (0.79) | 7.79 | 0.006 |
|  | Yes | 172 | 1.33 (0.85) |  |  |
| damage | No | 113 | 0.33 (0.62) | 28.44 | 0.001 |
|  | Yes | 172 | 0.84 (0.88) |  |  |
| controversy | No | 113 | 0.79 (0.81) | 34.05 | 0.001 |
|  | Yes | 172 | 1.35 (0.80) |  |  |
| aggression | No | 113 | 0.30 (0.68) | 87.14 | 0.001 |
|  | Yes | 172 | 1.34 (1.05) |  |  |
| visualization | No | 113 | 2.42 (1.04) | 31.67 | 0.001 |
|  | Yes | 172 | 3.00 (0.68) |  |  |

Table 2: One-way ANOVAs: compared means of news factors for minimal goals mentioned or not mentioned

However, apart from mere frequencies analyses revealed interesting relations between the expression of absolute goals and other news features. For instance, an ingroup-serving attribution bias can be presumed: People with migration background are more frequently held responsible for the negative events reported. Thus, the relation between violations of minimal goals and people with migration background appears especially strong. Interestingly, violations of minimal goals are reported in greater detail compared to events without minimal goal violation (see descriptions of clusters 1 and 4, respectively). Minimal goal violation is also mentioned more often in contexts of controversy and aggression and more frequently found in TV news with visualized stereotypes. Moral evaluations turn out to be more negative for people with

migration background than for those without and show an even stronger negativity if a minimal goal violation is mentioned. In addition, reports about minimal goal violations are often concerned with excluding people with migration background from German society. One-way ANOVAs show that reports with minimal goals yielded higher mean values for news factor intensity in personalization, damage and controversy as well as aggression and visualization compared to reports without minimal goals mentioned (see Table 2).

This leads to the conclusion that minimal goals are variables sensitive to news framing. They have a high statistical explanatory power for publicity, i.e. the newsworthiness of the report, measured by a multidimensional index of attention (Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006, see also fn 3 and 4) and are closely related to news factors and moral evaluations. In consequence, oughts and ideals need to be considered as elements of news frames in order to assess and explain the complex structure of news coverage on minority issues.

## 6.    Discussion

Studies on news framing point out that frame shifts were caused by key events of xenophobic riots in Europe and Germany during the 1990s. As a result, the causes and responsibilities for xenophobia were newly interpreted, from a "vague idea of right-wing-gangs" towards "a sharp idea of right-wing-extremism" (Scheufele, 2006, p. 78).

Since 2001 terrorism and religious fundamentalism have changed global news discourse and created a completely new focus of coverage (Beck, 2009; Edy & Meirick, 2007; Norris et al., 2003, Nossek, 2008; Ross, 2003). The results of this study clearly support these findings showing that terrorism was one of the most relevant problem definitions in TV news coverage about people with migration background in Germany. Throughout 2003, reports on potential dangers of terrorism prevail in the sample constituting a stable cluster: the terrorism risk frame. Of course, it does not seem surprising that coverage about terrorism has increased since 11 September 2001. However, this effect is not trivial since it does not only show a thematic change in coverage but also a new type of news coverage dealing with diffuse threat or risk. It implies potential dangers hard to control and produces fear, both of which are eventually related to people with migration background in general, as they are the protagonists of the news reports. In particular, members of the Muslim community in Germany are affected by this coverage as they are most explicitly categorized in our sample. In addition, some other relevant groups of people with migration background in Germany are rarely mentioned. This leads to a biased impression concerning the actual amount and distribution of different minority groups in the German society.

In cluster 1, the "Crime Frame", we find a strong relation between a very negative topic containing high levels of aggression and a special type of news coverage about people with migration background characterized by reports about the violation of absolute goals. This frequent expression of oughts but rare formulation of ideals indicates a way of presenting issues related to the integration of minorities mostly in the form of absolute standards and thus within a narrow interpretive range. This seems to be a subtle way of directing recipients' mental models (Kempf, 2006; 2008) to more absolute and less gradual judgments and attributions and raises the question whether such biased and one-sided coverage about minority groups may have indeed a negative and manipulative influence on their public image (Downing & Husband, 2005; Nerad, 2009; van Dijk, 2006).

The central insights concerning the integration of oughts and ideals into our content analysis can be summed up in four points:

1.    We attempted to broaden the focus of news analysis by operationalizing and measuring new variables within the concept of media frames. Particularly, the motivational concept of minimal and maximal goals seemed to be interesting in exploring reasons for the specific structures of news frames in intergroup conflict.
2.    Minimal and maximal goals have been proven to be fruitful in experimental and survey research for the explanation of negative behavior towards outgroups (Fritsche et al., 2009). However, they need to be investigated within a larger societal context. Thus, we focused on minimal and maximal goals in the public discourse on the integration of people with migration background in Germany. Applying the concept to the analysis of news frames actually proves to be promising. This is evident in the descriptive power of minimal goals for the differentiation between the clusters (frames) of different coverage types as well as in the relations to other important variables characterizing news coverage.
3.    These relations between minimal and maximal goals and specific news factors as well as news frame elements can have different reasons, which from our point of view are interesting to explore in future research. Obviously, oughts and their violations may influence journalists' selection criteria and behavior in reporting about outgroups, thus shaping the political debate on integration in the media. For example, minimal goal expectations might support negative, risk-oriented journalistic selection decisions as well as attribution biases (Shoemaker, 2006).
4.    Consequently, measuring these variables in content analyses opens new perspectives on a traditional field of research and helps to explore the backgrounds of discrimination of social groups by the media. Given the explorative character

of this study, it is still challenging to further operationalize and specify coding variables assessing minimal and maximal goals. Following strict decision rules and coding algorithms, the definitions of the variables used in this study seem to have worked for the assessment of minimal and maximal goals in general. However, more differentiated ways of coding as well as additional systematic qualitative analyses (Ogan, 2007; Moser et al., 2009) will be helpful to capture these goal concepts in greater detail.

Additionally, the concept should be applied to different forms of news genres and media texts with more (gradual) background information in order to gain further support for the results presented here.

Whereas minimal goals seemed to be mentioned very often in coverage about people with migration background, maximal goals were coded very rarely. This might be a systematic effect due to the particular type of discourse examined in this study and therefore needs to be tested further. From our perspective, an explanation for this effect lies in the nature of TV news: As it usually addresses more negative and absolute issues, our results seem quite reasonable. Despite these limitations, we still think that there is a strong and promising capability lying in this concept for the analysis of intergroup conflict in the public debate.

In his book on "Media and Morality" Silverstone (2007) states:

"… the world's media are an increasingly significant site for the construction of a moral order … as they provide the symbolic connection and disconnection that we have to the other … who is the distant other … the media are becoming crucial environments in which morality appropriate to the increasingly interrelated but still horrendously divided and conflictful world might be found …." (pp. 7-8)

Hence, as media and public discourses on the integration of minority groups are becoming more complex and differentiated, we need to carefully distinguish between different lines and levels of conflicts. In this realm, media frames as well as minimal and maximal goals are helpful for the analysis of media coverage about integration. The representation of social groups seems to be dependent on more than just negative versus positive evaluations. As our findings reveal, the question of gradual versus absolute expressions of goals and the combination of particular elements of coverage are crucial in developing and adhering public images of social groups represented in the mass media.

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## Appendix

## Coding instructions:

| Variable | Explanation, Examples, Indicators | Categories |
|---|---|---|
| Minimal goal | Minimal goals are *absolute* standards. Their violation is usually perceived as threatening and not tolerable at all, (i.e. laws, the constitution or essential societal and ethical rules like: you never laugh at death). A minimal goal separates two different regions of valence: By failing a minimal goal the region of valence is clearly negative whereas by compliance to minimal goals the region of valence is non-negative. Thus, compliance to minimal goals is taken for granted whereas sanctions for minimal goal violation are especially hard.<br>*Indicators:* Legal convictions and sanctions, deportation or eviction resolutions as well as other acts of exclusion (excluding members of associations or parties), any kind of obligatory rule, demands to obey a certain law, argumentation with interdiction. | Yes = 1, No = 0 |
| Maximal goal | Maximal goals also separate two areas of valence. However, these areas are positive and gradually defined. Maximal goals are positively evaluated *gradual* goals, comparable to ideals which are good to achieve but whose fulfillment is not absolutely necessary (i.e.: everyone in the world promotes and supports integration and tolerance for everybody). Achievement of maximal goals is evaluated extremely positively whereas failure is evaluated non-positively but not necessarily negatively.<br>*Indicators:* general demands for the improvement of a certain situation (more and better promotion in the education of children with migration background, demonstrations against war or bad working conditions), unexpected success and achievement, future strategies and visions, affirmative action, campaigns, initiatives (open days, cultural events etc.). | Yes = 1, No = 0 |
| Goal conflict | Goal conflicts evolve, for example, if one group takes a certain goal as a minimal goal whereas the other group interprets it as maximal goal. In Germany, school attendance is mandatory and as such a minimal goal whereas in other countries it is a maximal goal because it would be the ideal case that can just not be realized for administrative and financial reasons.<br>Maximal goals defined by one group might also threaten minimal goal achievement of the other group: Some religious groups have the ideal and maximal goal to persuade as many people as possible of their religion. This might contradict constitutionally determined religious freedom of other groups.<br>Conflicts may also arise if two different minimal goals are in dissent: If people are physically harmed because they have offended family honor which is a strong minimal goal violation in certain social groups the minimal goal of not exerting any kind of physical violence contradicts the minimal goal of preserving family honor under all circumstances. | Yes = 1, No = 0 |
| Minimal goal violation | Violations of minimal goals include any verifiable action against important ethical and societal standards and every criminal act which has actually been conducted (*no suspicions!*). | Yes = 1, No = 0 |
| Maximal goal violation | Violations of maximal goals encompass every action blocking or inhibiting the improvement of a situation or preventing to find an optimal solution or compromise.<br>*Indicators:* Laws and standards are introduced instead of projects or initiatives with 'open' objectives; financing of activities and initiatives is cut down. | Yes = 1, No = 0 |