

Framing Syrian Refugees In Danish Media



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Global Refugee Studies
Master Thesis

Abstract

In 2015, over one million refugees fled their countries in order to seek asylum in Europe. Denmark experienced an extensive influx of refugees arriving where the majority of asylum seekers were Syrians. The magnitude of the crisis challenged the country's asylum system and resulted in the restriction of the asylum policies. The chaos surrounding the crisis created a discourse in the media regarding the increasing influx of refugees. This project aims to explore how the arrival of the Syrian refugees in Denmark was framed in the media during the initial stages of the refugee crisis from September 5th to October 5th, 2015. Furthermore, it seeks to address how the different actors on a political and public level responded to the immense influx of refugees. In addition, this project explores how national identity and security are perceived and related to Denmark's response. More specifically, through the lenses of Securitization theory, this research conducts a framing and discourse analysis in order to explore, through the media's framing, if there is a connection between the security discourse and the Syrian refugees' arrival in Denmark. Through the operationalization of the Securitization theory and based on a deductive methodological approach, four frames were derived and set the basis of the empirical data analysis. These frames are Security, Identity, Economy, and Humanitarianism. During our data collection process, 1252 articles in total were collected. Out of the 1252 articles, 45 were chosen and applied within each frame. In more detail, frame 1 entailed 15 articles, frame 2 entailed 17 articles, frame 3 included 8 articles and frame 4 included 5 articles. This project presents and analyses the findings of the pre-mentioned media's framing. In a general context, the words and phrases that are being used in the media discourse in regards to the refugees' arrival, framed an uncontrollable situation. Furthermore, there was seen a consistency among the different actor's statements in the sampled media material that links refugees as possible security threats.

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Introduction

2015 can be considered as a historical year for Europe. More than one million migrants and refugees fled from war-affected Middle-Eastern countries towards the European territory (Triandafyllidou, 2018). The EU Member States received over one million of asylum applications and experienced a challenge in accommodating and administering the increasing number of asylum seekers (Eurostat, 2020). The situation was characterized by uncertainty in relation to its political, societal, and economic connotations. In Denmark, the huge number of asylum applications challenged the country's' asylum system. Denmark received 21.316 asylum applications in 2015, which was the highest number ever being counted and the majority were Syrian refugees (Report to OECD, 2017). The magnitude of the crisis was a shock for the country. The images of thousands of people entering Denmark were highly mediatized. The refugee crisis led to controversial political debates regarding the dilemma between humanitarian protection and protection of national security. The project contributes to the study of Denmark's reaction to the refugee crisis in the fall of 2015 by mapping how the Danish media covered the crisis in the initial stages of the increasing influx of refugees. Our main focus will be the country's response to the early phases of the refugee crisis: what triggered Denmark's response to the Syrian refugee crisis and how the Danish media covered and framed the situation according to this response. To be more specific, this project collects articles from a selection of Danish newspapers from September 5th to October 5th in 2015. Based on a deductive methodological approach, the focus of the empirical analysis will be divided into four frames namely Security, Identity, Economy, and Humanitarianism. Therefore, this research drawing from the Securitization theory aims to conduct a framing and discourse analysis in order to examine through the media's framing whether there is seen a connection between the security discourse and the refugees' arrival in Denmark.

Motivation & Problem Area

This project seeks to explore and examine how Denmark responded in the initial phases of the refugee crisis in 2015 and how the arrival of the Syrian refugees was framed by the Danish media during that time. To be more concrete, we want to examine how the government's and the public's response to the refugee crisis was presented and framed by the media. It was found interesting to focus on Syrian refugees as there was seen an immense influx of refugees due to the rapid development of the war in Syria that was present during the research period. Additionally, we found it interesting to research the initial phases of the refugee crisis since the legal and political response to the significant increase of asylum applications was immediate. Using the lenses of Securitization theory, this research carries out a framing and discourse analysis to explore *if* migration has been perceived as a security issue in Denmark and if so, how this was done. Therefore, we are seeking to answer the following research question and sub questions:

Research Question

How was the arrival of the Syrian refugees in Denmark framed in the Danish media during the refugee crisis in 2015, and what influenced this framing?

Sub Questions:

- *How did the government and the public react to the arrival of the Syrian refugees and why?*
- *How are national identity and security perceived and related to Denmark's response?*

Our problem definition is constituted by the main research question and two sub-questions. The structure was influenced by our deductive approach and thus, by our main theory, which is Securitization. It was found important to draw conclusions from each one of the four frames. The frames will be presented in the Methodology chapter. However, it is taken into consideration that some of our frames might be interlinked. Thus, the main research question combined

with the two sub-questions will constitute a useful structure for the analysis of the frames.

The Background Chapter

This chapter provides the history and the background of the Danish Refugee and integration policies that are found relevant in order to understand the governmental and public reaction to the Syrian refugee crisis. Moreover, based on the fact that the vast majority of the refugees arriving in Denmark were Muslim populations, it was found essential to conceptualize the Muslim populations in the context of Danish society.

The Danish Refugee Policy

In the sphere of refugee protection, Denmark has a long tradition of being at the forefront of international refugee protection. Denmark was the first country to ratify the United Nations' 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and among the first to implement the Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which is the foundational document of international refugee law (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). In addition, Denmark is one of the countries that has been working closely with the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees in solution-seeking on global refugee issues (Honoré, 2013). Throughout the years, the country has acted according to the European Union principles for human rights (Honoré, 2013). More precisely, the country has always implemented the standards of duties prescribed in the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol and has offered many beneficent programs to refugees (Honoré, 2013). The Danish government founded the Danish Refugee Council which has proved to be an effective actor in supporting refugees globally (Delman, 2016). The package of integration programs that Denmark provides contains, among others, courses for cultural integration as well as access to education and health-care system (Honoré, 2013). The country's integration policies proved to be so much attractive that in 2013, Denmark was seventh on the list of asylum seekers received per capita among the nations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Arnett, 2014).

During the last years, there has been a sharp rise in the number of asylum seekers arriving in Southern Europe in order to seek protection as a result of security issues and armed conflicts in their countries (Triandafyllidou, 2018). The refugee crisis and the extensive number of people fleeing mostly from Syria have had a considerable impact on Denmark's refugee policies and have challenged these asylum and integration programs (Powell, 2015). The country responded by cutting welfare benefits and increasing bureaucratic hurdles in order to make it harder for refugees to gain residency status (Powell, 2015).

History of the Danish Refugee Policy

In the 1980s, when other states adopted more restrictive policies, Denmark introduced the 1983 Aliens Act which was considered as the world's most liberal asylum legislation (Fischer & Mouritzen, 2017). Since 1979, Denmark has worked with the UNHCR in resettling refugees in the country (UNHCR, 2015). Following that program, the country was accepting 500 quota refugees annually (UNHCR, 2015). Thus, Denmark has received an increasing number of asylum seekers and, in the early 1990s, war refugees from the former Yugoslavia (Liebig, 2007). During the years 1992-1993, the numbers of asylum-seekers reached a peak and coincided with the peak in unemployment (Liebig, 2007). In 1992, Denmark adopted a more restrictive immigration policy and, the most restrictive period in immigration policy started in 1999 (Liebig, 2007).

Denmark's Integration policies

For Denmark, the refugees' integration into Danish society has always been an essential issue (Adamo, 2007). The refugees' participation in society in terms of politics, economy, social activities, religion, and culture as well as the understanding of the fundamental values and norms of Danish society have always been highly prioritized by the government (Adamo, 2007). Therefore, the Danish government in order to support migrants' integration in Denmark, presented a new plan in 2005 named 'A new chance for everyone' (Adamo, 2007). The plan suggested -among others- initiatives for migrants access to the

labor market, education, and employment offers (Adamo, 2007). The Aliens Act and the Integration Act have proved to be fundamental for defining Denmark's integration policies. The Integration Act specifies the allocation of refugees as well as in which municipality they will follow the integration program (Adamo, 2007). The country has been committed to supporting and providing services to all the refugees whose status is defined in the Aliens Act and whose entitlements outlined in the Integration Act (Arendt, 2018). In 1999, the then Social Democratic government introduced Denmark's first Integration Law which included regulations about refugees' incorporation into Danish society (Larsen, 2011). The Integration Law imposes, among others, a three-year period of mandatory placement in municipalities and requires language and culture courses (Larsen, 2011). More specifically, The Danish Immigration Service has the responsibility to provide language and culture classes to refugees while the municipalities have the responsibility for the resettlement of them (UNHCR, 2015). Since July 2013, the municipalities have also been responsible for providing refugees with preliminary physical and mental health services (European Resettlement Network).

The concept of integration has always been complex to define and there are different approaches in defining integration (Rytter, 2019). Integration is measured on several parameters, such as education, participation in the labour market, political activeness, values, and opinions (Rytter, 2019). In Denmark, the main political concerns regarding integration entail not only the refugees' participation in the labour market but in Danish society as well. To be more specific, successful integration is measured by language acquisition, educational performance, labor market integration, economic self-reliance, and active participation in Danish society (Liebig, 2007).

The Refugee Crisis in Denmark

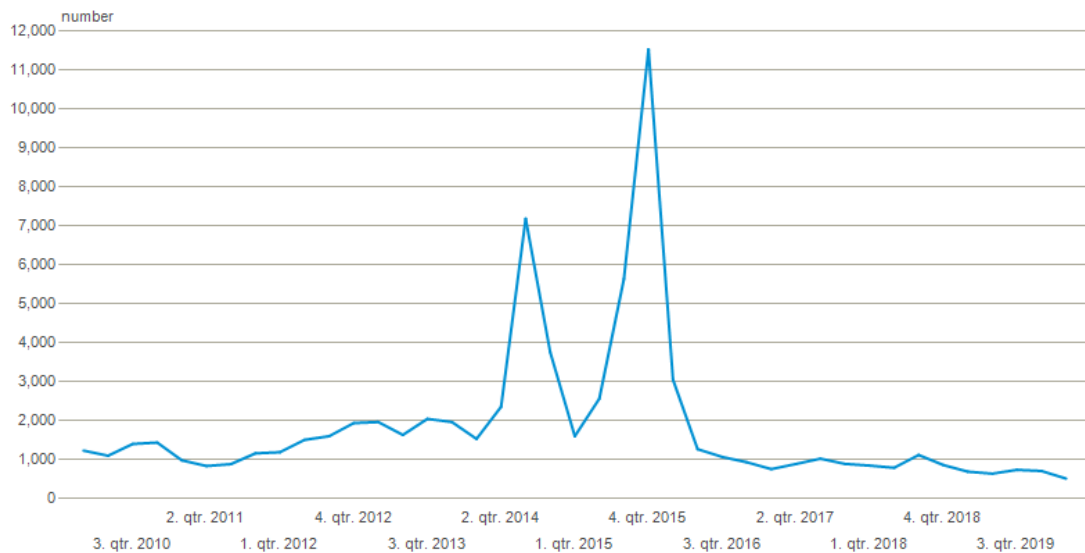
The term "refugee crisis" was used to refer to the extensive influx of asylum seekers and irregular migration that Europe experienced during 2014-2016 (Triandafyllidou, 2018). Triandafyllidou argues that this was a multilevel crisis

and more precisely: “a crisis in terms of unprecedented volume and pace of refugee and migrant flows; in terms of the receiving countries’ asylum reception policies; and with regard to EU politics and policies” (Triandafyllidou 2018, p. 200). The extensive number of asylum seekers reaching Europe has affected the political as well as public opinion and has provoked debates on many levels. The number of asylum applications lodged in Denmark by Syria rapidly increased from 1,087 in 2014, to 8,608 applications in 2015 (Report to OECD, 2017). The following tables from *Statistics Denmark* illustrate the increase of asylum seekers in Denmark in 2015.

Table 1

Asylum seekers

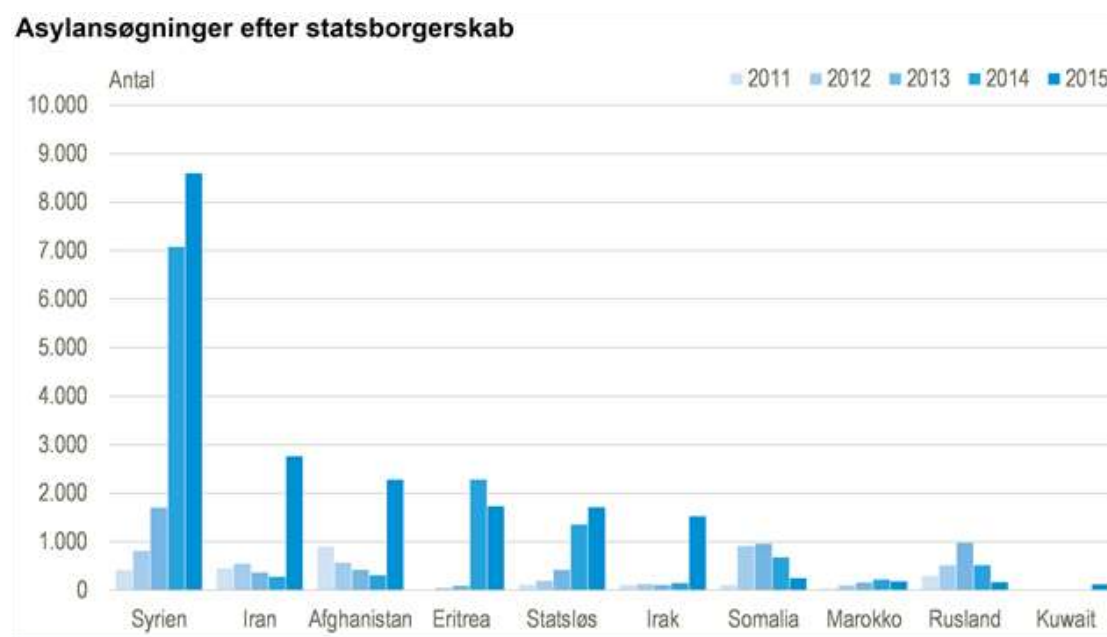
Type of asylum: Gross application figure



(Statistics Denmark, 2019. *Asylum application and residence permits 2010-2019*)

The first graph displays the number of asylum seekers in Denmark from 2011-2018. In 2014 and specifically in 2015 there can be seen an increase in the number of asylum seekers. The following graph demonstrates asylum-seekers in Denmark from 2011-2015, divided by citizenship:

Table 2



(Statistics Denmark, 2016. *Flest asylansøgere fra Syrien.*)

The graph demonstrates Syria as the country with most asylum seekers in Denmark. Furthermore, there can be noticed a significant increase of Syrian asylum seekers in 2014 and 2015. The number of Syrian asylum seekers makes up 41% of the total amount of asylum seekers in Denmark in 2015 (Statistics Denmark, 2016).

Due to the increase in asylum seekers in Denmark during the refugee crisis, the extensive number of asylum applications profoundly impacted the Danish asylum system. The crisis challenged Denmark and put intense pressure on the political establishment. Even before the Syrian refugee crisis hit Europe, the Danish People's Party, an openly anti-immigration party performed its highest percentage of votes and further, the Party drew harsh lines on refugees (Hugh, 2016).

The vast majority of the initial applications on asylum in 2015 were positive (OECD, 2016). Denmark was requested to deal with accommodating the refugees' needs and provide them free healthcare and education (Delman, 2016). Furthermore, the integration process was in the front line of Denmark's needs

because of the considerable amount of newcomers that required extensive integration efforts (Delman, 2016). Denmark proceeded in legislative changes to the Danish Aliens Act and Integration Act in order to limit the access to the country (Hugh, 2016). Policy reactions to the refugee crisis will be elaborated on further in the next section.

Policy reactions to the refugee crisis

The refugee crisis has had a considerable impact on Denmark's' refugee policies and the extensive number of people fleeing mostly from Syria has challenged the country's asylum and integration programs. Once the crisis emerged in Denmark, the country proceeded to legislative changes in order to not only limit the number of asylum applications but to prevent refugees from applying and seeking asylum in Denmark (Pascaline, 2016).

The Danish government reacted by cutting welfare benefits and increasing bureaucratic hurdles in order to make it more challenging for refugees to gain residency status (Kreichauf, 2020). Starting from 2015, The Danish parliament adopted changes in several fields. More specifically, in August 2015, the refugee benefits were cut by approximately 45% and the monthly benefits for single adults with no children decreased from 10,849 DKK to 5,945 DKK before taxes (Kreichauf, 2020). After the reduction of the benefits, Denmark published an add on newspapers in Lebanon and Jordan regarding the new asylum restrictions (Hugh, 2016). The government also decided to change the asylum regulations in order to enable a faster procedure for the return of rejected asylum applicants (Kvist, 2016). In addition, the Danish Parliament passed legislation that allows the police to keep in custody those asylum seekers whose applications had been denied and in some exceptional cases even without a court order (Hofverberg, 2016). Furthermore, parliament proceeded in the amendment to the Danish Aliens Act. The amendment included the legitimation of search and seizure of refugees' valuables worth more than 10,000 DKK, the so-called 'jewelry law', and the police were allowed to seize asylum seekers' assets to cover their expenses for accommodation, food and health service (Kreichauf, 2020). In addition,

according to the amendment, the time requirement for resettled refugees to apply for family reunification increased from one to three years of residency and the minimum time requirement for awarding permanent residency was increased from five to six years (Kreichauf, 2020). A worth-mentioning shift is also the fact that the government took back its participation in the UNHCR quota-based resettlement program, in which it had been a participant since 1979 (Pascaline, 2016). Integration Minister Inger Støjberg announced that the country needs time to cope “economically, culturally, and socially” with the large influx of refugees and postponed the program (Pascaline, 2016).

Muslim populations in Denmark

It is considered important to understand how Muslim populations are conceptualized in the general context of Danish society. Denmark initially began receiving Muslim populations as ‘guest workers’ in the 1960s (Jensen, 2007). When the first flow of labour migrants arrived in Denmark during the 1960s, there was limited public or political focus on their everyday lives since they were expected to return home after some years of work and not to be settled in Denmark (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). The overall picture changed completely when Denmark started receiving groups of refugees from areas of conflict in the Middle East, Sri Lanka, Bosnia, and Somalia (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). It was from the 1970s and 1980s when the labour migrants started to settle in their host country and the immigrant families expanded (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). Until the 1970s, the challenge of integration due to religion or culture hadn’t been mentioned yet (Jensen, 2007). In 1971, there was an initiative of Arab-Muslim embassies to establish the Islamic cultural center (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). Muslims became active in the country’s social life and they participated in welfare institutions such as schools, the health system, and social service departments (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). The number of religiously defined associations as well as Quran schools and public schools increased (Jensen, 2007). From the mid-1980s and along with the increase of the unemployment rates, Denmark started receiving refugees from Muslim countries (Jensen, 2007). The situation challenged the perception of Denmark as a relatively homogeneous

society with a common history, ethnicity, and language (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014).

From 1989, as the number of Muslims increased, they were framed more and more as a challenge in relation to integration in the Danish media (Sørensen, 1989). During that period, the country faced the establishment of more Muslim institutions as well as of regions called 'ghettos' where the Muslims get settled for economic and social reasons (Jensen, 2007). In order to preserve the welfare state system, the governors started drawing new directions in the country's foreign policy (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). From the mid-1990s, the Danish People's Party perceived Islam as a possible threat to the welfare state, democracy, and Danish culture (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). The far-right Danish People's Party first entered the Danish parliament in 1998. The party gained considerable acceptance and its rhetoric entailed harsh directions against immigrants with a Muslim background (Riis, 2011). The party's leader Pia Kjærsgaard stated that:

"Today's immigrants are mostly people from the Third World and mainly Muslims who do not have any desire to become a part of Danish culture. On the contrary, these people arrive with a baggage full of something else. They often come with the deepest disrespect for all that is Western, Danish, Christian." (Kjærsgaard, 1999, p.5).

Furthermore, it is found relevant to mention the 9/11 attack, which is considered a critical event that affected international politics and the perception of Islam in Europe and the USA (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). Politics regarding Muslim immigrants in Europe gained a new security dimension and new policies and legislations were introduced in the post 9/11 era. Regarding Denmark, the critical event marked a turning point in the conceptualization of religious minorities in the country (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). The already existing concerns about integration, came to be merged with the security dimensions (Bleich, 2009). It was since 2001 when the government restricted and controlled the number of refugees entering Denmark (Jensen, 2007). The measures taken by the government after the 9/11 attack, illustrated a pattern of political change

and an intensified control (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). More specifically, after the national elections in Denmark in November 2001, the government introduced anti-terror legislation, an initiative to reduce the number of accepted refugees and strict legislation on family reunification (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). The number of accepted refugees dropped from 5,211 in 2001 to 233 in 2007 (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). Furthermore, Denmark started selecting the refugees on the basis of the 'integration potential' and instead of Muslim, more Christian refugees were granted residency (Whyte, 2011).

The global factor of 9/11 triggered an immediate response by the Danish government and since 2001, conflicts between 'Islam' and the 'West' have dominated public political debates (Jung, 2011). Nonetheless, the measures taken were not exclusively the aftermath of this single event. Instead, the roots are deeper and the measures resulted from many interconnecting factors such as historical, political, and cultural processes (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). In Denmark, the incorporation of immigrants and refugees into society has always been the responsibility of the state (Olwig, 2011). Although the response after 2001 was new in a sense that merged integration with a security dimension, the measures and initiatives also drew upon an existing tradition of state intervention. As we mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the 1980s concept of integration gained a lot of attention from the public as well as the political sphere. There were policies and legislation for every aspect of immigrant everyday life, (such as family organization, gender roles, language spoken in the home, relations with the country of origin, marriage, etc.) intended to adjust the family life, religion and traditions of immigrants in order to make them become more aligned with the Danish culture and values.

In 2005, Denmark experienced the Mohammed cartoons crisis. During the controversy, when the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published cartoons depicting Mohammed, there were many Muslim groups in Denmark that complained and protested against the drawings of Prophet Mohammed (Hervik, 2011). Muslim activists from Denmark traveled to the Middle East and got in contact with their Muslim network. Their objections were perceived as inappropriate and their positions and protests were framed as threats to the

freedom of speech and the Danish secular society as such (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014). After the controversy, there was a suicide bombing in the Danish embassy in Islamabad in 2008 and an attempt from a Somali man to kill cartoonist Kurt Westergaard in 2010 (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014).

The background chapter, has thus provided the conceptualization of the political, social and legal situation in Denmark regarding the historical process as well as the context during the refugee crisis. In the following chapter, the overall methodology of this project will be presented.

Methodology

The chapter will entail a description of the theoretical framework, of the research method and of their relevance to this project. The main theory, Securitization, as well as the concept of *xenophobia and islamophobia*, will be introduced and their relevance will be elaborated. Furthermore, this section will entail a description of framing analysis which is our main research method substituted with discourse analysis. It will be argued how framing analysis and discourse analysis are applied in the project and how it is connected to the Securitization theory. Moreover, the research design will be presented and challenges and limitations will be discussed.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is based on the theory of Securitization as the main theory for this research. Using the theoretical lenses of Securitization, we aim to explore the situation in Denmark at the beginning of the refugee crisis. Since the 1980s, mobility and integration processes have developed into a security issue (Huysmans, 2000.). Thus, we found it interesting and relevant for our project to focus on the political, economic, and societal sectors of security as well as on the speech acts interpretation of security. In addition, we will include the concept of *xenophobia and islamophobia* as a contribution to the theory of Securitization and as a tool to explore how the Syrian refugees were framed by the media.

Securitization Theory

The concept of security

During the mid-1980s, the concept of security has actively participated in discussions and agendas but it hadn't been subjected to sufficient reflection (Lipschutz, 1995). It was only a few years later when the concept of security broadened and started to be re-conceptualized (Buzan, 1991). There are different ways for dealing with the agenda of security such as the traditional and the perspective approaches of security (Lipschutz, 1995). The main elements of the traditional approach are the idea that security is a reality prior to language and that the more security the better (Lipschutz, 1995). Security, in historical terms, refers to the protection of national sovereignty from external challenges that may threaten the state's sovereignty and independence (Lipschutz, 1995). Throughout the years, the field has gradually been transformed and the strong military form has been replaced by other forms of protection and defense (Buzan, 1991). The concepts of national security, threat, and sovereignty, have taken new form under new conditions (Buzan, 1991). At the heart of the concept, we still have the state as the main actor and threat and defense as the main acts but we moved from a strict focus on national security toward a broader focus on the security of people (Buzan, 1991). The security of individuals can be affected not only by military issues but also in many other different ways such as economic welfare, cultural identity, and political rights (Buzan, 1991).

The discussion has been moved from security in military terms to security in the political, economic, and societal sectors which can disrupt the political order and constitute security problems (Jahn et al., 1987). Johan Galtung has developed an alternative concept of security, which is based on four sets of positive goals related to human needs: survival, development, freedom, and identity (Galtung, 1985). Widening so much the concept of security encompasses the whole social and political agenda (Galtung, 1985).

Security problems are developments that threaten the sovereignty or independence of a state in a way so rapid that it is impossible to be managed by itself and thus, weaken the political order (Lipschutz, 1995). Those threats,

require immediate response and a maximum effort (Lipschutz, 1995). The state and the ruling elite are those who hold the right to name a certain development a security problem and claim a special right to gain control in order to maintain the political order unharmed (Lipschutz, 1995). By definition, something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so (Lipschutz, 1995). According to this, it turns out that those who administer the political order can easily use it for specific, self-serving purposes (Lipschutz, 1995). More precisely, Waever regards "security" as a speech act (Lipschutz, 1995). Only by using the act of speaking and more specifically, by uttering 'security', a state-representative can move a particular development into a specific area, presenting personal interests in a 'national security' matter (Lipschutz, 1995).

Securitization

Securitization theory is the theory that demonstrates the fact that some issues are not necessarily threatening in themselves but only by naming and referring to them as 'security' issues, they become security problems (Eroukhmanoff, 2018).

The term was initiated by Ole Waever in 1993 (Lipschutz, 1995). The concept within International Relations is connected with Copenhagen School and its approach is seen as a synthesis of constructivist and classical political realism (Lipschutz, 1995). Securitization in International relations is the process where the state actors and the ruling elite transforms subjects into matters of security and in the name of security, they enable whatever means are needed to be used in order to 'block' a threat (Buzan et al., 1998).

As we previously mentioned, the process of Securitization does not necessarily reflect a real danger, meaning issues that are essential to the survival of the state (Buzan et al., 1998). Instead, securitization frequently represents issues where the state rulers successfully constructed into an existential problem (Buzan et al., 1998). In other words, they can move a theme or issue into the field of security and thereby frame it as a 'security issue' (Buzan et al., 1998). Copenhagen School's theory perceives 'speech act' of authorities as to the main element in the process of securitization, emphasizing the performative role of language (Koca,

2016). Through the process of securitization, the 'speech act' of certain actors like politicians, the media, and the public can mark out issues as 'existential threats' to societal security and/or identity (Buzan et al., 1998). Moreover, in the case that the act of securitization is accepted by a significant amount of audiences, extraordinary measures that were not previously legitimate can now be put into place (Buzan et al., 1998). From the issue of securitization, many questions arise: when, why, and how elites label issues and developments as 'security' problems? With what results and under what conditions? (Buzan et al., 1998). Treating something a security issue is always a matter of choice – political choice (Buzan et al., 1998). Thus, aiming to give an answer to our research question, we are interested in gaining an understanding of how the Syrian refugees were framed in Denmark by the different actors as well as on the reasons behind that framing.

Due to the fact that refugees and domestic politics are mentioned together with security matters, The Copenhagen School of thought gains immediate relevance to the discourse, since it offers a coherent perspective to the subject. The Copenhagen School, aims attention at the ideational internal elements, for instance, values of religion, ethnicity, or language, which find themselves to be the main targets of external threats (Waever, 2011). The social group, the 'we', represents at best the opposition to the 'others', the refugees. All the connections that are made between this issue and the issue of security define the concept of "Securitization" (Waever, 2011). With the help of the media, the connection between the threat and the refugee crisis became more and more obvious.

Xenophobia and Islamophobia

As a contribution to the theory of Securitization, we found it interesting to further apply the concepts of *xenophobia* and *islamophobia* in order to analyze the reasons behind Denmark's reaction to the refugee crisis and the way that the different actors framed the refugees. The word *xenophobia* comes from the Greek words 'xenos' which means 'the stranger' or 'the guest,' and 'phobos' which means fear. Therefore, the term *xenophobia* refers to the 'fear of the stranger'. It implies that the relationships with strangers and more specifically

with the strangers that live in 'our community' are portrayed through ambivalence and fear (Wicker, 2001). Moreover, through the concepts of nation, ethnicity, and culture the term xenophobia marks the division between 'us' - 'them', and in-group -out-group (Wicker, 2001). In the same context, Islamophobia refers to the fear of Islam and Muslims. Islam is perceived as an un-democratic anti-Western culture and its practices and values are described as incompatible with the Western lifestyle (Marranci, 2004). The term emerged in the 1970s but it was after the 9/11 attack when it gained high attention both in Europe and the United States (Junaid, 2007).

Research method

As previously mentioned, Securitization builds on the essential role of the linguistic power and structures political and social realities (Koca, 2016). The new political and social realities are highly mediatized (Dicken-Garcia, 1998). It can be argued that there is a strong link between media framing and public discourse across different types of migration such as economic, family reunification, and undocumented border crossing (Benson, 2010). With regard to the refugee crisis, the media has had a core role in covering this new situation for society. More precisely, it has been evident that media coverage was essential for presenting the refugees' arrival and consequently for the construction of social shared understandings, emotions, and attitudes towards them. Thus, in the following part, the method of framing analysis as well as discourse analysis will be introduced and described according to the project.

The Theory of Frames

Framing Theory has been studied and used in many fields. The starting point was Goffman's book 'Frame Analysis' (1974) which has had an impact on many studies such as sociology, psychology, and communication studies (Helle & Eisenstadt, 1985).

Goffman defined the 'frame' as "*frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify*" (Goffman, 1974 p. 10f). For Gamson, a

frame is a "*central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning*" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143) to events related to an issue.

Goffman's approach is founded by the idea that through frames of understanding we construct meaning in order to make sense of social situations (Goffman, 1974). More precisely, frames are tools that are useful for selecting particular elements of reality and deciding on which of them we will focus more on in order to present an issue or to describe a situation (Entman, 1993). Frames are not considered as a single object and are usually related to similar terms such as schemata, categories, and stereotypes (Goffman, 1974). Frames are described as 'interpretive packages' - including metaphors, phrases, and images- that give meaning to a specific topic or issue (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

In social sciences, framing embodies perspectives and concepts which define how individuals and societies make sense and present reality (Helle & Eisenstadt, 1985). It involves social construction since it is formed through filters and stereotypes which are built through cultural influences (Helle & Eisenstadt, 1985). Every culture has its own patterns and points of world view for explaining and describing situations and events and these points of view are created through common experiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Before someone frames and transmit a message, he has already connected the topic with his own cultural values and beliefs (Van Gorp et al., 2012). From a constructionist perspective, this means that the person who creates a message is influenced by his own life experiences and the kind of reality that he perceives (Van Gorp, 2007). Thus, subjectivity plays a huge role in the process of framing since the creator's imagination is affected by his ideology (Van Gorp, 2010).

Framing can be viewed as the process where the frames are constructed, maintained, or deleted, and thus as human information processing (Scheufele, 2009). According to Lippmann, people's actions are based on "the pictures inside our heads," rather than "objective reality" (Lippmann, 1922, p. 3). Based on Entman's definition:

“to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 208).

In other words, framing is the way that events, issues, and topics are interpreted, organized, selected, presented, and made sense of, especially by the media, media professionals and their audiences (Reese, 2001).

Frame analysis is a research method facilitated by the idea that people tend to categorize and classify their life experiences in order to make sense of the situations and to communicate the experience to others (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Through the process of interpretation, we create some frames which allow individuals *"to locate, perceive, identify, and label"* (Goffman, 1974, p. 21) situations and information. Frame analysis pays attention to images, metaphors, stereotypes, and actors, and focuses on the role that those factors play in the process of framing (Lippmann, 1922). The reality is so large that it is hard for a human being to capture everything (Lippmann, 1922). We need to reconstruct reality in a simpler model since it is impossible to cope with so many varieties and combinations (Lippmann, 1922). This is one of the fundamental concepts of framing and it means that frame analysis is the procedure for the explanation of how people understand the world through their interactions (Lippmann, 1922). Framing covers not only the thinking process but also the communication process in media (Scheufele, 1999). Journalists, as individual human beings, interpret and present the issues that are covering according to their cultural worldview (Scheufele, 1999).

Framing in media

Framing, as a process of interpretation and selection, has an essential role when it comes to the communication and presentation of issues especially those that are new to society (Scheufele, 1999). The term, even though it originally was applied for specific concepts, eventually became related to discourse communication (Dicken-Garcia, 1998). It supports that every topic can have different discourses framed by different individuals, groups, or institutions

(Solomon, 1992). During the last years, some psychologists took a step further from just assuming that media has a direct effect on audiences and started to focus and analyze the media texts themselves (Giles & Shaw, 2009). Frame analysis can be used as a theoretical and methodological tool that can be helpful for gaining an understanding of the way that the elites, the media, and the public construct meanings (Allen, 2017). Frames appear intensely in the media since they serve as organizing themes and the particular vocabulary of the themes can result in influencing the public opinion. (Allen, 2017).

Through a framing analysis approach, we will attempt to identify the most dominant frames that were constructed and research how the frame was set in media during the fall of 2015 when Syrian refugees started arriving in Denmark. Furthermore, we will explore what led up to the framing of the Syrian refugees. In order to study the framing of the refugees, we will conduct an analysis of newspaper articles using the tools from framing analysis. However, elements of discourse analysis, (which will be presented in the next section) will also be implemented as a contribution to framing analysis.

Discourse & framing analysis

Framing analysis is very connected to discourse analysis and in this paper, aspects of discourse analysis will also be applied. Discourse and framing analysis belong within the same analytic framework and have similar ontological and epistemological assumptions and thus, can be hard to distinguish (Lindekilde, 2014). Both discourse and framing analysis is interested in exploring the relationship between 'texts' and their wider contexts (Lindekilde, 2014). They each seek to understand how ideas, culture, and ideology are being applied. Further, they explore the connection to particular situations or empirical phenomena that create certain patterns in which the world is perceived and constructed (Lindekilde, 2014). The difference between framing and discourse analysis thus lies in *how* they analyze (Lindekilde, 2014).

As with framing analysis, there are several interpretations of discourse analysis. This project will be based on Norman Fairclough critical variant of discourse

analysis that entails a more thorough perspective on the effect of language (Fairclough, 1992). Firstly, it is relevant to define the concept of *discourse*. For this, we follow Parker's (1992) definition of discourse as "*an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, which brings an object into being*" (Lindekilde 2014, 4). Texts are understood as press releases, websites, articles, media statements, pictures, videos, interviews, flyers, slogans, etc. (Lindekilde, 2014). Discourse analysis, therefore, provides meaning in how social practices and phenomena are established and how they gain meaning through texts. Therefore, discourse analysis is very interested in the characteristics in a particular text such as language, grammar, and choice of words being used. According to Fairclough, it is essential to be aware of the relation between the 'discursive unit' (the text), the 'discursive practices' (production, dissemination, reception) and the 'social practices' (the wider order of discourses in society) (Fairclough 1992), (Lindekilde, 2014). Discourse analysis can be used to understand how language, discourses, and wider contexts in the texts can constitute social reality (Lindekilde, 2014). Drawing from the chapter of Securitization, the speech act is also connected. As Speech act, discourse analysis attaches high importance on the role of language and how different actors in media, politics, and the public can contribute to constituting the social reality. In other words, discourse analysis can examine in which ways certain texts can either reproduce or challenge constituted interpretations of social reality (Lindekilde 2014, 4). Discourses are both constituted and constitute social reality (Lindekilde 2014, 10).

Framing analysis, like discourse analysis, is interested in how concepts, culture, and ideology are applied, understood, and joined together with specific situations or phenomena in order to establish certain patterns in the world that are interpreted by the audiences (Lindekilde, 2014). The main difference between discourse and framing analysis is their focus of analysis. Discourse analysis is analyzing and focusing on how an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of how they are produced, distributed and received, create a certain object (Lindekilde, 2014). On the other hand, framing analysis focuses on how the established "objects" or "topics" are framed by various actors who give

meaning to these topics (Lindekilde, 2014). For instance, using the term 'radicalization' as an example, discourse analysis could be used to analyze how radicalization was created as a relatively new social phenomenon and how a certain meaning got attached to it (Lindekilde, 2014). Framing analysis, on the other hand, could be applied when the aim is to determine how for example, 'Islam' was framed by different actors in debates about radicalization (Lindekilde, 2014). The pre-mentioned differences argue for why it was chosen to have framing analysis as the main research method in this project. We are interested in exploring how different actors in the media framed the Syrian refugees at the beginning of the refugee crisis. Discourse analysis was found relevant to be implemented in the analysis of newspaper articles as a tool or submethod because of its thorough focus on language. More specifically, discourse analysis will be applied in connection to framing analysis as a tool when there are certain elements that we wish to analyze further and more in-depth (Lindekilde, 2014). Framing analysis collects larger units of data and provides a bigger overview. On the other hand, discourse analysis collects fewer units of data and follows a more in-depth analysis of the specific data (Lindekilde, 2014). The main aim of this project is to research the wider context within our research period. However, during the analysis of the sampled data, there will be certain newspaper articles where it is found relevant to apply tools of discourse analysis and analyze the role of language in the article. In the next part, this project's Research design will be introduced.

Research Design

As a starting point in this chapter, the frames and the procedure of how they were defined will be presented and explained. Secondly, we will present this framing analysis' coding procedure in terms of the operationalisation of the Securitization theory. Lastly, the data collection process as well as the challenges faced during this process will be presented and discussed.

The frames

The frames that were created, were influenced by the Securitization theory and thus, were produced prior to the collection of the data. The Securitization theory has been presented in the Theoretical Framework. However, it is important to summarise some key elements of the theory in order to justify the selection of the frames. According to Securitization theory, when a country is opposed to a substantial threat, it will act accordingly to protect national and societal security. Thus, it can be presumed that the emergence of the Syrian Refugee crisis triggered a securitization process in Denmark. Moreover, the Copenhagen School emphasizes the role of the national identity and culture as essential parts of ensuring the societal security of a state. Another important element of our main theory is the state's economic prosperity regarding security. Lastly, we couldn't exclude the humanitarian aspect of the securitization process.

The four keyframes will set the basis for the analytical framework. The frames are as follows:

- Frame 1: Security
- Frame 2: Identity
- Frame 3: Economy
- Frame 4: Humanitarianism

More specifically the Security frame entails key-terms such as political security, border control, terrorism, uncontrolled migration, and legitimate/fake refugees. The Identity frame consists of keywords such as social identity, national security, cultural differences, and xenophobic tendencies. The Economy frame entails keywords such as labour market, financial barrier, social security, welfare system. Lastly, the Humanitarian frame consists of keywords such as humanitarian position, public actors, humanitarian aid.

Coding: Operationalisation

As previously mentioned, regarding framing analysis, the person who creates a message is influenced by his own life experiences which define his perception of reality (Van Gorp, 2007). Thus, subjectivity contains an essential role in creating frames and selecting data since the creator's imagination is affected by his ideology (Van Gorp, 2010). Consequently, during the process of framing analysis, some challenges might occur regarding the validation and reliability of the meaning and interpretation that the 'researcher' attaches to the analysis (Lindekilde, 2014). A way to meet the challenges of reliability and subjectivity is by coding the data that are being used. Coding entails characterizing the analytical categories prior to the analysis. Furthermore, coding outlines how analytical categories are being applied (Lindekilde, 2014). This project partakes a predominantly deductive approach. In a deductive approach, the basis is the theory, where different presumptions are being derived and thus applied to the empirical data (Riis, 2005). There might be inductive elements in the project but only regarding the analysis and not in the coding procedure. When coding in a deductive approach, the analytical categories are carefully defined prior to the data collection process. Lastly, the analytical categories are being defined and then applied to the sampled material (Lindekilde, 2014). At the beginning of the project, we already had some elements based on our main theory, Securitization. These elements are also illustrated in our sub research questions. Thus, following the coding-method, the analytical categories derived from the theory and from the presented frames.

In relation to coding, a crucial factor is to be clear about the procedure (Lindekilde, 2014). Prior to the data collection, we created a coding procedure for helping us determining the core framing aspects of the different actors in the newspaper articles. Thus, the coding procedure is a tool to select the relevant articles that are represented within each frame. The coding strategies will be presented in the following part.

The coding chosen for this project was through the operationalization of the Securitization theory. More specifically, the Securitization theory as well as its key-terms are going to be operationalized in order to make them applicable to the material/empirical data. Operationalization involves that the theory and its key terms become measurable (Olsen, 1999). This is achieved by developing operational questions that aim to answer the research questions (Olsen, 1999). The main key-terms of Securitization theory that will be operationalized are *political security* and *societal security*. Drawing from the deductive approach we thus created an analytical tool that can identify a discourse of security in the data. To be more specific, during our data selection, we focused on those articles that contained elements of security. Thus, we will examine our data through the questions which will be applied in order to select the relevant articles and to direct toward the suited frame. During the data collection, the following questions will be posed:

- The first is the main, overall question: *Is there a connection between security and threat in the newspaper articles?*
- The second question is more specific and examines: *Is the securitization of the refugee crisis politically motivated?*
- The third question asks: *Is the securitization of the refugee crisis economically motivated?*
- The fourth question asks: *Is national identity related to the security discourse?*
- The fifth question examines: *Is there a connection between humanitarian security and the public response?*

Furthermore, through the Securitization theory we selected certain theoretical keywords that we found relevant to apply in combination with the operational question in order to select the relevant newspaper articles. Therefore, we were scanning from the resulted articles in order to define whether keywords such as 'threat', 'security', 'culture', 'economy', 'welfare state', 'labour market', 'identity', 'terrorism' or 'humanitarian', were included. Operationalising the theory often result in achieving a high validity. However, it should be mentioned that there is a disadvantage. By applying the theoretical framework in the coding there is a

possibility that certain parts of the results might have been foreseeable (Bergström & Boréus, 2005).

In the next section, will be presented how the data collection process was carried out. Furthermore, the main worth-mentioning challenges during the data collection will be explained.

Data Collection

We chose to base the framing and discourse analysis on newspaper articles as our main data. We will research articles written by four newspapers: BT, Ekstra Bladet, Jyllands-Posten, and Politiken. The selected newspapers were chosen based on two criteria: relevance and diversity. The mentioned newspapers are some of the main and largest national newspapers in Denmark that publish daily and reach a large mass audience. Furthermore, all the newspapers can also be accessed online and this contributes to a broader field of audience. The articles are retrieved from the Danish site Infomedia. Infomedia is an archive that collects and monitors media from all the national newspapers and from the majority of the regional and local newspapers as well as journals and news agencies (Skolebaser.dk). During the search for the newspaper articles, we set the criteria that we would only search for articles exceeding 125 words up till 700 and more, based on Infomedia's search options.

After the coding procedure and during the data collection process, sampling is considered an important step (Lindekilde, 2014). The coding, meaning in our case the operationalization of the theory, is often linked with the sampling of the newspaper articles since the sampling of the data material is based on the operationalization of the theory (Lindekilde, 2014). A successful sampling will often strengthen the external validity since there will be a higher chance that the results of the study can be generalized to other situations (Lindekilde, 2014). The method of sampling in this project is conducted by defining the relevant securitizing actors. In this project, we will sample newspaper articles in a one-month period from September 5th to October 5th and focus on the relevant

securitizing actors in relation to the framing of the Syrian refugees in the media during that period.

It is important to carefully select specific keywords and type them in the newspaper articles search (Lindekilde, 2014). The keywords typed during the data collection were: *Syrian (Syriske)* and *Refugees (Flygtninge)*. We set the criteria that both keywords should be mentioned in the article in order to support the reliability of the project by ensuring that the resulted articles were relevant to the Syrian refugees. The article search in the chosen time, and with the chosen filters (selected newspapers, length of articles, keywords) provided 1252 results. A lot of the articles that turned up in the search were about the current Syrian crisis and how the crisis affected other EU countries. However, the results had to be relevant in a Danish context. These data were not selected in the sampling of the newspaper articles since they were not related specifically to a Danish context. Another contributing element for the data selection was that the number of times that the same article came up in the search. This happened due to the fact that more than one of the four chosen newspapers published the same article, which resulted in the exclusion of several articles. Therefore, out of 1252 results, 45 articles were being collected and divided within each frame. In frame 1 we collected 15 articles. In frame 2, were collected 17 articles. In frame 3, were collected 8 articles and in frame 4, were collected 5 articles.

During the data collection process, there are a few challenges that should be mentioned.

Due to this project's time limit, a one-month research period was chosen. Therefore, we collected newspaper articles that were relevant to our frames and according to our time limit. However, it could be argued that a period longer than one month would have provided a wider overview of the events that unfolded during the initial phases of the refugee crisis in Denmark. The selection of this specific period was not coincidental. This specific period has been selected since it was Denmark's first major encounter with the refugee crisis and specifically with the Syrian refugees arriving in the country. Moreover, the research period generated more coverage in the media due to the extensive

number of events regarding refugees' arrival that unfolded during that specific period. Another worth-mentioning remark during the data collection process is the role of translation. Since we are interested in studying the framing of Syrian refugees in the Danish media, the newspaper articles that were selected and analyzed were being translated from Danish to English. It was found important to be mentioned since when conducting the translation, there can be a potential limitation regarding the outcome of the meaning. Thus, the quotes that were selected from the newspaper articles and explicitly mentioned in the analysis can be found in its original Danish form in the appendix (Appendix).

Following the Research design, the findings of our data collection will be presented in the analysis divided into the pre-mentioned four frames: Security, Identity, Economy and Humanitarianism.

Analysis

In the following chapter, the four frames presented in the methodology will be analyzed and discussed. The frames consist of Security, Identity, Economy and Humanitarianism. In this chapter, the frames will be presented in-depth and the tools of framing analysis and discourse analysis will be applied to the sampled newspaper articles. Furthermore, Denmark's relevant policy reactions and historical-cultural aspects, as mentioned in the Background chapter, will be incorporated in the analysis. The context was found relevant to take into consideration in order to understand the situation in Denmark during the initial phases of the Syrian refugees' arrival. Our analysis will be primarily based on the Securitization theory as well as the concepts of *xenophobia* and *islamophobia*. Despite this project partaking a predominantly deductive approach, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter, there is room for inductive elements in the analysis and thus new relevant theories can emerge.

Frame 1: Security

In the first part of the analysis, it will be analyzed and discussed whether a link between national security and migration can be identified through the media's framing of the Syrian refugees. According to the theory of Securitization, there is a distinction between societal security and political security. While the societal sector consists of national identity and culture, the political sector includes state survival and sovereignty (Lipschutz, 1995). Thus, in this frame, it is relevant to research the political motivation behind the state's and government's reaction towards the refugee crisis. More specifically, we will analyze the government's reaction to the refugees in terms of political security, as it was framed by the media at that time, whereas the societal security will be elaborated further on in the second frame of the analysis. In order to answer this question, the newspaper articles that were sampled within the Security frame will be analyzed and discussed in relation to the Securitization theory in regards to the context and policies that emerged during the fall of 2015. Additionally, analytic tools from framing and discourse analysis will be applied in the analysis in order to understand and explain the ways in which a certain framing generates a specific meaning.

Registration chaos

From the initial stages of the refugee crisis that emerged in Europe in 2015, Denmark experienced an unprecedented influx of refugees entering the country's borders. One of the most mediatized events of September 2015, was the depiction of an immense number of newly arrived refugees walking on the highway in Rødby on the 6th and 7th of September 2015. During our research period, we came across several articles surrounding the influx of refugees arriving in Denmark. Several articles have issued the refugees arrival with keywords such as 'stream', 'increasing number of refugees', 'hundreds' and 'millions' (Ritzau, 2015e), (Ritzau, 2015f), (Borg, 2015). For instance, it can be argued that the article published on September 23rd with the title *13.500 refugees and migrants arrived in Denmark within 17 days*, is portraying the influx

of refugees as an overwhelming situation (Ritzau, 2015e). Another article from BT, published on the 8th of September with the title *Hundreds of refugees are gone: the police don't know where they are*, states how the situation was chaotic (Madsen, 2015a). The article describes how 800 refugees arrived in Denmark within only two days. Moreover, it demonstrates that the majority of the refugees are using Denmark as a transit country for going to Sweden and seeking asylum there. However, it can be argued that the media's framing of the refugees' arrival, illustrates a situation that all of these refugees were seeking to settle in Denmark. The majority of the refugees arriving in Denmark during our research period were trying to go to Sweden and seek asylum there, without getting registered by Danish authorities. Despite their will, according to the Dublin Regulation, if they arrive in Denmark, the country would be responsible for registering and proceeding the refugees' asylum applications (UNHCR, 2009). However, only 200 out of 800 refugees that arrived during the two days got registered by the Danish authorities (Madsen, 2015a). The reason behind the refugee's will to be settled elsewhere and not in Denmark will be elaborated on further in the second frame of the analysis.

The fact that the majority of the newly arrived refugees were not being registered, doubted the credibility of the refugees who entered the country, and raised security concerns. In more detail, several newspaper articles during September of 2015 raised security concerns about the credibility of the refugees and their eligibility for granting protection. An article published on September 11th with the title *Can the illegitimate people hide in the stream of refugees?* stated how the rising influx of refugees in Denmark has resulted in the police giving up on systematic registration (fingerprints) of the refugees that come to Denmark (Sørensen et al. 2015). Due to the lack of registration, it raises concerns that possible terrorists are being concealed as refugees. The Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET), revealed that the terrorist organization IS had stated to British media that by taking advantage of the existing registration chaos, they had sent numerous terrorists to Europe under the cover of being a refugee (Sørensen et al. 2015). It can thus be argued that this article frames and connects the arrival of refugees to a national security threat. Furthermore, there is a

consistency among the different actor's statements in the sampled media material. In another article published by BT on September 10th, Naser Khader, the Conservative Party's international spokesman at the time, stated:

(...) "There are some who take advantage of the asylum chaos and use it for other purposes. It is worrying to let the refugees in without registering them, without knowing who they are and without knowing their purposes. If you don't monitor them at the Swedish border, then you will have a huge problem." (Karker & Svensgaard, 2015).

Furthermore, in an article published by BT on September 22nd, DF Party member, Peter Skaarup says: *"There are persons in the stream of refugees that you should fear with regard to terrorism.* (Foght, 2015). The government proceeded to securitization measures in order to protect the security of the state. More specifically, the fear of militant Islamist coming to Denmark as refugees, resulted in PET screening all asylum applicants with a certain age, gender and nationality before they could be granted residence permits in the country (Foght, 2015).

Securitization emphasizes the essential role of the linguistic power for structuring social and political realities (Lipschutz, 1995). The distinction between 'fake' and 'real' refugees can be associated with key phrases mentioned in other articles such as 'illegal migrants', 'border control', 'migrants taking advantage of the system', 'smugglers and criminals among the refugees' (Sørensen et al. 2015), (Ritzau, 2015c), (Ritzau, 2015d). It can thus be argued that the consistency of framing the refugees in these terms is enhancing the connection to a possible discourse of threat. According to our data, in the initial stages of the refugee crisis and within an environment of insecurity, it can be argued that Denmark experienced a national vulnerability and tended to link this new and unknown situation with the threat of terrorism. Thus, refugees are being linked to criminality and terrorism and frames as a threat for the national security and stability. In the next section, we will further elaborate on Denmark's reaction in order to prevent the threat and ensure national security.

Scare campaign

In August 2015, as previously mentioned, the government presented the new legislation and restrictions on asylum that were set to begin from September 2015 and be valid for the refugees that arrived hereafter (Kreichauf, 2020). This policy change is relevant to include since it affected the following events during the initial stages of the refugee crisis in Denmark.

An article from Jyllandsposten, published on September 7th showed a picture of the asylum add or “refugee scare campaign” - as referred to in media (Redder, 2015). The add was a document written by the Danish Immigration and Integration Ministry, published in several Lebanese newspapers as well as on social media platforms (Redder, 2015). The add was further published in Danish asylum centers and translated into 10 different languages. The add included the new asylum restrictions and highlighted that: *“Denmark has decided to restrict the regulations for refugees in many fields”* (Redder, 2015), and further that: *“The Danish parliament has just decided to decrease the social benefits significantly. The social benefits to newly arrived refugees will be reduced with up to 50 percent”* (Redder, 2015).

The add contained 6 points from the new restricted regulations. These regulations include:

1. Immigrants who get granted temporary protection will not have the right to family reunification within the first year.
2. Refugees will have the chance to gain permanent residency after at least 5 years and risk until then to lose their residency.
3. Danish language skills are required for permanent residency.
4. That there will be a fast procedure of refusal of asylum if the case is not valid.
5. That all rejected asylum-seekers must as quick as possible leave Denmark.
6. That there is a specific deportation center for rejected asylum-seekers with the aim to ensure those who got rejected asylum is sent out of the country as quickly as possible. (Redder, 2015).

The add was highly controversial and raised a lot of critique, also from members of the government, especially towards Integration Minister, Inger Støjberg, who had been participating in the production of the add. Jens Rohde, member of Venstre party and EU parliament said: *“One wishes that our minister - before she takes so many actions and thumbs her chest to show her strength on TV, she has to do field studies and actually look at the conditions in Syria, Libya, Greece, and other refugee camps”* (Redder, 2015). Inger Støjberg commented on the critique and stated that the information in the add was factual and objective and was geared specifically towards human smugglers and the general public (Ritzau, 2015g). In addition, in an article published on the 16th of September, several parties confessed that the asylum restrictions might have had an effect on refugees’ willingness to seek asylum in Denmark despite them previously stating the opposite. The member of the Alternative Party, Ulla Sandbæk stated that:

“I had not taken into account that the asylum-seekers have mobile phones, which are a powerful source of information, during their journey towards Europe. This became evident when they walked on the highway and said that they did not want to be here because they had heard that we are inhospitable and apply restrictions on the regulations.” (Bech, 2015, p. 22).

Shortly after the publication of the add only 900 refugees out of 7.500 refugees and migrants that arrived in Denmark within 2 days, applied for asylum. It can be argued that the number could also indicate that the add had ‘worked’ and prevented several refugees from seeking asylum in Denmark (Bech, 2015).

The add played an important role since it was the source for informing the potential Syrian asylum seekers about the relevant Danish legislation. It can be argued that this can be related to discursive practices. According to this, the way one person perceive reality is based on how reality as a product of discourse, is being presented to that person (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The strategy of ‘warning’ refugees and thus, reducing the influx of asylum seekers in Denmark, aims to protect the state against the threat (the refugees). It can therefore be argued that the asylum add or the so-called scare campaign was a securitization

move. Despite the Minister's argument, posting an add which contains the new asylum restrictions could lead to the reduction of asylum applications.

The aim of the first frame was to analyze and discuss whether refugees were framed as a security issue in Denmark in the initial stages of the refugee crisis and how this became evident. Through the framing and discourse analysis of newspaper articles and through the lenses of Securitization theory, it can thus be concluded that the Danish government applied securitization measures on refugees. In addition to the government's reaction, the media emphasized key phrases such as 'uncontrolled migrants' and 'migrants abusing the system', linking the refugees with the possible terrorist threats, and thus with a national security threat. What is more, Denmark's scare campaign can be considered as securitization move targeting to prevent the immense influx of refugees from seeking asylum in Denmark.

In the next frame, we are interested in analyzing to what extent identity becomes an important factor in the data and how it is related to the refugees. The concept of identity and especially, in this case, national identity is a crucial part of Securitization which will be elaborated further on in the following chapter.

Frame 2: Identity

As previously mentioned, there is a distinction between political and societal security. In the previous chapter, we elaborated on the political sector while in this chapter we will focus on the societal sector. This frame will be analyzed through the lenses of Securitization theory and the concepts of *xenophobia* and *islamophobia*. It was found relevant in this chapter, to focus on societal security in order to examine the importance of national identity which is composed of cultural values and religion. In addition, we will explore how national identity is related to refugees. Furthermore, we want to analyse the relationship between the securitizing actors (which is the government) and the referent objects

(which are the nation and the citizens) and how this discourse has been framed in the media during the initial stages of the refugee crisis.

Societal Security

Over the last years, Europe has experienced a development of the concept of 'societal security' (Waever, 2011), and refugees have often been defined as security problems, as argued in the previous chapter. According to the Securitization theory, the government - in a context of 'as much security as possible'- is taking the concerns about national identity seriously and frame them as security issues (Lipschutz, 1995). As the security of the state has sovereignty as its criteria (political security), societal security has the national identity (Lipschutz, 1995). In other words, in the same way, that a state cannot survive when it loses its sovereignty, society is no longer secure if it loses its identity (Lipschutz, 1995). In the previous chapter, we analyzed through the prism of political security. In this chapter, we will focus on how societal security affected the framing of the influx of newcomers during September and October 2015 in Denmark. When political security is related to the organizational stability of states, societal security is related to identity and the self-conception of individuals who identify themselves as members of a particular community (Lipschutz, 1995). Societal security refers to the security of various groups that could affect the stability of the society and consequently the security of the state since those two are influenced by each other (Lipschutz, 1995).

Integration

When the members of the host community experience societal changes, the fear of the unknown and the mistrust may provoke xenophobic responses (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). Therefore, through the lenses of xenophobia, integration is an essential factor to include in order to analyze the reasons behind the framing of the refugees during the initial stages of the refugee crisis in Denmark.

One of the first theories on integration was the linear assimilation theory from Milton Gordon (Gordon, 1964), which has been applied in the USA for many years. His main assumption was that by time immigrants would identify with the general population by learning the language it would automatically lead to integration in other areas. For example, participation in the labor market eventually would lead to an immigrant being culturally integrated (Simonsen, 2017). However, in a European context, the term integration is viewed as a more fragmented non-linear process where being integrated into the labor market does not necessarily lead to successful integration and a higher level of identification with the population (Wilkinson, 2013). For Denmark, social stability and cultural homogeneity have always been essential factors for ensuring the country's security (Zucchini, 2016).

During our data collection, we came across an article published on the 4th of October. The article refers to a refugee center that was situated in Vordingborg. The citizens of the neighbourhood were indecisive. Some of them held a positive stance towards the occupancy from the refugees while others felt threatened under the fear of the unknown (Astrup, 2015a). It is also interesting to mention the fact that even if the article contained both negative and positive approaches towards the newly arrived refugees, the media framing had a negative tone since its title contains a quote from an anxious about the situation neighbour. The title is *It feels so real when suddenly they have to live on our street* (Astrup, 2015a). The most important elements that can provoke xenophobic behaviors are social values and norms (Wicker, 2001). Through this article, it is demonstrated that the integration process of the refugees who have already arrived is framed as a threat issue. Furthermore, on the 15th of September 2015, there was an article published by Jyllands-Posten with the title *DF is willing to accept more refugees under the condition that they will leave again* (Ritzau, 2015h). The article is based on an interview with DF chairman Kristian Thulesen Dahl. He would agree on accepting more refugees under the condition that once the threat in their country was over, they would return. He didn't agree on giving refugees the right to have their own housing or to participate in the integration process by gaining language skills, entering the labour market, etc. Instead, he

wanted to lodge them temporarily in the asylum centers (Ritzau, 2015h). Integration Minister Inger Støjberg agreed that refugees should stay in Denmark only until the threat towards their country would be over. DF chairman Kristian Thulesen Dahl, highlighted that: *“Of Course we should take part in the responsibility for those who are fleeing. But it does not have to happen in a way, that in the next decades challenges the Danish Welfare state”* (Ritzau, 2015h). As we notice here, the integration process is framed once again as a threat by claiming that the increasing influx of asylum seekers will be challenging in ensuring proper integration. Thus, under the fear of an unsuccessful integration, the governors of the country preferred to host them in asylum centers and for a short period of time. Furthermore, the declarations of DF chairman Kristian Thulesen Dahl frame the integration of refugees as a challenge for the Danish Welfare system. There is a focus on social cohesion and doubt about the newcomers’ ability to successfully integrate since they obtain other cultural habits and values. Under the prism of xenophobia and within this context, the newly arrived refugees that differ from the national majority, are perceived as cultural threats (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015).

During our research period, the integration process of the newcomers has been framed as an essential and debating issue. On the 12th of September 2015, the newspaper BT.dk published an article named *Integration Consultant: Syrian refugees can become a huge gain* (Mønsted, 2015). In this article, the integration consultant Katina Rasmussen who works with the Syrian refugees that have arrived in Denmark supports that Syrian refugees can contribute positively to the Danish system. She mentions that their educational level is high and therefore they have a big potential in terms of integration (Mønsted, 2015). On the same day, Jyllands-Posten published another article with the title *Professor: It's going to be hard to integrate Syrians*. In this article, Professor Jacob Nielsen Arendt argues, based on his experiences with Syrian refugees and immigrants in Denmark so far, that it will be a challenge to integrate the 9000 Syrian refugees that Denmark accepted from 2014 until September 2015 (Ritzau, 2015i). He states that Syrian refugees who come to Denmark are not adequately educated or ready to participate in the labour market. In addition, the article mentions

surveys from 2013 that shows Syrians having a difficulty in integrating into the labour market and the educational system compared to Iraqis and Iranians (Ritzau, 2015i). Integration researcher Frederik Thuesen also pointed out that refugees from war areas often have a harder time getting integrated because of the war trauma they have experienced (Ritzau, 2015i). It can be noticed that the capacity of refugees to integrate is framed as a necessary requirement.

The successful integration of refugees is seen as an essential part of ensuring Denmark's continuity of cultural homogeneity and social stability (Hedetoft, 2006). One of the core signs of successful integration is the acculturation of Danish culture and traditions (Hedetoft, 2006). The Danish culture Minister at that time, Bertel Haarder, highlighted the difficulty of Muslim refugees integrating successfully (Zucchini, 2016). He based this on their cultural elements such as 'patriarchal culture' and norms which are in contrast with the Danish norms and values (Zucchini, 2016). Islam is often represented as a culture that is incompatible with the Western values and culture and hence, can be a possible threat to national societal security (Marranci, 2004). Based on this section it can be argued that the integration of newcomers was framed as Denmark's priority in order to maintain societal security and cultural homogeneity.

Denmark's reputation

As mentioned in the Background chapter, Denmark was the first country to ratify the United Nations' 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and among the first to implement the Convention and the 1967 Protocol (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). However, once the impact of the refugee crisis was emerging in Denmark, the country responded immediately in order to prevent an emerging increase of refugees seeking asylum in the country, as elaborated in the Security Frame (Pascaline, 2016). The level of public fear that the crisis could affect the Danish welfare state in a negative way was evident, and 53% of Danes rejected a referendum on closer security cooperation with the European Union in 2015 (Hugh, 2016). Denmark decided not to give EU

influence over the country's national refugee and immigration policies even if it challenged the Schengen system of open borders inside the EU and therefore the EU in general (Hugh, 2016).

The government, already from August 2015 started drawing stringent lines and made a number of legislative changes. It can be argued that Denmark's intention was to create an unattractive environment in order to limit the number of asylum applications and to protect the country's social cohesion and identity. The law included shifts in many fields which are mentioned in detail in the Background chapter. All the measures taken in order to reduce benefits to asylum seekers were combined in September 2015 with Denmark's publication of the previously described asylum add. As mentioned, the add was presenting the new asylum restrictions and the difficulties that the asylum seekers would face if they decide to come to Denmark (Her er Danmarks kampagne mod flygtninge, 2015). Denmark's strict policies and the scare campaign got so notorious on an EU and international level that it raised concerns related to human rights standards by refugee organizations, the EU, and the United Nations (Council of Europe, 2016). Jyllands-Posten published an article on the 19th of September with the title *Denmark's reputation in the world is at risk after the asylum restrictions*, illustrating concerns by political members regarding the country's image and reputation (Jørgensen & From, 2015). On the 11th of September 2015, an article with the title *The refugee crisis: The world's eyes are on Denmark*, is highlighting that Denmark has created headlines with a negative tone in newspapers on an international level (Hartung, 2015). In addition, in an article published on the 18th of September, the Institute for Human Rights and the Danish Refugee Council also commented and raised concerns about the asylum add and the picture that is constructed for Denmark regarding the conditions for the refugees (Ritzau, 2015j). The results were immediate and obvious. Almost one month after the introduction of the restrictions, many articles illustrated the unwillingness of refugees to apply for asylum in Denmark. More precisely, on the 7th of September 2015, an article published by BT demonstrated that only ¼ of the refugees coming from Germany to Rødby-Denmark wanted to stay and get registered in Denmark (Madsen & Pettersen,

2015). The following day, EkstraBladet posted an article which entailed information about the refugees who fled to Malmø-Sweden from Rødby-Denmark. A refugee who travels with his 1-year-old son says: *"From the beginning, we wanted to live in Sweden. We have not heard many positive things about Denmark. Danes don't like us"* (Soltani, 2015). Two days after, on the 10th of September, the newspaper Politiken published an article with the title *I don't wanna live in Denmark*. The article contained interviews of 5 young Syrian men who were traveling to Norway and expressed the fear of the possibility to be registered in Denmark (Hvilsom, 2015).

During the beginning of this new and unknown situation, Denmark felt that its identity might be threatened and responded in a context of societal security by strengthening and prioritizing the national identity over the European or International law. This can be clearly illustrated by the fact that Denmark withdrew its participation in the UNHCR quota-based resettlement program, in which it had been a participant since 1979, even though they were not the only EU member state that did so (Pascaline, 2016). The government's reaction was triggered by the need to ensure the national identity and the country's cultural values under the threat of the unfamiliar cultural practices of the refugees. The outcome was that the country's reputation was challenged and Denmark was framed by the national and international media as an inhospitable country. In the next chapter, applying the lenses of xenophobia and islamophobia, we will shed light on the reasons behind this image construction.

Cultural Anxiety

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the asylum seekers were perceived as a foreign non-Western out-group that might threaten the country's social stability and therefore, societal security. In this chapter, we will analyse the reasons behind the negative stance towards the refugees and how they were framed by the media at that time.

The last years, Islamophobic attitudes are presented both in media and in political life (Marranci, 2004). In Denmark, the media, the political agendas, and

population surveys indicate religion as an essential aspect that can affect the relationship between the citizens and the refugees. According to a survey, only 55% of polled participants agreed or partly agreed that immigrants in Denmark should be able to proclaim and practice their religion freely (Thomsen, 2006). During our research period, we noticed that the media emphasized on the refugees' culture and values as well as on the threat they may pose for society. More specifically, we came across an article published on the 5th of October 2015 by the newspaper Politiken. The article contains interviews from Danish citizens expressing their opinion about the Muslim newcomers. The 74-year old Knud Petersen states that it is not possible to integrate Muslims in Denmark and he fears that their integration might disrupt social cohesion. He further states: "*It is about their religion*" (...) "*for them, the religious law stands above the state law and therefore we can't get along*" (Astrup, 2015b, p. 3). Even though the number of Muslims in Denmark is around 5% (Jacobsen, 2018), the practices of Islam in Denmark are highly debated in both politics and the media (Jacobsen, 2012). Many politicians and citizens in Europe often consider Islam as opposed to democracy, equal rights, and freedom of speech (Cesari, 2010). As already mentioned, after the 9/11 attack, Islamophobia gained a lot of attention. The term refers to a fear of Islam and the perception of Muslims as a threat and was used in order to conceptualize the place of Muslims and in the Western world. (Junaid, 2007). The 9/11 attack motivated an immediate security-integration response in Denmark and, humanist ideals became less important than the need to protect the country's values and institutions (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014).

An article published on the 25th of September 2015 named *It is Muslims against Danes - it is a potential civil war*, contains an interview with the historian and political analyst Mikael Jalving. He predicts that "*It is bad but it will get worse. much worse*" (Hybel, 2015a), referring to the increasing influx of refugees. He adds that: "*I am afraid that Denmark and Western Europe will be characterized by even more tensions. There will be an ethical Danish population with a certain culture and a higher level of Muslim culture, a Muslim colony, with completely different values and norms*" (Hybel, 2015a). He further states: "*There are too many. You cannot handle it. And because they are too many, they will succeed in*

living in the diaspora. They will succeed in living in their group and it will be impossible to force them to mingle with the Danes" (Hybel, 2015a). During the past few years in Denmark, there have been many television programs and seminars on "Danishness." (Lipschutz, 1995). As previously mentioned, in a Danish context, a successful integration process is considered essential for ensuring cultural homogeneity and societal security. Denmark has increased cultural anxiety which is motivated by the feeling of losing national sovereignty, values, and identity (Grillo, 2003). In the case of the Syrian crisis, the integration concerns gained security dimensions and the rapid influx of refugees arriving in Denmark in 2015 posed a challenge for the country's integration system.

Moreover, during our data collection, we came across two articles containing interviews with the writer and journalist Claes Kastholm. Both published by Politiken on the 2nd and 4th of October respectively. The first one has the title *There is no need to doubt this, here we are talking about people from Muslim countries*. Kastholm suggests that: *"If we wish to maintain the welfare state at its current level, which is what most Danes want, then you have to say: the welfare state cannot handle what is happening. It cannot."* (Hybel, 2015b). The second article has the title *Are the refugees our Nirvana or Ragnarok?* Claes Kastholm states that: *"Here we are talking about people from the Muslim countries. It works great with people from western countries, who are not Muslims"* (Hybel, 2015c, p. 4). He further adds:

"Of Course it is worrying if there will be so many people of a radically different culture and threaten what we as Danes and northern Europeans count as valuable such as equal gender rights, democracy, and the fact that there is no religious authority over the political" (Hybel, 2015c, p. 4).

The different cultures, values, and norms that Islam represents are framed as a threat to national security. In a wider context, the presence of the Muslim populations in the country is perceived as a potential threat to the cultural homogeneity and the national identity since they are seen as culturally dissimilar. Thus, national identity for Denmark is directly linked with national vulnerability (Bondeson, 2003) in terms of political and societal security. It is a

defense of Danish cultural values against the undemocratic practices that foreign cultures and religions might advocate (Hervik, 2014). Emphasizing on the Danish values, cultural differences, and incompatibility, it entails the logic of exclusion and it constructs a national community that is against the minorities and mostly the Muslim minorities (Hervik, 2014).

According to national identity theory, the national community constructs a 'we-group' which is being presented as superior and differentiated from the 'others' (Hervik, 2014). Through the opposition to the 'cultural other' the identity is strengthened (Hervik, 2014). Thus, the Muslim minority is perceived as the 'others' who constitute a category of people that do not identify with the "we-group" (Hervik, 2014). This can be clearly illustrated by the Cartoon Controversy. The publication of the cartoons which depicted Muhammad can be an example that demonstrates the refusal of 'other's' undemocratic mindsets. In this case, after the publications of the cartoons, Muslims became redefined from a minority in Denmark to the local representatives of a global religious community and outsiders who may pose a threat to Danish or Western values (Kublitz 2010, 119). Additionally, the already mentioned series of events that took place after the controversy (the terrorist attacks, the suicide bombing, and the attempt to kill cartoonist Kurt Westergaard) created and justified the impression that Denmark and its values are under attack by Islamists and boosted, even more, the process of Securitization (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014).

To summarise the second frame of the analysis, the governmental and public reactions to the refugee crisis were triggered by the need to protect the national identity and therefore Denmark's societal security. Refugees' successful integration into society is directly linked with the protection of cultural homogeneity and social stability. Denmark's reputation was challenged by the publishing of the asylum add as well as by the policy changes that emerged during the refugee crisis. Furthermore, cultural anxiety and national vulnerability have created a situation where the cultural values that Islam represents are considered as culturally dissimilar and therefore a potential threat to the country's national identity and societal security. Motivated by the

feeling of xenophobia and islamophobia, strengthening the national identity, became the country's priority.

Frame 3: Economy

As mentioned in the first two frames of this analysis, security concerns regarding refugees were very evident in the media during the initial stages of the refugee crisis in Denmark. In this part, we want to analyze through the lenses of Securitization, whether there can be seen a framing in the sampled newspaper articles of refugees being perceived as an economic threat or as a possible economic strength. In the sampled data within the Economy frame, the economy regarding refugees was mainly referred to in terms of the Welfare state and the labour market. Therefore, the analysis in this frame will be divided into those two areas.

Welfare

Regarding the Economic Frame, it is mentioned in certain newspaper articles how the financial costs of the reception and support for the refugees is affecting the state and the different municipalities around Denmark.

An article published on the 20th of September, mentions a fundraising show called *help now!* that was supported by the news media TV2 and DR as well as by several humanitarian aid agencies (Paulsen, 2015). The fundraising, which aimed at supporting the war victims in Syria, had received a lot of criticism in the public debate. Some Danes raised critique due to the fact that money was being used to help refugees instead of supporting the vulnerable people of Danish society (Paulsen, 2015). Based on this article, one can argue that there is seen a fear that the Danish welfare system will suffer from offering humanitarian aid and supporting the Syrian refugees economically.

In another article published on September 25th, it is expressed that the financial aid that the municipalities received from the government in order to support the newly arrived refugees is insufficient (Ritzau, 2015a). This statement stems from a poll, conducted by Jyllandsposten, regarding 52 answers in several

municipalities around Denmark. 2 out of 3 participating municipalities stated that the financial aid received from the government to support the refugees, was insufficient (Ritzau, 2015a). Consequently, the municipalities would have to reduce other welfare benefits in the next few years (Ritzau, 2015a). In relation to this, a relevant article, published by Jyllandsposten on September 24th also concerns the fact that the different municipalities are facing a financial challenge on receiving refugees. Some of the refugee expenses include housing, a rise in the number of employers administering the refugees, and school support for refugee children (Johansen & Vibjerg, 2015a). Furthermore, Jyllands-Posten published the next day another article with the title *Political pressure on the government: Just pay the municipalities what it costs*. The article also illustrates the municipalities struggle to support the refugees financially. Rune Lund, a member of Enhedslisten party, suggested that: *“Many would feel anger towards the refugees or perceive their arrival negatively if there will be a reduction in the welfare services due to their arrival”* (Johansen & Vibjerg, 2015b, p.7). He further supports that the lack of financial resources will challenge the integration process of refugees and that the government needs to take precaution measures in order to ensure the societal security and stability (Johansen & Vibjerg, 2015b). When the economic interests of the citizens are being threatened, it can be argued that the citizens will develop xenophobic attitudes towards the refugees.

Labour market

Within the economy frame, interestingly, it was not repeatedly evident in the media how refugees could oppose a threat towards the population in regards to the labour market. It was even mentioned in a few articles that the refugees could have a positive impact on the labour market.

An article published on September 21st entails a debate on whether the influx of refugees will either be positive or negative (Hybel, 2015d). More precisely, the debater and journalist David Trads, stated:

“We think that it is absolutely negative if a refugee from Syria cannot participate in the labour market. Someone should look at how it affects a nation over a longer period of time. There are so many jobs that are

performed by refugees or children of refugees. The fact that the population is growing in itself is contributing to an increase in the GDP” (Hybel, 2015d).

Here it is argued that refugees can become a source of new working skills and that on a long-term period they can contribute to the country’s economy positively. Trads further states: *“In a short-term period is probably an expense. In the long-term period, it is an advantage. It can be argued that for all the countries in the world, immigration is contributing to making a country richer. That is completely inevitable”* (Hybel, 2015d). However, even though the debaters in the article are of different opinions about whether refugees are an economic burden or not, they all agree that short term refugees may pose an economic threat.

Another argument is seen from the journalist, writer, and commentator Claus Kastholm. He states in an article published on October 4th: *“The immigration - in the shape it has - will in a short time and not just longterm be a very serious threat against our economy. And this will create social tension, extremism, and a lot of xenophobia”* (Hybel, 2015e, p. 4). His stance frames refugees as a burden to the society which can thus result in developing tension and xenophobic tendencies in the host country. Within this context, it can be argued that the newly arrived people are perceived as economic and cultural threats.

Interestingly, within this frame in general, there was a fewer number of newspaper articles where refugees were framed as a threat to the national economy. The Security and Identity frame were more distinctive in the sampled data. However, it can be challenging to perceive the Economic frame as a separate parameter to the security and identity frame because political security threats and economic threats are often interlinked with each other. Therefore, this might have impacted the lack of data in this frame. It can further be argued that our chosen period of research contributed to a lack of data that connects labour market integration to refugees. More specifically, this paper collects data from the initial stages of the refugee crisis, where there was a higher focus on the immediate financial expenses of the influx of refugees, comparing to the long-term consequences of the crisis, such as labour market integration.

To summarize, during the initial stages of the refugee crisis, the municipalities were using a considerable part of the public welfare services in order to support the increasing influx of refugees. It can be stated that the national economy is often linked with social stability. Therefore, the framing of the newcomers was based on the fear that the refugees' arrival may pose a threat to societal security and the national economy. Furthermore, within this frame, there is seen a focus on refugees' influence over the labour market, involving both optimism and concerns in terms of the general economy and labour market integration respectively. However, according to the analysis of this frame, it can be argued that the refugees were framed more negatively than positively in the media discourse, regarding the economy in the initial stages of the refugee crisis in Denmark.

Frame 4: Humanitarianism

As mentioned in the previous frames, the refugee crisis gained a lot of attention and media coverage. One of the reasons behind the daily media coverage was the large and increasing influx of refugees coming to Denmark. Within a one-month period, from September to October 2015, several newspaper articles represented a debate regarding the most appropriate way to handle the crisis in order to protect the nation-state while acknowledging the humanitarian aspect of the crisis. It has been discussed in previous chapters how the refugee crisis was constructed on a political and societal level and how it was presented and framed by the Danish media. Denmark has always been pioneers of human rights and respected the international responsibility of protecting persons at great risk as well as trying to uphold the moral principles of humanitarianism (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). In this chapter, we will focus on how the humanitarian aspects of the public response on the refugees' arrival were framed by the media at that time. Furthermore, we will discuss how humanitarian and security discourses are connected.

Human Interest

Throughout the years, public opinion has been focused on the security and cultural threats that a newcomer may pose for society and for their nation. As

Social Identity Theory suggests, the society's xenophobic behaviors towards the foreigners, are motivated by the need to protect their identity when they feel that it is threatened by the refugees' social practices, culture, and values (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). Thus, the xenophobic attitude is triggered by social motives. There is seen a contrast between the interpersonal relations with the refugees and the citizen's political stances (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015). When it comes to personal and individual motives, the image might be totally different and the citizens might maintain a positive stance towards the foreigners (Sanchez-Mazas & Licata, 2015).

Despite the fact that the refugee crisis produced contradictions between the security and humanitarian discourse, occasions of supporting humanitarian positions have not been absent. On the 8th of September 2015, Jyllands-Posten published an article with the title *Locals are helping refugees with food and toys* (Ritzau, 2015b). The article depicted an optimistic image where local people were providing food and help for the refugees. Three days later, on the 11th of September 2015, the same newspaper published the article *Businesses raise money for refugees*. Instead of the contribution and support provided by individual citizens, this time the relevant article demonstrates the initiatives taken by entrepreneurs. More specifically, the Danish Refugee Council's Head of Communication and Fundraising Peter Hermann Kamph, mentioned that: "*Some businesses choose to provide a regular humanitarian donation and others to contribute with appliances or goods. The number of unsolicited approaches is definitely higher these days than we normally experience*". (Grünbaum, 2015, p. 3). As we notice from the article, there is a positive and optimistic presentation regarding the public's awareness and sensitization.

On the 12th of September, the newspaper Politiken, released an article named *30.000 are gathered in Christiansborg: "refugees are welcome here"* (Kristensen, 2015). The article illustrates the willingness of the citizens to welcome the newcomers and therefore, it can be argued that it undermines the feeling of xenophobia. In addition, an article published on the 7th of September, with the title *Thousands wants to get together to welcome refugees* (Madsen, 2015b), depicts the same framing. By emphasizing the immense number of people who

have a positive stance towards the refugees, the article highlights the solidarity among the citizens. The human interest of the public actors triggered the framing as a situation that calls for collective support and action. Furthermore, the article contains comments from citizens stating that:

“We cannot let thousands die during their attempt to reach Europe in order to search for safety, hope, and a chance to live. We cannot remain silent while our politicians and media stigmatize those people as threats and as burdens”. (...) “We cannot let our states close the borders and build walls to keep people in need out. That is not what Europe stands for” (Madsen, 2015b).

Refugees, in this case, are perceived and framed as vulnerable people in need of protection, who were forced to leave their countries and to seek safety in Europe.

From the beginning of the refugee crisis, the term humanitarianism has been widely used and challenged by both political and public actors. In the following article, it can be argued that there is seen a connection between humanitarianism and Securitization. It was found relevant to bring up the already mentioned article published on the 20th of September 2015 with regards to the fundraising show *help now!*. The fundraising show, as mentioned in Frame 3, aimed to collect money for the victims of the war in Syria (Paulsen, 2015). This intention can be discussed and analyzed from a Securitization perspective. It can be argued that the fundraising show was a measure to protect the nation’s security. In more detail, by sending money and helping the war victims in Syria, they would prevent an even more immense amount of refugees fleeing and seeking asylum in Europe. In this case, it is illustrated that the actors are trying to find a balance between humanitarianism and national security. The fundraising can thus be viewed as a preventative measure as well as humanitarian aid.

It can thus be concluded that the influx of the Syrian refugees who entered Denmark at the beginning of the refugee crisis constructed an environment where the issue of refugee protection became a very controversial and

contradictory topic in media as well as in public and political circles. Despite the fact that the humanitarian aspects of the crisis were not so prominent in the media, the public's human interest was supported and framed positively. However, it can be argued that Denmark's economic support towards the war victims in Syria can also be considered as a tool for boosting the Securitization process in order to prevent further increase in the number of Syrians fleeing their country.

Conclusion

This project has explored how the arrival of the Syrian refugees in Denmark was framed in the Danish media during the refugee crisis in 2015, and what influenced this framing. The conclusion is based on the analysis of our empirical data and theoretical as well as contextual background. Through an operationalization of the Securitization theory, we selected certain newspaper articles, from the Danish newspapers: BT, Ekstra Bladet, Jyllands-Posten, and Politiken, which were published from September 5th to October 5th, 2015. Out of 1252 results, 45 articles were being collected and divided within each frame. In frame 1 we collected 15 articles. In frame 2, were collected 17 articles. In frame 3, were collected 8 articles and in frame 4, were collected 5 articles. By conducting a framing and discourse analysis, this research seeks to explore how national identity and security are perceived and related to Denmark's response. Furthermore, how the government and the public reacted to the arrival of the Syrian refugees and the reasons behind. The words and phrases that are being used in the media discourse in regards to the refugees' arrival, framed a turbulent and uncontrollable situation. Moreover, there was seen a consistency among the different actor's statements in the sampled media material that links refugees as possible security threats.

In the Security frame, it was evident that the refugees' arrival was framed as a cautionary situation that could be an existential threat to national political security. It can be argued that the government applied restrictions on the asylum system as securitization measures to the increasing influx of refugees arriving in Denmark. There was seen a connection between the credibility of the refugees

who entered the country and the security concerns. In more detail, the registration chaos at the Danish borders during the increasing influx of refugees boosted the securitization process due to the raised security concerns regarding potential 'fake refugees' entering the country. Thus, as a securitization move, the country performed screening procedures for refugees with a certain age, gender, and nationality. Moreover, it is argued that the government's 'scare-campaign' can be considered as a strategy of 'warning' refugees and reducing the influx of asylum seekers in Denmark.

Regarding the Identity frame, through our sampled data, it is noticed that the framing of the Danish response to the Syrian crisis was influenced by the aim to protect the country's culture under the threat of newcomers who were unfamiliar with the Danish values and may challenge it. Therefore, the public and political discourse considered refugees' successful integration as essential for protecting national identity and societal security. The government's policy reactions to the refugee crisis resulted in constructing an unwelcome environment for asylum seekers. Cultural anxiety and national vulnerability were illustrated by the immediate policy reaction as well as by the consideration of Islam as culturally dissimilar and therefore a potential threat to the country's cultural homogeneity and social stability. Motivated by the feeling of xenophobia and islamophobia, the governmental and public response, as well as the media's framing emphasized the importance of national identity.

Regarding the Economy frame, it was demonstrated that there was seen a connection between the economy and security. It can be concluded that the financial expenses that the arrival of the refugees caused were framed as a possible threat to the welfare state and thus the national economy. However, it was found interesting that there was not a considerable number of newspaper articles where refugees were framed as a threat to the national economy. This can be explained by the fact that political security and economic threat are often interlinked. In the empirical data, the security and identity frame have the most distinctive link between refugees' arrival and national security.

Lastly, regarding the Humanitarianism frame, it can be concluded that the Syrian refugee crisis in Denmark initiated an environment where the issue of refugee protection became a very controversial and contradictory topic in media as well as in a public and political level. Even though the humanitarian discourse was not so prominent in the media, the public's human interest and compassion towards the newcomers were framed positively. Thus, it became evident that the humanitarianism fluctuated between humanitarian compassion and securitization.

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