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ANALYSIS OF MEDIATIZED POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN IMMIGRATION POLICY: EXAMPLES FROM LITHUANIA AND UNITED STATES

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KAUNO TECHNOLOGIJOS UNIVERSITETAS

VISHNU MURALEEDHARAN

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ABBREVIATIONS

BNS	:	Baltic News Service
DACA	:	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
E.U	:	European Union
FL	:	Florida
ICE	:	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
ICT	:	Information Communications Technology
IOM	:	International Organization for Migration
LGBT	:	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, And Transgender
LMT	:	The Research Council of Lithuania
LT	:	Lithuania
NGO	:	Non-governmental organizations
OECD	:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEIU	:	Service Employees International Union
TPS	:	Temporary Protected Status
U.N	:	United Nations
U.S	:	United States
U.K	:	United Kingdom
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Terms	Definition
Agenda setting	The media's impact has an effect on how reports and topics in the news are presented to the public (McCombs, 2002).
Framing	The concept of framing implies that the way something is presented to an audience has an effect on the decisions people make regarding how to interpret that information (Entman, 1993).
Media logic	The term media logic refers to a mode of communication as well as the method through which media transmit and disseminate information (Klinger & Svensson 2015).
Mediatization	A theory that argues that the media shapes and frames the processes and discourse of political communication as well as the society in which that communication takes place (Scheufele, 2000).
Migrant	"A migrant is a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons" (IOM).
Migration	The movement of people from one place to another in search of a job, new opportunities under various circumstances including forced migration (Benson & O'reilly 2009).
NGO	A non-governmental organization (NGO) is one that was not founded by a state and is thus typically self-supporting (Willetts, 2002).
Political communication	Political communication is an interactive process that involves the exchange of information between politicians, news organizations, and the general public (Norris, 2001).

INTRODUCTION

The relevance of the research topic

The U.N. Migration Agency (2018) defines a migrant as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is". It shows that the number of people who migrated globally reached an estimated 272 million in 2019, which is 51 million more than what was recorded in 2010. The global migrant population is 3.5% of the total population. Compared to 2.8 percent in 1980, the proportion of international migrants in the world population has risen dramatically. Women made up nearly half of the international migrant stock. The estimated number of migrant children is 38 million. Almost three out of four migrant workers are in their 20's and 30's. There are 164 million migrant workers. Roughly 31% of international migrants are found in Asia, 30% reside in Europe, 26% in the Americas, 10% in Africa, and 3% in Oceania.

Since around the mid-2000s, the U.S. was widely perceived to be experiencing a crisis of immigration. Most Americans have at least some concern about immigration. As per Oxfam International's (2019) findings, millions of people flee their homes as violence displaces them. From war in Syria to mass migration in Europe, climate change-induced droughts, refugees are risking everything to solve their problems. Migration is a crisis to be resolved, and it is a complex issue to be considered. Governments have failed to protect vulnerable people in need of assistance adequately and are obligated to do so. According to the United Nations, over 70 million people are forcibly displaced from their homes, which is the highest in modern times. Most people remain where they come from, but some travel further to seek safety and hope. Throughout the year 2018, at least 4,245 people died or went missing while trying to reach a safe place, and 2,297 died or went missing while trying to come to Europe. Metcalfe-Hough (2015) finds that in 2014, approximately 800,000 migrants arrived in European Union (EU) borders fleeing conflict and violence in their countries or seeking a better life. It is one of the biggest challenges the European Union has faced since the second world war. Though not unique, it has become a compassionate political issue, exacerbating pre-existing weaknesses in immigration systems across Europe. Without an adequate response by EU governments, thousands of refugees and migrants are becoming increasingly vulnerable.

Table 1. Key facts and figures from the World Migration Reports, 2000 and 2020

	2000 report	***2020 report***
Estimated number of international migrants	150 million	272 million
The estimated proportion of the world population who are migrants	2.8%	3.5%

The estimated proportion of female international migrants	47.5%	47.9%
The estimated proportion of international migrants who are children	16.0%	13.9%
The region with the highest proportion of international migrants	Oceania	Oceania
Country with the highest proportion of international migrants	United Arab Emirates	United Arab Emirates
Number of migrant workers	-	164 million
Number of refugees	14 million	25.9 million
Number of internally displaced persons	21 million	41.3 million
Number of stateless persons	-	3.9 million

Source: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019

Table 1 above shows the world migration report and the comparison between 2000 and 2020 as per International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019. The table shows that the international migration between 2000 to 2020 has great significance and relevance in this study. It is mainly because this study is exploring the aspect of immigration into two specific regions of Florida and Lithuania. Thus here, the above-mentioned tableepicts international migration in various areas across the world and also labor immigration. Also, it enables us to perceive the aspect of immigrant flow and the trends over the given regions, which have been having a great preference for international immigrants. As this study looks at the mediatized political communication for five years from 2015 till 2020, the time frame provides a great significance regarding the above-mentioned table As per the report, there has been a significant increase in the estimated number of international migrants during the period, as in 2000 it was only 150 million whereas in 2020 it became 272 million. The other area which shows a significant increase in the list is regarding the estimated proportion of the world population who are migrants, which has raised to 3.5 percent in 2020 whereas it was only 2.8 percent in 2000. Other areas which show significant changes are the number of refugees, which rose to 25.9 million from 14 million in 2000, and the number of internally displaced people to 41.3 million in 2020 from 21 million in 2000. Even though we do not have the statistics about the number of migrant workers for the 2000 report, as per the 2020 report, the number of migrant workers was 164 million population which have a significant number.

Another area which does not have statistics for the year 2000 was regarding the number of stateless people. When it comes to the year 2020, even though we do not have statistics about 2000, the total number of stateless people was 3.9 million. Another area which did not show a significant rise or remain static was the estimated proportion of female international migrants as it was 47.5 percent in 2000 whereas in 2020 it was 47.9 percent without much significant change. Regarding the estimated proportion of international migrants who are children, it was 16 percent in 2000, whereas it reduced to 13.9 percent in 2020, which can mainly be attributed to various factors, such as the intervention by international organizations and the human rights organizations who try to protect the rights of children and prevent them from getting smuggled. The other two aspects which remain the same for the years 2000 and 2020 were the region with the

highest proportion of international migrants, which was Oceania in 2000 an remained the same in 2020, and the country with the highest proportion of international migrants was the United Arab Emirates in 2000, and it remains same for the year 2020.

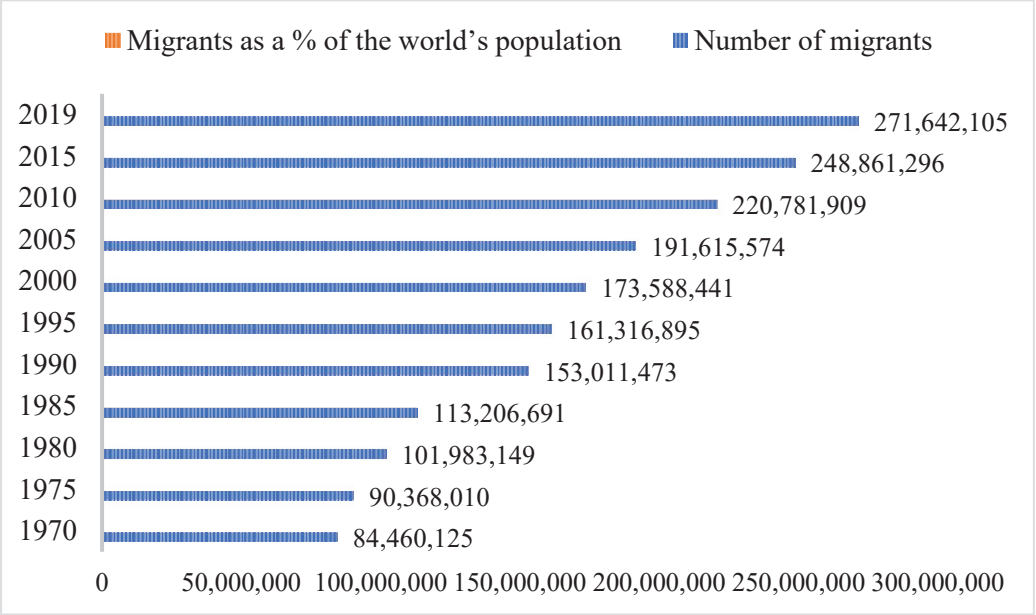

Fig. 1. International migrants across the globe, 1970–2019

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019

Figure 1 presented above shows the international migrants across the globe during the period from 1970–2019. This figure has particular relevance for our study as it showcases how the aspect of international immigration is enhanced over time and shows constant progress. It can be seen that there is constant progress after the period of 2000 due to the turbulences regarding war and external aggression in various parts of the world. In this dissertation, this has great significance as the two regions selected for this study, Florida, and Lithuania, have tremendous growth of international immigrants and illegal immigrants, particularly during the time period which has been taken for the study. Thus the figure mentioned above can be taken as a guidance tool to pursue the aspect of immigrant growth over the period and the forecast it can facilitate in the coming years, especially in both Florida and Lithuania due to the enhanced immigration, particularly illegal immigration, to both of these regions. The figure indicates that the significant number of migration initiated during the 1980s, which only enhanced after 2000 and culminated in 2019. It can be attributed to various factors in the international arena such as civil wars, the Cold War, the tensions in Latin America, which promoted the fleeing of migrants in the Latin American countries to America, which finally led to the coining of the term *sanctuary cities*, as well as the civil wars and tensions in Asia and Africa. These issues got really escalated during 2000, especially after the 9/11 attack and the American war on terror, which led to the displacement of dictatorial regimes in the

Middle East, especially in Iraq, Syria, Libya, and other countries. Thus this practice facilitated a significant increase in the number of international migrants from the 1980s as we can see that in 1985, the population of immigrants was only 113 million, which rose to 153 million in 1990. It finally became more significant in 2005, especially during the American war on terror and the economic crisis of 2006, during which the migrant population rose to 191 million, and finally increased to 271 million in 2019. Thus the flow of immigration across the globe is a complex phenomenon, especially in the recent times, after it heightened during the 1990s. Therefore, this research is deeply focusing into the aspect of immigration and how immigration and immigrant integration in the respective regions of Florida and Lithuania has been impacted by the mediatization and mediatized political communication. One of the significant aspects which has to be specified here is that mediatized political communication is a broad concept which consists of political communications by various actors in the society and through the media mechanism it got mediatized in the public domain. Hence this study is specifically looking into the political communication of such actors as politicians, socio-cultural, and religious actors who make political statements on immigration and immigrant intake and integration into their respective societies of Florida and Lithuania. Through this mechanism, the political communication regarding immigration and immigrant integration through this particular section of the society can be evaluated and hence it is possible to perceive how it is favorable or not in favor of immigration and immigrant integration into the society.

Research problem

In order to understand the aspect of immigration and how it is impacted by the media and its various mechanisms it is important to look into the aspect of mediatization and mediatized political communication as well as the aspect of immigration and how it is amplified by the media through their political communication. Regarding immigration and immigrant integration, a significant factor which acts as a catalytic force is political communication. Political communication can be broadly defined as communication stated by political actors and other socio-cultural and religious actors in the society towards various issues and concepts pertaining to the society. Regarding immigration, political communication has great significance and a great impact upon immigrant integration into the society and their assimilation. The political communications which are favorable act as an integration force towards immigrant intake and assimilation into the society whereas pessimistic and negative political communication creates hatred towards immigration and thereby hinders immigrant assimilation in the respective society. Media and media networks significantly facilitate political communication. It is by the various mechanisms of the media, such as agenda setting, framing, priming, and other mechanisms that political communications on various issues and concepts are highlighted and amplified. Regarding immigration this has great significance as the political communications which get amplified through the media mechanisms have a greater coverage to the various sections of the society thereby enabling them to formulate their perceptions towards immigration. Therefore, the research problem would really look deep into the aspect of immigration and how political communication which gets

amplified through the media mechanism influences immigration and immigrants' integration into society.

The concept of mediatization is not an unfamiliar; it has a relatively long history (Couldry, 2008). Media studies underpin the idea that media is fundamentally essential to organizations, agents, behaviors, and experiences (Hjarvard, 2016). Various literary principles, predominantly offer one of two approaches: institutionalist and constructionist (Deacon & Stanyer, 2014; Hepp et al., 2015). Media is irreducible in all social processes (Couldry, 2008). Mediation refers to media as language conveyors. Its transmitting and circulating communication function refers to its destructive ability (Hepp et al., 2015; Stromback, 2008). Hjarvard (2016) defines mediatization as the process of increasingly submitting society to or being dependent on the media and its logic. Krotz (2009) claims that humans have been using mediatization since humankind's beginning when interacting with our tools as our media. Mediatization is an essential social and cultural mechanism. However, the historical evolution of media and the resulting social media has changed the character of mediatization.

Jansson (2018) defines mediatization as seeing how mediatization is realized and formed by embodied experience. Hepp et al. (2015) suggest mediatization is not a new phenomenon but can be traced back to the early decades of the 20th century. Schulz (2004) covers four mediatization moments: extension, replacement, amalgamation, and housing. Such claims emphasize that the current media shift is not a media-linked improvement. Instead, modern mediatization is distinguished because several newspapers simultaneously create various lands of culture and society. For example, politics is influenced by broadcast or print media and digital media, as politics is increasingly based on social network lobbying.

Deacon & Stanyer (2014) see mediatization as a concept or bandwagon, with little theoretical meaning and short implications. Hjarvard (2016) points out that mediatization studies have rearticulated certain primary media, communications, culture, and interrelationship problems. Mediatization is therefore not a media-centered postulate on the immediate causal impact of media on any cultural area, but an attempt to create a theoretical framework that will allow us to discuss media and communication effects in other social and cultural fields with scholars from different disciplines (Lunt & Livingstone, 2016). The process of mediatization is unequal as various organizations and actors use different media for their purposes. As for the most important outlets for knowledge exchange and political communication, the media make the most remarkable difference. Mediated politics are distinct from the conventional politics that individuals engage in by interpersonal contact or ordinary citizens. Rather than the growing mediacy of politics, what has changed over the last few decades is that the strength of mediated encounters has increased. The importance of institutions, events, and structures beyond people's control has increased (Stromback, 2008). Mediating applies to how media change and the way communication is evolved. A simple assumption of mediatization is that media products' technical, semiotic, and economic features create problems for media products. It also suggests that the key focus of these ideas is on how advertising affects people and the impacts on the public (Schulz, 2004).

A long history of political science analysis, such as electoral politics, is applied to understand political interests and legislative agendas. The political communication

discipline studies academic areas by exploring how knowledge spreads and affects politics, policymakers, media, and the public. Since the World Wide Web was created, the amount of data available to analyze has dramatically increased, and researchers have shifted to computational research on political communication dynamics. In the views of Norris (2001), political communication can be seen as the exchange of information between politicians, the media, and public communication. The mechanism starts at the top and works its way down to the population. In the historical sense, the election and policy-making processes have always been intertwined with the mass media. Still, these patterns have shifted from conventional media of newspapers, radio, and television to the internet in the post-communist period. It is also about the dialogue between political entities (e.g., political parties), actors (e.g., elected officials), and the media on the essence of political issues. Political communication techniques and strategies allow activists, lobbyists, public relations executives, media analysts, politicians, and campaign managers to form political communications and programs. A wide range of written political communications, personal conversations with prospective voters, television, and radio ads, as well as policy reports, press releases, or speeches by political candidates, can be used to identify political information.

In Gervais's (2016) views, political communication is the general communication of political knowledge to various elites and the public. A lot of political communication research has been centered on the impact of the mass media on public sentiment and voting actions in the twentieth century; additional effects, such as the use of rhetoric, of advertising, as well as commercial pressures, the polarization of media; campaigns; news producers and journalists who seek to influence election results; the campaigns, commercials, and other pressures put on the news, as well as the heightened degree of political rhetoric, as an essential new phenomenon in the twenty-first century; commercial politics and political debate were included within communication in the late 20th century. According to Reinemann (2014), political communication is one of the significant foundations of media. Communication studies concern the methods for sharing authority, taking effect in collective decisions, and allocating societal values.

A significant challenge which pertains when making a comparative analysis of immigration policies between Florida and Lithuania is that Lithuania is a country in Europe whereas Florida is a state within the United States of America. However, when it comes to immigration, even though immigration has state implications, it is a federal provision and comes under the role of the federal government in the United States, similarly to the federal policy of immigration in Lithuania. A significant aspect of immigration in the United States is that even though the states have some advantages regarding formulating the policies when it comes to immigration, the constitution of the United States clearly states the supremacy clause which prevents any interference by the state authorities towards the immigration enforcement by the federal government. This clearly shows the supremacy and the centrality of immigration in the United States. Likewise, in Lithuania immigration is controlled by the federal government policies and is regulated by the immigration enforcement and migration department. Another aspect of this research is the mediatized political communication towards immigration and looking at the perception of the immigrants towards media mechanisms. Even though immigration looking from the mediatized political communication is taken from Florida,

like Lithuania, Florida has been studied using a national news portal i.e., the *New York Times* thereby looking from the national perspective while focusing on Florida's mediatized political communication towards immigration. In Lithuania, a national news portal Delfi has been selected to understand mediatized political communication towards immigration. Political communication and the media frames in Florida and Lithuania were studied from national newspapers to investigate the second objective of political communication and the third objective of media framing. With this mechanism, they align with the national policies towards mediatized political communication thereby justifying the case of both Florida and Lithuania towards immigration and mediatized political communication.

The third aspect is regarding the perception of the immigrants from both Florida and Lithuania. In Florida, even though the immigrants reside and work in Florida but looking at the perception of mediatized political communication towards immigration the perception has been attributed mainly to the immigration policies of the federal government which has been mediatized through the news portals. Thus, while stating their perceptions towards the mediatized political communication they were emphasizing the political communication stated by the federal government and the various legal measures which can be either in favor or detrimental to the migration in the context of the United States. Thus, while looking into the immigrant perception from the context of Florida, it is looking into a total framework of the immigration policies of the United States by highlighting the perception of the immigrants towards the broader media mechanisms with the overall United States context. In Lithuania, it is directly aligned with the media mechanisms and political communications of the Lithuanian government regarding immigration. Here also the immigrants state their perceptions of how the media's political communication has an impact on formulating their perceptions toward the media mechanisms and the various immigrant policies formulated and implemented by the Lithuanian government towards immigration. Thus, both Florida and Lithuania clearly alliance towards a parallel approach towards immigration and mediatized political communication.

The final aspect is regarding the role of the NGOs towards immigration and immigrant integration in their respective societies. In Lithuania, the NGOs selected to understand this are the two national NGOs that work towards immigration and to break the social barriers thereby enabling immigrant integration in the Lithuanian society. In Florida, all NGOs which were studied were based and rooted in Florida but when it comes to immigrant integration these NGOs were trying to follow the national objective of reforming the Federal policies towards immigration thereby lobbying to change those immigrant policies which are detrimental towards immigrant integration in the context of Florida and the United States. Thus even though the NGOs are state-based, when it comes to their policies towards immigration they have a national objective and try to express their concerns not only in the state legislature but also send their representatives to the national parliament and also using their lobbying mechanisms to change the perception of the policy actors at the national level making significant changes in the immigration laws in the United States. Thus, both Florida and Lithuania have a parallel mechanism thereby looking into the national objective of immigrant policies and immigrant integration mechanisms.

The comparison has its odds due to the classification and comparison of a state towards a country and with a different geographical location and demographic aspects. But when it comes to immigration and the nationalistic mechanisms of those immigrant policies and the role of media and its political communication mechanisms both present the same essence and direction of making significant changes in the policies of immigration and media test political communication. Thus, the research is directly aligning with its objectives trying to find proposed policy measures towards immigration and mediatized political communication in Florida and Lithuania.

Therefore, the media must show interest in immigration to make a significant difference in society and make political communication supporting migrants. This study seeks to show that the process of media modification or registration in the media, followed by political parties' communication, deals with issues in the immigration sector. Hence, this study's research problem ***is finding out how media influences immigration and related political communication and their effect on immigrant integration?***

The aim of the dissertation

This dissertation aims to investigate media-infused immigration perceptions and their effects on integration policies.

The subject of the research is Mediatized Political Communication.

Research Objectives

1. To carry out a theoretical analysis of the role of mass media in influencing/shaping transnational migration.
2. To conduct an empirical study of the political communication on immigration reported in media.
3. To conduct an empirical study for finding out the role of media framing discourse on immigration.
4. To conduct an empirical study to find out the perception on immigrants about media on creating public perception of immigrants and its effects on integration policies.

Defended statements in the doctoral dissertation:

1. The media's influence on transnational migration and its characteristics are important features that have to be explored and by examining international studies show that mass media may/may not have a huge role in shaping or influencing thoughts and ideologies about immigrants in various countries, both positively and negatively.
2. The political communication on immigration reported in media might present various scenarios occurring in different regions. This study focuses on Florida and Lithuania. In both places media could play an important role in creating political communication which may be supportive towards immigration and

immigrant policies and immigrants' integration although may lead to opposite reactions against immigration and related developments.

3. There are various scenarios in which media framing of immigrants affect attitudes towards immigration in society, because in most cases media portrays immigrants as a victim, or a threat, or a responsibility, or as a catalyst for political actors for creating policies etc. Hence, the study may point towards the strategy of media framing through its reports on classifying immigrants thereby creating various perceptions on immigrants and immigration in a society.
4. When it comes to the immigrants' opinion on their perception about the influence of media on making awareness or creating different opinions which are favorable to or against immigrants, it could reveal the influence of media on policy formulations for immigrants. It can also lead to developing various political affiliations and communication across societies.

Methods

In order to make a comparative analysis looking into the aspect of mediatized political communication towards immigration, this study has identified three significant actors, i.e., media, political actors and citizens who are the societal actors, and the third sector of organizations which facilitate social cohesion for immigrants' integration into the society. Within the category of societal actors, immigrants were chosen rather than the ordinary citizens from the society as the perception of the immigrants in the society is mostly ignored in the mediatized political communication on immigration studies, even though they were the ones who were directly and deeply impacted. When analyzing political communication and mediatization, these are the three significant actors which are recognized and identified for analyzing the mediatized political communication (Aardal et al., 2004; McNair, 2012; Strömbäck, 2009).

Political actors can be comprised of a broader category which covers politicians, political parties, analysts, political candidates who represent the political parties, and the political party staffs which comprise the organization and assisting the politicians, semi-governmental institutions, PR networks, etc. However, as this study looks at the aspect of mediatized political communication towards immigration, it is necessary to explore the political narratives and decision-making by the political actors who are either members of the ruling government or who belong to the opposition parties in both societies. As the study looks at the political communication towards immigration in the form of media and discourse and media framing in both societies, the concept of political communication has been broadened to include not only political communication by the political actors but by other social and cultural actors, such as academicians, religious leaders, and members of the third sector organizations. This is due to the fact that in Florida and United States, immigration is a comprehensive phenomenon not only having its impact upon the political actors but also on various levels of society. Thus, the political communications by other actors of the society also have a great significance and impact with regard to this especially in looking at the aspect of mediatized political communication on immigration.

The second significant actor is the media and its networks. Media can be defined as media institutions which comprise of media actors, such as journalist, news reporters,

editors, cameramen, board of directors, company owners, etc. However, this study is particularly looking into the media narratives about immigration and media discourse mechanisms of political communication and through its media framing thereby trying to perceive how the media discourse and framing act as a significant factor for immigrant intake and integration into the respective societies.

The third significant actor for the study is the citizens from the society level, who are mostly comprised of people who are born and raised in this society and who have an understanding of the various societal issues which have an implication for the citizens. However, as the study is looking at the mediatized political communication on immigration, this study specifically focuses on the perception of the immigrants who are in their respective societies and their opinion regarding the role of media discourse and media framing towards immigrant integration into the respective societies. Therefore, in order to understand the societal perception towards immigration and the role of mediatized political communication, the study focuses on the perceptions of immigrants who are residing in Florida and Lithuania.

Another significant actor within the same category of societal actors is the third sector organizations, which can refer to various organizations in the non-profit sector which have a specific goal depending upon their societal orientation. This ranges from an association which works for the welfare of the elderly, people with special needs, welfare of various service actors such as police, doctors, nurses, ex-servicemen, etc. However, as this study focuses on the role of mediatized political communication on immigration and the role played by the societal actors which facilitate immigrant integration, the study looks into the aspect of third sector organizations which works for the integration and intake of immigrants into the respective societies of Florida and Lithuania.

To conceptualize the theoretical analysis of media's role on transnational migration, the research used secondary data analysis about immigration, mediatization, dimensions of political communication, and policies by referring to various literature and previous study topics of national and international scholars.

This research used empirical research to identify the mass media pursuit of specific political communication and policy outputs by reporting immigration. To conduct empirical research to determine the media framing on immigration in Florida and Lithuania, this research used primary data collected through LexisNexis on various news about migrants, refugees, and multiple immigration policies in Florida and Lithuania from January 01, 2015– January 31, 2020.

To find out the news report from Lithuania, two important online news portals from Lithuania were used: Delfi and Baltic News Service (BNS). Then, various mediatized political agendas of media were identified and forwarded by developing political communication in the study areas.

To determine the role of media framing on immigration attitudes, LexisNexis was used to extract news on migrants from Florida (*New York Times*) and collected information on migrants. In Lithuania, BNS and Delfi was researched. The mainframes used for the analysis are Universal (inductive), such as the Victim frame, Threat frame, Responsibility frame (political actors), Administrative (bureaucratic, legal, and judicial actors), and finally, Return home frame. The frames were selected based on various

research on migrants. The victim frame depicts the victimization of migrants and refugees who flee their home countries in search of a safe residence and was defined as someone "who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence because of a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/ her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (Van Gorp, 2005, p.489). The threat frame depicts the perceived notion and stereotypes among the host communities towards a particular society, nationality, or people based on the knowledge circulated in the host societies by various societal actors. These led to the categorization of those communities as "others" and led to the presumption that these communities can threaten the existing socio-cultural fabric of the host communities (Van Gorp, 2005). The responsibility frame portrays the migrant issue from an angle in which responsibility will be attributed to the actors who will either be the facilitators for the migrant plight or the responsible actors in reaching a solution or consensus for the problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The administrative frame refers to the administrative and bureaucratic measures in the host countries to facilitate the accommodation, provide the required basic facilities, and provide the required documentation for accessing the international humanitarian aid for the refugees (Dimitrova et al., 2018). The return home frame portrays the need to repatriate the migrants and refugees back to their home countries. This implies the need for formulating measures for friendly accommodation back to the home country with the aid of the host countries and the international humanitarian agencies (Lickels, 2007). Primary interview data collected from immigrants and NGO representatives from Florida and Lithuania is conducted to determine the aim of finding out the role of media framing on attitudes towards immigration.

In order to avoid subjectivity and subjective inclination with regard to the political communication narratives and media framing and subframes, the study has tried to align through the theoretical aspect and its grounding through interpretive mechanisms and qualitative framework. Thus, through such mechanism it tries to avoid the subjective inclination thereby aligning towards objectivity which provides justification for these inferential mechanisms taken for this study. This facilitates transparency in the selection of articles for framing and sub-framing and political communication and its sampling methods which through rationality on the aspect of analytical process. The selection of articles for both political communication and media framing mechanism facilitated in identifying the various themes within the category of framing and sub framing and the various aspects of political communication. This has been carried forward by both inductive and deductive frames and their subframes. The articles selected for the dissertation have been properly scrutinized and cross checked that the discretionary extracts were properly matched with the theoretical aspects in which the frames were identified. Also, those deductive subframes were properly classified and coded to the emergent subframes.

To find out the perception of immigrants & NGOs of the influence of mediatized political communication in society towards migrants and their integration, this research used an empirical study from 40 respondents; the primary interview data was collected from 17 immigrants from Florida & 15 from Lithuania. Also, eight NGOs (six from Florida, two from Lithuania) represent the opinion on media and the role of their news frame in political communication on migrants and their integration. The analyses lead to

analyzing the mediatization on the integration of immigrants in Florida and Lithuania.

All interview sessions were recorded with a smartphone or noted in the interview questionnaire, which the subjects of the research were aware of. Each participant also was asked to provide their socio-demographic information during the interview. To analyze all gathered data (from the interview session and the socio-demographic questionnaire), *MAXQDA* software was used to process qualitative data. Most of the results are qualitative to explain subjective aspects as mechanisms to identify the perception of mediatization and its role on political communication and immigrant integration. To develop the literature review and various text analyses, MAXQDA was effectively used in this dissertation.

The main keywords are mediatization, media logic, media framing, political communication, public policy, immigration policies, immigrant integration, the refugee crisis in Europe, migrants in Lithuania, plights of migrant laborers in Florida, exploitation of migrants in Lithuania. These were used to find out various scholarly and legal documents for this study.

Practical implications

In many parts of the world, we see a situation where immigration and sometimes refugee issues are very tense. In many countries, violence and sectarianism against immigrant workers are rampant (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2015). Therefore, the media's role in solving such social problems is significant in the respective country. News and images given through the media have a substantial impact on society. Both the new media and the traditional media play a vital role in this regard, and therefore the work of the media is essential for social sustainability. The media coverage of immigration and the refugee problem and their coverage have led many to change society's basic views (Bennett et al., 2013) and have a more analytical approach to the refugees' flight and immigration approach. Of course, the differences in culture through this kind of mediatization are evident in different countries. Through the media and their ideas for each media outlet, their training makes a political difference when people come out with reports. Another thing we see in this century is that the political ideas and philosophies that exist in each country are sometimes changed or turned into blindfolds on social issues based on the news that the media shapes. In this context, a very detailed study is needed to determine how political interactions are possible through media adaptation, how they represent a significant social change such as immigration, and how it favors or reflects them.

Political communication through the media is vital in any society, and therefore the media communication between different countries and immigrants has significant influence on society. The way they affect different generations and their ideas about immigration have a considerable impact. Because the United States is home to the most significant number of immigrants globally, the study looks at the problems immigrants face in a state like Florida and the changes that can occur when they live in a community. The media and their reports play a vital role in motivating people to address immigrants' socio-economic issues in multiple ways and see them as a part of society. Only such statements and training can effectively implement political communication.

This study finds that political parties can implement political agendas that are

animalistic toward immigrants, amend them, if necessary, make changes, and carry them back and forth effectively through media and various databases. Therefore, a conclusive understanding from this study is that political interactions conducted through the media could help a country cope with immigrants' adverse conditions to survive and thrive. Besides, the content of the immigrant participants in the study and the news and publications released by the media, and the various changes that result from it are essential factors in the social impact of such immigrants. The immigrants who have participated in this study have acknowledged that political communication with the media plays a massive role in their survival and creating a unified society.

In the case of the northern European country of Lithuania, we can see a growing number of immigrants in the last ten years. Although the number of immigrants to Lithuania is significantly lower than in countries such as Germany, Finland, Sweden, and others, the study reveals that media coverage on immigrants significantly impacts the community. Studies clearly show that the new generation and the older generation consider immigrants and refugees and see them as a part of society. However, it is still doubtful whether the community will treat immigrants and refugees differently and whether immigrants are given more importance (Vaiciulyte, 2013). The role of the media in creating such a social atmosphere is immense. Society has been influenced by the images they provide, the variety of news reports and videos depicting people's plight. This study has shown that such large-scale mediatization has profoundly affected political communication in Lithuania and has prompted political representatives to formulate various plans and policies. Thus, the study concludes that the media has an important role today in shaping the political ideology and public perception through their communication methods, how it affects the immigrant community or people who are refugees, or the criteria for providing them with the kind of assistance they need. Thus, the practical aspect of the study is to understand the role of the media and the significant role it employs in manipulating various changes, motivating political representatives and politicians as well as transforming society, and the findings of this study will enable the implementation of this kind of practical implications in different countries.

Scientific novelty

There is a strong and relatively well-developed theoretical background for almost every sub-topic involved in this dissertation. Various empirical studies have already been carried out within the relevant scope. However, most of the studies used an approach to identify mediatization and political communication. Therefore, a research gap remained within the role of mediatized political communication on immigration and the integration of immigrants. It is worth mentioning other researchers' empirical studies that are similar and most relevant to the research of this dissertation that cover some specific topic, such as mediatization (Hjarvard, 2008b; Lundby, 2016; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Schulz, 2004; Strömbäck, 2011). In their views, when politics becomes more mediatized, the critical issue is no longer whether the media is independent of politics and society. Instead, the crucial issue becomes the media's freedom from politics and society. Other authors have studied the importance of mediatization and media logic (Altheide, 2016; Brants & Praag, 2017; Lundby, 2009; Meyen et al., 2014; Strömbäck & Esser, 2009) and propose that in today's world, the effect of such media logic on political communication

and social order, including international relations, is critical. Since mediatization is closely related and essential for political communication, others have identified the importance of political communication (Bang, 2003; Gurevitch et al., 2009; Iyengar & Simon, 2000; Lilleker, 2006; McNair, 1995, 2017; Perloff, 2013), and claim that political communication takes place between politicians and other political actors to engage in various modes of collaboration to achieve particular goals.

This study attempts to determine the importance of mediatization and political communication on immigrant integration. Hence, it is essential to find out various theories of the role of mediatization in politics. Different scholars tried to find out the importance of mediatization in politics and democracy (Block, 2013; Blumler, 2014; Brants & Voltmer, 2011; Bucy & Holbert, 2010; Cap & Okulska, 2013; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Landerer, 2013; Mazzoleni, 2008) and found that in many liberal democracies political structures are undergoing significant changes in communication, posing significant challenges to the old order. As (Mazzoleni & Schulz (1999) note, excessive mediatization of democratic leadership and practice, people pressured to become users and observers, and fragmentation of political engagement caused by modern information and communication technologies all have the potential to distort the proper functioning of democracy. There are various studies on media framing and how it shapes perception in society on multiple topics or incidences in politics and democracy (Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; de Vreese et al., 2011; Entman, 2010; Hänggli & Kriesi, 2010; Hjarvard, 2008a; Kellstedt, 2000; Lecheler et al., 2019; Matthes, 2009) since framing is the process of highlighting and reflecting on specific aspects of reality through communication and views that the framing of public problems in the media is essential for a thriving democracy.

However, there is a considerable lack of studies on the role of mediatization and political communication in shaping society's perception of migration and migrant integration through media frames. Several studies have been done on mediatization and political communication on refugee crises and their various stigmatization (Krzyżanowski, 2018; Krzyżanowski et al., 2018; Salgado & Stavrakakis, 2019) which reveal that media influences political communication on immigrants and sometimes distort the meaning. Also, in political genres and across offline and online media, primarily imaginary debates spread.

Therefore, the novelty of this research is that through various studies on the importance of mediatization and political communication, there is a lack of sufficient research on identifying the extent of mediatized political communications on immigration and immigrants' successful integration in various immigration societies. Also, there is a considerable lack of research on the media frames portraying immigrants in multiple societies and how media frames change immigrants' perception in their region and influence political communications. Studies on the importance of media logic and political communication in promoting the integration of migrants are yet to be researched further. Hence, this research explicitly investigates all these critical objectives, hence this research is significant and novel in the research area.

Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of the following sections: introduction, three main parts (theoretical, methodological, and empirical), and conclusions, as well as a discussion and considerations for future research. The volume of the dissertation is 332 pages. It contains 28 figures, 22 tables, and 7 annexes. The list of references features 197 entries.

Chapter 1 covers the theoretical framework of the dissertation in which four major theories of transnational migration, agenda setting, media framing, and the theory of social cohesion has been taken for analyzing the role of mediatized political communication and its impact towards migration and migrant integration.

Chapter 2 covers the research methodology adopted for this dissertation. The principal method for the fulfillment of this dissertation is based on qualitative methods. Therefore, this chapter explains various strategies used for each objective. For the first objective, the dissertation used qualitative content analysis. For the second, third, and fourth objectives, the researcher used an empirical study. Therefore, the details about the data selection and sampling, interview strategies, sampling method, respondent's profile, etc., are explained in this chapter.

Chapter 3 covers the results of the empirical study. It covers the analysis of the role of media, especially, the mediatized political communication in facilitating immigrant discourse and integration in both Florida and Lithuania. It covers the role of media framing in facilitating migrant discourse and immigration integration in Florida and Lithuania, therefore, five major frames and their subframes have been analyzed in order to find the role of media framing towards immigrant integration in both of those societies. Chapters 4 and 5 offer the discussion of the dissertation and the conlusions, respectively.

Chapter 4 covers the discussion of the dissertation. It covers the impact of frames and sub-frames along with its effect on these outputs in both study regions. It also covers how does my theories alighn with empirical findings.

Chapter 5 covers the conclusion of the dissertation. It explains various finding from the study and observes its mechanisms in both Florida and Lithuania, with regard to political communication on mediatizations and immigration policies in Florida and Lithuania.

The work then proceeds with the Lithuanian summary, the List of references, author's CV, and annexes which provides the questionnaires asked to interviewees. It includes questions asked to migrants and NGO representatoves from both Florida and Lithuania.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF MEDIATIZED POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

This chapter comprehensively analyzes mediatization and its role in migration, political communication, and the media's importance on political communication.

1.1 Introduction

Historians initially coined the term mediatization to describe the process of imperial deputation, whereas the heads of conquered states retained vestigial sovereign powers through which they mediated the will of their imperial controllers. It shows the historical evolution of the term mediatization, where it has a different understanding in which the ideology of the ruling class has been mediatized for their vested interest. With the coming of the modern media development, mediatization got a new meaning whereby the voice of the society has been raised to the ruling section for their understanding and to take appropriate action and of the policies and developmental programmers of the government has been brought to the general public for the overall development of the society in the views of (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014, p.1033). Thus, the term mediatization has evolved and transformed from disempowerment to empowerment. In contrast, Hepp (2014) observes that there is no proper definition of mediatization, and it falls into two camps as "institutionalist" and "social constructivist" traditions. In institutionalist accounts, mediatization is seen as a process in which neo-media social actors have to adapt to "media's rules, aims, production logics, and constraints." Media representation on various aspects of minorities, such as their assimilation, recognition, and social belongings in society.

Migration is one of the significant human phenomena in which the human community has practiced and continued from ancient to modern times. The concept of migration assumes great significance in modern times mainly due to the current migration crisis and influx of refugees and migrants to Europe and America due to the war and crisis in the Middle East and Africa. It can be seen that the 9/11 attack on the United States and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq to combat global terror led to the displacement of the existing dictatorial regimes in these countries, which led to instability and anarchy in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Also, the recent democratic uprisings in the sub-Saharan and African regions with the Arab spring led to the fall of dictatorial regimes in Syria, Morocco, Libya, and other non-democratic countries, which led to political, economic, and social instability. Mainstream media have the policy of supporting the voiceless to raise their voice over different issues of these minority groups. Since political recognition is always concerned with challenges and depends on changes in society's codes, even in the media, these differences are visible. Many times marginalized and minority groups have got opportunities through mediatization in public to voice over their rights. So that mediatization and contemporary political communication on immigrant/refugee crisis cover more attention now than before. Due to this interrelation between media policy, various political and administrative changes also take place in big power countries like the USA, the UK, and European Union countries. In order to identify the role of mediatized political

communication on immigration, it is relevant to identify the features of mediatization and how it maybe related with migration aspects.

1.2 The Concept of Mediatization

The term mediatization undergoes discussions and understanding by various theorists to identify and create a meaningful definition, and it overviews the evolution of mediatization (Couldry &Hepp, 2013; Hjarvard 2013; Meyen et al., 2014). Mediatization is characterized as the "shared frame for studies being interested in the broader consequences of media and communications for everyday life and across social space" (Couldry &Hepp, 2013, p.192). In the contemporary world, media are an essential part of society in which they have their own power and authority over different aspects of society, culture, and institutions. It is noticed that media have much influence on many institutions, and sometimes they even cause changes of such institutions in their actions and opinions. Hjarvard (2013, p.13) reveals that in earlier societies, social institutions like family, school, and church were the most important providers of information, traditions and moral orientation for the individual member of the society. Today these institutions have lost some of their former authority, and the media have to some extent taken over their role as providers of information and moral orientation. At the same time, media have become society's most important storyteller about society itself.

In the last century, there were limited media outlets and in most countries, the government had centralized the media. There were not many sources of media information and dissemination. In contrast, in modern times, due to the growth of information technology and privatization of the media, which led to the development of various news and media networks, there is eventually an information abundance in society. Thus with the development of media outlets and the aspect of information abundance, the media has recast the society, politics, and other actors. Now, they are moulded according to media preferences. Concerning the study about the media mechanisms and discipline, it can be noted that the media, as other actors influenced it in the previous period, now influences almost all the social actors in the current period. The media studies lack a clear boundary and have been overlapped with other disciplines, thereby making the media study an interdisciplinary approach (Schulz, 2004: Asp, 1986:Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999).

In any democratic system, the legislature, executive, and judiciary powers are considered the first three pillars, and the media is regarded as the fourth and one of the essential pillars for the proper functioning of a democratic system. If there is a proper and impartial media system and network, the wrongdoings or mistakes of the other three estates can be brought to the public and changed through the democratic process. Thus media and its process can be seen as a corrective force and the fourth estate in a democratic process. Also, it can be seen that it acts as a corrective force and as a channelizing agent between the political actors and the governed by providing coordination and channelizing of ideas between the governors and the governed.

Media with its roles and functioning lead to the mediatization in the society, which has further been proliferated due to the growth of the information and communication technology and the growth of new and social media and its activities. In recent times, the

presence and significance of the media network and activities have grown unprecedentedly. It makes the media less dependent and more autonomous in comparison to other social actors and institutions, especially politics, and creates dependency on the media by other institutions, which can essentially be called the “mediatized politics”. In the mediatized political scenario, rather than media becoming dependent on the politics for the information and other activities and news, the politics become more and more reliant on the media for the information gathering, sharing and share the policy outcomes to the public and to get the feedbacks of general public opinion. With the coming of modern technology and information outreach, the concept of mediatization is becoming a global phenomenon encompassing society and culture. As per Livingstone & Lunt (1994), “mediatization has been equated to the traditional method of kingship and annexation in which the annexed ruler keep the positions and titles."

In social constructivist accounts, mediatization is seen as a process in which changing Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) drive the changing communicative construction of culture and society. Therefore, the word *media* in *mediatization* differs in each tradition, in which the former emphasizes “big” media organization and their centripetal power, and the latter “small” media and their centrifugal presence. Bennett and Lagos (2007) say various social organizations, including the NGOs and the third sector, consider the mechanism of protest as a significant mechanism to reach the political corners and to make their grievances heard by the policy decision-making mechanism. Through this framework, they believe in having their issues addressed, and an alternative solution will be taken for the same. In the modern period, these sought-of mechanisms have been considered effective, however, if not peaceful can be prosecuted and can face legal consequences.

One of the main sources of this mechanism is the media or mediatization, which can be used as an effective channel to reach policy decision-making. This way, the media platform has been effectively used by the third sector organizations to reach political decision-making. Herkman (2010) and Schulz (2004) are skeptical about the mediatized political communication and media interference in political decision-making. They state that all the media frameworks have vested political affiliations and cannot be separated from these interests. Therefore, it tries to influence the decision-making process that can benefit their political orientations. However, they are optimistic about the interference and the engagement of the new media as new media are real-time media which will not allow the vested interest to interfere, and with them, the public is getting more of an impartial and unbiased approach towards various issues which will enable them to think rationally out of the political spectrum of the media houses and helps to diminish or reduce their influence on the public perceptions on various social and political issues.

Even though this has reduced the influence of digital media, they are trying to be accommodated into the new media mechanisms through their own new media or social media platforms, thereby maintaining their impact on the social and political framework. According to Kriesi et al., (2012) and Mancini (1999), it can be seen that even though there was media penetration into the political framework and decision-making, the intensification of mediatization into the political communication started from the beginning of the last century. There are three important aspects with regard to the media’s intensified interference in political communication and decision-making. First, the

increased role of media and its promotional activities for political events and campaigns, especially election campaigns. This was mainly done through media management, and journalists who have a vested political interest to support various political parties' political campaigns for their vested interest, thereby communicating and spreading their ideas to the general public, influencing their opinions and viewpoints. This creates a kind of nexus through which political parties use the media platform to spread their ideologies and defame and disestablish other political parties and their ideologies.

The second aspect is through the method of professionalism of political communication. The government formulates various policies and programs, and the general public can either be supportive or negative of these kinds of policies and programs. However, with the help of the media professionals, like journalists, and the media management of the government wing, like the media, the spokesperson of the government tries to convince the general public and to make positive remarks to these policies. These are through media techniques and their professional attributes, which help the government implement policies that can either be favorable or determinable to the general public. They also try to defend and cover up issues and scandals that can affect the governments and the political process.

The third aspect is the personalization of politics. Politicians in the digital era are more eager to use and get assistance from digital media to popularize their views and image in the general public. This can provide more space and acceptance in the general public. It can help them be the center of the news and media process and help them to influence the general public, even outreach the ideological framework of the party mechanism. It makes them more demanding and influential in the party framework, which can even alter the ideological framework of the political party.

In the views of Hoskins & O'Loughlin (2015, p.1034), the two mediatization approaches, institutionalist and social constructivist, have a tendency to see the media as casual historical agents. For example, the institutionalist tradition sees the growing media autonomy from politics over time and the spread of its logic into the political field, requiring political actors' adaptation and internalization of this logic. Similarly, social constructivist approache emphasizes how the profusion and infiltration of ICTs have restructured all sorts of activities through their "immediate and extensive interpenetration with every day on an individual, social and continual basis". Couldry & Hepp (2014, p. 1034) find the agents of mediatization that trigger change trends to be too narrowly defined. For example, there is little attention given to industries allied with, but distinct from media organizations, such as the advertising and public relations industries were overlooked in the mediatization studies.

Further, the role of non-media factors tends to be overlooked in mediatization processes. For example, national and intergovernmental communication policy has played a central role in developing the mass media and ICTs, and the media is overly media-centric with all the problems this entails. Another significant aspect concerning mediatization is the development and growth of new media and social media communication. Dijck & Poell (2013) view that with the growth of the internet and social media, the relevance of digital media has been reduced, and it can be seen that the main source of news dissemination becomes social media in which the social media using its real-time mechanism tries to disseminate the news to the general public without media

fabric mechanisms. Also, they are properly coordinated and have their own hierarchical frameworks and organizational patterns. One of the significant aspects of social media is that social media uses the internet mechanism to disseminate news and pieces of information. It has been perceived as an effective tool as it will be enabled to upload the events from any corner of the world in real-time, which can readily create social and public opinions. Also, it is unlike the traditional media, which is one-way communication in which the news has been disseminated to the general public, and their opinions are less heard. In contrast, in social media, the public can express their views and opinions, which can even shape the course of an event like a natural calamity or disaster. If the political response is not effective, it can even make negative public opinions and perceptions towards political parties and governments.

Also, as social media is real-time, the public views and opinions uploaded cannot be overridden for politicians' or journalists' political preferences, unlike in the digital and mass media. This makes the social media platform and news discussions more democratic and rational. Concerning social media, Dijk (2013) has stated four major elements which are unique and fundamental to social media. The first and foremost is programmability. With regard to the term programming, it can be perceived that in social media, the main recipients are the social media users rather than the audiences which are more transparent as in digital media; the newsmakers and journalists can manipulate and interpret the news and views according to their political preferences whereas it is impossible due to the real-time nature of the social media. The second aspect is with regard to popularity, as this term has been viewed differently in digital and social media. It can be seen that in the digital media, the term has a great significant impact as it has been used effectively by the media houses and journalists who, for their vested interest, popularize the political parties and political leaders and create a kind of charisma for them which can make a prolonged impact on the general public.

With regard to social media, popularity is situational and can be changed according to the statements and viewpoints and has been shaped by tweets and retweets through social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and other sorts of social media communications. The third significant aspect is with regard to connectivity. As for the digital and news media, the term connectivity is a significant aspect in which they are connecting to a targeted group of audiences in a given location over a period of time. However, with the advent of globalization and the advancement of technology, the news media has become more global. It enables them to penetrate to other areas breaking the geographical barriers that allow them to establish branches globally and get connected to a variety of audiences irrespective of their locations. Concerning social media, it can be seen that connectivity has a much broader meaning for them as it will enable them to upload an event or issue in real-time, thereby making connectivity to a global extend without any social or political preferences.

The last and final aspect is the datafication. It can be seen that with regard to the digital media, the process of datafication has a great significance as it will enable them to make programs that can create public interest and perception, which will enable to create a wider audience which will enable for more TRP ratings for the shows and programs which can ultimately help to make more sponsors for the events and shows which will make the channels profitable. However, even though social media also has its

own mechanism for datafication, it can be analyzed that digital media has more predominance over social media when it comes to data verification.

Hepp & Krotz (2014) see mediatization as a new form of socialization. Hjarvard (2008b) observes that the media molds the way people communicate, act, and sustain relationships with each other. According to Ragin (2014), the mass media or ICTs have the power to bring about change on their own. In other words, they always exert a powerful net effect on communicative practice. However, we cannot suppose that ICTs or the media are necessary and sufficient to bring about change. It might well be that the agents of mediatization only have an effect when combined with other cultural, political, and social variables. ICTs or the media may only transform things as part of a group of conditions that are all individually necessary but only jointly sufficient. It can be seen that mediatization is an evolutionary process and evolved over time. But Krotz (2009) points that mediatization is a long-term meta-process that occurs alongside other meta-processes.

According to the contextual scenarios, the preferences of the media change, as at the beginning of the 21st century it was terrorism and other humanitarian issues which was the primary importance, later it has been shifted to the financial aspect with regard to the global economic crisis and later again got revived to the terrorism with the coming of the Islamic terrorism in Syria and other parts of the world. However, if we look at the media discourse over time, it can be seen that one a significant factor of prioritization that has not changed over the years concerns the environmental issues as well as crime and criminal issues. One significant drawback of mediatization is that excessive mediatization is a dangerous phenomenon. It can lead to the media rule and try to mold the public perception and opinion as per the vested interest and preferences of the media networks rather than the media social realities of the incidences. A major development regarding mediatization is the increasing liberalization of the media networks, especially in the developing world. It facilitates telecast news without governmental interventions, which can help shape public opinion more rationally. It leads the citizens to have a much deeper understanding of the issues and prioritize them and make the government understand them. Another significant aspect of the mediatization is the media penetration into the issues of grave concern like that of the underprivileged sections of the societies, especially the women and children. With the mediatization, they try to showcase these issues to the society, thereby trying to formulate public perception, which can lead to consensus creating which further can lead to policy formulation concerning the same (Wood & Peake, 1998: Soroka, 2002).

Mediatization increases the attention and focus towards the deprived sections of the society in many parts of the world. It tries to understand the concerns and grievances of the underprivileged sections and tries to project their aspirations and concerns, which can change the perceptions of the general sections of the society towards these groups. It can lead to changing public perceptions, which can lead to their betterment in society. As with regard to the deprived sections, it needs to be noted that most of their issues and grievances are left unnoticed and only get attention with protest and agitations. With the coming of the mediatization, these issues get highlighted in the society, which leads to the changing public perceptions which compel governments to act in favor of the legislation and other facilities for these groups. With regard to the representation of the

issues in contemporary society, the mediatized representation of the issues can be slightly distorted from the real scenario. However, the media tries to find the truth and uncover the events associated with it. Let's look at investigative journalism and the sting operations conducted by the media networks in a variety of circumstances like war zones, crime scenes, and political scandals. They try to correlate the various events associated with it and make a sensible story that can be correlated to the truth, thereby providing social and political justice (Cottle, 2006).

When it come to the creation, telecasting, and publication of the news, it needs to be noted that the information dissemination process is without restrictions and scrutinization and has been scrutinized before and after the dissemination of the news. This has been mainly carried by the government and its legal mechanisms and also by the news media networks, which have their specific agendas. These scrutinization measures will lead to a proper corrective mechanism of the media networks to be within the legal mechanism and not to provide biased or disruptive information dissemination. The news media and mediatization disseminated news about information dissemination, which can have serious political and social implications that can lead to political restructuring (Bennett and Livingston, 2018). Another significant aspect is concerning agenda-setting. It can be seen that media plays a significant role in agenda-setting. When there arises a clash between the agendas of various political parties, "it is important to redistribute the power of different actors within politics to convey agenda properly with media logic". Overall, it is possible to say that media highly influences political decision-making and acts as a linkage between the citizens and the polity (Hjarvard, 2008).

1.2.1. Understanding Media Logic

Media logic can be seen as a mechanism in which the media uses its various frameworks and storytelling methods to reach the public and capture their attention. In the opinion of Hjarvard (2008), mediatization can be seen as a process in which society has been dependent and relying on the media and their logic. Thus, through media logic, the media is trying to exert their influence and dominance over society and trying to reshape society as per the media preferences. Another significant aspect is the overriding of political logic by the media logic as the increasing influence of the media logic led to the subjugation of the political logic, which can be seen as the content of political news and the actions of political actors become highly mediatized. This increasing media logic reflects not only in the news framing but also in the reporting aspects. Previously, there was the descriptive way of reporting where an incident was described without much alteration. In contrast, with the increasing mediatization and media logic it becomes more interpretative, in which the journalist tries to make it more analytical with his own interpretations and the possible outcomes which can happen over the course of the event (Stromback, 2008: Hjarvard, 2008, Brants & Van Praag, 2006). With regard to the humanitarian crisis happening around the world in recent times, the main actor involved in communicating these issues to the public is the mass media. The communication of immigrant crisis and related incidents by media has great significance in facilitating or having determinable effects in the social order. This highlighting aspect of the media can impact the viewers as it can lead to increased attention towards the issues of migration and immigrant vulnerability. It could also be a part of the agenda-setting and framing of

the media itself or, in times, by the influence of the political party agenda (Vaughan-Williams, 2015; Andersson, 2014).

One significant intellectual debate with regard to the media logic is the "media malaise debate" (Gamblin et al. 2014) which states that the media tries to influence and impact the social and political life in a malign way, especially during election time for their specific vested interest. These can be in the form of exit polls and other surveys conducted during election times. The news media tries to project those candidates and parties with ideological and political inclinations that can influence and distort the voters' perception during the election polls. These preferences are reflected in the presentation of the news and the accumulation of the news by the journalist in whom these preferences are highlighted (Van Aelst et al., 2012: Mazzoleni, 2008). One of the major criticisms of the news media coverage is its negative coverage and importance, especially like that of the political horse race during the election time. These are mainly projected to change the public perceptions in favor of those parties to which the media corporations have allegiance. Even though the media's allegiance towards the negative news has been identified in 1965, it has been projected in recent times as a "news ideology" and considered applicability rather than a negative phenomenon Stromback & Kiousis, 2011: Curran et al., 2009). Mass Media logic can be understood as a set of principles or common sense rationally cultivated in and by the media institutions that penetrates every public domain and dominates its organizing structures (Altheide and Snow, 1979). With the coming of the media logic, the independence of other institutions became endangered, and they had to reshape or adjust to the changing media logic to be a part of the social structure. Media logic tries to formulate the issues and events as per their preferences and tries to portray them to the audience, seeking their attention and making them relevant. With the coming of the television, the significance of the media logic became more intensified as they were able to visualize the events which could make a profound impact on the viewers and their perceptions. One of the significant aspects of the mass media logic is to portray them as egalitarian and represent all the sections of the society and provide a platform for equal representation of opinions and aspirations.

But in fact, in reality, media platforms and corporations have their own preferences and agendas and will portray issues, incidents, and actors according to those preferences. Another significant aspect of media logic is the independence of the media from politics and finance. It can be seen that rather than the media's dependency on politics or commerce, other actors are seemingly becoming more and more dependent on media logic. Impartiality and neutrality towards the incidents and news provides interpretations and opinions without leading to subjective preferences, which can lead to the generation of an impartial opinion among the viewers. The news reporting can portray by the journalist, newsroom discussions, election coverage and interpretation, and the exit and opinion polls conducted during the election times. It provides trust in the public to follow the media logic, thereby positively contributing to the political and democratic process (D. Altheide, 2019; Esser, 2013).

1.2.2. Analysis of Media Logic on Migration Issues

Media and mediatization play a major role in society regarding various issues and social objectives and can play a facilitating role concerning the change in perspectives at

the individual level. Individual changes could lead the way to possible outcomes that will reflect in society. Thus, the mechanism of communication and media discourse significantly influence society at a large level. The changing perception towards the issues that the media highlights as per their prioritization both at the individual level and at the societal level can change the socio-cultural landscape and challenge the policy structures on various issues. The active involvement of the media techniques and their changing role from being descriptive to interpretive journalism may lead to the formulation of perception both at the individual and societal level through the mechanism in which the issues and ideas are interpreted. Thus, the media employs its interpretive mechanism to frame the social phenomena which can have "cognitive" implications on the individual and the society. It leads to the formulation of a "meaning" of the "situation" in terms of framing both the individual and social context. The example of illegal refugee arrival by boats to the coasts of Europe shows us that the media tries to first frame the news as per the situational preferences. It then assigns the news a meaning, interprets the issues per their choices, and finally communicates these frames to the public, which can lead to the creation of perception as per the framing of the media (McQuail and Van Cuilenburg 1983; Tuchman, 1991).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a refugee as a person "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it". Even though there is an increasing significance of mass media communication in the present world, there is a clear-cut division between media logic in reporting violent crimes or sensitive issues, such as immigrant crisis, which could create various perspectives in the social order. The picture of the dead Syrian refugee on the shore of Turkey in 2015 had captured the world's attention over the refugee crisis and immigrant human rights. Upon the reporting of the picture in mass media, many global political leaders had commented and supported refugees in many ways. One of the reactions was by the French President Francois Hollande that "the picture must be a reminder of the world's responsibility regarding refugees". It was followed by the British Prime Minister David Cameron said he felt deeply moved by images of Kurdi, the Irish Prime Minister Enda Kenny commented on the refugee crisis as a "human catastrophe" and the French President calls for common EU refugee policy (Independent.ie, 2015).

The development of media logic at the end of the twentieth century was an important change. However, the academic community made no significant effort to upgrade the media logic theory. It needs to be noted that there were two major developments at the end of the twentieth century. The first was the development of the cable network, which led to the transformation from the generalized audience to the process of targeted audience. It can be seen that the cable network bought various channels of specific purpose like news, politics, movies, and entertainment, which makes the interested specific group subscribe to them. This was a revolutionary transformation from a wider audience to a specific targeted audience who chose their preferences. The

second aspect was the privatization and commercialization of the media, which led to the advertisement of various products. It led to the transformation of the media logic and the compromise with the commercial and financial aspects (Hong and Hsu, 1999; Servaes and Wang, 1997).

When it comes to the representation of the immigrant issues, one of the significant aspects is the approach towards the immigrants by the media. Rather than welcoming the immigrants who faced a lot of hardships and struggled to reach a peaceful and stabilized area, they are viewed as a threat and viewed with suspicion, especially among the western media. With regard to the media metaphor in the United States in 1994 and it can be seen the discourses were describing refugees as compared to “animals” and “a disease infecting the body of the United States” (Ana, 1999). The media tries to portray and characterize the refugees and their families as "animal breeding" (Simon, 2007). It shows the perception of the media towards the outsiders and the deliberate attempt of the media to change the public perception towards immigrants and outsiders. In the last century, there was a clear classification of refugees, immigrants, and asylum seekers. However, now the media is not following the classification and generalizing all the concepts together, which leads to the negative perception towards legal migration.

One of the biggest drawbacks of the migration and refugee discourse in the media and media studies is that, unlike other subjects, the opinion and perception of the affected group are taken into consideration, whereas for the studies with regard to the refugees, their voices are rarely heard. People and groups create the construction of ideas and impressions outside of the community who have little or no knowledge about the refugee scenarios. Their perceptions are mostly subjective upon their thinking and imaginations, leading to negative discourse on refugees. The lack of opportunity for the immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers to create their discourse in the media is mainly due to the media management’s lack of interest, which can be principally attributed to the ideological and political affiliations of the media management. In this context, the study is looking at the perception of the immigrant perception towards media mechanisms in the context of Florida and Lithuania. Also, as the already created public perception is not conducive for the refugees, they are subjected to various forms of violence and oppression, which makes them less accessible for expressing their opinions and to create a positive discourse. These often led to the victimization and perceiving the immigrant communities as a threat. Another significant aspect of the hostility towards immigrants and refugees is the pre-existing perception about the social identity of the immigrants, which has been formulated by the texts and literature which demonstrates the characteristics and traits of the social and cultural identity of a particular ethnic and social group (Ferdman 1990; Padilla and Perez, 2003).

When it comes to the media discourse, the major themes which were highlighted and debated are whether the refugees are essentially in need of asylum and assistance and, if granted the asylum, whether they will be properly accommodated and assimilated as per the socio-cultural norms of the society. However, the major media discourses are negative as they have been viewed as a threat to society and can potentially affect the financial and economic stability as even if they are employed and accommodated in the host country they still keep their allegiance to their home counties and can lead to financial drain. Another significant negative discourse is that they come from different

cultural settings and less developed backgrounds. Hence, they lack basic awareness and can hamper the socio-cultural settings of the society, which can be detrimental to the well-being of the citizens. The media tries to reflect them as potential criminals and the carriers of various communicable diseases, which will make a significant negative perception of the readers and citizens, leading to the formulation of a negative public perception regarding refugees and immigrants (De Coninck 2020; Lévesque and Murray, 2010). With regartds to media discourse on immigration and refugees it is importatnt to analyse how they are using narratives and frames and how these mechanisms are manipulated to make narratives that fit the agenda of the media corporations and their vested interest. A major concern here is the risk and security framework. Media discourse tries to portray that the refugees are essentially posing a threat to society at large. They were characterized in the media framework as "alien", "queue-jumper", "illegal", "human cargo", and "boat people" (Bradimore and Bauder, 2012; Hollander and Van, 2003). Through these characterizations of the refugees, the media is formulating a negative perception towards the mindset of the readers, which will facilitate the negative public perception towards refugees, which can inhibit the policy frameworks towards their assimilation and integration. One of the major discourse terms assigned to migrants is "illegal" and sticks to the notion of illegality. One of the significant provisions of refugee integration in most of the developed world is that as the refugees arrive at the respective borders irrespective of the mode of transportation, they have the legality to claim a refugee status. Therefore, the media discourse tries to portray the immigrants, including the refugees and asylum seekers, in a defamatory manner, thereby placing them in a vulnerable situation. It leads to the victimizing of immigrants and asylum seekers and categorizing them as a threat to society. Hence, the dissertation analyzes how the media mechanisms and its political communication portray the immigrants in Lithuania and Florida.

1.3. Features of Political Communication

McNair (2017) proposes that political communication dates back to the very development of language and the ancient foundations of society. Hobbs (2016) points out that the song of shaman and later the ballads of ancient bards communicated ideas to influence perceptions and actions. In Ancient Greece, the Sophists professionalized political communication, teaching it as the "art of rhetoric" (Martin, 2013). Aristotle considered the actions of rhetoric persuasion to be an important part of Athenian democratic politics, while Plato referred to democracy as a "theatocracy" as it leads to challenging the powerless over the powerful. In the view of Moffitt and Tormey (2014) contemporary politics is heavily mediatized and stylized in the dimension of performance and populism. Mediatization of politics becomes "spectacular" in using political equations and simplifying political discourse. So populism flourishes as a prominent style of political parties and politicians to express their views on certain aspects. These conditions are prevalent in contemporary political communication despite not all politics being purely on "superficiality" as per Zizek (Salgado and Stavrakakis, 2019).

Blumer & Coleman (2010) state that political communication can be seen as an essential aspect of any political process. It can be viewed that even though political communication is used for communicating political views and opinions, in reality, they

are also used by the political parties and actors to defame and tarnish their actors and political groups for their vested political interests. It can be seen that the aspect of political communication is not only used by the political actors but also by the media actors like journalists and other associates of the media system who, for protecting and upholding their interest try to create and disseminate news to create impressions and public opinions for political parties and groups to which they have allegiance. It can lead to a kind of situation in which, instead of the real essence of political communication, which is for the dissemination of news, political views and opinions for the public understanding and well-being instead have been facilitated for the personal and vested interest of the political parties, political leaders and the media personnel. It creates a kind of political vacuum in which the news and issues become relevant and irrelevant simultaneously, creating suspicion and political confusion among the citizens. However, in modern times, the development of online and social media like Facebook, Twitter, and other platforms enabled the general public to respond and exhibit their opinions to the politicians and political parties, which can impact political decision-making. It leads the politicians to also come out of the media framework and perceive the realities, which can lead them to understand the real public aspirations and opinions out of the mediatized framework. It enables them to engage directly with the public and get their feedback for governmental policies and programs. Politicians also started using the online media platform, which enables them to directly communicate with the public, to formulate policies and programs for public welfare and emancipation (Grant, Moon, and Busby Grant, 2010; Kalsnes, Larsson, and Enli 2017; Zhuravskaya, Petrova, and Enikolopov, 2020).

1.4. Identifying Mediatized Political Communication

In order to find out the correlation between mediatization and political communication, it is essential to re-conceptualize the ideological aspect as a pre-requisite scenario for effectively conveying our interpretive aspect regarding mediatized political communication. It allows us to comprehend the ideological aspect of political communication and the empirical or practical aspects of political communication itself. This can be termed as “mediatic practices”, or the practices of understanding different socio-political concepts through the lenses of communication and its mechanisms ranging from the so-called traditional media to the evolved new media mechanisms and their platforms (Castells-Talens, Ramos Rodríguez, and Chan Concha, 2009). Mediatic practices are not just the community effects of technological advancement or the evolution of technology which the media has witnessed over the years (Meyrowitz, 1999) or the practices or mechanisms which the media has effectively employed, such as their framing mechanisms or agenda-setting (Mc Combs, 1997). Rather, they are the manifestation of the media and its continuous and evolving institutional mechanisms and their metamorphic effect on politics and formulating and molding political meaning, which can be termed as mediatization. Mediatized political communication in a modern sense thus can be termed effectively as political communication that has been personalized, dramatized, and includes conversational politics.

Asp (1986) views that political communication changes have been described variously by the terms mediation, medialization, or mediatization. These terms describe processes (not limited to political communication) in which the media and the way the

media process information – the so-called media logic – become increasingly important for society and its subsystems. He even suggests that the adaption of politicians to the media logic can lead to a "spiral of mediatization". This process implies different things: the predominance of top politicians over issues and parties in the coverage, the increasing importance of candidates for voting behavior, or the increasing importance of candidates in party organizations. In short, the production, the coverage, and the voting behavior can be personalized.

Ginsborg (2005, 2013) mentions the political system, which can be perceived as a complex network consisting of the three branches of the political apparatus: legislature, executive, and judiciary. It can be seen that even though these branches are independent, they are interrelated and interdependent in the functioning of the political system. About the three branches, the first branch of legislature formulates the policies and programs for the welfare and the well-being of the general public. In contrast, the executive, which consists of the civil servants and the bureaucracy, implements these policies and programs, and the third and the most important branch the legislature, which checks the legality and the provisions of these policies and programs and even makes these policies and programs as null and void which is inconsistent with the legal mechanism. Thus, it can be perceived that all these independent and interrelated organs enable a peaceful and coordinated functioning of the democratic mechanism. Even though these institutions are effective and carry out their duties effectively and efficiently, in order for the proper functioning of democracy, the significance of the fourth estate, that is, the media and its scrutiny of these three organs is an indispensable aspect of any democratic framework. Thus, through its media activism and investigative journalism, the media tries to reach out to these three organs and tries to expose if they are deviating from their responsibilities, making them accountable to the general public (Atton 2008; Olesen, 2008; Svensson, 2017).

Habermas (2006) claims that modern democracies can be classified into three categories. They are (a) "the autonomy of the citizens" who are free-minded and wish to have a life according to their choices and preferences (b) "democratic citizenship", which can be seen as an essential and founding base of any democratic framework and (c) "independent public sphere" who have their own space for expressing their ideas and aspirations. It also states that all the citizens should be treated equally and should have equal and fair treatment in front of the legal framework, and there should be a clear stratification and separation of the democratic institutions like the legislature, executive, and judiciary, and none should interfere in the systematic functioning of the other. It needs to assure that the democracy is functioning properly, and the citizens are expressing their franchise in a free and fair manner without any outside interference or compulsion. Another significant aspect is the citizens' right to form associations and trade unions and the need to ensure that they are getting fair chances for these, and it is free of political interference and compulsions. He also observes that even though today's media are structured and positioned with dominance over different fields, they are not institutionally monolithic or ideologically closed. This views the idea of mediatization in an open way. Some conflicts can create "openings" as well as "closures" (Cottle, 2006) and media representation is capable of breaking the stereotypical approach. They can do "fleshing out" the humanizing status and reposition themselves on the collective universe of

politics. So that Habermas urges the progressive enactment of mediatized politics as they need to be understood, implement practicability, defend against the deliberate politicization of logic.

If we look at the media reports on scandals, it is clear that the media scandals depend on revelation, and claims are often followed up by further disclosures and counterclaims. Thesen (2013) claims that mass media influences politics, and mediatized politics have a big role in the process of agenda-setting. Political actors and political logic in the media – political relationship closely related with the agenda-setting and media have a big influence on politics which are conditioned by various party and their strategies. At particular times, the media logic goes against the political party agenda. In such cases, it is important to redistribute the power of different actors within politics to convey the agenda in the proper way with media logic. Stromback (2008) explains the fact that "politics is mediated and that the media is the most important source of information and channel of communication between the citizenry and political institutions and actors". The hidden opinion on political communication is that the decision-making process becomes more hidden in media performances and scandals related to politics. Political parties and agencies assign their power over market forces and political ideologies in the course of mediatization in order to change certain views on politicians or policies by general society. Due to this, there is less importance for a political party as to itself but more for individual politicians in an audience democracy. As scholars such as Haugaard (2010), Kaufman (1969), Lim (2014) view, political power is based on control of communication and information, be it macro-power of the state and media corporation or in the micro-power of organizations of all sorts. They point out that communication power is at the heart of the structure and dynamics of society.

Hobbs (2016) says that media constitutes a part of a broader public sphere by coordinating with social institutions, including news media organizations and their products. In his opinion, mass communication can potentially mold better societies by providing information and ideal communication strategies in which individuals participate freely and truthfully by exchanging information and argumentations. Since news media is considered the "watchdog" of democracy, they guard the general public's interest by exposing the attitude of socio-political powers towards the general public. Hence media provides a mass forum for ideas and knowledge to be shared and becomes a powerful agent by influencing the flow of information as well as its content. It is clear that the media department's political communication practices are more or less manifested policies and seen as political marketing by journalists at a certain time and for the general public. The field of political communication undertaken by media advisers tries to raise awareness of politicians, issues, services, and policies to the general audience. But a certain way of media policy tries to cover the issues on anything for the force by political leadership and logic.

Media plays a significant role in delivering the government's policy framework to the public, and it is the media that interprets how it is to be perceived by the general public. Also, the general concerns, grievances, and aspirations of the general public are taken to the political decision-making through the media by news discussions and also during the time of election through exit and opinion polls which will help the decision-makers to formulate the policies accordingly and to take the public into faith. However,

it is to be noted that the growing media influence and mediatization need to be taken care of by the decision-makers and there is a need to be adaptable towards it to have a smooth relation between these two social actors. In the wake of the mediatized politics, the political actors should have a strong media front through media spokesperson and public relation officer who should be keen and vigilant concerning media intervention and should have a proactive role to combat mediatization and to protect the interest of the political class. Media and its agents are capable enough to make changes in society. These changes are not to be made alone and can be made in association with other actors in society. According to Wilson (2011), mediatized politics through mass media, social media platforms plays a key challenge to the logic and constraints of social issues. The influence and views of politicians, mobility of the news, fandom effects of the news reports on any news faces changes in the 21st century.

Media exposure on any incidence shapes public beliefs and perceptions of external reality. So that media policies cultivate beliefs and opinions among the society on any social issues. The factual learning process concerned an audience's behavior on broadcasts in television, radio, and other media agencies, which stimulates the social understanding of people. Here public knowledge is tested regardless of the specific topic or event in the news or information. It is evident that media plays a major role in imparting information about major events, such as political elections, enhancing public affairs awareness, and social inclusion. Walgrave and Van Aelst (2006) tried to ask that in mediatized politics, "who influences whom". There is a strong relationship between media and politics, and it is important to identify the conditions when news becomes politicized. Thesen (INSERT DATE) observes that when political actors adapt to the media and understand their importance in society, politicians change their opinions on certain issues. In any political communication, it is important to identify who gets benefits from the attention. Soroka (1999) says that dramatic and sensational issues, like crime and environment, are more prone to media effects than abstract issues, like taxes and public sector reform. Blumer & Coleman (2010) state that political communication has been used as a major tool by the political parties and politicians and are trying to make an impression and to create a sense of trust among the citizens. In this way, they wanted to highlight the political parties they represent and try to tarnish the opponent party's ideology, policies, programs, and leadership. It is not only for political parties and their leadership but also for the media actors and institutions, like the journalist and media leadership who try to promote those news and political events which suit their ideological basis and try to create news and events which can please their political affiliations and to create business and TRP ratings. This led to an appropriate situation in which rather than using political communication for the dissemination of political information to the general public, it has been used by the political and media actors for their personal choices and benefits. This creates a situation in which news and events become relevant and irrelevant simultaneously and even become relevant in a news media whereas not in another news media. However, with the development of the new media mechanisms and institutions, the relevance of the conventional digital media and political actors mechanisms of news and events fabrication got diminished as new media mechanisms with the scope of internet news are straightly uploaded without framing, and people are also getting their fair chances of expressing their opinions without getting framed in the

media. This helps the fair transmission of news and public opinion. It makes the politicians aware of the electoral consequences of neglecting events and happenings and brings them into the social media platform to hear the opinions and grievances of the general public rather than relying on the media mechanisms, journalists, and media spokepersons of the political parties which have their own vested interests.

1.5. Theoretical framework for mediatization on migration analysis

In this study, four different theories are used to answer the four research questions.

Table 2. Research questions and theories

Research questions	***Theory***
What is the role of mass media in influencing/shaping transnational migration?	Theory of Trans-national Migration, Agenda-setting theory, Framing Theory & Theory of Social Cohesion
What is the political communication on immigration reported in media?	Agenda setting theory
What is the role of media framing discourse on immigration in Lithuania & Florida?	Framing Theory
How do immigrants perceive the influence of the media on public perception of immigrants and their effects on integration policies?	Theory of Social Cohesion

Source: Author

All the theories, i.e., theory of trans-national migration, the agenda-setting theory, framing theory & theory of social cohesion, help conceptualize the role of mass media in influencing/shaping transnational migration. The agenda-setting theory is used for identifying the political communication on immigration reported in media. The framing theory is used for identifying the role of media framing discourse on immigration in Lithuania & Florida. The theory of social cohesion explains immigrants' perceptions on the influence of the media on the public perception of immigrants and their effects on integration policies. The importance of all these theories is discussed further.

1.5.1. Theory of Transnational migration

The theory of transnational migration has great significance to immigration and mediatized political communication. As this research is looking into the aspect of migration from the lens of mediatized political communication and also at the role of third sector organisations and the perception of migrants towards media and its political communications, this theory has great value. It is due to the fact that the theory of transnational migration not only looks into the aspect of the displacement and migration of people but also analyses the migrant diaspora and the collectiveness of the migrants in the host countries; it carries the real essence of immigration and mediatized political communication towards immigration in the case of both Florida and Lithuania. In the opinion of Schiller (2010), a great deal of contemporary work has been done on transnational migration. These studies detail the diverse contexts in which refugees and

their descendants encounter various national identities and citizenship statuses through various nation-states. Unfortunately, many research efforts appear detached from the social theories about migration and the narrative about the effects of migration. In these myths, migrants emerge as destabilizing or even illegal intruders into nation-states, prized foreign talent, or the primary source of remittances that support certain countries' economic growth. Rather than resolving inconsistencies within the domain of social science, mainstream migration theorists follow nation-states' viewpoint when addressing current assaults on migrants and migration.

Academics have extensively discussed transnational research within the social sciences. Indeed, there has been much contention about whether transnationalism constitutes a novel area of inquiry (Lazăr, 2011). Migration is intertwined with diasporas and is the subject of migration studies. Certain conditions must be met to qualify as a diasporic community. Diasporas are groups that have been dispersed from their respective native environments to at least two peripheral regions. Members of the community are bound by the retained collective memory of their homeland, partial separation from the host society, an aspiration to return to their homeland, dedication to the ideal of return, and a collective consciousness formed from the connection to the homeland (Van Hear, 2018). Transnationalism may be used to identify, categorize, and recognize those behaviors that are generally familiar to immigrants. Transnationalism refers to networks that bind societies across borders, or "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec, 1999). Transnational activities allow individuals to sustain, create and strengthen connections and networks across geographic borders (Schiller et al., 1992).

In Upegui-Hernandez's (2014) views, transnational migration is called "transmigrants" because the individuals are based throughout the world at any given time. Individuals who maintain dual identification by traveling to visit relatives in their home country, staying in touch with home country news, participating politically and economically through remittances, or investing capital at the same time as they incorporate themselves into the host country's society. Fouron & Glick-Schiller (2001 cited by Upegui-Hernandez (2014) define transnational migration as "a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country" One of the most important implications of this definition is the understanding that immigrants and their families continue to have relationships with their home countries even though they migrated to another country.

Esser (2004) argues that immigrants have (or should have) an objective interest in assimilative actions and investments in receiving country capital, like formal education or the acquisition of the host society's language, and one would expect the same investment strategies to apply to the indigenous population. However, the problems migrants (and their offspring) face (concerning most indigenous population sections) are apparent. They mainly have at their disposal ethnic group capital, like the sending country's language or ethnic and social capital. However, ethnic group capital is less efficient than the capital of the receiving country. By comparison, it is, in most cases, specific capital because its usability depends on circumstances, such as the existence of an ethnic community or a transnational network.

In the views of Esser (2004), assimilation then has two meanings. First, the process refers to the (increasing) similarity of the immigrant and the native in their cultural and economic lives. We call this dissimilation. Second, assimilation refers to the way people interact within a society (or a more extensive system of societal units). There are two central aspects of society: social inequality and social differentiation. In assimilation design, the (process of an) increasing similarity of specific characteristics between ethnic groups at the aggregates is promoted. This does not include social differences in general, but all within-group differences have disappeared. Note that this process is usually done through changing both sides as well as pluralistic assimilation. Thus, the ethnic groups are becoming more like each other, regardless of the direction, place, or initiator of this process.

Regarding social differentiation, assimilation is the (process of) decrease of the institutionalization of the ethnic code and ethnic community and the (process of) decline of ethnic boundaries and collective feelings of social distances and identifications. We have both structural and societal assimilation. The only relevant processes in the assimilation of societal systems are those of structural assimilation. No matter how rational an individuals' actions and experiences may be, the structural outcomes are affected by those actions and experiences. Esser (2004) suggests that new structural and cultural factors in all immigration systems facilitate attaining cultural objectives, making those tools and expenditures more effective than others to attain specific goals. With transnational and supranational processes taking place, national institutions and a community play an essential role in the process. In addition to the nation-state, there are regional and local circumstances that claim their significance. There are institutional and cultural contexts which must be considered by the actors since it is in their interest to do so in certain instances. These patterns can be detected empirically. In most conditions, ethnic resources used and generated in the process make up a comparatively more or less basic form of capital.

According to Tsuda (2012), transnationalism is a "transborder" because simultaneity is sometimes left out. And transnationalism research needs to go beyond transborder linkages and more extensively theorize the significance of simultaneity; in fact, dual engagement in two or more nation-states is an essential component of transnationalism that makes it different from nationalism. Studies focused on how migrants remain connected to the country of origin through social, economic, and cultural ties are focusing on only a single nation-state. As is the case, transnational social structures must simultaneously transcend boundaries and be transborder. By appreciating global simultaneity, we can explore how immigrants' transborder engagements simultaneously impact their home country and country of residence. How is simultaneity to be interpreted when we address transnational migration? It is more than merely pointing out the immigrants' transborder practices, links to their home countries, and their impact on the receiving country.

Tsuda (2012) also points out that immigrant involvement with the home country can simultaneously co-exist with participation in the host community without one having much control over the other. Even though immigrants come to the same country for different reasons, there is no direct connection between their foreign involvement. This choice is better because it is more internationally simultaneous. After all, both countries

will communicate simultaneously. Immigrants' limited resources are equally distributed among both nations, but engagement in one does not necessarily have a reciprocal impact on engagement in the other. We suggest that the transnational partnership between home and host countries is enhanced when both are positively reinforced. Immigrants increase their interaction with the culture where they initially arrived as they interact more with another society.

Also, a more explicit theorization of transnational simultaneity examines the links between international participation and immigrants' social assimilation and integration. Home- and host-society involvement may offset each other in a zero-sum relationship. Immigrants' transborder connections hinder their assimilation to the receiving country, or assimilation processes prevent transborder attachments to the homeland, leading to less simultaneity. On the other hand, transborder attachments and host-society assimilation may coincide and strengthen each other, encouraging more simultaneity. In a few situations, the two acts result in a reciprocal decline, making global simultaneity less possible.

Schuerkens (2005) views the complex character of transnational migration and its impact on the social transitions of the migrants' home country. First, it is vital to recognize money transfers by these migrants. They are so high that they surpass the assistance that the West offers. Second, the wealth of nations would be affected if immigration barriers were erected, resulting in poorer nations getting poorer and wealthier nations even richer. The potential for conflict increases as we consider the value of migrant flows in some southern hemisphere countries. Opening many countries could become the other side of northern countries' development assistance to those located in the south. Fourth, a decline in transnational migrants is less likely to occur if foreign populations become increasingly stratified. Migration processes and social transitions are based on each other in a way that affects both countries. In immigration, migrants are significantly confronted by relatively unfamiliar social, economic, and political systems, which involve adaptation processes on both the migrants and the natives. These mechanisms affect how migrants are incorporated into the host society and how the influx of migrants modifies the host society.

Migratory processes are understood on all levels, even from a local, regional, and global perspective. Immigrants are social actors whose futures are determined by the structures that determine their national identity. For example, a low-income migrant originating from an emerging country may reduce a power deficit situation due to a severe lack of money in their region of origin by migrating to a regional context that may earn a much better salary. Sometimes, the possibility is not given to change this situation in the country of origin. Political authorities may favor transnational migrations to permit those groups to access contexts that fulfill their aspirations. Governments can attempt to prevent fundamental social and economic systems within the current unequal global structures. We assume that only incremental transition processes can occur, which do not challenge the nation's hierarchical role in the global system.

1.5.1.1. Agenda setting theory

Regarding the research on mediatized political communication and its implications upon immigration, it is important to discuss the theory of agenda-setting. It is through the

agenda-setting mechanism the mediatized political communication can be either favorable or detrimental towards integration. Agenda-setting has great significance in the mediatized political communication as it is the agenda-setting which determines the attitude of the media network towards immigration and results in the formulation of the public perception towards immigration. While there are several different agenda-setting theory aspects, the public agenda can be set primarily by news media. While this aspect of the theory has received the dominant attention from researchers over the years (Kim et al., 2017), even within this arena, agenda-setting has expanded to include several other channels of communication, such as political advertising, conversations, and social media, as well as content other than public issues that range from major news events to cultural topics (Bantimaroudis et al., 2010; Bourdon & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011).

In McCombs et al.'s (2014) views, in the hundreds of agenda-setting reports, several varying descriptions exist of what agendas are. The news media agenda and public agenda are the most common operational definitions, but they are far from social definitions. With social media, agenda-setting theory can be extended to broader platforms and more effectively to posts on various topics. Scholars may analyze the transition of what salience means between many different types of agendas. In the news media and public spheres, various organizational descriptions of news agendas exist. And, when these shifting interests are marked by a wider variety of content and communication channels, agenda-setting as we know it – the flow of the importance of current events from the news media to the national agenda – will be just one of many agenda-setting mechanisms. The operational concept was determined to be the most applicable and relevant. The media agenda is a heavily filtered version of the most interesting things that people found newsworthy. While hundreds of issues compete for publicity at any moment, only a very limited number of issues garner a constituency of 10% or more among the public. A ten percent drop is the critical threshold for drawing public interest (Russell Neuman et al., 2014).

The policy is prioritized concerning the more significant civic dialogue. An extensive sampling of this civic dialogue is on Twitter, Facebook, blogs, and various other social media platforms. Social media seems to be dominated by mundane matters and personal topics and has nothing to do with real-world issues (Rogers, 2013). Nevertheless, a vast amount of information about the media and public discourse is now available for research. For example, in the 2012 election, Vargo et al. compared which issues were being tweeted about. The agenda-setting model of the relationship between the media and the public has been at the forefront of agenda-setting research since its conception. The extension of the discussion could be structured into three distinct subsets of the social media problem agenda. Some of the posts that characterize the social media issue agenda have longstanding and widely appreciated causes. From time to time, news events may cause a spike in social media messages on such topics. Still, by and large, the news media agenda plays little part in stimulating people to converse about social media topics. In rare instances, citizens directly experience events and subsequently comment about them on social media. The paper discusses sporting activities and other political events, but also several lessons taught by citizen journalism. The first two subsets are just a tiny portion of the communications. Still, they inject noise into observations of the media-public relationship we depend upon when analyzing large data sets.

The social media topic agenda is too inclusive because of the number of cases it covers. The media's agenda-setting influence on the public's view of the priority topics can be attributed to how the media reports the same issues repeatedly. Unfortunately, this redundancy is greatly diminished when our organizational parameters continue to extend beyond one or two priorities. To address inclusive public concerns, knowledge flow has inadequate redundancy for each of these issues. All the previously considered proposals have one shared objective. From an empirical perspective, they consider objects and their attributes to be disconnected and separate elements. Besides, objects and their attributes are supported and individually projected by media messages and public discourse. The evolution of socio-political culture public balance does not seem to be directly affected by technological change. The emerging media agenda community is incorporating the emerging media agenda values. There is an alert with this. Perhaps more than ever, we can find meaningful personal community and the opportunity to find solace in the civic community we live in.

In the views of Berger (2001), most media topics are selected by the agenda-setting process, which causes many people to view them as more popular and regular in the news. For nearly thirty years, the core theme in agenda-setting theory has shifted media attention to specific issues. Many studies have shown that the media have a profound impact on public perceptions of issues. Agenda-setting dictates the extent of coverage of a topic, advising the media to pick what topics the public may notice. The work flows along the second stage of explicit-formal agenda-setting. If the immediate effects were identified and investigated, the other two levels of attributes can be explored: object salience and people or characteristics (characteristics). The second-level attributes can be separated into affective and substantive. This test emphasizes whether the applicant has substance, their personality, their beliefs, and whether they are appropriate for the office, or inflation or unemployment. The affective component emphasizes the subjective qualities: whether the substance's mood is positive, negative, or neutral. Thus, an aspect of a candidate's leadership (abstract/concrete) may be measured by positive, negative, or neutral criteria (emotional element as well) (affective dimension). Salient characteristics are projected from the media to the public sphere, policy formulation, preference of issue agendas, which can influence policy decisions, and/structure public policies.

Dearing & Rogers (1996) called for expanded policy communication research directed to those factors. Corporate actors who conceptualize issues in terms of public policies and subsequently influence public-policy agendas are regarded as engaging in political involvement to have the power to sway decisions. Thus, drawing from conflict theory and agenda-setting theory, it can be postulated that the level of conflict can be equated to the number of issues on the media, or even more incredible, depending on how it is. If, for example, conflicts are limited to the relevant policy areas and subsystems, then the extent of the dispute may be fixed. These topics do not surface in the media because they are small and prefer to stay on fringe of political conversation. Issues that are present on the media and public agendas may have the most significant potential for conflict. A schedule becomes more apparent in the media and is disputed by various actors as those in the public discourse have strong opinions on the issues. Any public policy problem is, by definition, public, but differentiating between them serves a function. According to Neuman et al. (2014), the nature of issues in the public sphere is

rapidly changing due to the rise of new media and the online public. Both traditional and social media are online media that can be analyzed in time series. No more extended complex to perform is the sophisticated studies may contribute to the neglect of overtime dynamics.

1.5.1.2. Framing theory

Another theory in this study of media to test political communication towards immigration is the framing theory. It is through the mechanism of media framing and its subframes that the political communication towards aggression has been highlighted and clearly categorized whether the immigration and immigrants fall into the category of pressing or being vulnerable. Framing mechanism has been carried out by the media networks as a powerful tool thereby trying to facilitate the discourse towards immigration and formulate the perception of the public towards immigration and immigrant integration in the society. The term "media" is of great significance from the last century due to its wider public reach and its mechanism of shaping other social actors; it got enhanced attention in recent times due to the development of the mass media methods, which influence society at large with its method of framing by newspapers, journals, magazines, radio, internet, etc. Mass media can be termed a mechanism in which information has been disseminated to the public. It is a method in which the media identifies an issue or event and uses its media framing and agenda-setting mechanism, thereby providing information to the public and the vested audience. It enables the public to understand the current scenarios and formulate their viewpoints and rationally perceive the events. The central mechanism of the mass media is the agenda-setting aspect. It identifies and highlights the incidents and events, thereby facilitating the political debate democratically. It enables the public to understand the issues and raise concerns about the issues and events. These democratic political debates help the policymakers to understand the public opinion on various events, thereby formulating policy measures and rectifying those not appealing to the public (Yusof et al., 2013). Through these measures, the media proactively acts as a watchdog of democracy and the fourth pillar and estate, thereby rectifying the first three estates' odds. Thus, the media is acting like the other side of the coin, thereby rectifying the odds of the democratic process (Olabamiji, 2014).

However, even though the media acts as a catalyst in the democratic process, it can also act reversely to the democratic framework. It happens when the media is politically inclined and has a vested interest. In these circumstances, the media shapes the agendas as per its political orientation and distorts the facts and events, thereby providing harmful information dissemination and agenda-setting. This negatively hinders the democratic process. The public follows the decisive information that facilitates the political parties to carry forward their vested agendas through their association with the media actors. Media in the contemporary period plays a significant role in shaping and evolving public perception across various socio-cultural issues. The media is acting as the centripetal force in society, surpassing all other socio-cultural and political institutions. Media as a facilitator of public discourse and public perception formulation have both positive and negative traits. On the positive side, it can facilitate citizen awareness, civic participation, and societal change. On a negative note, it can create negative impressions about

marginalized groups such as the poor, migrants, and LGBT (Veno & Eynde, 2007). Even though media tries to act in either of the two methods, one of the generalized features of media with the development of the digital and new media is the dominance of the vested interest dominating the media actors, thereby subjugating the common public interest.

Media acts as a catalyst in society as they try to identify the "thematic" issues in society and use the lens of framing to visualize those to the public, thereby providing better "governance" policy change in the public and private sphere. It enables identifying the specific issue and thematic aspects the society is facing. The media framing mechanism enables them to be explicitly identified and take broader action from responsible social actors to rectify the odds. Examples like the thematic framing of the gun violence issues in school shootings as a mental issue by newspapers will inflict the public perception that the issue of gun violence is more of a health issue than the proliferation of guns and will negatively determine the actions of gun prevention actions and gun control (Ansolabehere et al., 1991). This shows that the themes play a significant role in shaping public perception. The highlighting of specific phrases in the thematic framing can conceive those themes as the public reality. Using thematic phrases like "mental health issues" play a significant role in public perception of specific societal issues (Ibid).

When employing the media "thematic framing" aspect, the media is more proactive towards public institutions and actors than private actors due to the media's public responsibility to act as the fourth estate and provide feedback to the society when the judicial policy actions fail. This enhances the public visibility of the politicians and policy makers' actions, making them accountable to the public. This is mainly accomplished through the aspect of the "responsibility frame" of the news media in which the media highlights the governmental responsibility to the various thematic frames already portrayed. Instances like the government's responsibility to act reasonably in the incidence of gun violence underscore the need for effective policy measures to make gun restrictions to avoid further incidents. Thus, through these measures, the media enables the public to shape the perceptions towards various thematic issues and the government to act accordingly and formulate measures to combat them (Entman, 1993).

Framing as a concept was developed by Goffman (1974) in which significance was given to some areas of a "situation" by a person or an entity and was not particularly about the media. The media mechanism can be defined as a process in which significance was given to a particular aspect of the news that enables the public to formulate their perception (Knauss et al., 2007). It is achieved by highlighting a particular incident and interlinking with similar aspects that enhance public perception towards a particular issue (Entman & Rojecki, 1993). The concept of framing is an overlapped concept spread across disciplines ranging from media studies to political science. Through framing, the actors try to identify the underlying problems, spread awareness, and provide policy solutions (Entman, 1993). The most significant aspect of media framing is the media's ability to influence individuals' "cognitive" abilities and their perception of various societal issues. Through the mechanism of framing and its ability to influence the cognitive abilities of the individuals develops the "dependent" attribute known as "attitude", which enables the individual to incline an event (de Vreese et al., 2011).

Media's use of the thematic frame is one of the significant evolutions in framing research. It enables the media to portray various social issues in the thematic frame, thereby providing greater significance to those abstract issues and converting them to significant social problems having greater social and political attention. This will facilitate political solutions to those pressing issues framed by the media (Kim et al., 2015). The media acts as a catalyst in society, and a major actor which facilitates these actions of the media is the journalist. They act as news sources and significant actors and facilitators of media management. Journalists perceive the medium of news as an all-inclusive phenomenon that will enable them to access information that will reflect the social realities and significant data sources. Through this, the journalist interprets and disseminates information to the society, conducts news analysis and debates of various incidents, and provides authenticity to news incidents and information (Manning, 2001; Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

However, the journalist reaches out for new information from all sources. The most trusted are from those in the government, policy experts, think tanks, and eminent private institutions as they are more reliable, accurate, and data-driven (Bennett & Edelman, 1985; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2013). This can be seen as mutually beneficial as the sources will be reliable for the media. It provides a genuine public response for the policymakers to understand the ground reality and formulate policy measures accordingly. Thus, through this news source mechanism, the journalist will enable the media agenda-setting to influence the public agenda-setting and shape and formulate governmental agenda-setting (Baum & Kernell, 2007; Stromback & Kiousis, 2011). Due to this positive attribution of the media mechanism, the politicians also find it positive to provide the news feed and disseminate information to the media, primarily through the political party's media management mechanisms and spokespersons. However, these governmental sources as the primary measure for the news feed by the media and journalists vary globally and are primarily dependent upon the media and political parties (Davis et al., 2007). Another news feed mechanism of the journalist is the use of primary news feed by the journalist in the form of investigative or inductive case study, which other journalists will rely on as the source mechanism. This is due to the study's genuine and the empirical materials used for various interpretations depending upon the journalists' themes in their reports. This can be termed as the "meta coverage" aspect of the media in which the primary source of news feed provides information and interpretation for the secondary news feed journalism (F. Esser & D'Angelo, 2003).

"Framing, as a theory of mass communication, refers to how the media packages and presents information to the public. According to the theory, the media highlights certain events and then places them within a particular context to encourage or discourage certain interpretations. In this way, the media exercises a selective influence over how people view reality. Anthropologist Gregory Bateson is credited with first positing the theory in 1972. Framing is sometimes referred to as second-level agenda setting because of its close relation to Agenda-Setting Theory" (Communication studies, 2012). It also views that the impact of framing on viewers is astounding. Aside from reducing the details people use to judge events, framing may inspire people to take more chances than they would otherwise. Researchers discovered that people are more likely to select the riskiest solution when problems are expressed negatively if they imply a failure.

Positively framed problems lead to safer choices. Framing can also trigger viewers to shift blame for social and political issues away from elected officials. When viewers are subjected to episodic news frames, they cannot draw logical correlations between the topics discussed, such as crime and poverty, and elected officials or economic realities. When reporting on poverty, Iyengar (1994) discovered that the media is more than twice as likely to frame the topic episodically rather than thematically. As a result, viewers blame the poor for poverty and cannot endorse government attempts to address the problem.

In the views of Chong & Druckman (2007), the central principle of framing theory is that a problem can be presented from various angles and interpreted as having consequences for several values or considerations. People create a specific conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thought about an issue through framing. The concept of framing is a contextual phenomenon. It is not a unique concept that falls into a particular discipline and falls under various disciplines ranging from media and communication studies to political science and Sociology. Therefore, the conceptualization of it requires specific mechanisms as suited for the discipline, hence a universal concept seems irrational for all the disciplines it is spread over. This can further explain the lack of unique theoretical conceptualization due to the different mechanisms implied across the disciplines. Their methodological frameworks can lead to different "empirical" conclusions. Another significant challenge with the framing mechanisms is the lack of proper conceptualization of the various framing terms such as "frame", "framing," which leads to contrasting empirical conclusions leading to the lack of precisely identified framing terminologies. This led to the lack of proper theorization and conceptual framework, which created framing mechanisms in a fragmented field (Entman, 1993). The enhanced attention to the aspect of framing due to the development and specialization of various disciplines, especially of the media and communication, led to the development of the concept of framing as more and more innovative contributions are coming to it, which led to an enhanced scholarly perception towards framing (Borah & Tellis, 2016; D'Angelo, 2019). The concept of framing has also evolved to both the "micro" and "macro" levels. It led to enhanced understanding and meaning. It led to the evolution of the concept at the individual level, who formulate and theorize the concept and the societal level where its implications are practically tested (Scheufele, 1999).

The conceptual framework of framing has been formulated in different ways as per the conceptual mechanisms of various disciplines it has been associated with. In the views of Entman (1993), framing as a conceptual framework is focused explicitly on "selection" and "salience". Selection is the mechanism through which the agents select events or incidents insignificant to others. These events and incidents were highlighted through the salience mechanism, surpassing other events, leading to widespread attention, thereby signifying them. These were accomplished by selecting those frames, such as specific "words, phrases, images" and unique methods of portraying them, thereby getting predominance over other events, and mainly were employed by the media, journalists, and news reporters (Druckman, 2001). Another prominent definition of framing has been provided by Gitlin (2003), who defines the mechanism of framing as "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tactic theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters". According to Gamson & Modigliani (1989), framing

can be perceived "as a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them and the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue." Thus, through the mechanism of framing, the public can formulate their perceptions towards specific issues and events highlighted, thereby influencing the political process and rectifying the odds associated with it. The aspect of framing, especially in the media mechanism, enables the public to shape their perceptions. It reduces the broader aspect to one or two frames, enabling them to formulate their perceptions towards it. Considering the drawback of framing, the important aspect is the significance of specific frames, which leads behind certain frames which can be detrimental to the socio-cultural reality as the frames are constructed per the subjective inclination of the media networks and reporters and can lead to the sidelining of certain aspects (Gross & D'Ambrosia, 2004, p. 53).

Regarding the development of the framing concept, some scholars perceive framing as a process (Druckman, 2001; Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). According to Chong and Druckman (2007b, p. 104), framing has been defined as a "process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue". In the views of Chong & Druckman (2007) and Vreese (2005), framing has been defined as a process in which "communication is not static, but rather a dynamic process that involves frame-building and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions)". Process framing needs to be perceived as a multi-dimensional purpose in which various socio-cultural actors participate. It enables the public to perceive the events comprehensively and shape their perceptions towards it, enabling the media and the reporters to focus on a specific issue and provide significant aspects related to those issues and highlight it to the targeted audience. For political actors and parties, it enables them to provide their political visions to the targeted audience and get the public's feedback to formulate the policies accordingly (Entman, 1993; Nisbet & Myers, 2010). Due to these multiple aspects coming into the media frame through the framing mechanisms, the discipline has been developed in recent times with media development, making the subject an exciting aspect for the academicians and researchers to explore the subject and further enhance and develop the field.

1.5.1.3. Theory of Social Cohesion

Another significant theory which needs special consideration in the case of mediatized political communication towards immigration is the theory of social cohesion. As the theory of social cohesion focuses on the aspect of collectiveness and solidarity among groups and individuals in the society, it plays a specific role in the context of immigration. A significant challenge which immigrants face in the host country is the aspect of connectiveness and solidarity towards immigrants and considering the sense of togetherness in the society. The public perception which has been formulated by various sources such as mediatization, political communications and other modes of actions can be determinant towards immigration. In this context, social cohesion plays a significant role in getting the immigrants connected to society and making them feel a sense of belonginess. The third sector organisations play a significant role towards the social cohesion and connectivity of the immigrants. It is the third sector organisations which try to act as a catalytic and connecting force between the immigrants and the local

community thereby trying to break the social barrier thus making them connected to the society. Therefore in order to explore the aspect of the third sector organisations and the modes and communications they carry forward for getting the immigrants connected the theory of social coefficient plays a significant role.

According to Maxwell (2003), social cohesion means creating common ideals and communities of meaning, decreasing differences in wealth and income, and providing people with a sense that they are interested in the same mission or cause. Manca (2014) says that "social cohesion refers to the extent of connectedness and solidarity among groups in society. It identifies two main dimensions: the sense of belonging of a community and the relationships among members within the community itself. It stems from a democratic effort to establish social balance, economic dynamism, and national identity, with the goals of founding a system of equity, sustaining the impulses of uncontrolled economic growth, and avoiding social fractures. Social cohesion is a social process that aims to consolidate citizenship by reducing inequality and socio-economic disparities, and fractures. It reflects people's needs for both personal development and a sense of belonging and links together individual freedom and social justice, economic efficiency and the fair sharing of resources, and pluralism and common rules for resolving all conflicts". Maxwell's definition for social cohesion is that "social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a joint enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community." OECD (2011) identifies that "social cohesion is a broad concept, covering several dimensions at once: a sense of belonging and active participation, trust, inequality, exclusion, and mobility.

The notion of social cohesion is often associated with the narrower concept of "social capital" (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). "Social capital refers to a group of individuals, while social cohesion is a more holistic concept extended to the level of the entire society" (OECD, 2011). Club de Madrid (2009 cited by OECD, 2011) proposes that "Socially cohesive or 'shared' societies are stable, safe and just, and are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, as well as on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons.". The figure below shows the components of social cohesion. The triangle depicts how the current study evaluates and analyzes social stability within the boundaries of a nation-state. All three dimensions are important, though different societies can emphasize one over the others, as we can see in the figure, there the three key factors for social cohesion. What is essential for social cohesion is social inclusion, social capital, and then social mobility. This kind of social cohesion is different for different countries. We can see different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds in different parts of the world. The basic criterion for social unity is that the respective government should strive to unite different people and provide them with the assistance and cooperation they need, including social and cultural changes. This type of social security for immigrants or refugees in other countries is one of the significant aspects. This theory clarifies that the media and various other NGOs and politicians in the community are politically involved and that social activism helps them.

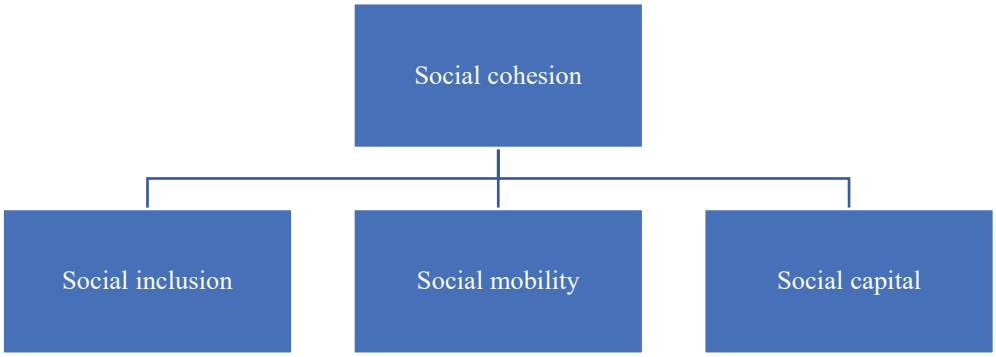

Fig. 2. The components of social cohesion

Source: OECD, 2011, p.54

The OECD (2011) study also reveals that the calculation of social stability has relied on a classic collection of recurring variables to date. First, there is the issue of wealth disparity. It is often regarded as critical to assessing and tracking the evolution of social stability, alongside deprivation indicators, such as the poverty gap. The second factor is the cohesiveness of a culture. This is dependent on its members' involvement in the productive economy, where the unemployment rate, another commonly used metric for evaluating social exclusion, serves as a barometer for measuring life satisfaction and the possibility of civil unrest. Third, there are well-being indicators. These are indicators of a society's inclusiveness and inclusion (for example, life expectancy at birth and literacy rates) and tools for promoting broader, more active civil society and political involvement. Measures of social capital are the fourth category, community membership and interpersonal trust are two of the most common examples.

Bris (2014) claims that "Social cohesion is a fundamental driver of long-term prosperity and competitiveness. Cohesive societies are politically stable and focus on economic growth and business development. Social cohesion itself is built over the years, not overnight. It results from policies that allow everybody in society to share its prosperity. It makes competitiveness sustainable". The Council of Europe (2004 cited by O'Kelly et al., 2016) defines that "a cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing common goals by democratic means". The Council of Europe (2000) explains the details of social cohesion, and they perceive cohesion as an ideal that communities must constantly aim for. It is a vision they strive for but never wholly realize.

Nonetheless, it is essential to describe what we are talking about while designing a social stability strategy. Social cohesion, in its most literal sense, refers to the bonds that bind communities together. The things that bring people together and the things that drive them apart; the forces of unity and the forces of division; the interests of the person and the interests of the society; all societies are the product of an interplay between centripetal and centrifugal forces. All societies must strive to find a workable balance between these forces. Conflict is an unavoidable and permanent characteristic of life in society;

therefore, it is more a question of managing a competitive equilibrium than achieving a permanent balance of forces.

The challenge is to build communities that can deal with conflict and change positively and imaginatively, to put it another way. Failure carries significant risks, including the possibility of armed conflict; recent European experience suggests that this danger is not theoretical. They also see social stability strategy must first recognize the factors that divide society and then plan or promote structures, procedures, and institutions that prevent these factors from being so severe that social harmony is jeopardized. Diversity is not divisive in and of itself. European societies have been slowly but steadily learning to see racial, religious, cultural, and ideological diversity as a source of prosperity, dynamism, adaptability, and power rather than a barrier to social cohesion. However, managing diversity in a way that maximizes its positive potential is difficult. It entails combating racial, ethnic, religious, gender, and other discrimination and aggressive policies to integrate migrants and other minorities and groups with special needs into mainstream society while respecting their differences and fully acknowledging their rights.

A widening divide between the wealthy and the poor is another significant social division source. Free market economies, like any other economic structure, generate wealth and social class disparities. Differences will be accepted if people believe they have an equal chance to change their circumstances. On the other hand, the disparities become too pronounced. Particularly if the less fortunate believe they have no real hope of improving their situation, they are trapped in a cycle of poverty and social exclusion passed down from generation to generation. One of the most important ways to promote social harmony is through decent and well-paid work. Job promotion should be at the core of a social stability plan that includes appropriate economic policies and social security and employment support steps. Education, preparation, job search and placement, and entrepreneurship promotion should all be given special attention. A social cohesion strategy entails tackling poverty and social exclusion, especially in housing, health, education and training, jobs and income distribution, education, and social services. However, it must go beyond addressing the symptoms of exclusion and instead aim to reinforce the forces contributing to social unity and a sense of belonging. Some of these powers fall within legitimate government policy scope; others fall further into the private domain, where governments must exercise greater caution.

One of the most critical structural expressions of social cooperation is social security programs. Therefore, any strategy for social stability must prioritize social security systems, mainly when many concerns about their future growth and funding are being raised. The family is a critical component of social cohesion; it can be defined as where social cohesion is observed and created. This is another organization facing significant challenges and experiencing significant changes; thus, family policies would naturally fit into a social stability strategy. Consideration must be paid to the needs of the family's most vulnerable members, such as children and the elderly, and balancing work and family life. Several civil society organizations, such as churches, political parties, and labor unions, are also crucial social stability factors. Still, in most nations, each has seen a decline in membership and power, perhaps reflecting a society that values individual liberty over collective belonging. Non-governmental organizations and

charitable organizations of all sorts, on the other hand, are thriving and gradually become indispensable collaborators of the government in promoting social cohesion. As a result, social cohesion blends governments' political will to implement and implement effective social development programs with citizens' desires for greater unity. This means that social stability cannot be satisfied with ad hoc measures designed to address disasters or emergencies but must be the focal point of a new social engagement by member states. While sound economic policies are critical for creating stable growth conditions, they cannot be directed solely by market mechanisms without causing social damage. As a result, the Committee believes it is vital that attention be paid to the relationship between social security and economic policies on both a national and international level. Good governance is increasingly being recognized as one of the prerequisites for social and economic advancement. In this context, the battle against corruption is crucial.

Norton & Haan (2013) note that "social cohesion as a concept cannot be separated from the generation of shared values, identities and norms. A degree of social consensus on norms and values is associated with inherent and constitutive social cohesion. Public institutions (particularly institutions that provide services) generally play an important role in generating and maintaining these norms and values" as far as we can see in Table 3 below, the popular theories on various criteria for social cohesion. According to Ibn Khaldun, social inequality, cooperation, and unity are essential for economic stability and income. Still, this kind of avoidance is significant in some other posts as different classification types are an obstacle to social unity. For Bourdieu, it takes the maximum amount of time for everyone to integrate into the community around them to cultivate their social atmosphere. Still, it is a fact that social importance is vital for the proper implementation of the different work orders.

In Weber's opinion (Bendix, 1974), social unity is essential for society's security and growth within the modern democratic system. He argues that to maintain a fundamental relationship with society, it is necessary to communicate more effectively between different people and between different communities and bridge the gap. Hence, he finds social capital to be significant. But Marx (Bendix, 1974) says that a class of different social classes and that each class division must understand the different kinds of discrimination in society. It is imperative to avoid the class system as there will be a long delay in social cohesion for a society with such discrimination. Weber argues that modern democracy and its effectiveness can significantly reduce the political and social gap between modern democracy and the people, but there often remains a question mark over how it exists in many societies. It is imperative to eradicate all forms of discrimination and discrimination from society to ensure social cohesion in such a situation. According to Durkheim (Fonseca et al., 2019), man is a social being, and therefore social cohesion is essential in any society. Therefore, increasing the people's fundamental unity, partnership, and cooperation is necessary to make this existence effective. Parson (Sciulli & Gerstein, 1985) firmly believes that social unity plays a vital role in developing society's various functions. Unity can only exist if a practical social structure can be implemented in society to set different standards. Therefore, social cohesion for a country with refugees needs to work together to protect them, provide them with appropriate guidance, and create the working and living conditions they need, regardless of whether they are outsiders or not. We can see that there is a great deal of

social cohesion in such a society. As far as refugees or migrants are concerned, they can only move forward in the belief that they are happy in a society that is so socially cohesive and that they have a life of their own. Therefore, this study needs to use social theory to analyze the social acceptance they receive in the community. They live as refugees or immigrants and find out how mass media can enhance such unity.

Table 3. Axes of social cohesion

	Identity	Economic Interest	Status	Interdependent Spheres
Group	Ibn Khaldun Migration Analysis Ervin Goffman (and 'identity economics')	Social capital literature (Granovetter, Lin, Coleman, etc.) Economic sociology, Simmel, Toennies.	Bourdieu: individuals invest in relationships Social network/resource theory	Bourdieu-social capital as fungible
Class		Marx- class and for itself Veblen-Leisure class	Weber-merit as the binding division of labor Symbolic interactionism	
State	'Civilization' (Nobery Elias) Cohesion as a public policy concept (Hulse and Stone 2007)			Weber-modern bureaucracy Habermas-critical rationality (communicative actions) Social contract theories
Society	Durkheim-group life as an antidote to anomie			Parson-functionalism

Source: (Norton & Haan, 2013)

Durkheim coined the term "social cohesion" in 1897, describing it as "a characteristic of a society that shows the interdependence in between individuals in that society" (Berkman & Kawachi, 2000). In 1909, Cooley proposed the concept of primary groups, which he defined as groups with close face-to-face contact, dynamics of cooperation and conflict among elements, and many friendships resulting from a significant amount of time spent together, which, when absent, can promote social disorganization (Cooley 1909 cited by Fonseca et al., 2019). Freud (1921 cited by Reagans & McEvily, 2003) said that identifying one person with others who share similar characteristics and have strong emotional connections is referred to as social cohesion. Peterson & Hughey (2004) describe social cohesion as a concept based on trust, mutual emotional engagement, and reciprocity linked to community involvement. In Mekoa & Busari's (2018) views, the idea of social cohesion is a complex term to describe since it is relative. Many scholars have presented varying degrees of definitions, but the fundamental difficulty of the concept has been the various definitions depending on each

scholar's orientation or ideology. Another issue posed by these concepts is the multi-level and multi-dimensional existence of the term. Scholars of social cohesion today have rejected the idea of approaching the concept as a multi-dimensional phenomenon or a potentially construct concept built around various indices. They also noted that "social cohesion," as a concept, is enjoying ever-increasing popularity. Despite this perceived ubiquity in many works of literature, the concept of social cohesion is still a hugely ill-defined concept the exact meaning of which varies from one scholar to another. While some scholars or researchers understand the concept as synonymous with trust, solidarity, and peace, many believe that the concept can incorporate such terms as inclusiveness, poverty, and social capital. However, sociologists have associated or aligned the concept to ideas that include social integration and system integration".

Haan & Maxwell (1998) conceptualize social cohesion with solidarity and egalitarian dimensions. Social cohesiveness revolves around a shared value and around building relationships that help in addressing disparities of income and wealth, as well as around encouraging more equal conditions and better communication and tackling the same issues, enabling participation in the community affairs that fosters the feeling of shared identity and serving the community. According to Mekoa & Busari (2018), the principle of social security has only recently been used as a device and component of social stability, with countries ensuring the availability of welfare packages for the poor, which in turn assures them of their ability to contribute to society and, as a result, encourages shared cohesion. As a result, policymakers worldwide have adopted a multi-pronged approach that combines traditional security and intelligence services with a healthy dose of social protection programs to grasp better these realities and the evolving systemic challenges to a cohesive society. The approach to social security may be preventive, defensive, transformative, or promotional. The preventive strategy offers social assistance or welfare in food and cash transfers, fee exemptions for some social services, school fee subsidies, and school feeding programs, among other things. On the other hand, the preventive strategy helps galvanize social insurance by providing health insurance plans, subsidized risk pooling mechanisms, premium exemptions, etc.

Thrane et al. (2005) define social cohesion as the belief held by citizens of a given nation-state that they share a moral community, which enables them to trust each other and suggest that "trust becomes a fundamental precondition for the ontological safety for the individual, as when by simply taking the bus you have to trust in the abilities of the experts who invented the bus, in those of the unknown bus driver, and those of all the other unknown drivers on the road." According to the importance of social cohesion, if specific population segments are marginalized, their financial contribution may decrease. Their schooling and capabilities will be reduced. They are only willing to put a small amount of money into the company. They can perceive themselves as being treated as non-valued members of society. It will require a more considerable expense to keep the status quo intact (Easterly et al., 2006). That is why Baliamoune-Lutz (2009) believes that "improving the quality of life of all citizens reduces inequalities and fosters efficiency and accessibility of public mechanisms of social protection". Friedkin (2004) also notes that groups are cohesive when group-level conditions produce positive membership attitudes and behaviors and when group members' interpersonal interactions maintain these group-level conditions. Thus, cohesive groups are self-maintaining

concerning the production of solid membership attractions and attachments. A causally interrelated phenomenon focused on an individual's membership attitudes and behaviors, which deals with the social processes that link micro- and macro-level outcomes and ultimately impact individual behavior. In the table below, we have been able to present the role of social cohesion for the upliftment, growth, and development of any society but below is an analysis of how this role can be achieved as a policy basis and how the government should take the necessary steps to address it.

Table 4. Options for defining social cohesion for policy analysis

Approach to Definition	Analytical/conceptual implications	Policy implications	Implications for measurement & qualifications
The capacity of societies to peacefully manage collective decision-making (WDR 2013)	Emphasizes institutions that mediate varying views into an outcome (e.g., elections, collective bargaining institutions). It also emphasizes institutions of leadership.	Suggests an emphasis as a policy goal on the building of institutions for conflict resolution and democratic decision-making.	Emphasis on the existence of institutions which a) mediates conflict peacefully b) provide leadership and authority without resource to violence. Measures of trust in institutions, other social groups would indicate conditions for the formation of such institutions.
The capacity of societies and social groups to navigate social change peacefully and inclusively while enhancing group and individual freedoms (authors).	Emphasize the capacity of the societies to deal with (rapid) processes of change and takes the enhancements of freedom as the goal to develop. This clarifies a normative basis that is implicit in other definitions which use the qualifier 'inclusive.'	Suggest building an inclusive model of citizenship; a capacity to re-model social relationships to empower women, youth, girls, and minority groups as social and economic change opens new possibilities.	Key indicators • Low level of social inclusion. • Empowerment of minority, disadvantaged group. • Low level of violence. • Institution for the peaceful management of rapid change.
Social inclusion+ social capital + social mobility (OECD Perspectives on Global Development 2012).	A broad definition which in comparison to other definitions places high relative stress on indicators of equity/equality and a relative low stress on the absence on violent conflict.	Using this definition OECD draw a broad set of policy directions covering fiscal policy, the policy process, employment and labor market policy, education, gender, migration etc.	Indicators – various including, • Inequality. • Employment. • Values, attitudes relating to civic participation.

Source: (Norton & Haan, 2013)

1.6. Theoretical model of research on mediatized political communication

Theoretical model of my research on mediatized political communication is given in Fig.3.

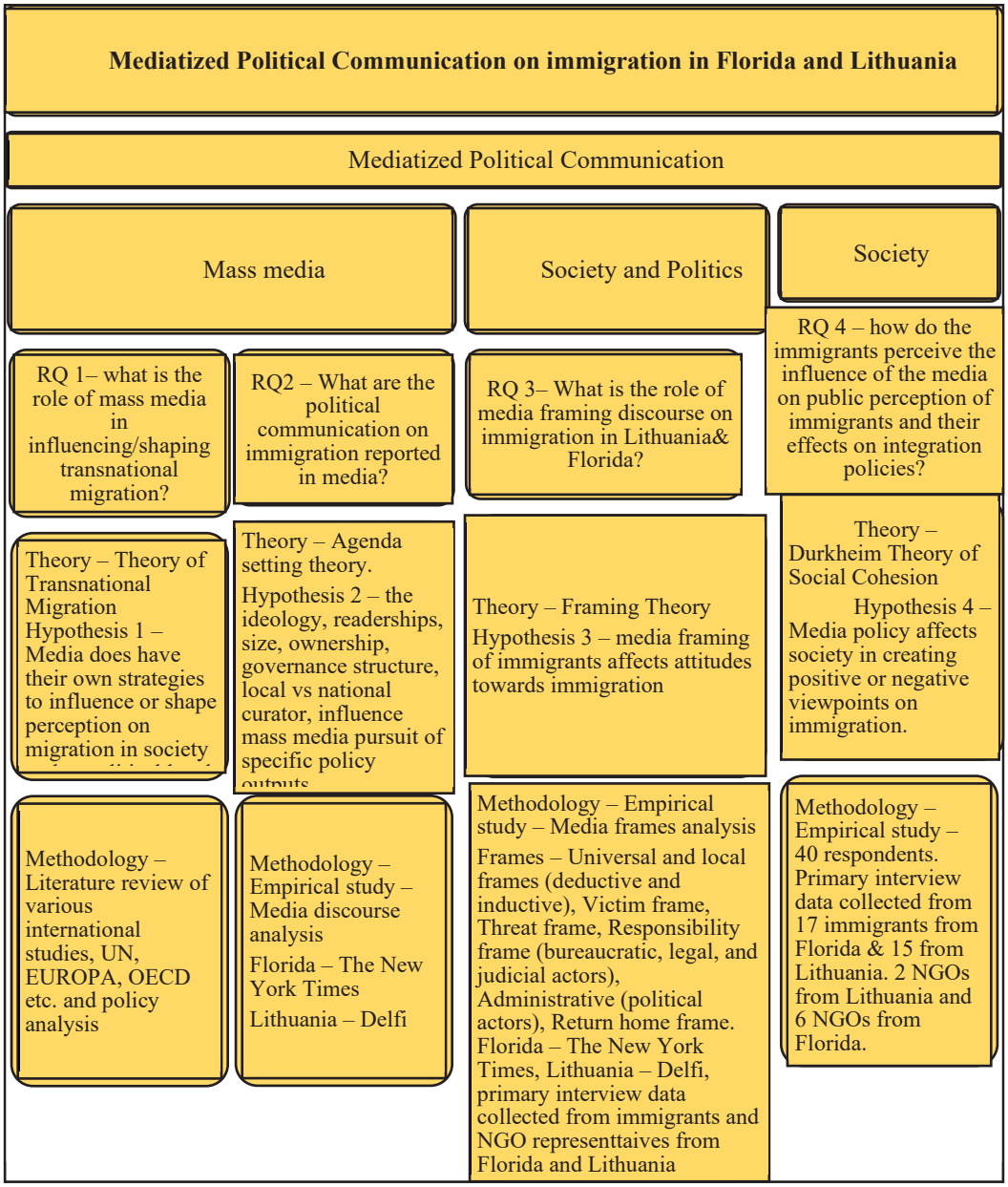

Fig. 3. Theoretical model of research on mediatized political communication

Source: Author

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research presents a study on mediatized political communication on immigration and integration in Florida and Lithuania. It uses qualitative content analysis. In the views of Elo et al. (2014), "qualitative content analysis is commonly used for analyzing qualitative data. However, few articles have examined the trustworthiness of its use in nursing science studies. The trustworthiness of qualitative content analysis is often presented using terms such as credibility, dependability, conformability, transferability, and authenticity". In the views of Schreier (2012), qualitative research is different from quantitative in that it focuses on qualitative content instead of on numbers or measurements. Quantitative methods may use vast volumes of data from interviews or focus groups to provide possibilities for quantifying categories.

Qualitative content analysis assists in reducing the amount of physical content. It focuses on selected elements of meaning, especially the query. There is a high degree of systematization in qualitative content analysis. The process includes a review the content for any relevant facts. Using this approach, the danger of viewing the knowledge through one's own biases and presuppositions is diminished. The method is also systematic: it always consists of steps, regardless of the research question or subject matter. Qualitative content analysis defines the real content, the text, and the participants' perceived experiences. Graneheim et al. (2017) identify that qualitative content analysis (also referred to as content analysis that straddles the boundaries between a descriptive and interpretive approach) straddles the different qualitative research challenges. Therefore, various mediatized political communication on immigration and integration in selected regions can be found by conducting qualitative content analysis in this research.

2.1. Data collection method & sources

To research the first objective of this research, to carry out a theoretical analysis of media's role on transnational migration, the research uses qualitative content analysis of existing literature from various sources, including governmental policy observing migration policy. Literature review on existing studies on the migration, refugee crisis, the importance of media and their agenda on migration and related policies, media framing strategies on migration, the importance of immigrant integration, etc., will be analyzed by studying media news reports from Florida and Lithuania. Also, various UN, UNDP, EUROPA, IOM, and other national and international statistical reports on immigrant issues and data will be collected from Florida and Lithuania.

This research uses a case study from Florida and Lithuania to achieve the second, third, and fourth objectives. The study uses an empirical study to determine the specifics of mediatization and political communication on immigration and migrant integration in both regions. It also conducts primary data on the media's role in immigrant integration in these regions through semi-structured interviews. Kallio et al. (2016) identify that "semi-structured interviews are a common data collection method in qualitative research and the quality of the interview guide fundamentally influences the study results". In the views of Longhurst (2003), a semi-structured interview is a verbal conversation between two interviewers. Although the interviewer has prepared a list of predetermined

questions, semi-structured interviews to enable participants to express themselves, the dialogue unfolds with a degree of naturalism, providing subjects to discuss.

The second objective of the study is to determine the political communication on immigration reported in media. To find this, prominent online news media websites from Florida and Lithuania had to be selected to find various news about immigration and related political communication. By analyzing the news reports, this study aims to determine the ideology, governance structure, influence of mass media pursuit of specific political communication on immigration in both regions. For this purpose, , one online news media from Florida, the *New York Times*, was chosen. From Lithuania, *Delfi* was selected. The news reports on immigration were identified from January 2015–January 2020.

The third objective of this study is to determine the role of media framing discourse on immigration in Florida and Lithuania. In the views of Gitlin (2003), frames can be understood as "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters". According to Minsky (1975), a frame is a prototype or data structure that organizes different data pieces. Thus, frames are discursive or conceptual structures closely related to the principles of scripts and schemata and other traditional social cognition constructs. For political facts, the public looks to the media. The directions of elite debate as they make their way through the media, on the other hand, remain a mystery. Public discourse in the media involves observing the dictates of communicative rationality as they unfold over time and, more specifically, leading to deliberative results with real-world implications.

Hence, to determine the role of media framing on immigration, it is important to find various news reports from Florida and Lithuania on immigration in these regions. The same online news media as for objective 2, i.e., The *New York Times* from Florida and *Delfi* from Lithuania were chosen. Various news reports published in both newspapers were extracted using LexisNexis software.

LexisNexis is a sophisticated modern tool enabling the users to collect data from archives of newspapers, magazines, and other legal sources. It has a huge collection of news reports with archives dating from the 1970s onwards from across the globe. Even though the initiation of LexisNexis was to facilitate lawyers and legal entities to get archives of legal documents, in the course of time it was used for data archiving of newspapers, magazines, and other wire reports. This enables not only the lawyers or legal experts but also the researchers and students in the field of political, public policy, administration, history, and anthropology to get significant amount of news reports penetrating to the specific subject fields. Regarding the search mechanism, it has a normal search option and an advanced search option which enables you to filter your word search to specific geographical locations, publications and also the classification of the year based of the publications. Regarding this research on immigration and the mediatized political communication, I was specifically looking into the specified terms of immigration in Florida and mediatized political communication; it allowed me to filter to the specific geographical location of United States and the specific time period from January 1, 2015 to January 1, 2020 and the list of newspapers as well as the amount of news articles in the specific category ranging from national, international, and local levels. Since specific key terms were used to research the aspect of immigration and

mediatized political communication, it allowed to narrow down to the specific search terms thereby filtering out unnecessary news articles which normally come in the broad search mechanism. With this search mechanism it was possible to get to the specific news reports thereby avoiding duplication. So once these specific news reports were extracted the LexisNexis provides an option to download them as a specific PDF file consisting of 100 articles in a single PDF file. It is also possible to download all the required news articles as separate and unique PDF files.

LexisNexis enables the researcher to get an extremely large database with a limited time frame using the specific search terms thereby enabling the researcher to access all the required articles for the research. Unlike the Google search engine in which you have to specifically go into each and every news article to check the reliability of those news articles to finally confirm them for your research, LexisNexis specifically filters out all the unwanted information and duplication thereby enabling you to acquire all the news reports in a time specified manner. Unlike search words in one or two keywords, you have to specifically explore the key specific terms with three or four words together thereby enabling you to get to the specific news content which you are looking for. Another positive attribute is to limit the search word to three specific areas of the news report, such as the headline, the main paragraph, and the full body of the story thereby enabling the researcher to get a faster understanding regarding the news narratives pertaining to the story. All these specific areas are highlighted with a yellow marking, directly taking your focus to the specific area of the story, to get a clear picture regarding the percentage and impact of your search terms to the news narratives. Thus, by filtering to the specific search terms with specific geographical locations, it makes it possible to get directly towards the specific search areas, thereby facilitating the specificalities of the research. Another significant benefit is the accessibility of the LexisNexis software. Unlike the previous times, when the software was only accessible through the in-campus search mechanism, the software has become available off-campus and even outside of the geographical location. As I was looking into the LexisNexis software extraction while I was in Lithuania, access to the university campus library using my Internet facilities enabled me to access the software and extract the documents via the login mechanism of off-campus UCF library.

The negative attributes which can be ascribed to the LexisNexis software is the immense cost for the subscription. Normally, a monthly subscription to LexisNexis will cost more than $1000 and unless the software is available through a particular affiliation to a specific institution or university, subscribing LexisNexis can be very costly. Another significant drawback of LexisNexis is the keywords which used for the search. If the keywords are too abstract, it can lead to broader search without going into the specificalities of the research. Therefore in order to get specific results you have to specifically coin the key words to acheve better precision in the search result.

Immigration-related news from Delfi was extracted manually. The news reports on immigration were identified from January of 2015 to January of 2020, and were categorized into five important media frames. Based on the five frames and their sub-frames, the news reports were categorized into different sections and the media framing strategy was analyzed. The five media frames are:

1. Victim frame

2. Threat frame
3. Responsibility frame (political actors)
4. Administrative (bureaucratic, legal, and judicial actors)
5. Return home frame.

The frames that were used for analyzing Lithuanian and Floridian media articles are the Universal frames: the Victim Frame (Van Gorp, 2005), the Threat Frame (Van Gorp, 2005), the Responsibility Frame (Semetko &Valkenburg, 2000), the Administrative Frame (Dimitrova et al., 2018), and the Return Home Frame (Lickels, 2007). These are universal frames and are not developed by the author for the analysis. However, to have a comprehensive understanding, I have developed subframes for each mainframe to analyze the migrant situation in Lithuania and Florida. The rationality of selecting the major frames for the analysis is stated below.

1. The Victim Frame. Regarding the migrant plight and assimilation, one of the significant frames is the victim. The migrants got victimized both in the sending and host countries due to the policy measures or the hostile and vulnerable environment that welcomes them. Therefore, the victim frame is an essential prerequisite for the analysis of the migrant phenomenon.

2. The Threat Frame. When it comes to the sending or host institutions, one of the significant challenges the migrant communities face is the threat aspect. They are perceived as a potential threat either by the community or the political actors. Therefore, the threat frame is essential for understanding the situation of the migrant communities in Lithuania and Florida.

3. The Responsibility Frame. When it comes to migrants or other vulnerable communities, it is the political actors in both the sending and host countries that act as a catalyst either for the plight or for the possible measures for accommodating them. Therefore, the responsibility frame by the political actors is an essential aspect for migrant community studies as they are the ones who are shaping the discourse.

4. The Administrative Frame. Even though it is the political actors who facilitate the discourse of the migrant communities, it is the administrative, bureaucratic, legal, and judicial actors who provide the facilities and accommodative aspects for the migrant communities. Therefore, the study is significant in looking at administrative mechanisms that facilitate migrant assimilation and integration.

5. The Return Home Frame. Even though the factors mentioned above facilitate migrant assimilation and accommodation, sometimes due to the characteristics of the migrant communities and the local population, the migrants are forced to leave the host countries. In providing accommodation to the migrant communities by the host societies to get them rid of the ethnic cleansing or genocide, they are either facilitated to return or desire to return to their home countries when the situation gets normalized. In these scenarios, the return home frame becomes significant. Thus, it is important to understand the migrant studies in Lithuania and Florida.

Table 5 shows the five frames and their sub-frames used in this research to determine the role of media framing on society's attitudes and political communication towards immigration.

Table 5. Frames and sub-frames for the media report analysis

Victim/ Welcoming Frame	*Threat/Intruder Frame*	*Responsibility Frame*	*Administrative Frame*	*Return Home Frame*
Migrant Smuggling/ Human Trafficking	Legal Threat	Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms	Executive/ Bureaucratic	Cooperation for repatriation
The 'useful' Worker	Alien	Amicable Immigrant Friendly Policy Mechanisms	Law &Order/Police	
Returning Emigrants	Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce	Hostile Statements by Political Actors	Legal/Judicial	
Quality/Skilled Worker	Political/Civic Threat	Embracing Statements by Political Actors	Third Sector/ Social Actors	
Wealthy or prospective investor/ Expat	Health Threat	Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures		
Exploitation in the Worksite	Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat	Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism		
Demographic Dividend	The unwillingness of Refugees to integrate			
Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation	Unskilled			

Source: Author

The fourth objective of this study aims to identify the immigrants' perception on the influence of media on public perception of immigrants and their effects on integration policies. To find this, it is essential to have a preliminary empirical study, as well as an interview with migrants living in Florida and Lithuania. In 2019, 17 interviews were conducted with immigrants in Florida and 15 with those in Lithuania. Hence, a total of 32 immigrants were a part of this study. The interview data from migrants help to determine the various perception of migrants on political media communication on immigrants in their region. The study includes questions that also lead to finding out the integration facilitated or reduced the integration into the society after certain news about migrants in that area is published.

Since NGOs have a major role in immigrant integration in various countries, primary data collection was collected, which aims to find out various policy measures and integration activities for migrants. A total of eight NGOs participated in this study;

six were from Florida and two from Lithuania. The NGOs were selected based on their activities for immigrant support, integration, and association with various projects for the immigrant crisis. The interviews with NGO's lead this research:

- To identify various activities of NGOs for immigrant integration in FL and LT
- To identify the social and cultural challenges for the NGO activities
- To identify the impact of mediatized political communications on migrants' life in FL and LT from an NGO perspective.

Interviews

Thirty-two immigrants and eight NGO representatives participated in this study. So, a total of 40 interviewees were conducted. The duration of each interview is between 30 to 90 minutes. All interviews were noted down either in texts or voice recordings during the interview and then transcribed. The interview questions were asked in the English language from Florida and Lithuania since the migrants and NGO representatives could communicate in English.

2.2. Sample and Interviewees Profiles

Interviewees Profiles

Table 6. Socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant interviewees from Florida

Socio-demographic characteristics	*Category*		*Total number of the sample*
Gender	Female – 5	Male – 12	17
Country of origin	Nigeria – 1 India – 2 Venezuela – 1 Haiti – 1	Trinidad and Tobago – 1 Haiti – 1 Venezuela – 4 Mexico – 3 Ecuador – 2 Columbia – 1	
Country of living	Orlando, Florida, USA	Orlando, Florida, USA – 14 Tampa, Florida, USA – 3	
How many years in FL	2 people 2 Years 1 person 3 years 3 people 4 years	3 people 3 Years 4 people 4 years 4 people 5+ years.	
Age 20 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 to 60 61 to 70	4	8 2 3	
Educational qualification Up to high school (10 years of schooling)	1	7	

Up to Higher Secondary (12 years of schooling) Bachelors (15 years of schooling) Masters (17 years of schooling) Vocational /Professional training (14 years of schooling)	1 2	 1 5	
Employed before coming to FL – Yes or No	Yes – 5 No –1	Yes – 11	
Employed now FL – Yes or No	Yes – 2 No – 2	Yes – 13	
Employment sector	Private Sector – 2	Public Sector – 3 Private Sector – 12	
Job experience in FL	1 Person 2 Years 1 Person 3 Years		
Family Married Un-married Married with children Widow	 3 1 3	 11 9	

Source: Author

Table 7. Socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant interviewees from Lithuania

Socio-demographic characteristics	*Category*		*Total number of the sample*
Gender	Female – 7	Male – 8	15
Country of origin	Persons India – 5 Zimbabwe – 1 Nigeria – 1	Nigeria – 2 India – 4 Egypt – 1 Italy –1	
Country of living	Kaunas, Lithuania – 2 Ezerelis, Lithuania – 1 Vilnius, Lithuania – 3	Kaunas, Lithuania – 5 Vilnius, Lithuania – 4	
How many years in LT	1 person 2 Years 3 people 4 Years 1 person 5 Years 1 person 6 Years 1 person 8 Years	3 people 3 Years 1 person 4 Years 2 people 8 Years 1 person 9 Years 1 person 12 Years	
Age			

20 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 to 60 61 to 70	5 1	1 6 1 1	
Educational qualification Up to high school (10 years of schooling) Up to Higher Secondary (12 years of schooling) Bachelors (15 years of schooling) Masters (17 years of schooling) Vocational /Professional training (14 years of schooling)	7	3 2 3	
Employed before coming to LT – Yes or No	Employed – 4 Not Employed – 3	Employed – 8	
Employed now LT - Yes or No	Employed – 7	Employed – 8	
Employment sector	Private Sector – 6	Private Sector – 9	
Job experience in Lithuania	Less than two years of experience – 4 3+ years of experience – 1	1+ year of experience – 1 3+ years of experience – 2 4+ years of experience – 2 7+ years of experience – 2 11+ years of experience – 1 2+ years of experience – 1	
Married Un-married Married with-children Widow	3 4	5 2 4 1	

Source: Author

Table 8. Socio-demographic characteristics of the NGO representatives from Florida

Socio-demographic characteristics	*Category*		*Total number of the sample*
Gender	Female	Male	6
Age 20 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 to 60 61 to 70	 2 1 1	 1	
Educational Qualification Up to high school (10 years of schooling) Up to Higher Secondary (12 years of schooling) Bachelors (15 years of schooling) Masters (17 years of schooling) Vocational /Professional training (14 years of schooling)	3	1	
Job experience	Executive Director and Founder – 1 Director of Programs – 1 Lead Organizer and Membership Director – 1 Executive Director – 1	Chairperson of Board of Directors – 1	
Country of origin	Haiti – 1 Pakistan – 1 USA – 2	USA – 1	
Country of living	Miami, Florida, USA – 1 Palm Springs, Florida, USA – 1 Miami, Florida – 1 Spring Hills, Florida – 1	South Florida, USA – 1	

Number of working years in NGO in Florida	28 years in NGO – 1 10 years in NGO – 1 25 years in the USA – 1 10 years in NGO – 1 16 years in NGO –1	6 years in NGO – 1	

Source: Author

Table 9. Socio-demographic characteristics of the NGO representatives from Lithuania

Socio-demographic characteristics	*Category*		*Total number of the sample*
Gender	Female	Male	2
Age	20 to 30 31 to 40 41 to 50 51 to 60 61 to 70		
Educational qualification	Up to high school (10 years of schooling) Up to Higher Secondary (12 years of schooling) Bachelors (15 years of schooling) Masters (17 years of schooling) Vocational /Professional training (14 years of schooling)		
Job experience			
Country of origin			
Country of living			
Number of working years in NGO in LT	5 years in NGO – 1 4 years in NGO – 1		

Source: Author

2.3. Data analysis, ethical aspects & limitations of the study

The analysis of the research objectives, such as the role of media, their reports on immigration and refugees, various political communication that develops through mediatization and media agenda setting, and its overall impact on various news frames will finally lead this research to identify if the mediatized political communication influences (negatively or positively) immigration and the integration of immigrants in various regions, as shown in picture.

Fig. 4.The accomplishment of immigration & integration

Source: Author

The ethical aspect of the research

The principle of confidentiality ensures that personal data and other private information is not disclosed, therefore the names of the interviewees are not published in the study. The 40 respondents were surveyed empirically to determine the opinions of immigrants and NGOs regarding the influence of mediatized political communication in society on migrants and their integration. The primary interview data was collected from 17 Florida immigrants and 15 Lithuanian immigrants. In addition, eight NGOs (6 from Florida, 2 from Lithuania) were also part of the study. Keeping the anonymity of the interviewees, it is still important to provide sufficient data in the dissertation. Socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant interviewees from Florida and Lithuania were mentioned, i.e., their gender and nationality. While I was in University of Central Florida for one semester, as part of my Erasmus exchange internship, I was able to collect primary data from immigrants and NGOs in Florida. The Lithuanian respondents were able to provide interviews via online and offline during my stay in Lithuania.

The interviewees are anonymous. When it comes to the socio-demographic characteristics of the NGO representatives from Florida and Lithuania, the interviewees were categorized based on gender and age which helped to keep the utmost privacy of interviewees. Participants were informed prior to the interview on the topic and decided to join voluntarily. In most cases, the interviewees allowed me to write down their answers rather than recoding them. The interviews were not video recorded. In this research, there are no conflict of interest as the research was trying to find out the importance of how mediatization may or may not influence immigration. The whole communication that took place with the individuals who participated in the research was conducted in the English language and adhered to the principles of transparency and honesty. The empirical study does not collect any information that could be considered biased, and all reports are, in fact, obtained directly from the people who took part in this research.

When it comes to the limitations of the study include:

- *Sample size* – The number of analysis units used in this study is focused on the main research problem. Therefore, the sample size is limited.
- *Lack of prior research studies on the topic* – Many studies on media framing on various social issues were identified. However, the study focusing on media framing policy and political communication on immigrants is still finding and giving case study analysis on Florida and Lithuania. Therefore, this study faces such a limitation.
- *Lack of sufficient time for the interview* – In this study, the interview with participants from Florida was conducted during my exchange studies in 2019 from

August till December. It was challenging to identify potential migrants who would be able to participate in such research. The main challenges they said from being a participant were their lack of sufficient knowledge or attention to media framing and the effect of the political communications on immigrants.

- *The difference in study results* – When it comes to the study findings, there may be differences in Florida and Lithuania findings. In Lithuania, the immigrants are still yet to be integrated into society due to the language barrier.

In conclusion, this chapter explains the various methodology used in the dissertation: a qualitative study to determine the research objectives. It has presented the developed strategies to find out the importance of using qualitative content analysis to understand the role of mediatization, their framing mechanisms on various news reports, and its influence on political communication and immigrant integration.

CHAPTER 3: EMPIRICAL STUDY

This chapter analyzes the empirical results of this research. It covers details of the case study on the mass media pursuit of specific political communication and policy outputs by reporting immigration in Florida and Lithuania. It also identifies the significance of media framing on attitudes towards immigration in FL and LT and shows the results of the perception of immigrants & NGOs on the influence of the mediatized political communication in society towards migrants and their integration.

3.1. Immigration in Florida

Table 9 below shows the international migrants in the USA from 1990 to 2019 as per the data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). It covers comprehensive data about international migrants, international migrants as a share of the total population of the United States, about refugee population, the percentage and share of refugee population among international migrants, the ratio of females among international migrants, the median age of international migrants, the international migrants by age group, and migrants originating from same SDG region. This statistical data has great significance as it shows the growth of international immigrants in the United States in the period from 1990 to 2019. As one of the study areas I have taken for the dissertation is Florida from the United States, analyzing the aspect of international migration to the United States and the classifications of states of various aspects, such as children, women, skilled and unskilled migrant population have a great significance for this study.

As the study is analyzing the framing mechanisms looking into the various aspects of skilled and unskilled migration and how migrants had been perceived as victim or threat in Florida and Lithuania, looking into the statistical data which shows the demographic division of all these factors has great advantage for this dissertation. It can be seen as comprehensive statistical data covering almost all significant aspects of international migration to the United States as it offers a comprehensive coverage of international migrants for a period of 29 years, from 1990 to 2019. It has a great significance, as in 1990 with the influx of migrants from Latin America which initiated the sanctuary city policies in the United States and during 2000 with the 9/11 attack and America's War on Terror also showed migrant displacement and asylum-seeking from the Asian and African regions which culminated with the Arab Spring. By looking at the number of international migrants, we can see that data saw a doubling of international migration from the period of 1990 to 2019, as in 1990 it was only 23,251 whereas it almost reached more than double the average at 50,661 in the year of 2019.

Regarding the international migrants as a share of the total population, it also shows significant progress, as in 1990 it was less than ten percent (9.2%) whereas in 2019 it reaches 15.4%, which shows a significant increase in the share of international migrants in the total population of the United States. When looking at the share of refugees in the international migrants to the United States and the share of refugee population to the total international migrants, it can be seen that it does not make much significant impact even though there is a doubling in the total refugee population, from 464 in 1990 to 929 in 2019, while the share of refugees in international migrants almost remained at the same

level as, in 1990 it was 2 percent, whereas in 2019 it was at 1.8 percent. When looking at the female migrants among international migrants, even though female migration plays a significant role in the international migration to the United States, as it is almost half of the total migration with 51.1% in 1990, it did not show much significant increase over the years as it remained at 51.7% in 2019. Another important aspect is the median age of international migrants and international migrants by age group. The median age almost remained same from 1990 to 2019, as it was 37.1 in 1990 and remained at 42.8 in 2019; the data on international migrants by age group is similar, as the group of international migrants for the younger age group, from 20 to 64, as it was 73.6% in 1990 and 76.2% in 2019 and the age group of 65 and older was 12.9% in 1991 and 15.1 % in 2019.

These statistics show that the large share of international migrants to the United States are within the working-age population, which shows the contribution of international migrants to the United States economy. The final variable shows that the migrants originating from the same SDG region remain relatively low, as it was 3.7% in 1990 and lowered to 1.7% in 2019, which shows that people, especially migrants originating from the same SDG diminished over the period. It can mainly be attributed to the flow of international migrants from the Asian and African regions and the lowering of migrants from the same regions, unlike in the 1990s, where there was a significant flow and starting of the sanctuary city policies, it lowered in 2019.

Table 10. International migrants in the USA

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
International migrants (thousands)	23,251.0	28,451.1	34,814.1	39,258.3	44,183.6	48,178.9	50,661.1
International migrants as a share of total population (percentage)	9.2	10.7	12.4	13.3	14.3	15	15.4
Refugees (thousands)	464.9	623.3	894.6	549.1	270.9	559.4	929.8
Refugees as a share of international migrants (percentage)	2	2.2	2.6	1.4	0.6	1.2	1.8
Females among international migrants (percentage)	51.1	50.7	50.3	50	50.9	51.3	51.7
Median age of international migrants (years)	37.1	37.7	37.5	38.3	40.3	43.6	42.8
International migrants by age group (percentage)	13.5	12.3	13	13.9	12.2	8.3	8.7
0–19							
20–64	73.6	77.1	76.7	75.5	76	77.2	76.2

65+	12.9	10.6	10.3	10.6	11.8	14.5	15.1
Migrants originating from the same SDG region (percentage)	3.7	3	2.6	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.7

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019), Country profile, USA

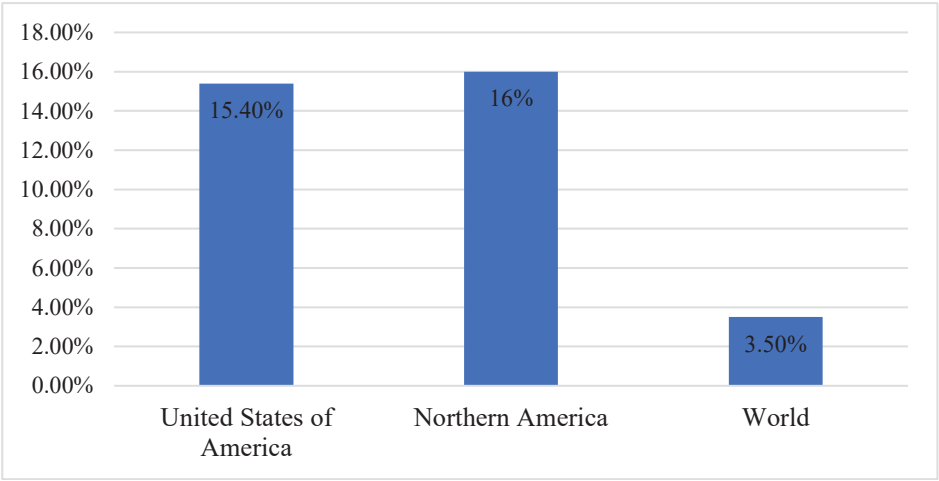

Fig. 5. International migrants as a share of the total population in the United States of America, in Northern America, and the world, 2019 (percentage)

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019), Country profile, USA

Figure 5 shows the percentage of international migrants as a share of the total population in the United States of America, North America, and the world as of 2019, according to the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2019). The figure shows that migration to the overall demography of the United States of America has a great significance with 15.40 percent of the total population. It enhances the importance of this data for this dissertation, as apart from the United States, the other regions which have been mentioned in the graph are North America and the whole world, whereas the United States is the only country profile in the above-mentioned figure. It enables the dissertation to investigate the aspect of the share of the immigrant population in the country, particularly looking at the state of Florida as it is one of the most impacted regions regarding immigration.

When looking at the statistics, the largest share of international migrants is mainly attributed to the United States and North American region as the United States of America have a total share of 15.4% of international migrants to the population whereas, in Northern America, it is 16% of the total population. It shows the significance of these

two regions as a major contributor to embracing international immigrants. These are especially evident in the immigration policies of the United States from the 1990s as a major actor embracing international immigrants with the policies of sanctuary cities and with their refugee and asylum policies during the years. When looking at the North American context, one of the significant actors in this region is Canada which also has a major role in taking international immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. These were mainly visible with the intake of the refugee population from war-torn areas of Syria and Libya during recent times. Apart from these regions, another major area in this study is the world except Northern America and the United States, and the contribution of the immigrant population to the total percentage is just 3.5% of the total population. Thus, the above statistics show that the United States and North America take the largest share of the immigrant population in the overall population as both regions make up the immigrant population of 31.40% of the total population.

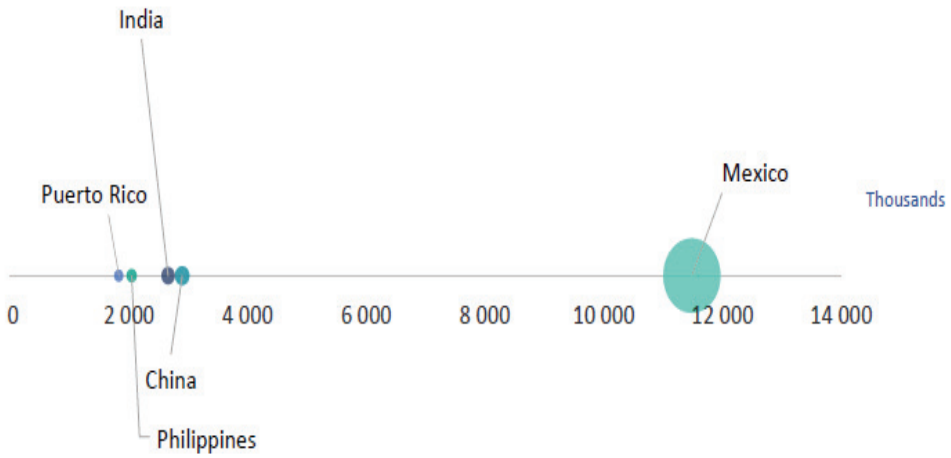

Fig. 6. Number of international migrants in the United States of America by top countries of origin, 2019

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019), Country profile, USA

Figure 6 shows the top immigrant-origin countries to the United States of America as of 2019, according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). The data also bears great significance for this study as this dissertation is looking into the aspect of mediatized political communication and immigration. For the empirical part, the interview has been conducted with the immigrant population of Florida, at least from the Latin American Caribbean and other regions of the world. Most of the international immigrants come either from Latin American countries or from the Asian regions of India, China, and the Philippines. When looking at the immigrant perceptions regarding mediatized political communication, it also shows

significant contrasting aspects, particularly with different opinions from people from different regions, which shows the vulnerability of the population from specific regions and the mediatized political communication which has been associated with it. Therefore, the above-mentioned figure provides great insight regarding country-specific profiles of the immigrant population and how they have been perceived and portrayed in the media mechanisms. Therefore, the figure looking at the country-specific aspect of the immigrant population has great relevance for the dissertation analyzing mediatized political communication, particularly in the case of Florida. The figure shows that Mexico is the largest contributor when it comes to international immigrants to the United States, which can be attributed mainly to the proximity of the region as well as the loose borders and other immigrant mechanisms which facilitate immigrant influx from Mexico to the United States. When it comes to the international immigrants, the second position is attributed to China which has around 2,500 immigrants in 2019 to the United States. India stands at the third position with fewer than 2,500 immigrants to the United States in 2019. The fourth and fifth positions are shared by the Philippines and Puerto Rico, which have an immigrant population of more than 2,000 for the Philippines and less than 2,000 for Puerto Rico.

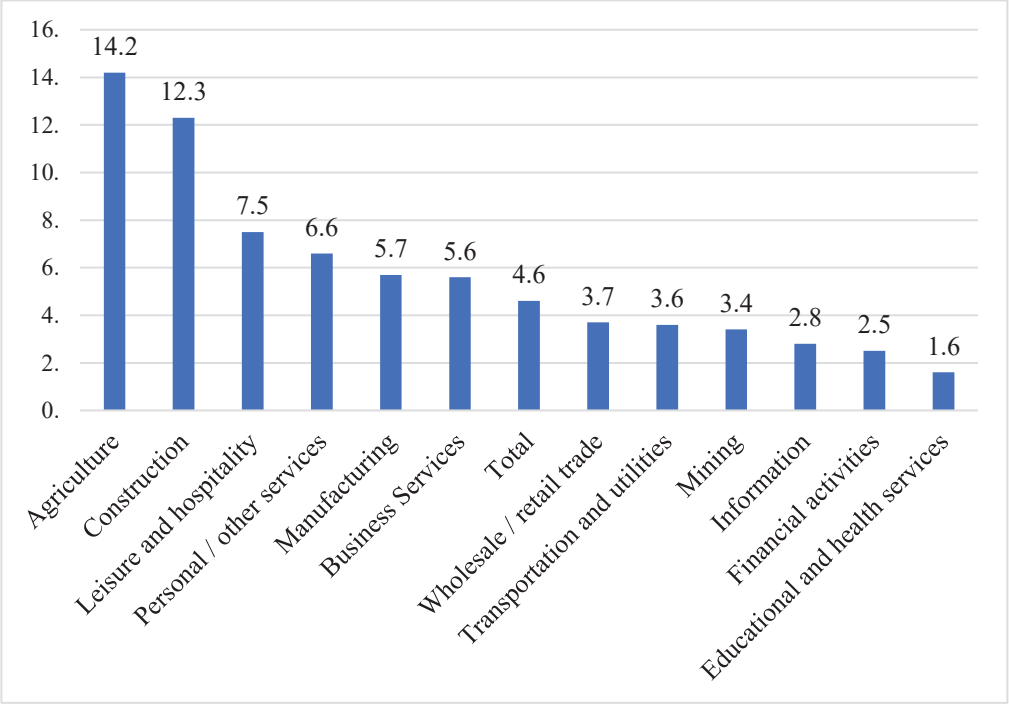

Fig. 7. Percentage of employed undocumented immigrants, by industry, U.S., 2017

Source: Statista, 2020

Figure 7 shows the percentage of employed undocumented immigrants in the United States by industry in 2017, according to Statista, 2020. This data has great significance for this dissertation looking into the aspect of mediatized political communication and immigration, particularly the vulnerability aspect of immigrants, especially the undocumented immigrants. The figure above depicts the aspect of undocumented immigrants in the United States, and the sectors in which they are employed depict the victimization of the undocumented immigrants and the vulnerability they face, and their exploitation at the workplaces. Here it can be seen that due to the lack of documentation, they were forced to work in the labor categories rather than in skilled professions. With mediatized political communication through the framing mechanism, this dissertation is trying to uncover the vulnerability of the immigrant population, especially the undocumented population. Therefore, knowing the percentage of employed undocumented immigrants in the United States enables us to narrow towards the aspect of undocumented immigration and the categories in the state of Florida through their political communication and framing mechanisms. According to the data in Figure 7, the lack of proper documentation makes it difficult to find a proper job as most of these undocumented immigrants were working in unskilled or less dignified jobs rather than dignified, skilled, and white-collar jobs. Most of the undocumented immigrants were engaged in the agricultural sector, construction, leisure and hospitality, personal and other services, and manufacturing as these were the areas where most of the local population are unwilling to get involved. It can be mainly attributed to the high risk of these jobs as well as the long working hours, and the adversity of being employed in such jobs. However, due to the lack of documentation, migrant workers were forced to be employed in these sectors.

The media narratives show that in the United States, most of such workers, especially documented and undocumented from the neighboring Latin American regions, work predominantly in the agricultural and construction sectors. The highest participation of immigrant workers is in the agricultural sector, which contributed to 14.2% of the total employment of the undocumented immigrants in the United States, followed by the construction sector with 12.3%, leisure and hospitality with 7.5%, personal and other services with 6.6%, and manufacturing at 5.7%. The data in the figure allows the assumption that due to the lack of documentation, proper skills and other educational requirements, undocumented immigrants were rarely employed in white-collar jobs, such as education and health services, information, and financial activities, as there is only 1.6% of undocumented immigrants employed in the education and health sector, 2.5% who work in financial activities, and 2.8% employed in the information sector. Thus, undocumented immigrants mostly get employed in low-paid and unskilled activities.

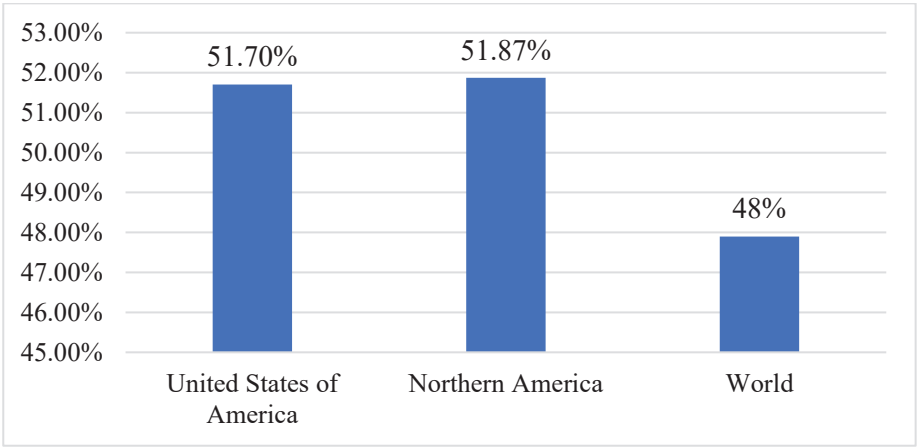

Fig. 8. Females among international migrants in the United States of America, in Northern America, and the world, 2019 (percentage)

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019), Country profile, USA

Figure 8 presents the percentage of females among international migrants in the United States of America, Northern America, and the world as of 2019, according to the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2019. When it comes to the aspect of victimization, most of the time, it is the female population who is victimized either sexually or by other means, particularly in the domestic and workplaces. Therefore, this study looks at the aspect of female international immigrants to the overall population of the United States. The statistics show that the total female international migration to the United States of America stands at 51.7% whereas in North America it is 51.87% which shows the similarity of international female migration to both regions. It shows the gender parity of international immigrants to both regions as women stand at 50% which shows the significance and probability of women to get immigrated and to have income and contribute to the economy and society. However, one of the significant contradictions which can be seen about international migrants as per Figure 5 is that when it comes to the international immigrant percentage at the world level, it was only 3.50% whereas when it comes to Figure 8 looking at the female percentage of the international migrants at the world level, it shows 48% which signifies the large influence of female immigrants across the globe in search of a livelihood and better living apart from the United States and North American regions. Thus, from all three regions, the female immigrant population has a significant role as breadwinners and as a significant contributor to the economy.

Table 11 shows the estimated refugees, including asylum seekers, at mid-year by central area, region, country, or area between the period of 1990–2019, according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019. The largest share of refugees or asylum seekers is mainly attributed at the world level followed by Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe, while the least has been reported in North America and Oceania. This table represents the displacement of people, especially

with its high influx in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that can contribute to a significant influx of refugees and asylum seekers to Europe and to the United States. Here it must be noted that the US and Europe play a significant role in accommodating the refugees or asylum seekers. In the case of the United States, Florida accounts for one of the largest and hottest regions regarding documented immigrants, especially refugees and asylum seekers, due to the diversity of the state when it comes to the immigrant population. Lithuania also takes an important position in the case of Europe, especially in the current times due to the huge risk of crossing the Mediterranean, which compels the undocumented immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers to cross into Europe through the Eastern European borders of Belarus and Ukraine. Thus, Table 11 depicts the refugees and asylum seekers, which have a great significance for this dissertation that investigates mediatized political communication on immigration in both Florida and Lithuania.

The period from 1990 to 2019 has a significant impact upon refugees, including asylum seekers, as this witnessed in Europe the fall of the Soviet Union and its disintegration, wars and internal rebellions in Latin America and the Caribbean, the 9/11 attack on the United States and the consequent war on terror, the Arab Spring and the world economic crisis which also led to the displacement of people across the globe. From Table 11, we can see that at the world level in 1990, an estimated more than 18 million people have been displaced, whereas in 2019, the number rose to more than 28 million at the global level. Apart from the global level, the worst affected region is the Asian region in which a population of more than 10 million has been displaced as refugees, including asylum seekers, in 1990, and it rose to 16 million in 2019. Africa comes into the third position with more than 5 million displaced in 1990 and more than 7 million in 2019. Another region with a significant number of refugees and asylum seekers is the Latin American and Caribbean region, where there was a displacement of more than a million in 1990, which reduced to around 600,000 in 2019. It can be primarily attributed to the large influence of the migrant population to the United States from the Latin American and Caribbean regions due to the porous borders and other mechanisms which facilitate illegal immigration. Another significant region is Europe, where there were an estimated 1.3 million refugees and asylum seekers in 1990, which rose to more than 3.5 million in 2019.

Regarding the refugees and asylum seekers, the least implicated areas are North America and Oceania; in North America in the 1990s there were around 600,000 refugees and asylum seekers, and the number rose to more than 1million in 2019. It can mainly be attributed to the influx of refugees and asylum seekers from various parts of the world to the North American region and the embracing refugee and asylum seekers policies by the North American countries and regions. Regarding Oceania, there were more than 110,000 refugees and asylum seekers in 1990, and it almost remains the same, with just a little less than 110,000 in 2019. Thus, Table 11 shows that from 1990 to 2019, there was a large displacement of the population across the world which resulted in refugees and asylum seekers seeking protection and help from various regions of the globe. In this regard, we can see that the major contributors of refugees and asylum seekers were Asian, African, and Latin American regions which resulted in the influx of both refugees and asylum seekers to the North American, Oceania, and European regions.

Table 11. Estimated refugees (including asylum seekers) at mid-year by central area, region, country, or area, 1990–2019

Region	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2019
World	18,977,581	18,142,316	16,503,717	13,757,766	15,880,355	24,651,000	28,711,526
Africa	5,697,283	5,952,996	3,698,535	2,941,924	2,726,187	6,186,607	7,299,284
Asia	10,038,834	7,952,442	9,185,166	8,121,643	10,545,376	14,453,065	16,013,658
Europe	1,323,376	3,016,710	2,472,899	1,862,341	1,750,314	2,820,482	3,595,669
Latin America and the Caribbean	1,197,274	352,309	44,176	53,436	394,300	415,459	607,263
Northern America	610,144	775,419	1,019,706	696,254	426,384	714,900	1,086,344
Oceania	110,670	92,440	83,235	82,168	37,794	60,487	109,308

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019

Figure 9 given below shows the opinion of the American people on the level of immigration in the United States during the period from 2006 to 2020, according to Statista, 2020. It has great significance for this dissertation specifically looking into the aspect of mediatized political communication on immigration and its framing mechanisms in both Florida and Lithuania. Regarding the opinion and perceptions of the public on immigration or any other aspects, it is the media and its mechanism of framing that facilitates the formulation of the public perceptions towards various incidents and events. The media places a significant and proactive role in formulating the public's perceptions towards immigrant intake and integration mechanisms. Therefore, it is significant to understand the public's perceptions towards immigration in the context of the United States to understand the role of media framing mechanisms that facilitate immigration discourse. The period of the data included in the figure is extremely relevant as this study looks at the immediate political communication from 2015 to 2020. According to Figure 9, the present level of the opinion of the American public on the level of immigration remains almost at the same level with 42% in 2006, and 36% in 2020. There was not a large change in the opinion of the American public from 2006 to 2020, with only a considerable fluctuation in the period of 2009 and 2014 where it reaches 32% and 33%.

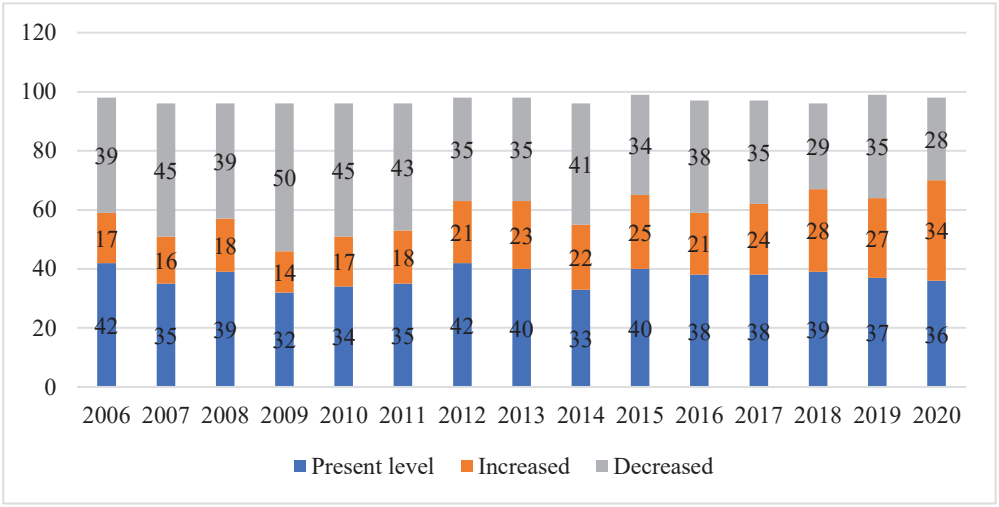

Fig. 9. The opinion of the American people on the level of immigration in the United States from 2006 to 2020

Source: Statista, 2020

It is important to look more closely at the period of 2016–2020 where there were not any noteworthy changes, as in 2016 the opinion stands at 38% and remains at 36% in 2020. The period is essential, as it was when the anti-immigrant rhetoric by President Trump was very vivid. The increased level of the opinion of the American people showed a significant increase in the public opinion as unlike the period of 2006–2015 where there was only an increase of 17% to 25% whereas from 2016 to 2020 it shows an increase of public opinion from 21% to 34% which is substantially higher. There is a lower increase in public opinion in the period from 2006 to 2011, which can mainly be attributed due to the world economic crisis and the loss of jobs of the local population which resulted in creating a pessimistic approach towards immigration and immigrant population.

Figure 9 also provides data regarding the decrease of public opinion. Here, the period of 2016–2020 has a great significance as there is a decrease of 38% in 2016 to 28% in 2020. It also shows the mentality of the American public and the responsible mechanisms which impact possible immigrant mechanisms which provided a favorable immigrant opinion in the American public. As before, the period between 2006 and 2011 does have significant fluctuation concerning decrease which varies between 39% to 50%. Like the previous aspect, this can mainly be attributed to the anti-immigrant perceptions, which were molded by the world economic crisis and the loss of jobs of the local population which created decreasing public opinion about immigration to the United States. Thus, the American population keeps a steady track of public opinion towards immigration from 2006 to 2020, which has less impact by the political rhetoric by the Republicans and President Trump from 2016 to 2020. However, when it comes to the financial crisis and the loss of jobs during the period from 2006 to 2011, it shows some significant changes with some pessimistic approach towards the immigration population, which was revived once the financial crisis was over.

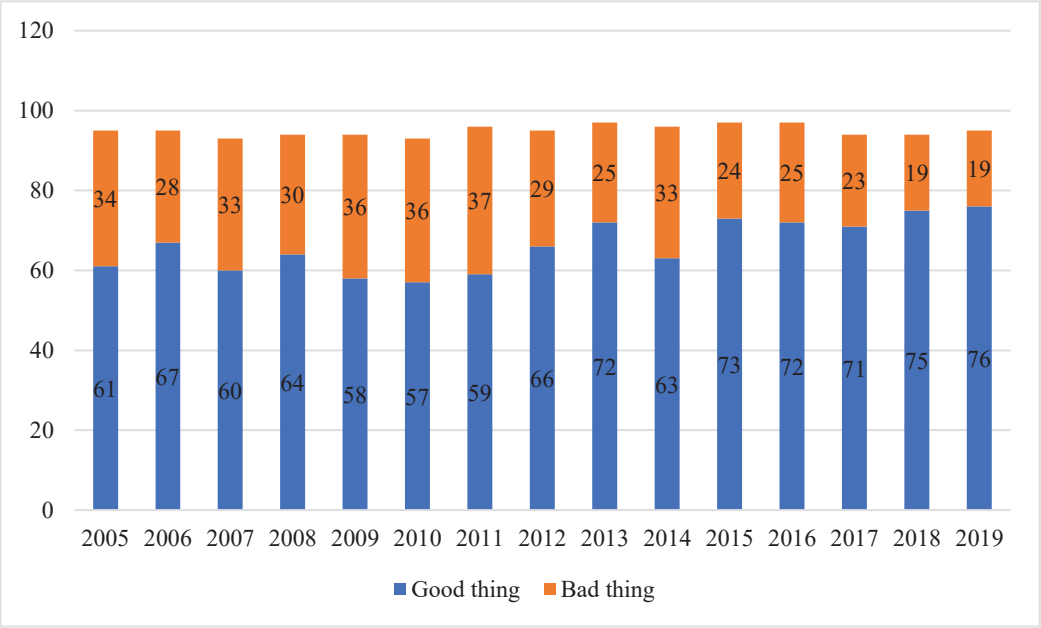

Fig. 10. Public opinion on immigration as a good or bad thing in the U.S., 2019
Source: Statista, 2020b

Figure 10 above shows the public opinion on immigration as a good or bad thing in the United States as of 2019, according to Statista (2020b). Like the above-mentioned Figure 10 also shows how the media, through its framing and discourse mechanism, facilitate the formulation of public perceptions regarding various incidences towards immigration and immigrant intake into society. As this dissertation is looking into the aspect of mediatized political communication towards immigration and how the media, through its political communication and framing mechanism, influences public perceptions, it is significant to the aspect of public perceptions towards immigration in the context of the United States. Therefore, looking into the aspect of public opinion on immigration as a good or a bad thing in the US in 2019 provides excellent insight into the research topic of the dissertation. As this study investigates the aspect of mediatized political communication on immigration over the time period from 2015 to 2020, data from 2019 is highly relevant. Over the period from 2005 to 2019, the public opinion shows slight variations. It is especially visible from 2009 to 2011, i.e., the period of the economic recession. Up to 2008, the public opinion was about 60%, whereas in 2009 it decreased to 58% on public opinion on immigration as a good thing, further lowered to 57% in 2010, and it remained at 59% in 2011. However, when the impact of the economic recession reduced, the public opinion on immigration as a good thing heightened again to more than 60% in 2012 with the scale of 66%, which increased to 72% in 2013 and subsequently rises over time. The highest percentage of public opinion on immigration as a good thing got significantly higher during the period from 2015 as it was 73% in 2015 and remained at 72% and 71% in 2016 and 2017, respectively, with the highest rate of 75% in 2018 and 76% in 2019.

It has a great significance like the previous picture as from 2016 with the coming of Donald Trump as the President of the United States and his continuous rhetoric on immigration as a bad thing didn't have much impact upon the public perception of immigration as we can see that from 2016 public opinion on immigration as a good thing got high heightened with their record rate of more than 70 percent in the whole timeframe. It shows the commitment of the political and other social actors in educating the public and orienting them regarding the benefits and prospects of immigration and the framing of opinion on public regarding the same. From the same picture when looking at public opinion on immigration as a bad thing, it also shows a similar migration trend as a good thing during the period. When looking at immigration as a bad thing, we can see that the highest percentage is during the period from 2009 till 2011.

During the period of economic crisis where the public perception of immigration as a bad thing was recorded at 36% in 2009, remained at 36% in 2010 and rose to 37% in 2011. However, during the period from 2012 to 2015, it reduced to less than 30%; it was recorded at 29% in 2012, further reduced to 25% percent in 2013 and a slightly increased to 33% in 2014, but then reduced to 24% in 2015. Similar to the aspect of migration as a good thing, the greatest decrease was recorded during the Trump Presidency, when in 2016 it was 25%, further reduced to 23% in 2017, and the lowest was recorded in 2018 and 2019 when the public perception on immigration as a bad thing was 19%. Thus, the public perception of immigration as a good or bad thing has changed over the period from 2005 to 2019, when significant changes were recorded from 2009 to 2011 and from 2015 to 2019.

Regarding the public perception of immigration as a good and bad thing has been greatly impacted negatively during the period from 2009 to 2011, during the period of economic recession, whereas immigration as a good or bad thing significantly reduced and shows positive impacts during the period from 2015 to 2019. It was especially evident during the presidency of Donald Trump. It shows the orientation of the public and their rationality regarding the aspect of immigration and the pivotal role of various social and political actors in orienting the public regarding the same on immigration.

3.1.1. Mediatized political communication on immigration in Florida

Empirical study Results of objective 2 – Florida – The New York Times

This section analyses in detail the aspect of mediatized political communication in the context of Florida. Political communication is a broader concept which not only aligns with the political communication of the media networks, which have attribution in various other sections of the society, like political parties and other social actors which facilitate political communication. This dissertation focuses on the aspect of mediatized political communication and how the media through its discourse facilitates political communication to the public. To understand the media network political communication, the study focuses on the political communication which has been stated by actors such as politicians and other social cultural and religious actors who make political statements on immigration in Florida. Through this mechanism, it helps to understand the political

perceptions of the social, political, and cultural actors and how they have been amplified by the media which creates the perceptions of the public.

Figure 11 below presents the results of empirical study obtained from the *New York Times* news portal from January 1, 2015 to January 30, 2020, on the second research objective: What are the political communications on immigration reported in media? The figure below shows the result from the *New York Times* on various political communication on migration.

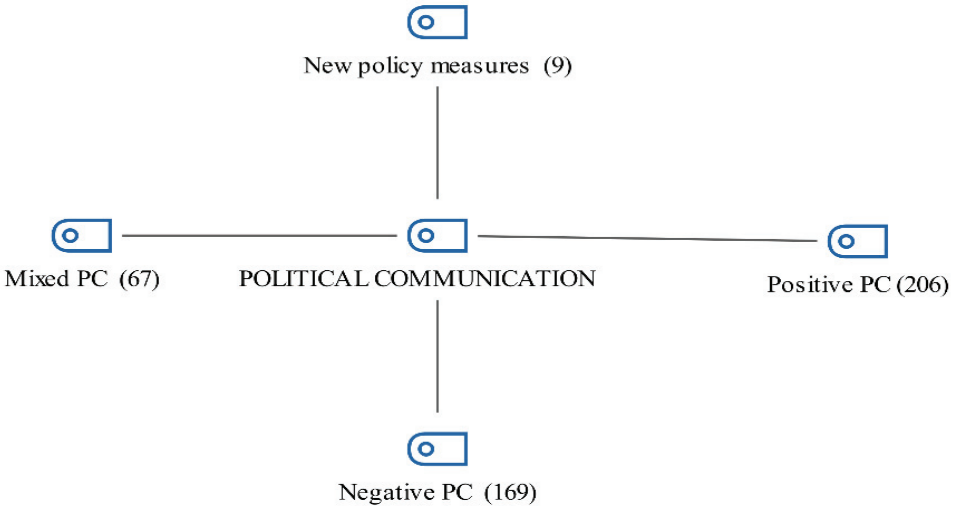

Fig. 11. Political communication on immigration in the *New York Times:* January 1, 2015, to January 30, 2020

Source: Author

From the results show 451 instances of political communication reported in the *New York Times* during the given time. They are categorized into four different sections:

1. Positive political communication
2. Negative political communication
3. Mixed political communication about immigration
4. New policy measures for immigration.

As seen in Figure 11, positive political communication was reported 206 times during the given period, while negative political communication included 169 news reports. Mixed political communication is not completely positive or negative; regarding immigration in Florida, 67 news reports of mixed political communication were found due to various political communication and political leaders' approach towards immigration. There were mainly nine news reported in this period in the aspect of new policy measures. Hence, most of the news that is reported in the *New York Times* during the given time shows a very high amount of support from the political parties or political leadership or any communication that is associated with the political community in supporting immigration. They are trying to depict various challenges and tackle the issue of the immigrant crisis in Florida. Now let us analyze the very important news that is associated with each of the four different categories.

Political communication – Positive

Political communication and its role in creating positive or negative public perceptions and social orientations is an important part of media discourse. Positive political communication in which the media highlights positive attributes of immigration and immigrant-related aspects and the responsible political communication towards immigration is a large part of media discourse.

Here we can see those political communications and different political debates that are broadcasted in various news narratives, which significantly influence various people, especially as it generates a certain impact on society towards policy discourse and policy formulation. Different scenarios with political communication broadcasted in media and news channels significantly influence society to formulate their perception, which, in turn, influences political communication and decision-making. They can generate and sometimes manipulate the perception about immigrants and immigration. Therefore, the main important positive political communication that arises and is reported in the *New York Times* needs to be identified, hence analyzing how these political communications are created using a mediatized platform.

There are 206 articles regarding positive political communication from January 1, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, from the *New York Times*. As for all these variables and subcategories, there is a significant number of news reports regarding positive political communication; this research tries to select the significant news narratives and discourse which can throw light upon these specific frames investigated in this study. This enables to understand the overall media-chosen narrative regarding various frames and subframes, thereby enabling to formulate perceptions towards media narratives discourse and framing.

One of the significant discourses in the political communication or responsible political narrative can be seen as

> Most Americans oppose the separation of immigrant families at the border, and a larger share of people than at any point since 2001 say immigration is good for the nation. Those were just some of the findings of polls published in the past week that shed new light on attitudes toward immigration, a subject that many Americans view as a top concern ahead of this fall's midterm elections. (Chokshi, 2018)

This media discourse can be considered as an example of positive political communication by the media networks. Here it states that most of the Americans from 2001 were in favor of immigration and immigrant-related issues which shows the significant responsible manner of the American public towards immigration and the role played by the media in highlighting it as well as the significant political communication which happens towards immigration. This news narrative has a great significance, especially during the period of 2018 when the anti-immigrant rhetoric by President Trump and the Republicans was so heightened. Thus, the analysis of this media discourse example and the previous Figure 11 on the public perceptions towards immigration shows that from 2001, the public approach towards immigration was in favor of immigrant intake and integration. This media report shows not only the opinion polls which favor immigration but also the positive aspect towards immigration from the socio-political but also from the public perception.

Another significant article in this category of positive political communication is "'We're pretty much begging for workers,' Tom Nassif, the chief executive of Western Growers, a trade organization that represents farmers, said on CNN. A fast-food chain founder warned, 'Our industry can't survive without Mexican workers'" (Cotton, 2016).

This example of positive political communication shows the significance of migrant workers in the agriculture sector in the United States. From this narrative, we can see how valuable migrant workers are for employers in the United States, especially from the Latin American regions, such as Mexico, which greatly contributed to the workforce, especially in the labor sector in the United States. Various research shows that the lack of labor workforce and the unwillingness of the local population to work in agriculture and other sectors enhance the significance of migrant labor workers, and the hardworking nature of these migrant workers facilitated further work-related migration to the United States. This media narrative has a great importance as it came just after the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States in December 2016. It shows that there are responsible media and the highlighting of significant political communication from responsible actors which tries to rectify the odds in the migration process and to pressure the federal government without getting into much worsening legal measures towards work-related immigration from the neighboring regions.

Another prominent media article regarding positive political communication is:

> Some people contend that low-skilled immigration doesn't depress wages. In his final State of the Union address, President Obama argued that immigrants aren't the principal reason wages haven't gone up; those decisions are made in the boardrooms that too often put quarterly earnings over long-term returns. (Cotton, 2016)

Unlike the previous narratives, which show the positive political communication statements by political actors and by other social and cultural actors and institutions, this one comes directly from the political leadership, that is, from the President of the United States in his final address before leaving the presidency. When it comes to anti-immigrant policies and propaganda, one of the prime factors which anti-immigrant voices raised constantly is the fact that the migrants are the major factor for reduced wages and for diminished wage system in the United States, which inhibits the local population to move away from low-skilled jobs. However, with this narrative, the media clearly highlights the political statement by the President which states that the diminished wages are not created by the migrants or migrant influx and were directly created and determined by the leadership and business associations which create such scenarios leading to diminished wage system due to their profit-oriented mechanisms.

Another example of positive political communication can be seen in the media narrative:

> Every time I hear that President Trump is talking about immigrants, I wonder what cruel language he has come up with to describe us – "rapists," "drug dealers," "invaders." But now Mr. Trump is talking immigration again, and this time, he is making some sense. In fact, the president has laid out a trap for liberals to fall into. (Aziz, 2019)

This media narrative displays the understanding of an immigrant writer named Aziz, who tries to analyze the political communication of the President responsibly. As

this narrative has been made in May of 2019, he is trying to evaluate and analyze the immigrant-related policies of President Trump from 2016 to 2019. Here he tried to evaluate how the tone and attitude of the President towards the immigrants had changed from a much harder position of calling the immigrants as rapists, drug dealers, and invaders to a softer tone with an implication focusing on giving skilled-based immigration instead of family-oriented immigration thereby trying to exclude those who are not skillfully useful to the United States. Here he also tries to imply that by making such a statement, the President is trying to influence and place the pro-immigrant activists and Democrats in a confused state, thereby trying to implement his strong immigrant-related policies of acceptance of those immigrants who can contribute to the United States and not to those who depend on state financing and resources.

A prominent article in which the media discourse provides positive political communication is: "Instead of catching criminals, Trump wants to tear apart communities and punish immigrant families that are making valuable contributions to our economy," said Tom Perez, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. "That's not what America stands for" (Baker,2017). Like the article mentioned above, this article provides the positive political communication in which the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Tom Perez, criticizes the political immigrant move by the President in which he tries to reduce the coming up immigration to America by half thereby trying to implement his immigrant-related policies. In this article, Tom Perez critically voices against the immigrant-related policies of President Trump directly stating that rather than catching the criminals and those immigrants who perpetuate crime he is trying to overall slash the immigration to the United States by introducing the legal measures of skill-related immigration, thereby preventing family-based immigration to the United States. It is a great example of positive political communication by the leader of the democratic party's political leadership when it comes to anti-immigration policies by the government or by the people with vested interest and organizations and groups who criticize and are vocal against those policies and the media discussion which highlights those mechanisms thereby trying to combat such impending immigration policies in the United States.

The above-mentioned media narratives and discourses highlight positive political communication. The examples illustrate that when it comes to immigrant-related policies and the anti-immigration moves by political parties or by the political leadership, the media, together with social, political, and cultural organizations, institutions and actors come forward and try to be vocal and restrict such measures thereby preventing any immigration policies which can hamper the immigration to the United States. With these positive political communication measures, the media, together with other actors, act as a catalyst for rectifying the odds in the political and legal system and to make a more favorable environment for immigration and immigrant-related policies.

Political communication – Negative

Like the positive political communication, negative political communication highlighted through the media can have a strong impact on immigrant-related policies. As public perceptions and orientations are mostly shaped by various media-related narratives, negative political discourse by the media will have a far-reaching implication not only on the perception of the public towards migrant-related policies but also in the formulation and execution of migrant-related policies by the political leadership. When the media favors negative political narratives towards immigration, negative perceptions form and orient public protest towards such incidents, thereby facilitating enough room for the political leadership to implement their policies according to their vested political interest. In this scenario, it is necessary to see how political communication and media discourse negatively influences immigration and immigrant-related policies. For the analysis of negative political communication, media articles have been collected from the *New York Times* from January 1, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. Like positive political communication, the negative counterpart also comprises a large number of articles, namely, 169 instances of negative political communication have been discovered. There are multiple examples of negative political communication, the analysis of which helps uncover how the media narrative and the various political communication depicts immigration as a threat to the United States socio-political and cultural realm.

A great example of negative political communication in which the media narrative stated that,

> We should also be skeptical of claims that an amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants, many of whom have little schooling, or even just to the Dreamers, who typically have a high school diploma, will be an economic boon. The amnesty is going to be expensive. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the net cost of granting amnesty to the Dreamers (the additional expenses minus the taxes they pay) would run to $25 billion over the next 10 years. An amnesty will be far costlier if it is extended to the entire illegal population, which is less skilled on average. (Borjas, 2018)

Here, Borjas states that providing amnesty to illegal immigration and covering in a wholesome manner can be financially detrimental to the economy of the United States. Another negative aspect in this narrative is regarding the Dreamers, where he states that even though they have a high school diploma, unlike other illegal immigrants, even they can be considered as a financial liability to the country. He referred to the estimated cost when it comes to the amnesty of the Dreamers alone and how much it can cost in the coming years for the US financial institutions thereby stating that illegal immigration and providing amnesty to Dreamers can be a determining effect and subsequently it needs to be curtailed. Thus, this narrative can be seen as having a determining impact on the negative political communication in the aspect of immigration and immigrant-related issues.

Another prominent narrative regarding negative political communication is:

> Mr. Trump who made a harsh immigration message, which critics called racist, a key component of his 2016 campaign has portrayed "sanctuary cities" as lawless places where danger lurks around every corner. "Every day, sanctuary cities are unleashing vicious predators and bloodthirsty killers, like MS-13, into

> our communities," Mr. Trump said in Southaven, Miss., referring to the brutal transnational gang with roots in Central America. "They go out, and they hide out in sanctuary cities. Then they come into our cities and our towns. (Davis, 2018)

Here, the media highlights the negative political communication of the leadership of the United States in which President Trump made critical statements towards the mechanism of sanctuary cities and their functioning. The political communication by President Trump was so critical that he criticized the policies of the sanctuary cities and considered them as the places where it harbors illegal immigrants and criminals who perpetuate crimes and other violent activities in various states and counties of the United States. Thus, these narratives can create suspicion and negative perceptions towards immigration in the minds of the public, thereby creating unfavorable public opinion towards immigration and sanctuary policies. However, the media highlights these negative political communications and tries to shine a light on these mechanisms, thereby trying to rectify the odds in the negative political communication statement by political actors.

Another significant negative political communication media narrative can be seen in:

> The acting director of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency said on Wednesday that he would follow through with plans to send agents into communities to round up and deport undocumented families, in the Trump administration's latest attempt to deter large-scale migration of Central Americans to the southwest border (Jordan & Youngs, 2019).

This narrative exemplifies negative political communication from the political actors and senior bureaucrats, which show the attitude of the Trump administration towards undocumented immigrants. The example discusses the updated plans of the Trump administration, especially as seen in the statement by the acting director of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency to enforce strict measures and to make plans by sending enforcement agents to communities where there is a large presence of undocumented immigrants thereby creating tense situation within diverse community groups. With this statement, it also tries to send out messages not only to the communities which harbor illegal immigrants but also to those who wish to cross the borders to have a better life in the United States. This negative political communication narrative not only tries to create an uncomfortable scenario for illegal immigrants in the United States but also for the prospective immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States through the southwestern borders.

This negative political statement by the top legal officer of the Trump administration implies the overall immigrant-related policies of the Trump administration, especially concerning people who were detained for various criminal offenses:

> In a recent speech in Miami that made national headlines, Attorney General Jeff Sessions described the case and several others like it in graphic detail, and said that releasing potentially deportable immigrants like Mr. Martinez when their jail terms were over does "far broader damage to the country than many understand." "At its root," he added, "it is a rejection of our immigration laws" (Dickerson, 2017)

With this narrative, Attorney General Jeff Sessions states that there should be a coordination between the legal and judicial system and the National Security Agency, enabling the federal agents to coordinate with the legal system to deport those criminals once they finished their sentence. With this statement, he also embraced that those who were convicted were not authorized to leave in the United States and to be deported once they finish their sentencing. The Trump administration tried to insist on equating all criminal offenses by the immigrants, whether it is a pity crime or a serious felony, thereby trying to generalize the issue and to deport those who were once convicted without providing them a fair chance. It shows that it is against the democratic values and institutions of the United States, as any person, whether it is a citizen or an immigrant, should have equal and fair treatment when it comes to legal measures. Thus, this article shows the clear negative political communication by the top legal officer of the Trump administration.

Another instance of negative political communication towards the immigration and immigrant-related issues can be seen in the US President's statement:

> "We are going to get the bad ones out the criminals and the drug dealers and gangs and gang members," Mr. Trump said. "The day is over when they can stay in our country and wreak havoc. We are going to get them out, and we are going to get them out fast" (Davis,2017).

The President is generalizing the immigrant population as a group of criminals and bad people who create havoc and issues in the United States. With this statement, he tries to embrace that the administration is trying to create policies that will take measures to expel those people and make policies that will prevent further immigration of illegal immigrants into the United States, such as building the wall at the Mexican border. He emphasizes preventing immigrants, especially from the Middle East, from coming to the United States, who, as he claims, will destabilize the economy and the security of the country. These statements generalize the immigrant population as bad people, especially from the top official of the country; such negative political communication can have far-reaching impacts upon the immigrant population and formalize public perceptions which will be negative towards the immigrant population. Thus, highlighting this negative political narrative by the President, the media is acting as a responsible agent, which emphasizes the odds in the political communication towards immigration and immigrant-related issues.

Unlike positive political communication, negative political communications mostly come from the executive, bureaucratic divisions, from the political leadership of the Trump administration and from individual writers who are skeptical towards immigration and immigrant-related issues. The above-mentioned narratives show how the executive, bureaucratic and political divisions create political narratives which appear to be determinant to immigration and immigrant integration in the United States with statements that create suspicion and hatred towards the immigrant population and to the new immigrants who would like to continue their lives in the United States. Like positive political communication, negative political communication also has a significant presence in the media discourse towards immigration and immigrant-related issues. Thus, the media acts as an effective agent in highlighting various political communication which can have a detrimental effect on immigrant integration and immigration, thereby

placing media discourse towards the public to create a rational perception towards immigration and immigrant integration.

Political communication – Mixed

Mixed political communication of social and political actors, which make mixed statements about immigration and immigrant-related scenarios is another prominent part of overall political communication. Unlike the positive and negative political communication, which have relatively large amounts of media narrative discourse, there are not many instances of mixed political communication. However, 67 news articles that include mixed political communication have been found in this study.

One example of mixed political communication may be the following excerpt from the communications director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, Matt Gorman, where he speaks about the aspects of public and voters' concern when it comes to immigration-related issues:

> Matt Gorman, the communications director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, the party's House campaign arm, said immigration themes – "sanctuary cities" in particular, as well as liberal calls to abolish Immigration and Customs Enforcement – were among voters' top concerns in some places where Hillary Clinton won in 2016 and where Republicans are now battling to hang on to competitive seats *(Davis, 2018)*.

Here he states that the most pressing issues when it comes to the voters during the election time regarding migration are the role of the governmental stand towards the sanctuary cities and the Republicans stand towards immigration and the enforcement of the migration policies. With this statement, he implies that maybe these are the issues in which the Republicans are taking a defensive stand which caused the detrimental effects towards the Republican candidates during the 2016 election, which gave some weightage and upheld for the Democrats and Hillary Clinton. Thus, with this statement, we can see that even though he mentions the voters' concern and immigration issues regarding the customs and immigration enforcement, his statement does not clearly imply whether it is in favor of immigration changes or is against the immigration-related changes which shows a neutral approach as the above-mentioned statement is unclear. As this statement of political communication does not have a clear stance, it is regarded as an example of mixed political narrative in media discourse.

Another significant instance of media discourse that shows narratives of mixed political communication can be seen in the form of statements such as: "In addition to protecting the young immigrants, it provides billions of dollars for a wall on the southwest border while imposing new limits on legal immigration" (Stolberg & Kaplan, 2018). There are signs of both positive and negative political communication within the narrative. It mentions the new legal measures proposed by the Trump administration, which try to protect the Dreamers and the younger immigrants who are in the United States thereby saving them from deportation. However, in the same bill, it mentions the proposed legal measures which put forward for the construction of the wall at the Mexican border, thereby preventing further illegal immigration into the United States. Thus, through this proposed bill, the Trump administration is trying to highlight the issue of immigration again as an unwanted scenario even though they tried to promote and to

provide some relief to the Dreamers. It is implying that the Republican administration is trying to force the Democrats also to align towards the proposed bill. As this narrative has both positive and negative communication within a single narrative, this article clearly shows the essence of mixed political communication in the *New York Times*.

Mixed political communication can be seen in the form of statements such as:

> According to some immigration experts, his vaunted border wall could even increase the number of immigrants living and working illegally in the United States. Unless Mr. Trump was also prepared to impose a police state that would hunt down and deport every foreigner, immigrants face a higher cost of entry, higher smugglers' fees, greater odds of dying on the way would be more likely to stay once they got in (Porter, 2016).

In this narrative, the media talks about the inability or the unpractical mechanisms of the Trump administration to control immigration. It states that the policies towards controlling immigration have less grounding, and rather than making it apply towards controlling immigration, it can further enhance immigration, thereby highlighting the odds of the immigrant-related policies by the Trump administration. It shows the critical aspect of the media narrative towards the less effective policy missions of the Trump administration towards immigration. However, it also states that if the policy towards this were formulated with much more coercive action by the state administration, having specific measures to find each illegal immigrant and specific bold administrative and bureaucratic steps without loopholes and the proper implementation of the wall can limit illegal immigration into the United States. It would create a less favorable approach towards illegal immigration as well as prevent smugglers and other cartels towards promoting illegal immigration to the United States. Both the positive and negative implications towards immigration are present in the example, thereby highlighting the significance of this narrative towards mixed political communication.

Reflections of mixed political communication can be seen in: “You're going to have a deportation force, and you're going to do it humanely," Mr. Trump told MSNBC at the time. "Look, we have to do what we have to do, and Ike did it, and other people have done it” (Haberman & Rappeport, 2016). This quote depicts neither positive or negative political communication and shows the aspects of both these fused together as mixed political communication. It depicts the statement made by the President in which he emphasized the need for having deportation of those illegal immigrants who can be considered as a threat to the social-cultural, and legal system of the United States, emphasizing that it would be done humanely and with human considerations and values. The President’s statement implies that he is acting according to the needs of the time to protect the national values. It is one of the few mixed political statements or a softer approach by the President regarding immigration and deportation as most of his previous tones and comments were very inhuman and harsh towards illegal immigration and towards immigrant deportation. This statement presents a mixed tone and approach towards migration and deportation by the President of the United States.

Another significant media narrative regarding mixed political communication can be seen in the statement which depicts the mixed aspect of political communication in the media narrative:

> The "U.S.-Mexico Joint Declaration" that Mr. Trump announced with fanfare on Friday did include a mention of possible "further action." It said the two countries agreed to "continue their discussions on the terms of additional understandings to address irregular migrant flows and asylum issues, to be completed and announced within 90 days, if necessary." One idea that Washington has proposed for years is a "safe third country" arrangement in which migrants who flee persecution in Central American countries would first have to apply for asylum in Mexico". (Haberman & Shear, 2019)

This media narrative shows traits of both positive and negative political communication;. it speaks about the joint declaration which was made between the US and Mexico for making strengthened measures for combating illegal immigration into the United States, which had to be implemented within 90 days. It discusses the initiative enhanced by the Trump administration and the further negotiation with the Mexican government to prevent illegal immigrants from pursuing a life and career in the United States by taking strict legal measures. However, the same narrative also shows strong positive aspects towards migration; people who are fleeing from Latin American countries because of persecution would first apply for asylum in Mexico, thereby enabling them to further immigrate, which can provide them with a better life. Having both the positive and negative aspects of political communication, this article comes under the category of mixed political communication.

The above-mentioned narratives and other narratives in the category show that the *New York Times* publishes a considerable amount of mixed political communication, by providing media narratives and discourse which depict both sides of political communication towards immigration. It enables the public to distinguish both the positive and negative aspects of political communication towards immigration, thereby enabling them to create perceptions with a proper understanding of migration and migrant-related issues as well as the role of political actors and political communication related to them. The analysis of media discourse towards mixed political communication shows that the media tries to act as a justifying force highlighting the odds of political communication and policy measures towards immigration thereby trying to create an equilibrium state towards immigration and immigrant integration in the perception of the readers.

Political communication – New policy measures

Media often reports on the new policy measures adopted by the government towards immigration and immigrant integration. Unlike the other political communication, which includes the positive, negative, or mixed views towards immigration, reports on new policy measures in political communication specifically looks at how various policy measures are envisaged by the government which can either favor or create obstacles for immigrants and people who wish to immigrate to the United States. Like the above-mentioned political communications, this study investigates the media reports on new policy measures during the specific period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020 in the *New York Times*.

While collecting the data to analyze the new policy measures during the overall period, only 9 new policy measures that come in political communication media

discourse were found, unlike the other previously discussed types of political communication. It is mainly because policy measures, especially regarding immigration, come in the next category, which deals with media framing and the various frames associated with it. In the media framing categorization, an important category is the responsibility frame, in which we investigate the various responsibility measures taken by political actors when it comes to immigration. Here, the sub-frame of amicable policy measures taken by political actors is considered. When it comes to the policy measures regarding immigration, most of these new enforced policy measures fit into the category of amicable or hostile policy measures, which comes into the sub-frame of responsibility in which the measures have been taken towards immigration by the political actors. Thus, the line between media discourse and media framing towards immigration and the political decisions and new policy measures is relatively thin when it comes to new policy measures. However, the dissertation tries to analyze some of the new policy measures towards immigration taken by political actors.

New policy measures in the category of political communication are represented in the following statement:

> That reversal would increase the overall education level of immigrants, the officials said, with nearly three-quarters of those migrating to the United States having bachelor's degrees or an advanced degree under the new Trump plan. It would also increase the average salary for immigrants to $96,000 from $43,000, they said" (Shear, 2019).

In this media narrative, the Trump administration is envisaging new plans which would emphasize the skills and expertise of those immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States rather than the family ties or other preferences which attract immigrants to the United States. This policy measure can clearly state the conservative ideological measures of the Trump administration, thereby trying to curb and inhibit unskilled immigrants and immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States based on family ties and relationships. By envisaging such a plan, the administration is trying to enhance the skills and expertise of those who wish to immigrate, thereby insisting on having an educational qualification of a bachelors or advanced degree and increasing the average salary or wage from $43,000 to $96,000, making it challenging for those immigrants who have less qualification or lack the expertise to get a high-paid job. Even though this is a new policy measure that will enhance remuneration of those who have higher qualifications; however, it can inhibit those with a lesser qualification or advanced degree.

The following instance of media discourse highlights the new policy measures invested by the Trump administration, which focuses on merit-based and skill-based immigration to the United States, thereby sidelining the low-skilled immigration to the United States:

> Mr. Trump's remarks in the speech focused instead on the merit-based system. "It's a basic principle that those seeking to enter a country ought to be able to support themselves financially, yet in America, we do not enforce this rule, straining the very public resources that our poorest citizens rely upon," Mr. Trump said. "Switching away from this current system of lower-skilled

> immigration, and instead adopting a merit-based system, we will have so many more benefits. (Davis, 2017)

By these policy measures, the Trump administration is trying to highlight only those who can contribute to the economy of the United States and ignoring those who can be a burden or a liability to the American economy. By envisaging such a new policy measure, the Trump administration is deviating from the previous administrations, which predominantly gave greater significance to humanitarian aspects of immigration; the administration in which the poorest immigrants and immigrants fleeing persecution from the Latin American countries were granted asylum and sanctuary, which initiated the process of sanctuary cities in the United States in the 1980s. Although the President states that the changing or shifting away from the low-skilled immigration-based system will have many benefits, previous media narratives indicate that low-skilled immigration is one of the most significant contributors to immigration to the American Society. The low-skilled immigrants fill the gaps in the labor market caused by the unwillingness of the local population to embrace low-skilled jobs; the immigrants' availability and willingness to work low-skilled jobs contribute to the American economy and sustainability. They are especially important in the agriculture and farming sector where most of the jobs related to agriculture have been occupied by immigrant workers; the work in these sectors is vital for a continuous and uninterrupted supply of food and other necessities in the United States.

Like the previous political communication, new policy measures, this policy measure also advocated by the Trump administration tries to make stricter policy measures to combat immigration and to make immigration to the United States selective:

> Under the Trump administration's plan, the number of family-based green cards issued would be reduced from the 804,793 granted in 2016 to about 487,000 a year, according to an analysis by Julia Gelatt and Sarah Pierce of the Migration Policy Institute -- a 40 percent reduction in family-tied green cards and a 27 percent reduction overall. "Trump is the first of any modern president to advocate for reducing legal immigration," Ms. Pierce said. (Tavernise & Jordan, 2018)

Unlike the previous administrations, this administration wanted to reduce the legal immigration to the United States based on family-based green cards, who were either settled or employed in the United States. The Trump administration wanted to reduce it to more than half of the family-based green cards issued during 2016, according to the analysis by the Migration Policy Institute, which shows a significant reduction of 40% of family-based green cards and an overall 27% reduction of legal immigrants to the United States. Thus, the Trump administration's rigid policies towards immigration continue and become more and more selective when it comes to immigration and immigrant-related policy measures and legal aspects. Through this narrative and new policy measures enforced in political communication, the President and the Republican base are advocating for more national-oriented immigration policy measures and promoting skilled and quality-based immigration rather than a comprehensive approach towards immigration, thereby restricting the immigration of those who are less privileged to have immigrated.

Unlike the previous policy measures, which were directly discussed by the President of the United States, this media narrative focuses on the statement made by John Kelly, who was the former head of the United States Southern Command, who became the head of the DHS, offered by the Trump administration:

> While he favored strong border security and enforcement, he also believed, according to his advisers, that the United States wouldn't be able to stanch the immigration flow unless it helped the Mexican, Honduran, El Salvadoran and Guatemalan governments improve economic and security conditions in their countries. (Zengerle, 2019)

While here Kelly favors tougher and more stringent measures regarding illegal immigration by strengthening the borders as a requirement of national security, he has a more of a humanitarian approach when it comes towards illegal immigration, as he says that to have a stronger and more secure border and less illegal immigration to the United States, the United States should focus on providing betterment of living and economic condition in the Latin American countries, like Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, thereby providing betterment in the living conditions of the people over there which inhibits or prevents them from further illegal immigrations or falling into the trap of drug cartels to immigrate illegally to the United States. Even though this policy measure advocates for stronger border security to combat illegal immigration, it depicts a humanistic approach towards improving the living conditions and betterment of the life of people in the neighboring regions thereby combating illegal immigration to the United States.

Like the previous new policy measures envisaged by the Trump administration, the final media narrative discourse in the category of political communication concerning new policy measures also focuses on rigid measures towards immigrants, which favors deportation of those who were involved or were acquitted in criminal offenses:

> Mr. Trump's order focuses on anyone who has been charged with a criminal offense, even if it has not led to a conviction. He also includes, according to language in the order, anyone who has "committed acts that constitute a chargeable criminal offense," meaning anyone the authorities believe has broken any type of law – regardless of whether that person has been charged with a crime. (Medina, 2017)

This narrative focuses on the language of the President's order, as it categorizes immigrants based on criminal offense even though the person does not get convicted by the judicial process. This policy measure can be seen as one of the most biased regarding the policy measures towards immigration, as it not only places immigrants in danger of deportation but classifies all the categories of criminal offenses into a single category, whether it is a petty crime or a serious felony, or manslaughter. These kinds of policy measures can give a free hand to police and legal officials, thereby causing trouble to the immigrant communities and creating fear in the minds of immigrants towards the policy measures. This policy measure includes all those who have done some misinterpretation or fraud and measures when it comes towards obtaining a job as most of the illegal or legal immigrants do in the United States to get a job. Thus, categorizing all these together into a single frame, which can facilitate the deportation of the immigrant communities

and immigrants from the United States, can be seen as an inhuman new policy envisaged by the Trump administration.

The analysis of the new policy measures in the category of political communication reveals that the media discourse highlights the new policy measures towards immigration in the United States by the Trump administration. However, all these policy measures highlighted above directly or indirectly created obstacles and selective policy mechanisms towards immigration and immigrant intake. However, a humane aspects of new policy measures in the statement of the former Naval Southern Command chief John Kelly who advocates for humane measures regarding immigration and for the betterment of the living conditions of people in Latin America, thereby having a positive control on illegal immigration to the United States. Apart from that, all policy measures envisaged and advocated by the Trump administration were either favoring skilled immigration or combating family-based or unskilled immigration to the United States.

Overall, the analysis of media narratives on political communication towards immigration indicate that the *New York Times*, during the given time frame from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, comprehensively covered all aspects of political communication on immigration. The media highlights the various positive attributes of political communication towards immigration by various socio-political actors, the negative attributes of political communication and its implications upon society towards immigration, the mixed approach towards immigration by various social, political actors, and the new policy measures which were invested towards immigration by the political actors during the period. The analysis suggests that a country as big and diverse as the United States, when it comes to immigration and its related aspects and a newspaper like *New York Times*, which have a wide regional, national, and international outreach, the media discourse towards political communication on immigration touching all its significant aspects show an impeccable approach of media responsibility.

3.1.2. The role of media framing discourse on immigration in Florida

The third objective of this research is to determine the role of media framing and attitude towards immigration. To accomplish this objective, media framing reports from the *New York Times* from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, has been taken for study. To understand and analyze the role of media framing on attitudes towards immigration, five universal frames have been taken to evaluate the attitude towards immigration. All universal frames have been considered in this study as having great significance when it comes to the aspect of immigration. The victim or welcoming frame shows the victimization of the immigrants who were fleeing their respective countries, who came to America and their plight. The victim or welcoming frame shows their plight as well as the welcoming approach by the public and the local communities and the actors which facilitate immigrant integration into the United States. The second major frame is the threat frame/intruders frame which analyzes and evaluates how the immigrants have been perceived as a threat to the American Society and its culture and how they were treated differently in the host societies. This frame has a significant impact as people who were fleeing persecution come to another country searching for a better life when they are faced with suspicion which can create serious socio-cultural and psychological impacts upon the immigrants and immigrant communities.

The third frame regarding the attitude towards immigration is the responsibility frame. This frame is important as it shows the responsible actions and measures taken by political actors in both home and host societies which facilitate the betterment of living conditions for the immigrant communities, especially in the host societies. This is particularly important for the study, as the time selected for the research (2015–2020) displays one of the most controversial periods in the political history of the United States, when selecting migration and anti-immigrant policies were very vivid due to the policies and measures taken by the Trump administration. The fourth frame is the administrative frame in which the actions of the administrative mechanisms, like the executive, bureaucratic, judicial, and the third sector have been analyzed to see how these mechanisms either facilitate or inhibit immigration to the United States. It allows evaluating how the policy measures taken by the responsible actors have been implemented at the societal level and how this has benefited the immigrant communities and immigrants. The final frame is the return home frame, in which the policy measures are taken regarding return home by the political actors of the United States towards immigration and immigrant communities. This frame analyzes what the measures have been taken regarding return and repatriation and how it affects the immigrants in the United States. By analyzing all these frames, a comprehensive picture of media framing on the attitude towards immigration can be analyzed and evaluated. However, for an in-depth understanding of these aspects, sub-frames have been formulated, which enabled us to analyze each of these frames, thereby creating significant sub-frames in each category of the mainframes.

The mainframes used for the study are:

1. Victim/Welcoming Frame
2. Threat/Intruder Frame
3. Responsibility Frame
4. Administrative Frame and
5. Return Home Frame.

Table 12 below classifies the frames and sub-frames for the media report analysis. The first major frame is the victim/welcoming frame which includes the sub-frames of migrant smuggling/human trafficking, the ‘useful’ worker, returning emigrants, quality/skilled worker, wealthy or prospective investor/expat, exploitation in the worksite, demographic dividend, socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation, termination of legal document, granting of asylum, the unwillingness of locals to embrace the immigrants and inhuman conditions in refugee/detention centers. The second prominent frame is the threat/intruder frame which includes the sub-frames of legal threat, alien, economic threat/unskilled workforce, political/civic threat, health threat, socio-cultural and religious threat, the unwillingness of refugees to integrate and un-skilled. Regarding the responsibility frame, the major sub-frames are migrant hostile policy mechanisms, amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms, hostile statements by political actors, embracing statements by political actors, inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures, and selective immigrant policy mechanisms. The administrative frame is divided into the sub-frames are executive or bureaucratic, law and order/police, legal/judicial, and third sector/social actors. The final frame is the return home frame

which includes the sub-frames of mutual cooperation for repatriation and unilateral repatriation decision.

Table 12. Frames and sub-frames for the media report analysis

Victim/ Welcoming Frame	Threat/Intruder Frame	Responsibility Frame	Administrative Frame	Return Home Frame
Migrant Smuggling/ Human Trafficking	Legal Threat	Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms	Executive/ Bureaucratic	Mutual Cooperation for repatriation
The 'Useful' Worker	Alien	Amicable Immigrant Friendly Policy Mechanisms	Law &Order/Police	Unilateral repatriation decision
Returning Emigrants	Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce	Hostile Statements by Political Actors	Legal/Judicial	
Quality/Skilled Worker	Political/Civic Threat	Embracing Statements by Political Actors	Third Sector/ Social Actors	
Wealthy or prospective investor/ Expat	Health Threat	Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures		
Exploitation in the Worksite	Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat	Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism		
Demographic Dividend	The unwillingness of Refugees to integrate			
Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation	Un-skilled			
Termination of legal document				
Granting of Asylum				
The unwillingness of locals to embrace the immigrants				
Inhuman conditions in Refugee/Detention Centers				

Source: Author

For analyzing and evaluating the media framing regarding the attitude towards immigration, news narratives have been analyzed from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, of the *New York Times*. The news articles have been extracted for the analysis by using the LexisNexis software, and the articles have been coded using MAXQDA. A total of 2,500 articles have been extracted for this study. However, as the total volume of articles was extremely large, random selection of articles has been implemented, and 20%

of the total 2,500 articles have been abstracted for the analysis. Articles of each of the frame and sub-frame have been classified based on the relevance of the article towards each of the frame and sub-frame. With this approach, each frame and the subsequent sub-frames have been evaluated and understood using the framing mechanisms related to immigration and related issues regarding immigration.

Victim/ Welcoming Frame

When evaluating the role of media framing on the attitude towards the immigrants, one of the most significant frames is the victim/welcoming frame. During the five years from 2015 to 2020, a total of 63 news articles have been classified into the victim/welcoming frame, which falls into the sub-categories which were classified for the victim frame. Figure 12 below shows the distribution of frames in the victim or welcoming frame category. When evaluating the news reports, most of the reports in the victim category have been associated with the termination of legal documents sub-frame, inhuman conditions in refugee/detention centers, and migrant smuggling or human trafficking.

The main sub-frames of the victim frame are:

1. Termination of legal documents
2. Inhuman conditions in Refugee/Detention Centers
3. Migrant Smuggling/Human Trafficking
4. Quality/Skilled Worker
5. Demographic Dividend
6. The 'Useful' Worker
7. Exploitation in the Worksite
8. Granting of Asylum
9. Unwillingness of locals to embrace the immigrants
10. Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation

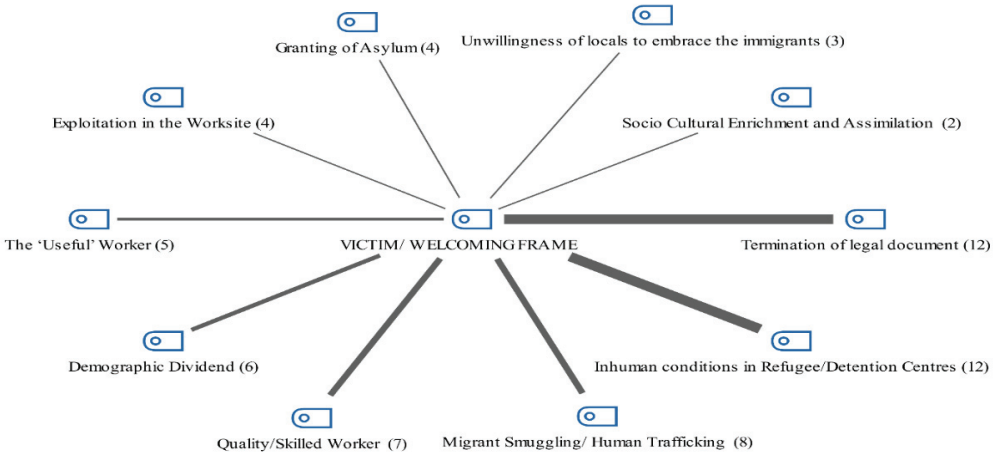

Fig. 12. Distribution of victim frame & sub-frames in the *New York Times*

Source: Author compiled from the *New York Times*

Termination of legal documents

The first sub-frame which comes under the victim/welcoming frame is the termination of legal documents. This is especially significant in the case of the United States due to various incidents, especially document malpractices and other new legal measures, which lead to the termination of legal documents of immigrants who come to the United States. It is essential to evaluate the media narratives and news frames which shed light on the termination of legal documents.

The following example signifies the frame of termination of legal document in which the new legal measures initiated by the Trump administration generalize all crimes related to immigrants under a single umbrella, which makes them come under the scanner of getting disqualified from their immigration status.

> After her arrest for driving without a license, Ms. Colotl had been charged with providing a false address to a law enforcement officer, a felony. She admitted guilt and dismissed the case after completing community service, a common outcome for low-level offenses. Though she was not convicted, under immigration law, her admission to the crime was enough to initiate the loss of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) status (Jordan, 2017).

Even though Ms. Colotl committed a crime which is not a serious offense and is categorized as a minor felony as she drove a vehicle without a license and provided a false address to a law enforcement agent, when she admitted guilty, she was served with a minor penalty of community service. But due to the generalization of all crimes under a single banner, this minor felony itself can be detrimental to her and can even lead to the dismissal of her DACA status, which is very related to the frame of termination of legal document.

Another prominent news narrative that comes under the sub-frame of termination of legal documents can be seen in the following statement: "Deportation proceedings of detained immigrants heard by videoconference were adjudicated more quickly, in fewer days and with fewer trials, than those heard in person. But detained immigrants whose cases were heard through videoconferencing were also more likely to be deported" (Goldbaum, 2019). This media narrative is an example of the termination of legal document sub-frame, representing the deportation cases, and the trials which were held online, which were speedier and had reached faster decisions. However, when it comes to online trials rather than in-person trials, the decisions were not in favor of the immigrants, who had more likely chances of being deported. Perhaps this is due to the lack of proper argumentation through online mechanisms or the lack of understanding and perceiving the immigrants' viewpoint through online mechanisms.

From the perspective of termination of legal documents, which comes under the victim/welcoming frame, it can be seen that during the period January 1st, 2015 to January, 31st, 2020, with the changed legal and policy matters regarding immigration, there are more likely chances of immigrants getting deported over minor issues due to the generalization of the criminal offenses by the Trump administration's new legal policies. Through this, the termination of legal documents sub-frame is highly relevant within the victim/welcoming frame.

Inhuman conditions in Refugee/Detention Centers

Another important subframe in the victim/welcoming frame is related to inhuman conditions in refugee/detention centers. This subframe is also essential, especially during the period of 2015–2020, due to the increased cases of refugee detention in the United States under the Trump administration. Even though they were detained in refugee or detention centers, there was a lack of proper amenities and basic hygiene facilities, which creates inhuman conditions for the immigrants or refugees in those detention centers. These aspects not only create health issues but also psychological trauma and threatens other well-being of the immigrants who were detained. These were especially evident for children who were detained as refugees and were kept in refugee or asylum centers with fewer facilities and inhuman conditions, which will have far-reaching implications in their lives.

An example of inhuman conditions in the refugee or detention centers can be seen in the following excerpt:

> Two summers ago, the children captured headlines when they surged across the United States-Mexico border, surprising the authorities, and overwhelming a system that was not prepared to absorb them. They were detained in a Border Patrol station in McAllen, Tex., and a warehouse in Nogales, Ariz., sleeping side by side behind chain-link fences, on thin mattresses spread on the concrete floor. (Santos, 2016)

This media narrative clearly shows the frame of termination of legal documents in its true essence. The article describes the conditions for those who were detained at the borders, as children were kept in detention centers in various places in the United States where they had inhuman conditions, were kept in cages with a chain-link fences and having poor accommodation facilities as they were sleeping on a mattress on the concrete floor. This might have far-reaching implications upon the future life of those children with serious psychological and emotional trauma.

Another significant media narrative in this subframe of inhuman conditions in the refugee detention centers can be seen in the following statement:

> From asylum seekers to longtime legal residents who have committed crimes, immigration prisons spare no one. In them, people – including children, who the United Nations says should never be detained – often find trauma. Two doctors who regularly work with the Department of Homeland Security were so appalled by the agency's confinement of children that they wrote to Senators Charles Grassley and Ron Wyden in 2018 describing an infant who lost one-third of his body weight over 10 days yet was never given IV fluids or sent to an emergency room". (Hernandes, 2019)

The excerpt above depicts the inhuman conditions in the refugee detention centers as it mentions the inhuman practices in those centers, where even infants were treated inhumanely. It states that these detention centers and practices spare no one as they cover everyone from asylum seekers to long-term legal residents who are dealing some sort of legal issues and have to face detention in those prisons. This narrative highlights the inhuman practices of the pesent administration by emphasizing that detention of children is an illegal act as per the instructions of the United Nations as it mentions that the children cannot be detained at all. However, with the legal measures regarding

immigration, even children were detained in those detention centers with a less than humane approach. In the statement, the doctors who worked with the Department of Homeland security narrate the experience of an infant who lost 1/3 of his body weight due to sickness and has never been provided with IV fluid or given proper attention despite having a medical emergency. The quotation depicts the inhuman conditions of those detainees who were in the refugee/detention centers irrespective of whether they were children, minors, or senior citizens and irrespective of their status of being a refugee, asylum seeker, or a long-term legal resident.

Migrant Smuggling/ Human Trafficking

Another significant sub-frame in the category of victim/welcoming frame considers migrant smuggling or human trafficking. It is particularly important in the case of the United States as most illegal immigrants who come to the United States do so with the help of migrant smuggling or human trafficking. It is mostly done by paying huge sums of money to the cartels who facilitate migrant smuggling or human trafficking through the Mexican border into the United States. This activity of migrant smuggling and human trafficking not only endangers the migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers of getting caught at the border by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and federal marshals but also poses a danger of getting exploited or abused by the cartels and being exposed to the harsh weather conditions at the US–Mexican border. In this scenario, the media narratives shed light of framing regarding migrant smuggling or human trafficking.

A great example which shows the sub-frame of migrant smuggling or human trafficking is:

> The Trump administration is stepping up its pursuit of parents who paid to have their children illegally brought into the United States, according to people familiar with the matter. The effort, part of a widening crackdown on illegal immigration, is aimed at discouraging families from paying human smuggling organizations. (Dickerson & Nixon, 2017)

It shows the initiatives taken by the Trump administration to deter illegal immigration through the border crossing and migrant smuggling. This example shows that in order to accomplish this goal, the administration is trying to pursue the parents who are in the United States or who have reentered the United States to prevent providing money and financing to cartels which facilitate migrant smuggling or human trafficking through the border. Even though the goal of the administrative mechanism is to curb illegal immigration and to establish its ideological imprints in the policy, a positive side is that it prevents further illegal immigration or human trafficking of children through the borders which can be very decisive for their safety and security as well as further quarantine in the detention centers can lead to psychological and emotional trauma.

Another media narrative that classifies media framing into migrant smuggling or human trafficking can be seen in the following statement:

> If the money is not paid on time, the migrants, including children, are beaten or even killed, according to Border Patrol agents and Homeland Security Investigations officials who have investigated the cases. Two weeks ago, prosecutors in McAllen, Tex., sentenced the leader of one group to more than 30 years in prison for abducting a group of people who were in the country

> illegally and were being held at a stash house. The group was held at gunpoint, and their families were told to pay $2,000 to free them. After the families paid, the group was then turned over to other smugglers, who also demanded money for their release. (Dickerson & Nixon, 2017)

The example provided above shows the role of drug cartels and smuggling groups which facilitate the border crossing and act as a catalyst for migrant smuggling and human trafficking and their exploitation. This example shows the investigation conducted by the Department of Homeland security and the Border Patrol and the findings, which show how the cartels and the smuggling group act as a catalyst for migrant smuggling and what happens if the money is not paid. It shows the brutality of the cartels, leading to the beating and killing of migrants who were crossing the borders. The narrative states how these groups treat immigrants and keep them at gunpoint while bargaining for money, and how they use them for further advancement even after being paid; it shows the incapability and helplessness of migrant groups which turn to human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

The above-mentioned narratives show the role of cartels and smuggling groups in facilitating migrant smuggling and human trafficking as well as the dangerous mechanisms which they employ to accomplish the goal. They represent the helplessness of the parents and the aspirations of families to bring their children to another country in search for better life through these smuggling cartels and groups. This not only put immigrants and children in danger of getting caught at the border but also exposes them to the possibility of being exploited and tortured by the cartels and smuggling groups.

Quality/Skilled Worker

Another significant sub-frame in the victim/welcoming frame is the quality/skilled worker sub-frame. Unlike the other frames which fall into the category of victimization, the quality and skilled worker sub-frame falls into the category of welcoming frame, where these workers were welcomed or embraced by the United States due to their expertise and professional skills, which were an essential part of the workforce of the country. This ranges from IT professionals and doctors to people who specialize in the field of telecommunication to aeronautics. Unlike the unskilled workers, which fall into the category of victimization, the skilled workers fall into the category of welcoming; such immigrants are embraced not only by the industries but also by the governmental administration.

A great example of discourse depicting the sub-frame of quality or skilled workers can be found in the following excerpt:

> That's because a system that focused more on skills and education and job prospects would automatically put less pressure on wages at the bottom. It would increase immigration's economic benefits and reduce its fiscal costs. And it would presumably bring in a more diverse pool of migrants, making balkanization and self-segregation less likely. (Douthat, 2017)

It highlights the significance of quality or skilled immigrants. Unlike other political communication and media discourse which diminishes the significance of immigrants as a prospective candidate to the United States, here it states that people who have higher education and skills would elevate the wage structure rather than reducing it. It states that

immigration of quality/skilled immigrants would have an overall positive impact upon the immigrants' economic benefits rather than the pressure it can have on this fiscal and economic structure of the United States. The narrative signifies the importance of soft skills and quality immigrants to the United States, thereby bringing in a diversified workforce that can enhance not only the wage structure but also fulfill the requirements of the industries and companies which heavily rely upon skilled immigrants from other countries.

Another significant media narrative that signifies the importance of quality/skilled immigrants and workforce to the United States can be seen in statement that

> The H-1B program was created to provide a pathway for talented foreigners whose special skills were expected to strengthen the American economy. Today, the nation's technology hubs are filled with H-1B alumni who have become entrepreneurs, executives, venture capitalists and, quite often, United States citizens. (Lohr, 2018)

Like the previous example, this also shows the significance of skilled and quality workforce to the United States. It clearly mentions the role of the H1B1 visa program through which quality and skilled workforce enters the United States, which not only contributes to the industrial development of the country but also to the economic development of the nation. Through this program, the quality and skilled workforce were distributed to almost all the sectors of the United States system in which they became the top executives of the nation, the top venture capitalist entrepreneurs, and most of them eventually became the citizens of the state.

Thus, these narratives show that, unlike the unskilled workforce which is treated with fear and suspicion by the administration, the skilled immigrants, especially the quality workforce, is treated with an embracing approach by the administration. The analysis of the news narratives reveal that even though the Trump administration wants to make some tighter immigrant reforms with the skilled workforce, especially concerning their families, the policy of embracement continues with the Trump administration; it shows the significance of the quality or skilled workforce as an overall contributor to the United States economic and social development.

Demographic Dividend

Another significant sub-frame in the category of victim/welcoming frame is the demographic dividend. Like the quality or skilled workforce, which comes into the category of welcoming, demographic dividend also relates to the welcoming aspect rather than victimization since demographic dividend enhances the overall population composition of the United States. In the developed world, one of the most prominent issues is population decline or graying population. The influx of immigrant population and the skilled workforce enhances the demographic dividend, thereby stabilizing the social and economic structure of the country. Thus, the immigrant workforce naturally enhances the economic and social development of the society but also enhances the demographic dividend, thereby reducing the demographic disparity.

A good example that highlights the significance of the migrant population to the overall demographic dividend of the United States claims that "The metro areas where international migration contributed the most growth in 2018 include the big, diverse

metros of Miami; Orlando, Fla.; and San Jose, California" (Kolko, 2019). It highlights the significance of international migration, especially to the metro and urban areas, and shows the statistics from 2018 that most of these international migrations benefited the big metro areas, such as Miami, Orlando in Florida, and San Jose in California. This signifies that when it comes to international migration, most of the international migration, especially of the educated and skilled workforce, comes to the urban areas as professionals, whereas the unskilled international migrant workforce comes to the rural areas and rural counties where there is a large and predominant presence of agricultural and allied services. Thus, it shows that when it comes to international migration, it not only enhances the workforce but also enhances the demographic dividend of the country.

Another great example of media discourse regarding the demographic dividend says that "Immigration to the United States increases innovation, slows the aging of the workforce and opens new opportunities for some domestic workers" (Porter, 2017). This narrative emphasizes the importance of the immigrant workforce and immigration to the United States, as it enhances the demographic dividend of the country. Additionally, it creates new opportunities and paths for innovation, and, due to the skilled immigrant workforce, it creates new opportunities and platforms, such as entrepreneurship which facilitates more job opportunities from which the domestic workforce can also benefit. Thus, the immigration and immigrant workforce not only enhance the demographic dividend but also boost innovation which, in turn, facilitates more and more work opportunities not only for the international immigrants but also for the domestic workforce. Therefore, the sub-frame of demographic dividend in the frame of the victim or welcoming frame is important to analyze.

The "Useful" Worker

Another sub-frame in the category of victim/welcoming frame is the "useful" worker sub-frame, which also belongs in the category of welcoming, since regular workers are the largest part of international immigration; they keep the economy and the system moving. It is especially evident in the agriculture and allied service sectors, where the international migrant workers are significant. It is mainly because international migrants are willing to work in any extreme conditions and in any sort of employment, whereas the local workforce finds it challenging to work under such stressful and low-paid, menial jobs. Therefore, international migrant workforce as useful workers are essential in the victim or welcoming fame category.

One of the most prominent media narratives regarding the "useful" worker can be seen in such statements as

> Mr. Trump has long acknowledged that running the hospitality industry on a tight supply of American labor is extraordinarily difficult – the reason Mar-a-Lago has frequently turned to legal guest workers for jobs that typically span only, in the case of Florida, the pleasant winter months. "It's very, very hard to get people," he explained during the 2016 campaign. "But other hotels do the exact same thing" (Mazzei; Correal & Jordan, 2019).

This narrative shows the significance of useful workers in the category of the victim or welcoming frame. Even though Trump and his administration were always adamant towards the migrant workers, especially the unskilled workers, in this statement, he

accepts the reality that it is very difficult to get workers into the service and agriculture sector and states that the presence of migrant workers, especially the guest workers, is crucial for the running of the hospitality industry, as not only his hotels but also all other hotels and their chains depend heavily on the migrant guest workers for human resources. It shows the double standard of the presidential candidate as he tries to uphold the ideology of the Republican Party by opposing the presence of migrant guest workers, though as a businessman, he still tries to go hand in hand with other business enterprises by utilizing and exploiting the services of migrant guest workers. Through this narrative, the significance of migrant guest workers as useful workforce is evident.

The following example of media narratives not only shows the usefulness of the immigrant working force but also the economic benefits which were added by the immigrant workforce:

> Immigrants are younger. They are slowing the aging of the work force. Notably, the number does not include the economic rewards that accrue to the immigrants themselves: 26 million foreigners in the American labor market added some $2 trillion to the American economy last year, according to the National Academies report" (Porter, 2017).

The media excerpt indicates that as the immigrants are younger and adding up to the overall workforce, they enhance the workforce and the work productivity as the aging of the working population is one of the most significant issues of the developed world, especially in the North American and European countries. However, the immigrant workforce, especially the younger workforce, as most of the immigrant workers are within the age bracket of the work productivity group, enhances the overall working population. Thus, adding the immigrant workforce to the working and productive local population brings out the economic benefits of such migration; the statement above states that 26 million foreigners who come to America and join its labor market added more than 2 trillion dollars to the American economy, thereby adding significant economic value to the United States.

Thus, the immigrant workforce, especially in hospitality, agriculture, and allied services, is a very useful workforce to the overall productivity and the economic growth of the American economy. Hence, the sub-frame of "useful" worker is an essential category in the welcoming frame which added to the positive aspect of the immigration in the victim/welcoming category.

Exploitation in the Worksite

Another sub-frame in the category of victim/welcoming frame is the exploitation in the work site of the immigrant workers, which falls into the category of victimization rather than the welcoming. The narratives highlight the exploitation of the immigrant working force in the worksite. It can range from different factors, such as the lack of awareness of the legal measures in the United States, their lack of education and orientation, social understanding, and the lack of proper documentation which can provide them significant background for legal measures against exploitation.

Various previous narratives show that migrant workers fit mostly into the unskilled category as guest workers or illegal immigrants, which puts them in a deprived situation to raise their voice against exploitation in the worksite, especially in the agriculture,

hospitality, and allied services. Regarding the skilled workforce which comes under the H1B1 visa, the exploitation in the workspace is very rare since these immigrants are educated, aware of the legal conditions of the United States, and have valid documents which can provide the measures to fight against inequalities. However, the unskilled labor workforce which was deprived of all these conditions and forced to work in exploitative situations without the right to raise their voices.

When looking at the media narratives about the exploitation at the worksite, one of the noteworthy examples is:

> Last month, a group of immigrants who cleaned up two resorts in the Florida Keys after Hurricane Irma in 2017 filed suit in federal court in Miami against a disaster-restoration company called Cotton Holdings and Daniel Paz, the owner of a staffing firm, alleging that they were not paid minimum wage or overtime for hours worked" (Widmer & Jordan, 2019).

The above-mentioned media narrative highlights the exploitation of workers not only in the worksite but also when they offer their services for humanitarian purposes. It shows that those workers who offered their services for a humanitarian purpose after hurricane Irma in 2017 by cleaning up resorts in the Florida Keys were not paid properly by the disaster restoration company called Cotton Holdings and Daniel Paz, the owner of the staffing firm which forced them to proceed to legal measures by filing a suit in the federal court in Miami. This narrative shows the gross violation by the staffing agencies and the recruitment firms, which exploit the workers not only during their normal working time but also when they were offering their services for humanitarian purposes without even providing the minimum wages or payment for the overtime works which they offer. However, from this narrative, it can be seen that these immigrants were able to file a case because they have proper legal documents; however, in many cases, immigrants or guest workers do not have sufficient documents thus cannot proceed with the legal measures or get their justice according to the laws of the United States.

The narrative below shows the exploitation at the worksite of the immigrants, especially the undocumented immigrants, but also the double standard of Donald Trump, who was always vocal against the undocumented and illegal immigrants who were crossing the borders during the presidential debate and when he became the President of the United States of America:

> Alongside the foreign guest workers and the sizable American staff is another category of employees, mostly those who work on the pair of lush golf courses near Mar-a-Lago. Not offered apartments, they have been picked up by Trump contractors from groups of undocumented laborers at the side of the road; hired through staffing companies that assume responsibility for checking their immigration status; or brought onto the payroll with little apparent scrutiny of their Social Security cards and green cards, some of which are fake. (Mazzei; Correal & Jordan, 2019)

However, this narrative reveals that even though Donald Trump is vocal against illegal immigrants as a politician and the President of the United States, when it comes to the businessman in him, he prefers to hire those undocumented illegal immigrants through various staffing and recruiting agencies; these are undocumented immigrants and do not have proper documentation, and even if they have documents, they are likely fake. By

resorting to those policies, he is going in the opposite direction against the statements which he made against illegal immigrants, by providing them with opportunities to work in his resorts and enables their exploitation by paying lower wages and allowing a lack of proper accommodation thereby benefiting his business enterprises.

Thus, when it comes to the exploitation of workers, especially those who were guest workers, all those who do not have proper documentation, various companies and business enterprises exploit these workers to work under minimum wages or even lesser wages, thereby enhancing their profit mechanisms. Here, the double standards of the President himself are evident, who was very vocal and always advocated against the illegal immigrants, but when it comes to his business enterprises, he still employs illegal immigrants in an exploitative mechanism, thereby highlighting the exploitative nature of the immigrant communities in the business enterprises in the United States.

Granting of Asylum

Another significant sub-frame that comes into the victim/welcoming frame is the granting of asylum to refugees and asylum seekers. Like several others, this sub-frame also falls into the victim aspect in which the refugees or asylum seekers who were fleeing their countries in fear of their life come to the United States seeking asylum or protection from the government. Like the various policies that led to immigration, granting of asylum also comes under heavy criticism from the Trump administration after the Republicans came to power with Donald Trump as the President of the United States of America. Asylum is granted to the refugees or asylum seekers from war-torn countries when the United States government accepts refugees and asylum seekers and illegal immigrants who crossed the borders when they were apprehended by the Customs and Border security officials who file for asylum and refugee application at the borders.

When looking at the media narrative on granting of asylum sub-frame, the following media narrative highlights the importance of granting asylum, especially to those who crossed the borders illegally and applied for asylum-seeking:

> And roughly 30 percent of those apprehended sought asylum up from 1 percent a couple of years ago. Asylum is a humanitarian status based on fear of persecution in one's native land. Many of these requests are legitimate; some are economic migrants gaming the process. But once you're in the U.S. and file for asylum, there's a good chance for you to stay legally or illegally (Friedman, 2019).

The narrative mentions both sides of asylum-seeking people who cross the borders illegally. It states that many of these cases are genuine as those people who flee their countries because they fear for their life, and another category of people who apply for asylum for getting economic benefits or getting a job. Thus, this narrative shows both sides of the granting of asylum in which some people are intentionally using it as a mechanism of getting entry to the United States, whereas, for others, it is a mechanism through which they can secure their and their loves ones' lives because of the fear of being persecuted in their home countries by the dictatorial regimes. It highlights the proceedings of the granting of asylum, and shows that once a person has applied for asylum, in most of the cases, they are granted asylum to stay in the United States. The

excerpt shows the increased number of asylum-seeking applications over the past few years, which now raised to a tremendous number, from just 1 percent to 30 percent.

The above-mentioned media narrative highlights the testimony of a family who was granted asylum in the United States, which impacted their overall life and its development:

> After several years in the United States, Gilbert was granted political asylum, and he filed petitions for Odette and Rebecca. In 2002, the couple applied for green cards. They began working as janitors and had three more children, eventually moving into the bungalow in East Lake, Fla., where they still live. Their youngest child is now in high school, while another is studying elementary education at a nearby college and another is in Air Force training; Rebecca, who has a young baby of her own, works at a nearby call center. "We can say we are proud of this," Gilbert told me. (Wessler, 2018)

It states the testimony of Gilbert, who was first granted political asylum, and later filed a petition for his wife Odette and daughter Rebecca. This news shows how the granting of asylum changes the life of a person as an immigrant or refugee and how it transforms their overall well-being by getting integrated into the United States. It is evident that asylum enhanced not only their life but also their overall well-being and their family's as the children got American education, and they chased the American dream enabling them to have a dignified life in the United States and transforming themselves from an asylum seeker to a United States citizen.

Thus, the media narratives imply that the granting of asylum is not only transformative to the lives of those who come and apply for asylum but also for the life of those who are dependent on them who were applying for asylum and their coming generations which are getting integrated into the United States society and its culture. Thus, granting of asylum can be seen as one of the significant sub-frames in the victim/welcoming frame.

Unwillingness of locals to embrace the immigrants

One of the most significant sub-frames in the victimization category is the unwillingness of the locals to embrace immigrants and their immigrant communities. This unwillingness of the locals can range from a wide variety of reasons, such as the skepticism about the immigrant communities and societies due to the stereotypes which were formulated in the minds of the locals by various media narratives. It may include the fear of a specific religious orientation or group, the unwillingness of the immigrant communities to embrace the local culture and its traditions, the rigid stand by the immigrant communities to continue with this cultural orientation in the United States. It can create suspicion in the minds of the locals and due to the lack of communications which were to be initiated by the administration and by the third sector organizations which facilitate the integration of the locals and immigrant communities. These factors can be seen as challenging regarding the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants and vice versa. Thus, the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants can further lead to violence and civil untrust in the communities where they live.

The media mentioned above narrative shows the subframes of the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants: "Longtime Miami residents kept their distance from the newcomers who spoke Creole and sometimes mixed in voodoo rituals with Catholicism. Native-born Miamians would sometimes describe a person with psychiatric problems as "acting Haitian" (Romero, 2018). This narrative indicates that the stereotypes which were already embedded in the minds of the locals regarding different cultures and different languages make them suspicious towards other cultures and inhibits them from embracing other cultures. It shows that the people who spoke Creole were seen as people who take up supernatural practices and those who mix Catholicism with voodoo rituals. It shows how the stereotypes were so deep-rooted in the minds of the locals that sometimes they used to tease those who act differently, say that they act "Haitian" and express the stereotypes in gestures and mocking.

Another narrative that also aligns with the unwillingness of the locals to embrace immigrants into their communities claims that

> The stories of the Disney layoffs resonated with many working- and middle-class Americans with sinking incomes and reduced job security who have flocked to Mr. Trump because of his promises to defend American jobs by deporting illegal immigrants and slashing legal immigration (Preston, 2016).

This narrative depicts not only the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants but also shows the reason behind the local working American class to lean towards the ideological inclination of Presidential candidate Donald Trump. The narrative signifies the reason which prompted the locals to embrace the policies of Donald Trump to be the backing he provided for the employee suit filed against Walt Disney, in which the employee was replaced by a less qualified H1B1 immigrant. Through this measure, he ensures the support of the local working class who work in low-paid positions and have less job security to follow his immigrant-related policies and candidateship. It shows that the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants not only consists of embracing them in the communities and workplace but also consist of aligning to those anti-immigration policies and providing their support through the electoral mechanism, thereby creating policies that can have long-lasting implications to deter immigrants from coming to the United States.

The above-mentioned media narratives show the unwillingness of the locals to embrace immigrants and immigrant communities and the stereotypes that were already embedded in their minds towards other cultures and orientations, which were formulated by various media narratives and media mechanisms. It depicts the mentality of the local working community to embrace the policies of Presidential candidate Donald Trump thereby hoping to put a halt to the immigrant-related policies which would prevent further immigration to the United States, thereby hoping to reverse the employment-related mechanisms in the country.

Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation

The final sub-frame in the category of victim/welcoming frame is the socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation sub-frame. Unlike the above-mentioned sub-frame of the unwillingness of the locals to embrace the immigrants, the social cultural enrichment and assimilation fits in the welcoming aspect, as through the mechanism of socio-cultural

entrenchment and assimilation the immigrant community contributes towards the society and cultural development of the United States. Unlike other countries, the United States has been called the melting pot of civilization due to its cultural diversity and the embracing nature towards various cultures. This is especially evident in the nature of the society itself as the country has been built upon by the immigrant population and its diversity. However, during recent times, after the candidacy of Donald Trump and his subsequent election as the President of the United States, the aspect of socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation has come under a significant threat. This is mainly due to the fact that unlike the previous times when immigrants were considered as an enriching factor to the United States society and culture, after the coming of Donald Trump as the President of the United States it made a significant turn towards the immigrant community as a threat towards the cultural enrichment of the country. Through this sub-frame, the aspect of socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation of the immigrant communities towards the society and culture of the country is analyzed.

The statement below shows the socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation of the immigrant communities, as the statements by the local population that immigrant communities have been living there peacefully and embracing the legal and other social norms of the society and have deep roots in the communities ensure that they were well integrated culturally and socially into the society, thereby enhancing the socio-cultural enrichment: “Most of those immigrants have been our neighbors for many years, have stayed out of legal trouble and have deep roots in our communities” (Borjas, 2018). This is especially evident in the fact that when a cultural group or a community group migrated to the United States and lived there for over decades and had their offspring in the country, it shows the enhancement of the cultural integrity and the mechanism of embracing the local culture and its diversity at the same time keeping their cultural roots and identity.

Another significant media narrative in the category of this sub-frame can be seen in the following media statement:

> In the ensuing months, the workers nearly all of them from Central America, Mexico and Venezuela toiled day and night across Bay County to reopen Panama City's City Hall, repair the local campus of Florida State University and fix damaged roofs on several churches. (Widmer & Jordan, 2019)

This narrative shows the assimilation and cultural enrichment by the immigrant communities, especially during the hurricane Michael when the Florida Panhandle was completely devastated. During that time, rather than keeping themselves away, the immigrant communities embraced the local community initiative, came forward and worked day and night across the Bay country to reopen the City Hall; they repainted the Florida State University campus and the churches thereby providing their assistance to local communities for keeping them safe and motivating them to get over the struggles caused by the hurricane. Through this act, the immigrant community once again ensured that they are an integral part of the society and are culturally oriented towards the United States society and culture.

This narrative shows explicitly the socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation of the immigrant communities in the United States. They not only attempt to get integrated into the locals’ society and culture, but also act as an integral part not only during the

normal times but also during the times of casualties, especially in a state like Florida, where it is an occurring phenomenon, thereby providing their support and assistance in such scenarios. Thus in the category of victim/welcoming frame the sub-frame of enrichment and assimilation of the immigrants is a significant part.

Threat frame

The second major frame analyzing the media framing aspect towards immigration is the threat frame. Like the victim/welcoming frame, the threat frame is also vital when it comes to immigration and immigrant integration. The threat frame can be perceived as a mechanism in which immigrants and immigrant communities have been perceived as a threat towards the legal, cultural, social, political, and overall peace and well-being of the United States. To analyze the narratives in the threat frame, it has been categorized into four major sub-frames. Even though political communication is statements from political actors from the lower level to the level of the President of the United States, which are mostly decisive towards immigration and immigrant integration, the media narratives regarding this can paint immigrants as a potential threat to the United States economy, society, culture, and its legal measures. Regarding the thereat narratives, only 22 narratives have been found in the category of threat frame.

1. Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce
2. Legal Threat
3. Unskilled
4. Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat

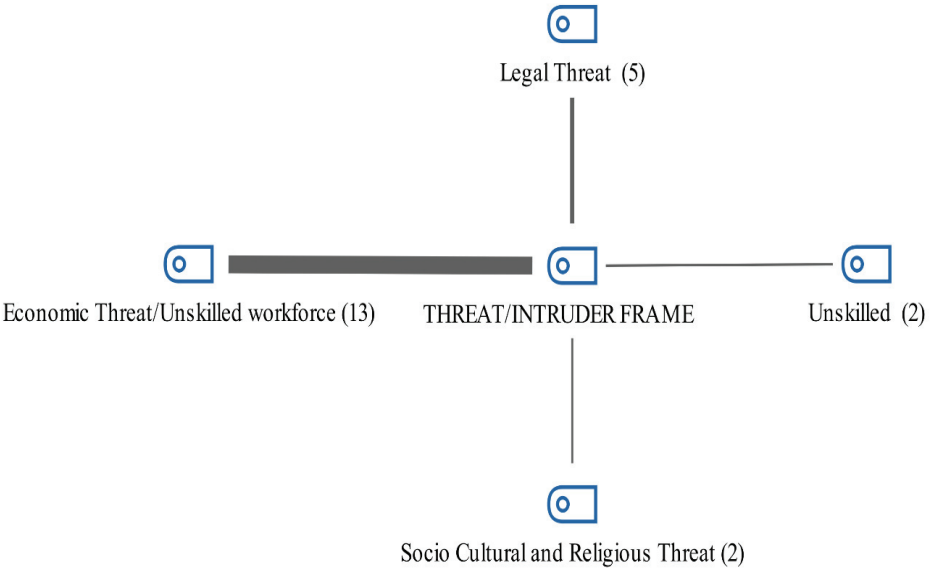

Fig. 13. Distribution of threat frame & sub-frames in the *New York Times*

Source: Author compiled from the *New York Times*

Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce

The first significant sub-frame in the category of the threat frame is the economic threat/or the threat by the unskilled workforce. It is one of the most significant threat narratives which was always applauded by the Republicans and by President Trump over their political communications and ideas. They depict immigrants and illegal immigrants as those who came to take the jobs and economic prospects of the local Americans and by depending upon the financial aid they deprive the locals of their financial security and impoverish their lives and children by deviating the funds which would be beneficial for the local communities. Through this narrative, the economic part is a pivotal part when it comes to the threat categorization of the immigrant communities and immigration itself.

One of the significant media narratives when it comes to the category of economic threat/unskilled workforce can be seen in this statement:

> Mr. Trump's assertion is based on the view that because the current system allows people to immigrate to the United States without regard for their employability or skill level, it creates an oversupply of low-skilled workers, who in turn drive down job opportunities and wages for Americans with a high school diploma or less" (Davis, 2017).

Here, the media is highlighting the political statement of the President of the United States in which he considers the immigrant population, especially the low skilled population, claiming that it brings down the job opportunities of the local population and the wage structure, thereby creating difficulties for the local population who were in the unskilled sector. However, the previous narrative in the victim/welcoming frame reveals that the lack of initiative of the local population to work in the unskilled sectors, like the agriculture and allied services, have been filled by the immigrant population with their hard work and persistence thereby ensuring the free flow of commodities in the economy. Other narratives show that the wage structure has not been determined by the influx of the immigrant workforce but rather was determined around the table by the companies and their managerial leadership together with the political actors.

The example of media discourse below looks at the aspect of low-skilled immigrants who come to the United States replacing the work opportunities of the locals and downgrading the wage structure, thereby affecting the lives of millions of American locals who have lower education or a high school diploma:

> Over the past 30 years, a large fraction of immigrants, nearly a third, were high school dropouts, so the incumbent low-skill workforce formed the core group of Americans who paid the price for the influx of millions of workers. Their wages fell as much as 6 percent. Those low-skill Americans included many native-born blacks and Hispanics, as well as earlier waves of immigrants. (Borjas, 2017)

It also shows the statistics about how much the wages fell over the years as it states that over the past 30 years there was a fall of around six percent in wage structure which affects not only the low-skilled white Americans but also the blacks and Hispanic population, as well as the earlier wave of immigrants. Thus, this narrative states that the recent coming of the immigrants, especially low-skilled immigrants, is really threatening the wage structure and the work opportunities of the local American population.

Thus, the narratives mentioned above show the economic threat concerning the immigration of the unskilled workforce to the United States. Through these narratives, it is depicting the economic threat which is posed by the unskilled immigrant workforce to the United States economy and to the local population, which is deprived of their jobs, and lower wages due to the influx of unskilled workforce into the United States. It not only deprives the local population of their jobs and lowers the wages but also facilitates anti-immigrant propaganda aligning with the Republican ideology and the ideology propagated by President Donald Trump. This narrative shows that economic threat posed by the unskilled workforce can be seen as one of the most significant sub-frames in the category of threat frame.

Legal Threat

Another significant sub-frame in the category of threat/intruder frame is the legal threat aspect. Like the economic threat of the unskilled workers, the legal and illegal immigrants pose a significant threat to the United States' legal structures. One of the significant aspects here is the illegal immigration through the borders where the illegal immigrant population who crossed the borders were either detained or surrender themselves to the authorities, thereby providing themselves an opportunity to apply for asylum or for refugee status. The immigrants, especially the illegal immigrants, hope for asylum or a legal measure, thereby enabling themselves to stay in the United States until the legal measures are resolved. Legal threat is mostly sustained by the illegal activities, crimes, or activities conducted by the immigrant population or communities, which require legal mechanisms and measures. Unlike the legal aspect of the crimes committed by the citizens, the crimes, and other issues committed by the illegal and legal immigrants require a lot of legal procedures due to their immigrant status and various social and immigrant-related policies. Thus, the legal threat facilitated by the immigrants can be seen as a most significant threat to the legal system of the United States.

The following narrative shows a significant legal threat posed by the immigrant communities, especially from specific countries:

> Mr. Miller also publicly used the think tank's data to bolster his argument for the Trump administration's initial travel ban that restricted travel from seven largely Muslim countries, a narrower version of which the Supreme Court upheld last year. He said he referred to the think tank's analysis that 72 people from those countries had been implicated in terrorist activity since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. (Rogers, 2019)

This narrative tries to justify the action taken by President Trump in which he banned people from seven predominantly Muslim countries from coming to the United States. Through this narrative, Stephen Miller, one of the most hardline adversaries of President Trump, tries to justify the action of the President of taking legal measures against people from seven Muslim countries coming to the United States, which was almost similar to the statement issued by the Supreme Court earlier 2021. Stephen Miller is trying to justify the action by stating that from 9/11, 2001, around 72 people from these predominantly Muslim countries were implicated or convicted for terror activities in the United States, thereby justifying the legal measures against these countries. This narrative shows that when an executive or legal measure is taken against immigration or specific countries

through the channel of political communication, the government or the political actors are trying to justify those legal measures through communicating mechanisms, thereby trying to justify their measures against immigration and immigrant specified communities and countries.

Another significant media narrative regarding this sub-frame of legal threat in the category of threat or intruder frame can be seen in the form of statements such as

> Addressing the security questions, a Congressional Research Service report in 2011 noted the case of an Egyptian immigrant who shot and killed two people in 2002 at Los Angeles International Airport. He had obtained a green card as the husband of a lottery winner. The report noted that in 2004, the State Department's deputy inspector general had warned about the risk of granting visas to winners from countries with ties to terrorism. But in 2007, the report said, the Government Accountability Office found no evidence that diversity visa winners posed a threat. (Jordan, 2017)

The above-mentioned narrative highlights the threat posed by one of the most significant and most popular immigrant visa programs in the United States, known as diversity immigration visa or the lottery program through which immigrants from less represented countries over the past five years are selected from a pool, and around 55,000 people are selected and granted permanent residence or a green card to the United States. Thus, the Congressional Research Service report of 2011 states that an Egyptian immigrant who got his permanent residency or green card to the United States through this lottery program was the main suspect who shot and killed two people in 2002 at the Los Angeles airport thus criticizing the loopholes of the lottery system which permits not only ordinary people but also terrorists to be infiltrated into the country. It highlights the warning provided by the state department's deputy Inspector General who indicates that this system facilitates more infiltration and coming of terrorists who can pose a security threat and legal threat to the United States. However, the concluding part of the report states that even though they tried to indicate these things, they were not able to find substantiating evidence against this, which can state that through the lottery system, they pose a significant threat to the United States legal system. Though there was an incident that facilitated such activities by an immigrant who came through the lottery system, it was not able to substantially prove that there are incidents through which terrorism is getting infiltrated into the United States.

Thus, the narratives mentioned above imply that the political actors and the executive and bureaucratic division of the government tries to implicate immigrants, immigrant communities, and people coming from specific countries into the United States who pose a significant legal threat to society and country. Though media framing states these narratives through their discourses, they also highlight the true picture, thereby providing an overall framework regarding whether the immigrants pose a significant threat to the United States or not.

Unskilled

Another significant sub-frame in the category of threat/intruder frame is the threat posed by the unskilled workforce who came as legal and illegal immigrants to the United States. As already stated, those who come as unskilled or low-skilled workforce,

especially to the agriculture and other allied services thereby posing a real threat to the local workforce who are also unskilled and led to the reduction of wage structure in the United States. However, an opposite version of this narrative has been seen in the victim/welcoming frame where it states that the wage structure is not the effect of the unskilled work population but of the managers and entrepreneur class. Rather than seeing this unskilled work population as a threat to the United States they are contributing to the agriculture and other related services thereby keeping the economy and the products running. Even though we have contradicting versions of this phenomenon in both the victim and threat category, in this sub-frame we are looking at the aspect of how the unskilled workforce poses a threat to the United States.

This media narrative depicts the flow of unskilled or low skilled immigrants to the United States over the past few decades:

> It's been a quarter-century since Congress substantially reformed the immigration system. In that time, the population of people in this country illegally has nearly tripled to more than 11 million. We've also accepted one million legal immigrants annually, and a vast majority are unskilled or low-skilled" (Cotton, 2016).

The article discusses a lack of immigrant reforms which have been initiated by the government, brought on by an influx of unskilled immigrants both illegally and also the acceptance of legal immigrants, as it has tripled to around 11 million, which further worsens the scenario regarding the unskilled immigrant workforce in the United States. This narrative shows both sides regarding the unskilled workforce and depicts not only the coming of legal and illegal unskilled immigrants but also the lack of administrative and bureaucratic measures or executive measures which cannot rectify those odds by making significant changes in the immigrant reform system. This narrative clearly states the threat posed by the unskilled immigrant workforce in the United States, especially to the unskilled and low-paid local workforce.

Another significant media narrative related to unskilled workforce threat can be seen in the form of media statements such as

> Asked on Fox News if he was flip-flopping on his immigration ideas, Mr. Trump insisted that he still intends to be "strong" while emphasizing the importance of fairness when it comes to immigrants who came to the United States illegally. "We want to develop a really fair but firm answer," Mr. Trump said. "It has to be firm. But we want to come up with something fair. (Haberman & Rappeport, 2016)

The media shows the political stand of President Trump; even though he behaved differently regarding the policies towards immigration and its effectiveness, this narrative shows the political statement in which he reassured his earlier stand towards immigration. He states that it should be strong and fair enough to provide justice by reducing the unskilled or low-skilled migration to the United States and to take measures which provide or facilitate high-skilled immigration and to reduce the immigration which is based on family ties and based on lottery-based immigration. Thus, with this statement, the President is reassuring his stand to his followers on his mechanisms towards immigrant-related reforms.

Thus, when it comes to unskilled immigration, political communication and decision-making are against those immigrants who facilitate lesser job opportunities for low-skilled workforce in the United States and will facilitate the reduction in the wages. Also, this narrative highlights the deficiency and the lack of proper reforms in the immigrant-related policies, which facilitates the continuous movement of unskilled immigration to the United States. It is thereby insisting that a comprehensive reform on the immigration policies is an essential requirement of contemporary times.

Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat

The final subframe in the category of threat or intruder frame is the socio-cultural and religious threat posed by the immigrants and immigrant communities in the United States. Even though the United States can be seen as a melting pot of various socio-cultural and religious groups and communities, when it comes to integration, certain communities, cultural and religious groups stand apart. This can be because they prefer to continue with their socio-cultural and religious organization and live separately without being integrated into society. When such scenarios and things happen, it creates suspicion and distancing among the minds of the locals, and such practices facilitate media discourse and framing, which also creates suspicion and threat towards such socio-cultural and religious communities and groups.

When looking at the media framing regarding narratives about the social, cultural, and religious threats in the category of threat/intruder frame, it is important to investigate such statements as:

> But admitting new immigrants carries costs, too, like pressure on land, housing and natural resources, and lower wages for workers with scant education who compete directly with immigrants in the labor market. It might be a bad idea to craft policy around Americans' misgivings about ethnic and cultural change. Still, they should be brought into the conversation. (Porter, 2016)

The narrative mentioned above highlights the social, cultural, and religious threat caused by the immigrants as it depicts that the idea of ethnic and cultural change and assimilation, which would be facilitated by immigrant intake, is wrong and must be reconsidered in the current times. It is highlighted here that immigration, both legal and illegal, has brought significant pressure upon the American public and on its society not only on the socio-cultural realm, but also to the other aspects, such as housing, land, water facilities, and other aspects of resource allocation which are halted by the immigrant influx.

Another significant media narrative regarding the socio-cultural and religious threat posed by the migrants can be seen in such media statements as:

> Donald J. Trump first reached out to them about three years ago, when he was regarded as a political sideshow, and they were desperate for any attention to their plight. Today, thanks to the platform now afforded by President Trump, the group he calls "angel families" relatives of people killed by undocumented immigrants have grown into a political force, helping him justify the most unpopular aspects of his administration's immigration crackdown, and championing other candidates and causes devoted to limiting illegal immigration. (Rogers & Vogel, 2018)

The narrative depicts the undocumented and illegal immigrants and their illegal activities and crime as posing a threat to the social and cultural fabric of American Society. These were mainly in the form of rape, kidnapping, and killing, which affects the lives of many families. It provided a space and platform for and the anti-immigrant activists and politicians, like President Trump who is a strong advocate towards immigration control as he calls the victims' families "angel families". Some of the socio-cultural threat posed by the undocumented immigrants not only creates a social, cultural, and religious threat but also provides a platform for anti-immigrant advocates and politicians who would like to make significant reforms in the immigration policies.

Responsibility frame

The third major frame which was used to analyze the role of media framing on the attitude towards immigration is the responsibility frame. Unlike the previous two frames of victim and threat, which analyze how the immigrants get either victimized or have been perceived as a threat in the home or host societies, the responsibility frame investigates the aspect of the actors, especially the political actors in the home and host societies which become detrimental to migrant integration and situations which create difficulties for the immigrant communities. Through this frame, the media narration explores how the political actors either act as a corrective force or act as a response mechanism for the plight of the migrant communities. To analyze and evaluate the responsibility mechanisms of the political actors through media narratives, six significant subframes have been formulated to explore the role of media framing and the attitudes and attributes towards immigration. As Figure 14 below shows, the dominant narratives in the *New York Times* regarding the distribution of responsibility sub-frames are negative; migrant hostile policy mechanisms have 85 news narratives and hostile statements by political actors have 80 media narratives, whereas the positive attributes of responsibility frame, such as embracing statement by political actors have 25 media narratives and amicable immigrants policy mechanisms have only 24 media narratives. It shows that when it comes to the media framing regarding the political narratives and policy implementation towards immigration over the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, negative aspects were dominating the political narratives, which can be mainly attributed to the Republican government. The subframes which are formulated for this purpose have been categorized as follows:

1. Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms
2. Hostile Statements by Political Actors
3. Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism
4. Embracing Statements by Political Actors
5. Amicable Immigrant Friendly Policy Mechanisms
6. Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures

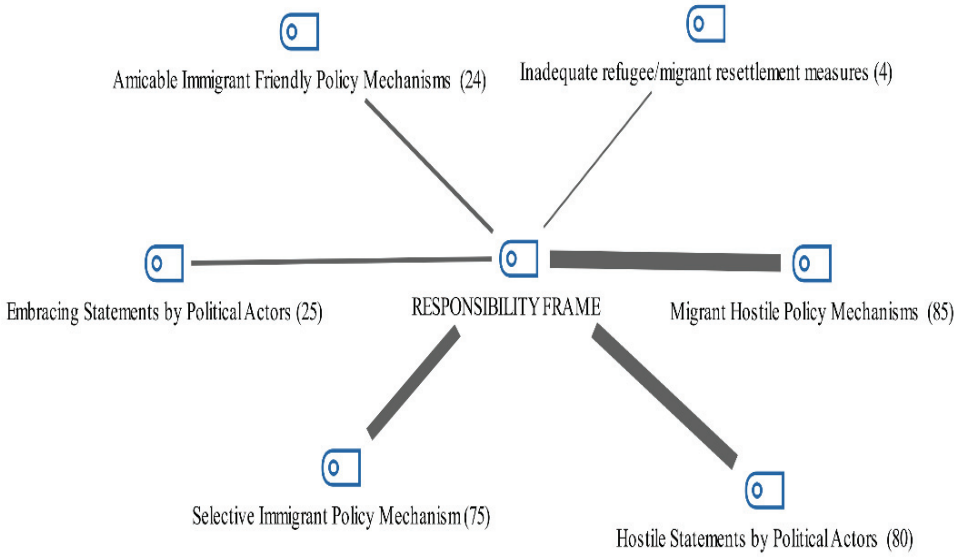

Fig. 14. Distribution of Responsibility frame & sub-frames in the *New York Times*

Source: Author compiled from The New York Times

Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms

An important sub-frame in the category of responsibility frame is the migrant hostile policy mechanisms. It can be seen as the policy measures taken by the political actors which can be decisive towards migrant integration and migrant intake. It is extremely relevant for this study, as the period from 2015 to 2020 has great significance regarding immigration due to the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States and his hard stance towards immigrant intake and integration. Due to these factors, migrant hostile policy mechanisms were very evident during the period as there are 85 media narratives that can be classified as migrant hostile policy mechanisms. Through the migrant hostage policy mechanism, the Trump administration enforced policies and measures which limited the intake of high-skilled immigrants in the H1B1 category, raising the salary limit of those H1B1 immigrants, restricting the immigrants who entered on the basis family ties, also making policies which became decisive to the Dreamers and DACA recipients' children, the policies of family separation keeping the children away from their parents, policies which formulated making inhuman conditions in the detention centers, policies which banned immigrants coming from seven predominantly Muslim-oriented countries, etc. Thus throw these policies Trump administration was trying to enforce those measures which he was propagating during the electoral times.

The above-mentioned media narrative states about the most significant migrant hostile policy mechanics which were introduced by the Trump administration:

> It would eliminate the diversity visa lottery system, which is intended to bring in immigrants from underrepresented countries. It would also curb family-based immigration, eliminating the visa categories for married children of United States citizens and siblings of adult citizens. The bill would beef up

> border security, providing funds for Mr. Trump's promised wall on the southern border with Mexico, while also including changes intended to strengthen immigration enforcement important provisions to conservatives and to the president" (Stolberg & Kaplan, 2018).

A comprehensive bill that covers all intentions of the anti-immigration stance of the President which leads to the allocation of funds for building the proposed wall at the southern border with Mexico, and to significant changes in the immigration policy mechanisms, such as to put an end to the diversity visa lottery system through which people from underrepresented countries immigrate to the United States, limiting family-based migration when the family of skilled workers immigrate to the United States. This bill can be seen as a comprehensive mechanism intended to limit immigration which thereby being qualified as one of the most significant hostile policy mechanisms by the Trump administration.

Another instance of a hostile statement by political actors discusses Trump's measures:

> President Trump set out to make good on his campaign pledge to halt illegal immigration. In a pair of executive orders, he ordered "all legally available resources" to be shifted to border detention facilities and called for hiring 10,000 new immigration officers. (MacDougall, 2019)

Through this narrative, the media is highlighting the measures taken by President Trump as per his promises during his election campaigning. During the election, candidate Trump had made many promises regarding the policies he would implement regarding illegal immigration or controlling legal immigration and the promise of building a wall near the Mexican border. By making executive orders, he is trying to implement those policies by taking all available resources legally and strengthening the border detention facilities, and hiring immigration officers, thereby strengthening the detention centers and booking illegal immigrants who cross the border.

The example above and the overall number of narratives regarding migrant hostile policy measures shows that the American media narratives and political communication in 2015–2020 focused heavily on migrant hostile policy measures. This can be mainly attributed to the conservative republican ideologies and the strong consent of President Trump, who wished to implement those policies in a rigid and hardline manner without a compassionate and humanitarian approach. These include family separation policies which were in effect and caused children to be separated from their parents and taken to detention centers where they lacked even bare minimum facilities for accommodation. The policies towards rigid immigrant measures thereby curtailing family-based immigration and the lottery system act as a detrimental factor towards immigrant intake to the United States. Migrant hostile policy mechanisms by political actors can be seen as an essential sub-frame in the responsibility frame category.

Hostile Statements by Political Actors

Another notable sub-frame in the category of responsibility frame is the hostile statements by political actors. Like the hostile policy mechanism measures by the political actors, the hostile statements by political actors also make an impact to both the

policy and political communication by political actors within the responsibility frame. During the five years from 2015 to 2020, hostile political communication and statements made by political actors were very prominent as there were 80 media narratives containing hostile statements by political actors during this time. The analysis of these narratives reveals that almost all these statements were made by either the President or by the top political officials of the Trump administration. The hostile statements by political actors and the administration, range from criticizing and using derogatory words against various ethnic, religious, and minority groups and their cultural practices, to generalizing statements by political actors, especially by the President himself, declaring migrants as criminals and rapists. They include threatening statements and political communication by the President himself indicating the cancellation of funding and other administrative support to cities and counties which support sanctuary policies, generalizing statements regarding Muslim communities stating them as terrorist, accusing the neighboring countries, like Mexico and other Latin American countries, of deliberately sending illegal immigrants to the United States for creating disruptions, making bargaining statements with the Democrats thereby trying to accomplish his goal of building the wall by putting the Dreamers and the DACA recipients in danger, etc. These measures show how political communication became hostile in 2015–2020, especially after the election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States in 2016.

An example of the hostile statements by political actors regarding immigration is:

> In her writings, Mrs. May contended that the country was being "invaded on all fronts by immigrants." Complaining about the Cubans who arrived in 1980 as part of the Mariel boatlift, she cited their "criminal habits, radical political thought, exotic diseases, neighborhood disruption," but said their "most dangerous contribution" was their high birthrate, "far higher than that of our native population." "They breed like hamsters," she wrote. (McIntire & Kulish, 2019)

Although most of the political communications were either made by the President himself or by the associates of the Trump administration, the above-mentioned statement was made by Cordelia Scaife May who is a prominent political donor who contributed a lot in funding for making policies which can prevent or deter immigration to the United States. Her statement reveals what a strong anti-immigration stand she has in her writing as she sees immigration as a potential threat to the American socio-cultural problem with their diseases, political thoughts, and criminal habits, especially with regard to the Cuban immigration of the 1980s. The statement declares that the birth rate among the immigrants is a potential threat as immigrants would eventually overcome the local population, thereby destabilizing the American demographic equilibrium. The above-mentioned statements represent not only the personal political opinion but also the diversified political opinion by the people who finance such anti-immigration stands.

Another noteworthy migrant hostile political statement can be found in the media:

> Mr. Trump has offered a plan to "take back our country" from what he calls the rapist-murderer-job stealers being exported from Mexico. He is full of ideas. He would expel 11 million immigrants and their families and let only "the good ones" back in. He would restrict legal immigration and impose a national job-

> verification system so that citizens would also need federal permission to work. He would build a 2,000-mile border wall and force Mexicans to pay for it. He would replace the Constitution's guarantee of citizenship by birth with citizenship by bloodline and pedigree, leaving it to politicians and bureaucrats to decide what to do with millions of stateless children. He would flood the country with immigration agents and -- it almost goes without saying dismantle the economy and shred America's standing as an immigrant-welcoming nation. (Editorial Board, 2015)

The narrative above represents the hostile statement by the Presidential candidate of the Republican party. When these kinds of statements were promoted by the Presidential candidate himself, not only the public but also the people who are running for the position in various states also endorse them. It is evident that they believe in his ideology of anti-immigration policies in which they uphold his idea of expelling the 11 million immigrants and their families; they say that immigrants, especially the illegal ones, come and steal their jobs and are rapists and murderers and support his idea of resisting even legal immigration. The statements by the political actors have a long-reaching impact not only upon the public but also upon the policy decision-makers and those who represent the party lines with the same ideological inclination.

The examples above along with other narratives in the category of the hostile statements by political actors indicate that when such hostile statements are highlighted and formulated by political actors at the top level, it not only affects the public but also the policy decision-makers, bureaucrats and top executives of the country who make decisions in immigrant-related policy formulation and its implementation. The hostile statements made by political actors have to be considered not only at the socio-political level but also at the level of the media which act as the fourth estate that can rectify the odds of such political communication and educate the public regarding its far-reaching implications upon the tranquility, peace, and fabric of the society.

Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the selective immigrant policy mechanism. Unlike the hostile or embracing statement and political policy formulation, the selective mechanism can be seen as a policy mechanism in which politicians or the political decision-makers make selective decisions regarding immigration and immigrant-related ideas, while objecting to other immigrant-related integration ideas and policies. This sub-frame is especially important during the period from 2016 to 2020, during the Presidential term of Donald Trump, because even though he would like to have complete control regarding immigration, due to the widespread opposition, especially from the Democrats, the third sector, other social activists, and media reporting, he resorted to selective immigrant policy mechanisms.

These are especially evident in his political statements and policy formulation. He provides a selective mechanism for immigrant intake, like providing the facility for reamers to get embracing political statement forcing the Democrats to come to terms with allocating funding for his dream project of building a wall at the Mexican border. His created policy enhancing the salary structure of H1B1 skilled migrants while formulating policies and legal measures to limit family-based immigration of these skilled workers

relatives to the United States. Even though he upholds some of the immigrant integration measures, he tries to impose his ideology of immigrant control, thereby enhancing selective immigrant policy mechanisms, reflected in the responsibility frame.

Selective immigrant policy mechanisms are represented in the media in such statements as:

> Currently, about 12 percent of those immigrants qualify to enter based on their skills, while more than half are permitted to enter because of a family connection. Under Mr. Trump's proposal, those numbers would be reversed, with nearly 60 percent of all visas going to immigrants with particular skills or offers of employment. (Shear, 2019)

The above-mentioned media narrative shows the significant selective policy mechanisms regarding immigration in which the administration would like to formulate new measures to replace the current state of immigrant intake when more than half of all immigrants come based on family-based immigration and only 12 percent enter the country on the skill-based immigrant mechanisms. Through this narrative, the media depicts the intention of the policymakers, especially the President himself, who would like to reverse such scenario and emphasize the skilled immigration where more than 50% of the immigrant intake would be based on skills rather than on family ties, and reveals the plan to reduce such family-based immigrant intake. The example highlights the selective immigrant intake policy narrative.

Another significant media article regarding selective immigrant policy mechanism can be seen in the following excerpt:

> To end the polarized and paralyzed debate over immigration policy, President Trump has proposed a deal. The president will grant amnesty to an estimated 1.8 million so-called Dreamers young people who were brought illegally to the United States as children in return for (a) $25 billion for a wall on the southern border and other border enforcement measures; (b) elimination of the lottery that distributes 50,000 visas per year, with a reallocation of some of those visas to high-skilled immigrants; and (c) curbing chain migration by "limiting family sponsorship to spouses and minor children only. (Borjas, 2018)

Like the previously, this also highlights the selective immigrant policy mechanism by the Trump administration. The statement implies that to accomplish his goal of curtailing immigration to the United States, the President is trying to formulate a deal with the Democrats, thereby trying to overcome the obstacles in the legislation regarding his immigrant-related policies. Notably, to appease the Democrats, Trump's administration is ready to provide amnesty to 1.8 million Dreamers, thereby trying to overcome the legislative deadlock and to establish his immigrant policies, such as building the wall at the Mexican border, curtailing the visa lottery system which benefits a huge number of immigrants, especially from the deprived regions of the world and curtailing the family-based immigration under which the large majority of immigrants come to the United States every year.

These as well as other narratives in the media represent the selective immigrant intake mechanisms, especially during the Trump administration; they show the significance of this sub-frame of selective immigrant intake policy mechanism. Unlike the previous administrations, which took a comprehensive stand towards immigration,

here the President himself takes the initiative towards selective policy mechanism towards immigration which gained wide attention in the media narratives and public discourse during the time. It can be concluded that like other policy mechanisms in the responsibility frame, selective immigrant policy mechanisms is also significant because of the selective nature of policy mechanisms endorsed, implemented, and formulated by the Trump administration during the given period.

Embracing Statements by Political Actors

Another noteworthy sub-frame in the category of responsibility frame can be seen in the form of embracing statements by political actors. It not only represents the political statement by the political actors, such as politicians or parliamentarians, but also by a wide variety of political statements which are in favor of immigration and immigrant intake by socio-cultural and political actors ranging from the leaders of business communities to socio-cultural activists who are the third sector organizations, to religious and other cultural leaders who favor immigration and immigrant integration. When it comes to immigrant integration, this can be seen as one of the most significant sub-frames in the frame of responsibility, as embracing statements by political actors provide the space and opportunity for policy formulation and its implementation for pro-immigrant integration mechanisms and measures. This is especially important during the study period of 2015–2020, as most of the statements by the administration and the President himself were mostly hostile towards immigrant integration and intake. Some of the most significant embracing statements made by political actors were either by the Republicans who had a compassionate or humanitarian approach, the Democratic politicians who have always stood up for humanitarian values and immigrant intake mechanisms, and by the third sector and humanitarian agencies, which have a humanitarian approach on immigrant integration and seek to rectify those policy mechanisms which become detrimental to immigrant intake.

Embracing statements by political actors include such statements as:

> Among the donors were Facebook's chief executive, Mark Zuckerberg, and its chief operating officer, Sheryl Sandberg, a Facebook spokesman said. In a Facebook post on Tuesday, Mr. Zuckerberg called for more donations and said the policy of splitting up immigrant children from their families needed to be stopped. Ms. Sandberg, in her own Facebook post, called the cries of the children taken from their parents "unbearable" and added that the practice "needs to end now". (Frenkel, 2018)

Here the political actors not only make the political statement which provides a compassionate approach towards immigration but also urges people to make more donations which can provide opportunities to prevent family separation policies at the borders. Even though the business community and its leadership and executives insisted the government to revoke and reverse its policy which prevents the intake of skilled immigrants into the United States and the policy of limiting people who can come based on the family ties; this move launched the community to make more contributions in the form of donations to prevent further scenarios which can lead to separation of children from their families. By making the embracing statements, the political actors shape the

actions and mechanisms through which such statements can make real changes in the socio-cultural realm.

A noteworthy example of media narratives in the category of embracing statements made by political actors is:

> "It sounds great just to bring the total brainiac, most skilled people here, but when you look at the economy, it's not that simple you need the brainiacs, but you need the low-skilled people as well," said Tamar Jacoby, the president of Immigration Works USA, who advises Republicans on immigration issues. (Davis, 2017)

This narrative shows the embracing statements made not only by the Democrats and pro-immigrant advocates but also by the compassionate actors within the Republican party. This excerpt is stated by the President of the Immigration Works USA, a think tank that supports the Republican Party on its immigration issues. President Tamar Jacoby states that when it comes to immigration to the United States, it should be a comprehensive phenomenon rather than a selective mechanism, as a country like the United States not only needs people who have brainpower and expertise but also people who can contribute to various low-skilled labor sectors, like agriculture and allied services. He states that a combination of intellectuals and low-skilled people can only make a significant contribution to the economy and keep the economy running. Thus embracing statements made by political actors highlight the attempt to comprehend both parts of immigration contributing to the United States economy and society.

The embracing statements made by political actors have great significance for the overall empowerment of immigration and for the process of immigration itself. In this research, it is particularly relevant as the period from 2015 to 2020 witnessed serious obstacles towards having embracing statements made by political actors due to the hate speeches made by political actors towards immigration.

Amicable Immigrant-Friendly Policy Mechanisms

Another positive sub-frame in the responsibility frame is amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms. Like the above-mentioned frame of an embracing statement made by political actors, this is also crucial to immigrant intake and integration. When politicians make embracing statements towards immigration and integration mechanisms, it leads to favorable policy mechanisms and discourse which further encourages more positive statements regarding immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms. Even though hostile political statement and policy mechanism got great media attention in 2015–2020, the embracing statements and the amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms did not get as much attention in the media narratives during the time. Even though there were positive statements by some political actors, they did not have much impact on policy implementation mechanisms because the political party which holds the command of the administration is against such immigrant integration policy. In the administrative sphere, an amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanism did not have much significance.

Amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms can be seen in the media narratives:

> The plan also seeks to restore and build upon some executive actions taken by President Barack Obama. In addition to restoring protections for Dreamers, Mr. Booker would restore the Central American Minors program, an Obama-era initiative that provided eligible children from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador an easier pathway to refugee status in the United States. (Corasaniti, 2019)

The above-mentioned statement was made by Senator Cory Brooker, who proposed to restore the immigration policies, if he comes to power as the President of the United States. This narrative shows the embracing statement made by an important political actor to restore the policies favored by the Obama administration, especially for Dreamers, and to restore the Central American Minors Program, which would benefit eligible children from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador and allow them to get a refugee status in the United States with a much simpler manner. As stated in the beginning, the administration is headed by the Trump, who belongs to the Republican ideology; embracing policy mechanisms by the government is a much impossible task, especially under the Trump administration. However, the above-mentioned statement states that the Democrats still carry forward a humanitarian and empathetic approach towards immigration, which can be seen in the above-mentioned statement in which the Democratic Senator upholds his ideology of humanitarian approach towards immigration and his promise of enhancing a policy mechanism once he gets into power as the President of the United States.

The example below states the significance of an amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanism:

> After a public outcry over the Trump administration's zero-tolerance immigration policy that resulted in migrant children being separated from their families after crossing the border, the House rejected a hardline immigration bill in June that was backed by the White House. Forty-one Republicans voted against it. (Qiu, 2018)

Even though the example cannot be classified as an immigrant-friendly policy mechanism, it shows a certain affinity to the category, as the Trump administration's zero-tolerance towards the child separation policy created an uproar and a heated debate in the public. The US House of Representatives showed a responsible approach towards it by rejecting the hardline Immigration Bill, which was proposed by the Trump administration. The above-mentioned example represents not only the Democrats who oppose the bill in the house but also Republicans who also show a sensible and humanitarian approach regarding this, as 41 Republicans voted against the proposed bill in the house. It shows the consensus among both party members regarding the need for a humanitarian approach towards immigration and immigrant reforms and rejecting the idea of hardline policy measures proposed by the Trump administration. Thus, even though it is not a policy measure, it is a measure taken by the legislative body in which they rejected the anti-immigrant and anti-humanitarian mechanism by the Trump administration, thereby putting an end to the family separation policies proposed by the Trump administration.

The above-mentioned narratives show that when it comes to the amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms during the period from 2015 to 2020, even though there were not many significant policy measures during the given period due to the hard

anti-immigrant stand of the administration towards it, we can see some light regarding this, especially from the House of Representatives, which is the highest legislative body in the USA, and by Democrats and other sensible politicians from both sides, who show some humanitarian tendencies towards immigration and objected the hardline stand of the President and his political ideology. Within the frame of responsibility, amicable immigrant-friendly mechanisms have are very important when it comes to immigrant integration and immigrant intake.

Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures

The final sub-frame in the frame of responsibility is the inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures. Like the sub-frame of selective policy mechanism, this sub-frame also looks at the specific aspect of lack of policy measures regarding refugee and migrant resettlement when it comes to the people who illegally cross to the United States and those who apply for asylum or refugee resettlement in the United States. The lack of refugee or migrant facilitation measures by the administration leads to various difficulties for the migrants and refugees and others who illegally cross the borders, especially when it comes to detention. These were the scenarios that cost the separation of children from their families by the officials and the practice of inhuman detention centers where the children were detained without proper facilities as well as the inhuman attitude of the guards and other officials towards these children and the scandals of sexual abuse perpetrated by the officials towards the detainees.

In this regard, one of the most noteworthy media narratives highlighting this sub-frame of inadequate refugee or migrant resettlement measure can be seen in the form of such media statements as:

> One option McAleenan, Homan and Cissna presented to Nielsen, according to the current and former administration officials, was instituting a policy of separating migrant children from their families. Because of a consent decree known as the Flores settlement, C.B.P. is prohibited from holding immigrant children caught illegally crossing the border with their guardians for more than 20 days. It meant that adult immigrants if they illegally came across the border with their children, would be released often immediately or at the longest after 20 days when their children were required to be released. Separating the children from their parents, department officials argued, would allow C.B.P. to detain the adult's longer. (Zengerle, 2019)

The above-mentioned media narrative clearly highlights the inadequate migrant or refugee resettlement measures. Rather than creating adequate policy measures, the above-mentioned narrative highlights the statement made by political actors, namely by the current and former administration officials, for creating a policy that will lead to the separation of children from their families in order to prevent the release of the parents who were already detained for illegally crossing the border. When the parents are caught together with the children, the current policy prohibits the detention of children for more than 20 days, which automatically leads to the release of their parents, thus escaping the detention procedure. However, rather than creating a policy mechanism that provides amicable immigration without harming the children or separating them from their

parents, it articulates inhuman policy measures. These are mainly due to the inadequate policy or refugee resettlement measures which are clearly highlighted in the category.

Another media narrative in the category of inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement program can be seen in the following statement:

> Homeland Security Department officials have changed their minds multiple times in recent days over when to start the operations. Officials have been nervous about creating scenes of armed agents pulling children from homes and the possibility that some families could be separated. "It's people, and people are complicated," said Ronald D. Vitiello, the former acting director of the immigration and customs agency who had his nomination pulled by Mr. Trump after he warned of the bad impressions the raids would leave. "Some of them might be sick and need to be treated for the illness. Some might be separated in a way that the child might be at school and the parents at home" (Jordan & Youngs, 2019).

The above-mentioned media narrative shows the inadequate refugee or migrant resettlement measures in the United States. It also states the inhuman attitudes perpetrating the family separation policies, especially towards children, when conducting raids to find illegal immigrants, and highlights the inhuman approach by the officials who were a part of the raids; they state that it is hard to conduct these raids. It also highlights the humanitarian approach by the former acting director Ronald D. Vitiello who expresses his concern towards the raids and the implications it can inflict upon the children and people who are really in need of assistance during the time of raids. It emphasizes the approach by the administration, and the President, because the humanitarian stand taken by Ronald D Vitiello led the President to the withdraw the application due to Vitiello's favoritism towards immigration and its humanitarian approach.

The above-mentioned narratives along with others in the category of inadequate immigrant refugee resettlement measures highlight the lack of proper measures for immigrant or refugee integration in the United States. The lack of policy measures leads to situations which make a long-term impact to psychological, physical, and emotional trauma for the refugees and immigrants, especially the immigrant and refugee children who get convicted or detained in such scenarios. It shows the positive and negative approaches of the officials towards such inadequate policy measures. The negative approach shows how these loopholes can be avoided and rigid measures can be taken to prosecute those detainees, refugees, or immigrants, whereas the positive measure shows how much humanitarian approach needs to be taken to avoid such circumstances and the need for making a more comprehensive policy measures to avoid such circumstances in future. The sub-frame of inadequate refugee or migrant resettlement measures highlight the need for a more comprehensive approach towards immigration and refugee integration.

Administrative frame

Another relevant mainframe in the category of media framing and the attitude towards immigration and immigrant integration is the administrative frame. Like the other frames, the administrative frame is essential, since when policy measures are

formulated by the politicians or at the political level, the real implication of policy measures is at the administrative level because they are implemented by the administrative officials at the executive, legal, judicial, and at the third sector level. Thus, these four actors or sub-frames in the category of the administrative frame each are related to the others when it comes to implementation. It is noteworthy that when politicians formulate such policies, it is through the executive or bureaucratic branch of civil servants and other officials who carry forward such policy measures and implement them at the state, province, and county level; The legal officials in the form of law and order make sure that such policies have been implemented without any discrepancies, and if there are any, they will take proper legal measures to avoid such scenarios in the future and to rectify the odds. When the executive and the legal aspect fail to deliver it properly and if there is any aspect of corruption or favoritism, the law of the land, i.e., the courts at the state and national level, take proper corrective mechanisms to rectify the odds in such policy implementation mechanisms. Another significant actor in this regard is the third sector or NGOs and other social organizations which take initiative in implementing such policy mechanisms. Even though the policy mechanisms are implemented by the executive or bureaucratic wings of the government, the third sector with their fundraising mechanisms and the mechanism of getting funding from the national and state level through their funding allocation policies substantially contribute to immigrant integration and their assimilation into the society. Thus, in the administrative frame, all these sub-frames and actors, such as executive or bureaucratic, law and order or police, legal or judicial, and finally, the third sector or other social actors play a significant role towards immigration.

The following is the description of the sub-frames in the category of the administrative frame. As already stated, it has been categorized into four major sub-frames for understanding the role of these actors regarding immigrant integration and their assimilation into the society. The sub-frames can be categorized as follows:

1. Third Sector/ Social Actors
2. Law &Order/Police
3. Legal/Judicial
4. Executive/ Bureaucratic

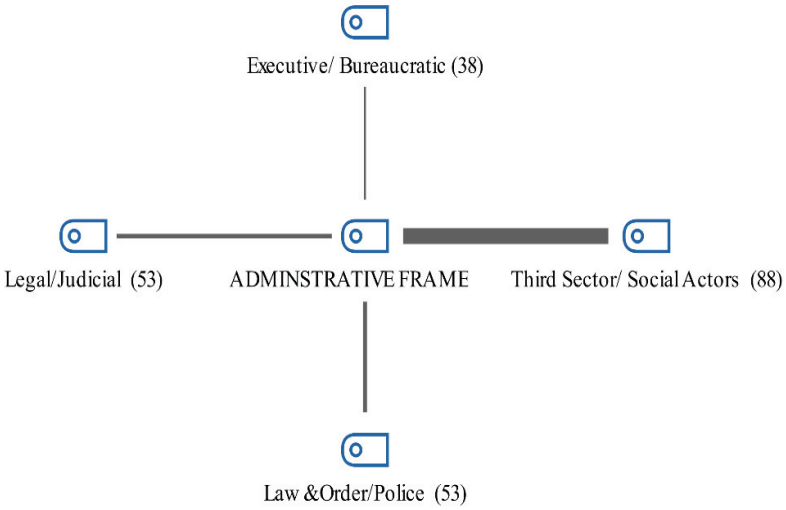

Fig. 15. Distribution of Administrative frame & sub-frames in the *New York Times*

Source: Author compiled from the *New York Times*

Figure 15 above shows the distribution of administrative sub-frames in the *New York Times* during the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. Considering the narration and representation of the administrative frame in the newspaper during the research period, the greatest significance has to be attributed to the third sector/social actors who are represented 88 times. It shows the contribution of the third sector or social actors concerning immigrant integration and assimilation, especially during the period when the policy measures by the government, i.e., by the Trump administration, were mostly against immigrant integration and assimilation. Another significant sub-frame in the category of the administrative frame is the law and order, or police and legal/judicial, which both were represented 53 times. However, it must be noted that when it comes to law and order or police, it was mostly against or being detrimental for immigrant integration and assimilation, whereas when it comes to legal or judicial, it was mostly in favor of immigrant integration and assimilation and trying to rectify the odds of the policy measures taken by the government at the national or federal level. Another important sub-frame in the category of the administrative frame is the executive or bureaucratic branch, which was represented 38 times during the given time frame. Like the law and order or police, these measures by the executive or bureaucratic branch is mostly detrimental towards immigrant integration and assimilation because these divisions of the government implement the policy measures formulated and drafted by the government, especially by the administrative mechanism at the national level, thereby carry forward their anti-immigration policies and execute them.

Third Sector/ Social Actors

When it comes to the administrative frame, one of the most significant sub-frames with the largest number of narrations in the media during the period is the third sector or social actors. The third sector or social actors are organizations or institutions which work

towards immigrant integration and their assimilation and have a compassionate approach towards immigration in the United States. This sub-frame includes not only NGOs or other third sector institutions which work towards immigrant integration but also other social actors who are responsible towards society and have a compassionate and humanitarian approach towards immigration. It ranges from activism of organizations which work for immigrant integration and assimilation through their social activities and through their lobbying and other mechanisms try to rectify the odds in the policy mechanisms which are detrimental for immigrant intake and integration. It highlights the statements and political opinions by various socially responsible actors at various positions who have a commitment towards society in which they express their strong opinion which favors immigration and criticizes the government for formulating measures which can have a detrimental effect towards immigrant integration.

Regarding the media narratives in the category of the third sector or social actors, a good example is the following excerpt:

> This has been happening for a really long time," said Erika Andiola, chief of advocacy for the Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services, or Raices, a nonprofit organization that provides low-cost legal defense services to immigrant and refugee families. Ms. Andiola said federal officials needed to stop detaining migrants at the border. She said money should be diverted from the "militarization of the border," for example, increased surveillance to more humanitarian goals like providing food or medical care to migrants. (Zaveri, 2019)

This narrative is a combination of the third sector and social actor as it represents Erica Andiola, as a social actor who is considered to be the chief of advocacy for the Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services or popularly known as Raices, which is a non-profit organization that provides low-cost legal services to immigrants and refugee families who cannot afford normal procedures for legal measures which can be very costly. As a responsible social actor and the third sector organization, they provide services that otherwise can be unavailable for those immigrant families and communities which face legal issues in the United States and the fear of deportation. The example not only states the importance of providing low-cost legal services to the immigrants and their families but also insists on stopping the detention of illegal immigrants at the borders and the inhuman practices towards them. Rather than utilizing the funds for such practices they should be better utilized for humanitarian purposes and for providing food and medical care for the migrants which can lead to their betterment and well-being. This narrative provides a comprehensive approach to the role of the third sector or social actors for immigrant integration and well-being.

Another significant media narrative in the category of the third sector or social actor can be seen in:

> Tom Nassif, president of Western Growers, a company that produces about half of all products across the United States, said he hopes that politicians will finally make a deal after weighing the economic and humanitarian fallout from deporting thousands of workers. But he did not sound optimistic. The jury is still out on whether they can get it done," he said. "They haven't proven they

have been able to give and take and make compromises, whether it's health care reform, or tax reform, or immigration reform" (Alcindor, 2017).

The above-mentioned narrative highlights the responsible and pro-immigrant statement by a social actor named Tom Nassif, who is the president of Western Growers, which is the largest company in the United States that produces about half of all the produce across the country. Even though he feels optimistic regarding the immigration measures finally accomplished by the politicians, once they compare all the costs related to immigration and the benefits which accompany them with the immigration process, he remains confused regarding the role of these politicians when it comes to healthcare, tax, or immigration reforms. The understanding of social actors, especially those who are in the field of business, finds the benefit from the immigrating workforce and their significance to the United States. As the author is the owner of a company which produces agricultural products in the United States, he knows about the quality of the workforce of the immigrants and the efforts they put forward to keep the economy and the system moving. The above-mentioned narratives reveal that the third sector and social actors play a key role when it comes to the aspect of immigrant integration and taking responsible measures which favor immigration to the United States. It not only propagates the idea of immigrant integration and immigration to the United States but also is vocal and takes measures that prevent anti-immigration mechanisms sought after by various groups and the government. The sub-frame of the third sector/social actor is especially relevant in 2015–2020 as, unlike the previous times when the government also favored immigrant integration and intake, with the coming of the Republican government under the Trump Presidency, the approach towards immigration got a different stand and became detrimental for immigration to the United States. The responsibility for immigration and upholding the immigrant values has been entrusted to the third sector and social actors who rose to the level and took the responsibility by acting as a responsible force for facilitating immigration and rectifying the odds of governmental mechanisms and defending legal measures against such policies in the federal and state courts.

Law &Order/Police

Another sub-frame in the category of the administrative frame is law and order or police. When it comes to the aspect of immigration and immigrant integration, a significant factor which can either be in favor or against immigrant intake and integration is the law and order or the police mechanism. It mainly depends upon the approach of the government towards immigration and immigrants as law and order are the mechanisms through which the policies and programs of the government towards immigration are implemented at the local level. The period taken for the study is particularly important concerning the law and order as this is the period in which the most aggressive policy mechanisms and anti-immigration policies were witnessed in the US immigration framework. It is mainly due to the hard immigration stand by the federal administration in which severe action was taken towards illegal immigration, the policy of deportation of those illegal immigrants and immigrants who were convicted of felonies. Surveilling the communities thereby trying to identify those immigrants which did not comply with the policies designed by the federal administration and those which would lead to family separation, limiting family-based immigration and the lottery system. When it comes to

the implementation of all the above-mentioned policy mechanisms, law and order or the police force is the most essential mechanism for implementing the governmental policies.

When it comes to media narration, the law and order and the legal and judicial sub-frames are each represented 53 times in the given time frame. Unlike the third sector or social actor, the narratives of which favor immigrant integration, the narratives in the sub-frame of law and order/police are mostly against immigration or act as a deterrent force, thereby acting against the immigrant intake and integration.

A meaningful example of media narratives in this regard can be seen in:

> Federal immigration officials arrested more than 600 people across at least 11 states last week, detaining 40 people in the New York City area, law enforcement officials said on Sunday. It remained unclear whether the actions by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents were part of continuing operations to round up undocumented immigrants with criminal convictions or a ramping-up of deportations by the Trump administration" (Dickerson & Robbins, 2017).

The above-mentioned media narratives show the negative aspect of law and order/police in which it follows the protocol and procedures of the federal administration, thereby making a widespread arrest of immigrants who were in the United States illegally or even legal migrants who commit some form of legal violations. The federal immigration officials during the last week of 2017 had made more than 600 arrests in across 11 states in which more than 40 people were detained in the New York City area. It is evident that the law and order/police follow the instructions of the administration, thereby following the procedure and implementing the anti-immigration policy of the Trump administration during the period from 2016 to 2020.

Another significant media narrative in the law and order/police sub-frame is:

> For years, it was an uneventful ritual. Unauthorized immigrants who weren't considered a priority for deportation would meet with an Immigration and Customs Enforcement officer and be told simply, "See you next year." The deportation officers, as they are known, were employing prosecutorial discretion, which let them free up resources and detention center space to focus on the deportation of convicted criminals. Now, under President Trump, the stakes of these meetings have changed. What was routine is now roulette. (Robbins, 2017)

The above-mentioned narrative highlights how the attitude and policies of the law and order/police had changed, especially after the coming of the Trump administration. Before it was more of a compassionate and humanitarian approach and following their personal discretion when it comes to the matters of immigration and detention. The attitude of the federal government towards the humanitarian approach when it comes to immigration facilitate such discretion. However, with the change of the federal administration's approach and attitude towards immigration, especially after the Trump administration comes to power, the chance of humanitarian discretion started fading away from the immigration officials as now detention is more a compulsory phenomenon insisted on by the administration and cannot be ignored. Once it was a procedure of providing humanitarian approach and discretion freeing unauthorized migrants who do not pose a threat to the United States and only convicting or detaining those who posed

a threat to the country. Now, people irrespective of their criminal background are detained and put to inhuman conditions in the detention centers which finally lead to deportation. Thus, the process of law and order changes with time and with the changing mentality and approach of the federal administration towards immigration.

The above-mentioned narrative in the sub-frame of law and order/police reveals that even though the legal policies and the procedural frame of police/law and order are constant over time concerning the legal written measures, with the changing attitude of the federal administration towards immigration and immigrant-related policies the police/law and order are obliged to follow such procedures and to take such stand towards immigration.

Legal/Judicial

The administrative frame includes the legal/judicial sub-frame, which fits together with law and order/police. Like the law and order/police, the legal/judicial subframe is also widely represented in the media narratives over the period, with 53 news narratives specifically directed towards legal/judicial system. Unlike the previous subframe, the legal or judicial sub-frame fits in with the third sector or social actor sub-frames which show the positive attributes of the administrative frame. Through the legal or judicial sub-frame, it provides relief to the grievances inflicted upon immigrants or their communities. When the policy measures are formulated in the responsibility frame by the political actors and when such policies have a determining effect upon immigration or immigrant intake into the United States, it is through the judicial or legal mechanism that the grievances are considered and justice is reached. It is mostly carried out or highlighted when policy measures have been continuously persuaded by the executive branch of the government and when law and order/police remain silent or aligned with the ideology of the government. In such scenarios, the last resort of the public is to go to the legal or judicial institutions to get rid of their grievances. Therefore, the legal/judicial sub-frames have a great significance in the administrative frame.

The above-mentioned narrative can be seen as one of the most significant narratives in the category of legal or judicial, which signifies the importance of legal or judicial institutions:

> The decision came after a federal judge in California issued a nationwide injunction on Tuesday ordering the Trump administration to resume the DACA program. Later that day, Judge William Alsup of Federal District Court in San Francisco handed down his ruling, writing that the administration must "maintain the DACA program on a nationwide basis" as the legal challenge to the president's decision goes forward. (Stevens, 2018)

When the Trump administration made legal measures to stop the DACA program, thereby hampering the situation of the DACA recipients, the decision of the Federal judge in California and the issued injunction ordered the Trump administration to resume the DACA program. Later at the same day another special decision by the Federal District Court in San Francisco handed down in ruling asking the administration to maintain the DACA program also shows the responsible attitude of the legal or judicial mechanism when it comes to immigration and its related policies. These mechanisms of legal and judicial procedure ensured that the wrongdoings towards immigration had been rectified

by taking proper legal measures and correcting the administrative mechanism with regard to it. It has a great significance during the Trump era, when most of the policies are directed against immigration and its related mechanisms.

Unlike the previous narrative, which shows the corrective mechanisms taken by the courts when it comes to immigration and its strength, this narrative shows the vulnerability of the judges considering the decision-making regarding immigration:

> Few other areas of the law involve as much discretion judges approve and deny cases at vastly different rates. And immigration judges handle more than 700 cases a year, twice as many as Federal District Court judges. While there are 277 immigration judges today, more than ever before, their combined backlog peaked this summer at more than half a million cases, the most in history. For years, the judges union has lobbied Congress, with limited success, for more law clerks and other support staff to offset their burden. (Dickerson, 2016)

This excerpt emphasizes the overburden of cases as the immigration judges handle more than 700 cases a year which is twice than what their fellow colleagues, the Federal District Court judges, handle during the period. Due to this huge load of cases, the decision-making and the rationality regarding the judgment becomes daunting, and most of them are desperate to get some training to be rational to an extent in their judgments. The narrative also states that even though there are 227 immigration judges today, more than ever before, the huge backlog of cases, i.e., more than half a million cases, is the highest in the history of the United States. It shows the lack of political support from the federal legislature even though they make significant attempts in lobbying to rectify the odds, by adding more staff and resources to the legal and judicial system. This narrative shows the vulnerability of the legal/judicial system, which became helpless and weaker when it comes to immigration-related issues, especially due to the immigration-related policies of the Federal administration, the huge sum of immigration-related detention, and cases that come to the courts every year.

Thus, the above-mentioned as well as other narratives in the category show that the legal/judicial aspect is one of the most significant facilitating factors towards immigration and rectify the odds in the immigrant-related policies by the Federal administration. Through the mechanism of checks and balances, the legal/judicial mechanism rectifies the odds of the government and its branches, by trying to provide justice to those who were affected and had grievances. It also shows the other side of the legal/judicial system; the lack of proper facilities, manpower, and resourcing, affects the day-to-day functioning and rationality of the legal decisions of the judges. It signifies the need for proper changes in the legal/judicial mechanism and the need for allocating more manpower and resources by the legislature to have a fair and transparent functioning of the legal/judicial system in the United States, especially when it comes to immigration. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the category of administrative mechanism, the legal/judicial sub-frames have a great significance.

Executive/Bureaucratic

The final sub-frame in the administrative frame is the executive or bureaucratic sub-frame. Unlike the other sub-frames, which have a higher media representation, the executive or bureaucratic sub-frame is less represented in the media, with only 38 media

narratives. However, like the other subframes, it also has a great significance when it comes to the matters of immigration intake and integration. Even though the policies regarding immigrant intake and integration are formulated by politicians at the responsibility level through the legislature, it is the executive or bureaucratic division which implements those policies. Thus, the executive or bureaucratic actors are a decisive factor in immigrant intake and integration. The period taken for this study, from 2015 to 2000, has a great significance concerning this sub-frame, as the anti-immigration policies formulated by the Trump administration were implemented through the executive or bureaucratic branch at the national, regional, and local levels.

One of the exemplary media narratives regarding executive or bureaucratic sub-frame can be seen in:

> Jared Kushner, the president's son-in-law, and a White House adviser, spent months working on the plan, which will serve as a central part of Mr. Trump's re-election campaign message. Working with him was Stephen Miller, the president's top immigration adviser, but the plan falls short of the more extreme measures that Mr. Miller has long pressed the president to adopt and that have long been opposed by Democrats in Congress. (Shear, 2019)

The narrative above shows how the executive/bureaucratic branch facilitates the implementation of those policies formulated by the legislature. It also shows how the executive branch acts as a decisive force in advising the top officials, especially the President, in formulating hardline policies towards migration and migrant intake. In this narrative, Jared Kushner, the President's son-in-law became one of the most dominant factors in formulating policies that acting as a deterrent force towards immigrant integration and intake, thereby facilitating reelection and the continuity of the administration. It highlights how he, together with Stephen Miller, one of the President's top immigration advisers, are trying to formulate his ideas to be a catalyst and a deterrent force towards immigration intake and their further integration into the United States, which has been diluted and opposed by the Democrats in the Congress. The above-mentioned narrative shows that the executive/bureaucratic branch not only implements those hard stands towards immigration but also facilitates the dialogue and formulates ideas that enable the President and top politicians to draft policies having a detrimental effect on immigration and immigrant integration.

Another great example of media narratives in this category is:

> Yet the government has also spent millions of dollars paying for lawyers to represent unaccompanied children in immigration courts from modest programs in Baltimore and Tennessee to a $55 million effort by the Department of Health and Human Services in cities throughout the United States….Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. said, "Though these children may not have a constitutional right to a lawyer, we have policy reasons and a moral obligation to ensure the presence of counsel. (Santos, 2016)

Unlike the previous narrative, this shows the positive side of the executive/bureaucratic branch in providing immigrants with services. Even though the executive/bureaucratic branch did not provide much legal assistance to immigrants in detention, in exceptional cases, the government spent money for lawyers to represent unaccompanied children in immigration courts. The narrative indicates that this results in a more than $55 million

effort by the Department of Health and Human Services which were provided in cities across the United States. Also, the statement by former Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. states that even though there was no legal requirement for providing such services, they were provided due to the moral and humanitarian obligation, which shows the compassionate approach within the executive/bureaucratic division towards undocumented immigrants, especially the undocumented immigrant children. This narrative shows the positive side of the executive/bureaucratic branch even though they were complying with the Federal policies towards immigration, they also show their humanitarian and moral obligation by assisting undocumented immigrants.

The narratives in media represent both the positive and the negative side of the executive/bureaucratic system regarding immigration and its related policies and mechanisms. Although most of the 38 narratives depicted the negative side of the executive/bureaucratic branch, especially during the period of the Trump administration, there are some instances in which they show the sympathy and humanitarian approach towards immigration. The attitude and actions by the executive/bureaucratic branch mainly depend upon the policy mechanisms of the government which creates the policies. Thus, like the sub-frame of law and order/police, the executive/bureaucratic system also heavily depends upon the government's actions in implementing their mechanisms.

Return home frame

The final frame investigating the role of media framing and its attitude towards immigration is the return home frame. It is a mechanism in which the migrants who are in the United States both legally and illegally take procedural action for their repatriation to their home countries. These are either facilitated through unilateral repatriation decisions or by mutual consensus. Unlike other major frames, the return home frame does not have many media narratives, as there are only 21 media narratives in the category of unilateral repatriation decision. Even though the Trump administration was very vocal and vehement towards immigration policies and the deportation of illegal immigrants, the responsibility frame by the Democrats, the public attention, and the media networks mitigated the extent of such deportation intended by the administration.

From the global perspective, the return home frame, or unilateral or mutual repatriation comes into effect only when there is no threat to the life and security of the returning immigrants. When the home and host governments and their mechanisms ensure that a life-threatening situation is no longer prevalent in the home country, then mostly the return home mechanism has been facilitated, especially for immigrants from countries where there is a war or internal conflict. In the case of the United States, most undocumented immigrants who illegally cross the borders through Mexico are mostly people who intend to migrate to the United States from the Latin American countries due to the widespread corruption and the threat to their life and well-being. In such case, a unilateral decision to repatriate such immigrants, especially those who are undocumented, to their home countries can lead to a threat to their life and security. Thus, the return home frame and the sub-frame of unilateral repatriation of undocumented immigrants can be seen as a challenge, especially when it comes to the security of immigrants.

To evaluate the media narratives regarding the return home frame, the research tries to classify the return home frame into one significant sub-frame:

1. Unilateral repatriation decision

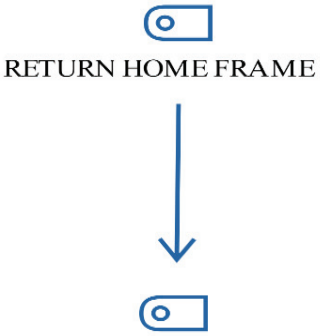

Fig. 16. Distribution of Return home frame in the *New York Times*

Source: Author, compiled from the *New York Times*

Unilateral repatriation decision

The only sub-frame in the return home frame is unilateral repatriation decision. The unilateral repatriation decision can be seen as a mechanism where immigrants, especially those who are undocumented in the United States, are forcefully sent back to their home countries without a mutual consensus between the home and host countries. Even though the deportation of undocumented immigrants has been there in the United States for a long time, its intensity and impact got much higher during the period of the Trump administration. Through the sub-frame of unilateral reparation decision, the media highlights the plight of the immigrants who are deported to their home countries due to various charges. Through this narrative, the media also highlights the atrocities and physical and mental torture the undocumented or illegal immigrants face during the process of investigation and deportation. Through these narratives, the media acts as a significant agent, highlighting the inhuman practices of unilateral repatriation by the United States government.

When evaluating the media narratives regarding unilateral repatriation, a good example can be seen in the following statement:

> The Trump administration has declared an end to the so-called catch and release policy, though it may take a while to see any significant change. "Catch and release" came about in part because the government had nowhere to hold detainees waiting for immigration decisions. The document also raises another alternative: sending migrants back to Mexico to wait out the immigration process, even those who are not originally from Mexico. That proposal comes with its own problems. Though United States law appears to allow it, Mexico's laws do not, if the immigrant is not a Mexican citizen" (Medina et al., 2017).

Here, the media highlights the unilateral repatriation decision by the government and the justification provided by the government regarding it. It states the lack of proper facilities and accommodative measures in the detention centers forces them to create a new policy mechanism known as "catch and release". People who illegally come to the United States are released back to Mexico until the decision comes regarding immigration. Another reflection of the media framing is seen here; even though the media highlights the policy mechanism which facilitates the creation of the "catch and release" policy by the government, it questions the rationality behind such a decision and the feasibility of such policy. The media raises questions about immigrants who are not originally from Mexico and the rationality behind sending them to Mexico as well as further complications of this. It questions the legal validity of such decisions as even though it is legal in the United States, it is not allowed in Mexico; how can such decisions be made by the government, since they can create other complications for the immigrants who are detained and sent to Mexico. The media highlights the unilateral decision by the government and questions the feasibility regarding those actions as a responsible social actor, by creating echoes in the society and formulating public perceptions regarding it.

Another relevant media narrative discusses unilateral repatriation of those immigrants who are single adults and who illegally crossed the border: "If you are a single adult from Mexico, you might be quickly repatriated by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE currently has about 50,000 undocumented immigrants in custody, most for criminal offenses but some just for illegal entry.)" (Friedman, 2019). This statement shows that immigration is decisive for people who are single and come into the United States illegally. It shows the generalization of all criminal offenses, as, according to the quote, the Immigration and Customs Enforcement have detained around 50,000 undocumented immigrants, without classifying whether they have committed serious crimes or just crimes pertaining to illegal entry. Also, the statement depicts unilateral repatriation as those who were caught were sent to Mexico without consent or mutual agreement with the Mexican government.

Thus, the above-mentioned narratives and narratives in the category of unilateral repatriation decision show the single-handed decision of the United States government and its administration to repatriate those immigrants who were considered to be a threat to the United States. The sub-frame of unilateral repatriation decision within the return home frame has great importance in the overall media framing of immigration in the United States.

3.1.3. Analysis of immigrants' perception of media reports about immigration to Florida

The fourth research question in this study was about migration and the newspaper reports on immigrants and their various issues, and how it molds the immigrants' perception towards media reports on immigration. To analyze this, 17 interviews were conducted with immigrants living in Florida, from various countries, and six with NGOs who were actively involved in the migrant integration and assimilation activities. Regarding the immigrants and foreign-born population, Florida is one of the most

significant states in the USA, at 4th position with 21.1% of the foreign-born population in the state, which makes it important for the study (Statista, 2020). One in five people in this state is born in another country, and many immigrants work in the labor force in Florida. Therefore, it is necessary to find out from the immigrants living in Florida what the media portrays about immigration, what are the news regarding immigrant integration and how it impacts political communication. As shown in Figure 17 below, four of the seventeen immigrants were from Mexico, three from India, two from Brazil, two from Azerbaijan, two from Nicaragua, two from Haiti, one from Trinidad and Tobago, and one from Nigeria. Their perceptions of the media discourse on immigration in Florida are discussed below.

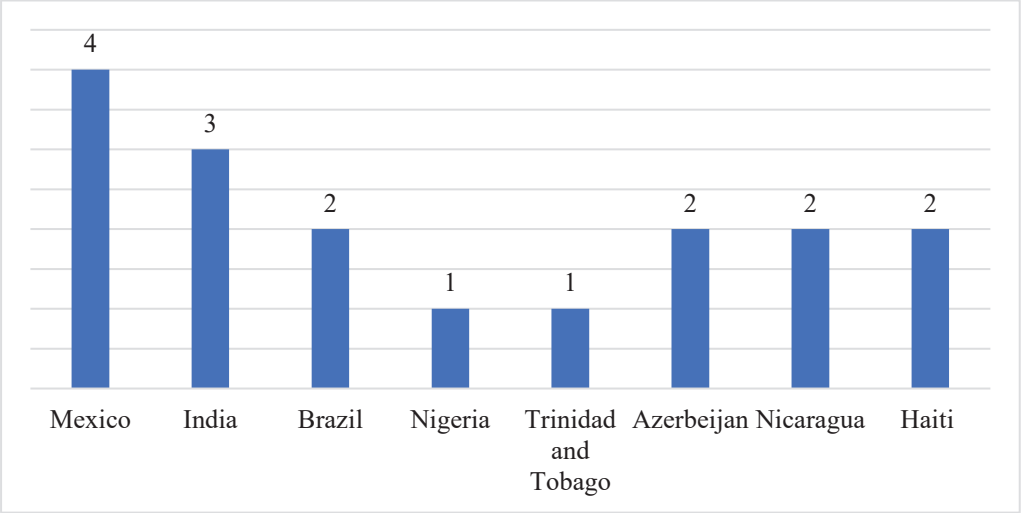

Fig. 17. Number of interviewees from Florida

Source: Author

The interviews mainly focused on the experiences of immigrants in the country concerning immigration, the extent of various immigration-related news items in the media, how they affect the immigrants, and how politicians and leaders react to the news and various legal policies. Below are the answers given as part of it.

The answers are categorized into five main categories. The immigrants who participated in the study were asked to choose from:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Uncertain
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

Let us look at the answers and their explanations.

Table 13.Dimensions of immigrant integration in media reports in Florida

Features	*Strongly agree*	*Agree*	*Uncertain*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
Media reports challenge political decisions	11	0	3	3	0
Media is biased, depends on party interests	3	14	0	0	0
Lack of media support for sanctuary policy	12	2	3	0	0
Media framing is negative about migrants	5	1	4	7	0
Media encourages other organizations for migrant integration	0	2	4	4	7

Source: Author

Regarding the media reporting on immigration, media perceptions of the situation of immigrants in Florida was studied. The main aspects which were considered for discussion were about how media perceive the political aspect towards immigration, media's political inclination, which they expressed through their discourse on immigration, what are the media narratives on immigration towards immigrants, and whether the media encourages other socio-cultural organizations for migrant integration into the society through their discourse. Most of the respondents, 11 people, agreed that the media criticized the immigration stance of political parties and their statements. However, they said that the media tried to distort the news of immigration in the interest of certain political parties which they have some sort of allegiance or inclination for. Regarding the media support towards migration and immigrant-related policies, 12 respondents stated that they consider the media's support for immigration policies to be considerably low. Another interesting aspect is the media's negative portrayal of immigrants in society. In this aspect, we can see a mixed reaction from the respondents, as five respondents strongly agree, one respondent agrees, and four were uncertain regarding the media's role in negatively portraying the immigrants in the society. In contrast, seven respondents disagree with the role of media in creating a negative perception of immigrants in society.

The media's role in encouraging other organizations for migrant integration is the final aspect. The respondents do not have a unified idea regarding the role of media in promoting other organizations for migrant integration as we can see that the largest number of respondents strongly disagree with this statement, as seven respondents reacted provided this answer. Four disagree with this statement, and other four were uncertain about the role of media in involving other organizations for migrant integration. Only two respondents agreed that the media plays a significant role in including other organizations for migrant integration.

The opinion of an immigrant from Mexico who had been living in Florida for 23 years at the time of the interview:

> I immigrated to this country for around 23 years right now, and I felt that the things had changed here a lot, especially the social-cultural and political

communication towards immigration during the "last few years especially after the election of Trump as the President of the United States of America. One thing especially which I felt that most of the anti-migrant statements were carried out by the political leaders, and I feel that these are mostly politically oriented for their specific political purposes. I felt that most of these statements would have wide-reaching implications and impact when they have been discussed through the media. Some of the most significant statements which I fell through the media regarding the anti-immigrant statements that immigration and immigrants are bad for the country, which I feel is not appropriate as we can see and perceive that America is a country of immigrants and the immigrants are carrying out most of the development over here and regarding work. [sic.]

Another significant immigrant statement was provided by an immigrant from Mexico:

> For me, I feel that the political communications, especially the anti-immigrant statements by the political actors, have a significant impact in molding the perceptions of locals to the immigrants in the society. This is especially visible after the 2016 election when the anti-migrant statements were very high in the air. These statements impact, but this impact is more visible and more powerful when communicated through the media like the newspapers or television channels. When it is channelized through the news media networks, it has a much wider audience from the public. They will feel that what the media is portraying about the statements of the political actors is true. We can see this it's reflections mostly when we're in the public or the workplace when the local colleagues make some political statements or mocking about immigrants and immigration which we feel very unsecured both in the workplace and in public[sic.].

Another respondent, a 43-year-old Mexican woman stated:

> I understand that the media is often reluctant to bring the problems of immigrants to the forefront of society. My family has been living in this country for about 25 years now. I have not received a favorable response from any of the workplaces for the sole reason that I do not have a favorable education or a higher diploma. Even after a while, I became scared and scared to even look for a job. We can survive in this country with my two children because my husband has a job and can look after the family. In my opinion, it is necessary to make a political effort to ensure that all our experiences as foreigners are brought to the forefront of society. Even though the NGOs and other social actors are trying to facilitate immigrant integration and activities, I felt that it hasn’t portrayed the various factors that can facilitate immigration. Even though I got some assistance from the NGOs regarding food stamps and other social care, I felt that it had not been fully tapped when it comes to the activities of the third sector for immigrant integration. Often we do not get clear information even at events organized by various NGOs. I believe that this scenario will change someday, which can facilitate immigrant integration into society. We hope that this situation will change and that things will improve [sic.].

Another respondent, a 40-year-old man who was working in the IT sector at the time of interview states that

> Although there are many different types of opportunities for foreigners in this country, it is doubtful how many people can handle and utilize them properly, as the anti-immigrant rhetoric that often appears in the media, and the statements of Trump, the President of this country, have created vulnerable scenarios for people like me. I think that the politicians and the political communication should be more responsible and embracing because immigrants are coming from another country in the expectation of having a better living and life security. So any statements which are contrasting to those ideas can be determined for their wellbeing and assimilation into the society [sic.].

Table 14. Dimensions of political debate and communication on immigration in media in Florida

Features	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Media facilitates discussion on anti-immigrant bill	2	2	11	2	0
Media conducts debates in channels with migrants	1	13	1	2	0
Media criticizes politicians on anti-immigrant policies	0	4	5	7	1
Media encourages citizens participation against the anti-immigrant policies	0	3	7	4	3
Media influences politicians to revise anti-immigrant policies	0	12	5	0	0

Source: Author

Next, the dimensions of political debate and the amount of media coverage of immigration in Florida were studied. Five themes are used to discuss this topic. This aspect is important to investigate due to the media's obligation in criticizing the negative political narrations and decision-making concerning immigration. When it comes to political communication and decision-making on immigration and immigrant-related policies, the role of media is immense, either acting as a catalyst for such policies due to their political orientation or acting as an inhibiting force and preventing such policy measures to come to force through media narratives and discourses. The media facilitates this through debates on anti-immigration policies, and media discussions with citizen participation or concerning the idea of migration policies and influencing the political actors through their discourse in making significant changes to the immigration policies that are ineffective for possible immigrant intake and assimilation. When examining media's facilitation for discussing immigration and immigrant-related policies, most of the respondents are unsure of the media's role in such a mechanism. Even though they state that they see media depicting migrants' testimonies and portraying the anti-immigration policies, they are unsure whether the media itself acts as deliberate mechanisms for facilitating such discussions. Another aspect is the role of media in conducting interviews with immigrants. Most of the respondents agree that the media conduct interviews with migrants to understand their perceptions and promote them to

the public. The opinion on the role of media in criticizing politicians about anti-immigration policies presents mixed perception; few of the migrants agree that the media plays a role in criticizing the politicians or anti-migration policies, whereas the majority disagrees or uncertain with such statements as they believe that media are not doing much, as their political inclination inhibits the media from any criticism.

One of the respondents, a 25-year-old man from Nicaragua, states that

> I left my country to the United States in the hope of having a bright future. While living here, I felt having a mixed approach, especially regarding the political stance towards immigration and the societal approach towards immigration. Due to the media portraying the anti-immigrant political statements, I feel that the social approach towards the migrant has been changing significantly, especially regarding the attitude towards it, especially by the local superior officers. As I said, these are like the mixed statements which I perceive. I am sometimes getting embracing attitude also from the workplace. However, I felt a bit insecure deep inside me due to all these political communication and statements and the media discourse, especially while communicating to the local community [sic.]

Another respondent from Nigeria, who is 26 years old said

> I came here when I was about 23 years old, and it's almost three years. During these three years, I learned a lot, and I realize that The United States is a country that offers great potential for people of all nationalities. However, I felt that there is a lot of discrimination still going over in this society. While I am looking for some jobs to sustain, I felt that my applications were not properly selected due to my nationality, language orientation, or educational background. Sometimes I even thought of going back to my home country, but somehow which prompted me to stick over here in the coming presidential election. If the Democrats come back to power, there will be a much more favorable immigrant-oriented policy. Therefore, I feel that for facilitating such political communication and getting the attention of the political actors, the media have a significant role in conveying the vulnerabilities of the migrant communities in this country. Regarding my experience of looking at the media narratives, I felt that media, especially right-wing media networks have much more significant political implication in highlighting the situations of the migrants and making federal political policies for migrant integration. That is the reason I'm still here looking for a favorable change in the political climate[sic.].

Table 15. Dimensions of public policy measures on immigration in media in Florida

Features	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Media influences political behavior of party leaders on the migrant crisis	1	2	10	4	0
Media stimulates government on increasing allocation of funds for refugees	0	1	11	5	0

Media evaluates government efficiency on migrant crisis management	2	11	3	1	0
The media act as a lobbyist for increasing equal wage, employment opportunity, and human rights of refugees by law	1	4	9	0	3

Source: Author

Next, let us look at the Florida media and the immigration coverage of the public policy and what they mostly observe. There are four features in this category. Firstly, in the crisis related to immigration, the political behavior of party leaders and how the media influences them is examined, whether the parties rely on the media to deal with them, or whether the media evaluates the government. Further, it examines in detail whether the media acts as an intermediary for the legitimate promotion of equal pay, employment, and refugees' human rights. It is an important point of discussion, mainly because most people who participated in this study did not have a clear understanding of how the statements made by the leaders of various political parties to resolve the immigration crisis are influenced by their behavior and people and the media. Second, the eleven people who participated in the study did not clearly understand whether the government was initially providing various forms of financial assistance for the rehabilitation of migrants or the rehabilitation of refugees. Also, they were not much aware whether the media criticizes the government's activities in detail, or find that the media is effectively pursuing the government for various immigration policies to ensure their humanitarian assistance to obtain jobs and conditions. Four people claim to think that media works in such a manner. Three people do not agree in any way with the opinion that the media for any reason support them or work on the protection of the rights of immigrants.

Regarding this phenomenon, one of the respondents from India who had been in the USA for 11 years states

> I think there is an unholy partnership between the media and the politicians and the political parties. I have been living here for almost 11 years, and even though the situation was much better in the previous times, however, the politics has changed at the national level, and the state level in Florida with the Republicans come to power, we can see the change in the tone and attitude towards the migrants at the official and governmental level. Even though I have not seen many changes personally myself from the social part, I feel that the political communication and its amplification by the media can heavily impact molding the public perceptions against the migrant communities. Regarding the various societal issues like the legal measures and police approach towards the minority communities like the blacks and against the woman and its political communication, a significant part can also be attributed to the migrant issues. I also believe that the attitude towards the migrants, especially the colored migrant communities and the Asian migrants, has been perceived negatively by some of the media networks may be due to their political orientation, and I feel that this change has been facilitated, especially after the 9/11 where the

immigrants from Asian region has been perceived as a threat. Also, the financial crisis of 2008 amplified this scenario as when the people started losing their jobs, the local communities feel insecure, especially in the presence of foreign communities in the country. This scenario has changed throughout the time; however, it has again popped up during the 2016 presidential election and the hard anti-immigrant stance of the elected President of the country[sic.].

Another respondent is a 28-year-old man from Haiti who came to study to the USA stated:

I come from a different social-cultural orientation. My biggest ambition is to get graduated and go back to my country and serve over there. As a responsible citizen, I must contribute something back to my country which prompted me to come here and have a better education. For us, especially the Haitians, an education from the United States is something very significant. To have my subsistence here, even though I have some financing back from home, I tried to apply for various job positions and to be frank, and I can say that it is very hard for a foreigner, especially a colored one, to get it to the job in the job market. However, with my persistence and hard work, I was able to find a job, and when the employer came to know that I am a foreigner, I was paid less, and I was forced to accept that thing without any complaining because otherwise, I know that I will not be able to have a substance for living.

Regarding racial harassment, I can say that even though it is not physical, I felt it emotionally over the workplace. I must work multiple jobs to have the proper financing for my studies and my living here. I am doing two jobs. One is the night shift as a security guard. I feel that it enables me to go through my studies while working. Even though I was paid less, I never thought of making a complaint as I know that it can put me in a troublesome situation where the laws favor the residents and the locals. Another significant aspect that I felt is that the current political scenario is one reason for the anti-immigration stand in the legal sphere and having a different mental orientation from the public. Therefore, maybe in the next election, if the people can choose the government with a more humanitarian and compassionate approach, I think the migrant narrative will have a different approach. Even though I used to go through the various media narratives and media discourse regarding migration and political communication, to be frank, I am not that much well versed in the political aspect, but I feel that the media are having a responsible part, especially the media who have a neutral tone or the media's who have a right-wing attitude favors immigration and immigrant-related policies. For me as an immigrant who is working right now in a low paid basic job, I feel that and I experienced this situation I think that as a country which is developed over the sweat of immigrants, we should favor not only the skilled and educated immigrants but also unskilled immigrants who can effectively contribute towards the basic aspects of the society [sic.].

Another respondent is a 57-year-old migrant from Trinidad and Tobago. He said:

I came here twenty-five years before and noticed a significant change in the migration policies and the administrative mechanisms from that time. I first

moved over here as an immigrant and got some documents for my residence or work here, and later I bought my wife and my child here. Even though I start with some menial jobs, I now work in a dignified position as back over in my country, I was a police officer. Throughout the time, my experience back in my country has been accepted here. Still, it was a difficult journey in the initial times because of the lack of proper documentation. The employer was utilizing my skills with a lesser prey. Still, once I got the document and applied for my residence, it became a different story, but for getting the document and the green card was different. It was a very hard period of struggles for me and mental agony. Even though I applied during the Clinton administration, however, after 9/11 and during the Bush administration, things got slow because of the perception of immigrants as a threat to the country. But when the Obama administration came to power, it started moving again and finally got my residence. I feel that the political parties and the politicians, and the media have a significant role in immigrant assimilation and create and formulate possible positive perceptions towards the immigrants among the political sphere and the social-cultural sphere. But now we can see that things have again changed, especially with the coming of Donald Trump as the President of the country. His harsh statements, often with the social media and the mainstream media, creates a sense of fear among the migrant communities even though I have not experienced anything bad over time because I am working in a dignified position, and I have my house and financial stability here, but maybe it will be a different story for another immigrant who does not have any substantial means of living. So, I feel that the media should have a proactive role in combating the anti-immigrant statements by the political actors and try to rectify the odds of those political statements [sic.].

NGO – Florida

Regarding the actors facilitating immigrant integration and assimilation, like the media networks, one of the most important social actors working towards immigrant integration is the NGOs, or the third sector. NGOs for immigrant integration have a wide range of activities, from orienting the immigrants, providing various assistance, and lobbying the politicians to make positive immigrant integration policies. This study investigates the role of NGOs in Florida and Lithuania; to analyze the role of NGOs in Florida, six NGOs who work with immigration and immigrant-related activities in Florida were interviewed. The goal of these interviews was to analyze the measures taken by the NGOs for immigrant integration and the various policies they carryforward for promoting such activities. It investigates the various lobbying mechanisms the NGOs employ for immigrant integration and how they shape the media discourse, as well as how the media supports the NGOs in facilitating immigrant integration. Below is the analysis of the interviews carried out with various humanitarian NGOs in Florida.

1. Dawn Centre Domestic and Sexual Violence Service

The interview with the Dawn Center Domestic and Sexual Violence Service has been conducted with the executive director of the NGO, who has been working with this NGO for more than 16 years. She said:

> I have been working in this field for 16 years. So, when you say NGO or non-government organization, we are a private non-profit organization. So, in the case of the USA, it will be like 501. And we are also a certified domestic violence and certified rape crisis center. So, we have two certifications. So, whenever there is an issue happening with the immigration or the immigrants, especially with domestic violence or rape by abusive partners or by employers or by owners, it tries to be subsided due to the fear of being deported and the threat they face the local sponsors. So, in that case, we tried to facilitate assistance to those victims by orienting them their rights to get legal measures if they get victimized. There are various incidences in which the violence has been perpetrated, and the threat has been inflicted stating that they will withdraw their sponsor application, and in that case, they will be deported. So, for assisting those cases and providing legal measures, we have a 24/7 helpline where the victims can contact and mention their grievances. We were in Hillsborough County in the Tampa area. So, when the victims contact us, we provide them the guidance and shelter them as we have a 40-bed emergency shelter for assisting those victims in vulnerable scenarios. So, if they do not have a means of lodging, we will shelter them, and also, if they need to move away from there, we provide the necessary assistance and provide free counseling to various support groups. Those who do not need shelter or bedding but still need counseling and the legal support provide free legal support and counseling.
>
> So, in cases where we have limited resources for assistance or legal support, we refer to other support centers in the locality to assist the victims. These are the thorough resources available specifically to survivors of domestic violence that came through the violence against women act. Regarding federal law, there are U visas available for the victims of domestic violence. They do not need to be in that abusive relationship or sponsor relationship anymore to take that person off and move forward without a sponsor. So, in that incidence, we provide our legal support for facilitating new visas, thereby moving them out of the abusive relationship and being here in the United States legally. One significant aspect is that all these services, including orientation, bedding, and support for getting documentation in the United States, are done free of cost. Also, concerning sexual violence, there is a T visa available as per US federal law. We also assist in that regard, thereby facilitating the victims of sexual assault to have the documentation to be legal here in the United States. These are especially significant for people from vulnerable regions like Latin America who were smuggled into the United States and Eastern Europe, bought here for sex trafficking and prostitution.
>
> Regarding incidents, there are a lot of cases happened in which woman from Asian region especially the Chinese were brought over to the Orlando region for the spa and massage parlors, but they were exploited into the sex

trade and trafficking which the police and legal authorities interfered and closed them down. When the victims are scared to report to the legal authorities, they should come and get the assistance of our helpline, thereby providing services that will help them get rid of this sex trade and domestic violence relationships. Also, another significant scenario is that when an abusive relationship happened or a kind of rape situation happened in a married relationship, most people get scared to report this to the legal authorities, and if also reported, the legal authorities would not consider it seriously because they are already married or are in their relationship and so marital rape cannot be considerable rape, that scenario needs to be changed.

Another significant aspect is the low number of people approaching assistance in victimization, sexual trafficking, or domestic violence. I feel that this is mainly due to the orientation of the society in which people feel that it is bad to go and report incidences of violence against them. Also, I would say that this depends upon the region or the locality, as the urban regions are more homogeneous. In contrast, it is more of a mixed population in the eastern region or the county, especially the migrant communities. Hence, it depends on which region and the mentality also affects when it comes to victimization, whether to come to report it or not.

Another aspect as an NGO I feel that one of the significant for the survival of NGOs and for the immigration aspect itself is to influence the policy and decision making at the state and national level. Concerning that, we lobby, and we lobby with the help of other NGOs that facilitate the same thing. In that case, we affiliate with the Florida Coalition Against Domestic Violence, one of the biggest NGOs regarding this field. We have a membership aspect, so we pay the membership fees, and they lobby on behalf of us, facilitating positive and possible changes in legal measures. One of the significant hindrances for us to lobby by ourselves is because we receive federal funding, so as I said, as an officer, I always must sign the anti-lobbying documents to state that we are not using any funds for lobbying activities.

Also, I think that in the very last year at the state level, our organization did some lobbying activities for some confidentiality parameters around injections for protections towards immigrants that seems to be the main initiative last year with the legislation and that is because they had some concerns as being a Sunshine State.

Regarding the media discourse on immigration and immigrant-related activities, I can say that we do not receive that much support from the mass media, maybe because we are not that big at the local level. But when it comes to the national level, I think violence against women and sexual violence and domestic violence the media highlights these through their discourses. Even last day, there was a Presidential debate in which Joe Biden, the Democratic candidate, stated that they would comprehensively change the violence against women to make it more responsible and action-oriented if they come to power. But we have our social media mechanisms that report our various activities and orient the society. These were mainly carried out through our social media

platforms like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram. However, due to the wide variety of responsibilities and the activities and the limited number of staff as we have only 31 staff in our office, we have to do multiple jobs not only focusing on the specific responsibilities but also at the same time promoting the activities of the NGO through various social media platforms. So, by these mechanisms, we can promote the need for a humanitarian approach to the overall public and create awareness among them to come forward and report the incidences of violence, thereby getting proper legal assistance.

Also, as a responsible NGO, we used to keep connections and communications with local politicians and legislators from Tallahassee. However, even though I keep connections with them, I never talked to them about the lobbying activities but shared common interest ideas and thereby try to formulate and mold their perceptions towards favorable immigrant-related policies. [sic.]

2. Palm Beach County Coalition

The second NGO that was interviewed for analyzing the third sector's role in immigrant integration is the Palm Beach County Coalition. The organization coordinator said,

> Actually, I'm a volunteer activist probably with two organizations that you might be interested in; one is Palm Beach County Coalition, and the second one is called El Sol, a database for the center for immigration and immigrant integration. I have been working in this organization for around 14 years. Regarding the immigrant integration measures, I would like to mention that we are more focused and oriented towards undocumented immigrants who have been prosecuted or detained by the Federal authorities or by the state and were facing legal measures. Unlike the documented immigrants, the undocumented immigrants' state is of vulnerability as without proper documents, they have been raided in their houses or the public places by the Federal authorities or by the state police, which puts them in a vulnerable condition. So, our focus is more focused on those undocumented immigrants and the plight of those underrepresented immigrants.
>
> Regarding our organizations, we have a center called Guatemala Center, founded 25 years before, which works for the rights of Guatemalan immigrants, especially those undocumented immigrants who came from Guatemala, as we have a lot of undocumented and documented immigrants from Guatemala here in the United States. The Guatemala Center works primarily directly with the immigrants daily in helping them get food stamps like medical care for their children and provide psychological services and counseling. So, I can say 70 to 100 people come every day to our office to get assistance and get various kinds of social services. Also, we have a language center where we provide English language training for those undocumented immigrants by imparting them some language proficiency for getting a job in the United States. Apart from the language training we also provide training for imparting vocational skills such as electrician, plumber thereby facilitating them to have a vocational job. Thus,

by providing language proficiency and imparting various vocational skills, the NGO tries to formulate measures for immigrant integration.

We collaborate with the biggest NGO regarding immigration, the Florida Immigrant Coalition, and the Southern Poverty Law Center regarding the lobbying activities. So, we were constantly lobbying for pro-immigration policies and to prevent deportation and policies which were targeted towards the sanctuary cities by introducing anti-sanctuary bills. During the last year, we have defeated almost 11 anti-sanctuary bills placed in the Florida State legislature with the help of like-minded politicians and a great deal by the effective lobbying mechanisms facilitated by the Florida Immigrant Coalition. However, I felt that the coming of the new government with the Republicans came to power in the Florida State so, the situation has changed tremendously. So, now even though we are lobbying and trying to resist the anti-sanctuary bills, we feel that somehow, they will succeed in implementing those because of the new government.

One of the significant issues as a coordinator of an NGO working for immigrant integration and immigrant rights is that most immigrants are even willing to do jobs with low wages as they were desperate enough to get some sort of living earnings for being over here in Florida. This is particularly visible in the unskilled job market rather than the skilled ones. With the implementation of the anti-immigration bills at the national level and the anti-sanctuary bills happening in Florida, I think it will have a wide-scale impact on the immigrant workers. I feel that this is for the immigrant workers and the companies who mainly depend on migrant workers because of their commitment and hard work and since many of the unskilled jobs the American population is not ready to do. If these policies are implemented, I wonder how they will affect the landscape of the migrant population because it can enhance the family separation policies and deportation, thereby affecting the lives of a lot of immigrant workers here in Florida.

Also, as a migrant responsible NGO, we are conducting orientation programs, thereby orienting the local population the need for migrant workers in The United States and the need for embracing them. However, we need to have proper support from the other social organizations and the mass media to implement these orientation mechanisms successfully. Regarding other social organizations, one of the most supportive actors is the churches, especially the Catholic Church, which embraces the migrant communities and provides sanctuaries for those who do not have a shelter.

Regarding the support of the mass media, first, we have our own social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, but apart from that, we also have our local newspaper in Palm Beach County, which promotes our activities and also create awareness among the local population regarding the need for migrant integration. We shared the news about the need for migration with these media platforms, shared the migrant positive testimonies, and provided news information in the Spanish language. Many Spanish language-

speaking migrant communities from Latin America prefer to have Spanish language news reports.

Regarding lobbying, I already mentioned that we collaborate with our major partners, the Florida Immigrant Coalition and Southern Poverty Law Center, which collaborates for effective lobbying at Tallahassee thereby influencing the legislators in the state legislature and combating anti-immigration policies of a wider range. As a coordinator of an NGO, I believe that a coordinated approach is very needful and effective for combating the anti-immigration policies. It is better to have a coordinated voice rather than a single feeble voice that can have a much wider impact.

Regarding the various actors and the politicians who support favorable policies towards immigration, I can state that there are a lot of people which I can name a few special politicians like Anna Esakami, Bud Collins who is a retired school teacher who is very active in protecting the rights of the detainees in the Krone prison and other like-minded politicians from the Tallahassee whom we contact and share our ideas and thoughts regarding migration. So, therefore, I can say that they were very compassionate when it comes to migration as they listen to us very carefully and try to formulate those mechanisms to effectively combat the anti-immigration policies and anti-sanctuary bills that come up in the state legislature. So, as a responsible NGO in human rights and immigrant protection, we are doing all possible measures that come in front of us to formulate effective policy mechanisms for favorable immigrant-related policies and helping those immigrants who require support and compassion. [sic.]

3. Friends of Miami-Dade Detainees (FOMDD)

Regarding the interview with the Friends of Miami Dade detainees NGO, it was conducted with a member of the board of directors, who is 66 years old. He said:

> The organization's main activities are visitation and providing advice and necessary mental and emotional support to the detention centers under the hashtag and tagline #end isolation. From the organization's inception in 2013, its major activities are to provide support for immigrants in detention and provide legal support by providing attorneys' service, which they cannot manage by themselves. The main characteristics of the NGO are that they are not faith-based and are providing support irrespective of faith, race, and gender. We visit the immigrant detention centers and provide support in the form of books that are paperback from Amazon and provide financial support for making phone calls to keep them connected and hopeful, thereby ending the aspect of isolation and forming necessary connections. We came to understand by our visits and activities that around 85% of the detainees do not have access to attorneys, and as they are booked under civil law, they do not have the right to have legal attorney assistance by the court or to make free phone calls. Also, we provide community awareness and file complaints on behalf of the detainees and send the complaints to the law partners with contacts and affiliations. Also, we make visits to the Miramar ICE detention center, Krome detention center

and provide comfort and support to the black, brown, and other detainees. Also, we have our women's support group, which provides psychological support to women emotionally and psychologically due to detention. Regarding the size of the NGO, we are a small group of people. However, we are partnered with big NGOs like United We Dream, Florida Immigrant Coalition, and America For Immigrant Justice. Also, we stand to promote pro-immigrant bills and fight against SB 168. In relation with migrants and asylum seekers that approach every month and how the NGO supports them, he said: "normally we are providing support and legal aid to around 50 immigrants inside the Krome detention center and outside in the general public and the assistance request from our partner NGO's and others, we normally assist around 75 immigrants every month. About the NGO's role in influencing the governmental authorities to continue facilitating undocumented immigrants, I feel that we are a small group of people. Our activities are mostly visiting the detention centers and providing support. Also, we talk responsibly together with Florida Immigrant Coalition to the county administration for the enhancement of the immigrant aspects. Also, there was an incident in which we were providing necessary legal, food, and other assistance to the Miramar detention center, one year before it led to the conflict with the Federal Protective Agency (FPA), which works under the Department of Homeland Security in which a group of people who were arrested who were doing peaceful protest outside the detention center. Other workers and I have also been arrested and later released from prison even though we were on the visitor's list. After the incident, the ICE banned us from visiting the detention centers. This led us to start the campaign known as "Shine a Light," in which we questioned the right of ICE to ban us from entering the detention center and exercise our rights as per the 1st amendment rights. Our goal is to end the process of detention and to take ICE out of Miramar. We lobbied together with our partners in Tallahassee, Miami Dade County, and Broward County.Considering the main lobbying activity carried out over the past few years and whether it specifically directed towards the aspect of undocumented immigrants I feel that the main lobbying activities we conducted last year were focused mainly on the legal provision of SB 168, which imposes permanent ban on the Sanctuary policy of the state of Florida. Concerning any support received from mass media, whether it is the digital media, new media, or the print media we get support from the media and have alliances with media networks. Last year, an article about the NGO was published by the New Republic on "Shock Corridor," a 6,000-word write-up. Also, we promote the activities through the medium of new media like Facebook. As we are an NGO that supports immigrant rights, we lobby together with other NGOs. Also, we get support from the business enterprises, especially regarding verify, as this is the process of overviewing peoples' security and background before being hired. We are strongly against this mechanism and thereby getting support from those companies and institutions against these practices. In terms of the main legal or official persons that NGO's can rely on or try to get in touch for lobbying purposes and whether it is from the Federal,

State or the local government, we are mostly relying on the big NGO networks for the lobbying purpose like United We Dream and Florida Immigrant Coalition especially the director of Florida Immigrant Coalition who is very supportive for our mechanisms. Concerning the contacts and support from the political circles, we get the support of the Democrats in South Florida who also invite us for their meetings and events. [sic.]

4. Florida Public Service Union (SEIU)

The interview with Florida public service union (SEIU) was conducted with the program director, who is 42 years old. She said that

> as an NGO, we are conducting various activities for immigrants and their integration. As a labor union NGO, we are not directly dealing with immigration and sanctuary policies, and the main activities of the union are to advocate for immigrant policies as the organization itself was founded by the immigrant community, and we advocate for political outreach and favorable reforms. In terms of migrants and asylum seekers who approach the organization every month and how the NGO support them, as a labor NGO as I already stated we are not directly dealing with migrants and asylum seekers and are doing directly public sector activities, and we direct those concerned individuals to our partner NGO's who are dealing with immigrant activities.Regarding the NGO's influence on government authorities to continue with facilitating undocumented immigrants, I feel that the NGO's can influence the governmental authorities to continue with the facilitating of undocumented immigrants. We are not directly dealing with the lobbying activities for the immigrant communities, and we advocate for political reforms, and as we know that America is a country of immigrants and founded by immigrant communities and societies, we must cherish those traditions and as we know that they bring values to the country and the American economy and led to the development and wellbeing. Therefore, we need to provide social justice, and for that, we partner with other organizations and coalitions who support immigrant rights and wellbeing and try to make arrangements and to influence the lawmakers in Tallahassee to make positive law-making that can minimize the harassment of immigrant communities and make America more welcoming for the immigrant and immigrant communities.As we know from the recent activities and the state election, Florida is a conservative state that led to the proliferation of anti-immigrant policies in Florida. However, during the last two years, due to the Federal government's pressure, the state was trying to put forward and pass the anti-sanctuary bills in the Florida State legislature, which was defended and defeated by the coalition partners. They were able to influence and formulate policies for TPS and DACA. However, with the coming of the conservatives to power, they were successful in passing the Anti-Sanctuary Bill known as SB 168, which changes the political scenario in Florida. However, our coalition partners are filing a lawsuit against the unconstitutional bill, making Sanctuary illegal to Florida. We are trying to reach Tallahassee, inform the policymakers, and hear the real immigrant stories

and their suffering and pain due to immigrant status. I think that not just the anti-sanctuary but for advocating for all the immigrant rights that can provide dignity and well-being to the immigrant communities. Also, as we know that America has a long history of positive immigrant integration and intake, it is not good to fight different groups as it will affect the American economy and the face of the US on the global front. As we know, they are not stealing something, and they pay the taxes, and when they purchase some goods, they pay money in the form of taxes, and they are coming to the US economy and tax system. As per the statistics, they are paying millions of dollars to the Florida economy. They are not criminals and cannot be perceived the same as they endure all the difficulties for having better facilities for their children and families. Therefore, it is proper to work to give them citizenship, and for that, proper lobbying mechanisms are needed, and we ensure this through working with our coalition partners and with friendly legislators, which is bipartisan as we have likeminded legislators from the Democrat side and friendly legislators from the Republican side. Regarding the support from the media or the media discourse, I feel that we receive support from the media as it is through their mechanism we were able to spread our ideas to the public and public perception of various social issues. Also, when the media portrays immigrants as illegal immigrants, we correct them and orient them that they were not to be projected and portrayed as illegal immigrants as the term is unconstitutional and needs to portrays them as undocumented immigrants. Also, we use the medium of social media, where we spread our ideas and our activities to the public. Overall, we can say that the media is very positive towards our ideas and are very supportive, especially in the urban centers like in Miami, Tampa and we regularly meet with them and receive support from the radio networks like the Haitian radio station and Latino Radio station which help us to reach to specific communities and groups. Regarding the NGO lobbying, I feel that we are not lobbying alone and get support from other organizations and associations which are also affected by the governmental migration policies as it is seriously affecting various farming and industrial sectors, especially the dairy production, fruit, and vegetable farms as the migrant communities are hardworking and the local population often is not ready to work long hours and hard labor. The funny thing is that the Farmers Association, pro-Republican, supports our efforts as they are losing the labor workforce for their farming activities. [sic.]

5. Family Action Network Movement

Regarding the interview with the Family Action Network Movement, it was conducted with the executive director and founder, who is 60 years old. She said that

> As an NGO, our main activities are to uphold the immigrants' basic rights and provide the due process of law to entire population irrespective of the asylum seekers, documented or undocumented immigrants. Concerning the asylum seekers, we are trying to protect their political and social rights as they are the population who are fleeing from oppression, and about them, we are providing

legal measures to provide them asylum in the United States. Also, we organize events and activities nationally and locally to prevent detention and deportation of immigrants and their families and provide orientation and mechanisms to make them and their families adjust to life in the United States and to provide them an orientation to how to adjust and align to the social, cultural, and traditional aspects here which will be different from their countries. It is essential as they are coming from different socio-political and cultural environments and the lack of understanding can lead to difficult situations, and therefore we provide classes and orientation which help them to integrate properly into society. Also, the Department of Children and Family wants to remove the children from custody and provide mechanisms for the family integration and provide orientation and services to facilitate them into life by using their cultural aspects and traditions as a strength rather than as a weakness for them effective integration mechanism and also, provide the immigrants the opportunity and mechanism to learn more. We provide parents with the integration mechanism, which led to positive integration and assimilation as the parents later bring their children. It continues as when the children get their kids too, they bring them also to us. Thus, the integration mechanism seems to be effective.

Also, as an organization, we provide services, orientation, courses, and legal aid to around 5,000 immigrants a year. Daily, we provide services to 32 people. We can see in the office a large rush every day from immigrants for services like immigration, detention prevention, citizenship policy, detainees, temporary protected status, and other services about the social and legal nature. As an organization, we advocate for better policies, better family protection, and better advocacy and implementation of policies. E.g., The Introduction of RFRA and the policies like the Haitian Family Protection Status, Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for the working people as these are the people coming from deprived regions and oppressions from El Salvador, Sudan, Venezuela, Ecuador, etc.

Also, as an NGO, we influence the governmental authorities with our campaigns and stand for comprehensive immigration reforms, which can be seen as our longest campaign and to make the changes and to make Congress understand and pass the laws for the 19 million undocumented immigrants in the country who are residing and working in the United States for around 9–14 years and effectively taking part in the community life like voting in the churches and cultural associations and by the integration of these people will lead to the comprehensive development of the society and also lead to the proper security mechanism as it leads to identifying them. For this, we are conducting weekly meetings about it and making the government understand this mechanism. We take the immigrant community member to Washington DC to meet the lawmakers as they are the ones who talk more rationally as they are the ones who are affected. We seek to work for influencing the policies like the TPA, DACA, etc.

The lawmakers are ready to hear us and especially from the immigrant communities, directly as they want to understand the real situation of the immigrants. The policies like RFRA, which came positive due to the efforts of the NGOs' which became successful in the past and now advocating our voices for the TPS, DACA, etc. and for TPS they were responding favorably in early October as they are the people who are working here for around 7-14 years. The child population is around 30,000, which has serious implications on the migrant population. And we can see that the grievances have been heard positively by both the Republicans and Democrats.

As for myself, a person who came to the United States in 1981 as a younger person with a lot of motivations and aspirations, and I started working in the Haitian Refugee Centre from 1981–1985 as a volunteer, where we advocate for refugee rights and to implement the due process of law, and after the demise of the Haitian Refugee Centre, I started my new organizations in 1991. We work for the immigrants, both the documented and undocumented immigrants, and voice for the rights and integration of the immigrant families and children and implement the due process of law.

Regarding the media, first I would like to say that there is nothing to complain about. They provide the necessary support and highlights and telecast our press meets, demonstrations, and mass protests, and they better understand our policies and issues for which we stand for. Therefore, I feel that the media and its mechanism are very supportive.

Regarding the lobbying activities, I can say that we are working together, especially with other NGOs locally and nationally. I am also a board member of the Florida Immigrant Coalition and partner with other NGOs like Alliance America, Black Immigrant Network, etc. As an NGO, we try to hear our voices to the highest authority at the local and Washington levels. We are getting the support and confidence from both the local and national decision-makers in a bi-partisan manner, especially at the local level from Congresswomen Frederica Wilson and others and from Washington from Senator like Marco Rubio, who were helping us to accomplish our goals of immigrant integration and to implement the due process of law. [sic.]

6. Florida Immigrant Coalition

The interview with the Florida Immigrant Coalition was conducted with the lead organizer and membership director, who had been working in this position for more than ten years at the time of the interview. She said that

> Florida Immigrant Coalition is one of the biggest immigrants concerning NGOs in the state of Florida and as the name states, we are a coalition of various NGOs having a humanitarian approach and working towards the same. So, we collaborate with all other NGOs in this field for human rights and immigration and thereby formulate policies and mechanisms that can alleviate the sufferings of the migrants and provide them affordable conditions here in the state of Florida and proper immigrant assimilation and integration. So, if looking at the functioning of the Florida Immigrant Coalition, I would say that we can classify

it into five major aspects. The first one, as I said this is a coalition of all the major NGOs in the state of Florida who are compassionate towards immigration and immigrant integration. Therefore, we collaborate to achieve our goals, especially for migrant integration and defending anti-immigration and anti-sanctuary policies in Florida. The second aspect or functioning of the Florida Immigrant Coalition is creating awareness and information dissemination. This means that we try to orient the society about the need for migrant integration and the rights of the migrants and how it needs to be protected, and how the society needs to be compassionate towards the migrants. This was accomplished by various means of communication through which the information is disseminated into society. Another significant aspect is immigrant organization. By this aspect, we tried to create various approaches and various platforms for organizing various events and activities, thereby coordinating the immigration activities, having a common immigrant approach and immigration policies by almost all the NGOs in the field. Another significant aspect is the part regarding community education. By meaning community education, it means that the meaning of migrant integration and assimilation is only feasible if there is a proper orientation in this society which they are integrating into. By community education, it means properly orienting the society, especially the locals, regarding the need for immigrants and how the immigrants need to be taken care of, and how they need to be integrated into the society with compassion and humanity. The fifth and final aspect is regarding organizing and advocacy. I already mentioned as we are the biggest NGO in Florida, and we are the biggest organization regarding the same. So, we organize advocacy through various measures and lobbying mechanisms, thereby reaching social, political actors, formulating their perceptions favoring immigration, and defending the Florida State Sanctuary policy.

Regarding the assistance as an NGO for the immigrants, I can say that we are providing all the assistance for the incoming immigrants, including access to education, health care, employment, including farm work, preventing the deportation and detention by the federal agencies and police, to make the programs for transforming undocumented immigrants to documented immigrants and to transform permanent residents to citizens and the number of immigrants depends upon the circumstances and situation.

About the lobbying aspect, like I already mentioned before, we lobby with all the major NGOs in the state of Florida and employ lobbying mechanisms and methods like direct lobbying and the method of grass-root lobbying through organizational networks to influence the legislators and policymakers to continue the sanctuary policies and immigration programs and through persistent measures not to enact and implement the anti-sanctuary policies. The NGOs protest regarding the anti-sanctuary and anti-immigration bills like HB9/SB308 and HB45/SB212 through lobbying of the senators and the public protest against the bills and trying to create awareness and pressurize the legislators with the need to voice against the bills and to make Florida remain as a hospitable environment for immigrants with the sanctuary laws and

policies. With the introduction of the two infamous anti-sanctuary bills like HB9/SB308 and HB45/SB212, we are constantly lobbying with the pro-minded legislators during the last year as the bill was introduced at the end of 2017 and won the decision in March 2018 and actively lobbied and defeated the nine anti-immigrant bills in May 2017, due to the lobbying efforts and the support from the pro minded legislators.

Regarding the support of the media, I can say that the media is providing all the necessary support and highlighting our activities and promoting our policies and programs, especially in media like Miami Herald, CBS Miami, and WUSF News, etc. They are reporting the incidences of the introduction of anti-sanctuary bills and the opposition of our organization about the same and reporting the follow-up regarding the same.

As specified earlier, we are an organization that is a kind of coalition of all the major NGOs who are supporting the immigrant and sanctuary policy cause and getting the necessary support from other likeminded organizations like churches, faith leaders, legal advocates, unions, schools, and universities which are promoting and supporting the sanctuary policies and immigrant assimilation. Due to the sensitivity of the issue on the national and regional levels, we cannot reveal the identities of the major stakeholders. However, for defending the sanctuary rights and to win the latest debate in the Florida House in March 2018 against the HB9/SB308 and HB45/SB212, two famous anti-immigrant bills of the Trump administration, we got support from Senator Anitere Flores, Senator Rene Garcia, Senator Jose Javier Rodriguez who fought against the introduction of the bill in 2017 and from members like Reps. Al Jacquet, Amy Mercado, Carlos Smith who stood up with the rights of immigrants and sanctuary policies [sic.].

3.2. Immigration in Lithuania

People migrate from one country to another across the globe due to different socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions and phenomena. Figure 18 below shows the international migration flows in Lithuania from 2008 to 2020 and depicts a clear distinction between people who emigrated outside of Lithuania and the immigrants who came to Lithuania. This data offers great insights for the comparative analysis of mediatized political communication between Florida and Lithuania. It allows to understand the growth of immigration over time and the significance of immigrant communities to Lithuania. The study looks at the perceptions of immigrants towards media mechanisms in Lithuania and the growth of immigrant communities over time. It shows the impact made by the immigrants to Lithuanian society and media mechanisms. Therefore, it is important to analyze and understand the migrant flow in Lithuania from 2015 to 2020. Regarding immigration, the period from 2008 to 2020 shows similarity, which can be attributed to Brexit, which led the Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom to return to Lithuania. This is indicated by the data from 2009 to 2017, when there is a considerable rise in the Lithuanian population emigrating. Data shows that there are 38,500 emigrants in 2009, which rises to more than 80,000 in 2010, and varies from

45,000 to 50,000 from 2011 to 2017. This signifies that people are moving outside of Lithuania due to various factors, such as economic as well as other socio-cultural aspects.

The data on immigration indicates a certain progress over the period of 2008–2020. From 2008 to 2010, very few immigrants came to Lithuania, as the number varies from 5,000 to a little over 9,000. However, in 2011, the immigrant population increased to more than 15,000. This can be attributed mainly to the internationalization of the Lithuanian universities resulting in students from across the globe coming to Lithuania for higher education. In 2015, a period of growing immigration began; the number of immigrants is upwards from 25,000, and exceeded 43,000 in 2020. This can be mainly attributed to the immigrant-friendly policies, less restrictions, and the policy mechanism which attracts skilled and qualified workforce as well as labor workforce from the neighboring countries, such as Ukraine and Belarus, to Lithuania.

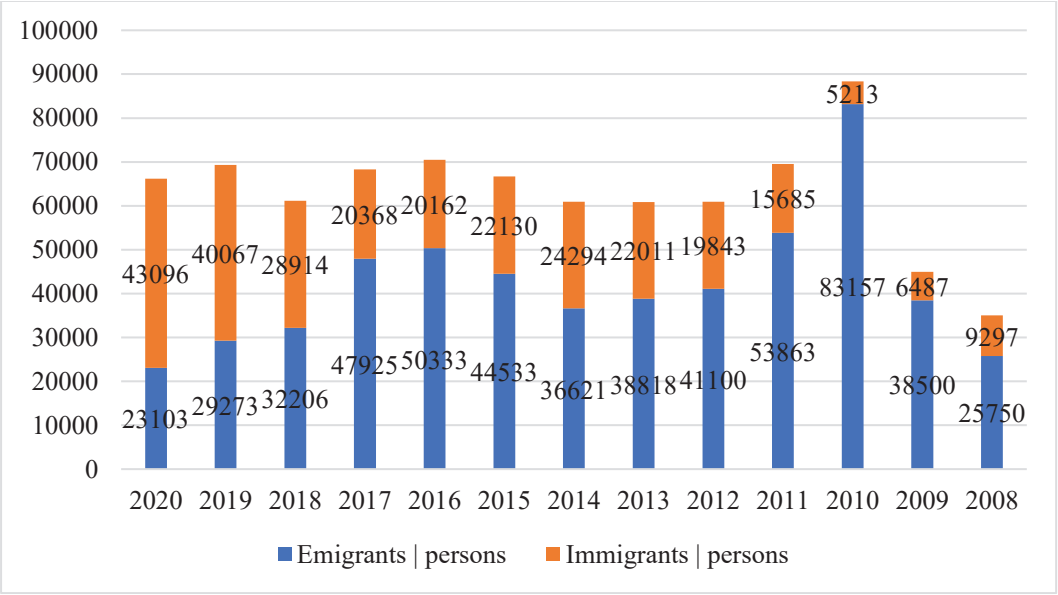

Fig. 18. International migration flows in Lithuania from 2008–2020 (provisional)

Source: Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania

In the given below table, according to Official Statistical Portal, Government of Lithuania mentions the total number of immigrants in Lithuania during the time from 2016 till 2019. It enables us to understand the age group of the population in Lithuania. It has a great significance especially due to the significant amount of outmigration and the lack of skilled workforce in the country. Therefore, the intake of immigrants, especially in the category of the working-age population, shows the significance attributed by the migrant population for the overall productivity of Lithuania and the progress the immigrant communities can accomplish with their arrival to Lithuania. Also, as the study is looking at the aspect of mediatized political communication towards immigration, the immigrant population influx in the working category shows the welcoming aspect frame towards immigration by the media networks in Lithuania. Thus,

these factors signify the need for the analysis of the age-wise classification of the immigrant population in the context of Lithuania. We can see that the period from 2015 onwards shows a significant rise in the immigrant population stated in the picture as mentioned above. This is mainly attributed to the flow of skilled and labor immigrants to Lithuania from across the globe and from the neighboring regions of Belarus and Ukraine. So, let's look at the total number of immigration from 2016 till 2019. We can see a considerable rise in the immigrant population as in 2016 it was only 12,489, whereas in 2019 the immigrant population raised to 40,067. Within this, if it looks at the age composition of the immigrant population to Lithuania, we can see that a significant amount of migrant population comes in the age bracket between 20 till 59 as this is the age bracket which comes in the working category and can contribute significantly to the social-economic progress of the society. The remaining minor population is zero-till 19 and 60 to 79, which shows the dependent population that accompanied the migrant workforce like the spouse, children, and the parents. This shows the progressive immigration policy mechanisms in Lithuania and the policy mechanism that favors the workers and their dependence who can also immigrate with them to Lithuania.

Table 16. Total immigrants in Lithuania, 2016–2019

	2019	2018	2017	2016	2019	2018	2017	2016
Total by age	40,067	28,914	20,368	20,162	29,330	19,981	14,294	12,489
0–4	1,274	1,223	931	928	666	626	480	469
5–9	816	657	544	664	420	321	256	337
10–14	458	316	203	345	236	154	99	174
15–19	1,089	949	695	706	555	493	361	367
20–24	4,637	3,769	2,386	2,718	2,842	2,239	1,392	1,565
25–29	6,990	5,292	3,433	4,029	4,787	3,402	2,246	2,298
30–34	7,043	4,797	3,311	3,216	5,514	3,534	2,447	2,026
35–39	5,560	3,562	2,451	2,222	4,685	2,872	2,022	1,566
40–44	4,189	2,793	2,124	1,652	3,614	2,334	1,798	1,274
45–49	3,539	2,417	1,777	1,389	2,964	2,003	1,525	1,069
50–54	2,175	1,404	1,169	980	1,712	1,079	903	679
55–59	1,234	952	694	683	844	614	471	409
60–64	714	500	385	365	351	217	176	163
65–69	171	133	116	118	84	46	61	53
70–74	78	52	55	51	33	20	23	21
75–79	42	47	56	41	12	16	21	10
80 and more	58	51	38	55	11	11	13	9

Source: Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania

Table 17, which was compiled according to Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania, presents the total number of male and female immigrants who immigrated to Lithuania within a certain age bracket. Like Table 16, which shows us the total number of the immigrant population in Lithuania, this chart categorizes the immigrants based on their gender. It provides the percentage of male and female population who immigrated to Lithuania from 2016 to 2019, which is especially important when looking at the mediatized framing mechanisms. The immigrant population in the working category has been categorized as skilled and useful workers and fit in the victim or welcoming frame rather than in the threat frame. Also, as the study looks at the immigrant population's perception towards media mechanisms regarding immigration, the total number of immigrants and their categorization have a significant impact. Even though there was a significant increase in the male population from 2016 to 2019, as it was 12,489 in 2016, and rose to 29,330 in 2019. The female population did not increase significantly, as there were 7,673 female immigrants in 2016, and 10,737 in 2019. Regarding the age bracket, the woman population is mostly in the working-age category, from 20 to 60-year-old, but with the increasing age bracket, the population numbers decreased, whereas with the male population, it almost remained constant across the working-age bracket. In the female working population, the largest number of immigrants belong to the age bracket of 20–35, as after 35 it starts diminishing. This shows that the working-age population for men remains the same across the age group, whereas for females, the most prominent age group is up to 35 years old.

Table 17. Total number of male and female immigrants in Lithuania with age category, 2016–2019

	Males				Females			
Year	2019	2018	2017	2016	2019	2018	2017	2016
Total by age	29,330	19,981	14,294	12,489	10,737	8,933	6,074	7,673
0–4	666	626	480	469	608	597	451	459
5–9	420	321	256	337	396	336	288	327
10–14	236	154	99	174	222	162	104	171
15–19	555	493	361	367	534	456	334	339
20–24	2,842	2,239	1,392	1,565	1,795	1,530	994	1,153
25–29	4,787	3,402	2,246	2,298	2,203	1,890	1,187	1,731
30–34	5,514	3,534	2,447	2,026	1,529	1,263	864	1,190
35–39	4,685	2,872	2,022	1,566	875	690	429	656
40–44	3,614	2,334	1,798	1,274	575	459	326	378
45–49	2,964	2,003	1,525	1,069	575	414	252	320
50–54	1,712	1,079	903	679	463	325	266	301

	Males				Females			
Year	2019	2018	2017	2016	2019	2018	2017	2016
55–59	844	614	471	409	390	338	223	274
60–64	351	217	176	163	363	283	209	202
65–69	84	46	61	53	87	87	55	65
70–74	33	20	23	21	45	32	32	30
75–79	12	16	21	10	30	31	35	31
80 and more	11	11	13	9	47	40	25	46

Source: Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania

Table 18 below shows the number of immigrants in Lithuania by citizenship according to Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania. The table shows a considerable overall increase from 2015 to 2019. The study is investigating mediatized political communication towards immigration through its discourse and framing mechanisms and political communication, the nationality or the citizenship of the immigrant communities matters when it comes to the media discourses. In political communication, most of the negative political communication is directed towards the unskilled immigrants from the neighboring countries and third world regions, which signifies the attitude of political communication towards unskilled laborers. It offers some insight into mediatized political communication, the framing mechanisms in categorizing the immigrants, especially the unskilled immigrants, according to their nationalities. As the study researches the aspect of immigrant communities towards media mechanisms, the nationalities of the immigrants are relevant to the study. The largest number of immigrants to Lithuania is the returning Lithuanian diaspora, as in 2015 there were 18,383 emigrants returning, and the number does not vary greatly until 2020, as it reaches 20,412. The increase in the number of foreign immigrants in Lithuania is mainly attributed to people from Belarus, as in 2015 it was only 387, but raised multifold in 2019 to 6,388. This can be mainly attributed to the relaxed labor policies, due to which labor migrants from Belarus come to Lithuania. Also, the labor migration from Ukraine increased significantly over the period as it was only 1,149 in 2015, but 8,867 in 2019. There has been a moderate increase in people from the United States and Russia during the period. The data in the table shows a significant increase of immigrants from other countries, as it was 1,473 in 2015, and increased to 3,230 in 2019.

Table 18. Number of immigrants in Lithuania by citizenship

	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015
Total by citizenship	40,067	28,914	20,368	20,162	22,130
Belarus	6,388	3,257	2,714	1,157	387

	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015
United States	104	81	96	70	27
Lithuania	20,412	16,592	10,155	14,207	18,383
Russia	1,043	780	656	841	696
Ukraine	8,867	5,732	4,340	1,581	1,149
Stateless	23	15	33	29	15
Other countries	3,230	2,457	2,374	2,277	1,473

Source: Official statistical portal, Government of Lithuania

Figure 19 below shows the refugee population to Lithuania over the period of 2000–2019 according to World Bank, World Development Indicator. This data is relevant for this dissertation as it shows the percentage and the growth of the refugee or asylum-seeking population in Lithuania over the years from 2000 to 2019. It is particularly significant regarding the negative political communications in media discourse and framing mechanisms towards the refugees and asylum seekers coming into Lithuania. Unlike the skilled immigrants who have been perceived as a resource for the country and categorized in the welcoming aspect, the refugees or asylum seekers have been considered to be a burden financially and demographically by the media through negative political communication, which also considered the refugee population as a threat. Therefore, the considerable growth of the refugee population over the years can be taken as a significant mechanism to understand and perceive the notion behind negative media discourse and political communications and framing mechanisms in the context of Lithuania. There was not much considerable increase in the refugee or migrant population, which can be attributed to various factors, such as the lack of embracing mechanisms in Lithuania and the lack of fiscal or financial assistance, like other Western countries. Figure 19 shows that in 2000, there were only 48 refugees. However, with the inclusion of Lithuania to the EU and its refugee assistant mechanisms, in 2003 it shows a significant increase in the number of refugee populations, as in 2011 it rose to 824, and continued to steadily increase until 2019, when it reached 1,822.

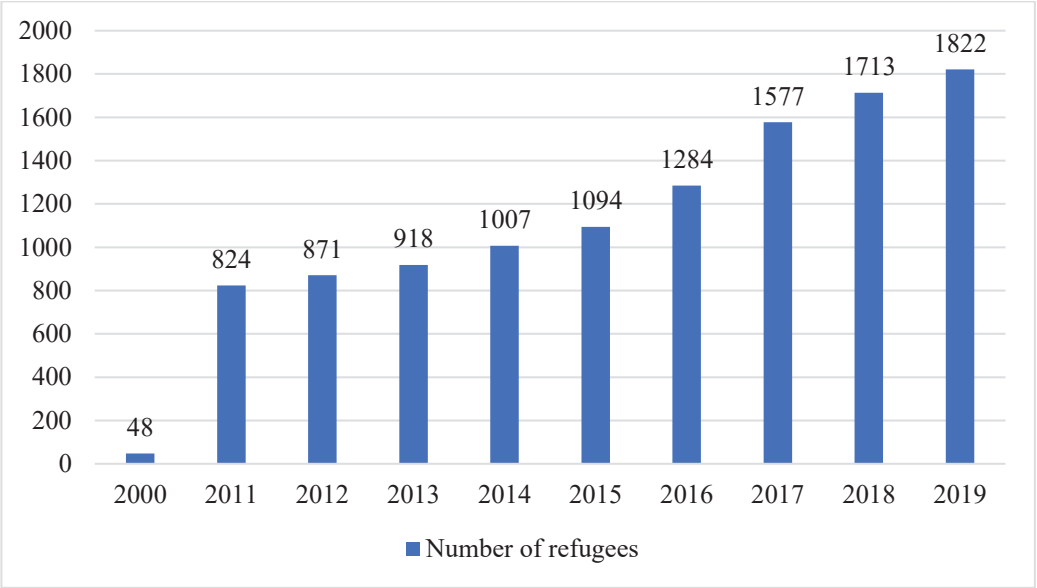

Fig. 19. Refugee population by country or territory of asylum – Lithuania

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

3.2.1. Mediatized political communication on immigration in Lithuania

The word immigration itself means the migration of people from one place to another in search of a better livelihood and other socio-economic purposes. One of the most immigrant-friendly regions and immigrants who intended to migrate is to Europe or European counties. With the case of Lithuania, the integration of Lithuania into the European Union in 2003 and the internationalization process of the Lithuanian universities offering higher education in the English language in 2011 can be seen as a tremendous boost for people from other countries to immigrate to Lithuania for studies and work.

Immigration is facilitated by dialogue, political communication and decision-making through the media that communicates the various policies and phenomena related to immigration to citizens and decision-makers. The media acts as a channel formulating citizens' perception and encouraging political discussions, debates, and policy decision-making.

As stated before, the role of media can be critical especially regarding immigration in a small and young country like Lithuania, which is a part of the European Union with a population of only about 2.8 million. The role of the media is especially important in dealing with social and cultural issues and exposing them to society, thereby raising public awareness. It is in this context that we can understand how people from different parts of the world who enter the country, affect the people of the country, and how much such an immigration system makes people think, and how big of a role the media plays in raising the ideas of how much people from other countries Lithuania should receive and embrace the immigration policies and the refugee allocation policies of the EU.

Therefore, this study analyzes *Delfi*, the mainstream media in the country, and their various political policies and news reports which impact the people. It carefully studies and analyzes media discourse and narratives to unveil the extent to which people, such as political leaders and political parties, can help foreigners or consider their needs and form new policy measures which act as a facilitating factor for immigrant and local population integration. The study encourages immigrants to express their opinion about the governmental mechanisms, the impact they have on society, the recognition they receive, or the extent of the problems they face, and the role that the media plays here.

The second research question is the variety of media news reports about immigration. The following are the main news reports from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. Regarding the news which are published and how the reports are construed can make a difference in society and politics. Therefore, we must find out whether the news related to immigration has caused any movement in the political arena due to its influence. At the same time, it is essential to examine whether such movements have led to new political changes in various forms of policymaking. The political statements in different countries on immigration, the public perception, and the policymaking and the methods of making enhancements in policy measures differ from region to region. We need to examine the importance of such policies and the changes they bring to society. Therefore, as part of this research, news published in *Delfi* and the various reports related to immigration, have been taken for consideration for analyzing the significance of this type of news and the various influences they have on politics today. Figure 20 below shows the distribution of news reported in *Delfi*, English portal on immigration in Lithuania from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020.

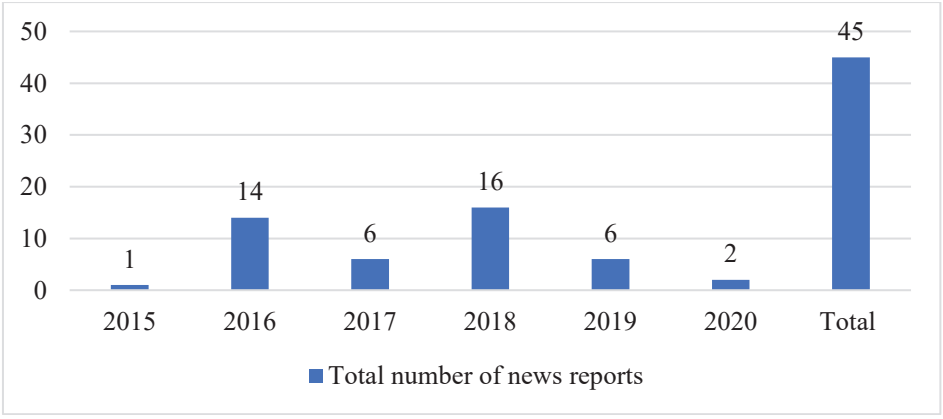

Fig. 20. Number of news reported in *Delfi* English portal on migration, January 1st, 2015 – January 31st, 2020

Source: Author

The figure above shows the number of news reported in the *Delfi* English portal on migration from January 1st, 2015, until January 31st, 2020. The table indicates that the selected period for this research (2015–2020) is correct, as the news reports on immigration gained magnitude in the Lithuanian media from 2015, as we can see that

there was only one news report related to the immigration in *Delfi* in 2015, but 14 reports have been found in 2016, and 16 in 2018. This shows that the coming of the migrants gives media attention to the migrant issues and the various aspects related to immigration in Lithuania.

Empirical study Results of objective 2 – Delfi, Lithuania

The second objective investigates mediatized political communication towards immigration in Lithuania; the study is looking into the specific aspect of political communication which has been carried forward by the media networks. As the concept of political communication falls into the various disciplines within the society, looking specifically to the aspect of political communication through the media lens provides much more insight into how the media networks amplify political communication which has an impact upon immigration in Lithuania. This will allow to distinguish how the media networks act as a catalyst force through which the political communication made by political actors, such as politicians and other social cultural actors, which influence and impact immigration in Lithuania.

Figure 21 shows the results of an empirical study obtained from the *Delfi* news portal from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, on the second research objective – What is the political communication on immigration reported in media? The figure below shows the results from Lithuania on various political communication on migration.

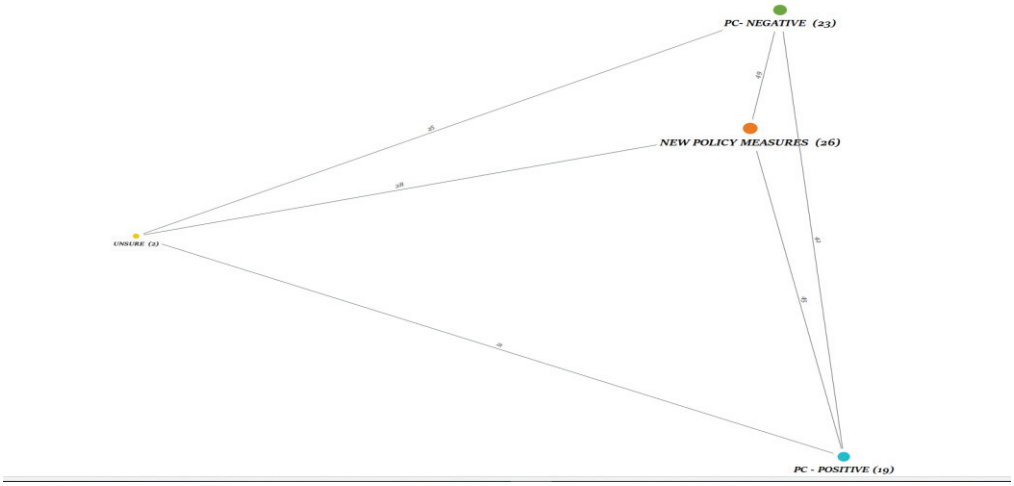

Fig. 21. Political communication on immigration in Lithuania – January 1st, 2015 – January 31st, 2020

Source: Author

The results show 70 political communications reported in *Delfi* during the given time. They are categorized into four different sections:

1. Positive political communication
2. Negative political communication
3. Mixed political communication on immigration

4. New policy measures for immigration

To understand the role of media in creating political communication and to understand the comparative study between Florida and Lithuania, it is essential to understand its political communication mechanism. The media discourse regarding political communication from Lithuania has been taken from *Delfi* from the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. To have a comprehensive idea regarding the political communication of the newspaper regarding immigration covering the positive, negative, mixed political communication, and the new policy measures for immigration have been taken into consideration. Figure 19 shows the total political communication in this category. In terms of the categorization, there are 19 instances of positive political communication, 23 cases of negative political communication, two instances of mixed/unsure political communication, and 26 political communication regarding new policy measures. In the case of Lithuania, as opposed to the United States, the political communication and its media narration is not numerous, when compared to the *New York Times*. This can be mainly attributed to the size of the country and the large flow of immigrants, especially over in the United States. In the case of Lithuania, as mentioned prior, immigration is a new concept, especially regarding the young status of the nation and due to the fact that immigration became significant only in 2015 onwards. Keeping in mind the strength and outreach of the *New York Times*, *Delfi* only has reach within the country and a small population, which also indicates a reason for not having significantly higher number of political narratives.

Now, let us analyze the main political communication reported during the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020.

Political communication – Positive

The importance of political news, especially how news present immigration and its ideas, make up a large part of this study. The study has found significant news reports regarding the positive political communication. These news reports are mainly related to the positive attributes of the immigrant population to the country's overall demographic dividend as it gives a demographic dividend and boost the economy and its economic impetus. This implies that when the migrant population comes and brings their skills and expertise to this country, getting employed in the workforce boosts the economy, enhancing its fiscal stability.

A great example of positive political communication in the media the following excerpt from a narrative in which it states that "Lithuania needs to compete for and attract well-educated immigrants to be competitive as an economy on the international stage - thoughts of avoiding immigration are fantastical in the 21st Century, according to the EU ambassador to Russia, Lithuanian Vygaudas Ušackas" (Media Brief, 2016). The narrative provides a positive political communication statement by the former ambassador to the EU and to Russia, Mr. Vygaudas Ušackas, who highlights the significance and the need for attracting more and more educated immigrants to the country. When a person who represented Lithuania at various international forums and represented the face of the country makes such a positive political statement regarding immigration, it can have a wide-reaching political impact and create positive public perceptions towards immigration. Like various Western countries and North America who already benefitted

from skilled immigration to those countries with their long-term history in immigration and their older nation status, such a mechanism of attracting skilled immigrants to Lithuania can boost the economy and act as a demographic dividend, thereby enriching the country. Such positive political communication by top brass diplomats signifies positive political communication regarding immigration.

Another relevant instance of positive political communication on immigration states that,

> Luminor's chief economist Žygimantas Mauricas says that once immigrants are allowed into the country, their rights should be brought closer to those enjoyed by the local population. "The key to fully integrating someone into society is granting them rights as similar as possible or even identical to those enjoyed by local people," he told. (Delfi, 2018)

The above-mentioned narrative shows the positive political communication concerning immigration, not only accepting the immigrants into Lithuania but also acting as a responsible force, by providing equal opportunities, like the local population. The chief economist of Luminor bank Žygimantas Mauricas notes the need for providing equal opportunities and rights to those immigrants who come to Lithuania, enabling them to integrate into the society and benefit their services to the country. This statement depicts the responsible political narratives regarding immigration, as it shows that the responsibility regarding immigration is not only to take in immigrants and provide them with job opportunities but also to provide them equal opportunities with the local population, which allows them to feel that they are a part of this country and act as responsible social actors regarding overall progress of the nation. Thus, the above-mentioned narratives denote positive political communication.

The provided examples as well as other media narratives of positive political communication, show the positive approach of the politicians and other social actors when it comes to migration. Not only does it show communication which facilitates immigration but also act as a comprehensive mechanism facilitating the overall development of immigrants and immigration overall, which finally leads to the proper integration of those immigrants into the society and to be a part of the Lithuanian identity. Thus, the media discourse during the period of January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, shows the significance of positive political communication in *Delfi*.

Political communication -Negative

The second type political communication that was analyzed to see the role of media in immigrant integration is negative political communication published in *Delfi*. Like positive political communication, negative political communication impacts society as it shapes negative orientation towards migrants, formulates public perception, and harms political communication and political decision-making. The analysis of news reports on negative political communication reveals that negative political communication is increasing over the period chosen for the study. One prominent type of negative political communication depicts the fear of having an immigrant population that is less educated, especially concerning the refugee population. The statements by socio-political and cultural actors claim that this can have a strong implication on the Lithuanian society as

immigrants who cannot contribute to the country's economic growth or financial impetus would be dependent on governmental financing.

Negative political communication is well reflected in:

> Interior Vice-Minister Giedrius Surplys says there had been many cases when "Ukrainians come here legally as tourists, find an employer and apply for a work permit." There are fears among our migration staff and consular staff that the flows may be big. We are thinking about ways of boosting our capacities, Interior Vice-Minister Giedrius Surplys said. (Delfi, 2017)

The excerpt highlights negative political communication about illegal immigration and the unethical way of finding a job and residence in Lithuania. The Interior Vice-Minister Giedrius Surplys highlights such scenarios in which people from neighboring countries, such as Ukraine, come as tourists and find a job and then apply for a work permit and residence, undermining the normal immigration process. It also highlights the fear and uncertainty about migration officials and consular staff when such a flow can undermine their legal authority regarding immigration and immigrant regulation. Due to such attitude towards illegal immigration and the unethical manner of getting into Lithuania the article is classified as negative political communication.

Another instance of negative political communication can be seen in the following article excerpt:

> "We can draw the conclusion that Lithuanian residents would be most willing to accept immigrants that are of the same ethnic group or race as the majority of Lithuanians, and that the least-wanted immigrants would be those arriving from countries poorer than Lithuania outside of the EU," said Ligita Šarkutė, who worked at the KTU's Public Policy and Administration Institute. (Delfi, 2016)

The above-mentioned narrative shows the mentality of the local population when it comes to immigration. It shows that the Lithuanian residents are more willing to embrace those who are from the neighboring regions, such as Ukraine and Belarus, and within the same ethnic group rather than immigrants who are from a third world country and with a different ethnic and cultural background and poorer economic status, as stated by KTU's Public Policy and Administration Institute lecturer Ligita Šarkutė. It shows that the population is less accepting towards immigrants who are from a different cultural orientation, and it can be attributed mainly to the lack of immigrants from a different culture and the stereotypes about different cultures formulated through media narrations and discourses. Therefore, the excerpt can be classified into the category of negative political communication.

The above-mentioned narratives and other narratives in the category which can be classified as negative political communication, especially the political statements discussing possible negative impacts of immigrants and the cultural and social threat they may pose, indicate that there are meaningful negative political communications in the Lithuanian media discourse.

Political communication – Mixed/Unsure

The third noteworthy type of political communication is the mixed/unsure political communication; mostly, political communication is either positive or negative, but

occasionally, a cannot be classified into either one, falling into the category of mixed/unsure political communication. Unlike positive and negative political communication, mixed/unsure political communication does not occur often, as only two examples have been found from the given time.

Mixed political communication is well represented by the following statement:

> Romas Lazutka, a professor of economics at Vilnius University, says it is difficult to predict whether the Lithuanian population will continue to grow. "Such things are very hard to predict when such transformations are underway," he told BNS. Lithuania's population declined by 14,900 in 2018. (Delfi, 2020)

The above-mentioned narrative shows a mixed approach towards population growth of Lithuania, as expressed by Romas Lazutka, a professor of economics at Vilnius university. He states that even though there are transformations happening due to immigration, emigration from Lithuania is not reducing, thus the approach towards immigration is not an optimistic one.

Another significant media narrative in this category states that "Amid the growing immigration numbers, emigration saw a slight decline this summer, with 14,424 persons leaving this summer, down from 15,147 persons this summer" (Delfi, 2017). The previous narrative shows a mixed approach with a pessimistic tendency towards the population growth, even though there is immigration. However, this example shows an optimistic approach towards population growth due to the increasing immigration and reduced emigration, as it states that during the last summer only 14,424 people left Lithuania, as opposed to the previous time of 15,147 which shows a significant reduction in emigration.

The above-mentioned examples signify the role of media narratives in representing mixed political communication. Unlike the positive and negative political communication, mixed communication over the analyzed period was oriented towards how the population growth can be affected by both immigration and emigration, whereas positive and negative political communication focuses on how immigration to Lithuania and the pros and cons of such immigration.

Political communication – New policy measures

The final category of political communication is the new policy measures taken by the government of Lithuania. These are political statements and decision-making for new policy mechanisms, statements on new policy mechanisms, and various drafts, leading to new policy mechanisms. The representation of political communication regarding new policy measures in the media is relatively substantial, as there are 27 discourses concerning the new policy measures subframe.

When it comes to media discourse, a great example of new policy measures is:

> Ukraine's former prime minister, president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Businessmen, told. "I hope the agreement will be signed shortly to create civilized conditions for migrants who are forced to temporarily work outside Ukraine, at the same time becoming part of mutual respect between our nations," he added. (Delfi, 2017)

The above-mentioned narrative shows one of the most significant new policy measures, which was drafted by Lithuania in collaboration with Ukraine. It was mainly based on

the background of incidents and cases reported which highlight the plight of the Ukrainian employees while working in Lithuania, especially the inhuman conditions and lesser wages, and sometimes without wages at all. The policy measures signed between Ukraine and Lithuania ensure dignified working conditions for migrant workers, especially from Ukraine, who work in Lithuanian industrial and other enterprises. This article can be considered as one of the most important news narratives regarding immigration in the context of Lithuania. A good example of media narrative regarding new policy measures can be seen in:

> Lithuania's Interior Minister Eimutis Misiūnas who attended an informal meeting of his EU colleagues in the Bulgarian capital Sofia on Thursday says that member-states should be free to decide on taking in migrants if the community would again have to divide the burden in case of a crisis. "Lithuania sticks to its position that there should be no automation and that member-states should decide voluntarily on the refugees they receive in the spirit of solidarity" [sic.]. (Misiųnas (Delfi, 2019)

Unlike the previous narrative, which mentions the new policy mechanism relating to immigrants, to assure better living and working conditions in Lithuania for immigrants, this policy narrative shows the other side of the coin; the hesitant attitude of Lithuania towards refugees and asylum seekers. The Lithuanian Interior Minister Eimutis Misiūnas highlights the stand of Lithuania in respect to asylum seekers and refugees while meeting with the EU colleagues in the Bulgarian capital Sofia. In this narrative, Lithuania objects to the EU framework of migrant allocation and states that it prefers not to have an automation allocation of refugees and the acceptance of refugees should depend on the free will and choice of the member states. This, together with various other media narratives over the period, shows that when it comes to refugees and asylum seekers, both the government and the public perception was mostly hesitant and opposing towards the welcoming of refugees and asylum seekers, especially from African, the Middle Eastern regions, and third world countries, especially those of different racial, cultural, and ethnic orientation. Thus, the above-mentioned narrative falls into the category of new policy measures, as it shows the opposing nature of Lithuanian policymakers, when it comes to the allocation of refugees and asylum seekers to Lithuania.

The examples provided above together with other narratives in this category show the new policy measures taken by the government when it comes to immigration and immigrant integration. Even though there are examples that show the hesitant attitude of the government and the policymakers regarding the allocation of refugees and asylum seekers, when it comes to skilled and quality migration, they prefer to ensure new policy measures through which such intake of skilled and quality migrants to Lithuania can be facilitated thereby ensuring the quality workforce to Lithuania which will further compensate the loss of native workforce and enrich the demographic dividend.

The political communication media narratives during the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, reveals that the media has a strong narrative mechanism regarding political communication, especially concerning the positive, negative, and new policy mechanisms. However, mixed political communication is not as well represented as the others. These narrative mechanisms help the media to highlight the significance of immigration and immigrant intake to Lithuania, its contribution towards the society's

overall development, its ability to compensate for the population loss due to emigration, how the immigrant workforce can act as a significant catalyst for the industrial and economic development of the society, how the migrant workforce contributes to various sectors, the dangers associated with migration, especially the illegal immigrants who were smuggled to Lithuania. The media discusses the new policy mechanisms developed by the Lithuanian government in collaboration with other neighboring countries, thereby ensuring safe and dignified working conditions for immigrant workers and looks into the aspect of immigration as a positive phenomenon for the overall development of the country. Overall, even though in comparison to the United States, specifically, Florida, the political communication with regards to immigration in Lithuanian media is not as prevalent, in the context of the young nation and recent flow of immigration to Lithuania, it still demonstrates a certain presence.

3.2.2. The role of media framing discourse on immigration in Lithuania

To analyze the objective of this research and perform a comparative analysis between Florida and Lithuania to determine the role of media framing oriented towards immigration, the news reports have been analyzed from the period of January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020 from newspaper *Delfi*. To analyze the context and make a comparative analysis, this research has used five frames and sub-frames. The major five frames used for this research are:

1. Victim/Welcoming Frame
2. Threat/Intruder Frame
3. Responsibility Frame
4. Administrative Frame
5. Return Home Frame

Each frame is categorized into several sub-frames to find out various features of media framing, provided in Table 19 below. Even though the frames taken for the study to analyze media narratives on immigration are universal, the sub-frames have been formulated according to the media narratives found in the newspapers over the given time. When comparing the sub-frames formulated to analyze Florida and Lithuania, there are more sub-frames in the case of Florida due to the larger amount and variety of media narratives.

Table 19. Frames and sub-frames for the media report analysis

Victim/ Welcoming Frame	Threat/Intruder Frame	Responsibility Frame	Administrative Frame	Return Home Frame
Migrant Smuggling/Human Trafficking	Legal Threat	Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms	Executive/ Bureaucratic	Cooperation for repatriation
The 'Useful' Worker	Alien	Amicable Immigrant Friendly Policy Mechanisms	Law &Order/Police	
Returning Emigrants	Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce	Hostile Statements by Political Actors	Legal/Judicial	

Quality/Skilled Worker	Political/Civic Threat	Embracing Statements by Political Actors	Third Sector/ Social Actors	
Wealthy or prospective investor/Expat	Health Threat	Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures		
Exploitation in the Worksite	Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat	Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism		
Demographic Dividend	The unwillingness of Refugees to integrate			
Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation	Unskilled			

Source: Author

Results of the empirical study on news reported in *Delfi* from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020.

There were 58 news reports in *Delfi* on immigration in Lithuania, which belong to the five frames mentioned above and these reports were separated into various sub-frames. Now, let us analyze each sub-frames associated with ***Victim/ Welcoming Frame.***

The selected leading newspaper of the country, *Delfi*, reported immigration-related news from January 01, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, and this study found twenty-five news items either in the victim or welcoming frame about immigrants.

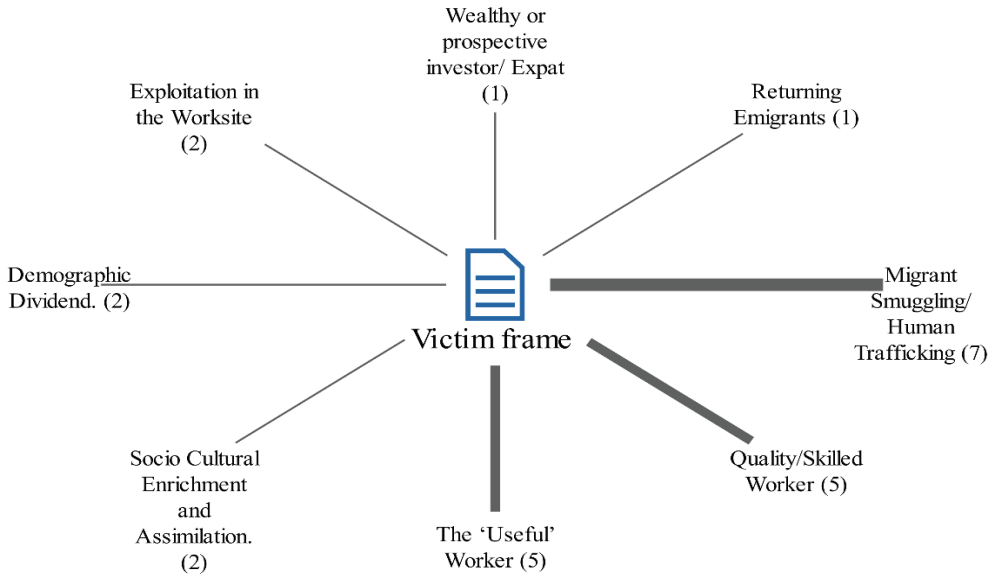

Fig. 22. Distribution of victim frame & sub-frames

Source: Author

The social, economic, and political context of each country on immigration is different, so it is important to study the different types of news related to such issues and determine how the media news and narratives are formulated. The following is the list of news items reported in the newspaper and the results on which each news is based. The welcome frame description of immigrants as victims of violence or persecution who are coming into the country is below. The media reports of immigration have been categorized into various sub-categories based on media reports. The news that comes in these sub-frames is mainly categorized into eight different topics:

- Migrant Smuggling/Human Trafficking
- Quality/Skilled Worker
- The 'Useful' Worker
- Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation
- Demographic Dividend
- Exploitation in the Worksite
- Wealthy or prospective investor/Expat
- Returning Emigrants

Migrant Smuggling/Human Trafficking

One of the most prominent sub-frames in the category of the victim or welcoming frame is migrant smuggling or human trafficking. This sub-frame depicts the news in the media regarding human trafficking and migrant smuggling by various individuals and groups that facilitate this. This kind of human trafficking or migrant smuggling puts immigrants and refugees in a vulnerable situation where there is a threat to their life; they pay a huge sum of money to get immigrated into Lithuania. From the news narratives, we can see the vulnerable situation of those immigrants, especially women and kids. News articles also mention various criminal groups and smuggling teams that facilitate human trafficking or migrant smuggling. These criminal groups take a huge sum of money from the migrants, and provide mechanisms for getting them into Lithuania. Also, it shows the smugglers' new mechanisms to get migrants come to Europe through the Eastern European border due to the vulnerability in the Mediterranean channel.

The media narratives depicting the situation of migrant smuggling or human trafficking includes such statements as "Four Vietnamese migrants, their Latvian driver detained in Lithuania Latvian citizen detained in Lithuania for transporting illegals from Vietnam Vietnamese citizens detained in Lithuania are housed in the Foreigners' Registration Centre" (Media Briefing, 2019). This media narrative shows the prevalence of human trafficking or migrant smuggling, especially within the case of Lithuania, as, according to the article, four illegal Vietnamese immigrants were detained in Lithuania, along with a Latvian driver by the Lithuanian border guards. It shows that when it comes to migrant smuggling or human trafficking, even Lithuania, which is one of the youngest countries in Europe and offers lesser immigrant opportunities, observes the prevalence of such practices. Also, it shows that there are the facilitating actors within the region as the driver who was facilitating such illegal smuggling was a Latvian driver. Thus the narrative shows the significance and prevalence of migrant smuggling and human trafficking in Lithuania.

Another example of media narratives regarding migrant smuggling and human trafficking can be seen in: "Lithuania's geography surprised illegal immigrants, especially those who come from mountainous areas or deserts, with its extensive forests immigrants faced different challenges crossing the country than those sailing across the Mediterranean Sea" (Media Brief, 2016). The excerpt depicts the recent trends in illegal immigration, especially due to the high risk of crossing to Europe through the Mediterranean and the consequent patrolling by the Italian police and border guards. This scenario forces illegal immigrants to search for new options, especially through the Eastern European borders near the Russian region to make their entry to Europe. It has great significance, especially in recent times due to the illegal immigrant entry provided by the Russian and Belarusian regimes, which facilitates illegal entry of immigrants to Europe through Lithuanian, Latvian, and Polish borders. Even though the immigrants who are from certain mountainous areas and were ready to accept challenges they may have in crossing the Mediterranean, when it comes to Lithuanian and Latvian borders, they have to face a different scenario due to the entirely different terrain with extensive forest cover.

These as well as other examples from the discussed sub-frame show that despite migration being a new phenomenon in Lithuania, illegal immigration, especially migrant smuggling and human trafficking are getting its root in this country. This is facilitated by people who want to take economic and political advantage of such practices.

Quality/Skilled Worker

The second sub-frame in the victim or welcoming frame is about the quality/skilled worker. This sub-frame specifically looks at the significance of the quality or skilled worker for Lithuania. It shows the embracing statements indicating the need for quality/skilled workers, especially in the fields where there is a lack of highly skilled local population and other European country workforce, facilitating the accommodation of skilled workforce from other regions. Media narratives mention the significance of having quality/skilled workers from third world countries and statistical data mentions the influence of quality/skilled workers on Lithuania. The media acts as a responsible actor by sharing narratives which mention the lack of proper working conditions and the grim image of quality/skilled workforce in Lithuania, which shows the need for significant changes for accommodating the skilled workforce properly in the Lithuanian framework.

A relevant example of media narratives in this regard can be seen in: "Eglė Verseckaitė-Grzeskowiak, lector at the International School of Management, said that bigger wages were attracting employees from third countries" (Delfi, 2018), where a lecturer at the International School of Management, Eglė Verseckaitė-Grzeskowiak, depicts how higher wages, especially in the context of Lithuania, are attracting quality/skilled workforce from third countries. A lack of professional or quality workforce in the country and a lack of availability of such a workforce in the region facilitates the intake and attracting quality/skilled workforce from third world countries, especially in the field of medicine and technology. It shows how quality/skilled workforce is important to Lithuania and how the government and companies, through an

attractive wage system, can attract and retain talents to Lithuania, especially from third countries.

Examples discussing quality/skilled workforce include: "Today there are record numbers of third-country citizens working in Lithuania – officially there are around 50 thousand work migrants in Lithuania. Just due to this, we can say that there is positive net migration" (Media Briefing, 2019). Even though immigration is one of the newest phenomena in Lithuania, there are around 50,000 work migrants, which is a significant number of the Lithuanian workforce. Most workers from third world countries work in quality/skilled professions, enhancing or enriching the skilled workforce in the region. Students who come from third world countries to study in the Lithuanian public universities are an important quality/skilled workforce after the completion of their studies, especially those who are in the medical profession where they continue to work in the country as medical professionals. Thus, the quality/skilled workforce, especially from third countries from the media narratives, acts as a significant workforce when it comes to the case of Lithuania. There is a favorable situation for quality/skilled workforce immigrants from other parts of the world from this media narrative.

The "Useful" Worker

Like the quality/skilled workforce, "useful" workers are also a very important part of the immigrant workforce in a country. Looking at the media narratives concerning "useful" workers, we can see that most of the workers from the neighboring countries of Belarus and Ukraine had significantly lower wages in those countries, which compelled them to come to Lithuania. The "useful" worker force may also be from third world countries.

The "useful" workers are represented in the media in such statements as: "Most of the foreigners come to work as cooks, builders, carpenters, international passenger transport drivers, car mechanics, and forklift drivers" (Delfi, 2020). According to the media, most of the foreigners who come to work in Lithuania come to work in the labor market, especially in the service and allied sectors as they come to work as cooks, builders, carpenters, international passenger transport drivers, car mechanics, etc. which depicts the category of workers who come to Lithuania. Notably, due to the large-scale emigration, Lithuania faces a greater need for people who are in the "useful" workforce. Therefore, the media depiction of the "useful" workforce indicates that they have a great significance, especially in the victim or welcoming frame.

The media not only represents the importance of the "useful" workforce in Lithuania, but also speaks of the possible future tendencies: "The number of foreign workers in Lithuania is likely to increase next year (in 2020) amid a shortage of qualified labor force in the country" (Delfi, 2020). The excerpt highlights how the emigration of the Lithuanian population is affecting the quality or labor workforce in the country as this narrative focuses on the shortage of useful or qualified labor workforce in the country. However, the media narrative shows an optimistic nature, claiming that the number of foreign workers will increase in the coming year, specifically in 2020, compensating for the lack of labor workforce in Lithuania.

Thus, the sub-frame of the "useful" worker in the overall victim or welcoming frame is important to this investigation. The immigrant "useful" workers help to

compensate for the loss of the workforce in Lithuania, especially due to the emigration of the working-age population.

Socio-Cultural Enrichment and Assimilation

Another sub-frame in the victim or welcoming frame is socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation, which is the coming of the immigrant population that will facilitate the country. There are not many news narratives concerning the specific sub-frame of socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation from the found media narratives. News reports consider immigrants who bring not only economic benefits but also cultural diversity, as people coming from various parts of the world usually bring the traditions of their culture, and the Lithuanian society can benefit from those cultures, while the immigrants can assimilate to the Lithuanian culture. Socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation bring mutual benefits regarding cultural diversity. However, media reports show that there is a selective mechanism for social-cultural enrichment and assimilation in the Lithuanian society, as most of the Lithuanian respondents state that they prefer to see cultural enrichment and assimilation from the neighboring countries of the European region rather than from third countries and from the African regions.

Media articles reflect the idea that immigration not only brings economic prosperity but also cultural enrichment. “There are clear economic and social indicators that show that migration flows are a benefit to society -- it creates jobs, it brings cultural diversity, it creates economic uplift and help from where they go with remittances” (Delfi, 2020). Both economic as well as cultural enrichment is important, especially to a country like Lithuania, which, unlike Western Europe, does not have much cultural diversity, as most of the population is either Lithuanian or people coming from the same ethnic background, such as Belarus or Ukraine. Immigrants from third world countries, especially from Asian and African regions, can not only bring qualified talents to Lithuania but also can enrich the cultural and social diversity, thereby facilitating a much more progressive outlook towards various immigrant-related phenomena.

Besides the positive attributes that immigration could have on society, *Delfi* reflects the society’s attitude towards immigration: “Regardless of race or ethnicity, or if the immigrants are from poorer EU nations, many respondents (more than a third) believed that a limited number should be allowed” (Delfi, 2016). Through the above-mentioned and similar narratives, the media highlights the societal attitude towards the immigrant population from diversified ethnic and cultural groups, especially third-world countries. When it comes to immigrant intake and the socio-cultural assimilation and integration, most of the respondents from a study survey state that they prefer immigrants from even poorer European Union nations, regardless of race or ethnicity, over immigrants from third world countries; they believe that there should be control or a limit towards such immigrant flows. It shows the skepticism of the local population when it comes to immigration from diversified ethnic and cultural orientation, especially from the third world countries in Asia, Middle East, and Africa. This may be attributed to the stereotypes which are embedded in the minds of the local population, and strengthened by the media narratives and media framing. It this narrative, the media highlights the other side of the discourse in which it shows skepticism towards immigration and not much welcoming nature towards immigrants from third world countries.

The above-mentioned narratives show the optimistic and pessimistic attitude towards immigrants regarding social and cultural enrichment and assimilation. It highlights both aspects of immigration, thereby the media acts as a responsible agent, trying to highlight the deep-rooted mentality of the public towards immigrants and to educate them to change their perception and to have an embracing approach towards immigrants from all ethnic and socio-culturally diversified categories.

Demographic Dividend

Another significant sub-frame in the victim/welcoming frame is the demographic dividend. This sub-frame looks into how the immigrant population can act as a demographic dividend, especially for a country like Lithuania, when there is increasing emigration and population shrinkage. Even though only a few articles have been found that fall into this sub-frame, two of them are worth discussing. The first article states that "Immigrants benefit a state regardless of whether they compete with locals" (Fuks, 2017) highlights the significance of the process of immigration itself and how immigrants promote the overall development of the economy and are a significant demographic dividend factor. Even though they compete with the local population regarding jobs and other opportunities, the benefits related to immigration always outweigh the cost. Thus, the above-mentioned narrative depicts immigration as a significant demographic dividend factor.

The second article clearly highlights the significance of immigration as a significant demographic dividend factor, especially concerning the developed world of Western Europe and Northern America: "Immigration is one of the factors which helps developed countries not only quickly replenish lacking labor force, but also slows the processes of aging societies via the immigration of young and able individuals" (Fuks, 2017). As various studies have already highlighted the significance of the aging population in the developed world, especially in Western Europe and Northern America, and also the lack of workforce in those countries, immigration is not only significant compensating factor for providing labor and workforce but is also able to combat the aging population of those countries, thereby acting as a significant facilitating factor for a demographic dividend.

Thus, the narratives that fit the sub-frame of demographic dividend in the category of the victim or welcoming frame show the importance of immigration to Lithuania as well as other countries. Proper immigration procedures not only enhance the economic and social benefits towards those countries but also act as a significant demographic dividend factor, compensating for the aging population of those countries.

Exploitation in the Worksite

Another sub-frame in the victim or welcoming frame is exploitation in the worksite. Unlike other sub-frames, which mention the positive attributes of immigrants in Lithuania, the exploitation in the worksite sub-frame discusses the vulnerability of immigrants in Lithuania, especially in the worksite, thereby categorizing this sub-frame into the victim rather than welcoming frame.

One relevant media narrative in the category of exploitation in the worksite states that "Some Lithuanian companies pay Ukrainian employees unreasonably low salaries" (Delfi, 2017). The excerpt of the article discusses exploitation of the workers in the

worksite, especially the "useful" workforce or those workers who are in the labor sector. Even though Lithuania is a part of the European Union and follows European standard procedures regarding working hours and labor standards, the immigrant workforce, especially the less skilled and less educated workforce, especially from Ukraine and Belarus, exploited by the companies and factories where they work. This media article has already been mentioned while discussing political communication discussing mutual collaboration and agreement which was signed between Ukraine and Lithuania to provide dignified working conditions for the employees. Even though the working population who are skilled are properly rewarded in Lithuanian companies, the labor workforce still experiences exploitation of the workers in the worksite.

The following statements shows that exploitation in the worksite is not a new tendency:

> Today we are waking up and beginning to talk how immigrants and not only them are exploited in Lithuania. The exact same schemes are used in Lithuania as were applied to Lithuanians. It is a massive problem that we do not recognize the red line where exploitation shifts to human trafficking and modern slavery. And unfortunately today, we have completely toothless institutions. (Media Briefing, 2018)

Like previously, this narrative also discusses exploitation of the workers in the worksite; unlike the previous narrative, this also states that it not only shows the exploitation of the immigrant workforce but also of the local workforce, as it states that the same scheme has been applied to the Lithuanian workforce. This article emphasizes the magnitude of exploitation of the workers and considers the lack of initiative by the responsible institutions for preventing such exploitation and the lack of proper legal measures concerning such phenomena.

Thus, the above-mentioned narratives show the exploitation in the worksite not only of the immigrant workforce but also of the local population, especially those who are in the unskilled or labor workforce. It also highlights the lack of proper legal measures and the incompetence of the institutions concerning combating such mechanisms. The sub-frame of exploitation in the worksite has a great significance in the overall frame of the victim or welcoming frame.

Wealthy or prospective investor/ Expat

Another sub-frame in this category is the wealthy or prospective investor or expat. A country of any society requires wealthy investors and immigrants returning from the developed world for proper functioning and development. This is especially important in the case of Lithuania, particularly after Brexit, when companies are looking for a location in Europe with a cost-effective mechanism. It really facilitated more and more business opportunities to come to Lithuania to start their enterprises here.

Due to Lithuania's proximity in the European context and the affordable mechanisms for investment and work conditions in Lithuania, adding the accession to the European Union and the eurozone attracts more companies and wealthy investors to come and invest in Lithuania. However, only one article highlights the significance of this sub-frame:

> The proposed legislative package also provides for more favorable immigration conditions for nationals of the most economically strong countries who can travel visa-free to Lithuania. These include Australia, Japan, the US, Canada, South Korea, and New Zealand. Their citizens will be issued a temporary residence permit for up to three years and will be allowed to bring in their families. (Delfi, 2019)

The passage highlights how Lithuania is trying to welcome prospective investors from wealthy countries, as there was a new legal measure which proposed providing temporary resident permit for the citizens and their families from economically strong nations thereby facilitating investment in Lithuania. This article is very important, especially after Brexit when companies from across the world are looking for other opportunities to invest in Europe, thereby facilitating and retaining their business opportunities in Europe. Thus the sub-frame of wealthy or prospective investor/expat has a great significance in the victim/welcoming frame.

Returning Emigrants

The final sub-frame is the returning emigrants who return to Lithuania to live here permanently. The only news report in this category states that together with the immigrants from Eastern Europe and the third countries, a significant number of returning emigrants also boosts the economy and the social sphere. The media narrative clearly states that the returning emigrants and immigrants gives an economic and social impetus to Lithuania: "Most immigrants come from Ukraine and Belarus. Experts attribute the increase in the number of Lithuanian expatriates returning to their homeland and in the number of immigrants from third countries to rising living standards in Lithuania" (Delfi, 2020). Hence, the overall immigration phenomena from the neighboring countries and third world countries together with the returning emigrants make a significant boost to the overall development of the economy and society, thereby trying to compensate for the deficits of emigration. Thus, the sub-frame of returning immigrants has a great significance in the victim/welcoming frame.

Threat frame

The next frame is the threat frame in which the immigrants or refugees have been perceived as a threat to Lithuania. The frame has been categorized into six sub-frames. The news that fit in this frame is mainly categorized into 6 different themes:

1. Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce
2. Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat
3. Legal Threat
4. The unwillingness of Refugees to integrate
5. Alien
6. Unskilled

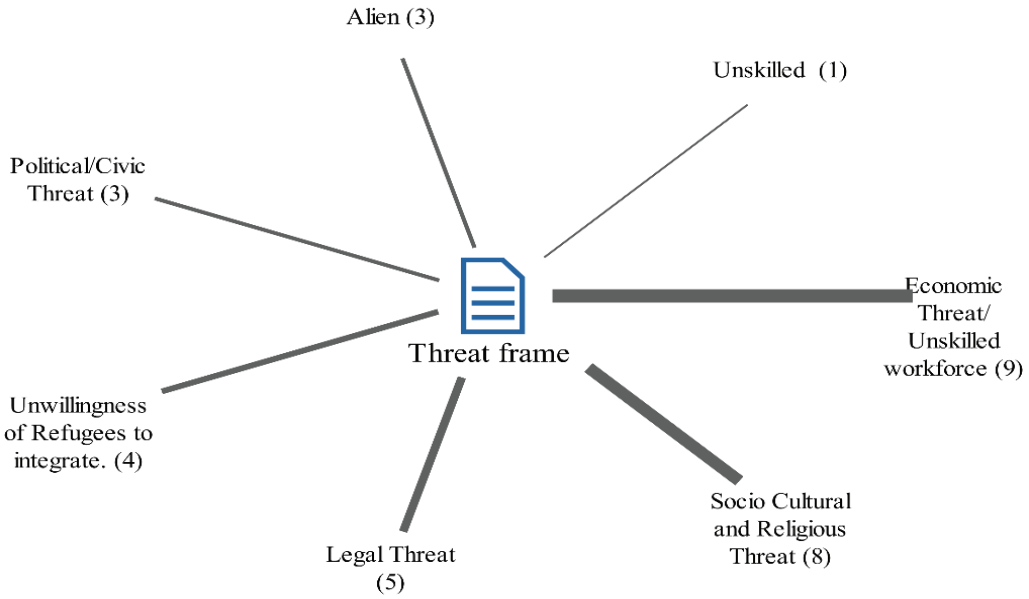

Fig. 23. Distribution of threat frame & sub-frames

Source: Author

Economic Threat/Unskilled workforce news

The most prominent sub-frame in the threat category is the economic threat or unskilled workforce threat. The media narrative highlights not only the political and social statements but also the statements of the workers' union, especially the trade unions, and how their fear leads to statements that the unskilled workers from Ukraine and Belarus can dampen the economic situation in the country which can create cheap labor and lower wages, thereby facilitating shadow economy. "Bring in the cheap workforce and dampen potential rises in pay. People would like to return, however, the plan does not emphasize the conditions due to which such desire would arise" (Media Briefing, 2019). The excerpt from an article highlights how the coming of cheap labor workforce can impact the wage rate in Lithuania, as this workforce is ready to compromise and work for a lower wage, it will eventually lead to the reduction of wages in Lithuania thus compelling the remaining potential workforce to leave Lithuania and emigrate. This not only classifies the immigrant workforce, especially the cheap labor force, as a potential threat to the wages in Lithuania but also as a deterrent factor for those Lithuanians who would have thought of coming back to Lithuania, and the remaining workforce to leave Lithuania.

This narrative also looks at the aspect of implications towards salaries and wage rate due to the influx of cheap labor force from Belarus and Ukraine: "Trade unions also warn that the arrival of cheaper labor from Ukraine or Belarus may hold back wage growth in the country and increase shadow economic activity" (Delfi, 2020). The article discusses statements made by trade unions about the future scenarios because of the incoming cheap labor force from the neighboring countries. It shows a pessimistic

attitude of the trade unions and other associations towards cheap labor workforce from the neighboring countries of Belarus and Ukraine. Rather than seeing them as a potential opportunity of replacing or substantiating the loss of workforce here, they have been seen as a potential threat towards the wage structure, which can lead to the emigration of the remaining working population.

Media highlights the threat associated with the incoming cheap labor force from Belarus and Ukraine. Immigrants were not only seen as a potential threat to the salary and wage structure but also seen as a potential threat towards the returning of the Lithuanian population back to the country, which facilitates further emigration of the remaining Lithuanian working-age population. Thus, the sub-frame of economic threat or unskilled workforce is essential in the threat frame.

Socio-Cultural and Religious Threat

Another significant sub-frame in the threat frame is a social, cultural, and religious threat. Most of the articles in this category show a clear picture of the Lithuanian society's fear considering the Muslim communities as a potential threat.

Narratives regarding the socio-cultural and religious threat in the media tries to justify the hatred and fear towards Muslim communities not only in Lithuania but also in Europe, by justifying the stereotypes towards immigrants especially, Muslim immigrants in Lithuania:

> In fact, however, the discontent with newcomers from Muslim countries is even more marked in Western European countries. For example, Islamic extremism was feared by 67% of Poles, 82% Germans, and 87% Italians. The negative attitude to Muslim immigrants is shared by 61% of the population in France, 64% of Belgians and 65% of Austrians. (Kasčiūnas, 2018).

The media claims that the fear towards Muslim immigrants is worse in Western Europe, thereby trying to justify the perceptions and fears towards Muslim immigrants. Since migration as a phenomenon was more prevalent and dominant in Western Europe, immigration mechanisms created the odds of socio-cultural and religious threat, hence the countries with more immigration experience more stereotypes. The article tries to justify that the immigration of population with a different socio-cultural and religious orientation can pose a threat to the country by providing statistical data that from other Western European countries. The media is trying to justify the socio-cultural and religious threat associated with immigrants, especially those of different social, cultural, and religious orientations.

The media conveys Lithuanians' suspicion and hatred towards different cultures, especially towards Islamic cultures, but another article also mentions the stereotypes and hatred towards blacks: "Lithuanians are most opposed to culturally different societies. Studies reveal that visitors from Islamic countries and blacks attract the most rejection" (Delfi, 2016). It shows the cultural uniqueness of this young country as most of the population are culturally unique, and even though they have different cultural groups here in Lithuania, they mostly consist of Poles, Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians. Although other cultures are present, they share a unique Eastern European identity and the same skin color. Other cultures, especially the Islamic cultures and the black communities, due to their different social, cultural, and religious practices and skin color

tend to have a higher rejection rate among the Lithuanian population, which shows the socio-cultural and religious threat perception among the minds of the Lithuanian population.

The narratives in the media show the increasing fear of social, cultural, and religious threat in society. Most of these narratives were either directed towards Muslims, or black or African communities and towards the minority community of Roma. Unlike the hatred and fear perception towards blacks and Muslims, when it comes to the Roma community, every second respondent objects to the taking of the Roma community and states that they should not be invited to Lithuania at all. It shows the stereotypes and public perceptions towards the Roma community and how they have been perceived as a social, cultural, and religious threat in Lithuania. It shows the prevalence of public perception and media narratives about the social culture and religious threat when it comes to immigration and immigrant intake in Lithuania.

Legal Threat

Another prominent sub-frame in the threat frame is the legal threat that the immigrants and immigrant communities pose to Lithuania. These are visible in the media discourse statements. Even though we provide humanitarian aid to those refugees and asylum seekers who are victimized across the world, it can further lead to smuggling of refugees and asylum seekers, which can cause legal issues and tensions in the country and region. The legal threat can be seen as a mechanism in which immigrants pose a threat to the legal structures of the country, especially when it comes to curbing illegal immigration and other illegal activities, such as terrorism and crime sponsored or conducted by the immigrant communities in the host country.

When it comes to the legal threat, the media often depicts the disparity in the legal measures, especially when it comes to the curbing of illegal immigrants in the European region: "There have been tensions in the EU recently as countries disagree on how to curb illegal migrant flows" (Delfi, 2018). Different countries have their own legal measures to curb illegal immigration. However, as the European law stands over these national policy mechanisms, there are various incidents and scenarios in which such conflicting situations happen within the European countries. The legal threat is highlighted in the above-mentioned narrative which is important due to the high amounts of illegal immigrants in the European region and especially in EU countries.

Occasionally, media discusses the legal threat posed by immigrants, especially when they come from the same group in a country, and the proposed new legal measures which we can facilitate such accommodation:

> A group of refugees who originate from the same town or who meet during their journey to Europe. Under the reform proposal, they could be transferred to the same EU Member State together. It would increase the threat of terrorism and crime even further. While individuals may find it difficult to commit large-scale crimes or terrorist attacks, members of terrorist gangs could register as groups of friends of up to 30 persons and thus increase their chances of carrying out criminal activities. (Kasčiūnas, 2018)

According to the new legal measure proposed by the European Union, a group of refugees or immigrants from the same region could be accommodated into the same EU country.

However, the media shows how such accommodation of immigrants from the same ethnic or social group can pose a significant threat to the legal mechanism of the country by facilitating crime and other terrorist activities by such groups when they bond together as the same group within a country or region.

The above-mentioned narratives and others in the category of legal threat show how immigrants or immigrant communities can pose a legal threat to a country or a region. Such narratives depict the origin of migrant flows, which has further deteriorated during recent times, especially with illegal immigration and various legal and other threats posed by such immigrant communities towards various EU countries. The sub-frame of legal threat has a great significance in the threat frame.

Unwillingness of Refugees to integrate

Another sub-frame in the threat frame is the unwillingness of the refugees to integrate. When it comes to refugee integration, this is one of the most significant issues facing European countries and regions. This is mainly because these refugees and asylum seekers come from various socio-cultural orientations and ethnicities. They carry those cultural traits to the host country, making it conflicting for the host country regions and local people to accommodate the refugee population. The European region is one of the most modern and advanced societies with different social, cultural, and ethnic values that the refugees find hard to assimilate with. This is mainly due to their social, religious, cultural, and ethnic attributes. When it comes to the unwillingness of the refugees to integrate, all media narratives unanimously state that the refugees or asylum seekers who come to Lithuania find it challenging to integrate into society. Unlike other western European countries where the issues to integrate relate to socio-cultural and ethnic attributes, in Lithuania it is mostly due to the economic aid to the refugees, such as the funding and allocation for refugee integration is very low in Lithuania compared to other Western European countries which compels the refugees to move out of Lithuania to other countries.

Articles found in the media talk about the reason for the refugees' unwillingness to get integrated into Lithuanian society: "Since then, 468 refugees have come to Lithuania, but the majority of them later left for richer Western European countries" (Delfi, 2018). Unlike other European regions, where the unwillingness of refugees to integrate into a society can be mainly attributed to other socio-cultural traits, in Lithuania, it can be mainly attributed to the lack of economic prosperity when it comes to the immigrant communities, especially the refugee population. As we saw from the positive or victim frame attributes, there are a lot of immigrants, especially the qualified or skilled workforce, from the Asian and African regions; the refugee or asylum-seeking population find it hard to get integrated because as they lack proper skills and expertise, making it difficult to find good economic prospects in Lithuania and the funding for refugee population is significantly lower than in other Western European countries. The refugee population find it challenging to integrate into Lithuania, which forces them to leave, as most of who came here as refugees left Lithuania to rich western European countries for a better economic prospect.

Other news articles substantiate the assumption: "In addition, many asylum seekers coming to Lithuania and other less prosperous EU countries later fled to wealthier

European countries" (Kasčiūnas, 2018). The unwillingness of the refugees to be integrated in Lithuania and other lesser economically prospective Eastern European countries is represented in the media. It can be mainly attributed to the lack of financial assistance in these countries compared to other Western European countries. Due to the lesser economic prospects in the Eastern European countries, the mentality of the refugees is to see these countries as a platform or a stepping stone to move to Western European countries and settle there.

The category of the unwillingness of the refugees to integrate shows the lack of financial assistance in Lithuania and other Eastern European countries, which compels the refugees or asylum seekers to move to other western European countries to have better economic prospects concerning financial stability and living conditions. Thus, the subframe of unwillingness of the refugees to integrate has a great significance in the threat frame.

Alien

Another sub-frame in the category of threat is the alien sub-frame. When a person from outside of the region is viewed differently, like "from another planet", we can categorize those narratives as aliens. As previous narratives indicate, the unwillingness of the local population to embrace the immigrants, especially from a different socio-cultural background, such as Muslims and African or black communities, shows that such an attitude can make the immigrants or refugees perceive themselves as aliens or unwanted communities in Lithuania.

Sociologist, Vlada Stankūnienė expressed their opinion towards immigration and how it impacts Lithuanian society: "Sociologist Vlada Stankūnienė says that there is nothing to celebrate yet because the statistics are boosted by an influx of foreigners, which is not sustainable, and neither is the return of Lithuanians" (Media Briefing, 2018). This statement presents the alien approach of the society towards immigrants, which states that a population increase due to immigration is nothing to celebrate and it only needs to be celebrated when there is an influx of population because of the returning Lithuanian emigrants. It shows the alienist approach in political communication of socio-political activists regarding immigration and does not consider those immigrants and their overall contribution to the economy and society as a positive or attributing factor.

The media, through its framing mechanisms, tries to portray the aspect of the alien in the context of Lithuania: "The proposal may seem fair from the point of view of human values. However, it may lead to further escalation of the scourge of illegal people smuggling to Europe" (Kasčiūnas, 2018). Even though the policy mechanisms which can facilitate much more human values and humanitarian purpose, it facilitates illegal immigration and smuggling of people into Europe, thereby classifying the alien aspect towards such illegal immigration.

When it comes to immigration, the public perception and the media narratives highlight the alien aspect, by considering immigration and illegal immigration as a threat to the society and its fabric. Therefore, the aspect of the alien in the threat frame has a great significance.

Unskilled

The final sub-frame in frame of threat is the unskilled sub-frame. When it comes to immigration, the skill of the immigrants is one of the most debated characteristics of the workers coming to the host country. As stated earlier, the sub-frames skilled workforce and "useful" worker fit into the victim/welcoming frame to describe people who come as immigrants. The quality or skills that the refugees have is an important point of discussion. As these people flee from war-torn regions with different social and cultural backgrounds, they may have fewer skills and expertise. Therefore, refugees who come to European countries, especially to Lithuania, with lesser skills have been seen as a burden for the economy in the socio-political and cultural realm. They need a larger economic and social investment for refugee skill imparting programs to incorporate them into the workforce of the country.

Even though there is only one narrative regarding the unskilled refugee or migrant population, it explains clearly how unskilled refugees or migrants have been perceived in society, especially in the social-political realm. The narrative states: "Reality, however, has painted a much grimmer picture. As the Bavarian Minister for Economic Affairs has put it, as few as one in ten refugees is fit for work" (Kasčiūnas, 2018). This narrative clearly shows the grim picture when it comes to the work or quality of the refugees or asylum seekers. This statement by the Bavarian Minister for Economic Affairs states that only one in 10 refugees is fit to work, which shows the reality of the asylum seekers intake as they lack the quality or professional expertise to work in Lithuania or other European countries. Thus, this narrative shows the aspect of unskilled refugee or migrants in the category of threat frame.

Responsibility frame

The third major frame which investigates the aspect of media framing towards immigration is the responsibility frame. As previously stated in the framing mechanism of Florida, it depicts the responsibility frame as a mechanism through which all the actors, especially the political actors, make decisions which have a positive or negative implication towards immigration and immigrant intake. With the responsibility frame, this study tries to compare whether the framing mechanisms have similarities and differences concerning the migrants between Florida and Lithuania. This frame of responsibility developed for this study has similar sub-frames in the case of both Florida and Lithuania.

The responsibility frame, presents more positive embracing statements by political actors in the Lithuanian media, which have a representation of 28 articles in the news narratives, and immigrant-friendly policy mechanism represented 21 times in the news narratives, whereas the negative aspects in the responsibility frame, such as the hostile statement by political actors which have only 9 articles in the media and migrant hostile policy mechanism which are represented 14 times in the media narratives. The other two aspects in the responsibility frame are the inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures (eight articles) and selective immigrant policy mechanism (seven articles). The responsibility frame in Lithuania shows more of a positive orientation and approach towards immigration concerning the media narratives in *Delfi* from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020.

The responsibility frame has been classified into six major sub-frames:

1. Embracing Statements by Political Actors
2. Amicable Immigrant-Friendly Policy Mechanisms
3. Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms
4. Hostile Statements by Political Actors
5. Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures
6. Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism

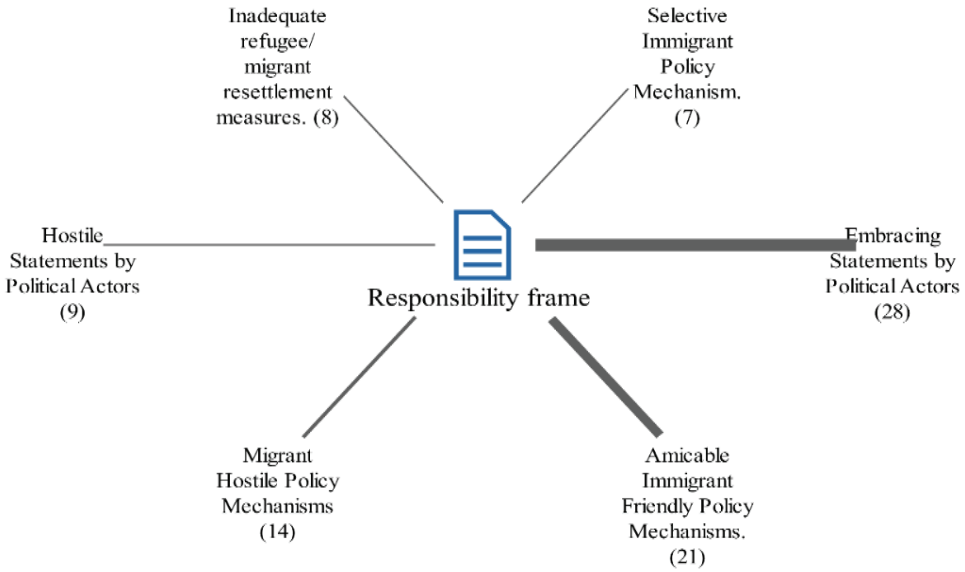

Fig. 24. Distribution of Responsibility frame & sub-frames

Source: Author

Embracing Statements by Political Actors

The largest sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the embracing statements made by political actors. Embracing statements made by political actors lead to the formulation of migrant-friendly policy mechanisms, which can lead to the migrant intake and integration in the country. Lithuanian media published 28 media narratives which include embracing statements made by political actors regarding immigration over the given period.

The following statement can be regarded as very influential, it shows the embracing statement towards refugees and asylum seekers made by the President of Lithuania, Dalia Grybauskaitė: "Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė said last week Lithuania would continue the refugee resettlement program as it has fulfilled only half of its quota" (Delfi, 2018). It states that Lithuania will continue with the refugee resettlement program, and that the country has only filled half of the quota and still needs to pursue more for fulfilling it. The responsibility mechanism of the government, especially at the top level of the administration shows the embracing attitude towards immigration at the political level.

The media narratives also represent the statements by political actors regarding the decision to stop the exploitative nature of Lithuanian companies, especially when it comes to immigrants who are from Belarus and Ukraine: "Ukraine has already signed agreements with Portugal and Italy on the legal protection of labor migrants. The plans to sign a Lithuania-Ukraine treaty were Friday announced by the two presidents, and, at a joint economic forum in Vilnius" (Delfi, 2017). As it was already mentioned while discussing exploitation in the workplace, these immigrants, especially in the unskilled or labor workforce, are often exploited by the Lithuanian companies: paid lesser wages and forced to work in inhuman conditions. The above-mentioned statement shows the plans of Lithuania and Ukraine to sign a mutual agreement thereby acting as a responsible actor preventing future exploitation scenarios. It reveals the embracing and responsible mechanisms by the political actors at the Lithuanian governmental side.

The above-mentioned narratives and others in this category highlight the responsible mechanisms of the socio-political and cultural actors criticizing the inhuman mechanisms in the Lithuanian companies where the workers are getting exploited. The media criticizes the lack of legal measures which can facilitate immigrant integration and refugee and asylum intake, depicts the embracing nature towards immigrant integration and is vocal against those stereotypes and public perceptions which inhibited immigrant intake.

Amicable Immigrant Friendly Policy Mechanisms

The second positive sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms. From the media narrative during that period, after the embracing statements made by political actors, the amicable immigrant policy mechanism received the highest representation in the media narrative as it has 21 media narratives. Regarding immigration, this is one of the most significant and impacting factors because the policies formulated at the political decision-making level have a great significance; they can facilitate or deter immigration and immigrant-related integration.

The following statement highlights the continuity of the political statements and related narratives that have been seen in the embracing statement by made political actors in which they formulate a policy mechanism that can envisage dignified working conditions for workers from Ukraine in Lithuania: "Ukraine's business representatives expect that the bilateral treaty under preparation will help ensure civilized working conditions for the increasing flows of Ukrainians arriving in Lithuania" (Delfi, 2017). While this policy is being formulated, the business enterprises in Ukraine are hoping that it will facilitate better working conditions for the immigrant workers coming from Ukraine to Lithuania. The media narratives highlighting such measures have an important role in the case of Lithuania, as there were various media narratives, especially in *Delfi* during the period which highlight the inhuman situations of the workers. The media attention attracts the attention of actors at the political decision-making level, thus facilitating the formulation of policies which prevent further exploitation, especially in the workforce in Lithuania.

The following narrative shows the changing socio-political stand regarding immigration; it welcomes more than a thousand refugees to be reallocated to Lithuania: "Ušackas welcomed both Lithuania's commitment to take over a thousand refugees and

that the latter are not flooding to Lithuania as it allows Lithuanian society to have time to prepare to receive and integrate newcomers" (media Brief, 2016). The article claims that as rate of immigration is not higher, it provides enough time and space for the Lithuanian community to overcome the stereotypes about immigrants and prepare to compact such immigrant-related phenomena. The statement highlights the embracing nature of former Lithuanian diplomat to Russia, Ušackas, which provides a progressive mentality to the overall community.

All statements in this category show the amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms envisaged by the Lithuanian government and policymakers. The narrative which is highlighted by the media regarding the quota of the workers which will get much of the public and policy attention leading to the formulation of such policy measures and better collaboration between Lithuania and Ukraine to facilitate dignified working conditions for workers from Ukraine. The narrative includes various policy measures and visits for providing work-related visas and particular conditions which can facilitate intake of skilled workforce from third country regions. Thus, amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms have a great significance in the overall responsibility frame.

Migrant Hostile Policy Mechanisms

Another significant sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the migrant hostile policy mechanism. Unlike the above-mentioned embracing statement and policy mechanisms, the hostile migrant policy mechanism falls into the negative aspect of the responsibility frame; it could create difficulties for the immigrants and immigrant communities. The migrant hostile policy mechanism is facilitated by the migrant hostile political statements, which further develop into migrant hostile policy mechanisms. Even though there are not many significant negative narratives in comparison to positive policy formulation and political statements, there are a few narratives which prove the negative attitude of the political decision-makers in formulating policy mechanisms towards migrants and migrant communities. These are especially significant in the case of Lithuania as immigration is a recent phenomenon, and such negative political statements and policy decision-making can have long-lasting implications towards immigration.

The media shows the attitude of the countries when it comes to accepting immigrants, especially from the Middle East:

> Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia agreed to accept the burden of refugees from the Middle East with southern European countries but resisted the introduction of a quota system for relocating refugees. Meanwhile, other countries, like Hungary or Poland, refused to accept refugees at all. (Delfi, 2018)

Even though Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia agreed to accept refugees from the Middle East, they refused to accept the quota system, which would facilitate the reallocation of immigrants, and countries like Hungary and Poland refused to accept it at all. The refusal by Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to accept the quota system shows the continuing pessimistic approach towards the Muslim immigrants, especially from the Middle East; it is especially evident in Hungary's and Poland's refusal to accept immigrants at all. Thus, the narrative shows the mentality of the government and policymakers when accepting immigrants, especially from the Middle East and Muslim-dominated countries,

and also the policy mechanisms, thereby assisting the quota system and for the allocation of refugees as per the European law.

This narrative shows the hostile policy mechanism envisaged by the European Union, which will deter the immigrants, especially from North Africa, by strengthening border control in the Mediterranean Sea:

> In a bid to stop immigration from North Africa, the EU has stepped up border control in the Mediterranean Sea but has halted plans for now to destroy empty ships near its shores, used for human trafficking as Libyan officials refuse to approve such an operation. (Delfi, 2015)

This mechanism will prevent the coming of immigrants, especially from North Africa, who flee various life-threatening situations in the hope of having a life in Europe. This narrative shows the other side of the policy mechanism – the inhuman attitude of the migrant program, which plans to destroy the empty ships near the shores that are used for smuggling immigrants into the Euro Zone through the Mediterranean. However, it also shows the other side of immigration, i.e., the attitude of the Libyan officials who refused to implement a measure to destroy the ships, showing the humanitarian aspect when formulating such policy measures.

These narratives, together with the other narratives in the category, show the hostile policy mechanism towards immigrants. It mentions the various legal measures which are formulated by the government to make restrictions upon work-related immigration, especially from the third world countries and from the neighboring countries when it comes to unskilled or labor force. The hostile policy mechanism towards immigration has a great significance in the responsibility frame.

Hostile Statements by Political Actors

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the hostile statements made by political actors. The hostile statements made by political actors can be seen as a mechanism through which they try to portray their ideologies and political interest to the public, thereby trying to formulate the perception of the public towards such policy mechanisms. Unlike the case of the United States, in which the hostile statements by political actors are mostly propagated by the administration headed by the President, the political statements in Lithuania are mostly stated by various socio-political actors and clerks at the ministerial level, mostly regarding illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders.

The following excerpt shows the hostile statement made by political actors, concerning illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders: “Our country is preparing for such eventualities. There are a variety of exercises, the border guards are simulating various situations together with the army” (Media Brief, 2016). This, however, is a recent phenomenon due to the highest risk of crossing through the Mediterranean, which forced the illegal immigrants to move towards Belarus or to Russia thereby trying to infiltrate through the Eastern European borders into Lithuania and Latvia. The political statement shows the hostility in the political statement towards such eventualities, and it states that the country and its border guards as well as the army is ready to take any eventualities to prevent the illegal entry of immigrants into Lithuania and move to Western Europe. The above-mentioned hostile political statement can be

seen as one of the significant political statements with a hostile approach towards immigration in this context.

The following article presents a hostile political statement by political actors towards migration, but here, it is more of a downward trend towards immigrant-related policies:

> Clearly, financial support schemes vary greatly among the EU Member States, Therefore, in order to deal with the refugee challenge, it is particularly important that countries such as Germany review their welfare policies and reduce the incentives for newcomers who are trying to enter those countries at any cost. (Kasčiūnas, 2018)

The Lithuanian political narrative tries to criticize the welfare policy mechanisms of the Western developed countries, such as Germany, which provide support to those immigrants who come as asylum seekers or refugees. Rather than providing a political narrative that tries to enhance the financial support and the welfare policies in Lithuania, which will attract refugees and asylum seekers and retain them in Lithuania, they publish a political narrative which tries to undermine the financial contributions of the developed Western world. It tries to make them lower their financial contributions in parity with the Eastern European region, such as Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland for the refugees and asylum seekers thereby trying to prevent the emigration of those refugees and asylum seekers from the Eastern European countries to the Western European countries. Rather than making a progressive stand towards the retention of the refugees or asylum seekers, the above-mentioned political statement shows the negative trend towards retaining the refugees or asylum seekers, thereby trying to undermine the financial contributions to refugees by the Western developed countries.

Together with the above-mentioned narratives and other narratives in the category of hostile political communication which criticized the quota system and the allocation of refugees according to the European Union framework, considering the immigrants as an imminent threat in the future, thereby making hostile statements to prevent such immigrant intake, providing political statements that were trying to undermine the financial support provided by the developed countries towards immigrants and refugees and considering those immigrants as a threat or trying to close the borders of Belarus and Russia, the political statements in this category can be seen as hostile towards immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. The sub-frame of the hostile statements made by political actors can be seen as essential in the responsibility frame.

Inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the inadequate refugee/migrant resettlement measures. Through this sub-frame, the media highlights the lack of policy mechanisms for proper integration and intake of refugees and asylum seekers in Lithuania. When it comes to immigration of the skilled workforce, there are significant policy measures that facilitate the intake of immigrants who are qualified. However, when it comes to labor migration, there were significant loopholes in the policy mechanisms, which shows the plight of the labor migrant workforce in Lithuania, especially from Belarus and Ukraine. The media narratives, significant political

intervention, and significant policy mechanisms and agreements ensured the dignity of the labor workforce in Lithuania. However, policies regarding refugees or asylum seekers require significant policy mechanisms. It needs extensive changes, as the political communication is not optimistic and tries to undermine the financial contributions made by other Western developed countries, thereby trying to justify the outflow of refugees or asylum seekers from Lithuania. Rather than trying to justify such mechanisms, the government should make proactive mechanisms to retain the refugees or asylum seekers allocated by the European Union to Lithuania. The sub-frame of inadequate migrant or refugee resettlement measures is important in the responsibility frame.

Media depicts inadequate migrant or refugee resettlement not only in Lithuania but also in all European Union regions: "Almost all EU Member States have underperformed by accepting a lower number of refugees than envisaged in the initial quotas" (Kasčiūnas, 2018). The narrative states that Lithuania and almost all the EU member states significantly underperform when it comes to the allocation of refugees and accepting refugees as per the quota system. It can be mainly attributed to various factors, such as be the conservative mentality of the political parties, the opposition by the conservative leadership, and the unwillingness of the political leadership to embrace immigrants and refugees. Because of this and the public perception and protest towards refugee or asylum-seeking intake as per quota, such measures were hindered. But when it comes to refugee or asylum-seeking intake, there was a significant lack in the policy mechanisms towards such intake of refugees and asylum seekers.

The media shows the lack of proper policy mechanisms regarding immigrant intake, as the statement of the Lithuanian president at the World Economic Forum in Davos shows that the current policies are inefficient and should come up with some creative solutions for providing an everlasting solution to the refugee or asylum-seeking issues:

> Lithuania's President Dalia Grybauskaitė attending the World Economic Forum in Davos says that this proved the migrant quota system as inefficient. "This means that we need to come up with more creative solutions; however, these have to be global solutions, and they should be agreed upon on the global scale, as Europe alone cannot absorb every single refuge. (Delfi, 2019)

The above-mentioned statement clearly states that when it comes to the solution for providing asylum or refugee intake, Europe alone cannot handle such mechanisms, and a comprehensive mechanism for an everlasting solution should come from various regions of the world, thereby acting as a collective mechanism towards providing solutions for refugee or asylum-seeking issues. However, the narrative also shows the negative angle of political communication as even though she is trying to rectify the odds and the policy mechanisms and then to envisage an inclusive mechanism for a global solution to the migrant issues, but at the same time can see a pessimistic approach towards refugee intake.

Thus the narratives in this category show inadequate policy measures when it comes to immigrant intake not only in Lithuania but also in the EU member states as well as the negative mentality of the political actors in embracing immigrants. Other narratives also show that member states such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland were willing to take immigrants but mostly from the same ethnic orientation, such as Ukraine or

Belarus, and not from the countries of the Middle East and Africa. Thus, the immigrant intake and policies regarding that present a lack of policy mechanisms that can provide an inclusive policy framework for immigrant intake and integration. Thus, the sub-frame of inadequate policy mechanisms towards refugees and asylum seekers have a significant position in the responsibility frame.

Selective Immigrant Policy Mechanism

The final sub-frame in the responsibility frame is selective immigrant policy mechanisms. Unlike other sub-frames which show either the positive or negative aspect of immigration reforms or policy measures, selective policy mechanism shows how selective the government is when making policies when it comes to immigration. These are mainly the embracing measures towards skilled immigration and negative towards labor immigration refugees or asylum seekers. This is especially evident in the case of Lithuania, where there are policy measures which highlight the embracing attitude of the government when it comes to skilled migration and also towards migration from wealthy or developed countries. They receive work permits and visa-free entry, but the labor migration federal policies are either lacking or hesitant towards such measures which can provide a dignified working conditions in Lithuania for labor immigrants from the neighboring countries. Due to the media highlighting the situation, especially in its narrative mechanism, led to the attention of such issues by the policymakers, formulating measures and making bilateral agreements with neighboring countries to ensure dignified working conditions for migrants in Lithuania. Another significant aspect of the case of Lithuania can be seen in its hesitant attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers, especially to comply with the laws of the European Union by accepting or embracing the quota schemes of the EU to accept the refugees and asylum seekers. When it comes to immigration, there is a significant reflection of selective immigrant policy mechanisms in the case of Lithuania.

The media narrative reflects a selective policy mechanism, as it can be seen that the government of Lithuania and policymakers are ready to accept immigrants but only when it reached a saturation point that there is a loss of working-age population and most of the people reached the age of retirement:

> It will not be before the beginning of the 2020s that Lithuania will start thinking about encouraging immigration from other countries - when the demographic situation is grave enough when there are too few working-age people, and much of the population have reached retirement age. (Bricaitė, 2016)

The policies towards immigration are only acceptable to the policymakers when there is a deficit of the working-age population in Lithuania and not because of the policies which are favorable to immigration. The policymakers do not have an embracing approach towards immigration but only accept immigration and make policies towards such immigration when there is a need for working-age population and not because of their humanitarian approach towards immigration and refugees and asylum seekers.

The narrative clearly depicts the selective immigrant policy mechanism of the Lithuanian government and policymakers: “Lithuania’s goal should be not to simply open to any immigrants, but become an appealing destination for highly qualified individuals” (Fuks, 2017). It shows clear selective immigrant policy mechanism in which

they are trying to embrace and accept those immigrants who are highly skilled, and to reject the labor migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Lithuania is not an appealing destination due to the lack of policy measures and the predetermined notion of the policymakers as well as the stereotypes embedded in the minds of the public towards people from the Middle East and from African countries, where they have a clear distention in socio-cultural, ethnic and religious orientation.

The narratives in the frame of selective policy mechanism show the predeterminant notion of the policymakers to immigration and immigrant intake. As policymakers, especially through the various narratives, highlight their preferences for skilled migrants and have a pessimistic approach towards labor migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, it clearly shows the attitude of the government towards selective immigrant policy mechanisms when it comes to immigration and immigrant intake. Thus, selective immigrant policy mechanisms have a great significance in the category of responsibility frame.

Administrative frame

Another frame to analyze media framing of immigration in Lithuania is the administrative frame. The administrative frame can be referred to as a mechanism in which the various administrative machinery of the government, such as legal or judicial, law and order/police and executive or bureaucratic mechanisms function and make measures which can either be in favor or detrimental towards immigration and immigrant intake. The sub-frames in the category of the administrative frame with the case of Lithuania have been formulated according to the media narratives, which sheds light on each of these sub-frames. Unlike the case of Florida, there was a sub-frame on the third sector or social actors which highlights the measures taken by the NGO's or third sector organizations towards immigrant intake and integration and the various responsible narratives or mechanisms employed by the social actors were considered.

However, in the case of Lithuania, no narratives can be attributed to the third sector or social actors. It can mainly be attributed to the fact that immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. NGOs and other organizations which are active towards immigration are also fewer in comparison to Florida and have a lesser presence in the media discourse and narratives regarding their role. Figure 25 below shows that the sub-frames which have the most media narratives are the executive or bureaucratic sub-frame, which have a media representation of 32 times during the given time frame. The second sub-frame is the law and order/police, which have a representation of 13 times in the media narratives. The legal/judicial sub-frame does not have much media significance during the period, as there are only 3 media narratives in this sub-frame. The sub-frames for this study can be categorized as follows:

1. Executive/ Bureaucratic
2. Law &Order/Police
3. Legal/Judicial

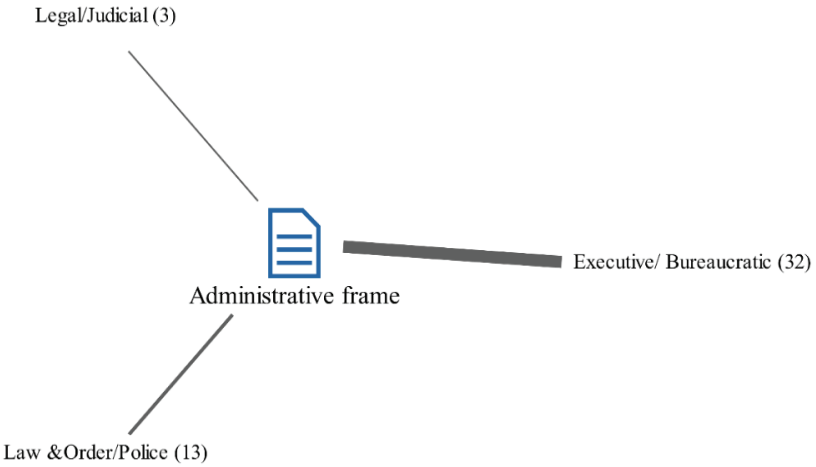

Fig. 25. Distribution of Administrative frame & sub-frames

Source: Author

Executive/Bureaucratic

The executive/bureaucratic sub-frame has the largest representation in the media in the administrative frame. The significance attributed to the executive/bureaucratic sub-frame is due to the fact that even though the policy measures are formulated by the politicians and policymakers at the legislative level, when it comes to the implementation of those policies at the national, state, or local level, it is the executive or bureaucratic branch that implements those policy measures. Therefore, the executive or bureaucratic branch can be seen as the implementation arm of the government which implements those policies fitting the ideological or political interest of the present governments. Therefore, when the policy is formulated by the government, which is either favorable or detrimental to immigrants or immigrant intake, most of the time the executive/bureaucratic branch will comply with those policies rather than trying to find justification in those measures or have subjective inclination towards such measures. In the case of Lithuania, the policymakers are in favor of those immigrants who are skilled and from rich countries, whereas the policies are decisive towards immigrants from poorer regions and different social, cultural, and religious orientation and towards refugees and asylum seekers.

The narrative depicts how the executive and bureaucratic branches follow the policy measures of the government regarding immigration: “The Lithuanian Employment Service issued 8,400 work permits to foreigners in JanuaryNovember 2019, a 70 percent increase from a year earlier… The service attributes the increase to simplified work permit and visa issuance procedures, and labor shortages in some sectors” (Delfi, 2020). The narrative shows that it is mainly due to the simplified work permit and visa procedures and the labor shortage in some sectors. This narrative complies with the responsibility frame in which the government is taking measures to attract a more skilled and professional workforce from third country regions, thereby compensating for the labor shortage in many of these sectors in Lithuania. Rather than mentioning the work permits or visa issuance for labor workers, refugees, and asylum seekers, it shows the

continuity of the policy mechanism of the government towards skilled immigration and attracting more and more skilled migrants to Lithuania from third country regions.

The following narrative highlights the aspect of illegal immigration to Lithuania and the consequent detention of those immigrants by legal officials:

> If the individuals have personal ID and there are no obstructions to returning them to their country of origin, the return process usually takes from 1 to 2 months. However, current problems of illegally arrived and detained Vietnamese citizens' identification and return document reception is a frequent occurrence, leading to illegal migrants often remaining in Lithuania for a year or longer. (Delfi, 2020)

It highlights the continuity of the governmental policies towards illegal immigrants as the executive/bureaucratic division is trying to sort out the legal issues related to illegal immigration and tries to coordinate with the country of origin of those illegal immigrants, facilitating the repatriation of such immigrants. This statement has been seen in compliance with the legal threat in the threat category, where it is seen as a legal threat to the policy measures in Lithuania. The article highlights the executive/bureaucratic measures taken towards illegal immigrants, which is in continuity with the policy measures of the governmental bodies towards illegal immigration.

The above-mentioned narratives and other narratives in the category of the executive/bureaucratic sub-frame, national statical organizations, migration department, and other executive/bureaucratic offices which coordinate with the immigration are facilitating for skilled immigration and obstructing policies towards labor and refugees and illegal immigration and are formulating policies for their repatriation. Thus, these narratives indicate that the executive/bureaucratic division sub-frame has a great significance in the administrative frame.

Law &Order/Police

The second significant sub-frame in the administrative frame is law and order/police. It is another branch of the government through which it implements and enforces policy measures, especially towards immigration. When it comes to the implementation of law and order of the country, especially on the aspects of immigration, the police comply with the policy measures of the government. In the case of Lithuania, the government is not in favor of illegal immigration, especially the immigrants who are crossing the borders through Belarus or Russia or the immigrants who are smuggled to Lithuania through the borders of Poland or Latvia by car; the police enforce the policy measures of the government thereby detaining those immigrants and conducting the proper legal measures for them to get repatriated back to their home countries. Thus, like the executive/bureaucratic branch of the government, which implements the policies of the government, the police also comply with the instructions of the government when it comes to matters of immigration.

The excerpt below depicts the prevalence of illegal smuggling or human trafficking to Lithuania and shows the role of European Union citizens, like Latvians or Polish, who facilitate such illegal immigration:

> The border guards followed the Saab 9-5 for around 300 meters and blocked its path. The driver was a Latvian citizen, 24, and he had four Vietnamese passengers, aged 17, 23, 27, and 31, in his car. They did not have Schengen visas or any evidence of legal entry to this zone. (Delfi, 2018)

The narrative shows the role of law and order/police in implementing the legal measures of Lithuania and its policies towards immigration, thereby detaining all the four illegal immigrants from Vietnam who have been smuggled over to Lithuania and the Latvian driver who facilitated smuggling. The narrative shows the lack of legal documents or Schengen visas while transiting and coming to Lithuania, thereby highlighting smuggling and the consequent legal measures implemented by police in detaining such illegal migrants.

The example below not only shows the mechanisms which the law and order/police employees use to detain immigrants but also shows the perception or the attitudes of officials who work in this field: “Russia has always been our biggest supplier of illegal migrants. Virtually all of them come [to Lithuania] from Russia - via Belarus or Estonia and Latvia," a border guard service officer” (Delfi, 2016). The officer states that when it comes to illegal immigration, the largest amount of illegal immigrants come from Russia, and they come through either Russia or Belarus into Eastern European countries and continue to the whole of Europe, especially to Western Europe. Due to the high risk of crossing through the Mediterranean, now the immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, are focusing the route through Eastern Europe, and the Russian borders, thereby getting into the Lithuanian or Latvian border, crossing to Western European countries. The narrative shows the law-and-order officials stand towards illegal immigration and following the protocol of legal measures and policy formulations in Lithuania.

When it comes to law and order/police, the legal measures have been strictly implemented according to the legal norms of Lithuania when it comes to immigration, especially illegal immigration and towards refugees and asylum seekers. Most these narratives focus on the legal measures taken by the police towards detention of illegal immigrants who were either smuggled through Poland, Estonia, or through the Eastern European borders of Russia or Belarus and the further legal actions which were taken regarding such illegal immigrants. Thus, the sub-frame of law and order or police has a great significance in the overall administrative frame.

Legal/Judicial

The final sub-frame in the administrative frame is the legal or judicial subframe. Unlike the other frames of executive or law and order/police, the judicial/legal sub-frame is one of the most significant corrective frames in the administrative frame. When the legislature or executive measures fail to perform their duties or act responsibly, the judiciary sector that is the guardian of legal institutions intervene thereby rectifying the odds in the policy decision-making. However, unlike the case of Florida, when the immigrants were faced with difficulties because of the legal measures formulated by the legislature or implemented by the executive sector, here in Lithuania, the migrants were not getting the deserved attention or justice. It can mainly be attributed to the lack of such practices in the country as the process of immigration is a recent phenomenon, and there is a lack of legal or judicial experience or expertise. When it comes to legal/judicial

system, especially concerning illegal immigrants or the workers who were facing injustice in the workplace, they were not getting proper justice from the legal or judicial system.

The example below illustrates the lack of legal justice the courts facilitated for immigrants, especially the migrant workers who were exploited in their workplaces:

> Chairman of the Lithuanian Confederation of Trade Unions Audrius Cuzanauskas states that there are hundreds of court cases in Lithuania where migrants contest unfair employers, but they are often lost, and others fail to even reach the courts due to a lack of evidence. (Media Briefing, 2018)

The statement by the chairman of Lithuania Confederation of Trade Unions Audrius Cuzanauskas, who states that even though there are hundreds of court cases in which the immigrant workers file cases against the employers for injustice and inhuman treatment in the workplace, most of the cases were rejected due to the lack of proper evidence. It can be mainly attributed to the lack of embracing or humanitarian approach by the judicial system, which did not take the initiative to provide counsel or other assistance through which the immigrant workers can try to prove their innocence. The lack of interest by the police officials in collecting such evidence can become decisive for the companies which treat the migrant workers inhumanely or unfairly. The statement justifies the standoff legal or judicial system towards immigrant workers, especially in cases where they were treated badly.

Another media narrative shows the lack of legal measures towards accommodating refugees or asylum seekers as the Iraqi family who came to Lithuania as refugees were granted temporary resident permit instead of asylum or refugee status:

> The lawsuit against the Lithuanian state by a migrant family from Iraq who arrived in Lithuania last December under the European Union's refugee resettlement program will help clarify refugee handling procedures, according to legal experts…The family has taken Lithuania's Department of Migration to court for not granting them refugee status. (Delfi, 2016)

The immigrants who were granted temporary residence were being accommodated in Lithuania as per the European Union refugee resettlement program, and granting them a temporary resident permit disqualifies them from being a refugee or asylum seeker in Lithuania and the consequent benefits associated with it. Therefore, the family moved to court to get justice. However, as the legal procedure is a long-lasting phenomenon, the narrative has not specified whether they were given legal justice.

The above-mentioned narratives show the legal/judicial system in Lithuania and the lack of legal mechanisms which provide justice to immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. This may be due to the lack of legal experiences or because immigration is a recent phenomenon in Lithuania. These factors have facilitated the lack of legal fairness towards immigrants regarding immigrant justice delivery mechanisms. Thus, the legal/judicial sub-frame has a great significance in the overall administrative frame.

Return home frame

The final frame taken for this study to investigate the aspect of media framing towards immigration is the return home frame. The return home frame can be seen as a

mechanism in which the migrants and refugees who were taken into the host country once after having proper deliberations and consultations with the home countries are applying for their safe repatriation to their home countries. It is either facilitated through unilateral repatriation decision by the host country or by mutual cooperation between the home and host countries where the immigrants or refugees have been repatriated safely and settled amicably into the societies. There is only one narrative over the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, that shows the aspect of return home frame. Therefore, the single sub-frame of mutual cooperation for repatriation has been taken for analyzing this sub-frame. The period taken for this study coincides with an increase of illegal immigration through the borders of Russia and migrant smuggling through Latvia and Poland, which highlights the significance of the return home frame in the political discourse in Lithuania. The only sub-frame in this frame is:

- Mutual cooperation for repatriation

Fig. 26. Distribution of Return home frame

Source: Author, compiled from *Delfi*

Mutual Cooperation for repatriation

The sub-frame in the return home frame is mutual cooperation for repatriation, which can be seen as a mechanism through which both the home and host countries came towards an agreement to take back the immigrants or refugees who have been given asylum or protection in the host countries.

The following narrative has a great significance, as we already saw in the threat frame of the legal threat sub-frame that illegal immigrants, especially from Vietnam, pose a significant threat to the legal system in Lithuania:

> During an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Minister of Interior Eimutis Misiūnas signed a Lithuanian-Vietnamese agreement on citizen repatriation (hereon – repatriation agreement). It is expected for the now established links to ensure active institutional cooperation between Lithuania and Vietnam, ensuring smooth implementation of the repatriation agreement. (Delfi, 2020)

The above-mentioned narrative shows that an agreement has been made between Lithuania and the Socialistic Republic of Vietnam on citizen repatriation, which will ensure that the illegal immigrants from Vietnam who got detained in Lithuania can be repatriated back to Vietnam after thorough proper legal measures. It has a great significance as those people who were illegally detained were given proper legal and repatriation measures without infringing their humanitarian rights. The mutual

cooperation for repatriation sub-frame has a great significance in the overall return home frame.

3.2.3. Analysis of the immigrant's perception of media reports about immigration to Lithuania

The study also investigates the immigrant's perception of media reports in Lithuania. With this research question, the study analyzes how immigrants comprehend the political communication and media perceptions towards immigration in Lithuania. To answer this research question, 15 interviews were conducted with immigrants from various countries who are living in Lithuania, and with two NGOs who actively coordinate with the migrants for their integration and assimilation into the society. The immigrants' testimonies from *Delfi*, which were analyzed for research question 3, portraying the migrant's perceptions, were evaluated. These perceptions were mostly visible in the news media discourse during 2018. Some of the notable news reports portray the plight of the migrant workers in Lithuania, depict their exploitation in the workplace with lower salaries and harsh working conditions, as one migrant states that his salary is completely dependent upon the mood and mentality of the employer. The report states how he was exploited at the workplace and how his salary was delayed, even though it is illegal for the employer to do so. Another aspect represented in these media narratives is the vulnerable situation where the workers do not have any means of living, where they find it challenging to meet the food expense; and even though the workers approached the court of law for seeking justice, it was denied.

These kinds of news narratives mold the perceptions and orientation towards migrants Lithuania. It shapes the public narrative and public discourse on taking in migrant communities and migrant workers to Lithuania and describes the work environment for those immigrants and how to prevent such vulnerable scenarios and exploitation in the workplace. Such media narratives show how social discourse positively affects migrant integration. Another media narrative regarding immigration and immigrants presents the embracing attitude of the society for immigration. It shows the testimony of an immigrant who is from an Islamic background who got embraced into society by a Lithuanian Catholic family and the acceptance he gets into society; he feels that he belongs here, and he does not want to go back to the country as he fears whenever he thinks about it due to the political scenario and the constant struggles which he encounters back in his home country. Another migrant testimony in the media is from a woman who came from an African country. She properly assimilated into society, had a family with a Lithuanian man, and successfully started an entrepreneurship here in Lithuania. This is her home, and she does not feel like an outsider, as the society in Lithuania embraced her.

Another media discourse that depicts a positive narrative is an Afghan man who came here as a refugee. He said that he has lived here for 15 years, and he left his home country to have a life in peace and stability. He said that one of the significant obstacles for an immigrant is to get integrated into the host society. For him, too, it was an obstacle initially as it took almost a year for him to get integrated into the local society. Over time,

he properly integrated, and now he feels like Lithuania is his home and he does not intend to go back to Afghanistan.

The media facilitates a positive migrant discourse in Lithuania, helping the locals to embrace the migrants and the migrants to have a positive outlook towards the local culture and customs and facilitate integration. Another idea that the media highlights in Lithuania is the need for proper legal assistance, especially concerning refugees. However, concerning some of the strict legal measures, some of the refugees state that it is difficult to find the legal mechanisms here, which forces them to move to another European country, and the granting of temporary resident permit instead of documentation which can lead to citizenship acts as a hindrance. With the migrant discourse testimonies and narrations, the media comprehensively depicts the positive and negative aspects of migrant integration and the immigrants' perceptions of media mechanisms.

To find out the immigrant's perceptions of media reports on migrant integration, political debates on migration, and various policies in Lithuania towards migration, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 immigrants from Lithuania. Based on the interviews, the study results are shown below.

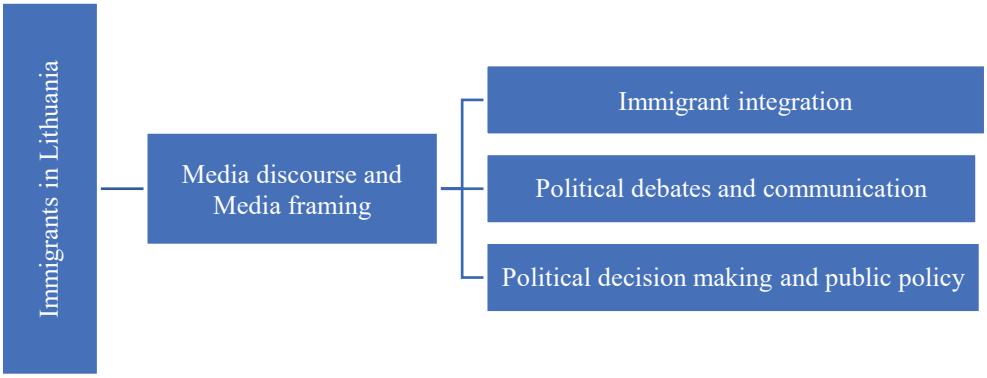

Fig. 27. Categories of immigrants' perception on media reports in Lithuania

Source: Author

Table 20 below shows how the people who have migrated from another country to Lithuania view the news in the media regarding the dimensions of immigration and immigrant integration in the Lithuanian media.

Table 20. Dimension of immigrant integration in Lithuanian media

Features	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Media reports challenge political decisions	3	10	2	0	0
Media is biased; depends on party interests	0	2	9	3	1
Lack of media support for immigrant integration	0	1	2	12	0
Media frames migrants negatively	0	4	2	8	1
Media encourages other organizations for migrant integration	3	11	1	0	0

Source: Author

As the study focuses on the period of five years (2015–2020), there are various positive, negative, and mixed news on migrants and immigration reported in the news media. The migrants come from different countries and lack knowledge of the Lithuanian language and its deep understanding, they prefer to have the English version of the news media *Delfi* to understand political communication in Lithuania. As an immigrant, I, too, prefer the English version of *Delfi* for analyzing and evaluating research objective 3. Via the semi-structured interviews, the research tries to analyze how to overcome the barriers and integrate into society amicably.

It is essential to understand the migrants' perceptions of the political developments they comprehend through the news media discourses. The media broadcasts the political statements and political decision-making and the migrant integration mechanisms that enable the migrants to comprehend the scenarios regarding migration in Lithuania. The media outlets portray various social actors, like the NGOs, which facilitate migrant integration. These migrant perceptions provide a comprehensive understanding of the Lithuanian politics and migration aspects they gather through their media discourse and the various programs facilitated by NGOs like Caritas, Europos Namai, and Red Cross.

One of the respondents is from India who is 35 years old:

> I am unsure whether regarding the media promotes other organizations for immigrant integration, but in my opinion, I feel that the media depicts and portrays those efforts by other organizations which carry out immigrant integration activities. He states that from various news reports in the national and local news media, which is in English it shows various activities of the major NGOs in humanitarian aspects, and I still recollect they bought a specific program by one NGO named Europos Namai in which the project titled Bukim Pazistami which highlighted various times in the Lithuanian media. These were especially sharing of the migrant testimonies which the NGO used to do in various municipalities and schools across the country where the immigrants

come and share their perceptions and cultural orientation, which is different from Lithuania. So, I believe that the media is, even though not directly, promoting such immigration integration activities of other organizations, but they are sharing the information of immigrant integration activities by other organizations through their media discourse. I believe that such incidences can positively mold the public perceptions towards immigration and break the stereotypes that were already formulated in the minds of the local community, which they formulated through various media narratives both locally and internationally.

Regarding the aspect of media framing the migrants negatively, one of the respondents, a 26-year-old woman from Nigeria, states that media has a significant impact on the negative perceptions towards migrants in Lithuania:

> I'm here for around four years. When my friends and I decided to move outside of the university dormitory to find an apartment, we find it very hard to convince the local landowners to get an apartment. One of the difficulties which they mentioned is that they don't feel that the students will keep the apartments clean and tidy and also fear that the students will create a lot of havoc in the apartment as there are various news incidences which shows the same where the students were partying late night and the neighboring apartment people calling the police and the filming of those incidents are in the newspapers creates a negative perception towards immigration in Lithuania especially student immigration in Lithuania. So, the apartment owners are also hesitant about lending the apartment to foreign citizens or immigrants. Therefore, I believe that media has an important role in creating a vulnerable situation for the migrant population here in Lithuania. This is a small country, and news of any magnitude can have the biggest impact upon the local population who can be skeptical towards its immigrants their cultural orientations.

Table 21. Dimensions of political debates and communication on immigration in Lithuanian media

Features	*Strongly agree*	*Agree*	*Uncertain*	*Disagree*	*Strongly disagree*
Media facilitates discussion on immigrant integration	3	9	2	1	0
Media facilitates discussions in channels with migrants	4	9	2	0	0
Media criticizes politicians for lack of facilities for immigrant integration	0	2	13	0	0
Media encourages citizens' participation for immigrant integration	3	9	3	0	0

Media influences politicians to rectify the odds in the immigration policies	0	3	11	1	0

Source: Author

The study also investigates the dimension of political debates and communication on immigration in Lithuanian media news channel *Delfi* during the given period. First, the key findings are that the media facilitates the discussion of integration, for which it provides a platform, and how the media criticizes politicians regarding policy mechanisms for immigrant integration. Whether the media discusses immigrant integration, one of the respondents who is from Nigeria states that:

> I believe that it is very significant that the media provides such discussions as these are the significant aspects through which the migrant integration and assimilation is possible in any society. In Lithuania, I feel that this is often limited, maybe due to the lack of wider media networks or the lower population here in Lithuania. I think that it is the media which can share more of these scenarios as it can create awareness among the local population regarding the need for the migrants to migrate over to Lithuania and why they are migrating and what is the significance of such migration for the migrants and for the local community and Lithuania as a country with shrinking population can benefit from such immigration thereby enriching the demographic dividend of the country and the growth of the workforce. Therefore, over time, even we all know that migration is a recent phenomenon in Lithuania, especially from third world countries, this will improve the case of Lithuania.

This research also analyzes the media's role in facilitating discussion with the immigrants. Even though the media promotes various immigrant perception statements and activities of the NGOs, when it comes to the media discussion with immigrants, it is very limited. There are a few instances that we can see from national news channel LRT. According to a 46-year-old respondent from India:

> I am not sure regarding this aspect, but I see a lot of news about the migrant testimonies being shared by the news media channels, especially the activities done by the NGOs or some other social actors. However, I feel that few such discussions or deliberations were done by the media directly with the immigrant. I do not know the real reason behind such lack of interactions, but I believe that maybe the immigrants are hesitant in providing their perceptions because they think they do not know what the society will think about such deliberations, or maybe the media is having lack of interest in sharing the migrant perceptions through their discussions on deliberations. Anyway, I feel that it would be better if the media can do such discussions to break the stereotypes among the local communities towards the immigrants and the immigrants towards the local communities. I think it is good for any society to have such deliberations and discussions as it encourages the social, cultural enrichment between the locals and the immigrants, thereby facilitating immigrant integration and assimilation.

When discussing the role of media and criticizing the politicians for the lack of facilities for the immigrants, one of the respondents who is a 32-year-old from India stated:

> I was a person from India I feel that the politicians here are more responsible when it comes to various socio-cultural issues and incidences. For me, especially coming from a third country where the institutions and bureaucracy are much corrupted, I feel fairness in the process here. Even though I am not sure regarding the role of media in criticizing the politicians for lack of immigrant facilities but I saw from the news articles that the politicians are very responsible when it comes to the aspect of immigrant integration as many of the politicians and the political analysts through the news narratives and discourse mentions the need for having immigrants in Lithuania as it not only enrich the demographic dividend but also to an extent contributes to the multiculturality of the nation. I do not remember exactly the names of the politicians, but I can see that they were the top leaders of the country who stated that the need for migrants to be embraced into society and the need for taking more refugees as part of the humanitarian program envisaged by the European Union. Therefore, I believe that politicians here are responsible for the aspect of immigration and immigrant-related issues, and I believe that media is playing a significant role regarding the same.

In relation to the media rectifying the odds in Lithuania's immigration policies in Lithuania, one of the respondents from Egypt said:

> I think the media is facilitating for rectifying the odds in the immigration policies in Lithuania. But I am unable to cite which incident where I can cite such policy mechanisms. However, I went through some articles in which the media, especially Delfi, portray the plight of the migrant workers, especially the Belarus and Ukrainian workers in Lithuania, and the inhuman conditions they face. I think that that media narratives and discourse impacted further policy mechanisms. Later I saw in the media that both the Belarussian and Ukrainian governments memorandum of understanding with the Lithuanian government for having dignified working conditions for workers in Lithuania. I feel that the media narratives and discourse regarding the plight of the migrants in Lithuania enabled such policy changes. Therefore, I believe that the media is influencing the political policy mechanisms towards immigration in Lithuania. As a responsible social actor, I think the media must rectify the odds of the policy mechanisms. I believe that in the future, when we have more migration and migrant-related issues come up, the media will play a much bigger and proactive role combating such measures.

Table 22. Dimensions of public policy measures on immigration in Lithuanian media

Features	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Media influences the political behavior of party leaders for facilitating immigration	1	2	8	4	0

Media stimulates government on increasing allocation of funds for immigrant integration mechanisms	0	7	6	2	0
Media evaluates government efficiency on immigrant integration	0	8	5	2	0
The media act as a lobbyist for equal wage, employment opportunity, and human rights of immigrants	0	6	9	0	0

Source: Author

The dimensions of public policy measures on immigration in Lithuania are also analyzed in the study. Various sub-frames, such as how the media influences the political behavior of party leaders for facilitating migration are investigated. When discussing the aspect of dimensions of public policy measures on immigration in Lithuania and influencing the political behavior of the party leaders regarding immigration policies in Lithuania, one of the respondents who is a student from India said:

> To be frank, I don't have a clear understanding about the political system and the political process here but looking at the aspect of media influencing the immigrant-related policies of the politicians, I believe that there is a significant influence by the media on immigration-related policies of the political actors and parties. When looking at the media narratives, I can see that this especially comes in political communication by the media discourse in which various pro and anti-immigration policies by various social and political actors or political analysts, even university professors, were highlighted in the media narratives. This shows the policy mechanisms and the hindrances in the policies that inhibit immigrant integration and the coming of immigration in Lithuania.
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> As a student, I know more about the policy mechanism related to the immigration of students to Lithuania due to the internationalization of the Lithuanian universities started around 2010 when courses were started teaching in the English language rather than in completely Lithuanian. So as a student from India, I think it was from 2011 or 2012, and the first batch of international students from India started coming to Lithuania. Some of them are my friends, and still, now, they are my Facebook friends. According to their opinion and their narration, it was a difficult time for them. Even though classes and courses were in the English language, they find it very challenging to find part-time work outside the university. Even in the university, it was not easy to get a part-time job position. But now the changing legal status the students are working in various companies for part-time in Lithuania, and at that time the student stay back after finishing their studies was only six months. But, now it has been increased to one year. I believe that these policy changes are due to the political directions through the media, which facilitated policy changes regarding immigration in Lithuania. Also, within the university, things have changed a lot as now students are working part-time within the faculty and more and more students, especially from India and from various parts of the world, from Africa,

> Europe and other Latin American countries comes to Lithuania. This is because of the effective media narratives and the changed political mechanisms and bureaucratic process, which facilitates such inflow of migrants to Lithuania.

Discussing the political behavior of party leaders and the extent to which the media influences their awareness of public policy on immigration in the media, this is the opinion of a student who came here from India two years ago to study. Even though he has no clear idea of what the political system of this country is and the inclination of the political parties, he sometimes looks at the news coming from various Facebook groups or news outlets. He believed that the various political parties in this country often have a pro- and anti-immigrant stance and that if such an opinion exists, the community will be able to give a warm welcome to immigrants like him or provide him with the necessary assistance, or he will be less likely to get the job if he tries to do so. The main reason for this is the various forms of political communication that party leaders follow their agenda even when their party is having a different stand. This person suggested that care should be taken not to create situations that deliberately degrade immigrants when issuing various guidelines. Secondly, another student from Zimbabwe who was involved in the study stated that whether the media is urging the government to increase financial support at the government level for immigration integration systems, it depends upon the discretion of the government with regard to it. Often various types of social volunteer organizations organize various projects for foreigners. It is possible to change and understand the reasons for each other, both foreigners and natives, to find out without preconceived notion has to come forward regarding it, and to change any misconceptions that may have arisen. But often, such projects must be prolonged for at least a few years to get the kind of financial support that needs to be done over a while, in which case the newcomers do not have the conditions to increase the incidence between local population and foreigners. In this situation, it is necessary for the government to spend more money on this kind of aspects, as stated by the student. The student stated that the role of the media in this is huge. He often said that for such projects to reach the highest authorities or in front of them, and for such projects to be given prominence, the media should move forward with their news in the way as best they can.

Regarding the sub-frame, we can see that most of the respondents are unsure whether the media is acting in such a manner in influencing the political behavior of leaders in facilitating migration; the remaining are somewhat agree with this phenomenon, and the others disagree with this phenomenon. This shows the level of awareness among the migrant communities regarding this specific aspect. These awareness levels can vary according to their experiences or political orientation or level of integration into the local society. Another aspect is how the media stimulates the government for increased funding allocation for the immigrants. In this aspect, we can see that nearly half of the respondents agree with this sub-frame, whereas the remaining majority is uncertain whether the government is making allocation or funding for specific migrant integration mechanisms.

According to one respondent from India:

> I think that the media is having a proactive role in influencing the government for making more allocation of funds for immigrant integration. These are visible from the specific discourses that we can see in the news media, like the

country's President. The government leader says they plan to allocate more funding for refugee intake and migrant integration policies. However, I was not sure whether this policy mechanism directly went an impact on the media discourse as I am not following it constantly, however when I get the time, and various social media platforms were like Facebook where I stream the news which got pop up over there so like that I get to have an awareness regarding the various migrant integration policy and funding allocation mechanisms.

Another sub-frame investigated in the study considers whether media evaluates government efficiency on immigrant integration. During the interviews, one of the respondents from India stated:

> I think the media is acting as a responsible social actor bye evaluating the measures of immigration by the government in Lithuania even though it is not specific as I can say but we can see that when it comes to the vulnerability of the migrant workforce and also regarding the lack of proper assimilation mechanisms for the refugees the media facilitates discourse in which they share the perceptions and opinions of various social-political actors thereby highlighting the flaws in the immigration policy mechanisms thereby trying to rectify it at the government level. Therefore, I feel that the media is somehow acting as a responsible social actor in this regard. However, I cannot make a comparison of these measures in d comparison to my country. Maybe it is more visible there regarding the media discourse on rectifying various governmental policies but migration is not a big issue from my country point of view so I can say that it is not that much visible there, but the media discourse on various governmental mechanisms is highly visible there. I also think that maybe it is due to the language I follow because maybe the Lithuanian version of *Delfi* have more significant narratives in this regard.

Another sub-frame we look at is how the media acts as a lobbyist for increasing equal wage, employment opportunity, and human rights of immigrants. In this regard, one of the respondents from India said:

> I think the media have a greater role and I think they're doing it here in Lithuania in such a manner that it promoted more migrant hostile policies as when I saw the news, I can see some issues like the negative perceptions created towards the migrant communities especially to the student migrant communities and also to the lack of proper wages for the migrant workers from the neighboring countries, so they were being exploited at the workplace and these news reports were highly debated in their discourse. So I think that the agreements which facilitated after such a short time I think it is the impact of the media mechanisms but I cannot say it's like a lobbying, but it's more of media discourse as of my opinion.

NGOs' activities for immigrants' integration

Next, the various types of integration programs for immigrants entering the country are investigated, especially by organizations, such as the Red Cross and Europos Namai, and how successful it has been.

NGO 1 – Red Cross

According to the person who works in this institution, immigrants in Lithuania face many problems. The problems faced by people from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East will not be the same as people from different parts of Europe. The people coming from troubled countries face many problems, such as depression as well as personal and emotional issues, and stress. At the same time, it is important to note that in their own country, even if they are educated and employed accordingly, they will face various obstacles in getting employment in this country. An important factor in such obstacles is the inability to handle the language of this country. As a result, the Red Cross runs various programs to teach Lithuanian language for free, and the number of people using it is increasing tremendously. At the same time, for the people who come here as refugees, the Red Cross is formulating projects to help meet their children's needs and create various individual programs. In addition, the organization strives to provide appropriate assistance to people with health problems, which mainly consists of the services of different types of therapists.

Another important thing is the skepticism of people related to driving licenses. Therefore, the organization provides training on obtaining a driving license in various stages and passing the examination for obtaining a license. Another aspect of this study is how much the media evaluates the activities of the Red Cross today or whether the media is trying to cover their plans as news. The response to the explanation was as follows: "The media itself often comes in and does try to cover our projects, but when we do big projects, we ask the media for help and their reporting services to reach out to the community to maximize their scope." In addition, there are many different stereotypes about people in different countries.

She added that to change this stereotypical attitude in society, they have been working with other NGOs at various stages to work hand in hand with their activities and programs in the community. From this, we can understand that even if such NGOs are working efficiently, the importance given to them by the media in this country or the interest taken by the media to report it is very low. We found that the media is willing to publish more news efficiently.

The coordinator stated that immigration is not a unique phenomenon. Different immigrants have different issues, as the issues and social problems for immigrants coming from Europe are different for immigrants from Africa and different for the Asian region. Thus, everything must be viewed separately as only then the immigrant issues can be solved properly. This is especially visible for people coming from conflict regions and war regions where their psychological and emotional imbalances are higher than those of normal and peaceful regions.

Another aspect that the immigrants are in this country face and which the NGOs are taking care of is assimilation into this society. As these people come from various socio-cultural backgrounds, without a proper orientation mechanism by the organizations which facilitate immigration, assimilation is hard and challenging. As a nation with fewer immigrants, the coming of or the influence of immigration can be perceived as a social threat by the local community. Therefore, for proper assimilation there should be a proper orientation for the migrant communities and the local communities.

As an NGO which specializes in migrant related issues, to solve this problem, we used to organize various social events in which we invite the migrant communities or groups and the locals to come to a common platform where they can share their ideas to break the stereotypes and to embrace each other's cultures and society. We conducted various cultural programs and other aspects during this event, thereby breaking the ice and glass ceiling between the immigrants and the local community. We know that perception can be different once we have a conversation, as the conversation is essential to any assimilation and integration mechanisms. Therefore, we could integrate the locals and immigrant communities through this program, thereby facilitating immigrant integration. Also, for making these programs for integration mechanisms, Red Cross and other NGOs in Lithuania apply for various national and European funding. We utilize those funding opportunities for specific projects dedicated to migrant integration mechanisms. Thus, through these various specific projects, we used to conduct events that facilitate immigrant integration.

Another aspect that I feel has a significant impact on immigrant integration is the availability of jobs for the immigrants and the refugees coming to Lithuania. I think that the NGOs have a specific role regarding this because immigrants are coming from various regions of the world may be in their countries they have a proficiency in English, or maybe they have a proficiency regarding their local language, but to have a working opportunity here in Lithuania they should know Lithuanian and together with English. So, this is one of the significant challenges or barriers immigrants face in Lithuania for getting employment. So, to overcome this obstacle, we are conducting language training for free for immigrants who would like to pursue a career in Lithuania. Also, for immigrants and refugees, we are providing various training and skill imparting courses like computer literacy so that they will be able to find some jobs related to it. This is especially valuable for people coming from poorer parts of the world or underdeveloped regions where they do not have basic skills that facilitate employment in Lithuania. Therefore, we provide various training and up-gradation courses for people who would like to have a career in Lithuania. Thus, while having the language knowledge and the knowledge of various specializations that enabled them to get the job, it facilitates integrating into society.

Another specific aspect we conduct is providing counseling and psychological and emotional support for immigrants and immigrant communities. This is especially relevant as I already mentioned for people from conflict regions where they find it emotionally difficult to cope with Lithuania as a foreign country. I feel that counseling and emotional support are for those coming from conflict areas and other immigrants. Especially for students studying in Lithuanian universities, I feel that this is one of the most significant aspects. Being in a foreign country and not having much social contact or cultural integration makes them feel lonely in Lithuania. This can create various psychological and emotional imbalances, and study stress and sometimes lack of funding can also make them emotionally vulnerable. So, we have counseling

and support centers where the people can come and register and come for consultations.

Another significant challenge with the immigrant communities and immigrants facing in Lithuania is regarding obtaining a driving license. One of the significant obstacles in Lithuania is the language or the medium of instruction for obtaining a driving license. So, we facilitate people for getting the driving license by providing orientation and cost materials in English so that they will be able to understand it properly and to go for the exams to obtain a driving license as for getting a job, as mobility is one of the significant factors and having a driving license facilitate for getting a job without many hassles.

Regarding the media or media networks' support, I can say that the media does not comprehensively cover or follow up on the NGOs' activities, especially the projects we are carrying on with integration mechanisms. When we are dealing with bigger projects or bigger platform where we conduct immigrant integration activities the media present those activities. I can say that the level of media discourse regarding immigration can be there, but the media portraying of the role of NGOs for immigrant integration is significantly less in Lithuania. However, maybe in the future, when we have more immigrants and more immigrant-related activities from third sector organizations, media will also play a proactive role in highlighting those, thereby making a significant orientation towards society. However, regarding the media activities, NGOs promote immigrant-related activities through social media through our social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube, which can reach the public and people who have an orientation towards immigrant-related issues. I feel that these are also very significant aspects of immigrant integration. NGOs need to take care of immigrant integration thus facilitating immigration and providing comprehensive support and care, and as a responsible NGO, we ensure that we are covering all these aspects of immigration.

NGO 2 – Europos namai

To have a diversified understanding of the NGO mechanisms which promote immigrant integration, another interview was conducted with a coordinator of an NGO named Europos Namai. The interview was conducted with the coordinator of a specific project of the NGO named Būkim Pažįstami. This was a project that the NGO was doing to break the stereotypes, create awareness regarding Lithuanian immigrants, and facilitate interaction and communication between the immigrants and locals. To have a broader understanding, the coordinator focused on various aspects of the NGO like advocacy, lobbying, and the NGO's mechanisms for immigrant integration. The main activities of the NGO regarding integration can be classified into four major aspects, such as creating cultural awareness, lobbying for various specific immigration-related activities, promoting the activities of immigration through media networks, and acquiring funding from the national and international projects, especially the European Union funding for specific goals of the NGO. In the coordinator's opinion, this specific project Būkim Pažįstami has been happening for almost three years, in which the NGO

is promoting the idea of immigrant integration. She states that due to these various media mechanisms, the local community has different stereotypes regarding people from various parts of the world who come here as immigrants. So, to break those stereotypes, the NGO invites immigrants from various nationalities to participate in this event, thereby sharing their perceptions and making presentations about their culture, their community, and their way of life to the local population, thereby breaking the stereotypes among the local population. She states that one thing she finds curious is that this stereotype among the locals has been shackled not only through this event, but also the stereotypes regarding the locals in the minds of the immigrants are being changed due to the interactive mechanisms facilitated by the NGO.

According to the coordinator,

> a large part of the Lithuanian population would not want their neighbor or coworker or be a foreigner, but only a few of them know or have interacted with them because of the lack of knowledge, and personal experience is a fear of others. Another significant aspect that the NGO carries forward for immigrant integration is through NGO lobbying to politicians, facilitating favorable immigrant-related policy measures and integration measures. These were mainly conducted on a coordinated basis with other prominent humanitarian NGOs in Lithuania like Red Cross, Caritas, etc. Even though the coordinator has not specified who or which politician they approach for lobbying, what are the lobbying mechanisms they used she says that lobbying has a significant impact in creating favorable policies for immigration in Lithuania.
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> Another significant aspect of immigration is the role of the media and media discourse in facilitating immigrant integration. She feels that maybe due to the recent phenomena of immigration or maybe the lack of much orientation from the media networks, media must not actively emphasize or portray the immigration phenomenon in Lithuania. However, when the NGO promotes such immigrant-related activities, the media shares these activities through their media networks. This is particularly significant in the case of this specific project. The testimonies of the immigrants shared through our social media platforms have been shared by various news media in Lithuania. Also, we have our own social media networks in which we share these events and the testimonies of the immigrants, especially through Facebook and YouTube. The NGO creates videos and shares the perceptions of the immigrants thereby trying to reach a wider audience, which can have a considerable impact upon the locals' perception towards the immigrants and their culture. Also, the NGO applies for funding from various national and European funding sources. For the proper functioning of any institution and for having a comprehensive approach towards immigration-related policies, funding is one of the significant aspects which can facilitate the same. In this regard, we coordinate with other NGOs in Lithuania to create proposals for acquiring funding from various sources for creating projects that can lead to immigrant integration measures and their cultural assimilation. She conclude that as an NGO that

works in immigration, they cover almost all major aspects through which the immigrant integration in society can be made possible. [sic.]

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

As this study investigates the aspect of immigration from the perspective of mediatized political communication and its influence in shaping perceptions towards immigration, in order to have a comprehensive analysis of these concepts towards immigration, this study has taken the analysis of political communication, media framing, the role played by third sector, mainly non-profit institutions which work in the field of immigration, and, finally, the perceptions from the society. However, when it comes to the perceptions of the society, rather than the general mechanism of taking the perception of the society from the ordinary citizens, this study deviates from the normal notion of taking the societal perception looking into the public opinion and focuses on the perceptions of the immigrants who got integrated into the society. It is because mostly the voices of the immigrant communities are less heard even in studies that try to analyze and evaluate mediatization and political communication regarding immigration and immigrant integration into society. Using these variables and their sub-sets, the study analyzes and evaluates how media, through its political communication mechanisms, formulates and shapes public perceptions towards immigration, and the role played by third sector actors in facilitating immigrant integration into society. Thus, via these mechanisms, this study tries to analyze the similarities and differences concerning the mediatized political communication in immigration in both Lithuania and Florida, United States.

The first variable which has been taken for the study is political communication. It refers to a mechanism in which the media portrays political communication through their discourse, especially the political narratives of political and cultural actors in the society who provide significant political communication about immigration. The media carry these mechanisms forward through their narratives and interpretive mechanisms, thereby providing their own narratives and analysis towards these political communications through media discourse. They shape society's perceptions towards such political communications on immigration. To have a more in-depth understanding of political communication facilitated by the media networks, further in-depth analysis of the political communication has been carried out by classifying the political communication. Thus, political communication has been categorized into positive political communication, negative political communication, mixed political communication, and new policy measures concerning immigration. This categorization enables us to perceive how political communication can act as a catalyst either towards positive immigration mechanisms or can be detrimental towards overall immigration.

Positive political communications are mainly attributed by political actors, such as parliamentarians, senators and legislators, professors who are in the field of immigration, judges who handle cases of immigration and analyzing the policies towards immigration, social activists who actively advocate for immigrant rights and integration. One of the significant aspects of political communication in Florida is that these actors not only advocate for immigrant rights and their integration and intake mechanisms but also criticize the anti-immigration policies of the Federal administration, which try to hinder immigration into the United States. These are primarily due to the new policy measures formulated by the Republican government under the Trump administration, especially

concerning the anti-sanctuary policies and measures that try to hinder immigration. With the positive political communication, they try to educate the society regarding the danger associated with hate speech, mainly made by the President of the United States who tries to unleash statements about Latin American people, particularly the Mexicans and the Muslim population who were branded as criminals and terrorists and therefore act as a danger to the society; the positive narrative try to rectify those negative political communications made by the administrators towards immigration.

Another aspect of positive political communication is to orient the society towards the dangers, especially the practices associated with family separation policies at the border, thereby depriving the children of their basic human rights giving them psychological trauma for the rest of their lives. Through positive political communication measures, the political actors educate the society regarding the need to raise the voices towards inhuman practices regarding family separation policies, considering other ethnicities and cultural orientation with empathy and embracing attitude, to voice against pressuring the municipalities and state governments to align with the national policies towards immigration by curtailing their basic financial rights which are constitutionally allocated to the state governments and municipalities.

Positive political communication in Lithuania was mostly stated by academicians, experts in the field of finance, such as bank professionals, ministers, parliamentarians, and diplomats who formerly served in other regions of the world. An important attribute of political communication in Lithuania is not as intensive as that of Florida. It is due to its recent history in immigration, which is still in its initial stage. Most of the positive political communication is related to the positive attributes of the growing number of immigrants to the country and its large-scale emigration with less working-age population. Also, articles show how immigration acts as a positive catalyst not only for population growth but also how immigrants contribute to various services in the society such as medical, education, social security, and other. Political communication focuses not only on the need for taking in labor migrants but also the need for highly skilled immigrants from third world countries, thereby ensuring enough workforce to work in both skilled and unskilled professions in Lithuania. The discourse also investigates the aspect of political communication, which advocates for new policy measures, thereby ensuring equal standards and qualities for immigrants and locals, motivating more and more people to come to Lithuania and feel integrated in the society. The articles show the positive aspect of returning Lithuanians due to the favorable conditions created by the government for facilitating immigration and ensuring a higher standard of living. Additionally, it highlights the communication stated by the socio-cultural and religious leaders, especially by Pope Francis. He addresses the need for embracing other nationalities and reminds them of their past when they have been embraced warmly during the Soviet occupation by the Western societies, who provided refuge and asylum.

When comparing Florida and Lithuania, the political communication in Florida is more robust due to its long history of immigration and immigrant-related policies and the activities of the socio-political actors, whereas it is still evolving and is in its initial stage in Lithuania. The political communication in Florida encompasses a wide range of activities ranging from positive political attributes stated by political actors towards immigration and immigrant reforms, the responsible political narratives and statements

made by political actors towards anti-immigration policies taken by various socio-political actors, especially by the administration and rectifying political statements made by political actors against hatred communication and speeches made by political actors towards immigration and their categorization as criminals and people who carry out illegal activities. However, in the case of Lithuania, as immigration is still in its initial stages and does not have much negative feedback, there were less evident hatred political communication and policies against immigration. Therefore, most of the positive political communication has been channelized towards the favorable attributes that immigration carries towards the enrichment of the population and demographic dividend and the assistance it provides to various social services in the society. However, the comparative study regarding Florida and Lithuania has a great significance in the long term, when immigration becomes more complicated and complex in Lithuania, as it now is in Florida, especially in recent times due to the illegal immigration through the Belarussian border. The futuristic political communication should need to address the various attitudes towards immigration, especially to make responsible political statements, trying to compact hatred towards immigration and various anti-immigration policies which can be proposed in Lithuania due to the complex immigration processes. Thus, in the future, the media discourse has to be more responsible to address various complex situations which can arise in Lithuania, trying to provide positive political communication narrative mechanisms envisaged by the media networks in Florida and the United States.

The second sub-variable in political communication is negative political communication. The negative political communication is distinctive when comparing Florida and Lithuania. In Florida, negative political communication can be mainly attributed to political communication, especially by the politicians belonging to the Republican party, unlike the positive political communication, which comes from a wide variety of social and political actors. Most of the political communication within the negative category can be attributed to the people who share the administrative apparatus and a common ideological inclination to the administrative actors, especially when it comes to the aspect of families separated at the border and the new policy measures which try to curtail the funding for the Dreamers and questioning the credibility of such policy measures and the enormous cost associated with such policy measures. The media discourse focuses on negative political communication, especially from the speeches and statements made by the President of the United States in which he tries to criticize the policy measures taken by the former Democratic government and the rationality of the Obama administration in providing and allocating funding and other financial measures for the deprived children, called Dreamers, and their families. Such political communication shows the lack of empathy towards humanitarian measures envisaged by the previous administration and the adamant stand taken by the current government towards immigration, especially the vulnerable population of immigrants.

Unlike the positive political communications, most of the negative communications are come directly from the administration and the President himself, who questions the very essence of allocating funding for humanitarian purposes and the administrative mechanisms in the form of lottery system which provide opportunities for immigrants to come to the United States. The negative political communication not only constitutes

towards financial and other aspects of immigration but also to the measures to terminate the humanitarian decisions made by the previous governments and by the administration, as the President is trying to classify and judge people based on their racial and ethnic origin. Through negative political communication, the political actors are trying to create skepticism towards immigration and towards diversified socio-cultural orientations. an important factor here is the measures towards the sanctuary policy envisaged by various local governments and administrations. With the threatening statements and financial constraints, the federal government tries to hinder the sanctuary mechanisms envisaged by various state and local administrations. In the United States, especially in Florida, most of the negative political communication is associated with the socio-cultural and ethnic orientation of various immigrant communities and formulation of policies that will constrain the intake of immigrants into the society and various funding opportunities which provide accommodation to such immigrant communities. In Florida, most of these statements come directly from the administration and administrative actors who are aligned with administration.

Most of negative political communications in Lithuania are directly oriented towards the concerns raised by socio-political actors regarding the influence of cheap labor in the context of Lithuania. Rather than adding to economic growth and well-being, political analysts fear that it will promote cheap labor and hinder technological advancement in Lithuania. Media discourse shows critical political statements made by political actors, which question the lack of transparency in the selection of labor immigrants as the organizations and companies are looking more for quantity rather than quality. Negative political communications are directed towards the lack of transparency in labor recruitment and the unfair and inhuman practices employed by some companies and employers. Another significant aspect is the lack of acceptance for people from other racial and ethnic groups and nationalities. Lithuanians prefer immigrants from the close neighborhood of Belarus and Ukraine with the same ethnic and cultural orientation over those from diversified socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

To compare, Florida is much more complex, and most of negative communications in Florida are directed towards various immigration-related policies and financial aspects related to immigrants. In Lithuania, however, most negative political communication is directed towards the influx of low-skilled immigrants and the lack of transparency in the selection process of the employees, even though there is a slight similarity regarding the preference for ethnic and racial origin. Despite the slight similarity in the racial and ethnic origin of the immigrants, they are not as aggressive as in Florida. In Florida, the racial and ethnic origin is considered a threat to society, social well-being and democracy, as most of these immigrant communities were perceived as belonging to various cartels, mafia groups, and even terrorist organizations. However, in the long term, illegal immigration has become one of the most controversial scenarios in Lithuania. It is especially evident in recent times as its implications have been seen in Lithuanian society during the last year. Therefore, futuristic mediatized political communication can become more aggressive and negative, especially towards immigration. In such scenarios, more aggressive policies will be formulated by the country inhibiting immigration. In such scenarios, the narratives will be more vocalized and should be on par with Florida.

The third sub-frame in political communication is the mixed political communication stated by political actors, which carries both positive and negative meaning. In Florida, most mixed political communication is directed towards the policies which try to see both the positive and negative sides of the new immigration-related policies. Even though the narrators of the political communication state that it is going to do a lot of harm towards immigration, they state that they tried to curtail the aspect of illegal immigration. The media tries to highlight the mix of new policies towards compelling immigration while also using offensive terms. It shows the mixed nature of the policy measures taken by the administration towards immigration. Another significant mixed political communication can be seen in the form of political statements in which the administration is trying to provide assistance to the Dreamers or DACA recipients. They would like the Democrats to allow their idea of imposing limitations or building border fencing walls, by facilitating the rights of the DACA recipients. All these policy measures show the two sides of positive and negative aspects in the same political narratives, which shows the mixed attitude of political communication in Florida.

However, most mixed political communications in Lithuania are attributed towards population growth stating confusion regarding the actual population growth. The political narratives indicate that most of these are attributed towards immigration and not towards the actual population growth.

A comparison of mixed political communication in Florida and Lithuania shows that in Florida, most instances of mixed political communications are directed towards various legal measures facilitated by the government towards immigration and the mix of reactions it carries from the political actors and from the leadership. It also narrates the strategic measures envisaged by the government to compel the opposition to agree, by implementing their immigration-related policy mechanisms. In the case of Lithuania, these are merely in the form of statements by political actors regarding the growth of the population and its related attributes rather than the real growth of the local population. However, in the long run, when immigration becomes a problem in Lithuania, immigration-related policies with both positive and negative attributes will be more prominent and represented by more media narratives that show both the positive and negative attributes towards immigration. In such scenarios, the Lithuanian media will benefit from the policy measures from the media networks in Florida or the United States, thereby trying to perceive and formulate media narratives that have the essence of mixed political communication in the media narratives.

The final sub-frame in the political communication category is the new policy measures that have been formulated regarding immigration. In Florida, most of these new policy measures are attributed towards increasing the entry measures regarding immigration under the new Trump administration. With this, the immigrants require more skills and expertise along with higher salaries to immigrate to the United States. The administration is trying to contain the ambitions of those immigrants with lesser skills and wages to immigrate. These measures highlight the merit-based entry qualification for immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States. Another immigration policy measure which the United States administration has envisaged, is to equalize all criminal procedures and convention mechanisms which have been initiated against immigrants. Through these measures, the administration is trying to equate all criminal offenses,

whether it is a higher-end criminal offense that can lead to imprisonment or whether a minor felony. By taking such measures, the government is trying to curtail the aspirations of immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States.

Another aspect in the category of new policy measures in the United States is concerned with the policy measures envisaged by the government to provide financial assistance to the Latin American countries, thereby improving their economic situations which prevent or inhibit further outflow of immigrants to the United States through their porous borders. These policy measures also show negative implications of the administration, like the previous policy measures through which they tried to contain the aspirations of immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States rather than providing some welfare or policy measures that facilitate such immigration. The final aspect in the new policy measures which covers immigration is regarding the new policy measures envisaged by the government to reduce or curtail the applicants regarding the green card family-based immigration. Through this message, the administration is trying to curtail the aspirations of those immigrants who are not connected to family-based immigration and those who are sponsored while working in the United States. The new policy measures that come into the political communication on immigration in Florida is mostly directed towards those policy measures which try to inhibit immigration or curtail or to reduce the number of immigrants who wish to immigrate to the United States.

Some of the most significant new policy measures of Lithuania were initiatives taken by the government to provide fairness in the employment system due to the large number of incidents of immigrant exploitation in the industries in Lithuania. Mostly, it is exploitation regarding lesser wages, long working hours, and harsh conditions, especially to the unskilled workers from Belarus and Ukraine. Due to these scenarios, the government took to policy measures in the form of bilateral agreements and mutual corporations, which facilitate and provide better working and living conditions for workers from those countries in Lithuania. Another significant aspect which covers the new policy measures in Lithuania considers the initiatives taken by the Lithuanian government to provide a more embracing attitude towards taking in more immigrants, relieving for other European countries, which suffered due to the high intake of immigrants. However, the policy measures suggest providing infrastructure and other facilities in the developing countries and other regions which have a strong influence on immigration, thereby trying to combat and curtail immigration within those regions.

The Lithuanian media also represents the initiatives taken by the government to attract more skilled and unskilled workers from third countries, thereby ensuring demographic dividend in Lithuania and providing manpower to Lithuanian companies who were already under the stress of less manpower. These two measures were implemented in the form of providing adequate skilled and unskilled laborers and providing temporary resident permits. Through these policy measures, the government is trying to facilitate more of a friendly atmosphere towards immigrants, embracing the immigrants into the workforce of the country. They provide awareness and orientation to the officials in the migration department, the need to be embracing towards the immigrant workforce rather than perceiving them as a threat or viewing them in a suspicious manner. New policy measures are implemented to provide more surveillance and to enhance broader protection due to the high rate of illegal immigration from the Eastern European

borders, especially from Belarus and Ukraine. Even though the government provides and facilitates immigrant intake in the form of skilled and skilled workers, it also takes stricter measures to combat those illegal immigrations through the Eastern European borders.

The comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that Florida is much more complex due to the high immigrant intake and the long history of immigration. This, together with the current administration's standoff taking stricter policy measures to combat illegal immigration, can be seen as a significant policy mechanism that inhibits further immigration to the United States who are less skilled and have comparatively lesser salaries. However, Lithuania presents more progressive policy measures, such as facilitating higher immigrant intake and taking policy measures that try to overcome the current constraints for immigrants in the working environment. Due to the higher allocation of refugees to the developed Western countries, the policy of accepting refugees to Lithuania can be seen as a significant new measure. One of the similarities in the new policy measures between Florida and Lithuania could be the policy measures that try to reduce illegal immigration through the borders. This shows the similarity in the policy stance on illegal immigration in both Florida and Lithuania. This has further implications in the current and future times, when there is more illegal immigration through the porous borders of Eastern Europe, showing the alignment of the Lithuanian policy measures to the United States when it comes to illegal immigration. However, in the future, when more complex situations occur due to the higher intake of immigrants and higher illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders, Lithuanian media will try to portray the negative aspects of higher immigrant intake and try to highlight the new policy measures, such as the legal measures which constrain the intake of immigrants and the restrictive measures for immigrants in Lithuania. The model of Florida can be seen as a futuristic model for Lithuania in new policy measures of political communication.

The second variable studied to analyze mediatized political communication on immigration is the media frames in United States, Florida and from Lithuania from prominent newspapers in both regions, which are the *New York Times* from Florida and *Delfi* from Lithuania for the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. Media framing is a mechanism in which the media predominates certain aspects of a news narrative, giving significance to certain aspects and grabbing public attention. With this mechanism, the media could accomplish their desired purpose on specific issues that aligned with their interest. The media uses framing mechanisms to shed light on various aspects of immigration, such as how the immigrants are welcomed in the host country, how they are perceived as a threat in the host country, what are the responsible political measures taken by the political actors, how the bureaucracy and administrative mechanisms act as a facilitating force for integration and accommodation of immigrants in the host countries and, finally, how and what measures are taken by the host countries for the repatriation of immigrants and the policies taken in this regard.

Media analysis of Florida and Lithuania reveals that news articles in Florida are much more prominent when it comes to all five frames and their sub-frames, and not that intense in Lithuania. Moreover, Florida's articles represent additional sub-frames and narratives, identified during the development of the narratives and understanding the frames and sub-frames.

The first frame analyzing media articles is the victim/welcome frame. The victim/welcome frame depicts how immigrants are welcomed in the host countries and the embracing attitudes taken in such situations. It has been sub-categorized according to which category they fit, the victim or welcome frame.

The first sub-frame is migrant smuggling or human trafficking. In this sub-frame, the framing narratives show how migrants have been smuggled or taken for human trafficking, making them vulnerable in the host countries and regions. Most of the narratives from Florida have been directed towards how immigrants have been illegally smuggled into the United States by the drug cartels and other groups through the borders and the inhuman mechanisms towards the immigrants and the threat mechanisms they use to extract money from the illegal immigrants. It also shows how illegal immigrants evade the process once they come to the United States on a tourist visa and overstay in the United States. In the case of Florida, how the drug cartels have smuggled the migrants and what are the mechanisms the migrants or illegal immigrants use to overcome the process to stay in the United States with an emphasis on the state of Florida without having proper documentation.

Lithuania, regarding migrant smuggling or human trafficking, shows a somewhat similar approach towards illegal immigration. In recent times, most of the cases of illegal immigration happen through the Eastern European borders, due to the high risk of crossing through the Mediterranean and the illegal immigration which has been facilitated by European nations especially Poland or Estonia who tried to smuggle illegal immigrants by car by disguising as passengers to Lithuania. In Florida, most of these immigrants were from Latin American countries, while in Lithuania, these were mostly people who are illegal immigrants from Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan who tried to get illegally smuggled into Lithuania.

The comparative analysis of Lithuania and Florida reveals that even though both these regions have a similar perception towards illegal immigrants, especially the immigrants being smuggled through the borders, Florida has had much more intensity due to the huge inflow of illegal immigrants and the inhuman mechanisms employed by the drug cartels or other smuggling groups and the extortion mechanisms they employ. Thus, when the cases of illegal immigration intensify in the coming years in Lithuania, similar scenarios can occur in Lithuania, and it is not a distant phenomenon. In such scenarios, the media framing will intensify, when it comes to the sub-frame of migrant smuggling or human trafficking.

The second sub-frame in the victim/welcoming frame is the quality or skilled workforce which comes to the host countries. Unlike migrant smuggling, the quality skilled workforce shows the positive side of the welcoming frame, which shows how this skilled workforce acts as a catalyst for the development of the host societies.

In Florida, most of the news narratives in this category have been directed towards the contribution made by the skilled workforce to the United States. These are mostly the narratives that highlight the significance of the need for quality or skilled workers, such as H1B1 visas, how they contribute to the overall development of the industrial sector in the United States, and how this workforce facilitates patents and other innovation in their respective fields. As this workforce creates more quality and commitment towards the industrial sector of the United States, the news narratives also depict an embracing nature

for helping their family members, which shows how much cultural diversity these family members of the skilled workers can bring to the United States. The skilled workforce media framing narratives were mostly welcoming and showed the diversity and the development facilitated by such workforce in the United States.

In Lithuania, regarding the quality or skilled workforce, most of the media framing has been directed towards the welcoming approach employed by the government to attract the quality or skilled workforce to Lithuania. These were mostly in the form of higher wages for the skilled workforce from third countries and the exclusion of quota for the highly skilled or quality workforce, thereby facilitating the quality/skilled workforce to come to the country without any administrative or bureaucratic constraints. Also, the media framing narratives show a lack of highly skilled local workforce in Lithuania due to the high rate of emigration to other European countries, and the consequent filling of such gaps by the quality skilled workforce from the third country regions.

Thus, a comparative analysis of both the countries indicates that even though both regions employ similar mechanisms for attracting quality or skilled workforce from other countries, Florida present much more intense media framing. It can be attributed to the long history of migration and the huge proportion of the quality/skilled workforce in the region. In the case of Lithuania, this is a recent phenomenon; however, it shows the welcoming approach taken by the government to facilitate such skilled immigrants and the measures taken by the government for facilitating the same. In the long term, when such immigration becomes robust, the Lithuanian government may employ similar mechanisms for facilitating the quality or skilled workforce and their integration into the country.

The third sub-frame in the welcome/victim frame is the "useful" worker sub-frame. As the skilled workforce, the "useful" worker is also essential to any society, especially due to their contributions to the agricultural and allied services. This is very important in the case of both Florida and Lithuania. In Florida, the state heavily relies upon "useful" workers from neighboring countries. For Lithuania, due to high emigration, the "useful" worker is crucial to the industries and the agricultural sector.

In Florida, most of these media narratives highlight the importance of "useful" workers, especially in the times when political communication, particularly by the administration, is very vocal and negative towards immigration and the immigrant workforce. In the media narratives, the frames highlight the significance of the "useful" workforce, especially in the agriculture sector, as it shows that without the Hispanic or Latin American workforce, the agriculture sector of the United States would have difficulties to work or function. The narrative signifies the "useful" immigrants' contribution to society, and their ability to compensate for the aging workforce. The contributions are not only directed towards agriculture and other sectors but also to the hospitality industry, as it also benefits a lot from the "useful" immigrant workforce, which, to an extent, has been approved and agreed by the Trump administration, especially by the President himself as he runs a chain of hotels across the country. The "useful" workforce in the United States, especially in Florida, shows that the media frames highlight the significance of a "useful" workforce in Florida and how they benefit the society and its functioning.

In Lithuania, most of these frames were in the form of media narratives which portray the need for the "useful" worker, especially from Belarus and Ukraine as well as from other third countries who work in various sectors in Lithuania, especially in the industries, such as carpenters, welders, technicians, etc. The media narratives also show that the significance of such a "useful" workforce is due to the large amount of emigration from Lithuania. This scenario shows the need for a "useful" workforce including third-country nationals and the neighboring regions, thereby compensating for the loss of the workforce.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that both regions experience media narratives and frames in a similar manner, which signals the significance of "useful" workers. However, the media narrative and its frames are much more prevalent in Florida due to the higher need for a "useful" workforce, especially the Hispanic and Latin American workforce in agriculture and related services. Lithuania also shows a similar pattern but with a lesser extent as the aspect of immigration and the "useful" workforce is a recent phenomenon. Like Florida, Lithuania also emphasizes the need for a "useful" workforce and allied services, especially in the industrial areas, which benefit from it. In the long term, when the influx of migration is higher, media narratives and framing mechanisms may become similar to Florida's, trying to highlight the need for a "useful" workforce. The media narratives may try to combat policies and measures which try to hinder the coming of the immigrant workforce to Lithuania.

Another comparable sub-frame in Floridian and Lithuanian media is the socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation sub-frame. In this sub-frame, the media narratives highlight the benefits of immigration, especially in the form of socio-cultural enrichment by the immigrants in the host regions, by bringing their cultural attributes and diversity to the host countries.

In Florida, the media frames are mostly in the form of media narratives which try to highlight the hardworking and sincere nature of immigrant communities and the cultural diversity which they bring to the neighborhood. It shares the perception of the local neighbors, who say how much positive vibrancy the immigrant communities have brought to their neighborhood and the localities. With these narratives, they try to portray the socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation facilitated by the immigrant communities and their integration with the local community. It also highlights the assimilation that has taken place between the locals and immigrant communities. With these narratives, the media in Florida highlights the positive attributes of immigrant communities in the form of socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation.

In Lithuania, most of these media frames were in the form of media narratives which try to portray a mixed narrative of socio-cultural enrichment and assimilation by the immigrant communities. In the positive aspect, it shows how the immigrant communities bring diversified socio-cultural traits, which can benefit the society. It is primarily a prerequisite aspect for a society like Lithuania, which is more of a homogeneous socio-cultural nature. Regarding the negative aspect, it shows the preference of the local communities when it comes to socio-cultural diversity and its enrichment. They prefer people from the neighboring regions of Belarus and Ukraine with a similar ethnicity without much diverse background. It is particularly evident towards third-country nationals, especially from Asian and African regions. This is

mostly due to the uniform cultural attributes of the country, which inhibits and prevents such diversity.

After a comparative analysis, it is evident that Florida has much more welcoming narratives regarding the socio-cultural enrichment, whereas in Lithuania, they are mostly in a mixed nature which also shows suspicion regarding cultural diversity from third-country nationals. However, in the long term, when there is more cultural diversity, the media may take the example of Florida and try to portray narratives which signify the need for cultural diversity. Through such narratives, they can portray how such cultural diversity enriches society and enhances cultural assimilation and embracive nature.

Another significant sub-frame in the victim/welcome frame is the demographic dividend that the immigrants bring. The demographic dividend is important as immigration provides stimulus to the demography of the host country, thereby overcoming the population decline and the aging population. In Florida and the United States, it has great significance, especially in the rural areas where there is a significant decline in the population and a lack of a demographic dividend. With the immigrant population, they were able to overcome this, thereby providing stimulus to the geographical regions and localities which lack demographic dividends. Most of the media narratives in Florida depict the demographic dividend the immigrant communities can bring to urban and rural areas of the United States. These are mainly in the form of the productive workforce employed in the agriculture sector as most of these agriculture sectors are in rural areas. The narratives mention the broader mechanism of combating the aging population with the coming of the immigrant communities to the United States. Thus, most of the media narratives and frames are attributed towards the significant contribution of the immigrant communities to the rural and urban areas of the United States, especially in the farming and agriculture sectors, and to combat the aging population with the demographic dividend of the immigrant population.

In the Lithuanian media, most framing narratives were made regarding the contribution made by the immigrant communities to combat the aging population and the economic and other benefits of the immigrant population to the overall demographic process.

A comparative study of Florida and Lithuania shows that when it comes to demographic dividend, both regions and the media narratives show a uniform opinion. Both regions try to portray a significant demographic dividend of the immigrant population, thereby combating the aging population with the coming of the immigrants to the urban and rural areas of both these regions.

Another significant sub-frame in the victim/welcome frame is the exploitation in the workplace of the immigrants. It is a mechanism in which the foreign workforce in the host countries has been exploited in the workplace due to the lack of awareness regarding the legal proceedings in the host countries. Another factor is their lack of education and other attributes, which facilitate the exploitation of the immigrant workforce.

Most of the media framing of exploitation in the workplace in Florida can be attributed to news narratives. It depicts how the immigrant population, especially the undocumented population, was forced to work with lesser wages and other amenities. Some narratives highlight the long history of exploitation faced by various undocumented immigrants. They were forced to work longer hours and with deplorable working

conditions. It depicts the recruitment mechanism used by big corporations and multinational business companies where they try to carry out the selection process not in a transparent manner, thereby trying to hire undocumented immigrants and paying them lesser wages. This aspect tries to highlight and portray how the immigrant workforce, which works in rescue operations during natural calamities were also being cheated and exploited by the employers in which they were paid lesser or no wages at all. Most of the media narratives in the sub-frame of exploitation in the workforce in the case of Florida highlights how the immigrant workforce, especially the undocumented immigrant workforce, has been exploited in their work and during the times of natural calamities in which they assist in rescue operations.

In Lithuanian media, most narratives in the exploitation of workers category try to depict how the workers from the Eastern European countries, especially Belarus and Ukraine, were being exploited by the companies in Lithuania and the lack of legal protection to those immigrant workers. Also, the lack of legal frameworks and the labor institutions' inability to protect the rights of the immigrant workers together with the local workers and population. Thus, such framing strategies can be seen questioning the credibility of institutions that promote labor rights.

A comparative analysis reveals that both Florida and Lithuania highlight almost parallel aspects of exploitation at the worksite of the immigrant workforce. However, in the case of Florida, these exploitations are mostly perpetrated towards the undocumented immigrants who do not have proper documentation and rules or lack legal awareness. In the case of Lithuania, these were mostly perpetrated towards the working population from the Eastern European regions. Unlike Florida, the Lithuanian media narratives also highlight the lack of credibility of the labor institutions and the legal loopholes which facilitate it.

The remaining six sub-variables were unavailable for comparative analysis since they were unique to the media of respective countries. In Florida, these are termination of legal documents, inhuman condition of the immigrant workforce, granting asylum, and the unwillingness of the immigrants to integrate into society. In Lithuania, they are wealthy or prospective investors/expats and returning immigrants.

Another major frame is the threat frame, which shows how the immigrants act as a threat to the host countries and regions. These are mostly in the form of political threats, legal threats, socio-political threats, and economic threats that immigrants pose to the host countries. Through its framing mechanism, the media highlights those specific aspects of threat, thereby trying to portray the immigrants who pose the potential threat to the regions to which they are coming. This media narrative facilitates the creation of negative public perceptions towards immigrants and immigrant communities.

The largest sub-frame in the threat category is economic threat, mostly facilitated by the unskilled workforce in the host countries. In Florida, the media framing the economic threat is facilitated by the media narratives which depict the economic threat of immigrants as mostly perpetrated by the influx of immigrants, which led to the downsizing of their wages and the American economy thereby forcing the local workforce to come to terms with lower wages for the working hours. The media narratives criticize the high skilled visa program called H1B1 visa and states that not only the cheap labor workforce damaged the economy but the highly skilled workforce

reduces the wages of the qualified professionals, thereby facilitating the companies to hire those immigrant workforces rather than the local workforce. When it comes to economic threat of the unskilled workforce in the society, most of the media narratives not only depict the economic threat by the unskilled workforce but also try to expand to the specialized or skilled workforce thereby stating that all immigrant workers pose a threat to the economic system of the United States.

The media narratives discussing economic threat in Lithuania show that even though the country is young with regards to immigration, the skepticism towards economic threat posed by the immigrant workforce is already felt. It focuses on the lowering of the wages by the immigrant workforce, which was raised by the labor unions in Lithuania. The media narratives raises the fear and suspicion that the influx of immigrant workforce, especially that ready to work for lower wages in a country with a higher rate of migration, will lead to further worsening of the wage system. It deteriorates the position to a more vulnerable level, leading to further emigration of the remaining population from the country.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that both societies express a similar opinion when it comes to the economic threat posed by the immigrant workforce to the respective regions. Even though Florida has a long history of immigration, unlike Lithuania, both regions expressed the same suspicion and doubt regarding the economic threat which can be posed by the immigrant workforce. When it comes to increasing immigration to Lithuania, the suspicion and concerns regarding the economic threat of immigrants will likely amplify. It will lead to a much more vocal expression by the local communities, like Florida, which will be portrayed through the media narratives in Lithuania.

Another significant sub-frame in the category of threat is the socio-cultural and religious threat posed by the immigrant communities to their respective regions. The socio-cultural threat can be seen as a mechanism through which the immigrant workforce acts as a deterrent to the social, cultural, and religious aspects and mechanisms of the host countries.

In Florida, most of the media frames and narratives have been directed towards how the immigrant population can act as a socio-cultural and religious threat. These are through the instances of crime, violence, rape, and killing of the local population especially perpetrated by the immigrant men towards local women. Other narratives show how the immigrant population can act as a deterrent and put pressure on the existing resources of the society thereby acting as a significant threat to the social, cultural, and religious aspect of the American Society.

Unlike the media narratives in Florida, most of the media narratives in Lithuania are directed towards the migrant population who have a different socio-cultural and religious orientation. These are mostly directed towards the immigrant population from Africa with a different racial origin and towards the Muslim population from the Middle Eastern regions and countries, which have been perceived as a socio-cultural and religious threat to Lithuania. The media tries to justify these narratives with statistics which have been carried out in the society in which the public perception is highly vocal against the intake of immigrants from the African and Arabian regions. These are due to

the different religious and cultural orientations, whereas the immigrant population with similar ethnic backgrounds from the neighboring regions are welcome.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania reveals that, unlike Florida, Lithuania is highly vocal towards the socio-cultural and religious threat posed by the immigrant population, especially by the blacks and Muslims. This is, however, a significantly contrasting phenomenon as even though, unlike in other parts of Europe and the United States, immigration is still a new phenomenon in Lithuania, the skepticism towards the immigrant population, especially with a different racial origin, is vivid. In Florida, there is a lot of skepticism in American Society, especially after 9/11, 2001. However, in all the time periods selected for this study, no radical incidents could directly target Muslims or other ethnic communities. Thus, over time, this skepticism and negative perceptions towards the immigrant populations with a different religious and cultural background can get much higher in the case of Lithuania.

Another sub-frame in the threat frame is the legal threat posed by the immigrants to the host societies. These are mainly in the form of the illegal activities carried forward by the immigrants and immigrant communities, which act as a significant challenge to the legal institutions and system of the host countries.

In Florida, most of the media narratives depict how immigrants violate the legal systems mostly due to the lack of awareness of the legal system of the United States, and due to the corrupt practices which they follow in their home countries. The media narratives also depict how violence and other extremist activities have been carried forward by the members of the immigrant communities, especially the criminal activities they perpetuate. It depicts the lack of respect for the legal system and institutions in the host countries.

In Lithuania, most of the media narratives have been directed towards the flow of illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders and the crime and other illegal smuggling activities carried out by the immigrants and immigrant communities in Lithuania. This is particularly evident during the period of the study, as it makes the paradigm shift of the course of illegal immigration. The focus of illegal immigration has moved from Western Europe through the Mediterranean towards Eastern Europe through the Belarusian and Ukrainian borders, thereby trying to infiltrate either Lithuania, Latvia, or Poland. It is mainly due to the instability and the high risk of crossing the Mediterranean through the sea. Also, the narratives tried to highlight the public protest carried out by citizens, which try to take legal petitions to the parliament, thereby trying to revoke the refugee resettlement programs carried out by the Lithuanian government.

A comparative analysis shows that in Florida, legal threat is mostly posed by the illegal and legal immigrants and the terrorist activities carried out by the immigrant communities and actors. In Lithuania, these were mostly directed towards illegal immigration and its high influx during the current times through the Eastern European borders and the public protects regarding the same who perceive the immigrants as a legal threat to the context of Lithuania. However, while perceiving the futuristic perspective, the immigrant influxes were getting significantly higher in the case of Lithuania during the recent and the coming year's similar narratives can be seen in Lithuania when it comes to the legal threat. In such scenarios, it will align towards the American context in which

the legal violations and possible terrorist attempts and activities can also happen in Lithuania, thereby providing a similarity in the media narratives over the coming years.

Another sub-frame in the threat frame is the unskilled workers. When it comes to immigration, both skilled and unskilled workers are very useful for a country. The unskilled workers are mentioned as "useful" workers in the victim category, and they are perceived as a threat in the threat frame. This is because the unskilled workers were to compromise on lower wages, thereby trying to diminish the wage rate of the country. Therefore, they have an impact on the working population in the country.

The news narratives depicting the unskilled workers in the threat category in Florida are mostly directed towards how illegal immigration is facilitating the influx of unskilled workers into the United States, especially to the state of Florida. The influx of unskilled labor affects not only the wage rate but also the legal-based immigration to the United States. The political statements by the ruling party, especially by the President himself who always states that there should be fairness when it comes to immigration and there should be much more skilled immigration to the United States rather than unskilled immigration, which have a determinant effect on the overall immigration structure in the United States.

Unskilled workers in Lithuania are mostly discussed by the political statements which highlight the lack of quality and professionalism for employability by the immigrant communities. It is stated that only a few of those can work as professionals. These news narratives indicate that the majority of immigrants have been perceived as unskilled which cannot have a future occupation in a host nation, thereby becoming a liability to the host countries.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania reveals that most of the news narratives in Florida are directed towards the huge influx of illegal immigration, which promotes the unskilled workers coming to the United States, and Florida. In Lithuania, this is mostly related to legal immigration, which brings unskilled workers to the country. However, in recent times as illegal immigration to Lithuania is getting higher through the Eastern European borders, the futuristic scenario may be similar to Florida; a higher amount of illegal immigration, which includes less quality or skilled workforce. In those scenarios, the media narratives of Lithuania might also follow the same threat frame towards illegal immigration and immigrant communities.

Another two sub-frames, which are the alien sub-frame and the unwillingness of the refugees to integrate, are unique to the Lithuanian media, therefore cannot provide a comparative analysis of similarities and differences between Florida and Lithuania.

The third major frame that the media networks employ to analyze the aspect of immigration is the responsibility frame. The responsibility frame looks at the responsibility of political actors and decision-makers in formulating policies and measures which can either facilitate immigrant integration or be detrimental towards immigration to both the host countries.

One of the sub-frames in the responsibility frame, which looks at the framing aspect of media, is the embracing statements made by political actors. It reveals how the political actors, including people who are in decision-making positions, make positive and

embracing statements that can lead to more immigrant intake and integration into the country.

In Florida, the media narrative has a great degree of frames that highlight the embracing statements made by political actors. They range from political statements which try to rectify the odds considering the immigrants as criminals and drug dealers, thereby facilitating immigration. Another aspect the media frames highlight is the commitment shown by the business actors, especially the business executives who try to educate and orient the political decision-makers and leaders about the need for having legal immigration, which brings the skilled workforce to the United States, which, in turn, helps the economy. Another aspect is the financial contribution by the business executives for the cause of immigration and for providing financial assistance to those immigrants who are financially deprived. The media frames also highlight the inhumanity of mass detention and deportation of the migrants who entered the United States illegally. It highlights the psychological and other trauma for the detained children in the detention centers and camps. The frames emphasize the family separation policies and the policies that try to exclude and alienate the "useful" workers in the agriculture sectors. Thus, by publishing the political actors' embracing statements, the media tries to present an all-inclusive attitude through their framing mechanisms and highlight all the aspects of immigration and the anti-immigrant measures that the immigrants faced during the immigration process.

The embracing statements made by political actors in Lithuanian media try to highlight the proposed plans for signing agreements between Lithuania and Ukraine which can ensure dignified working conditions for the migrant laborers, the political statement by Pope Francis which accentuates the need for embracing immigrants the way the West and other European countries embraced the Lithuanian immigrants during the Soviet occupation, the positive political statement which notices the need for the skilled and low-skilled workforce for the overall development of the country due to the less demographic dividend with enhanced emigration. Media narratives highlight the positive political statements made by Lithuanian political leadership to embrace more refugees through the refugee resettlement program, assisting the Western countries to reduce the burden of increased refugee resettlement program.

A comparison of media frames used in Florida and Lithuania reveals that Florida is mostly oriented towards the intensive positive political communication by political actors, especially when it comes to the enhanced policy measures to combat immigration to the United States both legally and illegally and to determine practices associated with such policies. In the case of Lithuania, these are mostly towards the positive attributes by political actors to accept more immigrants in the skilled and "useful" workforce. The refugee resettlement program has a great significance for immigration for a country like Lithuania, which has a lesser demographic dividend due to the enhanced emigration.

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms. Like the embracing statement by political actors, amicable immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms are another strong tool for immigrant intake and their integration into the society. It is through the amicable policy mechanisms that the policy makers create favorable policy which assists immigrant intake and integration into

the society. This allows the immigrants to feel that they are welcome in the host countries, and there are opportunities for them to develop themselves and integrate into the society.

In Florida, regarding amicable immigration policy mechanisms, the media narratives portray legal measures which promote undocumented children in the form of Dreamers or DACA recipients, measures taken by the sanctuary cities and counties to compact the federal policies thereby trying to uphold the sanctuary policies in their cities, counties, and states, favorable policy decisions which try to compact many of the anti-immigrant policies taken by the Trump administration, the favorable decisions taken by the house, rejecting many of the anti-immigration and deportation policies and measures taken by the White House curtailing the rights of the immigrants, repealing of various draconian policies that infiltrate into the privacy of the immigrants thereby normalizing them for deportation, etc. Even though the period taken for this study is mostly concerned with negative political statements and political decisions by the political actors, due to the intervention made by liberal minds in the political decision-making and by the responsibility mechanisms, such as the house repealing various immigration policies, we can see a significant amount of positive or pro-minded policy mechanisms.

In Lithuania, these are mostly in the form of media narratives which highlight the policy decisions taken by the government for providing more opportunities for the third-country nationals to come and work in Lithuania, policy measures that provide dignified working conditions for the workers from the neighboring regions of Ukraine and Belarus, formulation of policy measures which assist the naturalization of those workers who come to Lithuania, then gain citizenship for them and their families, decisions taken for simplified visa and application procedures for immigrants to immigrate to Lithuania, etc. These amicable policy measures include the decision by the Lithuanian government to embrace immigration, especially the refugees who come to various European countries, trying to increase refugee intake and reduce the burden on other European countries and provide financial allocation for countries which have been impacted by immigrant or refugee crisis.

A comparative analysis shows that in Florida, these are mostly directed towards the measures taken by the parliament to reinstate those policy measures which are determinant towards immigrant intake and their integration and other measures which were already in place with the previous government. In Lithuania, these are mostly the immigrant-friendly policy mechanisms and measures taken by the government for embracing immigrants and facilitating immigrant intake and refugee resettlement programs. It shows the contrasting policy measures by both governments. One favors immigration and refugee intake, whereas the other is determinant towards immigrant intake and their integration into society. However, in the course of time, when they have a larger immigrant influx through the Eastern European borders, Lithuania may see changes to the policy measures towards immigration and the approach envisaged by the parliamentarians regarding it. In such context and scenarios, the media frames also show a responsible framing mechanism, which shows the changes in the amicable policy mechanisms and the measures to rectify such odds in the policy measures.

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is migrant hostile policy mechanisms. The migrant hostile policy mechanisms can be seen as a policy measure

taken by the government, which tries to formulate policies that can be detrimental to immigrant intake and integration into the society.

With the case of Florida, migrant hostile policy mechanisms are eminent. It is due to the Republican government and the leadership of Donald Trump. They tried to formulate various policy measures that act as a deterrent for immigrant intake and their integration into society. Regarding this sub-frame, most of the media narratives try to portray the policy changes envisaged by the Trump administration, which tries to enhance the vulnerability of immigrants who were even charged with a minor felony, thereby facing deportation. Media narratives show the long history of immigrant segregation aided by the United States administration over the course of time, which tries to seclude immigrants based on their nationality and ethnic orientation depending upon the needs of the time. Also, migrant hostile policy mechanisms portray measures taken against DACA recipients, children who have been detained and secluded from their parents at the borders in the detention centers, the border combat measures trying to enforce the so-called Mexican wall envisaged by President Trump's administration, etc. The media highlights the anti-sanctuary policy measures taken by the Trump administration and the hindrance for the allocation of federal resources to the States and counties which refuse to cooperate with the Federal government regarding illegal immigrants and their detention. The Trump administration tried to cover all areas of immigration with their migrant hostile policy mechanisms, thereby trying to restrict the legal and illegal immigration to the United States. This prevents the illegal immigrants and the legal immigrants and their families who wish to immigrate to the United States based on family ties, the lottery system, and classify immigration based on their religious orientation, hindering the immigration to the United States.

Most of the migrant hostage policy mechanisms in Lithuania focus on the policy mechanisms taken by the Lithuanian government regarding refugee resettlement and refugee intake programs. These are mostly in the form of accepting refugees but refusing to agree to the quota system imposed by the European Union. They also include the measures taken by the Lithuanian government together with other European countries advocating for taking developmental measures in the countries of refugee origin, thereby preventing further inflow to the European Union and specifically to Lithuania. Another migrant hostile policy mechanism has been taken by the government regarding immigrants who are legally coming to Lithuania. Even though the government is embracing them with proper measures to facilitate their integration and intake, when it comes to third country immigrants, the government would like to introduce a quota system, trying to prevent a further influx and uncontrolled intake into Lithuania. Actions were taken by the Lithuanian labor unions, which hinder such measures of further influx of third-country immigrants who would like to come to Lithuania for work. Another migrant hostile policy mechanism is regarding the border Protection walls near the Eastern European border, preventing illegal immigration through Belarus and Ukraine. Thus, even though Lithuania is trying to provide immigrant intake and refugee resettlement, the government is introducing certain measures to reduce the intake of refugees and prevent the influx of third-nation immigrants who would like to come to Lithuania for work. Thus, a comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania reveals that Florida is much more complex due to the hostile measures taken by the government

during the time period under the Trump administration, which tries to make measures covering all the areas of immigrant intake and integration, trying to create hardships for immigrants who wish to immigrate to the USA. In Lithuania, these are mostly mixed measures; the government is trying to embrace immigrants and refugees, but make restrictive measures thereby trying to combat the huge inflow of refugees and immigrants to Lithuania, it shows the policy constrains to Lithuania. Thus, when there is a more uncontrolled influx of immigrants and refugees to Lithuania, the government may try to formulate policies that make more restrictions to their refugee and immigrant intake to Lithuania. In such scenarios, the media narratives in Lithuania may take the a similar approach in the framing mechanisms when it comes to migrant hostile policy mechanisms.

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the hostile statement made by political actors. These have great significance, as the hostile statements made by political actors lead to the formulation of migrant hostile policy mechanisms which restrict and inhibit immigrant intake and their integration into the society.

In Florida, most of these news narratives highlight the hostile statements made by political actors, such as socio-political and cultural figures, who consider immigration to be a negative phenomenon and a factor which causes the criminal and other illegal activities in the United States. It is essential to note the role played by the President of the United States in making most of the migrant hostile policy statements. These are statements that portray migrants as criminals, drug dealers, rapists, and include other forms of violence in the United States. Such statements create negative perceptions about the idea of sanctuary cities. The political statements discuss the DACA recipients and the family separation policy at the borders and detention centers. Hostile political statements include the categorization of people from different nationalities and calling them terrorists, and people who create all the issues in the United States. Also, the political statements, especially by the Republican politicians and administrators try to pressure the Democrats. Then to come to terms regarding the DACA recipients in order to attain their goal of making a fence or border wall near the Mexican border. This, can also be seen as a hostile political statement in this regard. Another significant hostile political statement can be seen regarding the attitude, especially the vocal mechanisms against the quality/skilled workforce, the H1B1 workers, and their dependents and family members. The administration considers these people a real threat to the United States as, according to the Trump administration, such immigrants try to steal the quality/skilled work from the local population. Even though Democrats and the business community try to rectify the odds, the administration was adamant about continuing forward with these mechanisms and the mechanisms to raise the minimum wages of skilled workers, thereby trying to curtail their aspirations come to the United States. The final category of the hostile statements made by political actors can be seen towards the useful or unskilled workers who are coming to the United States to work in various agricultural and allied services. The negative political statements portray these people as trying to steal the jobs away from the local population and reduce the wage rates in the United States. Such statements depict these workforces as those who create havoc in the economic sector of the United States. Thus, in Florida, most hostile statements made by political actors are directed towards all sectors of immigration ranging from skilled to unskilled immigration

and their families and dependent people, thereby trying to create a huge pressure on the immigrant communities and people who have an aspiration to come to the United States.

In Lithuania, most hostile statements made by political actors concern immigrants and refugees. Regarding the illegal immigrants, most narratives highlight how the illegal immigrants pose a threat to the country and how they have been detained at the borders near Latvia and Poland, and the repatriation mechanisms employed by the Lithuanian government, especially with regard to the illegal immigrants from Vietnam who were repatriated back to Vietnam, and the agreement signed between Lithuania and Vietnam regarding repatriation. Another hostile statement discusses the illegal immigration happening through the Eastern European borders and the heightened tensions and confusions raised by the political actors regarding the illegal immigration through these Eastern European borders, which they believe can pose a real threat in the coming years. Another hostile statement is about the concerns raised by political activists and conservatives and state that rather than the Eastern European countries to raise their welfare policy mechanisms, it is the Western European countries who need to lower such welfare, thereby ensuring equality in the refugee resettlement programs; media discusses the concerns and hostile statements regarding the court policies and the point of entry of the refugees.

Most hostile political statements from the USA are stated by the decision-makers at the top level of the government who tried to implement them in the policy mechanisms thereby depriving the rights of the immigrants and also curtailing their aspiration to move to the United States. In Lithuania, these are mostly the concerns raised by political actors, especially with regard to illegal immigration through the borders and migrant smuggling into the country and the concerns regarding the quota system in the refugee resettlement programs. The scenarios in the United States are much more complex and can help the far-reaching impact of the hostile political statements, while in Lithuania, it is more subtle. However, in the coming times, when immigration becomes much more complex, especially with the huge influx of refugee population through the Belarusian and Ukrainian borders, it can lead to the heightening of hostile political statements in Lithuania. In such scenarios, the hostile statements made by political actors can have great significance, and the Lithuanian media take a similar stand to Florida when it comes to hostile statements made by political actors.

Another sub-frame in the responsibility frame is the inadequate refugee or migrant resettlement measures, which refer to the process in which the refugees or illegal immigrants coming to the host country cannot find appropriate measures for resettlement or integration into society. It may be mainly due to the lack of political responsiveness and social cohesion; however, it leads to immigrants' vulnerability in the host countries.

The media narratives in Florida portray the inadequate refugee or migrant resettlement measures through their narrative depicting the vulnerability of the refugees or migrants who come to the United States illegally and the personal narrations on how much trauma and sufferings they have overcome over the years to get into a state of dignified position. The narratives depict the confused state of the officials when it comes to official actions and the psychological trauma that accommodates not only the victims but also the officials when they try to implement the policy. The media tries to portray the lack of policies for refugee and migrant resettlement through which they highlight the

vulnerability of the people who were detained and the long process of detention not only for the adults but also for the children, which shows the lack of adequate policy measures for resettlement of immigrants and refugees who have been detained.

In Lithuanian media narratives, one of the aspects raised in this category is the refugee resettlement programs and the ineffectiveness of the quota system. Here the leadership of the country, the President herself, raises the concern regarding the quota system and mentions new policy measures and creative solutions to be taken to overcome the refugee resettlement issues and the tensions which have been combined with the refugee resettlement in Europe. Also, the leadership criticizes Lithuania and most of the European countries for failing to fulfill their promises regarding refugee resettlement and the inability of various countries in Europe to integrate them into society properly and provide them a livelihood. Thus, with these narratives, the media tries to highlight the lack of policy measures regarding refugee resettlement in Europe and how refugees have been suffering due to this process. Through this narrative, the media highlights the government, particularly the leadership of Lithuania, and their concerns raised regarding the inability or inadequate policy with regard to the refugee resettlement. However, it also raised concerns regarding the lack of proper measures taken by the Lithuanian government regarding the refugee intake into the country. Thus, the media tries to highlight both the positive and negative measures and loopholes when it comes to refugee resettlement in Lithuania.

Thus a comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that with regard to the refugee resettlement mechanisms, most of the scenarios in the United States focus on the hardships faced by the refugees to get integrated into the society due to the lack of effective policy measures and also the hostile policy mechanisms in the recent times and the difficult circumstances they have to encounter in those scenarios. As Lithuania is a part of the European Union and tries to follow the European framework of refugee resettlement, the government highlights the lack of proper measures regarding refugee resettlement in the context of Europe and the political commitment trying to rectify such odds by providing alternative mechanisms for refugee resettlement and integration. However, the media narratives and frames also highlight the loopholes and the lack of commitment by the Lithuanian political actors for refugee resettlement and integration.

The final sub-frame in the responsibility frame is selective immigrant policy mechanisms. The selective immigrant policy mechanism is a process through which political decision-makers formulate policies that only partially favor immigration and include certain conditions or loopholes when it comes to immigrant intake. A significant scenario in recent times is the selective policy mechanism through which the political decision-makers include the filtration process, thereby trying to select only those immigrants that will be beneficial for the country.

Media narratives in Florida highlight selective immigrant policy mechanisms such as those facilitating immigration to the United States but raising the bar for the skilled immigrants thereby include a filtration process, only taking in the most skilled immigrants and facilitating various scrutiny measures at the borders when trying to cut illegal immigration. Selective policy mechanisms includes placing the educational qualification and language proficiency requirements and enhancing such immigration, and establishing a limit on family-based immigration, hence curtailing the rights of

people who are dependent on those immigrants. However, to appease the Democrats, the Trump administration allocated funds for the DACA recipients but compelled the Democrats to come to terms with the border fencing walls and the end of the visa lottery system, thus revealing the selective policy mechanisms of the Trump administration. Another selective policy mechanism is the binary choice policy which has been proposed by the Trump administration, forcing the parents who have been detained to either retain the children with them or to separate them, giving up their humanitarian protection, which shows the inhumanity of the child separation policies. The final aspect on selective immigrant policy mechanisms is the classification of immigrants from specific Muslim-dominant countries on the basis of terrorism, thereby excluding their rights to immigrate to the United States. Thus, selective migrant policy mechanisms in Florida range from segregation based on religion, creating policies to separate children from their parents in detention centers, trying to influence political parties to favor the interest of the administration, giving preference to skilled over unskilled immigrants to limit or curb the unskilled or low-skilled immigrants to the United States.

In Lithuania, the media narratives portray such aspects of selective immigration as the political statements that embrace the incoming immigrants. However, simultaneous statements suggest the need to invest in developing countries to combat immigration. Another example of selective immigrant policy is the political statement that encouraged to embrace the incoming immigrants but tries to make a distinction between qualified and unqualified immigration. This shows that the political actors are ready to embrace the skilled immigrants who come to Lithuania but are suspicious about the unskilled or low-skilled immigrants. Selective immigrant policy mechanism in Lithuania is represented in the suggestion to embrace immigrant workers from the neighboring regions of Belarus and Ukraine, while having a pessimistic mindset towards the immigrants from the African and Asian region, especially the Muslim countries and black people.

A comparative analysis of selective policy mechanisms in Florida and Lithuania, reveals that Florida covers a more comprehensive approach to limit immigration on the basis of skills and educational qualification. Policies and measures make the negotiation between political parties come to terms to achieve some of the specified goals of the ruling government. In Lithuania, these are to provide a more embracing approach towards immigration from the neighboring regions and skepticism towards the immigrants from Asian and African regions. The consideration to embrace more refugees from Western Europe while simultaneously trying to provide more financial assistance to the developing countries to combat immigration and refugee arrival. In the coming future, however, when there is more illegal immigration, especially cross-border immigration, through the Eastern European borders, the use of selective immigration mechanism may become more prominent in Lithuania. More comprehensive selective policy mechanisms may be implemented in Lithuania, like it is now in Florida. Media narratives may also frame such policy measures through selective migrant policy mechanisms.

Another major frame that investigates immigration is the administrative frame, which refers to all prominent bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic actors who either facilitate or hinder immigration through their bureaucratic and administrative process. The main actors that come under the administrative framework are the executive branch,

judicial, law and order, which is the police, and the third sector organizations that act as facilitators for immigrant intake and integration into the societies. All these respective bodies have a specific role in immigrant integration into society.

An essential administrative sub-frame is the executive or bureaucratic branch, which refers to the arm of the government which implements the policies formulated by the political actors towards immigration. It is noteworthy that executive, or law and order, branch cannot act in their discretion and has to follow the procedures and protocols of the administration, unlike the third sector organization. They implement the policy mechanisms which can either be favorable or hinder immigration and integration into society.

The media narratives in Florida portray the executive mechanisms implemented by the executive and bureaucratic branches ranging from the executive authorities trying to implement anti-immigration measures, especially the top legal advisors of the Trump administration who have a strong anti-immigration stand. The media narratives show the vulnerability of the executive and bureaucratic branch regarding the family separation and other inhuman activities carried forward towards immigration and their helplessness in this regard. The positive side of the executive or bureaucratic branch is the federal immigrant intake policies and the implementation of immigrant policies implemented by the previous administration and the assistance provided to undocumented children in the form of financial assistance, enabling them to get legal assistance before the court of law. The media focuses on visa issuances under the executive branch and the statements and actions taken by the executive branch towards the sanctuary cities in various cities and counties across the United States.

In Lithuania, the media narratives depict the executive/bureaucratic branch activities from the statical data towards immigration and simplified immigration and visa procedures implemented by the executive and the bureaucratic branch. Considering illegal immigration, Lithuanian media mentions the executive decision to place a quota for immigrants, especially unskilled immigrants from the Asian and African regions. The narratives mention the complications in the deportation mechanisms, especially when illegal immigrants have been detained due to the lack of legal arrangements or bilateral agreements with the country of origin of illegal immigrants. The narratives look at the statistical data released by the statistical association and the migration department, which shows the statistics over the years and the future trends regarding immigration to Lithuania. The final aspect that the executive/bureaucratic narrative looks into is the classification of professions the possibility for immigrant intake into those categories.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that the case of Florida is much more complex due to the policy decisions and policy formalization under the Trump administration, which complicates immigrant intake into the country. It leads the executive or bureaucratic branch to implement such policies which the government has taken due to the rules and procedures which the executive/bureaucratic branch has to follow. Even though most of the narratives follow and comply with the immigration policies, the media portrays the humanistic aspect of bureaucratic officials with narratives that show the human aspect of the executive or bureaucratic branch. Thus, most of the narratives follow the immigration stand of the administration and its implementation. In Lithuania, they mostly portray and share statistical data and other legal documents which

highlight the intake of many immigrants in both the skilled and unskilled categories, contributing to the overall workforce of Lithuania. However, like Florida, it also shows the pessimistic approach towards immigration, especially with regard to illegal immigration through the porous borders and by immigrant smuggling, and the lack of legal policy measures to combat such immigration. Thus, immigration gets much more intense and complex in Lithuania and in formulation of such anti-immigration policies, the media narratives try to portray the frames which show the pessimistic attitude of the bureaucratic branch in this regard.

Another sub-frame in the administrative frame is the law and order/police, which refers to the branch that enables the executive/bureaucratic branch to implement their policy mechanisms and make sure that such policy mechanisms continue to exist without any violation by the citizens or groups. Like other branches that formulate and implement the policies, the law and order/police ensures that policy mechanisms continue without any violations.

In Florida, media narratives, through their framing mechanisms, try to portray law and order with news narratives about the border police, immigration, and customs enforcement and the mechanisms these institutions employ to detain illegal and undocumented immigrants in Florida and the legal measures taken towards the sanctuary cities and their administration. The media narrative also mentions the policies taken by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement, share the data about the undocumented and illegal immigrants, thereby creating suspicions and hatred towards illegal immigrations and disturbing the peace of those communities. The media acts in a proactive manner, trying to portray narratives in which the local enforcement authorities express their displeasure towards national authorities for insisting on them to share information about illegal immigrants in the communities, which facilitates mistrust among the communities and the officials.

In Lithuania, the media narratives on law and order show the influx of illegal immigration, especially through migrant smuggling through the borders by car and Eastern European borders, especially through Ukraine and Belarus. This is due to the uncertainties of illegal immigrants crossing through the Mediterranean due to the high risk. Also, the media narratives about law and order mention ideas that highlight the training and other operation and exercises conducted by the Lithuanian border authorities at the Eastern European borders, ensuring that illegal immigration is properly defended against in such scenarios.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania shows that Florida is more oriented towards the aspect of illegal immigration through the Mexican border and the activities of drug cartels and other organized crime groups which facilitate illegal immigration causing turbulence to the law and order mechanisms in the country. The media narratives also show the humanistic side of the law-and-order mechanism in which the opinions and humanistic nature of the law officials are mentioned while carrying out the law enforcement in which they felt vulnerable to the scenarios of illegal and undocumented immigrants, especially the vulnerability these communities and groups faced with the drug cartels and other organized crime groups. However, in Lithuania, most of these media framing narratives are oriented towards illegal immigration, which is facilitated by human smuggling, which is not as complex as in Florida but is still

evident, in which human smuggling happens the neighboring countries. It also mentions the illegal immigration over the Eastern European borders and other mechanisms carried forward by the Lithuanian border officials to secure the borders. Thus, in the coming years, the illegal immigration will likely become much more complex, and human smuggling will become more complex due to the development of Lithuania as a favorable destination for illegal immigrants and for human smuggling due to its proximity in the European Union and the lack of high-risk in the Eastern European countries, unlike the Mediterranean region. Then, the policy mechanisms towards immigration and law-and-order/police will also get proactive, the media narratives will highlight the mechanisms envisaged by law-and-order to combat human smuggling and illegal immigration.

Another sub-frame in the administrative frame is legal/judicial, which refers to the legal and judicial mechanisms that try to rectify the odds in the administrative mechanisms in policymaking. When it comes to immigration, this is one of the most concerned institutions as it is through the mechanism of legal institutions that the grievances of immigrants or immigrant communities are heard. It is through the legal mechanism that the immigrants try to rectify the odds in the policymaking, trying to provide a favorable atmosphere for the immigrant intake and integration into the society.

In Florida, the media narratives which highlight the legal and judicial sub-frame depict the various legal and judicial mechanisms narrated in the media. One of the most important narratives in this category is the judicial orders restraining the rights of the DACA recipients and ordering the administration to revoke all mechanisms which hinder the DACA recipients program and ask them to reinstate it. This is one of the mechanisms through which the children of illegal or undocumented immigrants get an opportunity to be a part of the American Society, eventually getting citizenship. It is only through the mechanisms of legal intervention that justice is provided to the children of undocumented immigrants, as otherwise, this program would have been halted by the Trump administration. Another significant aspect is judicial intervention and transparency, trying to provide accountability to the vast number of cases of illegal immigration that come to the courts. The judges provide a fair trial to detained immigrants, hereby providing justice to the illegal immigrant who is in the United States, especially the framing regarding these in the state of Florida. Media narratives and the form of framing highlight the vulnerability of the legal and judicial institutions and the judges through the lack of adequate number of judges and legal officials to handle the vast number of cases that come to the courts and the mental pressures encountered by the judges in combating such a vast number of cases. In these scenarios, the media acts as a responsible actor, trying to not only highlight the cases of legal and judicial processes and arbitration but also provide the requirements of the judicial system and the vulnerability it faces when it comes to illegal immigration.

Another significant legal mechanism through the court intervention is the administration's family separation policies. It is through the intervention at the national and state level that they try to halt the process of child separation or family separation, enabling the children to be with their parents in case of illegal immigration. The media narrative shows the humanitarian attitude of the immigration judges while hearing the cases of undocumented immigrants. Thus, legal and judicial media narratives highlight a wide range of issues ranging from the responsibility measures taken by the courts to

reinstate the humanitarian programs put forward by the Obama administration, which had been nullified by the Trump administration, questioning the validity of various Trump era policy measures which act as a hindrance to the immigrant intake and integration and the vulnerability of the judges and the legal system due to the vast number of cases faced by the immigration courts thereby providing a comprehensive picture regarding the legal and judicial aspects of immigration in the state of Florida.

In Lithuania, the media narratives also highlight the legal and judicial aspects of immigrant intake and their integration into society. However, unlike Florida, in Lithuania, the judicial system regarding immigration is not that complex due to its initial stage of immigrant influx into this society. One of the major aspects of the legal and judicial system of Lithuania is the legal proceedings towards illegal immigrants detained by the police while getting smuggled into Lithuania. Also, legal proceedings and arbitration have been instigated by legal immigrants against the inhumane practices and exploitation in the workplaces they encounter. As immigration is a recent phenomenon in Lithuania, it lacks adequate immigrant related policy mechanisms and legal measures, hence the media narrative highlights the inadequate support from the legal or judicial system with regard to the grievances raised by the immigrants and the consequent failure of the courts to provide justice to the immigrants who have been exploited in the workplaces. The narratives highlight the injustice faced by the refugees and asylum seekers in Lithuania and their vulnerability. These are mostly the supporting measures by the migration department and administration in which they try to provide temporary residence permit rather than asylum status, thereby halting the rights of the refugees under the refugee resettlement program. Thus , all these media narratives show the lack of formulation of the legal system regarding immigration and the need for such measures to be put forward in Lithuania.

A comparative analysis of Florida and Lithuania reveals that the legal or judicial system in Florida is much more complex and robust, having the capabilities to provide rectification for the grievances of the immigrants, whereas in Lithuania, due to the lack of proper legal measures, they were not able to provide proper assistance to the grievances of the immigrants who faced injustice in Lithuania. However, Florida can be an example for Lithuania, as in the future, when there is a larger immigrant influx, it will eventually lead to the formulation of broader legal measures to rectify the odds of the immigrant intake process and provide rectification to the grievances of immigrants and their communities. In such scenarios, the media narratives, through their framing mechanisms, highlight such measures in Lithuania.

The final sub-frame in the administrative frame is the third sector organizations, which refer to the non-governmental organizations working in the field of immigration that try to act as a catalyst for immigrant intake and integration into society. As the governmental mechanisms act as a deterrent for immigrant intake and integration in the form of policy measures, the third sector organizations, through their various mechanisms, like lobbying and active intervention, try to rectify such policy measures and provide fairness to the policy thereby assisting immigrant intake and integration.

In Florida, the third sector organizations are very important due to their long history and active intervention not only in facilitating immigrant intake and integration but also in lobbying for measures which try to rectify the odds in the policy measures. However,

such media narratives or framing mechanisms are absent in Lithuania due to its young nationhood and the lack of significance attributed to such institutions in the media narratives. However, in the coming years, with an influx of immigration and the growing anti-immigrant sentiments with legislative mechanisms, the role of non-profit organizations may also become significant in Lithuania. In such scenarios, the third sector organizations try to be more advanced not only in activities trying to break the social barriers and the stereotypes, trying to influence policy mechanisms through proper intervention and lobbying. In such cases, the media narratives will also emphasized third sector organizations and their activities.

The final major frame investigating immigration in Florida and Lithuania is the return home frame, which refers to the mechanism through which the policy makers of the host country and the country of immigrants origin make decisions that facilitate the repatriation of immigrants to their home countries. This repatriation process can either be unilateral repatriation taken by the host country or on a mutual basis between both the host country and the country of origin.

Considering the return home frame, a comparative analysis between Florida and Lithuania is not possible, as the sub-frames of unilateral repatriation and mutual cooperation is not found in both regions. In Lithuania, mutual cooperation for repatriation of immigrants is present, whereas in Florida, it is mostly a unilateral return home frame. In Florida, this is mostly due to the timeframe in which the administration was headed by Republicans under the Trump administration, which imposed various harsh measures towards immigration and even forced the immigrants to leave to their countries of origin. The administration was very harsh, as they did not respect the rights of immigrants or concern of the country of origin. The media narratives through the framing mechanism show that in Florida and the United States, the administration made unilateral repatriation decisions without the consent of the immigrants and the country of origin, thereby exercising authority in the return home frame. In Lithuania, however, even though migration is not as complex, when it comes to the return home frame or repatriation measures, the government has a respectable mechanism through which they try to cooperate with the country of origin and reach an agreement for mutual repatriation measures.

The third significant aspect looking into immigration in Florida and Lithuania is the perception of immigrants towards media mechanisms in both societies. To understand the perception of the public towards the media mechanisms, rather than taking the general public's opinion, this study focuses on the perceptions of immigrants who immigrated to Florida and Lithuania. To understand the perception of immigrants towards media mechanisms in media discourse and media framing, the study has categorized this into three categories which are immigrant integration, political debates and communication, and political decision-making and public policy. This has been evaluated with the help of semi-structured interviews conducted with immigrants considering the three aspects and their sub-variables, thereby trying to perceive how the immigrants' opinion is similar and different in Florida and Lithuania with regard to the three dimensions. This allows to identify how media discourse and media framing portrays the aspect of immigrant integration, the aspect of political debates and communications towards immigration, and

migrant policy decision-making which can either be favorable or detrimental towards immigration in Florida and Lithuania.

The first significant aspect in media discourse and framing is the process of immigrant integration. It tries to understand how immigrants perceive the role of media discourse and framing towards immigrant integration. The aspect of immigrant integration has been evaluated using five sub-variables which discussed with the respondents to perceive their understanding of immigrant integration in their respective societies.

In Florida, the migrants have a mixed opinion on immigrant integration sub-variables. Most respondents strongly agree with the statement that the media reports challenge political decision-making, especially with regard to immigration. Only a few respondents either disagree or remain uncertain regarding the media's role in challenging political decision-making. The analysis of political communication and media framing shows that the media plays a significant and proactive role in challenging political decision-making, especially those that are determinant towards immigration. Media's role is essential, especially during period selected for the study, due to the anti-immigration policy measures taken by the Trump administration. The second significant sub-variable is whether the media is biased depending upon party interest. Most respondents agree with the statement, others strongly agree, which shows the migrant opinions regarding the political allegiance and affiliations of the media networks and houses. As the various studies show, almost all media networks and the media and television houses have a significant political allegiance towards either the Democrats or Republicans. Thus, the immigrants also have a clear perception regarding the allegiance of the media regarding the political interest and orientations.

The third sub-variable is the lack of media support for sanctuary policies, especially in Florida, as 2018 was crucial regarding the fate of sanctuary policies in Florida. With Republicans coming to power in the state legislature, a significant amount of anti-sanctuary bills has been put forward, which finally paved the way for anti-sanctuary policy mechanisms in the state of Florida. The majority of immigrants strongly agree that there is a lack of support from the media towards sanctuary policies as the majority of respondents agree with this statement and a several strongly agree, and others remain uncertain regarding the lack of media support towards sanctuary policies. The role of the third sector organizations towards sanctuary policies and their continuity is also investigated. However, due to the constant pressure regarding the anti-sanctuary mechanisms in the state legislature, especially by the ruling party, finally led to the approval of the anti-sanctuary bills in the Florida State legislature.

The fourth sub-variable is the negative portrayal of immigrants by the media. There is a mixed response of immigrants as there is an equal number of immigrants who agree and who disagree with this aspect, and there is a lesser proportion of people who are uncertain regarding this. The immigrants' narratives reveal that the people who agree that there is a media bias towards immigration and they are negatively portraying are mostly people from the Latin American regions, who the media tried to categorize as bad and creating problems in society, whereas people from other regions who were interviewed have an opinion that the media does not frame immigrants as bad, in general.

The final sub-variable is the media's role in immigrant integration. The majority of the respondents disagree and strongly disagree with this statement, and only a few remain uncertain. It shows that the immigrants perceive that the media does not have a progressive approach towards immigrant intake and integration and support other organizations or institutions to come forward for immigrant integration. This can be due to various other aspects, such as the political allegiance of the media networks and the fear of repercussions from the political authorities. Hence the immigrants perceive that the media mechanisms for immigrant integration do not significantly support the idea of sanctuary cities or encourage other institutions to come forward for immigrant integration.

Regarding immigrant perceptions towards media discourse and framing mechanisms towards immigrant integration, in Lithuania, the majority of respondents strongly agree and agree that media reports challenge political decision-making and only a few remain uncertain. Even though migration is not as complex as it is in Florida, the media acts in a progressive manner, trying to highlight the policy odds regarding immigration. The second sub-variable in this regard is whether media is biased based on political allegiance interest, and the majority of the respondents do not have much awareness regarding this as they remain uncertain, others disagree with this statement, and few agree with it. This shows that, unlike Florida, if there is a party allegiance of the media networks here in Lithuania, it is not that evident, and it shows a lack of awareness of the migrants. The third sub-variable is the lack of media support for immigrant integration and the majority of respondents disagree with this statement, and others remain uncertain whether there is a lack of media support for immigrant integration. This also shows the trust of the immigrants towards the media mechanism in Lithuania towards immigrant integration. The fourth sub-variable is the role of media in negatively framing immigration, and most respondents disagree with this statement, whereas others show their agreement towards the media mechanism negatively portraying immigrants. This also shows the positive media attributes in Lithuania, which favor immigrant integration. The final sub-variable in this category is whether the media encourages other organizations for immigrant integration, and most respondents agree and strongly agree, and only a minority is unsure regarding this. It also shows that even though the process of immigration is a new phenomenon and the concept of immigrant discourse is a recent phenomenon in the Lithuanian media, the immigrants have a positive attribute towards media mechanism for immigrant integration and facilitating other organizations to come forward for immigrant integration.

A comparative analysis of the role of media discourse in promoting immigrant integration in Florida and Lithuania reveals that the immigrants' perceptions are much more positive in Lithuania, whereas there is a significant amount of negative attributes about the role of media discourse towards immigrant integration in Florida. This can be due to the long history of immigration in Florida and the consequent approach taken by the media towards immigration, a stronger and deeper understanding of the media discourse of the immigrants in Florida due to a wide variety of media networks which provides communication through English language, long-term living, and integration into the society by the immigrants in Florida, thereby being more accustomed to the political culture and the media mechanisms. In Lithuania, as the media discourse towards

immigration is a novel phenomenon due to the recent history of immigration, there is a lack of deeper and critical analysis by media discourse towards immigration and integration and the short-term residence of the immigrants and their lack of political and media understanding due to lack of diversified media discourses through the English language can be seen as a significant attribute which facilitates much more positive approach towards media discourse on immigrant integration. The immigrants respond positively to all five sub-variables in Lithuania. In contrast, in Florida, the sub-variable of media report challenges political decisions and communication has a positive attribute whereas all other sub-variables the immigrants perceive that the media lacks significant attention and responsibility through their discourse and communication for immigrant integration. Thus, the immigrants' response towards media responsibility on immigrant integration has much more positive feedback in Lithuania than in Florida. It must be noted that such scenarios can be altered in the current and futuristic times when there is an influx of immigration and lack of positive approach from the policymakers and public in Lithuania. The perception of immigrants, even though different in Florida and Lithuania, can be altered in the future due to various policy mechanisms and the approach taken by the media in situations which can either facilitate or hinder immigrant integration through media discourse mechanisms in Florida and Lithuania.

The second question for the immigrants is looking at the role of media political debates and communication in Florida and Lithuania. To have a deeper understanding of the role of media in political debates and communication, it has been categorized into five sub-variables, and the response from the immigrants has been taken for analyzing their understanding regarding the political communication by the media in Lithuania and Florida.

In Florida, the first sub-variable asks whether media facilitates discussion on the anti-immigration bill. Most respondents remain uncertain whether there is a role played by the media regarding influence on the anti-immigration bills. Other respondents equally disagree, agree, and strongly agree. This shows the diversity when it comes to the role of media regarding the anti-immigration bill. This can be mainly attributed to the differences in the ethnic orientation of the immigrants and their diversified backgrounds. People who mostly disagree or are skeptical towards such mechanisms are mostly from the Latin American or African regions who believe that the media does not play a significant role when it comes to discussions about the anti-immigration bills. This can be attributed to their socio-cultural orientation and, to an extent, the mindset the immigrants carry forward. The second sub-variable looks into the media's role in conducting debates and discussions with immigrants through their networks. The majority of the respondents agree with such statement whereas the rest of the respondents equally strongly agree, are uncertain, and disagree. It shows that when it comes to the media facilitating discussions with migrants, the majority of respondents have equally voiced that the migrants get a platform and representation through the media for highlighting their grievances and to make their voices heard. The third significant sub-variable is the media criticizing politicians on anti-immigration policies. In Florida, a higher number of immigrants disagree with this statement, whereas there is an equal proportion of people who agree and are uncertain regarding the role of media in criticizing politicians on anti-immigration stand. This also shows the diversity in Florida regarding the role of media in upholding

immigrant rights and trying to be vocal against the anti-immigration policies put forward by the administration. The fourth sub-variable is the role of media in encouraging citizen participation against anti-immigration policies. Most respondents remain uncertain whether the media plays a significant role in encouraging citizen participation against anti-immigration policies, and the rest in equal proportion agree or disagree with the statement. The final sub-frame is the role of media in influencing the politicians for the revision of anti-immigration policies. Most respondents agree with the statement that the media plays a significant role in influencing the politicians to revise anti-immigrant policies, and the rest remain uncertain. This shows that when it comes to the awareness of the immigrants regarding these aspects, immigrants have great insight regarding all these sub-variables. It can be mainly attributed to their understanding through the political communication facilitated by the media discourses and through various other sources, such as the third sector organizations and politicians who advocate for the rights of immigration and immigrant integration.

To study the role of media in enhancing or facilitating political communication and discourse in Lithuania, the first variable is whether the media facilitates discourses for immigrant integration. Most respondents agree and strongly agree with the statement. The remaining with equal proportion disagree or remain uncertain about the media's role in facilitating immigrant integration discourses. The second sub-variable is whether the media facilitates discussion with immigrants in the channels. Like the previously, most of the respondents agree and strongly agree with the statement, and the remaining minor proportion remains uncertain whether the media plays a significant role in facilitating discussion on its platforms. The third sub-variable is whether the media criticizes politicians for the lack of facilitating immigrant integration. Unlike the previous sub-variables, most of the respondents remain uncertain whether there is a significant role played by the media, and the remaining respondents agree with the statement. It can be attributed to the recent inflow of immigration and the recent policy mechanisms in Lithuania, and the lack of room for the media to come up with criticism regarding this context. However, a minor number of respondents agree with this statement, which can be attributed to the media discourses that criticize the lack of policy measures regarding the rights of the immigrants working in Lithuanian companies. The fourth sub-variable is the role of media in encouraging citizen participation for immigrant integration. Most of the respondents agree and strongly agree with the statement, while the remaining minor proportion of respondents remain unsure. Most of the respondents who express their positive opinion state that this could be mainly attributed to highlighting the activities of third sector organizations which try to break the stereotypes and barriers, thereby trying to facilitate immigrant integration. Through such measures, the media discourse highlights the need for citizen participation in immigrant integration, which is highlighted through the mediatized political communication and discourse. The final sub-variable is the role of media in influencing the politicians to rectify the odds and immigration policies. Most the respondents remain unsure whether the media plays a significant role in this regard, and only a minor proportion of respondents state that they agree with this statement. It is because of the recent phenomenon of immigration, there is a lack of anti-migration policy mechanisms formulated in Lithuania. However, a minority of the respondents state that they agree with this statement, which can be attributed to the media

discourse, which highlights the exploitation of the workers in the work sites, especially from the neighboring Eastern European countries, and the consequent policy mechanisms facilitated by the government ensuring their rights through a mutual agreement signed between Lithuania and Ukraine. Through these mechanisms which protect the rights of immigrants and are highlighted in the media discourse on political communication, immigrants have an awareness regarding the role played by the media in facilitating the political communication for favorable mechanisms regarding immigration. Thus, when it comes to the role played by the media in facilitating media discourse on political communication, the respondents provide significant insights.

A comparative analysis between Lithuania and Florida shows that immigrants in Lithuania have great trust and confidence in the media mechanisms towards political communication and discourse for favorable immigration process, whereas there is not a significant amount of confidence in Florida. In Florida, there is a lack of immigrants' trust towards the media mechanisms which facilitate immigrant integration in Florida. Respondents' narrations indicate that due to the alignment of the media networks towards various political organizations and the strong stand taken by the federal and state government towards anti-immigration policies, especially by the Republican administration, the immigrants have a perception that the media fears repercussions if they criticize the anti-immigration policies. However, some of the respondents also state that not all media have allegiance and orientation, and they place a significant role in highlighting the odds in immigration policies. In Lithuania, with the exception of sub-variables asking whether the media criticizes politicians for the lack of facilitating immigrant integration and media influences the politicians for rectifying the odds in the immigration process, the immigrants completely trust the media process and their political communication which provides significant insights for immigrant integration discourse and their assimilation into the society. It shows the significant trust of the immigrant communities towards the media mechanisms in Lithuania. Unlike Florida, the two sub-variables in which immigrants do not have much confidence, as they disagree with the statement in those sub-variables. They remain unsure whether the media plays a significant role in that regard. There are no mechanisms that require the media to criticize politicians and ask them to rectify the odds in the immigration process. It is due to the recent aspect of immigration in the context of Lithuania and the lack of anti-immigration forces facilitated or formulated by the Lithuanian administration in this regard. The immigrants show greater trust in Lithuania than in Florida. However, as all these attributes and variables are time and space connected, and will see significant changes in future scenarios when there are not many favorable administrative and media mechanisms in Florida and the United States with a more democratic administration, and in Lithuania when there is a considerable amount of illegal immigration calling for stringent immigrant control mechanisms. In such scenarios, the comparative analysis of the case of both Florida and Lithuania would provide different responses.

The final variable exploring the perception of immigrants regarding the role of media for immigrant integration is the media's role on the dimensions of public policy measures on immigration. Through this variable and its sub-variables, the research explores the role played by the media looking at the aspects of public policy measures taken by the government towards immigration in the form of new policy measures,

funding allocation, fairness, and transparency concerning wages, and employment rates, when it comes to both domestic and foreign workers.

The first sub-variable is whether the media influences the political behavior of the party leaders when it comes to the immigration and migrant crisis. In Florida, most of the respondents remain uncertain regarding the role of media in influencing political leadership. The remaining minor number in equal proportion agrees and disagrees with this statement. Most of the respondents share the perception that, rather than the media, it is the third sector organizations working in the field of immigration, places a significant role in influencing the political behavior of the party leaders through their lobbying mechanisms and various activities like public protest and collecting mass signatures showing the actual perception of the public.

The second sub-variable is whether the media stimulates the government for facilitating the allocation of funds for refugees. Most of the respondents remain uncertain whether the media plays a significant role, and the remaining disagree with the statement. Most of the respondents believed when it comes to stimulating the government for the allocation of funds for refugees, it is mostly being carried out by third sector organizations like the NGOs who work with immigration and refugees through their effective lobbying and other public protest mechanisms. The immigrants thought that apart from them, they find that the media does not place a significant stimulating role due to their political orientation and fear of persecution or media scrutiny by the federal or state authorities, especially under the republican government.

The third sub-variable is whether the media evaluates governmental efficiency on migrant crisis management. Unlike the above-mentioned sub-variable, the majority of the respondents agree and strongly agree with this statement, and only a minor number remains uncertain or disagrees. Respondents thought that even though the media does not play a significant role in facilitating political discourse or such scenarios, which the third sector organizations have actively done when it comes to evaluation, the media plays a significant role. The respondents believed that the media mainly carries out this evaluation process through the process of media discourse and political narrations in which they highlight and evaluate the governmental role towards the migrant crisis. The journalists make the narration through critical evaluation, looking at the pros and cons of the migrant crisis and the effective policy mechanisms that the government has carried out to provide solace towards the migrants. Thus, the migrants believe that through the media discourse which highlights the various governmental policies, which can either be providing betterment or detrimental to the migrant crisis, such as family separation policies and other measures taken by the government, thus effectively evaluating the migrant crisis management by the government.

The final subframe in this regard is whether the media acts as a lobbyist for wages, employment, and human rights for the refugees. Most of the respondents remain uncertain and others in equal proportion disagree or agree to this statement. Here the migrants highlighted that when it comes to the lobbying mechanisms for wages, employment, and human crisis management, it is the third sector organizations and other responsible social actors which act on behalf of the migrants and immigrants rather than the media networks and organizations. However, some of them stated that even though the media directly does not lobby but through their discourse mechanism, they highlight

the exploitative nature in the work sector, thereby grabbing the attention of the policymakers to make significant policy mechanisms.

The perceptions of the immigrants regarding the dimensions of public policy measures towards immigration in the Lithuanian media have been evaluated through the sub-variables. The first sub-variable is whether the media influences the political behavior of the party leaders for facilitating immigration. Most of the respondents remain uncertain, and the remaining in an equal proportion agree and disagree with the statement. The respondents believed that the concept of migration is a recent phenomenon as they have not seen any significant aspects in which the media tries to influence the political decision-making and influence the party members regarding immigration. However, some state that the media discourse tries to be vocal when it comes to exploitation in the workplace. The second sub-variable is whether the media stimulates the government to allocate more funds for immigration integration mechanisms. Here the respondents in an equal proportion agree and remain uncertain, and a minor proportion disagrees with this statement. The respondents who remain uncertain believe that it is the third sector organizations that act to stimulate the government to allocate more funds for immigrant integration mechanisms. The other group which agrees with this statement believes that the media also plays a significant role, especially through their discourse mechanisms towards the various inequalities and uncertainties the immigrants face in Lithuania and in the work sector, thereby trying to influence the government to stimulate them to allocate more funds for immigrant integration mechanism. Other few respondents state that they believe that the bilateral agreement between Lithuania and Ukraine was a consequence of the significantly responsible media discourse, which highlights the odds in the immigrant integration mechanism in which the workers were being exploited in the workplace.

The third sub-variable is the role of media in evaluating the governmental efficiency towards immigrant integration. Most of the respondents agree with this statement while the remaining remain uncertain or disagree with this statement. The respondents believe that even though the media directly does not influence the policy decision-making, when it comes to evaluating the government's efficiency towards immigration and its policies, the media plays a significant role. The respondents thought that these were mostly by media discourse that highlights the discriminatory and exploitative nature in the workplaces and the discriminatory policies towards refugees and asylum seekers in Lithuania. Thus, through these discourses, the media is trying to evaluate and analyze the government's policy mechanisms and try to signify the odds in the policy mechanisms towards immigration and immigrant integration in Lithuania. The final sub-variable is whether the media acts as a lobbyist for wages, employment, and human rights for the migrants. Most of the respondents remain uncertain regarding this role, and the remaining agree with this statement. The respondents who remained uncertain stated that this is mostly because of their belief that these are mostly carried out by the NGOs who work in the field of immigration and human rights rather than the media. However, the respondents believe that media, through their narration and discourse, tries to highlight the exploitative nature towards the immigrant workers, especially the Lithuanian companies, thereby trying to influence the political decision-making indirectly and rectify the odds in the immigration process.

A comparative analysis of the dimensions of public policy towards immigration by the media shows that there is a great amount of similarity between Florida and Lithuania. In Florida, only one sub-variable which looks whether the media evaluates governmental efficiency on migrant crisis management shows a positive response from the immigrants towards the media mechanism. Whereas in Lithuania, there are two sub-variables in which the immigrants show a positive response towards the media mechanisms on public policy. These are the variables in which the media stimulates the government to allocate funds for immigrant integration, and media evaluates governmental efficiency on immigrant integration. This shows that in Florida and Lithuania, the immigrant perception has a positive response only to the aspect of media analysis of the immigrant integration aspect and the media mechanism which stimulates the governmental policy mechanisms, whereas immigrants do not have a positive response towards whether the media influences the political behavior or whether the media acts as a lobbyist in Florida and Lithuania. Immigrants believe that this has primarily been carried out by the third sector organizations particularly the NGOs who work in the field of immigration. The dataset shows great similarity in the aspect that the immigrants believe that the NGOs are primarily carrying out the lobbying. However, the media, to a large extent, through their narrative mechanisms and discourse, tries to highlight the injustice towards immigrants, especially in the workplaces, thereby acting as a corrective force. Immigrants also have a great perception that rather than the media, it is mostly other organizations and social institutions which influence governmental policy mechanisms and lobbying activities. In the coming years, when there is a great influx of immigration to Lithuania, the impact of the third sector organizations in the field immigration will also have a considerable impact, acting as a corrective force, lobbying and other mechanisms try to influence the public policy measures. Thus, it can be concluded that when it comes to media's influence on public policy measures for immigration, the immigrant narrative states that even though the media cannot justify all these aspects or variables, it is essential to the analysis and influencing the public policy mechanisms.

The final aspect taken for the comparative analysis to understand the influence of mediatized political communication on immigration in Florida and Lithuania is the role played by the third sector organizations towards immigrant integration. The third sector organizations are those organizations, particularly the NGOs working in the field of immigration and immigrant integration, who act as a channelizing force, facilitating integration for immigrants in this society. They try to influence the government through various activities and lobbying measures to implement policies that can benefit the immigrants in society. They try to rectify the odds in the policy mechanisms, which can be detrimental to immigrant intake and integration. Thus, the third sector organizations facilitate immigrant intake and integration and act as a channelizing force for policy mechanisms and corrective measures towards policies for immigration.

To make a comparative analysis of the third sector organizations in the field of immigration in Florida and Lithuania, a total of six NGOs working in the field of immigration have been taken from Florida, and two NGOs in the field of immigration from Lithuania.

Immigration in Florida is a long-dated phenomenon, and the complex process of immigration to the United States, particularly in Florida, due to illegal immigration and

the recent political measures which have been envisaged by the national and state government, lead to further complex phenomena related immigration. In this context, the role played by the third sector organizations in the state of Florida had a great significance during the given time. The period taken for this study (2015 to 2020) not only has great significance due to the anti-immigration policies created by the Trump administration at the national level, it is also important to the changed administration at the state level, which finally implemented the anti-sanctuary policies in the state of Florida. It has a far-reaching consequence, as the immigrants who illegally reside in Florida are vulnerable to the national law mechanisms; they can be detained although previously were under the sanctuary's protection. In such context, together with the national anti-immigration policies, the NGOs have great significance.

The first NGO taken from Florida is Dawn Centre Domestic and Sexual Violence Service. Unlike other NGOs, which cover the comprehensive aspects of the immigrants, this NGO specifically looks into the sexual and domestic violence perpetrated towards migrants and women in domestic relationships or working as maids or other jobs in households. Unlike other immigrant issues in the workspace and at the governmental and public offices, the issues perpetuating towards household violence are mostly unnoticed due to the fear of deportation, which prevents them from complaining about such acts of violence to the authorities. The NGO helps the women who cannot file legal complaints against the perpetrators, provides accommodation and further legal proceedings, enabling them to get legal protection while not getting deported. It allows the victims to come forward and report such incidents and state their grievances. They allow the victim to report abuse and get legal protection, when living in the United States. They also protect women who have been smuggled and racketeered for sexual acts and prostitution in the United States, ensuring their humanitarian rights and human dignity. This NGO not only provides legal protection to the victims, they advocate to make changes in the legal policies at the national and state level, thereby enhancing more corrective measures in the legal system which ensures fairness for the victims. It must be noted that such activities have been conducted in cooperation with other NGOs in the field, thereby trying to lobby for the specific cause the NGO has been upholding. Through their social media and other platforms, they try to raise awareness to the society regarding the need for the victims to come forward with such incidents, thereby trying to get rid of their grievances and the needs for the public to respect the rights of the women and to prevent further domestic violence and abuse. Through these measures, the NGO tries to get justice for those who approach them, to ensure the social cohesion of the immigrants in this society.

The second NGO taken for this study to understand the role of third sector organizations for immigrant integration is Palm Beach County Coalition. This NGO works more comprehensively with undocumented immigrants, which is especially important to the time period which has been selected for this study, as it was during the time of the interview that the political actors were becoming very vocal against the anti-sanctuary policies that have been tabled in the Florida State legislature, which finally got approval, ending the sanctuary status of the Florida. The undocumented immigrants residing in Florida became vulnerable to prosecution by the federal and state authorities. The NGO runs a specific Guatemala Center to protect the rights of many undocumented immigrants from Guatemala. It provides legal assistance and protection to undocumented

immigrants and provides psychological consultations to their families, and education for the children. Undocumented immigrants often experience psychological trauma. To overcome that, the NGO runs a psychological center providing psychological assistance to people who have been traumatized due to the situations in home and host countries. To equip such immigrants to get a job in the United States, they provide vocational training and language proficiency courses, enabling immigrants to find jobs in the United States and have a dignified life. NGOs have lobbying mechanisms to rectify the odds in the policy measures. Their direct efforts and collaboration with other NGOs are essential; they could defeat the anti-sanctuary policy measures in the Florida legislature. To advocate for the immigration integration measures, they have collaborated with other like-minded NGOs and the local churches and run their own media networks and a local newspaper, helping with immigrant integration in the society.

The third NGO which has been taken for analysis is Friends of Miami-Dade Detainees. They provide mental and emotional support and assistance to those detained and kept in isolation in the detention centers in Florida. Unlike many other NGOs which are faith-oriented, this is not a faith-oriented NGO; it provides assistance irrespective of faith in the form of emotional support; they connect detainees to their families by providing telephone calls, provide paperback books to keep them engaged in isolation. Most of the people who have been detained are under civil law in the US, hence they do not have legal assistance. The NGO provides legal assistance to alleviate their grievances and provide emotional and psychological support to women detainees, enabling them to cope with this situation. The lobbying activities include collaborating with other big NGOs in the state to combat the anti-immigration and anti-sanctuary policies being tabled in the Florida State legislature. The NGO conducts media activities through their social media and other online platforms and gets assistance from the local newspapers publishing their articles. The NGO plays a significant role in drawing solace to undocumented immigrants who have been detained in the detention centers in Florida.

The fourth NGO which has been taken for this study is the Florida Public Service Union. Unlike the above-mentioned NGOs, Florida Public Service Union is not directly dealing with immigrant integration and is specifically oriented towards the rights of workers as this is a labor NGO advocating for political reforms and political outreach. Even though they are not directly dealing with immigrant integration, those immigrants who approach the NGO have been directed towards their partner NGOs to get their rights and get their grievances heard. Regarding the lobbying activities of the NGO, unlike the other NGOs that advocate and lobby for immigration policies, this NGO looks into the aspect of political and policy reforms that can embrace more labor immigration, thereby enabling the immigrant workforce to get placed in the companies and institutions in Florida. Regarding the lobbying activities, this NGO lobbies with like-minded actors to reach the Florida State legislature to make comprehensive reforms with regard to not only immigration but to sanctuary policies. Such actions enable the immigrant families and communities to have a dignified life in Florida and find work to provide for themselves and their families. Regarding the media mechanism and the media networks, the NGO states that they try to raise awareness about the need for immigration and immigrant integration and to get them connected with the society through their social media and

other platforms and as well as various local radio channels, thereby trying to remove the stereotypes prevalent in the society regarding immigration and immigrant integration.

The fifth NGO which has been taken for this study from Florida is Family Action Network Movement. The main activities of the NGO cover a comprehensive spectrum, providing basic rights and legal assistance to all immigrants irrespective of their status, whether they are asylum seekers, refugees, legal or illegal immigrants. Regarding the immigrants who are asylum seekers or refugees who approach the NGO, they try to provide the social and political rights to those asylum seekers. To the illegal and undocumented immigrants the NGO helps them to get accommodation in the state without getting deported. As a responsible NGO, they provide a wide variety of activities such as counseling, orientation courses, and other forms of legal aid to a wide number of immigrants daily. The NGO effectively lobbies for immigrant integration policy mechanisms, which culminate in the formulation of various immigrant integration policy mechanisms, especially with regard to the DACA recipients who are undocumented children residing in the United States. The NGO states that an essential lobbying mechanism is taking the immigrants who are victimized, showing the plight of the immigrants directly to the congressmen, influencing their perceptions to make significant changes in the policies that affect immigration. The NGO believes that the media has a proactive role in facilitating and sharing the news and perspectives about the NGO, thereby positively impacting the public regarding the activities they conduct.

The final NGO which has been taken to study regarding the role for social cohesion of immigrants is Florida Immigrant Coalition. Unlike other NGOs which have specific areas of activities, Florida Immigrant Coalition can be seen as an umbrella NGO comprising the members of various NGOs and acting as the main actor in the field of immigration and immigrant integration. They cover a wide range of activities from creating measures for immigrant integration and combating the anti-sanctuary policies and anti-immigration policies in Florida State Legislature, creating awareness and information dissemination, immigrant organization coordinating the activities of NGOs in the field, community education to create awareness among the society and community they need for immigrant intake and integration and, finally, advocacy and organizing mechanisms through which the NGO carries out the lobbying mechanisms. Further, the NGO states that they carry out a wide amount of integration activities, such as providing guidance and counseling, education, health care, providing legal assistance against deportation and detention, and enabling the undocumented immigrants to convert into documented immigrants to have a dignified life in the United States. The NGO states that they collaborate with all other major NGOs in the state of Florida in the field of immigration and lobby actively against the anti-sanctuary and anti-immigration policies, which have been tabled in the Florida State legislature. They state that they were able to defeat nine sanctuary bills in the Florida State legislature. Regarding the activities of the media, they claim that they are very much pleased with the activities of the media support as they are getting the support of all major media networks in this state, and they share the news and other activities carried out by the NGO regarding immigrant integration activities and the lobbying mechanisms.

To evaluate the role of third sector organizations towards immigrant integration mechanisms that facilitate social cohesion, two prominent NGOs in the field of

immigration have been taken from Lithuania. The first one is Red Cross, and the second one is Europos Namai. Even though Red Cross has an international nature due to its presence in various countries, it has a unique presence and characteristics with the case of Lithuania due to its different requirements.

Regarding the role and activities of the Red Cross, unlike other countries where they have a wide presence and various activities ranging from immigrant integration to combating anti-immigration policies through effective lobbying mechanisms, with the case of Lithuania due to its recent nature of immigration, the activities are limited within Lithuania. The NGO states that the major activities are mostly dealing with providing counseling and psychological well-being for people who come from third country regions as they find it difficult to cope with the climate, language, and other cultural aspects in Lithuania. As the language is very difficult, especially for people from English-speaking countries, the NGO provides Lithuanian language courses for free, enabling them to culturally integrate with the society. The NGO also conducts integration activities through various cultural events, integrating and connecting the locals and foreigners which allows to break the stereotypes. The NGO states that one of the significant difficulties for asylum seekers and refugees from third-country regions is the lack of skills and expertise to get acquainted with Lithuanian society and job structure. Therefore, the NGO conducts various language and skill imparting courses through which immigrants will be able to get a basic understanding of the various aspects that facilitate job acquisition in Lithuania. The NGO stated that mobility is important to secure a job, and language incompetence is a constraint for the immigrants who wish to have a driving license in Lithuania. Therefore, the NGO conducts driving license lessons. The NGO states that the media in Lithuania is not that cooperative in sharing the perceptions and activities carried out by the NGOs towards immigrant integration. However, the NGO believes that when some significant activities are being carried out, they approach the media to get their support and share the perceptions to the wider public. Thus, the media is not that much an active facilitator for the activities carried out by the NGOs for immigrant integration in Lithuania.

The second NGO was Europos Namai which has been contacted in Lithuania to understand the immigrant integration mechanisms and the social cohesion facilitated by the third sector organizations. The interview was conducted with the coordinator of a specific project of the NGO named Būkim Pažįstami. According to the coordinator, the NGO's activities are diverse, regarding various activities that fall in the category of the third sector through their project fundings. However, she stated that through the project called Būkim Pažįstami, the NGO focuses directly on the activities related to immigrant intake and their integration into society. To facilitate migrant integration into the society, the NGO conducts various activities, such as cultural awareness, lobbying together with other NGOs in the field, media mechanisms for promoting the activities to have an outreach into the society and, finally, the mechanism of securing funding for NGO activities through project applications for national and international funding especially from the European Union. Like the Red Cross, in Lithuania, the main activities of the NGO fall into the category of creating awareness regarding various cultures from different nationalities, especially from the third world nations, to create social cohesion which continues to integration between the foreigners and locals in Lithuania. Due to the

young status of the nation and the recent influx of immigrants, the local population is not much aware of various cultures and their diversified backgrounds. Due to the various media mechanisms which facilitate and create stereotypes towards various cultures, the local population is skeptical towards different nationalities. Due to the bitter experience of Soviet occupation the local population has a fear of different nationalities and cultural identities. Therefore, unlike in Florida, the NGOs' primary aim in Lithuania is to break the stereotypes and create a mechanism that provides immigrant integration and their assimilation into society. From the experience of the coordinator, programs and activities which facilitate cultural interactions and communication through a common platform help break the stereotypes among the locals towards foreign cultures. By sharing such perceptions and testimonies through the media mechanisms, they were able to reach society, thereby trying to remove the stereotypes on a larger scale. Even though there is not that much significant emphasis on lobbying and its wider mechanisms, like in Florida, the coordinator states that they conduct lobbying activities and coordinate with Red Cross and other NGOs in the field. Through these lobbying mechanisms, they gather funding from politicians and parliamentarians at the national level to have much further outreach of the activities conducted by the NGOs for breaking the social barrier evident in the society. Even though the media does not directly take effort for immigrant integration, when it comes to the activities conducted by the NGO, the media tries to share them in news reports, providing outreach to the activities conducted by the NGO towards immigrant integration. Through their social media platforms the NGO shares the perceptions of immigrants, which creates outreach about the need for immigrant intake and integration into the society. The final aspect is acquiring national and international funding for NGO activities. Unfortunately, they were unable to get necessary funding which enables them to conduct and continue with the activities related to immigrant intake and integration.

A comparative analysis of the third sector organizations in Florida and Lithuania shows that third sector organizations have a much broader outlook and activity basis in Florida than in Lithuania. It is evident that in Florida, the NGOs have diversified specialization and even take up activities that only come into the specialization. In Lithuania, the NGOs lack specialization and carry out activities that try to break the social barriers, facilitating immigrant intake and integration and their social cohesion. It can be mainly attributed to the long history of immigrant influx and intake in the United States, particularly in Florida, and Lithuania's recent history and young nation status and immigration. However, due to the recent influx of illegal immigration in Lithuania, particularly in the last year through the Eastern European borders, from Belarus and Ukraine, the frequency and implications of immigrant intake and integration and the role of third sector activities will likely enhance in Lithuania in the future. The activities related to immigrant intake and their integration into the society and social cohesion cannot be not dealt with solely by the national government. In such scenarios, the expansion of third sector organizations will get a pivotal role. The mechanisms of the NGOs related to immigration in Lithuania will likely undergo structural changes, like in Florida. The current activities of the third sector organizations in Lithuania are mostly towards activities that break the stereotypes and create social cohesion. If and when the situation complicates with the immigrant influx, Lithuania will likely create NGO

activities that undertake specific aspects of immigration. NGOs in the field of immigration will likely come up with specializations, like protecting women's and children's rights and preventing sexual exploitation and acts of violence, protecting the labor rights of immigrants, working with undocumented immigrants and their mechanisms to convert them into naturalized immigration, helping immigrants of particular nationalities and cultural orientations and ethnicities with their documentation, etc.

Another aspect that distinguishes the NGO activities between Florida and Lithuania are the lobbying mechanisms of the third sector organizations. The lobbying mechanisms are very intense and very professional in Florida, United States. It is mostly attributed to the long history of immigrant intake and their integration. The lobbying mechanisms are facilitated by the policy measures taken by the national and state government towards immigrants as the immigration, and immigrant intake policies are federal concern and the long history of federal policies which limits the immigrant intake, especially concerning various nationalities and their arrival to the United States. Through their lobbying mechanisms, the NGOs try to rectify such policy measures and odds and promote favorable immigrant intake into the United States. These measures intensified after the coming of President Trump and his administration, which limits the immigrant intake into the United States, especially from particular nationalities. NGOs in Florida are highly vocal and actively lobby not only against the policies and message by the Trump administration but also against the anti-sanctuary policy mechanisms to be implemented at the state level. This is crucial, as once the anti-sanctuary policies are implemented, it makes the undocumented immigrants in the state of Florida vulnerable to be detained and prosecuted by the federal administration and their departments. Due to all these reasons and the long history of NGO lobbying in Florida, the lobbying activities are intense. Even though all six NGOs discussed in this study have their specializations to family protection, prevention of sexual abuse and domestic violence, protecting the labor rights of immigrants, the coordinated activities enable them to approach the legislators to make significant changes to policy mechanisms. Lobbying is very professional and has been carried out with much precision in Florida.

The two studied NGOs reveal that the lobbying mechanism is still evolving in Lithuania. This is due to the young nation and the recent arrival of immigrants, and their integration into society. Even though the NGOs are trying to lobby, their lobbying mechanisms are primarily oriented towards the allocation of funds for their projects rather than making significant changes in the policy mechanisms towards immigrant intake and their integration. However, recently Lithuania has faced an influx of illegal immigration, especially through the Eastern European borders, and Belarus specifically. Also, the recent tensions at the border camps were noted in the immigrants' detention centre. There are skeptical attitudes and concerns raised by the local population towards immigration in recent times. The media represents the efforts taken by the NGOs in providing resources and psychological comfort to the immigrants who have been detained in the border camps, especially by the Red Cross. Thus, the growing number of undocumented and illegal immigrants in the coming years will likely have serious repercussions in Lithuania; legal measures and policies which hinder such arrivals may be developed. When the political climate and legal mechanisms are adverse towards the immigrants,

especially towards the undocumented immigration, the NGOs will also come up to a level of significant lobbying mechanisms, which the NGOs have demonstrated in Florida. The lobbying mechanisms in Florida can be taken as an example for the Lithuanian NGOs to follow to have more efficient lobbying mechanisms that can alter the political and policy framework in the case of Lithuania.

Another difference between Florida and Lithuania is the financial and economic aspect for the functioning of the third sector organizations. In Florida, most of the NGOs are financed mostly through crowd-pulling activities, donations, and other contributions received from the society who have a like-minded orientation towards humanitarian purposes. It enables them to be independent without having constrained voices when raising their concerns towards the policy mechanisms envisaged by the government. Lithuanian NGOs mostly rely upon funding opportunities for running their projects and other activities from the government and from the European Union and other international organizations. However, when an organization depends for their financing on the national government and the European Union, sometimes they are less expressive and vocal when opposing the policy measures created by the government at the national and regional level. It puts them in a complex situation and disallows lobbying activities for immigrant intake and integration and opposing the legal measures envisaged by the government, which inhibits immigrant intake and integration. Therefore, in the future, when immigration becomes a debatable topic and when the NGOs are able to break the social barrier and move further towards immigrant intake and the integration in the society, they can get financial assistance and funding from the public who has a humanitarian approach, like Florida. The NGOs in Lithuania will also have a firm tone without being constrained to raise their voices for significant changes in the policy mechanisms which hinder immigrant intake and integration. The final aspect of making a comparative study between Florida and Lithuania regarding the non-governmental organizations is the media mechanisms towards NGO activities. As media is one of the significant actors in contemporary times, which facilitate discourse and discussions in the society regarding various societal issues, the role played by media regarding the promotion and highlighting the activities of third sector organizations is crucial.

In Florida, the representatives of all studied NGOs claim that the media plays an imperative role in highlighting the odds in the policy mechanisms and promoting the activities taken by the NGOs favoring immigrant intake and significant policy changes. It is mainly through such activities as reporting the news, highlighting the protests and other demonstrations carried out by the NGOs in combating anti-immigration policies and the activities directed against the implementation of the anti-sanctuary bills in the Florida State legislature. The media activities are confined to these, but they also publish articles and narrations that highlight the role of their sector organizations in facilitating favorable policies that assist immigrant intake and integration into society. Therefore, in Florida, the media has a proactive role not only in depicting and highlighting the activities conducted by the NGO in the field of immigration but also making their own narrations and political communication highlighting the role of the third sector organizations and the need for making significant changes in the policy measures. NGOs have their own social media platforms, to share the activities and other information related to immigration and the need for significant policy changes.

Lithuanian media mechanisms are not as proactive as in Florida. In Lithuania, it is mostly sharing the activities conducted by the NGOs, thereby trying to break the social barriers and facilitate integration between the locals and the foreigners. Unlike Florida, the Lithuanian media activities are limited to such innovative measures. The Lituanian media lacks innovative activities which may facilitate political communication that could support immigration and related services of the NGO networks in Lithuania. However, in recent times and in the future when illegal immigration and other aspects related to immigration become a significant and capitalistic force in the Lithuanian society, the media mechanisms will also make some progressive measures to highlight the activities of the NGOs, but also publish critical narratives and advocate the need for policy measures which facilitate immigrant integration in Lithuania. Thus, Florida can be taken as a policy guideline for Lithuanian NGOs and third sector organizations. It is evident that in the recent and coming times when the aspect of immigration experiences a structural change due to the influx of illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders, and Lithuania becomes a hotspot for immigrant intake, particularly illegal immigration. It is because illegal immigration through the Mediterranean has become a risky, which makes Lithuania one of the most preferred destinations for illegal immigration. In such scenarios, the third sector organizations will have to play a significant role, and Florida and its third sector organizations can be taken as a policy booklet for policy measures to be adapted to Lithuania regarding lobbying media mechanisms and the specialization in the mechanisms envisaged by the third sector organizations in Lithuania.

Research Findings

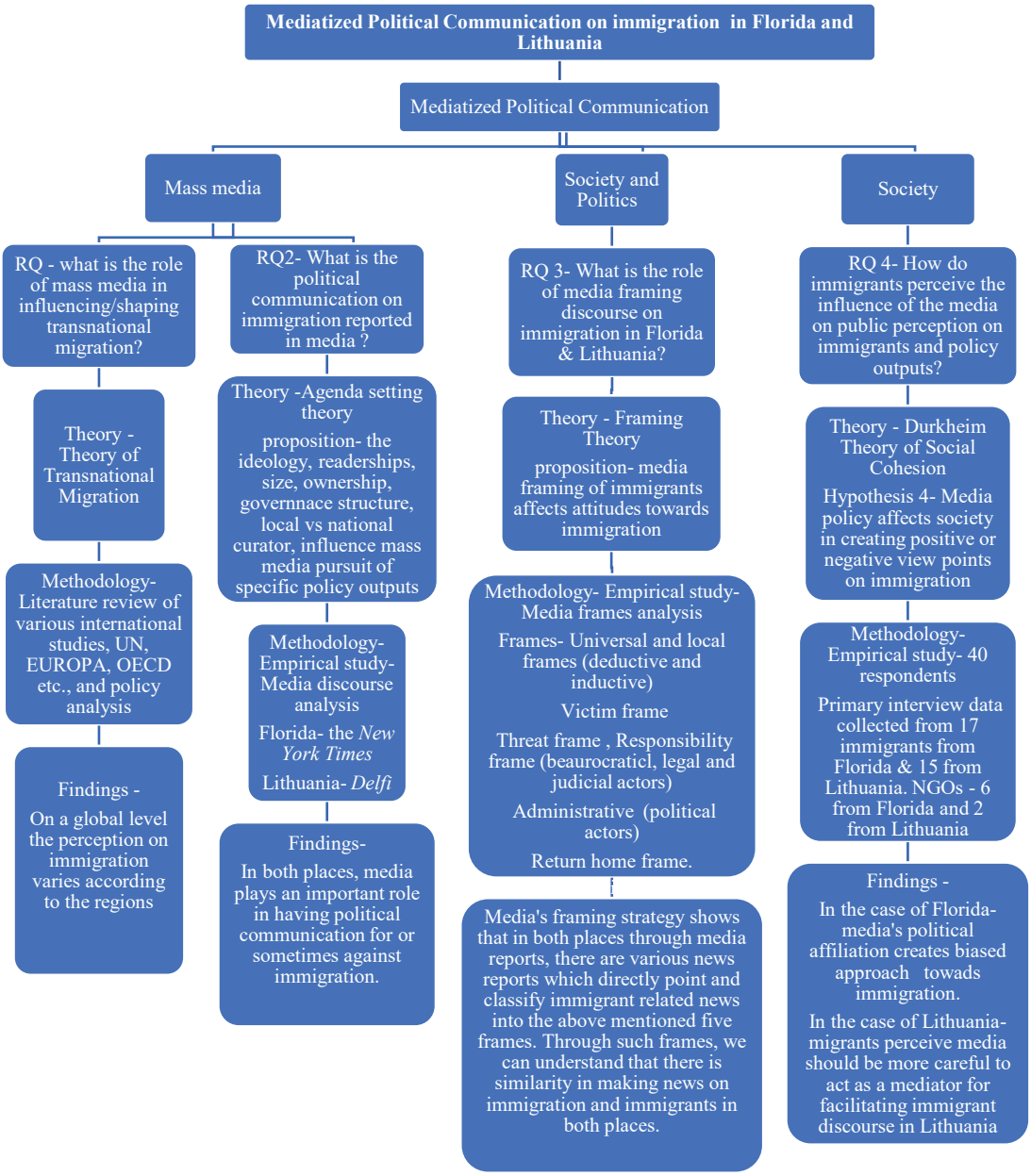

Fig. 28. Research overview with findings

Source: Author

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ALIGNMENT

When looking at how the theoretical framework aligns with the empirical part, it is evident that all four theories used for this research – the theory of transnational migration, agenda-setting theory, framing theory, and the theory of social cohesion – were properly aligned to the empirical part thereby stating the compatibility of the empirical and theoretical part of the research.

The first theory which was used for this research is transnational migration, which was used to investigate the role of media in influencing transnational migration. Unlike the other three theoretical frameworks which use empirical methods to identify the correlation, the theory of transnational migration looks at the secondary data of literature review, analyzing various literature in the field of migration and media communication and investigating statistical data of United Nations, Europa, OECD and other reliable sources which were analyzed to identify the alignment between the theory of transnational migration and its practical implications. A proper analysis of this methodology reveals that when it comes to migration, media has their strategies to influence or shape perceptions on migration at the society and the political levels, thereby influencing the perceptions of the public and formulating political communication regarding migration. Thus, the theory of transnational migration is properly aligned to the research of analyzing the role of media influencing or shaping transnational migration.

The second theory used for this research is agenda-setting theory, in which the research question looks at the political communication reported in the media regarding immigration in Florida and Lithuania. When it comes to immigration, it is agenda-setting or the specific agendas formulated by the media houses that lead towards the role of media in perceiving or formulating political communications regarding immigration. In both Florida and Lithuania, the media agenda-setting plays a prominent role in formulating media discourses on political communication regarding immigration, which looks at the aspect of positive, negative, mixed political communication, and the new policy measures in both Florida and Lithuania.

In Florida, the empirical study of political communication was carried out by analyzing the *New York Times*, during the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. As a newspaper with a liberal stand and a humanitarian inclination, the *New York Times* tries to portray political communication from a humanitarian perspective during the time. It can be explicitly seen in the political communication narratives as even though the period has a significant amount of negative political communication when it comes to the classification of political communication, we can see that the highest percentage of news narratives were in the category of positive political communication with 206 media narratives or discourses in regard of positive political communication followed by negative political communication with a discourse of 169 and mixed political communication with 67 media narratives, and nine media discourses in the category of new policy measures. It shows the substantiating aspect of agenda-setting theory as with this agenda-setting theory, the *New York Times* is demonstrating its agenda of humanitarian attitudes and aspects with its media discourse in the category of positive political communication, which depicts positive political attitudes and social-cultural

commitment towards humanitarian aspects regarding immigration and immigrant integration. Even in the negative political communication and mixed political communication, too, through the agenda-setting mechanism, it tries to demonstrate in the policy mechanisms and political narratives which tried to depict the immigrants as a significant force to the United States. Thus, when it comes to political communication and its various categories, the *New York Times* in the given period shows the agenda-setting mechanisms of formulating the narratives and highlighting its humanitarian stance and democratic values, which aligns completely with the theoretical mechanism in the empirical part regarding political communication in Florida.

In Lithuania, for the empirical analysis, the political communication and its various categories during the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, were analyzed as depicted in a prominent English newspaper *Delfi*, to see how the political communication aligns with the theoretical framework of agenda-setting theory. Unlike the United States and the *New York Times*, which reveal close alignment with the humanitarian values and immigration with their agenda-setting, in the case of Lithuania, we cannot see a clear distinction regarding the orientation of newspapers regarding their alignment towards humanitarian values and regarding immigrant approach. Perhaps it is due to the young status of the country and the recent phenomena of immigration, as this phenomenon has a significant impact only from the period of 2015. Regarding the number of political communications, unlike the case of Florida, there are not that many significant media narratives, as there is only 19 political communications which are positive, 23 political communication which can be classified as negative, two political communications have mixed or unsure attitude and 26 political communication which discuss the new policy measures. A strong distinction between Florida and Lithuania is new policy political communication as more than the positive and negative political communication, the new policy measures have 26 narratives in this category. The agenda-setting mechanism employed by *Delfi* highlights the importance of immigration, especially as to a country that did not utilize much of the migrant workforce, unlike the other Western countries, thereby showing the significance and the need of immigrants to Lithuania. Even though they mention the negative political communication, they state that even though there are such decisive factors due to immigration, when it looks at the overall cost-benefit, immigration has a significant impact on the Lithuanian economy, society and its overall development. Thus, the analysis of Lithuanian media shows proper alignment with the agenda-setting mechanisms when it comes to political communication, thereby stating the significance of agenda-setting mechanism's theoretical framework to the overall political communication and its empirical understanding.

When analyzing the third research question, which looks at the role of media framing discourse on immigration in Florida and Lithuania, the theoretical framework employed for analyzing this aspect is the framing theory. It is very important to understanding the framing in Florida and Lithuania towards immigration and how it has been perceived as it is through the mechanism of framing; the media highlights specific aspects within the category, thereby trying to get the attention of the viewers and trying to formulate public perception and political communication which can act as a catalyst force towards immigration and immigrant integration.

Regarding Florida, the *New York Times* is trying to visualize or narrate the various aspects regarding migration and its overall significance in political communication and public perception. When analyzing media framing in Florida, the *New York Times* seems very aggressive towards media framing as it uses framing mechanisms to depict the plight of the migrants and immigrant communities in Florida by categorizing them into five major frames of the victim, threat, responsibility, administrative, and return home frame and its subcategories depicting the policy mechanisms and public perceptions towards immigration and immigrant integration. This is especially evident in the victim and welcoming frame, and its sub-frames through which the newspaper highlights various policy measures and the societal attitude towards immigration and immigrant integration in Florida. Through these sub-frames, it depicts how the immigrants become victimized and how they are embraced with the welcoming aspect and its sub-categories. Through this frame and its sub-frames, the *New York Times* highlights the various circumstances related to immigration to Florida and the national policies regarding it as well as the societal and public attitude towards immigration, especially towards unskilled immigrants and their vulnerability when it comes to social integration and demographic dividend on how they can act as a channelizing force for the American socio-demographic position through which the media framing narrates the victim/welcoming frame and its sub-frames.

The second major frame was the threat frame, through which the media depicts how the immigrants have been perceived as a threat not only in society but also in the political narratives and political decision-making, especially during the time which is very relevant due to the aggressive mechanisms by the Trump administration which act as decisive force towards the immigration and immigrant intake and their integration into the society. Thus, through this mechanism, even though the newspaper depicted various narratives and discourses regarding immigration as a threat, with their responsible narrative mechanisms they try to depict how political communication and decision-making became a decisive factor towards immigration and the facilitating measures for perceiving immigrants as a threat to the society. The third major frame of responsibility categorizes the various responsibility measures taken by the administration and by other socio-political and cultural actors towards immigration through the policy mechanisms, which can be either hostile or amicable for immigration and immigrant integration. Also, the selective mechanisms, as the period of 2015–2020 can be seen as one of the most significant in which selective mechanism plays a significant role due to the selective immigration policy mechanisms envisaged by the Trump administration. Thus, the responsibility frame and sub-frames and the framing mechanism of New York Times clearly depicts the plight of immigration and immigrant integration in the case of Florida and the national policies which can be decisive for immigrant integration.

Another major frame through which the framing mechanisms are depicted is the administrative frame through which the administrative actors, hence the administration, carries out their immigration policies at the national and local level. The administrative mechanisms have been clearly and implicitly visible in these administrative actors as they implement the anti-immigration policies of the Trump administration and, as a responsible social actor, the media is depicting such scenario with their narratives like to formulate perceptions which can distinguish the clear stand of the administration

regarding the anti-immigration policy mechanisms and highlighting the narratives of the third sector and social actors thereby highlighting the various societal measures taken towards such anti-immigration stance by the Trump administration. The media narrative highlights the framing mechanism which tries to rectify the odds in the policy measures and policy mechanisms towards immigration and immigrant integration. The final frame which highlights the media narratives and framing mechanism is the return home frame. The responsible framing mechanism by the New York Times is evident, as it shows the unilateral repatriation decision by the Trump administration trying to undermine the rights of the immigrants and refugee communities and putting them in perpetual danger by making the unilateral decision to repatriate rather than a mutual consensus with the concerned government which can facilitate repatriation and assimilation into the society. Thus, the *New York Times* is acting as a responsible social actor through its media framing mechanism thereby properly aligning to the theoretical concept of framing theory through which the media acts as a responsible social actor in Florida.

With the case of Lithuania regarding the media framing and its responsible mechanism as a significant actor towards immigration and immigrant integration, *Delfi*, as a responsible newspaper highlights the media framing mechanisms in all frames: victim, threat, responsibility, administrative, and return home frame and their subframes. When looking at the victim or welcoming frame, it shows how immigrants have been victimized in Lithuania by providing lesser wages or exploiting them at the worksite and providing inhuman conditions, whereas the welcoming aspect shows how the immigrants, especially the skilled and useful workers are essential in Lithuania and the need for tapping such resources in Lithuania, with a lesser demographic dividend, thereby utilizing the immigrant workforce as a catalyst for the socio-economic development of the country. With the media framing mechanisms, the media portrays the importance of immigration and the need for immigrant intake in Lithuania, as a country with a lesser population dividend and a significant emigration. The threat frame reveals how the immigrants have been perceived as a threat to the society, especially by various social and political statements, and shows the fear of the public, especially towards immigrants from outside of the European Union regions and Schengen area; it also tries to depict the mentality of the local population towards immigrants from different socio-cultural contexts, like the Muslims or the Black or African communities, and how they have been considered a threat to the society. Through such narrative and framing mechanisms, the media, as a responsible social actor, depicts the overall mentality towards immigrants and the selective immigrant mechanism by the society, thereby trying to rectify such measures and make inclusive immigrant intake mechanisms that can act as a catalyst for socio-economic development. Through this narrative, the media, as a responsible social actor, depicts the aspect of threat in the category of immigration and the rectifying measures which have to be taken to overcome such stereotypes about immigrants and immigrant communities.

Another framing mechanism used by the media is the responsibility frame, through which it depicts the responsibility measures taken by the government in the category of amicable, hostile, and selective mechanism for immigration. It shows the political communication which favors the intake of immigrants and immigrant communities, especially in the category of skilled and useful workers and the intake of refugees and

asylum seekers to Lithuania. It depicts the pessimistic attitude of politicians and political communication and policy measures are skeptical regarding the intake of refugees and other asylum seekers to Lithuania, and the selective mechanism of taking in immigrants from the neighboring countries were used to avoid immigrants, especially from different socio-cultural backgrounds, such as the Muslims, African and Black communities. Through this mechanism and its framing measures, the media highlights different aspects of the responsibility frame, thereby showing the framing attitude of the newspaper in the responsibility frame. Another category is the administrative frame through which the media, through its narrative framing measures, discusses the factors which facilitate immigrant intake and the various measures taken for immigrant integration and the actors which inhibit such immigrant intake. It depicts those measures and tries to rectify the stereotypes which were embedded in the society, trying to formulate measures to overcome such scenarios. The final frame in this category is the return home frame which, unlike Florida, shows the mutual consent and collaboration for repatriation, thereby showing the significance of such measures, which can facilitate repatriation with amicable measures. Thus, Lithuania media framing mechanism employed by the newspaper *Delfi* properly aligns with the theoretical framework of framing theory, thereby showing the significance of framing theory to answer the research question about the role of media framing discourse on immigration in Lithuania.

The final theoretical framework used in this research is the theory of social cohesion which looks at how immigrants perceive the role of media in formulating the public perception of immigrants and policy outputs in Florida and Lithuania. It investigates how immigrants perceive the media and how the media acts as a catalyst for immigrant integration and formulating social perceptions and lead to policy formulations and implementation. Also, the theory of social cohesion looks into how the third sector organizations, especially the NGOs who work in the humanitarian sector, try to formulate policies and take measures for immigrant integration, thereby trying to enhance the confidence of the immigrants who are in Florida and Lithuania and to take proper integration and assimilation measures.

In Florida, concerning the theoretical aspect of social cohesion and its applicability concerning the immigrant integration and the role of social actors, the study looks at the dimensions of immigrant integration in media reports in Florida, dimensions of political debates and communication on immigration in media in Florida, dimensions on public policy measures on immigration in Florida and the statements from six prominent NGOs who work in the humanitarian field in Florida. The interviews with immigrants reveal that all these immigrants come from different socio-political and cultural backgrounds and diverse education and qualifications; the opinion varies from one immigrant to another regarding their perceptions about media orientation and political communication regarding immigration. When inquired about the aspect of the role of media framing towards immigration which can lead to public perception and political communication, immigrants in a unanimous tone state that media has a significant role, especially in formulating public perception and policy formulation, especially about immigration as the media framing and media narration act as a catalytic force towards immigration not only in Florida but in the United States in general. Additionally, the migrants state that the period selected for this study is very important as they feel that the coming of Trump

as the President of the United States acts as a deterring force towards immigration and immigrant intake and they have fear towards social unrest and fear of isolation in the community especially by Trump and his political associates through the social media and by the mainstream media.

Immigrants state that the media has an essential role in formulating public perceptions and policy formulation, and this imperative, especially during the period of the Trump administration. The immigrants have great respect and opinion towards the role of NGOs or third sector organizations for humanitarian assistance and for migrant integration as they claim that the interviews and activities by the NGOs facilitate in formulating public perceptions and breaking the stereotypes and also act as a significant lobbying measure as they tried to rectify the policy odds and challenge the policy mechanisms of the government through various platforms. Regarding the aspect of social cohesion, the NGOs or third sector organizations are a vital part. Through various social cohesion and inclusion mechanisms, such as community education, education programs for immigrants and immigrant communities, providing education and other assistance for immigrant children, and providing legal assistance for immigrants who are vulnerable and are sexually exploited, NGOs act as a social cohesion agent for immigrant integration. With the case of Florida, all the six NGOs which have been taken for the study through their significant policy measures and migrant integration activities try to act as a catalyst for immigrant integration in their respective areas. Thus, the theory of social cohesion aligns properly with the research question on how immigrants perceive the influence of media on public perception of immigration and its policy outputs in the case of Florida.

In the case of Lithuania, the theoretical aspect of social cohesion and how immigrants perceive the influence of media and public perception of immigration and its policy outputs was analyzed using the variables, such as dimensions of immigrant integration in Lithuanian media, dimensions of political communication and debates on immigration in Lithuanian media, and the dimensions of public policy measures on immigration in Lithuanian media, and the perception of NGOs which facilitate social cohesion. When analyzing the aspect of immigrant perceptions towards the media mechanisms, the respondents believed that that media has a significant role, especially in a country like Lithuania, which even though has a small population, having a higher media proliferation can be determinant towards immigrants and immigrant integration, as it can enhance the already embedded stereotypes towards immigration in Lithuania. Even though the respondents are not much aware regarding the political stand towards immigration, they state that there have been significant changes over the period regarding immigration as various significant immigrant-friendly policies have been implemented and the period from 2015 to 2020 is important as it was the period which shows an influx of immigration to Lithuania. However, immigrants are also of the perception that sometimes the media acts as a deterrent factor due to the narration of various incidents committed by the immigrants, thereby creating specific stereotypes towards immigrants and immigrant communities in the society. However, most believe that the media is a significant factor for immigrant integration and the policy formulation mechanism, thereby showing the social cohesion aspect of media mechanism for immigrant integration in Lithuania. The NGOs taken for this study have a great significance,

especially for orienting the immigrants regarding their rights concerning various social events and activities, thereby trying to create a platform for interaction between locals and immigrants to change the stereotypes which were already embedded not only in the minds of the locals but also in the minds of the foreigners. The media, with their lobbying measures, tries to enhance the immigrant intake and integration into Lithuanian society. Thus, the third sector organizations also play a significant role, along with the media, to enhance the social cohesion of the immigrants and their integration into Lithuanian society.

Overall, in my dissertation, I came to understand that mediatized political communication and media framing strategies on various news reports associated with migration enable to integrate migrant communities with the host community are very much important in Florida in that it helps to reduce any misconceptions on immigrants and promote integration to support the refugees or asylum seekers to have more in-depth analysis about the importance of ensuring the rights of migrants in a foreign country; it helps the responsible government to implement new positive policies which support immigration and eligible immigrants in Lithuanian and Florida. I also came to understand that third sector organizations have an important role in promoting migrant integration in both regions. However, media reports on such activities are comparatively fewer therefore, if they can focus on promoting, supporting, and reporting third sector organizations' activities for immigrants' integration and to support immigrant policies, then it will definitely help the society to reduce any misconceptions or stereotypes associated with any nationalities or people from a different cultural or religious background. Therefore, I conclude that mediatized political communication in Florida and Lithuania is a very relevant topic.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

In this research, the first research objective is to analyze the role of mass media in influencing or shaping transnational migration. For that, I have used the theory of transnational migration, and based on the theoretical understanding from literature review analysis and various international studies on immigration and different immigration crisis scenarios in various countries, I came to identify that on a global level, it varies according to different regions as per the publication of news reports in relation with immigration. The refugee crisis and various scenarios in relation to asylum seekers, immigrants, and immigration are different in different countries. Looking at international studies, especially from United Nations, Europa, OECD, this research identified that mass media does have a very important role in shaping or influencing thoughts and ideologies about immigrants in different countries, and it does have a huge role in creating both positive and negative approach towards immigration. Therefore, it is the responsibility of mass media to identify this specific aspect and try to publish news reports that may not be biased, but that is giving direct and true information to the readers, thereby facilitating possible new policies to implement and to make new creative ideas for eradicating and decreasing the issues related with immigration; it could enhance community support for assisting refugees or asylum seekers in different countries. This research of mediatized political communication through the media discourse and media framing in Lithuania and Florida reveals that media has a significant proactive role with regard to immigration in both countries. Due to the long history of immigration and the high influx of immigrants, and the recent political and policy measures regarding immigration in Florida, receive intensified political communication and framing mechanism compared to Lithuania. However, due to the recent influx of illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders in Lithuania and in the coming years, there can be significant alterations in the policy mechanisms that favor immigration in Lithuania. In such scenario, Lithuanian media regarding political communication and media framing will also undergo a significant alteration and will follow the path of mediatized political communication of Florida. When immigration becomes a contested issue in the society and when there is a significant implicating policy measure towards immigration, the media, through its political communication and media framing, tries to act as a catalytic force, trying to make ratification concerning the policy measures and creating awareness and perceptions in the society.

The second research objective of this study is to identify the political communication on immigration reported in media. To identify this, I have conducted a primary empirical study in Lithuania and Florida by selecting one prominent newspaper. To identify the political communication on immigration in Florida, I chose the *New York Times*, and from Lithuania, I chose *Delfi*. I have covered news reported from January 2015 till January 2020, and during this period, there were many reports in relation to migration from political communication, political actors, political leaders, or various administrative sections, or public policy departments. I have categorized this political communication into two different sections, such as positive political communication, negative political communication, mixed political communication, and then new policy measures that are developed due to the political communication in Florida and Lithuania.

The findings directly show that in Florida, there is various positive political communication that directly signifies the importance of immigration and their integration into Florida society or in American society. Also, I have found many legal communications which directly criticize or promote a negative approach towards migrants and migration in the USA, and those were directly coming from political actors, especially from the presidential administration that belongs to Mr. Trump. In terms of mixed political communication in Florida, there is much news reported in the *New York Times*; however, from different political parties and different leaders, even though they wanted to either support or reject the immigrants in their land, sometimes they made political communication and statements having a neutral approach towards immigrants and anti-immigration policies especially in terms of sanctuary city policies in the Florida State.

Also, I found various criticism and the importance of tackling illegal immigration or allowing eligible immigrants to get the green card in the USA. There were new policies issued during these times, and such reports also show direct significance in the media. Therefore, my finding from Florida in terms of the importance of political communications on immigration shows that mediatized political communication does have a very strong and powerful tool to influence and change various policies and political decision-making systems in Florida to support immigrants or immigrant crisis.

In Lithuania, the primary study results on political communication reported in the media *Delfi* shows that even though there is not much news reported on immigration, refugee crisis, or asylum crisis in Lithuania in English in *Delfi*, most of the reports show that the political communication in terms of immigrants and immigration seems to be fairer and different political parties do support the immigration system. However, we can also see that there are much negative communication which directly criticizes or opposes immigration and considers immigrants as a threat to this country and especially in terms of the labor market. They say that if there are more immigrants in this country, especially if they do not have higher education, they will be mostly working in the unskilled labor market and will inevitably affect the salary scale of Lithuanian people who are working in the unskilled market because the immigrants will accept to work for a lower wage than normal. Therefore, companies or industries will try to hire immigrants who are willing to work for a low salary.

I have found that there are many mixed political communications on immigration and immigrant policy in Lithuania, especially those that were reported from political parties' leaders; they suggested that even though this country wants to support immigrants, they would like to support those who have a mutual agreement. It means, Lithuania would like to help other countries who are in need, through certain projects or developmental activities and due to such assistance, the receiving country can have more economic stability. If the other country gains stability, then people may not try to come to this country as refugees/asylum seekers. It directly shows that this country wants to support immigrants and asylum seekers; however, it is in the form of providing financial assistance to the developing countries rather than taking them to Lithuania. Also, there were several new policy measures developed to be implemented in Lithuania to tackle the immigrant crisis, especially it is directly related to preventing exploitation of unskilled laborers and to prevent refugee trafficking to this country who are trying to

migrate to the European Union countries illegally. New policies support or prevent illegal immigration by giving proper training and assistance and increasing society-level surveillance, thereby reducing illegal immigration. These policies show that due to various political communications, Lithuania also would like to support and, in the case of illegal immigration, to prevent such crimes and exploitation of immigrants in this country. Therefore, the current influx of illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders in recent times and in the coming years can create negative perceptions in the society, especially by political communication and political actors which try to facilitate both policy mechanisms towards immigrant intake and their integration into the society. In such a context like Florida, the Lithuanian media, through their political communication, also tries to act as a catalytic force, trying to rectify negative political communication towards immigration and create awareness about the need for immigrant intake into the society. It will also try to rectify the odds in the policy measures, to facilitate immigrant intake and integration.

The third research objective of this study is to identify various media framing discourses on immigration in Florida and Lithuania. To find out this research objective, I have used media frames to study reports that were published in the *New York Times* from Florida and *Delfi* from Lithuania during the period of January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020. The results there categorized into five important frames, such as the victim frame, threat frame, responsibility frame, administrative frame, and return home frame. Each frame is then divided into different sub-frames depending on the news and its contents.

In Florida the media framing mechanism shows that the media acts as a proactive mechanism, trying to showcase the odds in the policy measures, especially during the Trump administration and its implications towards refugees and immigrants in Florida. It is evident from the framing mechanism, as most of the media framing has been in the category of responsibility frame in which there is a total of 293 media narratives, administrative frame with 232 media narratives, the victim frame with 63 narratives, the threat frame with 22 narratives and the return home frame with 21 narratives. The *New York Times* depicts its humanitarian approach towards immigration and immigrant intake regarding the frames and sub-frames in each category. With a significant amount of media narratives in the responsibility frame the newspaper highlights the need for responsible measures taken by the administration to stop the exploitative nature of the policy measures taken by the Trump administration, which act as a deterrent for immigrant intake and integration into the society. Through framing, it shows the measures concerning the policy measures towards immigration. With the administrative frame, the newspaper highlights the measures taken by the administrative actors, thereby aligning to the policy mechanisms taken by the administration, which act as a deterrent aspect towards immigration and immigrant intake. By highlighting such measures which are decisive to the immigrants, the media highlights the odds trying to show the need for rectification with regard to such measures taken by the administrative actors facilitating immigrant intake and integration. Through the victim frame and its sub-frames, the newspaper depicts how immigrants feel vulnerable in Florida and the policy mechanisms and how they get victimized there. The media is trying to raise the public's awareness and social orientation regarding the need for significant policy changes, reducing the

victimization of immigrants. Even though through the threat frame the media highlights the threat posed by the immigrants, it can be seen that the media acts in a proactive manner, trying to highlight how the immigrants have been perceived as a threat by the political actors and what policy measures they are trying to implement to hinder immigration to Florida. The media tries to rectify the mechanisms of considering the immigrants as a threat and to educate the society regarding the need for perceiving them in a welcoming manner rather than a threat, thereby facilitating immigration into the society. The final frame in this regard is the return home frame, and the media shows its responsibility by highlighting how the immigrants feel vulnerable due to the actions and policies of the government and how they have been unilaterally repatriated rather than taking a mutual consensus with the home countries. Thus, in Florida, the media shows a proactive role in combating the anti-immigration policies and tries to act as a rectifying force. Also, through their framing and discourse mechanism, they try to create favorable immigration-related perceptions with the readers and the general public.

When it comes to Lithuania in terms of various news streams reported in *Delfi*, all the mentioned five frames are applicable to investigate the political communication on immigration in Lithuania from January 2015 till January 2020. There are different news published in *Delfi* in English which belong to five frames. However, in comparison with the USA it is a much lesser amount, as the empirical results show. This is due to the nation's young status and the recent influx of immigration to Lithuania.

Through the victim frame, it highlights the various situations the immigrants and refugees in Lithuania face and how they have been exploited in the workplaces and the vulnerability regarding that. Even though the media narrations are not as numerous as in Florida, through the proactive media mechanism, they highlight the difficulties faced by the immigrants and the victimization they face, thereby trying to seek the public's attention to change their perceptions. They seek the attention of the policymakers to make significant policy measures and to correct the odds in the policy mechanisms. Through the threat frame and its various mechanisms, the media shows how immigrants have been perceived as a threat in society and in political circles. The media highlights how immigrants from different cultural, religious, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds have been perceived as a threat by Lithuanian society and the unwelcoming nature towards such communities in Lithuania. Through such depictions and narrations, the media tries to educate the society regarding the need to remove their stereotypes of various cultural and ethnic identities and try to embrace immigrants from different nationalities and cultural contexts. Even though the threat frame tries to depict the threat posed by the immigrants to the Lithuanian society through the narrative, they try to remove the stereotypes and act as a proactive agent in facilitating immigrant intake and integration into the Lithuanian society. Through the third significant frame of responsibility mechanism the media tries to highlight the political narratives and actions taken towards immigrant intake and integration into society. These range from proactive policy measures facilitating immigrant intake, suggest facilitating the intake of skilled and unskilled workers to the country, providing them with a resident permit and working status, ensuring dignified working conditions in Lithuania, narratives, and dialogues which highlight the need for low skilled and skilled labor to Lithuania, especially in the light of high emigration. Also, political narratives and actions are taken regarding the

refugee intake and the plight that the refugees face in the country of origin and in other European regions. Thus, through various measures, political communications, and dialogues about immigration and refugee intake, the responsibility frame highlights the proactive measures taken by the media, highlighting the need for immigrant intake and their integration into the Lithuanian society. Another significant frame is the administrative frame. Through the administrative frame, the media highlights the various measures and actions taken by the governmental and non-governmental organizations and departments facilitating immigrant intake and integration into society through its framing mechanism. These range from issuance of resident permit cards, statistical documents collected regarding immigrant intake and integration, correct the grievances of various immigrants and refugees concerning their immigrant status in Lithuania and regarding the role taken by law-and-order mechanisms to provide and combat illegal immigration through the Eastern European borders. Thus, through the administrative frame, the media highlights both the positive and negative aspects of immigration and the immigrant intake into Lithuanian society. The final frame looking into the comparative study of Lithuania and Florida is the return home frame. Unlike Florida, Lithuania envisages mutual cooperation for repatriation. Through this mechanism, the media highlights how Lithuania proactively acts with regard to the return home aspect of the illegal immigrants, thereby having a mutual consensus with the home countries by making legal measures for repatriation. Through its framing and narrative mechanism, the media highlights the positive side of the return home frame, thereby showing the responsible measures taken by the government with regard to repatriation. Thus, the media plays a significant and proactive role through its framing mechanisms highlighting the need for immigrant intake and their integration into society. In the Lithuanian media, the narrative mechanisms and the framing used by the Floridian media can be taken as a significant policy tool to be implemented into the Lithuanian society. This is especially significant in recent and coming years when there is an influx of immigrant intake into the Lithuanian society, due to legal and illegal immigration.

The fourth and final objective is to analyze immigrants' perception on the influence of the media on public perception of immigrants and their effects on integration policies. To understand the response of the societal actors, this study took the immigrants living in the respective societies as societal actors for understanding the perceptions of society. To have a proper understanding of the media discourse and framing mechanisms of the society, it has been classified into three significant sub-categories of immigrant integration, political debates and communication, and political decision-making and communication policy. With regard to Florida, all significant variables and sub-variables show less confidence of the immigrants with regard to the media mechanisms towards immigrant integration into society. Out of the 14 sub-variables taken to analyze all the three variables, only considering five sub-variables, the immigrants express their confidence in the media mechanisms. This can be mainly attributed to the political inclination of the media networks and the fear of persecution through the policy measures taken by the administration, especially during the given period, which is very decisive toward the anti-immigration policies taken by the federal administration under President Trump.

In Lithuania, the societal perception towards immigrant mechanisms by the media networks show positive perceptions of the society regarding the media mechanisms towards immigration. Out of the 14 sub-variables for analyzing the three significant variables, nine sub-variables show a positive attitude towards the media mechanisms towards immigrant integration. Unlike Florida, here, the media are not constrained by political pressures. It is mostly due to the lack of immigrant influx into the society and the lack of anti-immigration policies, and the actions taken by the government. In the coming years when there is a significant influx of both legal and illegal immigration to the Lithuanian society, the media will also be constrained like it is in Florida, regarding mediatized discourse and framing towards immigrant intake and integration into the society. In such scenarios, the immigrant perception will also have a significant alignment, like the case of Florida. In such a context, the media networks and both societies should envisage proactive measures, thereby trying to combat and overcome political pressure and effectively deliver their duties as responsible social actors.

Another significant aspect that has been taken under the final objective is the role of third sector organizations in facilitating social cohesion towards immigration. In Florida, all studied NGOs show a responsible role in combating the negative political actions towards migration. Also, they act as a catalytic force for rectifying the negative public perceptions towards immigration and facilitating immigrant integration and social cohesion between immigrants and local communities. Regarding the case of third sector organizations in Lithuania, it is still in its evolving process due to the lack of immigrant influx, and the role of third sector organizations is mostly for facilitating dialogues and discussions between the locals and foreigners to break the social barriers prevalent in this society. The third sector organizations provide various services to the immigrants in the Lithuanian society mostly due to the complexity of the language and other social constraints that the immigrants and refugees face in the Lithuanian society. However, in the coming years, when immigrant intake and their integration become a heated debate in the Lithuanian society, the NGOs in Lithuania will also undertake a proactive and effective role like the NGOs in Florida, thereby facilitating a meaningful role of the third sector organization for facilitating social cohesion for immigrants into the Lithuanian society.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As the study has been focused upon the aspect of mediatization and its political communication about immigration in Lithuania and Florida from the period from January 1st, 2015, to January 31st, 2020, further research should focus on the aspect of mediatized political communication on immigration looking at the period of COVID pandemic and post COVID pandemic periods. It has a great significance as the media narration, and its implications towards immigration and the various narratives and political communications will have different contexts and meanings, especially during the pandemic and post-pandemic period. It can be mainly due to the various constraints and the socio-economic sphere with the loss of jobs and the fear towards foreign population, especially in the pandemic scenario. Therefore, a further study is needed looking at mediatized political communication on immigration in Florida and Lithuania at the pandemic and post-pandemic periods. It will have great significance in the research arena.

Another significant aspect that future research should investigate is the role of society in understanding mediatized political communication towards immigration and immigrant integration. The present study has interviewed immigrants who live in Florida and Lithuania as the societal actors for understanding mediatized political communication and its role towards immigrant integration in the society. Further studies should focus on taking the local population as the respondents for understanding the perception of society towards mediatized political communication and its immigrant integration mechanisms as it will allow to understand the perception of the societal actors who were experiencing the phenomenon of immigration.

This study tries to analyze political communication and its significant implications towards immigration and, in the case of Florida, the changes concerning the sanctuary policies; however, further studies should specifically focus on mediatized political communication of sanctuary cities and the post sanctuary cities when the legislation which curtailed the sanctuary policies. It will also bring various dimensions in the policy formulating mechanisms and political communication and show the significance of such narratives in the category of immigration and mediatized political communication. So, such scenarios can have significant implications not only in Florida; such policy outputs can be taken as a policy mechanism in Lithuania, which in recent times due to the influx of immigrants and especially illegal immigrants through the Eastern European border have a great significance concerning the policy mechanisms of sanctuary cities in Lithuania, too. Further studies and research should focus upon the Trump and Biden administration, especially the latter, and how the political communications and media framing change in these two timeframes; it can be crucial in the research arena due to the narrative mechanisms in both these time frames.

SANTRAUKA

Jungtinių tautų migracijos agentūra (2018) migrantą apibrėžia kaip „bet kurį asmenį, kuris juda arba judėjo per tarptautinę sieną arba valstybės viduje iš savo nuolatinės gyvenamosios vietos, nepriklausomai nuo to: 1) koks yra jo teisinis statusas; 2) ar judėjimas yra savanoriškas, ar priverstinis; 3) kokios yra judėjimo priežastys; 4) kokia yra buvimo trukmė“.2019 m. pasaulyje migravusių žmonių skaičius siekė apytiksliai 272 milijonus, t. y. 51 milijonu daugiau, nei užfiksuota 2010 metais. Pasaulinė migrantų populiacija sudaro 3,5 proc. visų gyventojų. Palyginti su 2,8 proc. 1980 m., tarptautinių migrantų dalis tarp pasaulio gyventojų smarkiai išaugo. Beveik pusę tarptautinių migrantų sudarė moterys. Apskaičiuota, kad migrantų vaikų yra 38 mln. Beveik trys iš keturių darbuotojų migrantų yra dvidešimtmečiai ir trisdešimtmečiai. Darbuotojų migrantų yra 164 mln. Maždaug 31 proc. tarptautinių migrantų gyvena Azijoje, 30 proc. – Europoje, 26 proc. – Amerikoje, 10 proc. – Afrikoje ir 3 proc. – Okeanijoje.

Maždaug nuo 2000-ųjų vidurio buvo plačiai paplitusi nuomonė, kad JAV išgyvena imigracijos krizę. Dauguma amerikiečių yra bent kiek susirūpinę dėl imigracijos. Remiantis Oxfam International (2019) išvadomis, milijonai žmonių bėga iš savo namų dėl smurto. Nuo karo Sirijoje iki masinės migracijos Europoje ir klimato kaitos sukeltų sausrų pabėgėliai, norėdami išspręsti savo problemas, rizikuoja viskuo. Migracija – tai krizė, kurią reikia spręsti, tai sudėtingas klausimas, kurį reikia apsvarstyti. Vyriausybės privalo tinkamai apsaugoti pažeidžiamus žmones, kuriems reikia pagalbos. Jungtinių Tautų duomenimis, daugiau kaip 70 mln. žmonių yra priversti palikti savo namus – tai didžiausias skaičius per visą šiuolaikinę istoriją.

Siekiant nustatyti ir sukurti prasmingą apibrėžtį, terminas mediatizacija patiria įvairių teoretikų diskusijas ir supratimą, apžvelgiama jo raida (Couldry &Hepp, 2013; Hjarvard, 2013; Meyen et al., 2014). Mediatizacija apibūdinama kaip „bendra tyrimų, nagrinėjančių platesnes žiniasklaidos ir komunikacijos pasekmes kasdieniame gyvenime ir visoje socialinėje erdvėje, sistema“ (Couldry &Hepp, 2013, p. 192). Šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje medijos yra esminė visuomenės dalis, jos turi savo galią ir valdžią įvairiems visuomenės, kultūros ir institucijų aspektams. Pastebima, kad žiniasklaida daro didelę įtaką daugeliui institucijų, o kartais net lemia tokių institucijų veiksmų ir nuomonių pokyčius. Hjarvardas (2013, p. 13) atskleidžia, kad ankstesnėse visuomenėse socialinės institucijos, tokios kaip šeima, mokykla ir bažnyčia, buvo svarbiausi informacijos, tradicijų ir moralinių orientyrų teikėjai atskiram bendruomenės nariui. Šiandien šios institucijos prarado dalį savo autoriteto, o jų, kaip informacijos ir moralinės orientacijos teikėjų, vaidmenį perėmė žiniasklaida. Kartu žiniasklaida tapo svarbiausia visuomenės pasakotoja apie pačią žmoniją.

Kitaip nei praėjusiame amžiuje, kai žiniasklaidos priemonių buvo nedaug, daugelyje šalių vyriausybė žiniasklaidą centralizavo. Žiniasklaidos informacijos ir sklaidos šaltinių nebuvo daug. O moderniaisiais laikais dėl informacinių technologijų plėtros ir žiniasklaidos privatizavimo, lėmusio įvairių naujienų ir žiniasklaidos tinklų plėtrą, visuomenėje galiausiai atsirado informacijos gausa. Taigi, plėtojantis žiniasklaidos priemonėms ir atsiradus informacijos gausai, žiniasklaida pertvarkė

kultūrą, politiką ir kitus visuomeninius veiksnius. Dabar jie formuojami pagal žiniasklaidos pageidavimus. Kalbant apie tyrimą apie žiniasklaidos mechanizmus ir discipliną, galima pastebėti, kad žiniasklaida, kaip ir kiti veikėjai, darė įtaką ankstesniu laikotarpiu, o dabar daro įtaką beveik visiems socialiniams veiksniams. Žiniasklaidos studijos neturi aiškios ribos ir persidengia su kitomis disciplinomis, todėl tyrimas yra tarpdisciplininis (Schulz, 2004: Asp, 1986:Mazzoleni ir Schulz, 1999).

Dėl mediatizacijos daugelyje pasaulio šalių didėja dėmesys socialiai remtiniems visuomenės sluoksniams. Mediatizacija stengiasi suprasti nuskriaustų rajonų rūpesčius ir nusiskundimus, bando projektuoti jų siekius ir rūpesčius, tai gali pakeisti bendrą visuomenės požiūrį į šias grupes, o taigerina jų padėtį bendruomenėje. Kalbant apie socialiai remtinus sluoksnius, reikia pažymėti, kad dauguma jų problemų ir nusiskundimų lieka nepastebėti ir į juos atkreipiamas dėmesys tik protestų ir agitacijų metu. Atsiradus mediatizacijai, šios problemos išryškėja visuomenėje, todėl keičiasi visuomenės požiūris, o tai verčia vyriausybes imtis veiksmų, kad šioms grupėms būtų priimti teisės aktai ir suteiktos kitos lengvatos. Kalbant apie šių problemų atspindėjimą šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje, galima pastebėti, kad medijuotas problemų atspidėjimas gali būti šiek tiek iškreiptas, palyginti su realybe. Tačiau žiniasklaida stengiasi rasti tiesą ir atskleisti su ja susijusius įvykius. Pažvelkime į tiriamąją žurnalistiką ir žiniasklaidos tinklų vykdomas operacijas įvairiomis aplinkybėmis, pavyzdžiui, karo zonose, nusikaltimų vietose ir politinių skandalų atvejais. Ji stengiasi susieti daugybę su tuo susijusių įvykių ir sukurti prasmingą istoriją, kurią būtų galima sieti su tiesa, taip užtikrinant socialinį ir politinį teisingumą (Cottle, 2006).

Mediatizacija nėra svetimas žodis, ji turi gana ilgą istoriją (Couldry, 2008). Medijų studijos grindžia idėją, kad medijos yra iš esmės svarbios organizacijoms, jų elgsenai ir patirčiai (Hjarvard, 2016). Įvairiuose literatūros principuose vyrauja vienas iš dviejų požiūrių: institucionalistinis ir konstrukcionistinis (Deacon ir Stanyer, 2014; Hepp ir kt., 2015). Žiniasklaida yra neatskiriama nuo visų socialinių procesų (Couldry, 2008). Tarpininkavimas reiškia žiniasklaidą kaip kalbos perteikėją. Jos perduodanti ir cirkuliuojanti komunikacinė funkcija susijusi su jos destruktyviu gebėjimu (Hepp ir kt., 2015; Stromback, 2008). Hjarvardas (2016) mediatizaciją apibrėžia kaip procesą, kai visuomenė vis labiau paklūsta žiniasklaidai ir jos logikai arba yra nuo jos priklausoma. Krotzas (2009) teigia, kad žmonės mediatizaciją naudoja nuo pat žmonijos pradžios, kai sąveikauja su savo įrankiais, kurie yra mūsų medijos. Mediatizacija yra esminis socialinis ir kultūrinis mechanizmas, tačiau istorinė medijų evoliucija ir jos nulemta socialinė žiniasklaida pakeitė mediatizacijos pobūdį.

Janssonas (2018) mediatizaciją apibrėžia matydamas, kaip mediatizacija įgyvendinama ir formuojama per įkūnytą patirtį. Heppas ir kiti (2015) teigia, kad mediatizacija nėra naujas reiškinys, jos ištakos siekia XX a. pirmuosius dešimtmečius. Schulzas (2004) apima keturis mediatizacijos momentus: išplėtimą, pakeitimą, susiliejimą, apgyvendinimą. Tokiuose teiginiuose pabrėžiama, kad dabartinis mediatizacijos pokytis nėra su medijomis susijęs patobulėjimas. Priešingai, šiuolaikinė mediatizacija išsiskiria tuo, kad keli laikraščiai vienu metu kuria įvairius kultūros ir visuomenės pakraščius. Pavyzdžiui, politikai daro įtaką transliuojamoji ar spausdintinė žiniasklaida ir skaitmeninė žiniasklaida, nes politika vis dažniau remiasi socialinių tinklų lobizmu.

Deaconas & Stanyeris (2014) mediatizacijos sąvoką sieja su banditizmu, turinčiu menką teorinę reikšmę ir trumpą poveikį. Hjarvardas (2016) nurodo, kad mediatizacijos studijos naujai suformulavo tam tikras pirmines žiniasklaidos, komunikacijos, kultūros ir tarpusavio santykių problemas. Todėl mediatizacija nėra į medijas orientuotas postulatas apie tiesioginį priežastinį medijų poveikį bet kuriai kultūros sričiai, bet bandymas sukurti teorinę sistemą, kuri leistų kartu su įvairių disciplinų mokslininkais aptarti medijų ir komunikacijos poveikį kitoms socialinėms ir kultūros sritims (Lunt, Livingstone, 2016). Mediatizacijos procesas yra nevienodas, nes įvairios organizacijos ir veikėjai savo tikslams naudoja skirtingas medijas. Kalbant apie svarbiausias keitimosi žiniomis ir politinės komunikacijos priemones, žiniasklaida daro didžiausią įtaką. Medijuota politika skiriasi nuo įprastinės politikos, kuria asmenys užsiima palaikydami tarpasmeninius ryšius ar bendraudami su paprastais piliečiais. Per pastaruosius kelis dešimtmečius pasikeitė ne didėjantis politikos medijuotumas, o tai, kad išaugo medijuotų susitikimų stiprumas. Padidėjo institucijų, įvykių ir struktūrų, kurių žmonės negali kontroliuoti, svarba (Stromback, 2008). Paprasta mediatizacijos prielaida yra ta, kad dėl medijų produktų techninių, semiotinių ir ekonominių savybių kyla problemų. Taip pat teigiama, kad šių idėjų pagrindinis dėmesys sutelkiamas į tai, kaip reklama veikia žmones ir kokį poveikį daro visuomenei (Schulz, 2004).

Gervaiso (2016) nuomone, politinė komunikacija yra bendras politinių žinių perteikimas elitui ir visuomenei. Daug politinės komunikacijos tyrimų buvo sutelkta į žiniasklaidos poveikį visuomenės nuotaikoms ir balsavimui XX a.; papildomą poveikį, pavyzdžiui, retorikos, reklamos, taip pat komercinio spaudimo naudojimą, žiniasklaidos poliarizaciją; kampanijas; naujienų gamintojus ir žurnalistus, kurie siekia paveikti rinkimų rezultatus; kampanijos, reklamos ir kitą spaudimą naujienoms, taip pat į padidėjusį politinės retorikos laipsnį kaip esminį naują XXI a. reiškin. Komercinė politika ir politiniai debatai buvo įtraukti į komunikaciją XX a. pabaigoje. Pasak Reinemanno (2014), politinė komunikacija yra vienas iš reikšmingų žiniasklaidos pagrindų. Komunikacijos studijos susijusios su valdžios pasidalijimo, kolektyvinių sprendimų poveikio ir visuomenės vertybių paskirstymo metodais.

Todėl žiniasklaida turi domėtis imigracija, kad reikšmingai pakeistų visuomenę ir vykdytų migrantus remiančią politinę komunikaciją. Todėl šiuo tyrimu siekiama parodyti, kad žiniasklaidos modifikacija arba registracija žiniasklaidoje, po kurios vyksta politinių partijų komunikacija, nagrinėja imigracijos sektoriaus klausimus.

Beveik kiekviena disertacijoje nagrinėjama tema turi tvirtą ir gana gerai išvystytą teorinį pagrindą. Atitinkamoje srityje jau atlikta įvairių empirinių tyrimų, tačiau daugumoje tyrimų naudotas mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos identifikavimo metodas. Todėl medijuotos politinės komunikacijos vaidmens imigracijoje ir imigrantų integracijoje tyrimų spraga išliko. Verta paminėti kitus panašius ir labiausiai su šios disertacijos tyrimais susijusius empirinius tyrėjų tyrimus, kurie apima kokią nors vieną konkrečią temą, pavyzdžiui, mediatizaciją (Hjarvard, 2008b; Lundby, 2016; Mazzoleni ir Schulz, 1999; Schulz, 2004; Jesper Strömbäck, 2011). Autorių nuomone, kai politika tampa labiau mediatizuota, esminis klausimas nebėra, ar žiniasklaida yra nepriklausoma nuo politikos ir visuomenės. Priešingai, esminiu klausimu tampa žiniasklaidos laisvė nuo politikos ir visuomenės. Kiti autoriai, nagrinėję mediatizacijos ir žiniasklaidos logikos

svarbą (Altheide, 2016; Brants & Praag, 2017; Lundby, 2009; Meyen et al., 2014; J Strömbäck & Esser, 2009), mano, kad šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje tokios žiniasklaidos logikos poveikis politinei komunikacijai ir socialinei santvarkai, įskaitant tarptautinius santykius, yra kritinis. Kadangi mediatizacija yra glaudžiai susijusi ir būtina politinei komunikacijai, kiti įvardija politinės komunikacijos svarbą (Bang, 2003; Gurevitch et al., 2009; Iyengar & Simon, 2000; Lilleker, 2006; McNair, 1995, 2017; Perloff, 2013) ir mano, kad politinė komunikacija vyksta tarp politikų ir kitų politinių veikėjų, siekiant įvairių bendradarbiavimo būdų tam tikriems tikslams pasiekti.

Šiame tyrime bandoma nustatyti mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos svarbą imigrantų integracijai. Vadinasi, labai svarbu išsiaiškinti įvairias teorijas apie mediatizacijos vaidmenį politikoje. Įvairūs mokslininkai bandė išsiaiškinti mediatizacijos svarbą politikoje ir demokratijoje (Block, 2013; Blumler, 2014; Brants ir Voltmer, 2011; Bucy ir Holbert, 2010; Cap ir Okulska, 2013; Esser ir Strömbäck, 2014; Landerer, 2013; Mazzoleni, 2008) ir nustatė, kad daugelio liberalios demokratijos šalių politinėse struktūrose vyksta reikšmingi komunikacijos pokyčiai, keliantys didelių iššūkių senajai tvarkai. Pasak Mazzoleni ir Schulzo (1999), pernelyg didelė demokratinio vadovavimo ir praktikos mediatizacija, žmonės, spaudžiami tapti vartotojais ir stebėtojais, politinio dalyvavimo fragmentacija, kurią lemia šiuolaikinės informacinės ir komunikacinės technologijos, – visa tai gali iškreipti tinkamą demokratijos veikimą. Yra atlikta įvairių tyrimų apie vadinamąjį žiniasklaidos „įrėminimą“ ir tai, kaip ji formuoja visuomenės suvokimą, susijusį su įvairiomis politikos ir demokratijos temomis ar įvykiais (Birkland & Lawrence, 2009; de Vreese et al. 2011; Entman, 2010; Hänggli & Kriesi, 2010; Hjarvard, 2008a; Kellstedt, 2000; Lecheler et al. 2019; Matthes, 2009), nes įrėminimu vadinamas procesas, kurio metu komunikacijos priemonėmis išryškinami ir apmąstomi tam tikri tikrovės aspektai, ir laikomasi nuomonės, kad viešųjų problemų pateikimas žiniasklaidoje yra būtinas klestinčiai demokratijai.

Vis dėlto labai trūksta tyrimų apie mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos vaidmenį formuojant visuomenės požiūrį į migraciją ir migrantų integraciją per žiniasklaidą. Mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos apie pabėgėlių krizes ir įvairias jų stigmatizacijas tyrimų atlikta nedaug (Krzyżanowski, 2018; Krzyżanowski ir kt., 2018; Salgado ir Stavrakakis, 2019), jie atskleidžia, kad žiniasklaida daro įtaką politinei komunikacijai apie imigrantus ir kartais iškreipia jos prasmę. Be to, politiniuose žanruose ir internetinėje bei neprisijungusioje žiniasklaidoje pirmiausia plinta įsivaizduojamos diskusijos.

Nors yra atliekami įvairūs tyrimai apie mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos svarbą, trūksta pakankamų tyrimų, skirtų nustatyti mediatizuotos politinės komunikacijos apie imigraciją ir sėkmingą imigrantų integraciją įvairiose imigracijos visuomenėse mastą. Be to, labai trūksta tyrimų, kaip žiniasklaida vaizduoja imigrantus įvairiose visuomenėse, ir apie tai, kaip jikeičia imigrantų suvokimą savo regione ir daro įtaką politinei komunikacijai. Be to, dar laukia išsamesni tyrimai apie žiniasklaidos logikos ir politinės komunikacijos svarbą skatinant imigrantų integraciją. Šiame tyrime aiškiai tiriami visi šie svarbiausi uždaviniai, todėl šis tyrimas yra reikšmingas ir naujas šioje tyrimų srityje.

Žiniasklaida turi domėtis imigracija, kad reikšmingai pakeistų visuomenę ir vykdytų migrantus remiančią politinę komunikaciją, todėl šiuo tyrimu siekiama parodyti,

kad žiniasklaidos modifikavimo arba registracijos žiniasklaidoje procesas, po kurio vyksta politinių partijų komunikacija, nagrinėja imigracijos sektoriaus klausimus. **Taigi šio tyrimo tyrimo problema – išsiaiškinti, kaip žiniasklaida veikia imigraciją ir su ja susijusią politinę komunikaciją bei jų poveikį imigrantų integracijai.**

Tyrimo objektas – medijuota politinė komunikacija.

Disertacijos tikslas – ištirti žiniasklaidoje skleidžiamą imigracijos suvokimą ir jo poveikį integracijos politikai.

Tyrimui keliami šie uždaviniai:

1. Atlikti žiniasklaidos vaidmens darant įtaką / formuojant transnacionalinę migraciją teorinę analizę.
2. Atlikti empirinį politinės komunikacijos apie imigraciją, apie kurią pranešama žiniasklaidoje, tyrimą.
3. Atlikti empirinį tyrimą, siekiant išsiaiškinti žiniasklaidos formuojamo diskurso apie imigraciją vaidmenį.
4. Atlikti empirinį tyrimą, siekiant išsiaiškinti, kaip žiniasklaida formuoja visuomenės požiūrį į imigrantus ir kokią įtaką ji daro integracijos politikai.

Hipotezės

1. Žiniasklaidos įtaka tarptautinei migracijai ir jos ypatumai yra svarbūs bruožai, kuriuos būtina ištirti, o, nagrinėjant tarptautinius tyrimus, matyti, kad žiniasklaida gali turėti arba neturėti didžiulio vaidmens formuojant arba darant įtaką mintims ir ideologijoms apie imigrantus įvairiose šalyse tiek teigiamai, tiek neigiamai. [...]

2. Žiniasklaidoje skelbiama politinė komunikacija imigracijos tema gali parodyti mums įvairius scenarijus, vykstančius skirtinguose regionuose. Konkrečiai šiame tyrime daugiausia dėmesio skiriame Floridai ir Lietuvai. Abiejose vietovėse žiniasklaida galėjo atlikti svarbų vaidmenį kuriant politinę komunikaciją, kuri gali būti palanki imigracijos ir imigrantų politikos bei imigrantų integracijos atžvilgiu, nors kartais gali sukelti priešingą reakciją į imigraciją ir su ja susijusius pokyčius.

3. Yra įvairių strategijų, kaip žiniasklaida formuoja imigrantų įvaizdį, kuris daro įtaką visuomenės požiūriui į imigraciją, nes daugeliu atvejų žiniasklaida imigrantus vaizduoja kaip auką, grėsmę, atsakomybę arba kaip katalizatorių, skatinantį politinius veikėjus kurti politiką, ir pan. Taigi, tyrimas gali atkreipti dėmesį į žiniasklaidos rėmimo strategiją, kai ji savo pranešimuose klasifikuoja imigrantus ir taip formuoja skirtingą požiūrį į imigrantus ir imigraciją visuomenėje.

4. Žiniasklaidos įtaka imigrantų informavimui arba įvairių palankių ar nepalankių nuomonių apie imigrantus kūrimui gali atskleisti žiniasklaidos įtaką imigrantų politikos formavimui. Tai taip pat gali paskatinti įvairių politinių pažiūrų ir bendravimo visuomenėje plėtrą.

Tyrimo koncepcijos žemėlapis

Bendra mano tyrimo apie medijuotą politinę komunikaciją koncepcija pateikta 1 paveiksle.

1 pav. Tyrimo koncepcijos žemėlapis
Šaltinis: sudaryta autoriaus

Pagrindinės daktaro disertacijoje ginamos tezės:

1. Pirmasis tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti svarbų žiniasklaidos vaidmenį darant įtaką tarptautinei migracijai ir jos ypatumams. Todėl, remiantis tarptautiniais tyrimais, ypač Jungtinių Tautų, Europos, EBPO, nustatyta, kad žiniasklaida atlieka labai svarbų vaidmenį formuojant ar darant įtaką mintims ir ideologijoms apie imigrantus įvairiose šalyse, taip pat vaidina didžiulį vaidmenį formuojant tiek teigiamą, tiek neigiamą požiūrį į imigraciją.

2. Antrasis šio tyrimo tikslas – nustatyti, kokia politinė komunikacija imigracijos klausimais pateikiama žiniasklaidoje. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad Floridoje egzistuoja pozityvi politinė komunikacija, kurioje tiesiogiai informuojama apie imigracijos ir imigrantų integracijos į Floridos ar Amerikos visuomenę svarbą. Be to, tyrimo metu aptikta įvairių kritinių pastabų ir kritiškas požiūris į nelegalios imigracijos problemos sprendimą arba leidimą reikalavimus atitinkantiems imigrantams gauti žaliąją kortą (nuolatinis leidimas gyventi JAV) Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose. Šiais laikais buvo įgyvendinama nauja politika, o tokie pranešimai turėjo tiesioginį poveikį žiniasklaidai. Lietuvoje pirminiai tyrimo rezultatai apie politinę komunikaciją, apie kurią pranešama „Delfi“ žiniasklaidoje, rodo, kad, nors anglų kalba pranešimų apie imigraciją, pabėgėlių ar prieglobsčio krizes Lietuvoje pateikiama nedaug, dauguma pranešimų rodo, kad politinė komunikacija imigrantų ir imigracijos klausimais atrodo teisingesnė, o skirtingos politinės partijos palaiko imigracijos sistemą. Be to, Lietuvoje yra nemažai nevienareikšmių politinių pranešimų apie imigraciją ir imigrantų politiką, ypač politinių partijų lyderių pranešimų, kuriuose jie nurodė, kad, nors ši šalis remia imigrantus, jie mieliau padėtų tiems, kurie turi tam tikrą abipusį susitarimą dėl ekonominio stabilumo išlaikymo, ir taip atgrasytų žmones nuo bandymų atvykti į šią šalį.

3. Trečiasis šio tyrimo tikslas – nustatyti įvairius žiniasklaidos diskurso apie imigraciją Floridoje ir Lietuvoje mechanizmus. Kalbant apie Floridos atvejį, žiniasklaida veikia kaip korekcinis mechanizmas, taip bandydama pateikti palankius imigracijos ir su imigrantais susijusios integracijos politikos mechanizmus. Galima pastebėti, kad šiais mechanizmais žiniasklaida ne tik daro įtaką politiniams veikėjams ar sprendimų priėmėjams, bet ir per savo naratyvus, pasitelkdama komunikacijos ir diskurso mechanizmą, ji taip pat stengiasi paveikti skaitytojų suvokimą, taip formuodama palankų požiūrį ir nuostatas į imigraciją Floridoje. Kalbant apie Lietuvą, galima pastebėti, kad visi tyrimui paimti reikšmingi aspektai turi didelę reikšmę ir Lietuvai. „Delfi“ apžvelgtas laikotarpis nuo 2015 m. sausio mėn. iki 2020 m. sausio mėn. Floridos atveju galime pamatyti daug naujienų, kurios bus suskirstytos į rėmus ir subrėmus, tačiau kalbant apie Lietuvą, mes negalime pamatyti tiek daug naujienų, kurias būtų galima suskirstyti į kategorijas.Tai gali būti dėl jaunos Lietuvos valstybės ir neseniai prasidėjusio imigracijos srauto, kuris rodo, kad pastaruoju metu žiniasklaidoje trūksta dėmesio imigrantų integracijai ir imigrantų priėmimui Lietuvoje. Tačiau dėl pastaruoju metu kilusio imigrantų antplūdžio nuo 2015 m. ir pastaraisiais metais suintensyvėjusio požiūrio į jį, Lietuvos žiniasklaidoje taip pat pastebima besikeičianti tendencija tokių naujienų naratyvų atžvilgiu. Taigi, galima įžvelgti, kad, kalbant apie abiejų visuomenių

žiniasklaidos komunikaciją ir jos naratyvinį mechanizmą, jai tenka iniciatyvą perimantis vaidmuo imigracijos ir imigrantų integracijos į bendruomenę aspektais. Todėl šis tyrimas parodo elementus ir reikšmę, kaip Lietuvos žiniasklaida ir jos komunikacijos mechanizmai gali perimti politikos pavyzdžius iš Floridos atvejo, taip bandydama juos įgyvendinti Lietuvos kontekste, ypač artimiausiais metais, kai Lietuvoje bus didelis imigracijos antplūdis.

4. Ketvirtasis ir paskutinis šio tyrimo tikslas – ištirti, kaip abiejose visuomenėse imigrantai suvokia žiniasklaidos mechanizmus ir kaip ji veikia kaip integracijos į bendruomenę katalizuojanti jėga, ypač formuodama visuomenės požiūrį į imigraciją. Kitaip nei kituose tyrimuose, kuriuose nagrinėjamas visuomenės veikėjų gyventojų suvokimas, šiame tyrime nagrinėjamas imigrantų suvokimas, nes būtent juos tiesiogiai paveikė žiniasklaidos priemonės. Taigi, siekiant gilesnio supratimo, tyrime daugiausia dėmesio skiriama imigrantams, gyvenantiems atitinkamose Floridos ir Lietuvos visuomenėse, ir tam, kaip jie suvokia žiniasklaidos mechanizmus imigracijos atžvilgiu ir jų įtaką formuojant požiūrį į imigrantų bendruomenes. Siekiant suprasti imigrantų suvokimą apie kiekvieną iš reikšmingų kintamojo aspektų, tyrimas buvo suskirstytas į tris esmines subkategorijas: imigrantų integraciją, politinius debatus ir komunikaciją bei politinių sprendimų priėmimą ir komunikacijos politiką. Kalbant apie Floridos atvejį, nors imigrantai ir imigracija Floridoje yra seniai žinomi reiškiniai, kalbant apie imigrantų požiūrį į žiniasklaidą, visi šie reikšmingi kintamieji rodo mažesnį imigrantų bendruomenių pasitikėjimą žiniasklaidos komunikacija, susijusia su imigracija ir imigrantų integracija į visuomenę. Kaip nustatyta, tik penki iš keturiolikos reikšmingų dalinių kintamųjų rodo imigrantų pasitikėjimą žiniasklaidos mechanizmais.

Kalbant apie Lietuvos trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijų aspektą, skirtingai nei Floridos atveju, kur imigracijos ir imigrantų integracijos klausimai yra labiau išvystyti ir kuriais sukaupta daugiau patirties, Lietuvoje trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijos dėl jauno tautos statuso vis dar yra pradiniame etape. Lietuvoje apsiribojama tik tarpkultūrinės komunikacijos kūrimu ir stiklinių lubų laužymu, vienijant imigrantus ir vietos bendruomenes. Kitas svarbus aspektas, kurį Lietuvoje padeda įgyvendinti trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijos, – tai daugybė paslaugų, kurios leidžia imigrantams čia, Lietuvoje, gyventi be rūpesčių, ypač vertimo darbai dėl sudėtingų kalbos barjerų Lietuvoje.

TYRIMŲ METODOLOGIJA

Kokybinė turinio analizė. Siekiant išsiaiškinti pirmąjį šio tyrimo tikslą – atlikti teorinę žiniasklaidos vaidmens transnacionalinėje migracijoje analizę, naudojama kokybinė esamos literatūros iš įvairių šaltinių turinio analizė, įskaitant vyriausybės politikos stebėjimo migracijos politiką. Literatūros apžvalgoje esami tyrimai apie migraciją, pabėgėlių krizę, žiniasklaidos ir jos darbotvarkės svarbą migracijai ir su ja susijusiai politikai, žiniasklaidos komunikacijos migracijos klausimais strategijas, imigrantų integracijos svarbą ir kt. bus analizuojami tiriant žiniasklaidos naujienų reportažus iš Floridos Lietuvoje. Taip pat bus renkamos įvairios JT, JTVP, EUROPA,

TMO ir kitos nacionalinės bei tarptautinės statistinės ataskaitos imigrantų klausimais ir duomenys iš Floridos ir Lietuvos.

Šiame tyrime, siekiant nustatyti antrąjį, trečiąjį ir ketvirtąjį uždavinius, atliekama Floridos ir Lietuvos atvejo analizė. Atliktas empirinis tyrimas, siekiant nustatyti mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos ypatumus imigracijos ir migrantų integracijos srityje abiejuose regionuose. Be to, atliekant pusiau struktūruotus interviu, rinkti pirminiai duomenys apie žiniasklaidos vaidmenį imigrantų integracijai šiuose regionuose. Kallio ir kiti (2016) įvardija, kad „pusiau struktūruoti interviu yra įprastas duomenų rinkimo metodas kokybiniuose tyrimuose, o interviu vadovo kokybė daro esminę įtaką tyrimo rezultatams“. Longhurst (2003) nuomone, pusiau struktūruotas interviu – tai žodinis pokalbis tarp dviejų interviuotojų. Nors interviuotojas yra parengęs iš anksto numatytų klausimų sąrašą, naudojamas pusiau struktūruotas interviu, kad dalyviai galėtų išreikšti savo nuomonę, vyksta natūralus dialogas, suteikiantis temų diskusijoms.

Pusiau struktūruotas interviu. Ketvirtuoju šio tyrimo tikslu siekiama nustatyti, kaip imigrantai suvokia žiniasklaidos įtaką visuomenės požiūriui į imigrantus ir jos poveikį integracijos politikai.

Norint tai išsiaiškinti, būtina atlikti preliminarų empirinį tyrimą. 2019 m. atliktas interviu su imigrantais, gyvenančiais Floridoje ir Lietuvoje– – su 17 imigrantų, gyvenančių Floridoje ir Lietuvoje; pirminiai duomenys imti iš 15 imigrantų. Taigi tyrime dalyvavo 32 imigrantai. Imigrantų interviu duomenys padeda nustatyti skirtingą migrantų požiūrį į politinės žiniasklaidos komunikaciją apie imigrantus jų regione. Užduoti klausimai taip pat padėjo išsiaiškinti, kokios integruotos sistemos palengvėja arba sumažėja paskelbus tam tikras naujienas apie imigrantus tame regione.

Kadangi nevyriausybinės organizacijos vaidina svarbų vaidmenį imigrantų integracijos procese įvairiose šalyse, surinkti pirminiai duomenys. Taip siekta išsiaiškinti įvairias politikos priemones ir imigrantų integracijos veiklą. Iš viso šiame tyrime dalyvavo 8 nevyriausybinės organizacijos (NVO); 6 iš jų buvo iš Floridos ir dvi iš Lietuvos. Nevyriausybinė organizacija buvo atrinktos atsižvelgiant į jų veiklą, skirtą imigrantų paramai ir integracijai bei susijusią su įvairiais projektais, skirtais imigrantų krizei spręsti. Apklausus Nevyriausybinė organizacija , šio tyrimo metu buvo siekiama išsiaiškinti pagrindinius dalykus, pavyzdžiui:

- nustatyti įvairią NVO veiklą, skirtą imigrantų integracijai Floridoje ir Lietuvoje;
- nustatyti socialinius ir kultūrinius iššūkius, su kuriais susiduriama NVO veikloje;
- nustatyti medijuotos politinės komunikacijos poveikį imigrantų gyvenimui Floridoje ir Lietuvoje iš NVO perspektyvos.

Pirminiai interviu duomenys surinkti iš 17 imigrantų iš Floridos ir 15 imigrantų iš Lietuvos. 2 NVO iš Lietuvos ir 6 NVO iš Floridos. Taigi iš viso šiame tyrime dalyvavo 32 imigrantai ir 8 NVO atstovai. Kiekvieno interviu trukmė – nuo 30 min. iki 1,30 val. Interviu metu visi jie buvo užrašyti tekstuose arba balso įrašuose, o vėliau transkribuoti. Interviu klausimai buvo užduodami anglų kalba, nes imigrantai ir NVO atstovai galėjo

susikalbėti angliškai.

Disertacijos struktūra. Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, trys pagrindinės dalys, apimančios teorinius, metodologinius ir empirinius tyrimo aspektus, išvados, literatūros šaltiniai ir priedai.

Teorinė disertacijos dalis – „Medijuotos politinės komunikacijos teorinis pagrindas“. Ji apima įvairias migracijos, mediatizacijos, medijų logikos ir jų vaidmens migracijoje, politinės komunikacijos ir medijuotos politinės komunikacijos sampratų analizes.

Šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje medijos yra esminė visuomenės dalis, kurioje jos turi savo galią ir valdžią įvairiems visuomenės, kultūros ir institucijų aspektams. Pastebima, kad žiniasklaida daro didelę įtaką daugeliui institucijų, o kartais savo veiksmais ir nuomonėmis netgi lemia tokių institucijų pokyčius.

Žiniasklaidos logika gali būti suprantama kaip mechanizmas, kai žiniasklaida naudoja įvairius būdus ir pasakojimo metodus, kad pasiektų visuomenę ir patrauktų jos dėmesį. Hjarvardo (2008) nuomone, mediatizacija gali būti vertinama kaip procesas, kurio metu visuomenė tampa priklausoma ir pasikliauja žiniasklaida ir jos logika. Taigi, pasitelkdama medijų logiką, žiniasklaida stengiasi daryti įtaką ir dominuoti visuomenėje bei pertvarkyti visuomenę pagal savo pageidavimus.

Žiniasklaida ir mediatizacija atlieka svarbų vaidmenį visuomenėje, susijusį su įvairiomis problemomis ir socialiniais tikslais, ir gali palengvinti perspektyvų kaitą individo lygmeniu. Individualūs pokyčiai gali lemti galimus rezultatus, kurie atspindės visuomenę. Taigi komunikacijos ir žiniasklaidos diskurso mechanizmas daro didelę įtaką visuomenei plačiu mastu.

Blumeris ir Colemanas (2010) teigia, kad politinė komunikacija gali būti esminis bet kokio politinio proceso aspektas. Galima manyti, kad nors politinė komunikacija naudojama politinėms pažiūroms ir nuomonėms perteikti, iš tikrųjų politinės partijos ir veikėjai ją taip pat naudoja savo veikėjams ir politinėms grupėms šmeižti ir juodinti dėl savo asmeninių politinių interesų. Galima pastebėti, kad politinės komunikacijos aspektą naudoja ne tik politiniai veikėjai, bet ir žiniasklaidos veikėjai, pavyzdžiui, žurnalistai ir kiti žiniasklaidos sistemos darbuotojai, kurie, siekdami apsaugoti ir palaikyti savo interesus, stengiasi kurti ir skleisti naujienas, kad sukurtų įspūdį ir visuomenės nuomonę apie politines partijas ir grupes, kurioms jie yra ištikimi.

Todėl labai svarbu daugiau sužinoti apie medijuotą politinę komunikaciją imigracijos klausimais. Siekiant išsiaiškinti mediatizacijos ir politinės komunikacijos ryšį, būtina iš naujo suvokti ideologinį aspektą kaip būtiną scenarijų, kad galėtume veiksmingai perteikti mūsų interpretaciją, susijusią su mediatizuota politine komunikacija. Tai leidžia mums suvokti ideologinį politinės komunikacijos aspektą ir pačios politinės komunikacijos empirinius arba praktinius aspektus.

Dalies pabaigoje pateikta teorinė mediatizacijos teorinė sistema apie migracijos analizę disertacijoje.

Antroje disertacijos dalyje „Tyrimo metodologija“ pristatoma empirinio tyrimo metodologija. Šioje dalyje pristatomas duomenų rinkimo metodų, apklaustųjų profilių ir imigrantų iš Floridos ir Lietuvos socialinių-demografinių charakteristikų tyrimas. Siekiant nustatyti įvairias NVO veiklas, skirtas imigrantų integracijai Floridoje ir

Lietuvoje, ir identifikuoti socialinius ir kultūrinius iššūkius NVO veiklai, taip pat nustatyti medijuotos politinės komunikacijos poveikį imigrantų gyvenimui Floridoje ir Lietuvoje iš NVO perspektyvos, atliktas interviu su 8 NVO atstovais iš šių dviejų vietovių. Siekiant nustatyti imigrantus, suvokti žiniasklaidos įtaką visuomenės požiūriui į imigrantus ir jos poveikį integracijos politikai, atliktas interviu su 32 imigrantais iš Floridos ir iš Lietuvos.

Trečiojoje disertacijos dalyje „Empirinis tyrimas“ pateikiami empirinio tyrimo rezultatai. Šiame darbe daugiausia dėmesio skiriama informacijai apie empirinio tyrimo rezultatų analizę. Jame pateikiama išsami informacija, susijusi su atvejo tyrimu, kaip žiniasklaida, pranešdama apie imigraciją Floridoje ir Lietuvoje, siekia konkrečių politinės komunikacijos ir politikos rezultatų. Taip pat nustatoma žiniasklaidos komunikacijos reikšmė požiūriui į imigraciją Floridoje ir Lietuvoje; pateikiami imigrantų ir nevyriausybinių organizacijų suvokimo apie medijuotos politinės komunikacijos įtaką visuomenei imigrantų ir jų integracijos atžvilgiu rezultatai.

Disertaciją sudaro 332 puslapiai, 28 paveikslai ir 22 lentelės, taip pat septyni priedai. Literatūros sąraše pateikti 197 literatūros šaltiniai.

IŠVADOS

1. Pirmasis šio tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti svarbų žiniasklaidos vaidmenį darant įtaką tarptautinei migracijai arba ją formuojant. Tam pasitelkta transnacionalinės migracijos teorija ir, remiantis teoriniu supratimu, gautu iš literatūros apžvalgos analizės bei įvairių tarptautinių tyrimų apie imigraciją ir skirtingus imigracijos krizės scenarijus įvairiose šalyse, prieita prie išvados, kad pasauliniu lygmeniu, atsižvelgiant į naujienų pranešimų, susijusių su imigracija, publikavimą, ji skiriasi priklausomai nuo skirtingų regionų. Be to, pabėgėlių krizė ir įvairūs atvejai, susiję su prieglobsčio prašytojais, imigrantais ir imigracija, įvairiose šalyse skiriasi.

Iš šio tyrimo, susijusio su medijuota politine komunikacija per žiniasklaidos diskursą ir žiniasklaidos vaidmenį Lietuvos ir Floridos kontekste, matyti, kad abiejose šiose šalyse žiniasklaidai tenka svarbus aktyvus vaidmuo imigracijos atžvilgiu. Dėl ilgos imigracijos istorijos, didelio imigrantų antplūdžio ir naujausių politinių bei politinių priemonių, susijusių su imigracija Floridoje, joje, palyginti su Lietuva, yra reikšmingas ir sustiprintas politinės komunikacijos ir žiniasklaidos komunikacijos mechanizmas. Vis dėlto dėl pastarojo meto nelegalios imigracijos antplūdžio per Rytų Europos sienas artimiausiais metais ir Lietuvoje gali įvykti reikšmingų imigracijai palankių politinių mechanizmų pokyčių. Tokiu atveju taip pat reikšmingai keisis žiniasklaida, susijusi su politine komunikacija, ir žiniasklaidos mechanizamai. Ji pasuks medijuotos politinės komunikacijos keliu, kaip Floridoje. Galima pastebėti, kad kai imigracija tampa ginčytinu klausimu visuomenėje ir, kai imigracijos atžvilgiu imamasi reikšmingų politinių priemonių, žiniasklaida, pasitelkdama politinę komunikaciją ir medijas, bando veikti kaip katalizuojanti jėga, taip siekdama reikšmingai ratifikuoti politines priemones, taip pat formuodama visuomenės sąmoningumą ir suvokimą.

2. Antrasis šio tyrimo tikslas – nustatyti žiniasklaidoje pateikiamą politinę komunikaciją imigracijos klausimais. Siekiant tai nustatyti, atliktas pirminis empirinis tyrimas Lietuvoje ir Floridoje, pasirenkant po vieną žinomą laikraštį. Politinei komunikacijai apie imigraciją Floridoje nustatyti pasirinktas „New York Times“, o Lietuvoje – „Delfi“. Nagrinėtos nuo 2015 m. sausio mėn. iki 2020 m. sausio mėn. skelbtos naujienos. Visais šiais laikotarpiais buvo daug pranešimų, susijusių su migracija, kurie sklido iš politinės komunikacijos, politinių veikėjų ar politinių lyderių, įvairių administracinių skyrių ar viešosios politikos departamentų. Kalbant apie Floridą, gauti duomenys tiesiogiai rodo, kad yra įvairios pozityvios politinės komunikacijos, kurios tiesiogiai reiškia imigracijos svarbą ir imigrantų integraciją į Floridos visuomenę arba į Amerikos visuomenę. Taip pat rasta daug teisinės komunikacijos, kuri tiesiogiai kritikuoja arba skatina neigiamą požiūrį į migrantus ir migraciją JAV, ir ji tiesiogiai sklido iš politinių veikėjų, ypač iš prezidento administracijos, kuri priklauso D. Trumpui. Kalbant apie mišrią politinę komunikaciją Floridoje, daug naujienų pateikiama laikraštyje „New York Times“; tačiau iš įvairių politinių partijų ir skirtingų lyderių, nors jie norėjo arba palaikyti, arba nepalaikyti imigrantų savo krašte, kartais jie skelbė politinę komunikaciją ir pareiškimus, turinčius neutralų požiūrį į imigrantus ir antiimigracinę politiką, ypač kalbant apie Floridos valstijos miestų prieglobsčio politiką.

Be to, atlikus tyrimą, rasta įvairių kritinių pastabų ir apie kovos su nelegalia imigracija arba leidimo reikalavimus atitinkantiems imigrantams gauti žaliąją kortą JAV svarbą. Šiais laikais buvo paskelbta nauja politika, o tokie pranešimai taip pat rodo tiesioginę reikšmę žiniasklaidoje. Todėl Floridoje gauti duomenys apie politinės komunikacijos svarbą imigracijai rodo, kad medijuota politinė komunikacija turi labai stiprią ir galingą priemonę daryti įtaką ir keisti įvairią politiką ir politinių sprendimų priėmimo sistemas Floridoje, kad būtų remiami imigrantai ar sprendžiama imigrantų krizė.

Lietuvoje pirminio tyrimo rezultatai apie politinę komunikaciją, apie kurią pranešama „Delfi“, rodo, kad nors „Delfi“ anglų kalba nėra daug pranešimų apie imigraciją, pabėgėlių krizę ar prieglobsčio krizę Lietuvoje, dauguma pranešimų rodo, kad politinė komunikacija imigrantų ir imigracijos atžvilgiu atrodo teisingesnė, o skirtingos politinės partijos remia imigracijos sistemą. Tačiau taip pat matome, kad yra daug neigiamos komunikacijos, kuri tiesiogiai kritikuoja imigraciją ir laiko imigrantus grėsme šiai šaliai, ypač kalbant apie darbo rinką; sakoma, kad jei šalyje bus daugiau imigrantų, ypač jei jie neturi aukštojo išsilavinimo, jie pirmiausia dirbs nekvalifikuoto darbo rinkoje ir taip paveiks nekvalifikuotai dirbančių Lietuvos žmonių darbo užmokesčio skalę, nes imigrantai stengsis dirbti už mažesnį nei vidutinis darbo užmokestį. Nes įmonės ar pramonės šakos stengsis įdarbinti imigrantus, norinčius dirbti už mažesnį atlyginimą.

Be to, pastebėta, kad Lietuvoje yra daug mišrių politinių pranešimų apie imigraciją ir imigrantų politiką, ypač politinių partijų lyderių. Jie teigė, kad nors ši šalis nori remti imigrantus, jie norėtų padėti tiems, kurie turi tam tikrą abipusį susitarimą, kad jų ekonominis stabilumas būtų didesnis, todėl žmonės gali nebandyti atvykti į šią šalį. Tai tiesiogiai rodo, kad ši šalis nori remti imigrantus ir prieglobsčio prašytojus, tačiau tai daroma teikiant finansinę pagalbą besivystančioms šalims, o ne priimant imigrantus į Lietuvą. Be to, , buvo parengtos kelios naujos politinės priemonės, kurias bandoma įgyvendinti Lietuvoje siekiant spręsti imigrantų krizę, ypač tai tiesiogiai susiję su

nekvalifikuotų darbininkų išnaudojimo prevencija ir pabėgėlių, kurie bando nelegaliai migruoti į Europos Sąjungos šalis, gabenimo į šią šalį prevencija. Todėl naujoji politika užkerta nelegaliai imigracijai kelią, suteikdama tinkamus mokymus ir pagalbą bei didindama visuomenės lygmens priežiūrą, taip mažindama nelegalią imigraciją. Ši politika mums tiesiogiai parodo, kad dėl įvairių politinių ryšių Lietuva taip pat norėtų remti, o nelegalios imigracijos atveju – užkirsti imigrantų išnaudojimui šioje šalyje. Todėl galima daryti išvadą, kad pastaruoju metu, taip pat ir artimiausiais metais vykstantis nelegalios imigracijos per Rytų Europos sienas antplūdis gali formuoti neigiamą visuomenės nuomonę, ypač dėl politinės komunikacijos ir politinių veikėjų, kurie stengiasi palengvinti tiek politinius mechanizmus imigrantų priėmimo, tiek jų integracijos į visuomenę atžvilgiu. Lietuvos žiniasklaida per savo politinę komunikaciją taip pat bando veikti kaip katalizuojanti jėga, taip bandydama ištaisyti tokią neigiamą politinę komunikaciją imigracijos atžvilgiu ir formuoti supratimą apie imigrantų priėmimo į visuomenę poreikį. Ji taip pat stengsis ištaisyti politinių priemonių skirtumus, taip palengvindama imigrantų priėmimą ir integraciją.

3. Trečiasis šio tyrimo tikslas – nustatyti įvairius žiniasklaidos komunikacijos diskursus apie imigraciją Floridoje ir Lietuvoje. Šiam tyrimo tikslui išsiaiškinti nagrinėti nuo 2015 m. sausio 1 d. iki 2020 m. sausio 31 d. Floridos laikraštyje „New York Times“ ir Lietuvos „Delfi“ paskelbti pranešimai. Rezultatai suskirstyti į penkias svarbias kategorijas: aukos, grėsmės, atsakomybės, administracinė ir grįžimo namo. Kiekviena kategorijasuskirstyta į skirtingas subkategorijas, atsižvelgiant į naujieną ir jos turinį.

Kalbant apie žiniasklaidos komunikacijos mechanizmą Floridoje, matyti, kad žiniasklaida veikia kaip aktyvus mechanizmas, taip bandydama parodyti politikos priemonių šališkumą, ypač Trumpo administracijos laikotarpiu, ir jos reikšmę pabėgėlių ir imigrantų atžvilgiu Floridoje ir Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose. Iš šio mechanizmo matyti, kad daugiausia žiniasklaidos komunikacijos buvo atsakomybės kategorijoje, iš viso jai skirti 293 žiniasklaidos naratyvai, administracinei kategorijai r– 232 naratyvai, aukos – 63 naratyvai, grėsmės – 22 naratyvai ir grįžimo namo – 21 naratyvas. Taigi, kalbant apie Floridos atvejį, žiniasklaida rodo aktyvų vaidmenį kovojant su antiimigracine politika, taip pat bando veikti kaip taisanti jėga. Be to, pasitelkdama komunikacijos ir diskurso mechanizmą, ji stengiasi sukurti palankų su imigracija susijusį skaitytojų ir plačiosios visuomenės suvokimą.

Kalbant apie Lietuvą, apie įvairius naujienų srautus, apie kuriuos pranešama „Delfi“, tai reiškia, kad visos minėtos penkios kategorijos tinka Lietuvos atveju, taip pat žiniasklaidos naujienos su politine komunikacija apie imigraciją Lietuvoje rodo, kad nuo 2015 m. sausio mėn. iki 2020 m. sausio mėn. yra įvairių naujienų, kurios skelbiamos „Delfi“ anglų kalba ir kurios priklauso penkioms kategorijoms. Tačiau, kaip rodo empiriniai rezultatai, palyginti su JAV, jų yra labai mažai. Tai lemia jaunas tautos statusas ir neseniai prasidėjęs imigracijos į Lietuvą antplūdis. Taigi abiejose visuomenėse žiniasklaida, pasitelkdama komunikacijos mechanizmus, atlieka svarbų ir aktyvų vaidmenį, taip pabrėždama imigrantų priėmimo ir jų integracijos į visuomenę poreikį. Lietuvos žiniasklaidos atveju Floridos žiniasklaidoje numatyti naratyviniai mechanizmai ir įrėminimo aspektai gali būti traktuojami kaip reikšminga politikos priemonė, kurią reikia įgyvendinti Lietuvos visuomenėje. Tai ypač svarbu pastaruoju metu ir artimiausiais

metais, kai dėl legalios ir nelegalios imigracijos į Lietuvos visuomenę plūsta daug imigrantų.

4. Ketvirtuoju šio tyrimo tikslu siekiama nustatyti, kaip imigrantai suvokia žiniasklaidos įtaką visuomenės požiūriui į imigrantus ir jos poveikį integracijos politikai. Šiuo atveju, siekiant suprasti visuomenės veikėjų reakciją, šiame tyrime visuomenės suvokimui suprasti kaip visuomenės veikėjai buvo pasirinkti atitinkamose visuomenėse gyvenantys imigrantai. Siekiant tinkamai suprasti žiniasklaidos diskursą ir visuomenės suvokimo mechanizmus, buvo pasiriktos trys svarbios subkategorijos: imigrantų integracija, politiniai debatai ir komunikacija bei politinių sprendimų priėmimas ir komunikacijos politika. Kalbant apie Floridos atvejį, reikia pažymėti, kad visi reikšmingi kintamieji ir subkategorijos rodo mažesnį imigrantų pasitikėjimą žiniasklaidos mechanizmais, susijusiais su imigrantų integracija į visuomenę. Iš keturiolikos subkintamųjų visiems trims kintamiesiems analizuoti tik penkių subkintamųjų atžvilgiu imigrantai išreiškia pasitikėjimą žiniasklaidos mechanizmais.

Lietuvos atveju, kalbant apie visuomenės požiūrį į imigrantų integracijos mechanizmus žiniasklaidos tinkluose, matyti, kad visuomenė teigiamai vertina žiniasklaidos komunikaciją imigracijos atžvilgiu. Šiuo atveju iš 14 subkintamųjų, skirtų trijų reikšmingų kintamųjų analizei, 9 rodo teigiamą požiūrį į žiniasklaidos komunikaciją imigrantų integracijos atžvilgiu. Kitaip nei Floridoje, čia žiniasklaidos nevaržo politinis spaudimas. Tai daugiausia lemia imigrantų antplūdžio į visuomenę nebuvimas, prieš imigraciją nukreiptos politikos nebuvimas ir vyriausybės veiksmai. Kitas svarbus aspektas, kuriuo trečiojo sektoriaus organizacija padeda imigrantų integracijai, yra įvairių paslaugų, su kuriomis imigrantai susiduria Lietuvos visuomenėje, teikimas dažniausiai dėl sudėtingo kalbos barjero ir kitų socialinių suvaržymų, su kuriais imigrantai ir pabėgėliai susiduria Lietuvos visuomenėje. Tačiau ateinančiais metais, kai imigrantų priėmimas ir jų integracija taps karšta diskusija Lietuvos visuomenėje, NVO Lietuvoje taip pat imsis aktyvaus ir veiksmingo vaidmens, kaip ir NVO Floridoje, taip palengvindamos reikšmingą trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijos vaidmenį lengvinant imigrantų socialinę sanglaudą Lietuvos visuomenėje.

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1. Dalyvavo Europos sociologų asociacijos (ESA) konferencijoje Barselonoje, Ispanijoje, 2021 m. rugpjūčio 31 – rugsėjo 3 d. ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Darnaus vystymosi įrėminimas: An Analysis of Sustainable Development Discourse in the Indian English Language Newspaper“.
2. Dalyvavo ICEP konferencijoje, vykusioje Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakultete 2021 m. balandžio 23 d. ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Imigrantų integracija“, „The Role of NGOs in Lithuania for Upholding Immigrant Assimilation“.
3. Dalyvavo Viešojo administravimo mokslinių tyrimų konferencijoje (PARC) Centrinės Floridos universiteto Viešojo administravimo mokykloje 2021 m. kovo 19 d. ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Fighting COVID-19 in Kerala; The Role of Local Self Government“ kartu su Titty Varghese.
4. Dalyvavo Centrinės Floridos universiteto Viešojo administravimo mokyklos Viešojo administravimo tyrimų konferencijoje (PARC), vykusioje Centrinės Floridos universiteto Viešojo administravimo mokykloje, ir skaitė pranešimą tema „COVID-19 and the Plight of Rohingyan Refugees: Thomas Bryer“ kartu su profesoriumi Thomas Bryer 2021 m. kovo 19 d.
5. Dalyvavo Kauno technologijos universitete 2020 m. lapkričio 5–6 d. vykusioje konferencijoje „Rizikos analizė: nuo suvokimo iki prognozavimo“ ir skaitė pranešimą tema „COVID-19 and the Risk of Displacement of Migrant Workers; An Analysis of Media Framing in the Indian State of Kerala“.
6. Dalyvavo konferencijoje „Intermedialumas komunikacijoje“ rugsėjo 24–25 d. Kauno technologijos universitete ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Media framing and Immigrant Integration: Imigrantų suvokimo Lietuvoje analizė“.
7. Dalyvavo Nicholson School of Media and Communication Centrinės Floridos universiteto Žiniasklaidos ir komunikacijos mokykloje 2020 m. kovo 11 d. konferencijoje „International Conferences on International Crisis and Risk Communication Conference (ICRCC)“ ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Žiniasklaidos vaidmuo ir prieš prieglaudą nukreipti teisės aktai Floridoje“.
8. Dalyvavo konferencijoje „Scholarship Across Generations“, vykusioje prieš NASPAA: Terry Cooper", vykusioje 2019 m. spalio 16 d. Kalifornijoje, JAV, ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Žiniasklaidos logikos vaidmuo etiniam migrantų krizės suvokimui“.
9. Dalyvavo Pietryčių viešojo administravimo konferencijos metinėje regioninėje konferencijoje (SECoPA) 2019 m. rugsėjo 5–7 d. Luizianoje, JAV, ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Žiniasklaidos diskurso etinis aspektas ir jo reikšmė politikos formavimui: The Case of Florida Parkland Shooting“.
10. Dalyvavo konferencijoje (Re) „Gazing: Lytis ir Indijos kinas naujųjų medijų amžiuje“ (angl. *Gender and Indian Cinema in the Age of New Media*), kurią 2019 m. rugsėjo 19–20 d. Kaune organizavo Kauno technologijos universitetas, ir skaitė pranešimą „On Migration and Risk: An Analysis of the

Women Healthcare Sector Employees“ (Apie migraciją ir riziką: sveikatos priežiūros sektoriaus darbuotojų moterų analizė).

11. Dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą „The Opportunities and Challenges of Woman's Political Decision Making: korupcija, etika ir kultūra viešajame administravime organizuoja IASIA, Kauno technologijos universitete 2019 m. balandžio 24–25 d.
12. Dalyvavo Kauno technologijos universiteto ir IASIA organizuotoje konferencijoje „Corruption, Ethics, and Culture in Public Administrations“ Kauno technologijos universitete 2019 m. balandžio 24–25 d. ir skaitė pranešimą tema „The Role of NGO in Lobbying for Refugee Crisis Management; A Case of Florida Immigrant Coalition“.
13. Dalyvavo ESA (Europos sociologų asociacijos) tarpinėje konferencijoje RN22 „Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty 4–5th October 2018“ ir skaitė pranešimą „An Analysis of the Socio-Economic Imperatives on Rohingyan Refugees in Bangladesh and Malaysia“.
14. Bendras pranešimas tema „Socialinės žiniasklaidos vaidmuo politinėje komunikacijoje: An Analysis of Violence against Women in Kerala: An Anecdote from Jisha’s Rape murder“ tarptautinėje mokslinių tyrimų konferencijoje „Communication and Information Sciences in Networked Society“ Vilniaus universiteto Komunikacijos fakultete 2018 m. birželio 14–15 d.
15. Dalyvavo tarptautinėje konferencijoje „Regioninės rizikos ir pavojai regionams“, skirtoje Lietuvos nepriklausomybės atkūrimo 100-mečiui, 2018 m. sausio 30–31 d. Vilniuje ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Rohingya musulmonų etninis valymas Mianmare ir migracijos rizika“.
16. Bendraautoris kartu su Titty Varghese tema „Danijos ir Suomijos antikorupcinės politikos analizė“ 15-ojoje mokslinėje studentų konferencijoje „Research Horizons: Insights From Youth“, vykusioje 2017 m. balandžio 28 d. IASIA Kauno technologijos universitete.
17. Bendraautoris kartu su Titty Varghese tema „Politinė komunikacija apie smurtą prieš moteris: A Discourse Analysis from Kerala“ tarptautinėje žiniasklaidos studijų konferencijoje, vykusioje 2017 m. birželio 2–3 d. Varšuvoje.

APIE AUTORIŲ

2017–2022 m.: Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakulteto Politikos mokslų krypties doktorantūros studijos.

2013–2015 m.: Viešosios politikos ir administravimo magistrantūros studijos, Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakultetas, Kauno technologijos universitetas.

2004–2007 m.: politikos mokslų bakalauras, Mahatma Gandhi universitetas, Kerala, Indija.

PAPILDOMI MOKYMAI IR MOKSLINIAI VIZITAI

1. Dalyvavo 4 valandų trukmės seminare „Neapibrėžtumo analizė prognoziniams vertinimams“, vykusiame konferencijoje „Rizikos analizė: Nuo suvokimo iki prognozavimo“, vykusioje 2020 m. lapkričio 5–6 d. Kauno technologijos universitete.
2. Dalyvavo 4 val. trukmės seminare „Priemonių projektavimas ir komunikacijos apie riziką organizavimas“ konferencijoje „Rizikos analizė: Nuo suvokimo iki prognozavimo", vykusiame 2020 m. lapkričio 5–6 d. Kauno technologijos universitete.
3. 2018 m. rugpjūčio 21–24 d. dalyvavo Kauno technologijos universiteto vasaros mokykloje Palangoje.
4. Gegužės 15–17 d. dalyvavo KTU Duomenų analizės ir archyvavimo (DAtA) centro ir tyrimų grupės „Pilietinė visuomenė ir darnus vystymasis“ vedamuose trijų dienų tyrimų metodų mokymuose „Įvadas į daugiapakopį modeliavimą“, kuriuos vedė dr. Jose M. Echavarren (Pablo de Olavide universitetas, Ispanija) Kauno technologijos universitete.
5. Dalyvavo 4 val. trukmės seminare „Bendradarbiavimas viešajame sektoriuje iš tinklinės perspektyvos“ tarptautinėje konferencijoje „Regioninės rizikos ir rizikos regionams“, skirtoje Lietuvos Nepriklausomybės atkūrimo 100-mečiui, 2018 m. sausio 30–31 d. Vilniuje.
6. Dalyvavo ir skaitė paskaitą „Medias Political Inclination in News Framing; The Case of Florida Parkland Shooting“ Centrinės Floridos universiteto Viešojo administravimo mokykloje 2020 m. birželio 8 d. Floridoje, JAV.
7. Dalyvavo ir skaitė paskaitą tema „Migrantų integracija ir trečiojo sektoriaus organizacijos vaidmuo: An Analysis of Florida Immigrant Coalition of USA and Būkim pažįstami Lietuvoje“ 2019 m. gegužės 10 d. Jawaharlal Nehru universitete, Naujajame Delyje, Indijoje.
8. Dalyvavo ir skaitė paskaitą tema „Rohingyan musulmonų etninis valymas ir migracijos rizika“ Socialinių mokslų fakultete 2018 m. gegužės 3 d. Kaune.

DALYVAVIMAS SEMINARUOSE

1. Dalyvavo ir pristatė savo, kaip migranto, asmeninį suvokimą 2020 m. vasario 24 d. Kauno „Aušros“ gimnazijoje vykusiame seminare „Solidarumo Europos stiprinimas migracijos laikais“.
2. Dalyvavo ir pristatė metodinį pranešimą Viešojo administravimo mokykloje Centrinės Floridos universitete 2019 m. lapkričio 20 d.
3. Dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Indija ir jos kultūra“ pagal „Būkim pažįstami“ migracijos projektą 2019 m. birželio 22 d. Bristono viešojoje bibliotekoje.
4. Dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Indija ir jos kultūra“ pagal „Būkim pažįstami“ organizuojamą migracijos projektą 2019 m. birželio 21 d. Pakruojo „Atžalyno“ gimnazijoje, Pakruojis, Lietuva.

5. Dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Indija ir jos kultūra“ pagal „Būkim pažįstami“ organizuojamą migracijos projektą 2019 m. balandžio 17 d. Kuršėnų Lauryno Ivinskio gimnazijoje, Kuršėnuose.
6. 2019 m. kovo 28 d. dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Etninis rohinjų musulmonų valymas ir migracijos rizika“ Kauno technologijos universiteto organizuojamame renginyje „Mokslas ir miestas“.
7. Dalyvavo 2019 m. vasario 26 d. „Būkim pažįstami“ organizuotame migracijos projekte „Ar Kaunas atviras ir draugiškas miestas užsieniečiams?“.
8. Dalyvavo ir skaitė pranešimą tema „Imigrantų krizė ir „Sanctuary City“ politika“ Kauno technologijos universiteto organizuotoje konferencijoje „Mokslas ir miestas“ 2019 m. sausio 28 d. skaitė pranešimą „Sankcionierių miestas: mediatizacijos ir šiuolaikinės politikos analizė Floridoje“.
9. Dalyvavo ir 2018 m. lapkričio 22 d. skaitė metodinį pranešimą Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakulteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakulteto mokslinėje grupėje „Pilietinė visuomenė ir darnus vystymasis“.
10. Dalyvavo ir pristatė metodinį pranešimą dviejų dienų seminare doktorantams prieš ESA (Europos sociologų asociacijos) vidurio laikotarpio konferenciją RN22 „Rizikos ir neapibrėžtumo sociologija“ (Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty) 2018 m. spalio 2–3 d.
11. 2017 m. lapkričio 16 d. dalyvavo seminare „Ką turite kaip teises ir kas yra teisinga“ bendradarbiaujant su KTU Savivaldybių mokymo centru.
12. Dalyvavo seminare „Matavimas žinių vadyboje“, Kauno technologijos universitetas, rugsėjo 25 d., Kaunas.
13. Dalyvavo seminare „Europos žinių vadybos ateitis ir iššūkiai“, Kauno technologijos universitetas, 2013 m. rugsėjo 4 d., Kaunas.
14. Dalyvavo seminare „Mokslinis mąstymas ir racionalizmas“, CUSAT universitetas, 2013 m. liepos 6 d., Kerala, Indija.
15. Dalyvavo seminare „Equity in Search of Sustainability: An Ecological View“, CMS College, Kottayam, 2013 m. sausio 23–24 d., Kerala.

PASIEKIMAI

2020: Geriausias aktyvus politikos mokslų doktorantas, Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakulteto Politikos mokslų katedros doktorantas.

MOKSLINIŲ TYRIMŲ PATIRTIS

2019 m. gegužė – 2019 m. gruodis: Asistentas projekte „Neekonominių veiksnių reikšmė lietuvių emigracijai“, įgyvendinamame Kauno technologijos universitete ir finansuojamame Lietuvos mokslo tarybos.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Vishnu Muraleedharan
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Phone: +37069695392

Personal Profile

To strive for excellence and work hard towards a challenging position where I can apply my academic and managerial skills efficiently to place myself in a suitable field, which can allow me to show my talents to explore the infinite possibilities of the area.

Awards and Recognitions

- Erasmus Exchange research scholarship won for research to the University of Central Florida from August 26, 2019, to December 14, 2019.
- Selected and awarded as one of the best graduate students and received the diploma from Rector (Kaunas University of Technology, 2015).
- Erasmus Exchange studies scholarship for studies to the University of Jyvaskyla from January 01, 2014, to May 31, 2014.
- Award for the Best Camper of Brains Trust student organization (Mar Thoma College, Kerala, India).
- Selected as the University Union Councilor 2006-2007 (Mar Thoma College, Kerala, India)

Education

2017 - present **Ph.D. studies in Political Sciences – *'Immigration: A Comparative Analysis of Mediatized Political Communication in Florida and Lithuania'.*** Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania

2019 August-December **Erasmus Exchange**-University of Central Florida, USA

2013 – 2015	**Master of Public Policy and Administration** Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania **Erasmus Studies**-University of Jyvaskyla, Tampere University and University of Helsinki, Finland
Grade achieved:	**8.65 CGPA**
2004 – 2007	**Bachelor of Arts - Political Science** Mar Thoma College, Thiruvalla, (Kerala, India)
Grade achieved:	**61.2%**

Work Experience

14/06/2021- Present

Assistant to Event Manager, NGO Information and Support Centre, Vilnius, Lithuania

- To plan and organize immigrant integration events.
- To promote immigrant integration through social media activities.
- To promote immigrant integration discourse through media mechanisms.

02/05/2019- 31/12/2019 (8 months)

Project Expert, Kaunas University of Technology, Kaunas, Lithuania

Project-The Significance of Non-Economic Factors for Lithuanian Emigration

- Formulate policy measures to combat shrinkage and outmigration.
- To analyze literature and data on Lithuanian Emigration.
- To identify the factors facilitating Emigration.
- To assist in writing scientific articles.

29/12/2015-30/10/2017(1 Year 10 months)

Motor Insurance Agent (Relationship officer) Gargash Insurance Services LLC, Dubai, UAE

- Creating new business and liaising with existing clients
- Relationship building
- Generating new leads and converting them
- Coordinating transaction and payment follow up
- Coordinating motor claims and providing claims assistance

10/08/2011-19/08/2012 (1 Year)

Marketing Officer Europe Study Centre (P) Ltd Kerala, India

- Consultancy service and client relationship.
- Managing campaigns on social media.
- Analysing and identifying potential clients.

02/06/2008-03/06/2011(3 Years)
Marketing & Sales Executive Basco Foods (India) Pvt Ltd
Kerala (India)

- Enabling to identify potential clients and client relationships.
- Analysing demands and competition.

Volunteering

01/04/2019- Present
Ambassador, Kaunas University of Technology, Kaunas, Lithuania

- To promote the University on International platforms.
- To assist with the prospective student inquiry.
- To write and to represent the University in various events and international gatherings.

22/11/2018- Present
Member and Vice President, Women's Leadership Network (WLN), Kaunas, Lithuania

- Organise cultural and women empowerment events.
- To raise and promote awareness in society.

09/04/2018- 31/07/2013
Sthree Suraksha Munnetam" [Women's Empowerment Movement], Kerala, India

- Participated in cultural and women empowerment events.
- To raise and promote awareness in society the need for women protective laws.

Skills

Language: English

Listening	**Reading**	**Spoken Interaction**	**Writing**
Proficient	Proficient	Proficient	Proficient

Interpersonal: Communication skills, Good Interpersonal skills, Team player, Persuasion skills, Good Contact skills

Organizational/managerial skills: Consistency, Leadership quality, High level of persuasiveness, Consistency, Willingness to shoulder challenges and responsibilities, Enjoy working under deadlines.

Job-related skills: Result-oriented, hardworking, Willing to work in a team, enthusiastic, Efficient and humble behavior, Self-adaptable.

Analytical Tools:

Qualitative Analysis: MAXQDA
Media Narrative and Data Mining Analysis: LexisNexis

List of Publications

1. Muraleedharan, V., & Bryer, T. A. (2021). COVID-19 and the Risk of Displacement of Migrant Workers: An Analysis of Media Framing in the Indian State of Kerala= Public policy and administration. Kaunas: KTU. ISSN 1648-2603. eISSN 2029-2872. 2020, t. 19, Nr. 1, p. 21-33. DOI: 10.5755/jOI.ppaa.19.1.25114. [Scopus; Central & Eastern European Academic Source (CEEAS); Academic Search Complete] [Cite Score: 2,20; SNIP: 0,879; SJR: 0,409; Ql (2019, Scopus Sources)] [FOR: S 003, S 002] [Input: 0,142]

2. Muraleedharan, Vishnu. Immigrant integration: the role of NGO's in Lithuania for upholding immigrant assimilation // European integration studies: research and topicalities. Kaunas: Kaunas University of T e c h n o l o g y. I S SN 18 2 2 -84 0 2. e I S SN 2 3 3 5 - 8 8 3 1. 2 0 2 0, no. 14, p. 3 9 - 54. D O I: doi.org/10.5755/jOl. eis. l.14.26371. [Emerging Sources Citation Index (Web of Science); Business Source Complete; DOAJ] [FOR: S 002] [Input: 1,000]

3. Muraleedharan, V. (2021). The Role of Media in Human Crisis Intervention: An Analysis of the Case of Aylan Kurdi. In Bryer, T.A & Jeon, S.H (Eds.).Citizenship and Ethics: From the Neighbourhood to the City, Country to the World (pp. 221-234). Lanham; Lexington Books.

4. Bryer, Thomas Andrew; Rauleckas, Rimantas; Muraleedharan, Vishnu; Butkeviciene, Egle; Vaiciuniene, Jolanta; Vaidelyte, Egle; Miezanskiene, Ramune. Non-economic emigration factors that might be pushing citizens out of Lithuania = Public policy and administration. Kaunas: KTU. ISSN 1648-2603. eISSN 2029-2872. 2020, t. 19, Nr. 1, p. 35-52. DOI: 10.5755/jOI.ppaa.19.1.25114. [Scopus; Central & Eastern European Academic Source (CEEAS); Academic Search Complete] [Cite Score: 2,20; SNIP: 0,879; SJR: 0,409; Ql (2019, Scopus Sources)] [FOR: S 003, S 002] [Input: 0,142]

5. Muraleedharan, Vishnu; Bryer, Thomas Andrew. Refugee crisis and the role of NGO lobbying in Florida= Public policy and administration. Kaunas: KTU. ISSN 1648-2603. eISSN 2029-2872. 2020, t. 19, Nr. 1, p. 22-34. DOI: 10.5755/jOl.ppaa.19 .1.25148. [Scopus; Central & Eastern European Academic Source (CEEAS); Academic Search Complete] [Cite Score: 2,20; SNIP: 0,879; SJR: 0,409; Q l (2019, Scopus Sources)] [FOR: S 002] [Input: 0,500]

List of Presentations

1. Attended and presented on the topic titled, " Framing Sustainable Development: An Analysis of Sustainable Development Discourse in the Indian English Language Newspaper" at the European Sociological Association (ESA) conference in Barcelona, Spain, from August 31 -September 3, 2021.
2. Attended and presented on the topic titled, "Immigrant Integration: The Role of NGOs in Lithuania for Upholding Immigrant Assimilation" in ICEP conference, in the Faculty of Social Science, Arts, and Humanities, Kaunas University of Technology on April 23, 2021.
3. Attended and presented on the topic titled, "Fighting COVID-19 in Kerala; The Role of Local Self Government," together with Titty Varghese together for the Public Administration Research Conference (PARC) conference in the School of Public Administration at the University of Central Florida on March 19, 2021.
4. Attended and presented on the topic titled, "COVID-19 and the Plight of Rohingyan Refugees: A Comparative Analysis of Media Framing in India and Bangladesh" together with Prof. Thomas Bryer for the Public Administration Research Conference (PARC) conference in the School of Public Administration at the University of Central Florida on March 19, 2021.
5. Attended and presented on the topic "COVID-19 and the Risk of Displacement of Migrant Workers; An Analysis of Media Framing in the Indian State of Kerala" at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
6. Attended and presented on the topic "Media framing and Immigrant Integration: An Analysis of Immigrants Perception in Lithuania" at the conference Intermediality in Communication: Translation, Media, Discourse on 24-25 September 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
7. Attended and presented on the topic "The Role of Media and Anti-Sanctuary Legislation in Florida: Immigrants Perception Towards Media Mechanisms" at the conference International Conferences on International Crisis and Risk Communication Conference (ICRCC) in the Nicholson School of Media and Communication at the University of Central Florida on March 11, 2020.
8. Attended and presented on the topic "The Role of Media Logic on Ethical Perceptions of the Migrant Crisis" at the pre-NASPAA conference Scholarship Across Generations: Reflections and Future Agendas on the Work of Prof. Terry Cooper" on October 16, 2019, California, USA.
9. Attended and presented on the topic "Ethical Aspect of Media Discourse and Its Implication on Policy Formulation: The Case of Florida Parkland Shooting" at the Southeastern Conference for Public Administration Annual Regional Conference (SECoPA) on September 5-7, 2019, Louisiana, USA.
10. Attended and presented a paper on "On Migration and Risk: An Analysis of the Women Healthcare Sector Employees" at the (Re) Gazing: Gender and Indian Cinema in the Age of New Media organized by Kaunas University of Technology at Kaunas, Lithuania on 19 –20 September 2019.

11. Attended and presented a paper on "The Opportunities" and Challenges of Woman's Political Decision Making: An Experience of Kerala" at the Corruption, Ethics, and Culture in Public Administrations" organized by Kaunas University of Technology and IASIA at the Kaunas University of Technology on 24 –25th April 2019.
12. Attended and presented a paper on "The Role of NGO in Lobbying for Refugee Crisis Management; A Case of Florida Immigrant Coalition" at the Corruption, Ethics, and Culture in Public Administrations" organized by Kaunas University of Technology and IASIA at the Kaunas University of Technology on 24 – 25th April 2019.
13. Attended and presented the paper on "An Analysis of the Socio-Economic Imperatives on Rohingyan Refugees in Bangladesh and Malaysia" at the Mid-term conference of the ESA (European Sociological Association) RN22 "Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty 4-5th October 2018.
14. Co-presented on the paper on the topic titled "Role of Social Media on Political Communication: An Analysis of Violence against Women in Kerala: An Anecdote from Jisha "s Rape murder" in the International Research Conference, Communication and Information Sciences in Networked Society: Experience and Insights, Vilnius University, Faculty of Communication and will present a paper on June 14th-15th, 2018.
15. Attended and presented a paper on the topic "Ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar and the risk of migration" at the international conference "Regional Risks and Risks to the Regions" dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence on 30-31 January 2018 in Vilnius, Lithuania.
16. Co-presenter together with Titty Varghese on the topic titled, "Analysis of Anti-Corruption Policies in Denmark and Finland for the 15th Scientific Student Conference Research Horizons: Insights From Youth held on April 28, 2017, IASIA at Kaunas University of Technology.
17. Co-Presenter together with Titty Varghese on the topic, "Political Communication on Violence Against Women: A Discourse Analysis from Kerala," for the International Conference on Media Studies from 2-3 June 2017, Warsaw.

List of Conferences

1. Attended a 4-hour workshop, "Uncertainty Analysis for Predictive Assessments," at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
2. Attended a 4-hour workshop "Designing Measures and Organizing Risk Communication" at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
3. Attended the Summer School in Palanga, Lithuania, from 21-24 August 2018, conducted by Kaunas University of Technology.
4. Attended the three-day Research methods training "Introduction to Multilevel Modelling" conducted by KTU Data Analysis and Archiving (DAtA) Center and the research group "Civil Society and Sustainable Development" on May 15-17 by Dr. Jose M. Echavarren (University of Pablo de Olavide, Spain) in Kaunas University of Technology.
5. Attended a 4-hour workshop, "Collaboration in the Public Sector from a Networked Perspective," the international conference "Regional Risks and Risks to the Regions" dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence on 30-31 January 2018 in Vilnius, Lithuania.

Additional Training and Research Visits

1. Attended and presented personal perception as a migrant in the seminar "Strengthening a Europe of Solidarity in Times of Migrations" at Kauno Ausros Gimnazijos on February 24, 2020.
2. Attended and presented the Methodological paper in the School of Public Administration at the University of Central Florida on November 20, 2019.
3. Attended and presented on the topic "India and its culture" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami on June 22, 2019, in Bristonas Public Library, Bristonas, Lithuania.
4. Attended and presented on the topic "India and its culture" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami on June 21, 2019, in Pakruojis Atžalynas Gymnasium, Pakruojis, Lithuania.
5. Attended and presented on the topic "India and its culture" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami in Kuršėnų Lauryno Ivinskio gimnazija, Kuršėnų, Lithuania on April 17, 2019.
6. Attended and presented a paper on the topic "Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingyan Muslims and the Risk of Migration" organized by Science and City by Kaunas University of Technology on March 28, 2019.
7. Attended "Is Kaunas open and friendly city for foreigners?" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami on February 26, 2019.
8. Attended and presented a paper on the topic "Immigrant Crisis and Sanctuary City Policy: An Analysis of Mediatization and Contemporary Politics in Florida" organized by Science and City by Kaunas University of Technology on January 28, 2019.

9. Attended and presented the Methodological paper at the Research Group "Civil Society and Sustainable Development" in Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakultetas at Kaunas University of Technology on November 22, 2018.
10. Attended and presented the Methodological paper for the two-day workshop for Ph.D. Students Precede the Mid-term conference of the ESA (European Sociological Association) RN22 "Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty 2-3rd October 2018.
11. Attended seminar on "what you have as rights and what is right' in collaboration with Municipal Training Centre, KTU, on November 16, 2017
12. Attended seminar on "Measurement in Knowledge Management, Kaunas University of Technology, September 25, 2013, Kaunas.
13. Attended seminar on "Future and Challenges of European Knowledge Management, Kaunas University of Technology, September 4, 2013, Kaunas.
14. Attended seminar on "Scientific Thinking and Rationalism, CUSAT University, July 6 2013, Kerala, India
15. Attended seminar on "Equity in Search of Sustainability: An Ecological View, CMS College, Kottayam, 23-24 January 2013, Kerala.

News in the Media

1. Published article on the Lithuanian newspaper 15min.lt titled "Let's Get Acquainted-Vishnu Muraleedharan" on November 9, 2021.
2. https://www.15min.lt/gyvenimas/naujiena/pokalbiai/bukim-pazistami-vishnu-muraleedharan-1040-1593788?fbclid=IwAR3CEf3MoQlZZO_HZ6XZZvSTN4cSWA6-c3EITjvUmdQRYB-y2L6e52_GJ7U

3. Published article on the Lithuanian newspaper Delfi titled "What Measures India is taking" on April 1, 2020. https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/titty-varghese-vishnu-muraleedharan-kokiu-priemoniu-imasi-indija.d?id=83938665&fbclid=IwAR3vvL9NL-_zIjlLlB_TcAcBcC-w2QOwPjlgtig91VOc-LBDvfMhZ3tZAC8

4. Published a YouTube video testimonial for the project "Bukim Pazistami" on June 25, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o-7NWCSzWSM&t=47s

5. Published my profile for the Ambassador webpage" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o-7NWCSzWSM&t=47s
6. https://admissions.ktu.edu/ambassadors/

7. Published a blog during exchange research at the University of Central Florida from September 2019 -December 2019. https://ktuambassadorvishnu.blogspot.com/

Other Details

Nationality	**:**	Indian
Gender	**:**	Male
Marital Status	**:**	Married
Date of Birth	**:**	May 23 1987

Declaration

I hereby declare that the above-written particulars are accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief. I will be held responsible for any deviation from the above-mentioned details.

Vishnu Muraleedharan
Kaunas, Lithuania

ANNEXES

Annex 1. Informant's consent: Florida

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW

20__y._____ month m____d. Florida, USA

I, _____, agree to participate in the research of Vishnu Muraleedharan, a Ph.D. student in Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts, the Kaunas University of Technology on the topic: "Immigration: A Comparative Analysis of Mediatized Political Communication in Florida and Lithuania."

..... ……
(name surname) (signature)

Annex 2. Informant's consent: Lithuania

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW

20__y._____ month m____d . Lithuania

I, _____, agree to participate in the research of Vishnu Muraleedharan, a Ph.D. student in Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts, the Kaunas University of Technology on the topic: "Immigration: A Comparative Analysis of Mediatized Political Communication in Florida and Lithuania."

..... ……
(name surname) (signature)

Annex 3. Questionnaires to Migrants in Florida

This section has added the interview questions asked to 17 immigrants living in Florida.

- Name:
- Country of origin:
- How many years living in Florida?
- Purpose of living in Florida: Job/study/business /Family ties:

Sex	Age	Marital status	Number of Children	Education	Occupation	Are you happy Living in LT

- Do you own anything in your name in Florida, like property/house/flat, etc.?
- Are you affiliated with any political party in Florida? (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, which political party?
- Why did you join this party and what position do you hold in the party, and at what level?

Questionnaire

1. Do you read the Floridan news channel? - Yes or No
   If YES- which one – The New York Times/Tampa Bay
   If other – what?
2. How frequently do you read The New York Times (or any daily)?
3. As a foreigner, do you feel discriminated here – At work or study, etc.?
4. Have you managed to reduce it?
5. If someone helped you to adapt to here?
6. Was it successful?
7. If so, have you ever tried to communicate the issues on a public platform?
8. Was it successful?
9. Have you tried to inform any media on discrimination, or if you see some issues against foreigners? If not, why? If yes, why?
10. Do you trust the media and news reporting in Florida?

11. Do you think the media in Florida is showing partiality or favoritism?
12. Have you seen any news against your country on the Floridan channel or media? How was your feeling?
13. Have you seen any news that shows positive aspects of your country on the Floridan channel or media? - how was your feeling?
14. Do you feel that the immigrant crisis must get more attention from the media side in Florida? If so, why? If not, why?
15. Do you think that media here should support promoting good aspects from your country than any negative sides?
16. Did the media report such events?
17. Do you think the politicians should make more favorable policies for inviting and encouraging more internationals in Florida?
18. Do the media reports any of your activities or interviews, etc.?
19. Did you ever notice that this media facilitates discussion on immigrant integration?
20. Did you ever notice that this media facilitates discussions in channels with migrants?
21. Did you ever notice that this media criticizes politicians for the lack of facilities for immigrant integration?
22. Did you ever notice that this media encourages citizen's participation in immigrant integration?
23. Did you ever notice that this media influences politicians to rectify the odds in the immigration policies?
24. Did you ever notice that this media influences the political behavior of party leaders for facilitating immigration?
25. Did you ever notice that this media stimulates the government to increase funds for immigrant integration mechanisms?
26. Did you ever notice that these media evaluate government efficiency on immigrant integration?
27. Did you ever notice that this media act as a lobbyist for increasing equal wage, employment opportunity, and human rights of immigrants?

About NGO activities for immigrants

1. Do you think there are opportunities for you to integrate into this country, like through NGOs or events or any organizations or activities or government support, etc.?
2. Have you ever participated in such?
3. Was there any discrimination you felt?
4. Is this activity still going on?
5. If not, what is the main reason, if you know?
6. Was it for both internationals and Floridians? If you attend meetings, do you can express your views freely?
7. Have you got a friend from such meetings?
8. Were you able to keep the communication and support each other if necessary?

9. Will you suggest or promote others also to be part of such events or groups?
10. Do you think NGOs need to be active more for immigrants, if so, in which aspects?

Annex 4. Questionnaires to migrants in Lithuania

This section has added the interview questions asked to 15 immigrants living in Lithuania.

- Name:
- Country of origin:
- How many years living in Lithuania?
- Purpose of living in Lithuania: Job/study/business /Family ties:

Sex	Age	Marital status	Number of Children	Education	Occupation	Are you happy Living in LT

- Do you own anything in your name in Lithuania, like property/house/flat, etc.?
- Are you affiliated with any political party in Lithuania? (a) Yes (b) No
- If yes, which political party?
- Why did you join this party and what position do you hold in the party, and at what level?
- Do you speak Lithuanian? - YES/NO
- Proficiency in Lithuanian- level?

Questionnaire

1. Do you read the Lithuanian news channel? - Yes or No
2. If YES- which one – Delfi/LRT/KAUNODIENA/15MINT/Other
   If other – what?
3. How frequently do you read Delfi new (or any daily)?
4. As a foreigner, do you feel discriminated here – At work or study, etc.?
   Have you managed to reduce it?

5. If someone helped you to adapt to here?
   Was it successful?
6. If so, have you ever tried to communicate the issues on a public platform?
   Was it successful?
7. Have you tried to inform any media on discrimination, or if you see some issues against foreigners? If not, why? If yes, why?
8. Do you trust the media and news reporting in Lithuania?
9. Do you think the media in Lithuania is showing partiality or favoritism?
10. Have you seen any news against your country on the Lithuanian channel or media? How was your feeling?
11. Have you seen any news that shows positive aspects of your country on the Lithuanian channel or media? - how was your feeling?
12. Do you feel that the immigrant crisis must get more attention from the media side in Lithuania? If so, why? If not, why?
13. Do you think that media here should support promoting good aspects from your country than any negative sides?
14. Did the media report such events?
15. Do you think the politicians should make more favorable policies for inviting and encouraging more internationals in Lithuania?
16. Do the media reports any of your activities or interviews, etc.?
17. Did you ever notice that this media facilitates discussion on immigrant integration?
18. Did you ever notice that this media facilitates discussions in channels with migrants?
19. Did you ever notice that this media criticizes politicians for the lack of facilities for immigrant integration?
20. Did you ever notice that this media encourages citizen's participation in immigrant integration?
21. Did you ever notice that this media influences politicians to rectify the odds in the immigration policies?
22. Did you ever notice that this media influences the political behavior of party leaders for facilitating immigration?
23. Did you ever notice that this media stimulates the government to increase funds for immigrant integration mechanisms?
24. Did you ever notice that these media evaluate government efficiency on immigrant integration?
25. Did you ever notice that this media act as a lobbyist for increasing equal wage, employment opportunity, and human rights of immigrants?

About NGO activities for immigrants in Lithuania

1. Do you think there are opportunities for you to integrate into this country, like through NGOs or events or any organizations or activities or government support, etc.?
2. Have you ever participated in such?

3. Was there any discrimination you felt?
4. Is this activity still going on?
5. If not, what is the main reason, if you know?
6. Was it for both internationals and Lithuanians? If you attend meetings, do you can express your views freely?
7. Have you got a friend from such meetings?
8. Were you able to keep the communication and support each other if necessary?
9. Will you suggest or promote others also to be part of such events or groups?
10. Do you think NGOs need to be active more for immigrants, if so, in which aspects?

Annex 5. Questionnaires to NGO representatives in Florida

1. What are the main activities of the NGO concerning immigration and sanctuary policies?
2. How many migrants and asylum seekers are approaching on a monthly basis and how the NGO support them?
3. In your opinion how the NGO's can influence the governmental authorities in Florida to continue with the sanctuary polices for facilitating the immigration?
4. Could you please mention any such main incidental activities?
5. What were the main lobbying activity carried out during the last years?
6. Is there any kind of supports received from mass media?
7. In your opinion whether the NGOs are lobbying alone or are they getting any support from other organizations? If so, can you specify them?
8. Could you please name the main legal or official persons that NGO's can rely on or try to get in touch for lobbying purposes?

Annex 6. Questionnaires to NGO representatives in Lithuania

1. What are the main activities of the NGO concerning immigration and migrant assimilation?
2. How many migrants are approaching on a monthly basis and how the NGO support them?
3. In your opinion how the NGO's can influence the governmental authorities in Lithuania for facilitating the immigration?
4. Could you please mention any such main incidental activities?
5. What were the main lobbying activity carried out during the last years?
6. Is there any kind of supports received from mass media?
7. In your opinion whether the NGOs are lobbying alone or are they getting any support from other organizations? If so, can you specify them?
8. Could you please name the main legal or official persons that NGO's can rely on or try to get in touch for lobbying purposes?

Annex 7. Author's scientific activity on the topic of the dissertation

List of Publications

1. The Role of Media Logic on Ethical Perceptions of the Migrant Crisis" in the book "Citizenship and Ethics: From the Neighborhood to the City, Country to the World, by Lexington Books.
2. Covid-19 and the Risk of Displacement of Migrant Workers; An Analysis of Media Framing in the Indian State of Kerala co-authored with Prof. Thomas Bryer for the journal of Public Policy and Administration.
3. Muraleedharan, V. (2020). Immigrant Integration: the Role of NGOs in Lithuania for Upholding Immigrant Assimilation. *European Integration Studies*, *14*(1), 39-54.
4. Muraleedharan, V., & Bryer, T. A. (2020). Refugee Crisis and the Role of NGO Lobbying in Florida. *Public Policy and Administration*, *19*(1), 22-34.
5. Bryer, T. A., Rauleckas, R., Muraleedharan, V., Butkevičienė, E., Vaičiūnienė, J., Vaidelytė, E., & Miežanskienė, R. (2020). Non-economic emigration factors that might be pushing citizens out of Lithuania. *Viešoji politika ir administravimas*, *19*(1), 35-52.

Conference Participation

1. Participated in the 15th Conference of the European Sociological Association, "Sociological Knowledges for Alternative Futures", held in Barcelona, Spain from 31 August – 3 September 2021.
2. Conference participant in the international conference on 15th Annual Public Administration Research Conference on March 19, 2021, Center for Public and Nonprofit Management, University of Central Florida, USA and presented a paper on *Fighting COVID-19 in Kerala, The Role of Local Self Government.*
3. Conference participant in the international conference on 15th Annual Public Administration Research Conference on March 19, 2021, Center for Public and Nonprofit Management, University of Central Florida, USA and presented a paper on *Covid-19 Implications on Rohingyan Refugees: A Comparative Analysis of Media Framing in India and Bangladesh.*
4. Attended a 4-hour workshop, "Uncertainty Analysis for Predictive Assessments," at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
5. Attended a 4-hour workshop, "Designing Measures and Organizing Risk Communication," at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
6. Attended and presented on the topic "COVID-19 and the Risk of Displacement of Migrant Workers; An Analysis of Media Framing in the Indian State of

Kerala" at the conference Risk Analysis: From Perception to Prediction on 5-6 November 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.

7. Attended and presented on the topic "Media framing and Immigrant Integration: An Analysis of Immigrants Perception in Lithuania" at the conference Intermediality in Communication: Translation, Media, Discourse on 24-25 September 2020 at Kaunas University of Technology.
8. Published article on the Lithuanian newspaper Delfi titled "What Measures India is taking" on April 1, 2020.
9. Attended and presented on the topic "The Role of Media and Anti-Sanctuary Legislation in Florida: Immigrants Perception Towards Media Mechanisms" at the conference International Conferences on International Crisis and Risk Communication Conference (ICRCC) in the Nicholson School of Media and Communication at the University of Central Florida on 11th March 2020.
10. Attended and presented personal perception as a migrant in the seminar "Strengthening a Europe of Solidarity in Times of Migrations" at Kauno Ausros Gimnazijos on 24th February 2020.
11. Attended and presented the Methodological paper in the School of Public Administration at the University of Central Florida on 20th November 2019.
12. Attended and presented on the topic "The Role of Media Logic on Ethical Perceptions of the Migrant Crisis" at the pre-NASPAA conference Scholarship Across Generations: Reflections and Future Agendas on the Work of Prof. Terry Cooper" on 16th October 2019, California, USA.
13. Attended and presented on the topic "Ethical Aspect of Media Discourse and Its Implication On Policy Formulation: The Case Of Florida Parkland Shooting" at the Southeastern Conference for Public Administration Annual Regional Conference (SECoPA) September 5-7, 2019, Louisiana, USA.
14. Presented paper on "On Migration and Risk: An Analysis of the Women Healthcare Sector Employees" at the (Re) Gazing: Gender and Indian Cinema in the Age of New Media organized by Kaunas University of Technology at Kaunas, Lithuania on 19 –20 September 2019.
15. Attended and presented on the topic "India and its culture" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami on 22nd June 2019 in Bristonas Public Library, Bristonas, Lithuania.
16. Attended and presented on the topic "India and its culture" under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami on 21st June 2019 in Pakruojis Atžalynas Gymnasium, Pakruojis, Lithuania.
17. Attended and presented a lecture on "Migrant Integration and the Role of the Third Sector Organization: An Analysis of Florida Immigrant Coalition of USA and Būkim pažįstami in Lithuania" in Jawaharlal Nehru University on 10th May 2019 in New Delhi, India.
18. Attended and presented a paper on "The Opportunities" and Challenges of Woman's Political Decision Making: An Experience of Kerala" at the Corruption, Ethics, and Culture in Public Administrations" organized by Kaunas University of Technology and IASIA at the Kaunas University of Technology on 24 –25th April 2019.

19. Attended and presented a paper on “The Role of NGO in Lobbying for Refugee Crisis Management; A Case of Florida Immigrant Coalition” at the Corruption, Ethics, and Culture in Public Administrations” organized by Kaunas University of Technology and IASIA at the Kaunas University of Technology on 24 – 25th April 2019.
20. Attended and presented on the topic “India and its culture” under the migration project organized by Būkim Pažįstami in Kuršėnų Lauryno Ivinskio gimnazija, Kuršėnų, Lithuania on 17th April 2019.
21. Attended and presented a paper on the topic “Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingyan Muslims and the Risk of Migration” organized by Science and City by Kaunas University of Technology on 28th March 2019.
22. Attended “Is Kaunas open and friendly city for foreigners?” under the migration project organize by Būkim Pažįstami on 26th February 2019.
23. Attended and presented a paper on the topic “Immigrant Crisis and Sanctuary City Policy: An Analysis of Mediatization and Contemporary Politics in Florida” organized by Science and City by Kaunas University of Technology on 28th January 2019.
24. Attended and presented the Methodological paper at the Research Group “Civil Society and Sustainable Development” in Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakultetas at Kaunas University of Technology on 22nd November 2018.
25. Attended and presented the Methodological paper for the two-day workshop for Ph.D. Students Precede the Mid-term conference of the ESA (European Sociological Association) RN22 “Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty 2-3rd October 2018.
26. Attended and presented the paper on “An Analysis of the Socio-Economic Imperatives on Rohingyan Refugees in Bangladesh and Malaysia” at the Mid-term conference of the ESA (European Sociological Association) RN22 “Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty 4-5th October 2018.
27. Participated in the Summer School in Palanga, Lithuania, from 21-24 August 2018, conducted by Kaunas University of Technology.
28. Co-authored the paper on the topic titled „Role of Social Media on Political Communication: An Analysis of Violence against Women in Kerala: An Anecdote from Jisha‟s Rape murder‟ in the International Research Conference, Communication and Information Sciences in Networked Society: Experience and Insights, Vilnius University, Faculty of Communication and will present a paper on June 14th-15th, 2018.
29. Attended the three-day Research methods training “Introduction to Multilevel Modelling” conducted by KTU Data Analysis and Archiving (DAtA) Center and the research group “Civil Society and Sustainable Development” on May 15-17 by Dr. Jose M. Echavarren (University of Pablo de Olavide, Spain) in the Kaunas University of Technology.
30. Attended and presented a paper on the topic “Ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar and the risk of migration” at the international conference „Regional Risks and Risks to the Regions‟ dedicated to the 100th Anniversary

of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence on 30-31 January 2018 in Vilnius, Lithuania.

31. Attended a 4-hour workshop, "Collaboration in the Public Sector from a Networked Perspective," the international conference "Regional Risks and Risks to the Regions," dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence 30-31 January 2018 in Vilnius, Lithuania.

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