



The Discursive constructions of the Somali minority in the Danish media.

Master's Thesis paper
Written by Maryan Tawane
Supervisor Vibeke Andersson

AAU Aalborg University
MSc Global Refugee Studies

Copenhagen / Denmark
Date of submission:
2.01.2019

Abstract

This idea of incompatibility between native Danes and the Somali minority has become a salient feature of what is termed 'value-based journalism' and 'value-based politics' in the last few years in Denmark. In the wake of TV 2's story of a group of Somali women's Danish knowledge and affiliation with the labor market, one of the oldest trotters of the Danish immigration debate has been pulled by the stable. The coverage showed the medias precedent in covering negative stories of the Somali minority. This resulted in outrage by the minority, when it was discovered that the story was not based on the truth. Furthermore, people started to complain that the media does not cover the positive stories nearly as much, hence having a bias coverage.

I was intrigued to investigate, whether the allegations made against the media for reporting biased was true. To that point, that I decided to examine various articles to detect the predominant discursive construction of the Somali minority. Therefore, I formulated the problem formulation:

How are the Danish media discursively constructing the Somali minority? To what extent can this construction be explained by political context?

In order to answer my problem formulation, I chose the theoretical method of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), combined with relevant theories and theoretical concepts, such as Glocalization, Securitization and Integration. I answered my problem formulation by conducting a textual analysis to examine the textual discursive construction, and by investigating the historical political context of the discourse.

The results of my analysis showed that by deploying discursive strategies of negative referential nomination and predication, the media delegitimize the minority by socially constructing them as 1) criminals, 2) culturally incompatible, 3) and burden to society. In addition, the historical, political context revealed that this constructing served the purpose of removing the topic of immigration from politics and into an area of security concerns (Wæver, 2004: 13). This enables the legitimizers to push for the refolement of the minority group, by constructing them as 'others' that are versus the 'us' discourse.

Keywords: Somali minority, Media, Integration, Discourse Historical Approach, Glocalization, Forms of capital

Chapter 1: Introduction

As conflicts in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and, more recently Syria have affected people to flee in record numbers (UNHCR, 2017), the broad topic of immigration and in particular that of asylum has grown in significance since the early 21st century. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2017) reported that 68.5 million people worldwide are forcibly displaced due to conflict, persecution and other crisis. The UNHCR reported that 25.4 million worldwide are refugees and 3.1 million of them asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2017). However, 98, 2 percentage of the refugees stay in the neighboring countries and other regions, and, therefore, EU has only received a fraction of the refugees in the world (Pew Research Center: Most refugees stay close to the countries they have fled, 2016). Although, only 650.000 first-time asylum seekers applied for international protection in the EU in 2017, the European countries were struggling to cope with the increasing influx of people. Thus, as the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers continued to grow, the media attention of these two groups became more prominently featured.

“In the early 21st century, the forces generating international migration are more powerful than ever, and human mobility has become a key facet of global integration. Yet public concern about migration also remains powerful.” (Castles 2014: 190).”

This thesis will focus on the case of the Somali minority in Denmark. Over the course of the last months, the Somali minority has witnessed a heightened focus on their integration into the Danish society by the mainstream media. The media has done what could be argued as an unethical interview where they have portrayed Somali women as lacking in their integration. The Danish national TV broadcast TV2 broke this news in February 2018 with the headings; *“TV 2 blandt somaliske kvinder i Vollsmose; ikke en er i arbejde”*, *Stor forargelse over 11 somaliske kvinder, der ikke kan dansk*”. These can roughly translates to, *“TV 2 amongst Somali women in Vollsmose, not one is employed”* and *“Great outrage over the inability of 11 Somali women to speak Danish”*. From this, I was intrigued to investigate, whether the rise in xenophobia in the EU in recent years and the shift from accepting refugees to securing borders, may have changed or distorted the principle of neutrality and objectiveness of the media in order to promote a more accepted negative view of refugee. Thus, I will like to write a case study research on the perceived discrimination of the media on the Somali minority in Denmark in the wake of all these events. I will like to investigate whether the recent media framework is a new discursive constructions being produced

or a reproduced construction that is being further strengthened. Therefore, I have the problem formulation;

How are the Danish media discursively constructing the Somali minority? To what extent can this construction be explained by political context?

This question is relevant because a discourse can be seen as a construction of reality (Mayr and Simpson: Language and Power, 2010, p. 3), a reality that serves might indicate the political intentions and interests in the crisis.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Material

In order to investigate the discursive construction of the Somali minority, it is crucial to analyze various articles that pertain to the Somali minority. The articles were collected from various mass media, in form of print or electronic articles. This enables a comparative analysis that will allow for various constructions from a broad spectrum of rhetorical tendencies, which may indicate the type of social actors and political opinions are embedded in the discourse. Furthermore, articles collected are limited to include articles from only the past five years, as to give a more current status quo of the discursive constructions. This will allow for a more accurate account of the overall media constructions of the Somali minority (McCombs, 2002).

The articles were collected from the various sites of the news agencies. In order to collect them it was necessary to gain access to those sites by paying a monetary amount, to be able look back years in their archives. The articles are from domestically well-known news agencies with national coverage such as Politiken, Jyllands-posten, BT, TV2 Nyheder and Information. In addition, all of the articles have certain themes in common, namely: 1) the main theme of the Somali minority, 2) the unsuccessful integration of the Somali minority, 3) the debate of refoulement. The compilation of articles is chronologically arranged in Table 1:

Article 1	Tv 2	“Tv 2 blandt somaliske kvinder I Vollsmose: ikke én er i arbejde”	Februar 18, 2018
Article 2	Jyllands Posten	“Danmark er forandret for altid”	November 28, 2018

Article 3	Tv 2	”Somalier har været arbejdsløse i 20 år: Her er politikernes reaktion”	Maj 29, 2015
Article 4	Tv 2	”Psykliske syge somalier udvises for drab under morgenfest”	Februar 20, 2017
Article 5	Jyllands Posten	”Somaliere taget i systematiske snyd”	Maj 26, 2012
Article 6	B.T	”Chokerende tal: Så kriminelle er somalierne i Danmark”	December 17, 2013
Article 7	Tv 2	”Hundredevis af somaliere er forsvundet i Danmark”	August 20, 2017
Article 8	Politiken	”Peter Skaarup om byrde eller berigelse: Det er bedre, at de er hjemme i Somalia end i Danmark. Jo hurtigere, jo bedre”	Februar 27, 2018
Article 9	Politiken	”Oprørte politikere: »Hvad er meningen? Somaliere kan jo ikke bo i lufthavnen«”	Februar 1, 2017
Article 10	Jyllands Posten	”Somaliske familie, der gik under jorden, er tilbage i odde”	December 12, 2018
Article 11	Politiken	”Hverken de somaliske kvinder eller samfundet er tjent med, at de bliver kastebolde for en politiske skyttegravskrig”	Februar 22, 2018
Article 12	Information	”Du aner ikke, hvor meget det sejler i dansk Somalia”	Marts 19, 2018
Article 13	Politiken	”Dansk-somalier: Skam dig ikke over at være dansk – sig i stedet fra overfor racisme”	Februar 17, 2017
Article 14	Jyllands Posten	”Professor: Ulovlig handling i sager om somaliske familier”	Oktober 29, 2018
Article 15	Jyllands Posten	”Unge gik fra Netto uden at betale”	Oktober 23, 2018
Article 16	Information	”Danske somaliere er ikke kun gedehyrder”	Oktober 16, 2015

Article 17	Politiken	”Regeringen vil sende Kvoteflygtninge hjem til Somalia”	December 27, 2016
Article 18	Jyllands Posten	”22-årig somalier udvist for at kaste grene mod biler”	September 3, 2018
Article 19	Tv 2	”DF: Fire hjemsendte somaliere er et uforskammet lavt antal”	Januar 26, 2017
Article 20	DR	”Forening: Somalierne skal i arbejde for at blive integreret”	November 4, 2014
Article 21	DR	”Somaliere har sværest ved at blive integrerede”	September 1, 2015
Article 22	Jyllands Posten	”Khader: Støjberg har ret i udtalelser om somaliere”	August 21, 2015
Article 23	Politiken	”Støjberg afviser FN-kritik: Somaliere er ikke i fare – de skal bare hjem”	Januar 26, 2017
Article 24	Politiken	”Venstre vil skærpe krav til indvandrere fra muslimske lande”	Juli 27, 2014
Article 25	Jyllands Posten	”Hvorfor er somalierne så dårligt integreret”	Februar 21, 2018

2.2 Applied Methods

This thesis uses both the deductive and inductive method in a qualitative research paper. The latter is also referred to as the bottom-up approach, which allows the researcher to draw broader generalizations from specific observations (Web Center for Social Research Methods, 2006). The inductive method is crucial in investigating the empirical data by using the general constructionist theory of DHA to generate knowledge about the discursive construction of the Somali minority in the media. The theory of DHA is a method that dictates certain processes that require the conduction of textual analysis before exploring the historical or political context. DHA is a method that is situated in the social constructionist theory, which examines how the world is being socially constructed through language. Hereunder, it explores how language affects reality that becomes historical, political context (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 892-895). Thus, making this a qualitative method. The method of DHA examines the gathered articles on a word level to detect certain constructed realities. In order to facilitate this, the qualitative program Nvivo is used because it systemizes word patterns in the form of overlexicalisation.

The deductive method is a top-down approach and unlike the inductive method it works from the general to the more specific. The deductive method is deployed in order to ascertain whether the theoretical concepts can offer a better in-depth understanding of the context of the Somali minority in discourse. By applying both methods a reciprocal effect takes place. This research design can be seen in Figure 1, which provides an overview of the paper's deployment of the mixing of methods.

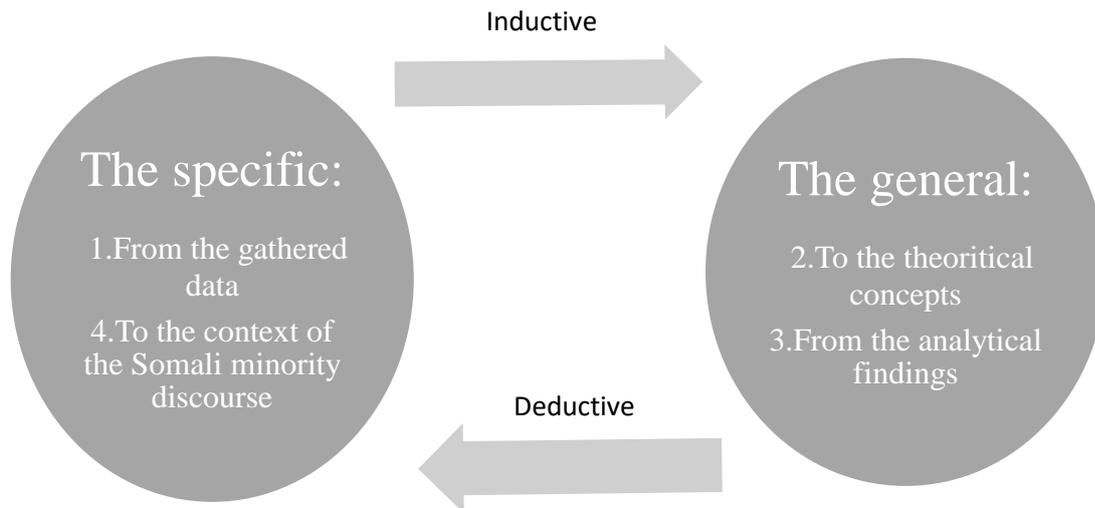


Figure 1: Overview of the paper's deployment of the mixing of methods.

2.2.1 Discourse Historical Approach

Wodak coined the theoretical method of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in 1999 as a further development of critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 6). DHA is a textual analyzing tool that can be applied to various discourses whether written or spoken, in order to investigate the relationship between the language being deployed in the discourse and the historical, political context of the text (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p 7). It is crucial to ascertain the context of the discourse in order to uncover the influences of societal impulses and structures that play a role in the text production. Therefore, any discourse is a product of their context. They are context-dependent in meanings and can only be understood when its context is considered (ibid: 16). Thus, Wodak's theoretical method is a two-dimensional model that examines textual level and historical

political context. Figure 2 below visualizes the two-dimensional model. Keep in mind, that Wodak's model does not account for the consequences of the discursive practice in reality, since it is beyond its scope.

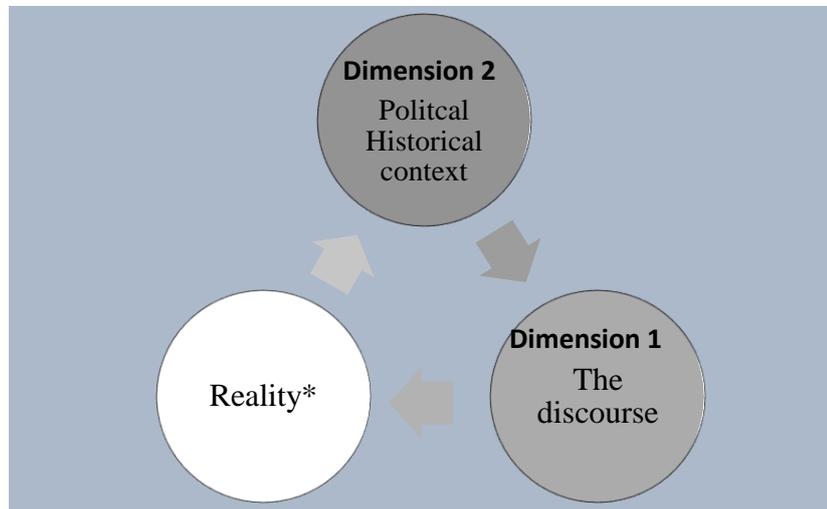


Figure 2: DHA: the two-dimensional approach

The first dimension focuses on the text in order to investigate the main linguistic strategies that might indicate the presence of (de)legitimation strategies in the discursive construction of the discourse. Legitimation strategies are applied through the use of linguistic devices such as connoted nouns, verbs and adjectives and the overlexicalisation of these.

The first strategy is that of referential nomination. This strategy is crucial when investigating the attributions or labels that are ascribed to the social actors in the discourse, due to the establishment of membership categorization. Referential nominations are either positively connoted or negatively connoted, which serves to either legitimize or delegitimize certain actors. The connotation of the vocabulary might indicate the socio-political stance of the producer of the discourse, which employs the strategy to promote certain perceptions of the actors. An example of a positively connoted referential nomination can be the addressing of an older individual as an 'elderly', which invokes a sense of endearment and helplessness. Whereas a negative connotation can be the use of 'terrorists' to describe a certain group, thus delegitimizing them.

Another linguistic strategy is predication. Predication entails the prediction of behavior often based on stereotypical or evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates (Wodak & Mayer, 2001: 27). The use of negative predications of actors often serves to politically exclude actors by justifying it with this strategy. Such an example

could be “*most immigrants don’t work*” which predicts a lazy or burdening behavior. Whereas, a positive predication could be ‘*refugees are victims*’ which invokes sympathy and legitimizes the actor.

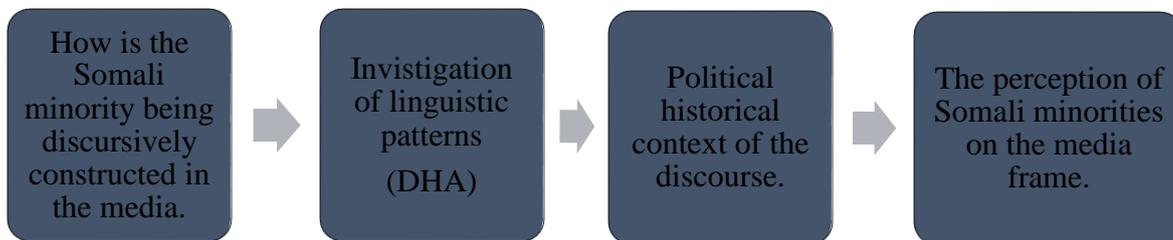
Another strategy that is used to (de)legitimize is moral evaluation, which references to certain values systems. These value systems are often perceived as the ethical foundations of a normalized society. They could be religiously or culturally based values such as freedom, democracy or morality. (Lavrusheva, 2013: 66). Moral values, which are deeply rooted in all societies, are often found in political discourse. The use of moral evaluation can help achieve legitimacy and acceptance from the targeted demographic by drawing on set values. For example by stating that “*We must fight for Justice and freedom.*”, one draws upon two features that are natural virtues of morality, which are universal in all cultures. However, moral evaluations are not always based on universal virtues but also on culturally based virtues that vary of culture-to-culture.

After the completion of the first dimension by analyzing the textual level, one’s focuses on getting an in-depth understanding of how the discourse is situated in reality (ibid: 22). There is no stringent procedure in analyzing Wodak’s second dimension of historical, political context, as long as the nexus of political practice becomes linked to the texts (ibid: 27). To that end, this paper will conduct interviews with Somali youths in order to investigate the effects of the media framing of Somali minority. In addition, the contextual information of the text will be addressed in these interviews, thus providing holistic understanding of the media representation.

2.3 Approach

This paper will follow the procedure of the theoretical method of DHA to conduct a textual analysis of the news articles. The goal is to detect linguistic patterns in order to examine the discursive construction of the Somali minority in the media. Thereafter, as DHA dictates the historical, political context will be investigated to provide the contextual information that is the premises of the discourse of the minority. Here the contextual premise will be clarified by applying the theoretical concepts of integration, glocalization, securitization and various others on the analytical findings as to determine the full context of the discourse in historical, political context. In order to make sense of the context wherein the text is situated and the reason this discourse is being discursively constructed. Hereafter, the effects of the discursive construction will be discussed. In

order to investigate how the discursive frame effects the Somali minority. This approach can be seen in Figure 3.



Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Modernity

According to Giddens, the concept of modernity differs from the concept of postmodernity in three key aspects. The first is the disconnecting of time and space, where social relations now can move from a localized scale to a global scale. Thus, spatial awareness has enabled global issues such as climate change into local issues (Giddens, 1991). The second aspect is that of high modernity, which he refers to as disembedding mechanisms. The idea is the notion that certain groups in the world own the technical knowledge that gives the group relative security that other groups may not be able to access and are thus more at risk (Giddens, 1991). The final aspect is ‘institutional reflexivity’, which Giddens believes is rooted in the concept of trust. He argues that in a world that is becoming more interconnected trust is required to integrate the new ‘abstract systems’ we are being subjected to.

Ulrich Beck outlines in his book “Risk Society”, what risks entail in the modern society (Beck, 1992). He argues that as a consequence of ‘spatial awareness’ a society now plays a role in shaping and controlling the world around it for good or bad. Thus, requiring modern society to evaluate risks that may result from the disbandment of past traditions (Beck, 1992). This change poses a threat to the ontological security of the population, where traditions and identity were fixed concepts, modernity now warrants a process of change and a constant state of flux.

Jock Young referred to this ‘flux’ as the ‘vertigo of late modernity’, which is the idea that at any given moment and without warning ones standardized living could be ripped from them, which by extension would threaten any preconceived notions of ones identity (Young, 2007). He continues to argue that suffers of this ‘vertigo’ will feel the need to preserve their lifestyle at any costs. This

notion of self-preservation will feed the fear of any abnormalities beyond the standardized moral boundaries of the society and lead to a mistrust and punitive manner disproportionate to what society has deemed suitable.

Those who were perceived to be threats to the ontological security of a population were often deemed as ‘outsiders, who showed deviant behavior that did not conform to the rules and norms found to be ‘normal’ in society (Becker, 1963). However, what constitutes ‘normal’ varies a lot reliant on ethnicity, religion, class or occupation. Thus, when talking about the norms of society, we are generally talking about the primary group within society that imposes the values upon the secondary or general population. These values are to be upheld and agreed upon or else there would be constant conflict and anarchy.

Stanley Cohen famously wrote that:

“Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person, or group of person emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media [...]” (Cohen, 2002)

Cohen refers to the ‘outsider’ groups or individuals labelled ‘deviant’ as ‘folk devils’, whom actions are being interpreted through the roles they have been casted in (Cohen, 2002). He seems to be having a similar approach as Becker, which is that there exists a group whom poses a threat to societal norms and values. There is two underlining issues with this approach. Firstly, those doing the labelling are often ‘moral entrepreneurs’ from the middle or upper class, whilst those being stigmatized stem from the working class or they are minorities. Secondly, it only takes a minor incident involving a ‘folk devil’ to turn the situation into a moral panic. This traditionally only occurs when there exists a preconceived notion of risk (Cohen, 2002). Thus, enabling the threat to be distorted and blown out of proportion. In recent times, this often happens in the mass media and its notion of reporting information as so called ‘facts’. Cohen argues that the mass media’s portrayal of crime and terrorism in the late modern society is as much a contributing factor to criminal behavior as the deviant themselves (Cohen, 2002). Hewitt states that; *“whether it is the glorification, denunciation or simple reporting of criminal behaviour, the media is always there to interpret these actions and present them in a stylised manner to the voyeuristic general public who eagerly lap it up and ask for more as if it were a commodity”* (Hewitt (1995).

3.2 The Theory of Neorealism

The theory of Neo-realism is a theorization of classical realism that is major known theory in the field of International Relations that predicts the course of the states due to an anarchical behavior in an international arena (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2011: 85). Neorealism was coined in 1979 by Waltz with his book "*Theory of International Politics*", which develops on realism that Mearsheimer further theorizes in 1995 with his "The False Promise of International Institutions". Neorealism predicts that:

1) the international system is anarchic, 2) states inherently possess some degree of military power, which gives them the ability to take an offensive stance and lead warfare, 3) states can never rely on the intentions of other states, because 4) the basic aim driving states is survival.

Due to the anarchic structure of the international system, nation-states are apparent primary actors due to the conjecture that there is no political monopoly or force prevailing above any sovereign state. Thus, states are self-reliant in protecting themselves and their self-interest (Norris, 2002: 17). To ensure its survival the state will try any means to maximize its power by retaining absolute influence on own matters rather than conquest or domination (Mearsheimer, 2007: 83). The state pursues power to achieve this goal because those with the most power will gain the most influence on own state matters whilst also being able to exert power over others. In this zero-sum game, those that become affected by the influence of others are considered the vulnerable ones (ibid, p 18).

This structural distribution of power of the internal system limits cooperation among states due to the fact that states predominantly pursue relative gain over asymmetrical ones. Therefore, cooperation may carry risk and be a too perilous affair for the nation-state to commit to in fear of risking being placed in a vulnerable position. This vulnerable position could minimize the security for the state if the cooperating other states should suddenly turn to prioritize a self-interest over a common one (ibid, p 24). Thus, cooperation cannot be seen as a rational move for the states to make, instead of self-interest.

Due to this state behavior, international cooperation as we know it today with the integration of EU, will revert to previous patterns of conflict before EU was founded, according to Gould's prediction of 'time's cycle.' (Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle, Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time, 1990). Hence, the EU, according to this theory, can only be seen as a temporary alliance that, with the end of the Cold War, will break down regarding integration, with the

implication of the reemergence of state sovereignty (Mearsheimer: *The False Promise of International Institutions*, 1995). The theory of neorealism is relevant for the paper because it serves to explain the state behavior in the historical, political context of the discourse of the refugee crisis.

3.3 The Concept of Glocalization

In the 21st century globalization has closely interlinked nation states to one another due to the increased interdependency of the capitalistic system, resulting in the blurring of state borders. Due to globalization, spatial distance across the world has become eradicated due to technological advance that has caused time-space compression. As consequence of human mobility, the global intermingling with the local, the concept of glocalization is crucial in understanding this new world order (Robertson *Glocalization*, 1999). The conceptual term of glocalization illuminates the encounter of global processes with local processes such as all phenomena, which became effectuated with the increased interconnectedness of globalization. For example with tourism, migration, commodities and global terrorism (EEAS, 2015: 4).

In addition, through this process where the global becomes interlinked with the local, nation-states become increasingly affected by global occurrences. This leads to risks for the homogenous societies that may face the challenges of hybridization or becoming heterogeneous in ethos due to the exposure of foreign cultural values. Often these exposures come from migration and increased mobility. In 2017, 60 million people fled their home country (UN News Centre, 2017) and 232 million people were living in countries that were not the country of their origin. Thus, 3.2 percent of the aggregated world population are migrants (United Nations, 2014). This has meant that the nation-states have gone from being homogenous states to being partial heterogeneous- or hybridized states. The break of the homogenous societies have led to various issues due the conflicting processes, resulting in tension (ibid). This is relevant for the paper in order to understand the context of the discourse, in which the basic premise is glocalization since the issue is with refugees.

3.4 The securitization theory

The theory was first coined by Wæver in 1997. The theory's is based on the argument that security is an illocutionary speech act, which when used as term in itself in a discourse equivalent to action (Wæver, 2004: 13). Wæver argues that threats are not to be objectively found in reality but are discursive constructs. Thus, according to him, security is a process that is used by state actors to transform subjects into matters of security. These processes take onset in political speeches or others forms of discourse. The securitization process is executed by refereeing to a dangerous actor

or action, which legitimizes the securitizing actor's right to deploy extraordinary measures to ensure its survival.

The act of securitization itself is an action any actor is able to deploy. However, that actor must first persuade an audience of its legitimacy, before obtaining consent to use extreme measures to secure against the constructed threat. Thus, obtaining justification for actions that are considered outside the normal limits of political procedure.

However, not every actor is capable of successfully employing the processes of securitization in practice. The process requires political power to be implemented, however very few actors have the authority and power, such as politicians (ibid, p. 13). Hence, a successful securitization consists of three steps, namely:

- (1) Identification of existential threats, (2) Emergency action, (3) Consideration of effects on relations by breaking free of rules. (Buzan et al, 1998: p. 6).

Although, Wæver argues that it is seldom an issue becomes successfully securitized (ibid: 7) because it requires political parties and societal groups consent to legitimize breaking normal societal and political rules. This theory is relevant to the paper because it provides an insight into how states or political parties, through a discourse trigger processes of securitization, which legitimize their solution to a given problem.

3.5 Bourdieu's Forms of Capital

In 1986, Pierre Bourdieu presented the idea that capital is an important factor in explaining how society is arranged (Bourdieu, 1986:241). He offered three forms of capital; 1) economic capital, 2) cultural capital and 3) social capital. Bourdieu states that capital is the accumulation of assets within the economic, cultural and social spheres. In addition, he argues that not all individuals have the same access to these assets, which determines their social status and explain the inequalities in society (ibid: 241).

The first of Bourdieu's three capital, the economic capital stems from a Marxists view on labor, where the argument lies in the idea that all other types of capital all have their roots in the economic capital (Bourdieu 1986: 252). Furthermore, he argues that it is only through labor that social and cultural capital are developed (Grossman 2013: 31). Economic capital is the ability of an individual to exchange or obtain resources for monetary gains, making it an assessable form of capital. Thus, the most tangible of the three forms (Bourdieu 1986: 247). As the subject of interest in this thesis is

the Somali minority, they rarely have significant economic capital upon settlement due to their lost or abandonment of their monetary assets in their country of resettlement. However, they are able to obtain new economic capital in the country of their resettlement over time, which is an important aspect in the integration process, as will be discussed by Ager and Strang.

However, unlike the issue of regaining economic capital in the country of their settlement, that appears not to be the issue with institutionalized cultural capital. In this regard, cultural capital refugees often find themselves in difficult situations seeing that the qualifications previously obtained in their native country are not acceptable to Danish educational institutions or labor market. Cultural capital is the inherent cultivation rooted in an individual. It is inestimable in the form of norms and traditions attained subconsciously through upbringing and family ties, or through language and other skills learned over time (Bourdieu 1986: 249).

Given the fact that embodied cultural capital is something usually learnt in a specific context of a family or a culturally homogenous group, it is difficult to navigate this form of capital in a different cultural setting. Refugees from Somalia, for example, may experience that their embodied cultural capital is useless in Denmark - i.e. in a country that has a different language, different cultural traditions and norms. Thus, leaving them with a sense of detachment, whilst expected to adopt new capital. However, it is not impossible to adjust to new cultural settings, as long as it is a two-way street by combining both cultures, meaning finding a middle way.

Social capital is the capital that examines the sense of belonging to a group, by evaluating the individual's network of relationships with other people. The scale of network can vary from informal social groups such as a family to a larger scale such as belonging to a nation (Bourdieu 1986: 251). In a later publication, Bourdieu has defined social capital as the "*sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 119). According to Bourdieu, social capital is crucial in obtaining economic and cultural capital. He argues that by utilizing already existing networks of relationships, one is able to exchange social capital into assets that can lead to economic or cultural assets (Bourdieu 1980; Grossman 2013: 30). According to Bourdieu, inequality may result from the unequal distribution of social capital, due to the unavailability of resources to distribute. He also states that social capital is highly influenced by context. For instance, members of the middle class have better social resources compared to members from the lower class. Meaning, that one person's social capital has more

value than others, thus according to Grossmann “*pre-existing conditions affect the quality of one’s social capital which, in turn, leads to a lower position in the social hierarchy*” (Grossman 2013: 32).

Bourdieu’s forms of capital is relevant in the case of the political aspect of this thesis, as it explores the idea that, although people may have similar resources, they often tend to find themselves in very different positions in the social hierarchy. In this instance, although refugees are given ‘equal’ opportunities in Denmark, some groups vary in their success of integration.

3.6 Integration

The concept of integration is a widely discussed and politically used concept, which is an official policy related to the resettlement of refugees. However, the term integration is extensively different in contexts and vague in definition in public debates and policies. Thus, making the concept diffuse in nature meaning quite subjective and dependent on context.

Therefore, it is crucial to grasp the term and define the concept, within the frames one is operating in. Otherwise, I believe it would operate the subjects towards a biased opinion of the term, whether positive or negative. Thus, it is important to define how the concept will be deployed in this thesis. This paper has the following problem formulation, “*How are the Danish media discursively constructing the Somali minority? To what extent can this construction be explained by political context?*”. To answer this problem formulation, I will use Ager and Strang’s (2008) framework on integration and their definition of what constitutes ‘successful’ integration. Ager and Strang (2008) define this in terms of domains.

They propose a general framework for understanding integration that is defined by ten domains illustrated in the following figure 4 (Strang & Ager 2008: 170).



To begin with, Strang & Ager definition of successful integration highlighted by a number of indicators, are widely acknowledged for leading to successful integration in other research and policymaking. These, date back as far as to the 1951 Refugee Convention, where the social rights of refugees in terms of social welfare, employment, education and housing were discussed (Strang & Ager 2008: 169). Though these markers were clear indicators of integration, Strang & Ager also suggested that they serve as potential means to also support the achievement of integration and to consider them to be important in the operational definition of integration. There is however a conceptual challenge in perceiving integration solely in terms of the domains of employment, health, education and housing given the variation in these domains across a population.

When creating a framework of indicators for integration, Strang & Ager state that it is vital to take into account the basis of what constitutes a refugee in the given context and focus on the extent they are given the basis for equal engagement in society. The basic rights of the refugees hereby become the foundation of the integration policy to which any specific government will be held accountable for. Although the basic rights of the refugees do not define integration itself directly, they serve as a basis for assumptions about integration and according to Strang & Ager, *“the proposed framework includes a ‘foundational’ domain which prompts discussion about citizenship and rights to be made explicit in whatever situation the framework is being applied. Notions of nationhood, citizenship and rights will vary across settings, but in all cases such ideas are fundamental to understanding the principles and practice of integration in that situation”* (Strang & Ager, 2008: 176). According

to Saggar, introduced by Strang & Ager, the definition of integration implemented by a specific nation depends on the sense of identity and cultural understanding of the nation-hood of that nation, which inevitably will incorporate certain values that form the way integration in policy-making is approached (Saggar, 1995:106).

The practices which provide the “connective tissue” between the foundation of citizenship and rights and the results in the areas of housing, education, employment and health are divided into two main groups of factors: 1) social connection and 2) facilitators (Strang & Ager 2008: 177). Strang and Ager highlight the importance of a “two-way” approach to integration, that allows for social connection between refugees and members of the local community achieved through mutual accommodation. The absence of conflict and presence of tolerance between groups can be considered to reflect the basic level of integration. However, many do have greater expectations than the basis level of integration. A community where different groups are able to mingle and achieve a sense of “belonging” is therefore considered the ultimate factor of living in an integrated community (Strang & Ager 2008: 177).

The concept of social capital, as discussed in the previous two chapters, has been influential in identifying the outcomes of social connections. As proposed by Putnam (1993) and Woolcock (1998) there are three forms of social connection: 1) social bonds – with family, ethnic groups, etc 2) social bridges – with other communities and 3) social links – with structures of the state. The establishment of relationships with co-ethnic groups in the form of social bonds is considered to have varying benefits leading to effective integration, such as health benefits, a higher quality of life, and the ability to feel “settled” (Strang & Ager 2008: 178). Social bridges also function as a way of making refugees feel “at home” in a community, and moreover, this dimension is important in terms of participation of people from different groups in shared activities. The assumption is that an integrated community will have people participating equally in activities available to them (Strang & Ager 2008: 180).

There is a distinction between social contact merely seen as “friendliness” of the local community and one that reflects deeper bonds and relationships. The former is linked to a sense of safety and security for refugees, while the latter is crucial in creating long-term social and economic benefits to the community as a whole. As argued by Putnam in the previous chapter, bridging social capital

hereby facilitates employment opportunities for refugees (Putnam 2000; Strang & Ager 2008: 180). Social links describe connections that link individuals to structures of the state, such as government services. In the case of refugees, who lack familiarity with the local surroundings, do not speak the language, etc, social links require additional effort from the community as a whole, if equality of access to services is to be achieved. Ager and Strang recommend that an acknowledgement in policy of the need to connect refugees to public services is vital in supporting the integration process (Strang & Ager 2008: 181).

Facilitators, which are seen as factors that remove barriers from integration, are associated with the concepts of “inclusion” and “exclusion”, as economic and social participation in society is central to the understanding of integration. Ager and Strang present an assumption that this participation is inhibited by factors that act as barriers to successful integration. They suggest that the role of the state is to eliminate these barriers, in order for integration to occur. They suggest two main areas that include such barriers: language and cultural knowledge; and safety and security (Ager & Strang 2008: 181). Cultural competence is seen as a key to successfully integrate, and it includes being able to speak the local language as well as a broader cultural knowledge of the community. Again, Ager and Strang suggest a “two-way” approach to this dimension. In terms of language, it is assumed that refugees are able to participate in language programmes and that they actively participate in order to learn. It is also recommended, however, that receiving communities reduce the barriers to information, such as in health services, by providing material translated into the languages of refugees. Although some theorists have critiqued translation and interpreting as an inhibitor of learning a language, Ager and Strang argue that “translation and interpreting supports are crucial in the early stages of settlement, and given the length of time required to develop proficiency are likely to be of ongoing significance” (Strang & Ager 2008: 182). In terms of a broader cultural knowledge, both refugees and local communities will benefit from developing knowledge of each other’s procedures, customs and facilities, and hereby enable both integration processes and outcomes.

Safety and security are important factors in the overall quality of life of any vulnerable group, and a lack of physical safety is proven to be an inhibitor for integration. Moreover, stability is a significant aspect of the integration process, as refugees having to relocate hinders the ability to create strong ties with the local community. This has implications in specifically the housing area,

where short-term accommodation and insecure tenancies cause great instability for refugees (Strang & Ager 2008: 184).

The overall framework by Ager and Strang provides a series of domains, which are considered significant in achieving successful integration. With a focus on Danish discursive construction of the Somali minority's ability to integrate, their framework can be used to address the domains of integration articulated in the discourse.

Chapter 4: Discursive analysis of the media representation of the Somali minority

In this following section, I will begin my analysis of the media representation of the Somali minority, by applying the first of Wodak's two-dimensional DHA applied on the gathered material. The first dimension, namely the text dimension, focuses on analyzing the text using the devices:

- 1) Overlexicalization; 2) Referential nomination; 3) Predication and 4) Moral evaluation and

4.1 Textual analysis

The first of the strategies that will be applied is overlexicalization, which accounts for the words used in the articles. Thus, providing a sense of the vocabulary used in the discourse of the Somali minority. To this end, I have applied the qualitative research program called Nvivo, where I have used its word frequency function. I have restricted the search only to consist of words with at least four letters in order to avoid pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions. Hence, this function will help determine the predominant reoccurring themes.

The compilation of the most frequently used words can be seen in table 3 below, where the certain words are put in the same category due to the constructed actors and measures in the discourse.

Table 3: Overview of overlexicalized vocabulary deployed by the state leaders

Ranking	Word	Count	Weighted count in percentage
1	Somalier, somaliere, somalierne, somalisk, Somalia	555	10 %

	(Somalis, Somali, Somalia)		
2	Tale dansk, tal dansk (Speak Danish)	332	6,7 %
3	Dansker, danskhed, Danmark (Dane, Danishness, Denmark)	184	4.9 %
4	Sendes hjem, send hjem, sikkert, sikker (Sent home, send home, safe, secure)	160	4.3 %
5	Kvinder (Women)	92	2.45 %
6	Arbejde, arbejdsmarkedet, arbejdsløs (Work, the Labour market, unemployment)	88	2.2 %
7	Flygtninge, flygtning, Kvoteflygtning, indvandrere (Refugees, refugee, UN refugee)	64	1.45 %
8	Integration, integrerede, integreret, integrere (Integration, integrated, , integrate) Flygtninge,	58	1.23 %
9	Byrde, Kriminelle, forbrydere, (Burden, criminals, convicts)	36	0.73 %
10	Muslim, muslimer, muslimske, islam	29	0.54 %

As can be seen, the words categorized together are within the same semantic pattern. The word frequency in percentage was calculated by the method of weighted average in percentage as can be seen in figure 5:

Figure 5: The calculation method of word frequency

$$\left(\frac{10 \text{ articles}}{\text{the number a word appears in all articles}} \right) \times \left(\frac{\text{the number of appearance in a single article}}{\text{the total number of words in the article}} \right)$$

As frequency count shows, there is an over-lexicalization of specific words. For instance, the words ‘*Somali*,’ ‘*Somalis*,’ and ‘*Somalia*’ and other references to the ethnicity and nationality of the Somali minority is mentioned the highest number of times in the compilation, 555 times.

The second most frequently used words in the compilation, repeated 332 is the combination of the verb ‘*speak*’ and adjective ‘*danish*’ that refers to the language skills of the Somali minority. Here, the focus lies in their ability to speak the danish language, making language a focal point. This combined with the third most used words ‘*danish*,’ ‘*danishness*,’ ‘*dane*’ and ‘*Denmark*,’ one can gather that all the articles touch upon the subject of integration. This assumption is substantiated in third, fourth, seventh and eighth most frequent words, such as;

(3) the third most frequent words pertain to the topic of citizenship and nationality. Here the words ‘*danish*,’ ‘*danishness*,’ ‘*dane*’ and ‘*Denmark*,’ were counted 184 times. Thus, having the effect of inclusiveness of all citizens of society .

(4) The fourth most quoted words, ‘*send home*,’ ‘*sent home*’ ‘*safe*’ ‘*secure*’ were quoted 160 times. They are about the actions of refoulement, encouraging the return of Somalis to Somalia

(7) In the seventh position, the words ‘*Refugees*,’ ‘*refugee*’ and ‘*UN refugee*’ that describe the status of the minority as refugees carries negative connotation in this discourse. In fact, so does all descriptive words, which is evidenced further in ranking (9) and (10). .

(8) The words ‘*integration*,’ ‘*integrate*,’ and ‘*integrated*’ are found 58 times in the articles. Here, the noun, verb and adjective pertaining integration is used. The abovementioned third, fourth and seventh mentioned words all relate to or lead to the concept of integration. Thus, concluding that it is a major theme in the discourse, namely the integrability of the somali minority. Hereunder, are the subthemes, (1) the language skills of the minority (2) their effect on the danish society and (3)

their status of refugees and their refoulement. In addition, the majority of the nouns used in the articles were negatively connoted, whereas the positively connoted were scarcely found. For example as suspected, words such as *'tolerance'* was only present once in all 30 articles, which indicates a lot considering the theme of integration.

4.2 The attributions and stereotypical labels ascribed the Somali minority

The following section will provide an analysis of the referential nomination and predication strategy in the articles. This will allow me to get an understanding of the underlying themes of the articles, which will help uncover the political agenda later on.

As evidenced in the section above, the use of overlexicalisation is heavily detected in the articles. Furthermore, it also evidences that the strategy of referential nomination is present in the discourse, which lie at the core of the discursive construction of the Somali minority. This serves the purpose of creating a core semantic strategy in creating an in and out group. Thus, enabling us to further investigate how certain attributes are ascribed to the 'in' and 'out' groups.

The first obvious detection of the use of referential nomination is that of the word *'Somalis'*, which is used 200 times throughout the compilation. The extensive use of the word might indicate that it is used consciously to remind the reader of the ethnicity of the group in question. As argued by Goldberg and Solomos, ethnicity is a social construction, a means by which differences can be recognized and accorded meaning (Goldberg and Solomos, 2002). Although the word itself is perceived to be politically neutral, due to its socially constructed category, the word is liable to change its conceptual boundary across time and context. Thus, making it susceptible to be politically charged depending on who deploys the terms and for what social or political purposes (Goldberg, T. D & Solomos, J, 2002). Therefore, it is safe to assume that due to the detected theme of integration, the referential nomination of *'Somalis'* is deployed to create a conscious boundary of nationality. Thus, drawing upon the notion of nationality to create a clear distinction between an 'us' and 'them'.

As evidences in table three', the articles also use the referential nomination of the word *'immigrant'*, which is found 37 times in the compilation. The term immigrant carries the semantic meaning of a person who voluntarily immigrates to another country than their country of origin (ibid). Consequently, that implies that the person voluntarily left their country to seek better

opportunities, might that be for work or otherwise social beneficiary improvements. The usage of this specific referential nomination indicates the attempt to shift the political focus of the discourse from explaining the behind laying push effects of these '*immigrants*', to whether they contribute to society or not.

The term '*refugee*' distinguishes itself from the term '*immigrant*' in semantic meaning, due to the fact, that refugees are supposed to be accommodated and protected by the states due to member states' commitment to the Genève Agreement in 1949. In addition, unlike the word immigrant, the word *refugee* is highly politically charged and as Goldberg and Solomos (2002) state, it can change in context depending on time or political setting. In the articles, the term is used in two different political settings. On one side, it pertains to the rights of refugees to seek refuge from persecution without the fear of refoulement. This argument is further supported by the use of the term '*UN Refugee*', which emphasizes the commitment to the refugees made by the nation state. While on the other, the discussion is about the refoulement of Somalis due to the argument that it is safe for them to return. Thus, rendering this term ambiguous in semantic meaning in the discourse.

Another referential nomination detected is the word '*criminals*', which is as negative connoted word. This evidences a harsh tone in rhetoric in the discursive construction of the minority. The term subjects the minority to generalization, due to the construction of a common identity, which delegitimizes the minority. In one of the articles by BT the heading states, "Somalis in Denmark are so criminal' (BT, Så kriminelle er somalierne i Danmark, 2013), thereby establishing a stereotypical generalization.

Another generalizing referential nomination strategy is the use of the word '*Muslims*', which serves the purpose of constructing of a common identity in the membership categorization of the minority. This nomination is most likely drawn upon to conjure preexisting schema of Muslims as incompatible with the Western societies, due to the difference in culture and religion between the Muslims and the citizens living in the nation-state (Shadid & van Koningsveld, 2002, p. 1). This argument is visible in the heading of an article from Politiken stating, "The Left-winged party will tighten demands on immigrants from Muslim countries" (Politiken, The left-winged party will tighten demands on immigrants from Muslim countries, 2014). Notice that in this heading the nomination '*immigrants*' is present, thus not recognizing 'these Muslims' as refugees entitled to protection but rather voluntary '*immigrants*'.

The analysis shows that different nominations become deployed by the respective news agencies according to what they want to achieve that becomes legitimized due to the semantic meaning of the nominations. For example, the use of the nomination ‘*immigrants*’ outweighs the use of ‘*refugees*’, which is a conscious choice to legitimize the main argument of refoulement present in most of the articles. In addition, the compilation revealed that negative nominations are deployed more often than positive connoted nominations, which indicates the overall tone of the debate concerning the Somali minority.

In order, establish the stereotypical labels attached to the Somali minority it is essential to look at the strategy of predication. The strategy is used to generalize and delegitimize the identity of certain social actors. The predication strategy analysis the traits, characteristics, features, and qualities attributed to the in-groups and out-groups through and negative and positive qualities. Examples of such imagined group behavior could be the prediction that refugees as simply economic immigrants looking to improve their social life, or that Muslims are presumably all terrorists. These examples are to illustrate that there are different degrees of negative predictions. These degrees will now be examined in terms of the predications used in the compilation.

As with the case of referential nomination, the detected predications are mostly negatively denoted. This contributes to the negative discursive constructions of the Somali minority. In the articles of TV2 News there was a recurring use of predication to analyze the characteristics of the minority. Such as the following examples;

1)“*Sad, desolate and directly rude [...] (May 29, 2015), 2) “[...]jobless immigrants” (ibid, 2015), and 3)“Sad and grotesquely” (TV2, February 19, 2013),*

All the above-mentioned predications are quite harsh in tone and quite unfavorable of the Somali minority. The predication describes the character of the minority as ‘sad’, weak, ‘jobless’ and basically useless group, whilst indirectly saying that they are of no use to society. These negative presumptions are also present in the other articles by other agencies. For example, Jyllands-Posten published an opinion piece that shares these preconceived notions of Somalis as useless group that is worthless to society, as evidenced in several statements:

1)“*Somali men **chewing Khat**”, 2) “I have often seen them **sit and get drunk** in Nørrebro park, alongside the homeless at **the bottom of society**”, 3) “They move like **flock of***

animals” (- ..-) and 4) “*The family's children ran around and beat other children*” (Jyllands-Posten, February 21, 2018).

In quote three and four above, the tone became harsher and dehumanized the minority by comparing them to ‘animals’ and reducing them to ‘addicts’ and ‘violent’ perpetrators. This clearly serves to support the discursive constructions of Somalis as burdens who are incompatible with the Danish society. This is further supported by another opinion piece in Politiken by Peter Skaarup who is a right-winged politician. He explicitly states that the Somali women are indeed a burden to society:

“Somali women who have chosen to stay here for years without bothering to learn Danish are a burden.” (Politiken, February 27, 2018)

He is stating his opinion that individuals that do not put in an effort to integrate into the Danish society are ones that burden the society, which is a predication labeled on the aggregated group of Somalis as ‘threats’ to the welfare system. Inger Støjberg, another politician, supports this idea.

“Non-western immigrants from Muslim countries constitute the biggest integration problem in Denmark” (Politiken, July 27, 2014).

However, unlike Skaarup, Ingeberg refers to the ‘Muslim immigrants’, which as discussed in the section above reduces refugees and merely opportunist immigrants. Furthermore, in this instance she combines that nomination with ‘Muslim’ which carries a cognitive schema of its own as incompatible with the secular state. Muslims are prominently featured as outsiders, because, in the public, they are usually held responsible for many of the deviant and antisocial behavior that occurs in terrorism, which is seen as a threat to the social order of things.

By depicting them as burdens, one legitimizes their harsh tone as merely stating the facts. This form of rhetoric is highly present in the compilation of articles. It serves the purpose to construct a negative other-representation that explicitly as well as implicitly, through the act of stereotyping them, associates the minority with negative schemas.

However, not all the articles who carry negative predication is to legitimize the main theme of refoulement. Rather, there are rare uses of negative predication to solicit sympathy.

*“Yet we must face it, there is no room for us here in Denmark. My sister and I are **unwanted**.” (Politiken, February 17, 2017).*

This quote is from an opinion piece written by a Somali girl Fatima, who uses the predication ‘unwanted’ to describe the excluding circumstances of her life from the Danish society. Although the predication is negative in its connotation, it is used to facilitate empathy for the actor.

4.3 The legitimization of the discursive construction of the minority.

According to Papadopoulos, society has increasingly started to portray migration as a security threat as to politicize the topic and gain public support for newer policies (Apostolos G. Papadopoulos, 2016). In the case of the Somali minority, the minority is being portrayed as prime examples of failed integration, which serves the purpose of deeming them a threat to the welfare system and as to society in general. As evidences above, both referential nomination and predication suggest the construction of negative opinion of the minority. In this following section, I will examine how these opinions are being legitimized, by looking through the lens of moral evaluation.

Moral evaluation is the strategy that draws on value systems to legitimize an argument. Often these are found in political discourses, which is exactly the case with the articles who all address the issue of integration. In the following quote of Skaarup in his opinion pieces shows a strong instance of moral evaluation.

*“[...] **non-western immigration each year costs the Danes a large billion**. Occasionally we argue passionately in the parliament, whether we can afford **better elderly care, more beds for psychiatric patients, faster cancer treatment** and the kind of things that are relevant to me.” (Politiken, February 27, 2018).*

Here he uses the moral evaluation of ethics as means to legitimize his argument. He draws parallel between the costs of immigrants and the lack of funding for ‘elders’, ‘cancer patients’ and the ‘mentally ill’. He implicitly appeals to the empathy of the reader, as the groups he mentioned are all groups that societal norms have taught us to care for. Thus, indirectly comparing whose needs need to be taken care of, ‘immigrants’ who, established earlier are ‘lazy’, ‘sad’ and ‘burdens’ are the defenseless citizens of society.

Another instance of moral evaluation present in the articles are the reference to the judicial system, which is a value system rooted in all societies.

*“The Somalis are more **criminal** than Danes and other immigrants from other countries.”*
(BT, December 17, 2013).

*“Somalis caught in **systematical cheating**.”*(Jyllands-Posten, March 26, 2012),

*“A Somali is deported after **killing a man** at a morning’s party in Copenhagen.”* (TV2,
February 20, 2017)

These quotes from different articles show situations where Somalis have broken the law by either cheating, committing petty crimes or killing people. This serves to remind people of the value of being a law-abiding citizen that contributes to society and not breaking its societal norms. In the compilation of articles, the majority of moral evaluation address the issue of contributing to society and not deviating from ‘normal’ behavior or morals convictions. The use of this strategy is mainly to legitimize the refoulement of Somalis, which is apparent in text. A direct instance of such opinion is evidenced by Skaarup in the heading; ‘It is better that they are home in Somalia, rather than in Denmark. The quicker the better.’ (Politiken, February 27, 2018). However, as rare as it appears there are seldom instances where the discourse argues against refoulement. Such as instance can be seen in the heading;

“Politicians are distraught: What is the point? Somalis cannot live in the airport.”
(Politiken, February 1, 2017).

Here the article introduces the difficulties of refoulement back to an unsafe country, in which the delegation of Danish officials could not enter. This also counts as an instance of moral evaluation, where the value system of human rights are invoked. The heading suggests that the living conditions in Somalia are poor and that no one should be forced to return to such living standards.

To conclude, the textual analysis revealed that there are two discursive construction of the Somali minority, due to competing discourses. The two discourses embedded are 1) the discourse of unsuccessful integration and refoulement, and 2) the discourse of unbiased integration. However, these two competing constructions are not equally drawn upon in the articles, but rather the first is predominant. Whereas, the latter discourse is a rarity that strives for objective reporting of both sides of the arguments. In addition, the analysis revealed that the news agency of TV2 was the one containing most of the articles for discourse one, whereas Politiken was the one representing the latter.

Chapter 5: The political context of the discursive construction of the Somali minority.

In this chapter, the previous text analysis will be put into its historical, political context, where the core premise of the context is glocalization. The two detected discursive constructs in the analysis will be explained by drawing on the concept of glocalization. In this section, the discursive construction of the Somali minority as example of unsuccessful integration and the root of such construction that leads to processes of legitimization of refoulement and securitization of the political topic.

5.1 The emergence of anti-refugee sentiments in Denmark

As mentioned above, due to the interdependency brought on by globalization, international politics increasingly coincide with domestic politics, which means that state borders are becoming blurred. With blurred borders, it is inevitable for global issues to transcend into local issues (Karacasulu, 2008:16), thereby threatening the sovereignty of the states. Glocalization and economic integration have been associated with revival in the emphasis of cultural differences in many places (Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey 1988). In Europe, although European integration is creating a Europe without internal borders, there is tension building up around the concept of 'race' and 'nation', parallel to the nation-states loss of part of its sovereignty and its suffering from crisis of legitimacy.

These issues have manifested themselves in diverse ways, with some nation states experiencing a resurgence of separatist nationalism, while others attempt to unify by relying on powerful ideologies of nationalism, thereby strengthening national identity through the projection of cultural homogeneity. Thus, asserting the boundedness of culture and exclusion of 'others'

Danish society has traditionally regarded itself as liberal and tolerant, valuing social equality and social cohesion promoted through a strong welfare state. Denmark has cultivated a long-standing interest in global humanitarian issues and crisis worldwide. However, Denmark like several other EU nations has not escaped the recent wave of xenophobia that has raged in continental Europe as aftermath of several crisis including the refugee crisis. In the aftermath of these crisis commentators have observed a fundamental shift in attitude. Like Denmark, many other nations have been swept away by xenophobia, nationalism and a rise in right-winged parties. This rise in xenophobic

discourse has primarily been promoted by and established by right wing parties such as: Alternative for Germany (AfD), the Danish People Party (DF), the Swedish Democrats (SD) and others alike. The discourse has become a mainstream discourse used by politicians because of the success rate of these right wing parties, which have gained voters and momentum in their respective countries in the aftermath of the refugee crisis and the continued fight against terror (Hervik, 2012). Thus, the right-winged parties gained votes through their establishment of fear of globalization and its processes, due to the risks it brings the nation-state in form of economic insecurity, increased influx of refugees and terrorism etc. (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2012:108).

This exclusionary new nationalism that is on the rise is not isolated from modern nationalism. However, it embraces the dramatic increase in a rhetoric of 'upholding eternal values and defending timeless aspirations' (Gingrich and Banks, 2006: 2). Gingrich and Banks (2006) notice that increased self-interest and economic chauvinism, extends into cultural chauvinism, which is often accompanied by a rhetoric of fear of becoming reduced to minorities in one's own society (Appadurai, 2006). Cultural chauvinism entails the idea that if people of different cultures are not within their 'place', their culture will be incompatible with the culture of the new context, thus inevitably leading to conflict and xenophobic. An insinuation of this 'naturalization' of culture is the 'living among one's own kind is natural' and hence mixing is undesirable. In the key ideas present in the Danish People's Party's rhetoric and in the wider political rhetoric at this time (Hervik, 2012).

5.2 The integration of the Somali minority

The protection of the state discourse embedded in the Somali integration discourse is a schema that has been reproduced by as consequent result of the tensions caused by glocalization and the right wing parties promotion of their politics. In recent years, other parties have felt obliged to accommodate the right winged parties' schema to maintain their domestic power. They sided themselves with right-winged parties to signal 'we are getting things under control' in order to secure voters (Guibernau, 2013:16), thus, the process of securitization of integration was initiated as seen with the textual analysis.

One of the main arguments of the right-winged parties is that the Somali culture and religion is not compatible with Western democratic values, which is seen in the discourse with the use of harsh rhetoric targeting the minority. Here Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is vital to understand. Although he states that, it is difficult to navigate this form of capital in a different cultural setting,

he does emphasize that it is possible. According to Strang & Ager, refugees' integration is a two way process depending on how resourceful the individual is and how open the society embraces him (Strang, & Ager, 2010). In terms of the first, Kuschminder states that protective factors that can support the refugees social integration include key resilience characteristics such as personal agency, the beliefs that life will have meaning, goal direction, sense of purpose and motivation (Kuschminder, 2017). As mentioned above social capital plays a crucial role in integration, which can lead to cultural as well as economic capital. Social capital is reliant of the sense of belonging, which may prove to be difficult considering the negative media coverage.

According to Stranger & Ager, belonging is defined by the recognition and acceptance of one's own self-identity by a wider community that helps give a sense of belonging (Stranger & Ager, 2013). This seems to not be the case with the Somali minority as the analysis has shown, the minority is being negatively portrayed and ascribed negative connoted attributes. This media construction will affect the integration success rate of the minority, who are most likely to seclude themselves from an unaccepting society and create parallel society.

In addition, integration is often perceived as a one-way process in Danish society, placing the responsibility for change solely on the refugees. They are expected to undergo a unilateral process of change, particularly in the public sphere in order to fit in with society. Although that is not possible, the cultural background of the refugee may make complete assimilation impossible. Depending on whether cultural or religious belief involve certain process or symbols that cannot be contained to the private sphere only. Even though, if the remaining differences from these processes could be accommodated, it is still unclear whether the refugee can identify with the cultural values and norms he should assimilate to (Rivera, Lynch, Li & Obamehinti, 2016).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

To sum up, the purpose of this paper was to investigate, how are the Danish media discursively constructing the Somali minority and to what extend this construction could be explained by political context? In the discursive analysis of the media discourse, I can concluded that the majority of articles all had elements of xenophobic tendencies that presented itself in the use of harsh vocabulary. This was done as evidenced by the analysis, by deploying discursive strategies of negative referential nomination and predication to delegitimize the minority by socially constructing them as 1) criminals, 2) culturally incompatible, 3) and burden to society. This

discursive construction was mainly deployed by politicians whose aim are to discursively construct the refugees as existential threats to the survival of the welfare state. In my account of the historical, political context, it became clear that this constructing served the purpose of removing the topic of immigration from politics and into an area of security concerns (Wæver, 2004: 13). This enables the legitimizers to push for the refoulement of the minority group, by constructing them as ‘others’ that are versus the ‘us’ discourse. Thus, the dominantly negative media coverage of the Somali minority is harsh in tone and shows xenophobic tendencies.

In addition, it is clear that it will prove to be difficult for the Somali minority to integrate well, due to the cultural backlashes, unfamiliarity with Danish norms and most of all the sense of exclusion. Public discussion about immigrants and refugees has been increasingly reduced to simplistic ideas of being for or against people and their culture. First, in the process these minorities, whose presence Danes are asked to vote against, are being racialized by ‘endowing the characteristics, appearance, traditions and lifestyles attributed to groups of different “others” with negative signifiers that are deemed to be natural and insurmountable’ (Lentin, 2008: xv; see also Betz and Meret, 2009).

References

Apostolos G. Papadopoulos, 2016. From migration crisis to refugee crisis in Europe.: *Hellenic Observatory* , p. 46.

Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*. Duke University Press.

Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (2011). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press. P 85.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). *The forms of capital*.(1986). *Cultural theory: An anthology*.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago und London: The University of Chicago Press

Castles, S., Kalantzis, M., Cope, B., & Morrissey, M. (1988). *Mistaken identity. Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*.

Buzan, et. al (1998). *Security: a new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A., & Sandholtz, W. (2012). European integration, nationalism and European identity. *JCMS: journal of common market studies*, 50, 106-122.
- Gingrich, A., & Banks, M. (Eds.). (2006). *Neo-nationalism in Europe and beyond: perspectives from social anthropology*. Berghahn Books.
- Goldberg, T. D & Solomos, J, 2002. *A companion to racial and ethnic studies*. Cambridge: Massachusetts & Oxford: Blackwell.
- Grossman, H., Kuhn, R., & McCormack, G. (2013). The change in the original plan for Marx's "Capital" and its causes.
- Guibernau, M. (2010). Migration and the rise of the radical right: Social malaise and the failure of mainstream politics. Policy Network Paper.
- Karacasulu, N. (2008). Security and Globalization in the Context of International Terrorism. *USAK YB Int'l Pol. & L.*, 1, 11.
- Mayr, P., & Simpson, P (2010). *Language and Power*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Moosavi, L. (2014). Orientalism at home: Islamophobia in the representations of Islam and Muslims by the New Labour Government. *Ethnicities*.
- Pew Research Center (2016). Most Refugees Stay Close to the Countries They've Fled. Retrieved from www.pewresearchcenter.org
- Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. *Global Modernities*, vol. 25, p 44.
- Web Center for Social Research Methods (2006). Deduction & Induction. Retrieved from: www.socialresearchmethods.net.
- Wodak, R., & Mayer, M. (2001), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Sage Publications, p 27.
- Wodak et al. (2003). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. SAGE Publications. pp. 36-42.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of Critical Discourse-analysis: historical perspectives*. SAGE publications, pp. 7-16.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2015). *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. SAGE publication.

Wæver, O. (2004). *Discursive Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 197-215.

Articles:

<http://nyheder.tv2.dk/samfund/2018-02-18-tv-2-blandt-somaliske-kvinder-i-vollsmose-ikke-en-er-i-arbejde>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/debat/leder/ECE11029603/danmark-er-forandret-for-altid/>

<http://nyheder.tv2.dk/valg2015/2015-05-29-somalier-har-vaeret-arbejdsloes-i-20-aar-her-er-politikernes-reaktion>

<http://nyheder.tv2.dk/krimi/2017-02-20-psykisk-syg-somalier-udvises-for-drab-under-morgenfest>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/indland/ECE4704859/Somaliere-taget-i-systematisk-snyd/>

<https://www.bt.dk/krimi/chokerende-tal-saa-kriminelle-er-somalierne-i-danmark>

<http://nyheder.tv2.dk/samfund/2017-08-20-hundredevis-af-somaliere-er-forsvundet-i-danmark>

<https://politiken.dk/debat/debatindlaeg/art6357027/Det-er-bedre-at-de-er-hjemme-i-Somalia-end-i-Danmark.-Jo-hurtigere-jo-bedre>

<https://politiken.dk/indland/politik/art5813520/Oprørte-politikere-»Hvad-er-meningen-Somaliere-kan-jo-ikke-bo-i-lufthavnen«>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/aarhus/odder/ECE11071098/somalisk-familie-der-gik-under-jorden-er-tilbage-i-odder/>

<https://politiken.dk/debat/ledere/art6349861/Hverken-de-somaliske-kvinder-eller-samfundet-er-tjent-med-at-de-bliver-kastebolde-for-en-politisk-skyttegravskrig>

<https://www.information.dk/debat/2018/03/aner-sejler-dansk-somalia>

<https://politiken.dk/debat/art5836474/Skam-dig-ikke-over-at-være-dansk-sig-i-stedet-fra-overfor-racisme>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/indland/ECE10971246/professor-ulovlig-handling-i-sager-om-somaliske-familier/>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/aarhus/politiretsvaesen/ECE10956536/unge-gik-fra-netto-uden-at-betale/>

<https://www.information.dk/debat/2015/10/danske-somalier-kun-gedehydrer>

<https://politiken.dk/indland/art5763378/Regeringen-vil-sende-kvoteflygtninge-hjem-til-Somalia>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/indland/politiretsvaesen/ECE10845943/22aarig-somalier-udvist-for-at-kaste-grene-mod-biler/>

<http://nyheder.tv2.dk/politik/2017-01-26-df-fire-hjemsendte-somalier-er-et-uforskammet-lavt-antal>

<https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/regionale/hovedstadsomraadet/forening-somalierne-skal-i-arbejde-blive-integreret>

<https://www.dr.dk/ligetil/indland/somalier-har-svaerest-ved-blive-integrerede>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/import/importjp/ritzau/ECE7952972/Khader-Støjberg-har-ret-i-udtalelser-om-somalier/>

<https://politiken.dk/indland/politik/art5806401/Støjberg-afviser-FN-kritik-Somalier-er-ikke-i-fare-de-skal-bare-hjem>

<https://politiken.dk/indland/politik/art5526719/Venstre-vil-skærpe-krav-til-indvandrere-fra-muslimske-lande>

<https://jyllands-posten.dk/debat/breve/ECE10333040/hvorfor-er-somalierne-saa-daarligt-integreret/>