Who are these 'refugees'?

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Abstract
This study aims at investigating how refugees are discursively represented in twelve articles written by the Danish online newspaper 'Den Korte Avis'. The main question aimed at answering being “Which power relations are established discursively by how refugees are positioned, represented and potentially subjected to stereotypical representations through discourses in the articles and what are the potential consequences of these representations?” The research applies a social constructivist approach to answer the main question and the research questions.

The study has been conducted using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for critical discourse analysis (CDA), which has provided theory and methods for critically analysing media texts. Beyond that, Stuart Hall’s perception of representation has been used to provide the research with a clear theoretical background for understanding how representations work, both in production and consumption. Moreover, Hall’s paper “The Spectacle of ‘the other’” has been used to dig deeper into the representation of other cultures or minority groups of society. Within this, Hall's notions on stereotyping through representations have been used in analysis of the news articles.

The research found four predominant discourses about refugees, which all exclusively represented them negatively. In the articles, refugees are represented as a cultural or terror threat, an economic burden and as migrants. Within these discourses, refugees are often subjected to stereotypical representations. Similar for all four discourses was the fact that they drew on an understanding of Denmark being under threat from the refugees and the asylum influx, and that border control would be a way of countering this threat. It is, thereof, concluded that 'Den Korte Avis' carry a nationalist bias in their articles. It is, moreover, concluded that 'Den Korte Avis', in their coverage of refugees, reproduce unequal power relations between the Danes and the refugees, as a clear scenario of 'us versus them' is established frequently, wherein refugees are positioned as not being able to fit into Danish society because they are 'too different'. Thereby, a cultural hegemony is also established in the articles. It is argued in this thesis that the mainly negative representations of refugees in the news media, could have consequences both culturally/societally and politically, some of which we may be seeing already.

Key words: refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, representation, discourse, media, stereotype, media analysis
Table of content

Introduction ...................................................................................................................4
Problem Area ..................................................................................................................6
Context ............................................................................................................................7
Theory ..............................................................................................................................8
    Critical Discourse Analysis .......................................................................................8
        Text ..........................................................................................................................11
        Discourse practice .................................................................................................12
        Social practice .........................................................................................................13
    Representations, power relations and hegemony .......................................................14
        The work of representations ..................................................................................14
        The spectacle of the ‘other’ .....................................................................................15
Existing research ............................................................................................................17
Method and data collection ............................................................................................20
    Critical Discourse Analysis .......................................................................................20
    Data collection - articles ............................................................................................21
Analysis ..........................................................................................................................24
    Refugees as a threat to Denmark ...............................................................................24
    Refugees as a cultural threat (see appendix 1) .........................................................24
    Refugees as a terror threat (see appendix 2) .............................................................29
    Refugees as an economic burden (see appendix 3) ..................................................32
    Refugees as migrants (see appendix 4) .....................................................................35
Discussion .......................................................................................................................38
    Cultural consequences ...............................................................................................38
    Political consequences ...............................................................................................39
Conclusion .......................................................................................................................42
Bibliography ..................................................................................................................44
Appendices .....................................................................................................................49
Introduction

We currently live in a world where the number of refugees fleeing from war and instability has hit an all-time high with almost 60 million people being on the run in 2014 (The UN Refugee Agency, 2015). Most refugees come from Syria, where several million people have been forced to flee their home since the beginning of the uprising against the dictatorship in 2011. In 2015, 1,2 million refugees came to Europe (Clante Bendixen, 2016), among those 21,225 applied for asylum in Denmark (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet, 2016:5).

The large number of refugees has resulted in a massive humanitarian crisis, which has put pressure on migration processes and political decision makers in Europe. It has also impacted the media as the crisis has led to a multitude of heated debates about how to solve the crisis, whereby political oppositions have been clearly outlined. Via this saturation of refugee-related content in the news media, we, the consumers, are constantly subjected to stories that represents refugees in certain ways. Therefore, it is important for academic research to investigate how news media represent, subject and position refugees. This thesis will thus contain a critical discourse analysis of the Danish newspaper 'Den Korte Avis'. The reason for choosing this particular newspaper is that it has been heavily criticised for producing articles with claims but no references, and for having an obvious political bias (Lavrsen and Vibjerg, 2014). Despite this, their number of readers has increased just as their government-given media support has, which makes it an interesting case.

So the main question is:
Which power relations are established discursively by how refugees are positioned, represented and potentially subjected to stereotypical representations through discourses in the twelve articles and what are the potential consequences of these representations?

The research questions are:

- “How are refugees represented textually in the articles?”
- “How are refugees represented in relation to the Danes and Danish society?”
- “Which discourses are drawn on in the construction of representations of refugees in ‘Den Korte Avis’?”
- “Which power relations or hegemonies are established on the basis of these discourses?”
- “What are the potential consequences of the representations of refugees in ‘Den Korte Avis’?”
In order to answer these questions, this thesis make use of Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis and its three-dimensional framework. This will provide the research with theory and tools for analysing the articles textually and for understanding namely the production of media texts, and moreover theory for understanding how discourses can affect the world we live in.

This thesis will also use the theory of representations as proposed by Stuart Hall. By using Hall’s perception of representation, the thesis will have a clear theoretical background for understanding how representations work both in production and consumption. Beyond that, I will use Hall’s paper “The Spectacle of ‘the other’” to dig deeper into the representation of other cultures or minority groups of society. Within this, I will include his notions on stereotyping through representations.

The empirical data will be collected with a focus on how refugees are represented in connection with the implementation of border control in Denmark.
**Problem Area**
As mentioned above, this thesis aims at illuminating how refugees are represented, subjected and positioned in the news media. Although, the research will “only” consist of one newspaper, the aim is that it will present results that, when combined with other studies, will provide valuable knowledge about how news media discourses construct 'refugees' and how the representations position them in relation to Danish society, and lastly how the representations may have consequences, both culturally and politically.

The reason for, and importance of, investigating this subject matter, should be found in the fact that it is contemporary – it is happening right now. The news media, is heavily saturated with reports, opinions and debates about refugees, the asylum influx and the European refugee crisis, which means that we, as consumers, are daily subjected to representations of refugees, which are arguably affecting our way of understanding the situation as a whole. Therefore, it is important that academia strive to investigate these contemporary events, while they are contemporary, rather than investigating them in 5 years.

It is my hope that this thesis, along with hopefully much more research on the matter, can shed light on how refugees are represented in the media, how they are discursively positioned in relation to European (in this case Danish) society and culture, and what the consequences of the media representations may be. The study will hopefully provide knowledge usable for both, social sciences, media studies and cultural studies, as it aims at investigating representations in the news media and the potential cultural and political consequences.
**Context**

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis will analyse twelve articles from 'Den Korte Avis', because of that I feel it is important to provide some basic information about the newspaper. 'Den Korte Avis' was founded in January 2012 by Ralf Pittelkow and Karen Jespersen ("Om os, Den Korte Avis", 2016). 'Den Korte Avis' describes itself as containing “clear, firm and crucial news, analyses and opinions. It provides overview with few words.” ("Google", 2016) (see highlighted in red below)

![Fig. 1 – Den Korte Avis description](image)

As mentioned in the introduction, the newspaper has received heavy criticism for refusing to sign up for The Press Council, which is an “an independent, public tribunal which deals with complaints about the mass media.” ("Information in English", 2016). This means that they do not necessarily follow ethical rules of journalism, something that has lead to criticism from the The Danish Union of Journalists (Marckmann Andreasen, 2015). Beyond that, they have been accused of copying other newspapers' articles more or less word-for-word, which led to a trial, where they were found guilty and had to pay for their use of these articles (Lavrsen and Vibjerg, 2014). Despite this their government-given media support has risen since the start in 2012, just like their reader base has increased significatly. Moreover, they have had great success in starting debates online and on social media with their articles.

These are important things to know before reading this thesis. It should be mentioned that I have only included crucial information so that the reader can understand the media being researched in this paper. I also believe that it will provide good background knowledge in terms of analysing their
discourse practice later on in this thesis. The information brought forth here is, moreover, one of the reasons why I found 'Den Korte Avis' interesting to research for this thesis.

Theory

Critical Discourse Analysis
In wanting to research representations of refugees in articles by ‘Den Korte Avis’, I have chosen to use the theory and method of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) by Norman Fairclough. This chapter will contain an overall theoretical assessment of what CDA entails, a detailed description of its three-dimensional theoretical framework and moreover how I will apply for this research.

Theoretical perspectives of Critical Discourse Analysis
CDA by Norman Fairclough is widely used as a theory and method for researching how discourses are impacting change in our social and cultural world, and vice versa (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:60). CDA understands discourse as being in a dialectic relationship with non-discursive social dimensions, thereby believing that discourse is not only reflecting social structures, it also contributes to shaping and reshaping these social structures (Ibid:61). According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), the main aim of discourse analysis “is to shed light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change in late modernity.” (Ibid:61).

Change is a key feature of CDA, as Fairclough believes that discourse analysis of media language “should be recognized as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change” (Fairclough, 1995:2). CDA, therefore, is not only a theory for understanding words, sentences and patterns from a linguistic point-of-view, it also provides theoretical framework and questions for understanding the changes in society that discourse is part of. Thus CDA is not only confined to being a communication theory or linguistic theory. Instead it provides scholars with an opportunity to put their linguistic, communication or media research into a larger societal and cultural frame, by seeing discourse as something greater than just language.

Discourses are co-creating entities of society that help to preserve or challenge already established assumptions of the world. This means that within any CDA there must be an aspect of trying to figure out what the point of the text is, why was it constructed and to what degree does it boast a change in society and culture. With that said, it is important to understand that discourse is in a dialectic relationship with non-discursive dimensions, meaning discourses within media texts can be researched, as mentioned above, in regards to change, but can also be researched by how change in
non-discursive dimensions have worked to change discourses. So, discourses can boast change, but change in non-discursive dimensions can also boast change in discourse.

Within the questions of change, implicitly lies questions of power relations and ideology, which are also of great importance. The research and analysis of potential power relations in media text is one that relies heavily on the dialectic approach of CDA, but more specifically the dialectic relationship between discourse and power (Fairclough, 2010:6). This means that the research of power cannot be done solely based on theories of discourse, or vice versa. Therefore, the analyst needs to bring in theories of power relations in media texts, which for this thesis will be Stuart Hall’s notions of representation and stereotyping in order to investigate how these can be used in maintaining, constituting or challenging power relations. This is in order for CDA to analyse power relations, by not only applying linguistic or language theory, but also political, cultural or social science theories of power. I will investigate power relations located within discourses concerning refugees by investigating how certain representations establish a power relation and how these potentially work to maintain or empower an unequal power relation.

Fairclough believes that in any proper CDA there needs to be a focus on establishing the ideological relevance in how the particular media text identifies and represents the subject(matter) (Fairclough, 1995:12). In this case that would be how ‘Den Korte Avis’ is textually subjecting refugees to a certain portrayal; whose representation is it and what are the potential effects (positive/negative) for the refugees. Thereby, the analyst can learn to understand who benefits from this representation and how it impacts the reader’s perception of the subject and thereby where it positions itself ideologically. It is important that the analyst understands how discourses are created, but even more so, how the discourses help to constitute, challenge or empower certain ideological power relations. However, it is important to note that ideology in Fairclough’s terminology is not necessarily liberalism, socialism or other political ideologies. He understands ideology as “meaning in the service of power” (Ibid:14), meaning that he understands ideology as utterings in media texts that help to protect a certain unequal power relation or hegemony. Beyond that, Fairclough (1995) argues that ideologies contribute to producing or reproducing unequal power relations and that these contributions are sometimes implicit. Therefore, it is important that the analyst tries to understand how certain words, phrases and aspects chosen to highlight in media texts help to build certain unequal power relations by potentially reproducing certain ideological hegemonies. In researching ideology, the researcher may focus heavily on pictures or word choices, but it is also important to investigate the perspectives of the media texts in general, for example, when a government has chosen to use less money on government health care and decrease business taxation, newspapers
can angle it differently, e.g. “Government cutbacks on health care could cost you your life” versus “Less taxation will bring jobs and fortune.”. The background or historical context is the same, but the angle and perspective is different and shows a great deal of ideology within the media text, which works to produce or reproduce power relations on the basis of ideology.

A key feature of CDA is hegemony. Fairclough advocates for a Gramscian definition of the term, as its structure correlates with the dialectical structure of CDA. “Hegemony is leadership as well as domination across economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society.” (Fairclough, 2010:61), Fairclough argues that although hegemony can be seen as a power relation, within the domains mentioned above, hegemony is never complete or static. Hegemony is, according to Fairclough, about winning the consent of other groups, thereby building alliances, rather than “simply dominating subordinate groups” (Ibid:61). Hegemony is researched through what Fairclough calls *intertextuality*. This is analysis of discourse practice, which is the production and consumption of media text. This will be elaborated below under ‘discourse practice’.

Another aspect of CDA is truth, which can easily seem an important factor to include as we research ideology in discourse. However, Fairclough (1995) argues that despite the fact that we, as researchers, are trying to determine which discourses are at play, how they work and which ideological agenda they suit, we should refer from investigating whether or not there is truth to these discourses (Fairclough, 1995:15). So, although one finds a clear ideology within discourses in a media text, one should not spent time on judging its truth or falsity, rather researchers should investigate the potential effects on social practice. Fairclough (1995) does however believe that CDA, especially on the basis of its *critical* nature, cannot be indifferent to questions of truth. He mentions that in analysing media texts, the researcher should be aware of facts or opinions having been left out of the text or “a matter of ideological presupposition”. For example, if a text presupposes that women are less intelligent than men or black people than white people” (Ibid:15). Therefore, truth is only a concern for researchers if it is presuppositions or if an article is clearly leaving out facts on the basis of wanting to facilitate a certain ideological hegemony.

When using Fairclough’s theory of CDA, we are presented with a three dimensional framework that involves *Text, Discourse practice* and *Social practice* (See figure 2 below). As mentioned above, CDA provides the researcher with methods and theory for connecting linguistic research with broader cultural research in trying to establish how discourse influences our social practice, and
vice versa. I will now go through each of the three dimensions and explain how Fairclough (1995) and Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) understand these and how I aim at using them in this thesis.

Fig. 2 - Framework for critical discourse analysis

**Text**

As shown in figure 2 above, text is at the center of CDA. Fairclough does however call the analysis of text for linguistic analysis. Fairclough (1995) understands linguistic analysis within CDA as an analysis of “vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units, (...) and the writing system.” (Fairclough, 1995:57). For this thesis, I shall especially look at how different word choice can create a different identity and representation of refugees. For example, the words ‘refugee’, ‘migrant’ or ‘asylum seeker’ entail very different understandings and representations of who the people coming to Denmark are, which may show signs of hegemony in the discourse. I will also be looking at the modalities of the texts, which can be described as the commitment that the writer puts into his/her statements (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:84). This means that I will look into the certainty of utterings, both from the journalist and in potential quotes used in the articles. This can be seen in wordings, such as: ‘it is evident’ or via single words e.g. ‘clearly’ or ‘obviously’. By using these words the journalist or interviewee can make utterances seem common sense and can moreover show that he/she is absolutely sure that it is the “truth”. Another interesting feature in linguistic analysis is Transitivity, which is the research of how the writer positions him/herself in relation to events or processes (Ibid:83). For example, in the sentence ‘Syrian
refugees drown in the Mediterranean’, the sentences do not include any sort of explanation of why this is, who was at fault or even who is to blame. “The interest lies in investigating the ideological consequences that different forms can have.” (Ibid:83). By constructing sentences this way, no responsible agent is presented and the fact that refugees have drowned is presented as something completely natural (Ibid:83).

Fairclough (1995) adds that linguistic analysis also looks at a larger scale as it involves investigating the cohesion of sentences and the general structure of news articles. Fairclough believes that analysing linguistics should provide the analyst with information as to representations and ideologies, writer and reader identities and lastly what the relationship is between writer and reader (Fairclough, 1995:58). Fairclough (1995) is not only interested in the details of language, but also aims at understanding what is said more implicitly e.g. via choice of words or how certain sentences can construct certain identities and relationships for the writer and reader.

**Discourse practice**

Discourse practice concerns multiple aspects of production and consumption of media texts. Fairclough argues that discourse practice is mediating between the textual and the social and cultural as it links text to larger societal tendencies (Ibid:60). He mentions two processes worth looking into when analysing discourse practice. In terms of production it can mean looking at how editorial procedures in producing news texts (institutional processes) or the process of the transformation which texts undergo in production and consumption (discourse processes) (Ibid:59). An important aspect of analysing discourse practice is the aspect of order of discourse which relates to the different discourses and genres within a social institution or social field (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:67). For this thesis this means the different genres within a newspaper e.g. news article, editorial or feature article, and the different discourses within these genres. It should be mentioned that an editorial can as a genre embody the discourse of other genres, which is why the order of discourse is immensely heterogenic.

Another aspect is *communicative event* - “an instance of language use such as a newspaper article (...).” (ibid:67). The relationship between order of discourse and communicative event is dialectic which means that communicative events does not only reproduce the order of discourse, it can also change it by using creative language (Ibid:71). In analysing how the communicative event draws on the discourse order, Fairclough (1995) sees two possibilities, either it is done normatively or creatively (Fairclough, 1995:60).
This means that in reporting about refugees, a journalist can either draw on already well-established discourse order within news media (normative), which would constitute the order or discourse within the newspaper media, or he/she can be creative, drawing on discourses from other discourse orders in writing the article and in the overall news coverage. Fairclough uses documentaries as an example of how a creative mixture of discourse has helped facilitate documentaries being about not only informing, but also persuading and entertaining the audience (Ibid:60).

When investigating discourse practice it is essential to understand how the linguistic analysis connects with discourse practice, which is why Fairclough (1995) emphasizes the need for the researcher to do intertextual analysis, involving questions into the text, such as what genres and discourses are drawn on in the text. These questions work to find the “traces of the discourse practice in the text.” (Ibid:61). In the example of documentaries - how do we see actual mixtures of information, persuasion and entertainment? (Ibid:61). To answer that question, the researcher needs to analyse the text, while understanding the order of discourse, thereby learning if the discourse practice is normative or creative. The fact that media texts draw on metaphors can also be seen as intertextuality, e.g. when the media declare war on drugs (Ibid:71). It may not be a real war, but it draws on discourse of war and warfare and the seriousness connected with that. Beyond that, it helps to “marginalize other constructions from the perspective of oppositional groups.” (Ibid:72), this means that within intertextuality, hegemony and ideology is also found.

Social practice
When analysing social practice, it means putting the linguistic and discourse practice results into a larger cultural and societal frame. How do the findings relate to what is happening in the world around the discourses? In the case of this thesis, it involves understanding how identities and representations made by the media towards refugees influences readers’ understanding of the refugees, immigration and potentially other cultures per se. Here, analysis is aimed at trying to understand the bigger picture of why a text carries certain discourses and how these discourses affect the world around us. Therefore, for the analysis of this dimension to be successful, it is important that the analyst brings cultural- or social science theories in to assist in understanding how discourse can change society and vice versa. Fairclough (1995) mentions three aspects that enter into sociocultural practice; economic, political and cultural (Ibid:62). For this thesis, I will mainly look into political and cultural as it involves understanding power relations and hegemony.

Lastly, it should be noted that Fairclough (1995) does not believe that any CDA of media texts should necessarily contain an equal amount of analysis of all three dimensions (Ibid:62). I will
mainly focus on linguistic and sociocultural analysis, but will include some aspects of discourse practice in order to connect the two. Had I for example chosen to interview people about their reception of the articles from ‘Den Korte Avis’, I would have focused more on discursive practice, as that would have allowed me to understand the consumption of the discourses in the articles.

**Representations, power relations and hegemony**

As mentioned above, the researcher needs to include social or cultural theory in the dimension of sociocultural practice in order for the discourse analysis to be complete. I have chosen to include two chapters from the book “Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices”, these are Stuart Hall’s (1997) works “The work of representations” and “The spectacle of the ‘other’”.

**The work of representations**

Representation is central to the process of how we make meaning of utterings or texts (Hall, 1997:1). The reason for this is that when we speak, we draw upon different representations that we find beneficial for the understanding of our message. This means that in order for our message to be heard, we must use representations that the receiver will understand. Therefore, it can be argued that representations are different depending on the culture they are formed within. Hall (1997) defines culture as a place where the people of that culture interpret the world in roughly the same way (Ibid:2). This is interesting as it correlates well with the ideas of Fairclough, in the sense that they see language, meaning, discourse and culture as being in a dialectic relationship. Understanding either discourse or representations is not only about the production or consumption, it is about both and how the *process* of production and consumption takes place.

Hall’s main point about representation is that it is through our verbalisation that we make it into something; by representing a house in a specific way, we represent it as a home, or by talking about a stone in a specific way, it can be represented as a rock, a sculpture or something else (Ibid:3).

Hall (1997) divides research of representation into two categories: semiotic and discourse. I will for this thesis not get into the theoretical aspects and history of semiotic research, as I do not aim at using it. Instead, I will bring forward some of the points on history and power that Hall (1997) mentions, although he mentions them in relation to Foucault’s notion of discourse, not Fairclough’s. One of the main points of Foucault’s perception of representation research through discourse, is that discourses are heavily *historicized* (Ibid:46). Foucault believed that in order to understand the representations of a discourse, one needs to understand the historical background of that discourse, a view that I would argue is shared with Fairclough. Thus, it is deemed necessary to understand
why a representation functions as it does, not only ideologically, but also in a historical context. Foucault, moreover, argued that “knowledge is always a form of power” (Ibid:48). Foucault believed that power was always implicated in the questions of how, when and why knowledge should be applied or not (Ibid:48). This meant that just like Fairclough, Foucault was more interested in the application of knowledge and power in production or reproduction of discourses, rather than the aspect of truth to these discourses. “All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has real effects, and in that sense at least, ‘becomes true’” (Ibid:49), which means that both Foucault and Fairclough focus more on the aspect of effects, rather than the aspect of truth.

Another important aspect, although not Foucault’s, is the aspect of hegemony. In his book Representation, Hall (1997) brings up the Italian theorist, Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci, influenced by Marx, believed that “particular social groups struggle in many different ways, including ideologically, to win consent of other groups and achieve a kind of ascendancy in both thought and practice over them” (Ibid:48). This is the basis of hegemony and the understanding that this thesis will apply. Gramsci refused Marx’s class reductionism, which he found to reduce any power struggle in society to a struggle between classes. Gramsci, furthermore, argued that hegemony is never permanent and is not reducible to economic interest.

The spectacle of the ‘other’
The chapter ‘The spectacle of the ‘other’” focuses on how understanding of representation in visual and text has a huge impact on how we understand our surroundings, e.g. historical, cultural and societal. Hall (1997) argues that meaning is dependent on how an individual reads the representations of a text, therefore meaning can never be fixed (Ibid:228). This idea is similar to CDA as it lies within a social constructivist approach, whereby our understanding of media texts, representations, etc. is dependent on how we understand our society and culture. Hall (1997) argues that “two discourses - the discourse of written language and the discourse of photography - are required to produce and ‘fix’ the meaning.” (Ibid:228). This means that although the interpretation cannot be fixed, the meaning can be fixed, often using words. The caption of an image is therefore important to critically understand in order to understand the discourse of the image, and what its preferred meaning is.

In the chapter, Hall (1997) argues that difference is very important in representation, naming four theoretical explanations for why this is; linguistic, language, anthropological and psychoanalytical. I will focus on anthropological as it puts emphasis on culture and therefore will fit best into my
research. Furthermore, it involves a dialectic view on how culture defines our way of understanding representation and vice versa. The explanation claims that “culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. The marking of ‘difference’ is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture” (Ibid:236). These classificatory systems means dividing things into different categories, e.g. ‘food’ is divided into ‘vegetables’, ‘meats’, ‘starter’, ‘dessert’, etc. This way “social groups impose meaning on their world by ordering and organizing thing” (Ibid:236). The main problem with these organized groups arrives once something does not fit into a group, such as “mixed-race mulattoes who are neither ‘white’ nor ‘black’ but float ambiguously in some unstable, dangerous, hybrid zone of indeterminacy in-between.” (Ibid:236).

*Stereotyping* is one of the most interesting aspects of representation and difference. Hall (1997) argues that a stereotype is about focusing on a few traits about a person or group, via representation reduce that person to only those traits, “exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to eternity.” (Ibid:258). This process means that the stereotype is reduced to something ‘different’ that is fixed and naturalized. Stereotyping often works to split a society into the ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’, based on how they live their life in that society. It is argued in the chapter that stereotyping, therefore, works to maintain a social and symbolic order in society (Ibid:258).

Hall (1997) argues that the likelihood of stereotyping rises according to that of gross inequalities of power (Ibid:258), which seems to suggest that there could be ideological reasons for why this is. The argument in the books is that power seems to mean that one culture’s norms are applied to other cultures. This works to create a sort of binary opposition of *Us/Them* in culture. From this it is evident that the phenomenon of stereotypes is a struggle for both Gramsci’s idea of hegemony and Foucault's idea of power/knowledge. This means that stereotypes should be seen as a way for the powerful to maintain monopoly on how society should be on the basis of their perceptions of ideology, world view and morals.
Existing research

My review of existing research concerning my topic for this thesis shall be included as a way of understanding my results in the analysis in a broader sense and, moreover, as a part of the sociocultural dimension of Fairclough’s framework. The reason for this is that the sociocultural dimension, as mentioned above, is intended as a way of putting one’s research into a broader sociocultural context, which is why it will be of importance to relate my research to that of other similar researches. The fact that I have chosen to investigate how refugees are represented in ‘Den Korte Avis’ means that I will mainly include studies of representation of ethnic groups in the media. I have excluded studies that only revolve around either representation or the media.

The first study I found interesting and useful was a study conducted by students of Roskilde University, Denmark. The study sought to investigate how Danish media has reported about syrian refugees. The study uses Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse model to investigate how four Danish newspapers use the categories ‘the Danish’ and ‘the Syrian refugee’ (Dyjak et al., 2015). For analysis, six articles have been selected. The study found that the media’s representation of refugees was mainly negative, only when they were referred to as potential work labour, would the discourse surrounding ‘Syrian refugee’ be somewhat positive. The research shows that the main discourse of Syrian refugees is an economic one, meaning that potential profitability, spendings versus investments is the dominant discourse when the media write about the refugees (Ibid:44). Lastly, the study found a clear hegemony in the discourses, especially when the articles talked about the Syrians in relation to the Danish people or society. A very obvious discourse of how Syrians were dependent on the Danish was constructed, which constructed a clear power relation between the Syrian and the Danish. The study is useful for this thesis, as this thesis could be seen as a more in-depth look at how one newspaper produces or reproduces meaning/discourses of refugees, rather than focusing on a bigger picture of the Danish media. I do believe that the study of Dyjak et al. (2015) carries some interesting aspects, but overall it lacks depth. The analysis of just six articles is not enough to say anything conclusive about the Danish media, or even enough to compare the newspapers to each other. Therefore, I see this thesis as a way of testing out some of the aspects presented in Dyjak et al.’s study in order to dig deeper, and moreover focus more on the aspects of power and hegemony.

The second study that I have chosen to highlight is a study by van Dijk (1995). A discourse approach is once again used in order to understand the power of the news media, more specifically
the press, in affecting our opinions and perceptions of the world. The study focuses greatly on the power of the media, which is something that this thesis is also going to do. Many of the aspects reflected on in the paper are similar to those of either Fairclough (1995) or Hall (1997), such as preferred meaning, something that he chooses to call models. Models are understandings of certain events, so when journalists report about an event, they are drawing on their model (opinion/discourse) of that event, which in turn impacts and affects the readers to potentially change or reproduce their perception of that event (van Dijk, 1995:14). An interesting observation that is still relevant despite the date of the study, is that of: “Refugees, who used to be pitied within the old framework of humanitarian paternalism as long as there were few, are now barred from entering the country and being called “economic refugees” (Ibid:19). van Dijk goes further to say that “economic refugee” is simply a code for “fakes”, which suggests a struggle of ideological power in the media picture. The study argues that cultural differences in language, habits, religion and so on, is the basis for most news stories on why integration has failed or lack of success in school, jobs or businesses (Ibid:19). Van Dijk (1995) suggests that stereotypical representations of, especially muslim men, are very common in the press as well. Van Dijk (1995) argues that we are being subjected to the same, heavily biased model of events again and again, and that this is bound to impact our perception of the world, “Any topic that might contribute to a nonstereotypical (let alone a positive) attitude schema about a minority group is carefully avoided, if not censored.” (Ibid:20). Van Dijk’s text has illuminated some aspects of how representation functions in the news media, which I hope will be beneficial for my analysis into the representation of Syrian refugees.

A study done by Martin Portin (2014) researches how representations of refugees and asylum seekers differ in traditional print media compared to stories and poems written by refugees and asylum seekers themselves. Thus, the research investigates the potential differences of representation and self-representation. The study uses Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse and semiotic analysis. It found that although some representations are present in both print media and in the stories or poems written by refugees and asylum seekers, there are also some big deviations. It is concluded in the study that the print media mainly rely on representations of refugees and asylum seekers by connecting them with the nodal points of “threat”, “genuineness” and “utility” (Portin, 2014:42). It is argued in the study that the representations in the stories and poems done by refugees and asylum seekers, are creating a bigger depth in terms of the conception of refugees and asylum seekers, which means that the poems and stories provide a more individualised representation of these people. Sadly, the study do not go very much into depth as to what this means in relation to countering a one-sided or media-defined discourse concerning refugees.
The last research, I will bring in is a study done by Richard Willem van Schaik (2016). The study sets out, ambitiously, to analyse the visual representation of refugees in 1180 front pages of European newspaper (van Schaik, 2016:2). The study take on a social constructivist approach and view of the world, much like this thesis. The study aims at understanding how the criticism aimed at communication for development (ComDev) can be used to critically investigate the representation of refugees in newspapers. It is argued in the paper that “in the mid-seventies, critics “began attacking the traditional ‘starving child’ appeals used by Oxfam and similar charities”, as these images are said to perpetuate “a patronizing, offensive and misleading view of the developing world” (Ibid:6). It can be argued that the entire paper is in general a critical assessment of the news coverage of refugees, centered around front pages of newspapers. In doing so, van Schaik (2016) is using a theoretical understanding of communication for development, theory of agenda-setting, theory of framing and lastly the cultural theory of “The spectacle of ‘the other’”, which is also used in this thesis. It is concluded from the research that the refugees are often portrayed in large groups, which means that the media representation of refugees pay little attention to to refugees’ individuality. Interestingly, the research also concludes that showing refugees with smartphones, breaks the spectacle of ‘the other’, as it positions refugees alongside us, and thereby represents refugees as someone who do not need our help (Ibid:58). This research is looking at how newspapers are representing refugees visually on their front pages, whereas my thesis will focus on the representation of refugees textually in news articles. It can be argued that van Schaik’s thesis aims at investigating the same subject matter as I; the representation of refugees. However, the aim, methods and theories are completely different, but hopefully they can complement each other in providing new information and knowledge to the field of discourse, representations, ComDev and media studies.
Method and data collection
This chapter will clarify how I have used CDA as a method for this thesis. Moreover, the chapter will illuminate some of my thoughts concerning data collection, such as on which basis the articles were selected on and what I have done to minimize the risk of bias/subjectivity in this selection.

Critical Discourse Analysis
CDA is not only a theoretical framework, Fairclough (1995) also included a methodological framework for the whole research process, some of which I will go through here. Fairclough’s steps are:
Choice of research problem → Formulation of research questions → Choice of material → Transcription → Analysis → Results.

I will only go through the two first steps here. The part about choice of material can be found further down under ‘Data collection’. Transcription will not be described, as I have not used it for this thesis. Analysis will not be mentioned here neither, as it has already been thoroughly explained under ‘Theory’.

First step is to choose a research problem. The important thing when doing CDA is that the research “contributes to the rectification of injustice and inequality in society.” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:77). Therefore the research questions should be aimed at societal problems in order to understand, challenge and help solve these problems. The research problem can either be identified by individuals or a social group who, in some way, are vocal about inequalities or unmet needs (Ibid:77), or from the researcher himself. For this thesis, it has been a mix of both, as I, the researcher, have found representation of refugees in the news media very exciting, but also very one-sided. At the same time I have also read critical articles about the conduct and claims of political bias of ‘Den korte avis’, which I therefore decided would be of societal importance to research, and furthermore a chance to merge two of my interests.

Next step involves formulating research questions. According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), the research questions should draw on the disciplines used to investigate the social practice dimension (Ibid:78). The reason for doing so, is that it highlights the notion that discourse practice is in a dialectic relationship with discourses and social practice, and highlight the necessity for CDA to be interdisciplinary (Ibid:78).
The last step I will mention is results. Here, Fairclough argues that the researcher should be aware of potential ethical issues of his/her research. This could entail what Fairclough calls “‘Technologisation of discourse’ (1992b: 221f.), whereby discourse research is employed to alter discursive practices and also to train people to use new forms of discursive practice, for example, to train managers of businesses.” (Ibid:88). Although, this potential change of discourse practice could be seen as a good consequence of the research, it can also enable subjects to find new ways of using discourse practice, ways that may not balance the unequal power relations researched. Fairclough argues that discourse analysis also entails a desire of wanting to further democratise the world. Because of this, he stresses the need for the research to be “accessible to the people on which the research has focused” (Ibid:88). For this research, it may be appropriate to think about how this research can become available to either refugees themselves, or at least to them via asylum centres or other organizations who have direct contact with refugees.

Another ethical consideration could be that I, as a scholar, is in a completely different position than those I research; refugees. This means that there could be a need for thinking about my own position, in analysing the representations of a minority, that I am not a part of, in the news media. This means that there is a danger that these studies, in a sense, become a repeat of ‘the white man observing the tribesmen’, without actually understanding the position and situation of those researched.

**Data collection - articles**

The process of data collection is of great significance to a research. For this thesis, I early on decided on wanting to investigate one newspaper. The reason for this is that I find many media study to have focused on width, rather than depth. Therefore, I would rather focus on doing in-depth research of one newspaper rather than choosing 4 or even 2 different ones (see Dyjak et al. above). The other reason for doing so is that I am mainly interested in the aspect of representation, stereotyping and the potential cultural and societal consequences of these phenomena and therefore do not desire to make conclusions as to the entire media landscape.

I have chosen to focus on articles about refugees in relation to border control in order for the thesis to have a concrete historical context. It was initially the plan to focus solely on ‘Den Korte Avis’’s articles from January 2016, but as border control was only implemented in the very beginning of January, my search found too few articles including both ‘refugees’ and border control’. Therefore, the timeframe was widened to go from 1st of January 2016 to 25th of April 2016.
I chose to use InfoMedia (Infomedia, 2016) as it provides a well-structured overview of articles, the possibility of applying search words (filters) and selecting a time frame. Beyond that, it can also find articles that may not be available anymore through the newspaper’s website. My applied search words and time frame can be seen in figure 3 below.

![Infomedia search filters](image)

Besides choosing the two search words and the time frame, I also included a filter to avoid articles from Ritzau. The reason for this, is that I wanted to focus on articles written by ‘Den Korte Avis’, in order to investigate how they produce articles that represent refugees in a certain way. Therefore, I found Ritzau articles obsolete for this research, as they were more or less copy-pasted from Ritzau into Den Korte Avis.

The search gave 44 results. I sorted the articles by “relative score”, which sorts the articles by how many times the search words are mentioned in the article. I did however read through the articles in order to double check if the articles reflected more or less an equal coverage of refugees and border control. This was done to avoid articles that focused on border control and only dealt peripherally with refugees or vice versa. It furthermore provided me with an opportunity to make sure that some of the articles contained some aspects of how refugees were seen in connection with Danish people, society and culture. Some articles also had to be deselected, because they were from Ritzau, which means that the search engine, for some reason, did not manage to avoid all of them despite the filter. In the end I was left with twelve articles for analysis.

Throughout the process of data collection, I have been very aware of what Barker (2008) calls “‘the convenient sample’: that is, the choice of cases which suit a researcher’s pre-given position and purpose (...).” (Barker, 2008:150). This means that a researcher may have certain subjective opinions about or reasons for doing a research, but these must be put aside in order to make room for an objective and productive research. In attaining my empirical data, as described above, I believe that I have minimized the risk of this study being based on a convenient sample. By
choosing to sort the articles by “relative score”, I have had a preliminary sorting, which means that the search engine rather than me, has impacted which articles have been chosen for analysis. Furthermore, I have only done preliminary readings, or rather skimmings, of the articles to tell if they carried both subjects matters; border control and refugees. Beyond that, I have not looked for or included articles after beginning the analysis, so there has not been any instance where I have looked for articles that could build a certain argument. The data collection was stopped as soon as the analysis started.
Analysis
From reading and analysing the newspaper articles, three predominant discourses concerning the representation of refugees became evident. These discourses will be brought forth here.

In reading the articles, the research questions were used to determine which discourses were important for this study. In reading the articles, the main focus was on textual- and discourse practice level, as the analysis focuses on answering:

- “How are refugees represented textually in the articles?”,
- “How are refugees represented in relation to the Danes and Danish society?”,
- “Which discourses are drawn on in the construction of representations of refugees in ‘Den Korte Avis’? And lastly
- “Which power relations or hegemonies are established on the basis of these discourses?”

It should be noted that some of the three predominant discourses will be closely related and may even constitute each other in regards to power relations, ideology and hegemony.

The three discourses are ‘Refugees as a threat to Denmark’, ‘Refugees as an economic burden’, and Refugees as migrants or asylum seekers’. Lastly, I have gathered examples of the discourses to back the arguments of the analysis, these can be found under 'Appendices'. Some of the clippings are broad forth in the analysis, others are not. But, including them in the appendices will provide the reader with a broader and valuable insight into how the newspaper discursively constructs and represents refugees.

Refugees as a threat to Denmark
This discourse is one that many of the articles draw on, but with different understandings of that threat. Therefore, this part will be divided into two: cultural threat and terror threat.

Refugees as a cultural threat (see appendix 1)
The discourse of refugees as a cultural threat to Denmark is one that shows in several of the articles, for example in this quote: “There will be more and far bigger parallel societies, especially with a background in muslim countries. There will be an increase in crime. There will be powerful collision in culture and values. The educational system will be dragged down, as it has happened in Sweden.” (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016). Within this discourse it is argued that the above is the long term consequences of the strong asylum influx and the arrival of refugees. Textually, there is a large degree of modality, as the consequences are not only potential, they are presented as certain, as “there will be...” is stated three times, and readers are, moreover, provided with historical evidence from Sweden to back these claims. The discourse and this quote also serve to represent
refugees and asylum seekers stereotypically, as they are reduced to people who are ‘deviant’ and are thereby categorized as ‘not fitting in’. If we look at the headline of that article, “Border control has come to stay, Denmark will likely fall in line – the alternative is incalculable problems” (original title: “Grænsekontrol er kommet for at blive, formentlig vil Danmark følge trop - alternativet er uoverskuelige problemer”), there is not only a large degree of modality in stating that if Denmark does not implement border control it will lead to incalculable problems, it also suggests a political agenda within the article, as it is already established here, how the article understands the world, i.e. border control, immigration, refugees, etc. As Jespersen and Pittelkow choose to highlight this potential scenario for the future as certainty, they are also representing asylum seekers and refugees as someone who will only contribute negatively to Danish society and culture. By stating “there will be…”, refugees are, as a group, represented as inherently going to impact Danish society negatively. It can be argued that the discourse denotes the fact that behind the category ‘refugee’, may be an individual with a personal desire to be a positive part of Danish society; to become a ‘Dane’. Refugees are reduced to a sort of passive entity who do not have any influence on their own integration in Danish society. Within this discourse refugees are often mentioned in connection with discourses concerning asylum seekers or migrants, such as “100.000 refugees and migrants headed for Europe” (Andersen, 2016). We, as the readers, are not told how many refugees and how many migrants are headed for Europe. We are only told the total amount, which works two ways. Firstly, it allows ‘Den Korte Avis’ to use higher numbers, which ultimately makes the situation seem more critical. Secondly, it means that refugees are positioned alongside migrants, who are presented as people going to Europe to seek fortune, rather than for safety or security. This, again, works to categorize and equate refugees with migrants, which to a certain point, means that the discourse neglects the fact that people are on the run, and it certainly positions refugees as potentially also seeking fortune, rather than safety and stability. It sidelines refugees with migrants and that works to facilitate the arguments within the discourse for why Denmark needs border control.

The discourse draws on a discursive understanding of border control, as something that is implemented to protect native populations from the influx of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. By using the word ‘influx’, which in Danish can best be translated as ‘steady current’, ‘Den Korte Avis’ is using a term which in Danish refers to a powerful natural power; water current. Water currents can be hard to fight against, they tear and they push you, which provides the discourse with a sense of “we need to fight hard to beat the influx”. It is mentioned that if countries do not protect themselves (implement border control), they will be wide open for a large number of asylum seekers (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016). Thereof, it can be argued that the discourse of border
control being necessary is drawn on in the discourse of refugees as a threat, as border control is seen as first step to protecting the Danish society and culture from ‘the others’.

The discursive understanding of border control, and it being necessary, is never challenged by opposing discourses throughout the articles in the sample. This means that all articles that carry discourses about border control, or draw on discursive understandings of border control, all support its implementation. In terms of producing news media texts this seems odd. I would argue that it is common practice to include opposing arguments, especially when politicians are quoted. This is not the case here, which suggests a heavy ideological and political bias in the coverage of refugees and border control.

The discourse of refugees as a cultural threat draws on an understanding of Danish culture and the culture of the refugees being too different to co-exist in Danish society. It can be argued that refugees and asylum seekers are, in this discourse, positioned as bringing ‘too’ different a culture and sets of values. Therefore, this discourse also draws on a simplification of the complexity of culture and values, as understood in one way by Danish society, whereas asylum seekers and refugees understand them differently, which is bound to lead to a collision and negative outcome. This discourse therefore also carries a dualistic view on culture, and the article works to represent refugees and Danes in a way that positions both group in a battle for cultural hegemony in the future. Therefore, it can be argued that the discourses drawn on within this discourse, constructs a battle of ‘us versus them’ via the representations of culture for Danes and refugees. From this it is evident that the discourse works to represent Danish culture as better off without the involvement of muslim asylum seekers and/or refugees. The discourse therefore arguably works to constitute and reproduce the cultural hegemony over minority groups and their culture, and moreover work to categorize ‘the other’ as being ‘abnormal’ culturally.

By arguing that the asylum influx and arrival of refugees will lead to more parallel societies, especially with a background in muslim countries, the rest of the text will implicitly carry the same perspective of muslim culture being the reason for not only parallel societies, but also increased crime, collisions of culture and the worsening of the educational system. Thereby, islam and being muslim is represented as the reason for why the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees is bound to end badly, further supporting the arguments that the discourse works to constitute and reproduce a cultural (and potentially religious) hegemony over minority groups.
The same article also concludes that “The community peace, order and stability, that we have become used to taking for granted, today demands a very active effort, if not battle.” (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016). Here, the sense of threat that Danish society is under due to refugees and asylum seekers is intensified, as ‘we’ need to ‘battle’ for our order and security. It is interesting that this statement provides the discourse with a high level of transitivity, as the journalists uses ‘we’, which positions the journalists alongside the Danes. It can be argued that it is done to symbolize the alliance needed between Danes, if ‘we’ are to win this ‘battle’. The same reference to war is used in “Pull yourself together, Lars Løkke, and show yourself as the man you are.” (original title: Tag dig nu Sammen, Lars Løkke, og vis dig som det mandfolk, du er!” (Sarauw, 2016), where she writes “(...) soon it will be too late and the battle is finally lost”. Thereby, it is established that the cultural threat posed by the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers is so serious that there is a need to call to arms. It can be argued that this discourse represents Danes as the victims of the refugee and asylum seeker influx, as the foreigners bring cultural traditions and values that are incompatible with the Danish..

In the article “Who would have thought it: Sweden has a better control of the asylum influx than Denmark – it is very dangerous for the Vestre-government” (original title: Hvem skulle nu have troet det: Sverige har bedre styr på asyltilstrømningen end Danmark - det er meget farligt for Venstre-regeringen”) (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016), border control is also represented as the only thing that can stop asylum seekers and refugees from coming, the consequences, if more strict border control is not implemented, being “big parallel societies, increased conflicts, more violence and crime, more assaults on women, worsened educations and comprehensive culture clashes.” (2016). The discourse therefore also draws on an understanding of border control as a necessity if Denmark wants to protect its people, culture and society. It is interesting that the textual structure of this sentence is so similar to the one mentioned above by the same journalists, Jespersen and Pittelkow (2016). For the article mentioned here, more scenarios have been included, but the main argument remains the same. The same sort of arguments are clear in this quote “Goodbye welfare state! And hello violence, rapes, crime, terror and the native population’s rebellion and retaliation.” (Sarauw, 2016). The fact that assaults on women and rape is broad up is especially interesting, as Denmark is very proud of its progressive view on women. Therefore, the mentioning of potentially more assaults on women as a consequence of immigration, is something that collides heavily with how Danish culture and society sees and understands women. As it is mentioned in the wake of the sexual assaults in Cologne allegedly committed by immigrants (among those asylum seekers and refugees), it is arguably something that pinpoints the potential cultural clash. Again, the war
references are clear to see in the words ‘rebellion’ and ‘retaliation’, which suggests that Danes will eventually rise up against ‘the others’ - further building on the ‘us versus them’ of this discourse.

In the same article, the same discourse is drawn on in this sentence: “Emigrants from very foreign cultures, in such large quantities, are an impossibility to integrate in Danish culture and custom. Furthermore, it will mean a regular population replacement og thereby a change of Denmark into a country we do not know” (Sarauw, 2016). The choice of the word ‘emigrant’ is very interesting, as the headline of this section in the article is ‘A whole new refugee policy’. It can be argued that knowingly choosing the word migrant to describe refugees, shows a clear political agenda, but it also indicates a certain understanding of the whole concept of migration, no matter the circumstances or reasons. It is interesting how refugees (and migrants) are subjected to being someone who is ‘impossible to integrate in Danish culture and custom”. This works to build the discourse of refugees inherently going to fail in regards to integration. It positions refugees as someone who needs to be integrated, but who are unable to, because of their culture, thereby making our attempts futile. It can be argued that the discourse also creates a representation of refugees as only being able to be ‘refugees’, as they will never be able to integrate and become ‘Danes’, on the contrary they will affect a “population change” and will ultimately change Denmark into a country that the Danes do not know. Here, the discourse clearly constructs a stereotypical representation of immigrants in general, by stating that they cannot be integrated (which leads to the above-mentioned consequences) and implicitly that they have or give birth to so many children that it will lead to a ‘population change’. Within the argument of refugees being ‘unable’ to integrate, it represents refugees as ‘weak’, someone who needs help and who do not have any power themselves to become integrated in Danish society.

It establishes a power relation, as Danish society is positioned as the one with a culture that the refugees need to adapt to via integration, which they cannot because of their culture. There is arguably a notion of hegemony over the social group of refugees, as the discourse represents refugees as unable to adapt to Danish society, which works to discursively reproduce unequal power relations between the Danes and refugees. Refugees are represented as someone who culturally collides with Danes and their culture. This further suggests that the discourse works to establish the differences in culture, and why these differences are not going to change. This discourse therefore argues that ‘refugees’ can never become ‘Danes’ - however that is defined and whatever it entails.
Refugees as a terror threat (see appendix 2)

This discourse is seen in several of the articles and usually in connection with border control, as the discourse also involves a discursive understanding of border control as a way of keeping terrorists out. In the article “‘Border control has come to stay, Denmark will likely fall in line – the alternative is incalculable problems’” (original title: “Grænsekontrol er kommet for at blive, formentlig vil Danmark følge trop - alternativet er uoverskuelige problemer”), Jespersen and Pittelkow (2016) argue that “the lack of border control will increase the threat of terror in Denmark. It is now clear that people from Islamic State are entering European countries disguised as refugees.” (2016). Here, refugees are represented as potential terrorists who are aiming at committing acts of terror in Europe and Denmark, therefore Denmark needs to implement border control to be able to deny these terrorists access to Denmark. The article “EU is sloppy with security, says Australian Prime Minister: over three hundred EU-citizens have lost their life in muslim terror attacks” (original title: EU sløser med sikkerheden, siger Australiens premierminister: Over tre hundrede EU-borgere har mistet livet i muslimske terrorangreb”) (Andersen, 2016) equals no border control with terrorist attacks, which is evident in both the headline, the construction and content of the article and the picture accompanying the text. The first part of the article contains information about how the lack of border control has enabled terrorists to travel from Syria to Europe, but also between different European countries, such as Belgium, Holland and France. The other part describes how many Europeans have died from “muslim terror”, thereby connecting the two concepts by arguing that no border control has meant that muslim terrorists have had safe passage to- and within Europe, therefore Europe needs to implement strict border control. The article uses the term ‘muslim terror’ several times despite the fact that the term is used in reference to a report called ‘Islamic terror attacks in Western Europe’. It can be argued that islamic relates to objects, institutions or cultural things, such as islamic art. Whereas, muslim relates to people, e.g. a muslim doctor. Therefore, in choosing muslim over islamic in this context, it seems the newspaper is textually and discursively centralizing terrorist acts as something connected with muslim people, rather than islamic beliefs. Moreover, it is interesting that the article and newspaper chooses to use the term ‘muslim’, without accentuating the ‘extremist’ aspect of any terrorist or terror act, and the belief system behind it. These two factors within the discourse work to represent terror as something connected with muslims per se, rather than only a particular, small part of the muslim population. That way the problem of terrorism is centralized and categorized in connection with being ‘muslim’, rather than being ‘extreme’ and thereby refugees and asylum seekers are represented as being a potential terror threat. This representation is backed by the picture for the
article, which shows dark silhouettes of two men, who are in movement in a dusty place (see figure 4 below). The captions reads “Right after the bomb has exploded at the Metro station in Brussels”.

![Bombing in Brussels](image)

It can therefore be argued that refugees are not only textually represented as potential terrorists, the visuals also work to fix the meaning of representing refugees as a potential danger and threat to European society. There is also symbolism here, as the picture does not allow us to see clearly who the people on it are, which is also what is argued in the article; we cannot know who the refugees are, they may not be who they say they are.

In the article is an opposing argument, in the form of a quote from the chief of the Danish Intelligence, Finn Borch Andersen. He is quoted as saying that they (the Danish Intelligence) have no evidence or information to suggest that terrorists should be among the refugees entering Europe (Andersen, 2016). The article goes on to bring an opposing argument from the German Intelligence chief, who argues that his agency have recorded several incidents of terrorists being smuggled into Europe disguised as refugees. The next two sections in the article are subheaded “Over three hundred EU-citizens killed by muslim terror” and “About 400 highly-trained IS-terrorists”.

Although the article carries two opposing views on this, it is evident from these two subheads and their content, that the article mainly brings forward the claims/arguments of terrorists being among refugees, rather than not. After the two opposing beliefs of the Intelligence chiefs, the article is followed by “and more terror is on the way.” (Andersen, 2016). This clearly shows a political and ideological standpoint from the journalist. He chooses to bring forward claims that highly support the idea that terrorists are among refugees coming to Europe, and he does so with high modality. In the last four lines of the article it becomes increasingly evident that the article carries a subjective standpoint, as the journalist ridicules Borch Andersen, in stating “But according to PET-chief Finn Borch Andersen that shouldn’t be a problem.”, what should not be a problem is that 400 highly
trained terrorists are allegedly located in Europe. It goes without saying that anyone, who is not a terrorist, would consider 400 terrorists in Europe a problem, but the journalist concludes, on the basis of other sources (German Intelligence), that IS-terrorists are in Europe and qua that represents Borch Andersen as indifferent or incompetent, as he is positioned as not believing it should be a problem. This suggests a political agenda, as the journalist chooses to focus on one theory being right and one being wrong and he even positions himself by explicitly deciding which is which. The article represents Borch Andersen and anyone else who do not believe that terrorists are among refugees as wrong and as people who will not face reality. The discourse thereby works to represent refugees has potentially dangerous and everyone who does not acknowledge that to be ignorant.

The headline of the article uses the Danish word ‘sløser’ which can be translated into ‘sloppy’. The Danish government has been sloppy on security. This means that as the article quotes Borch Andersen, he becomes the spokesman for this alleged ‘sloppiness’ and thereby responsible. Overall, this discourse carries a heavy advocacy for border control on the basis of securing the safety of the Danish population. Although the articles contain one opposing view, this should arguably not be mistaken for objectivity. The opposing view seems to have been included only to meet certain journalistic guidelines or to argue for its fallacy. The articles carry a clear political agenda on the basis of their representation of refugees as potential terror threats, as a way of arguing for the implementation of border control.

It can therefore be concluded that both of the discourses concerning refugees as a threat draw on an understanding of the European refugee situation and asylum seeker influx as being so critical that border control needs to be implemented. It seems the discourses understand culture as something that can be protected and kept in a certain way, i.e. something that is controllable and thereof more rigid. The advocacy for border control within the discourses are centered around a notion of ‘protecting Denmark’, as Danish culture will be impacted negatively by asylum seekers, migrants and refugees. Refugees are not only seen as a cultural threat, they are also positioned and represented as a potential terror threat. By arguing that previous terrorist attacks in Europe were only possible because borders were open, and that terrorists could be entering Europe disguised as refugees, refugees are assimilated with terror and danger. This representation means that not only are terrorists shown as bad, refugees are ultimately shown as potentially bad, as some refugees could in fact be terrorists.
Refugees as an economic burden (see appendix 3)

This discourse, just like the first two, understands refugees as a threat to Danish society, but this discourse understands and represents refugees as an economic threat, rather than a cultural or security threat. It is argued that the government's economic policy is tightly strained by the asylum crisis – and now Socialdemokraterne and Dansk Folkeparti push it further up against the wall” (original title: “Regeringens økonomiske politik er hårdt trængt af asylkrisen - og nu skubber Socialdemokraterne og Dansk Folkeparti den endnu mere op ad muren”) (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016), it is argued that “The government has great difficulty in making economic ends meet” (ibid) because “They have gotten large unpredicted asylum expenses.” (ibid). Here, the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees is equated with the economic troubles that the government is facing right now. Moreover, in stating that the expenses connected with the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers was ‘unpredicted’, the government is, to a certain degree, liberated from the responsibility of not being able to ‘make ends meet’ in their economic policy. Instead the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers is to be blamed. Further on in the article, it is argued that the expenses connected with asylum seekers and the process of seeking asylum need to be reduced in order for the government to be able to finance its economic policy. This means that asylum seekers (note: not refugees in this case) are being positioned as the reason why the government cannot perform their policies, such as provide tax reduction or create economic growth. Within this discourse, therefore, lies an aspect of dualism, as asylum seekers and refugees are blamed for why the government cannot keep promises made during the election about its economic policy. It furthermore categorizes refugees and asylum seekers as an ‘expense’, rather than an ‘investment’ or a potential source of long term revenue through taxes. One of the subheads of the article reads “the burden from the refugees”. The word ‘burden’ is a word that is associated with something heavy that people have to carry around or deal with. It is hard to deal with and hard to get rid of. Therefore, this word functions negatively in the representation of refugees, as the subheader could have stated “the consequences of the refugees”, or even more objectively “the outcome of the refugees.”. By constructing the sentence so that the word ‘from’ is also used, creates clearer image of the refugees handing over the burden upon arrival, as a sort of bad gift.

The text below argues that “Danish citizens [are] being pushed down in the housing queue, because the municipalities need to find and pay for housing for the refugees.” (ibid). Using the word ‘push’ paints a picture of a situation where Danes are being treated unfairly and where they are violated. Thereby, refugees and Danes are positioned as being in a battle for housing. It is furthermore interesting that it is not mentioned in the article that the reason for why refugees are allowed to

32
'skip the line’ is down to legislation. This indicates a representation where the goal is to differentiate the level of services available to Danes and refugees, with refugees receiving far better benefits from the government and municipality. This is emphasised in the next sentence: “(...) The municipality’s increased housing expenses means that money cannot be used for welfare for the citizen” (ibid). This equates refugees with, not only being an economic burden in themselves, but also leading to worsened welfare for the native population. Again, this discourse works to position refugees as the main reason why other welfare needs may not be met. It can be argued that the article and this discourse therefore works to produce a sense of ‘us versus them’ just like the "refugees as a threat”-discourse. By using the example of housing, the journalists can draw on a larger societal consequence in stating that it will also lead to worsened welfare allround for the citizens. That way, the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers is not only a problem for the socially vulnerable who need housing and help with getting it, it is represented as a larger societal problem where nursing homes, public schools and hospitals will not be able to provide decent welfare for the citizens. Within this discourse, border control is drawn on as a part of the solution to these increased expenses connected with asylum seekers and refugees. It is argued in the article that “He [Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark] should first and foremost rely on the operations that work in practice - among those tough border control and the threshold of how many asylum seekers are allowed into Denmark (...)” (ibid). Here, border control and a limit to how many asylum seekers and refugees are let into the country is stated as part of the solution to the economic troubles connected with the asylum influx. Interestingly, the other part of the solution is not mentioned, so within the article it is the only solution. The sentence carries an obvious personal opinion, in the journalist ‘advising’ what the Prime Minister should do and moreover shows an ideological aspect of this discourse. It can be argued that by suggesting these solution, the journalists are supporting a nationalist agenda, as border control and a threshold are highlighted as the solutions that work in practice. The use of the phrase ‘in practice’ is also interesting, as it indicates a ‘realist’ attitude towards the situation, it is thereof implied that it is not enough to work out great ideas for integration, make EU agreements and so on, as these only work ‘in theory’. The same sort of dualism is evident in the picture for the article by Sarauw (2016), where the Danish Prime Minister and the German Chancellor is on either side of a picture of refugees/asylum seekers/migrants walking on a road (see figure 5 below).
This works to build this sense of ‘war’ or dualism, which can be argued to be a war for political hegemony, where it is argued for why a certain ideology is better than another. It is stated in the article that these ‘practical’ measures are not going to solve all the problems, but without them it would go completely wrong. By stating this, the readers are, just as was the case in the previous discourse, presented with the future scenario if border control is not implemented or kept strict. This is emphasised by this quote in the article “‘Border control has come to stay, Denmark will likely fall in line – the alternative is incalculable problems’ (original title: Grænsekontrol er kommet for at blive, formentlig vil Danmark følge trop – alternativet er uoverskuelige problemer” (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016): “Despite much talk of integration on the job market, experience shows that only a small part of the refugees will get a regular job within some years.” (ibid). This clearly emphasises how ‘talk of integration’ is positioned opposed to border control. The discourse therefore argues ‘enough is enough’, and appreciates action in the form of border control and strict rules. It, moreover, argues that integration is not possible, only for ‘a small part’ who get jobs. This doubt, within the discourse, as to how many of the refugees and asylum seekers will get jobs and get integrated is also visible in this quote: “90 percent of the current refugees are unskilled or illiterate, which will make the expenses on unemployment benefits explode” (Sarauw, 2016). This quote clearly show that the discourse understands and therefore represents refugees as being an economic burden. As argued under ‘cultural threat’, the stereotypical representation of refugees involves singling out a few negative aspects to highlight. This is exactly the case here, as refugees are being subjected to a stereotypical representation of immigrants as unskilled and as someone who receives social benefits all their life. Throughout the articles, this discourse represents refugees and asylum seekers as people whose arrival will only
strain the Danish economy. Within this lies an assumption that they will not be able to provide for themselves, but the only explanation to why this is, is that they are unskilled or illiterate. Thereby, the discourse neglects other complicated potential problems, such as psychological trauma from experiencing war. It can be argued that this discourse is highly ideological, as it draws on presuppositions about refugees and asylum seekers to reproduce an unequal domination over a diasporic group.

**Refugees as migrants (see appendix 4)**

As mentioned earlier, there are instances in the articles where ‘Den Korte Avis’ uses numbers and statistics to say something about both refugees and migrants, such as “100.000 refugees and migrants headed for Europe” (Andersen, 2016). This works to represent refugees as migrants and vice versa, as data is mashed up, and the reader can therefore not know if refugees make up 1.000 or 99.000 of the 100.000. This is evident in several of the articles where refugees are equated with asylum seekers and migrants. This is also relevant in relation to Hall’s classificatory system mentioned under “Theory”.

In the article “Before he was politically correct – now he says it bluntly: Refugees must be sent back to where they came from” (original title: “Før var han meget politisk korrekt - nu siger han rent ud: Flygtninge må sendes tilbage, hvor de kom fra”) (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016) a quote by the Austrian Interior Minister, Johanna Miki-Leitner, is used, “What we see today has really nothing to do with people seeking safety. It is about the fact that they seek the economically most attractive country. It cannot continue this way.” (ibid). This quote is said in an article that uses both ‘asylum seeker’ and ‘refugee’ to describe the foreigners coming to Europe right now. By saying ‘people’ rather than ‘refugees’ or ‘migrants’, Miki-Leitner is equating the two groups and their categorization is therefore questioned within this discourse. In stating that ‘people’ do not come to Europe seeking safety, she is positioning refugees as someone who is actually economic migrants, only seeking economic gains. The same equation of refugees and migrants is seen in this quote from the article “Dansk Folkeparti wants to follow the countries in Europe who wants a strong control of the asylum influx: Wants to make a limit to the number of asylum seekers” (original title: “Dansk Folkeparti vil følge de lande i Europa, som ønsker en stærk styring af asylstrømmen: Vil lægge loft over antallet af asylsøgere”). Here, it is argued that Denmark should not accept 25.000 refugees and migrants. It is further argued in the article that “the government is too despairing about the migration crisis we are in.” (ibid). Using the word ‘migration’, rather than ‘refugee’, to describe the crisis, indicates an ideological power relation in the discourse and the article. It can be argued that
calling it a ‘migrant crisis’, could potentially desensitise the audience towards refugees, as the discourse defies that categorization and therefore questions refugees’ legitimacy and their reasons for coming to Europe. This questioning and doubting the legitimacy is very clear in the articles. It can also be seen in the article by Hede (2016), who writes: “(...) when she [Lisbeth Zornig] drove “refugees” to Sweden” (Ibid). By writing refugee in quotation marks, Hede (2016) is also implicitly arguing that they are not really refugees. This representation of refugees is also evident in the article “The government under hard pressure for a stongere border control – now an abundance of criminal North Africans are flowing in” (original title: Regeringen under hårdt pres for stærkere grænsekontrol – nu strømmer masser af kriminelle nordafrikanere til”) (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016), where it is stated that “the vast majority of these are not real refugees, they just want a better life with more money.” (Ibid). Again, refugees are positioned as migrants, who are represented as wanting a better life, which is described here, as having more money. The picture accompanying the article also work to support this discourse and to represent the people coming to Denmark as migrants (see figure 6 below).

![Fig. 6 - migrants, asylum seekers or refugees?](image)

The image shows a tightly packed train and a group of young Middle-Eastern looking men shouting and waving in front of the train. The picture works to support the discourse and representation, as it potentially disrupts the reader’s perception of what a refugee is. It can be argued that taking the train, does not correspond with how Western people understand the act of fleeing and it leads to questions of “how can they afford a train?”, “Why are there only men?” and other critical questions. Especially the case of who the refugees are has been an important topic in Denmark, both politically and in the media, which makes this picture fit into a larger ideological struggle, wherein it supports the idea that the arrival of refugees mainly involves the arrival of men at the age of around 20-30 years old. It can also be argued that the picture involves chaos and disagreement in the shouting and
waving, which is represented as what is coming to Denmark, via the train in the background. That way refugees and asylum seekers are not only represented as potentially “only” migrants, they are also represented as bringing chaos and instability.

The characterization of the two groups seems to be solid within this discourse, ‘real’ refugees come for safety, and migrants who pretends to be refugees, come for economic reasons. These categorizations seem very one-dimensional, as other aspects of why people are coming to Europe are not mentioned, such as need of personal safety, political instability, unemployment or wanting a better life for your family. It is furthermore implied in this discourse that the migrants and ‘fake’ refugees who come to Europe for money, are not coming to work for it, instead they are only going to become an economic burden. Thereby, migrants and refugees are only represented as coming for selfish and/or monetary reasons.

Because of this, it can be argued that this discourse is closely connected with the refugees as an economic burden-discourse, as it is drawn on in arguing that refugees, asylum seekers and migrants are only going to be an economic burden. This equation works to represent the people coming to Europe as much more homogenous, as their categorizations (refugee, migrant or asylum seekers) are questioned and even argued to be false.
Discussion

Based on the analysis and the results of it, it may seem appropriate to angle the discussion towards the consequences of media bias, but as Connell (1980) argues “The ‘impartiality’ of television news and current affairs is now widely considered a myth.” (Ibid:1). Although Connell refers to the impartiality of television news, I would argue that the argument also holds in reference to the print media. Moreover, I would argue that any presentation or representation by the media is to a certain point biased in one way or another. Therefore, this discussion will focus on the potential consequences of the representations, rather than the potential consequences of a media bias. This will be done by including academic papers on the subject of representations, bringing in the research from the chapter ‘Existing research’ above and lastly news articles.

So, what are the potential consequences of the representations of refugees in ‘Den Korte Avis’?

Cultural consequences

Van Dijk (1995) argues that “Minorities generally remain in socioeconomic positions that have often been characterized as that of an underclass” (1995:17). Although this argument is more than twenty years old, research seems to suggest that it is still valid. The discourses presented in the analysis clearly show how refugees are represented negatively in a way which positions them as an underclass. The same findings have been made by Dyjak et al. (2015) and Portin (2015). This means that the news media contribute to reproducing unequal power relations that position minorities, in this case refugees, as an underclass. In a study by Lueck et al (2015) it is argued that the representation of refugees or asylum seekers as ‘illegal’, ‘criminal’ or ‘deviant’ help to denote the fact that they are people fleeing from war or other threats (Lueck et al, 2015:613). This means that one of the consequences of the negative representations could very well be that the readers will get desensitised towards refugees or ‘the others’, as they are positioned as bringing threat, economic hardship or other problems. It could be said to work as a way of making the European citizens the victims in this whole crisis, which to a certain degree downplays the situation that the refugees are in.

One of the problems with the negative representations presented in this thesis, is that the subjects (refugees) do not get to represent themselves, which means that the media coverage and the discourses surrounding refugees, as a consequence, are centered around how we see them, and how we see them fit into our society. In relation to this, Portin (2015) argues that “one of the trends in print media is that refugees and asylum seekers’ own voices, views, and opinions are almost systematically neglected” (2015:2), which means that the world we are presented with, in relation to
the arrival of refugees, by the news media is centered around how Danish society will be impacted by refugees, rather than how refugees see Danish or European society impacting them. It can be argued that, as Portin’s (2015) research shows, enabling refugees or asylum seekers to have their voice heard, without a preconstructed context set up by the news media, could provide the public with a more nuanced representation of them. It would, moreover, help to challenge the seemingly frequent stereotypical representations of refugees and immigrants in the news media. Therefore, it is arguably of great importance that academic research continues to critically research the news media coverage of refugees and other minorities in order to establish and challenge unequal power relations and/or stereotypical representations.

If we look at more present political consequence of the representations, the rising nationalism across Europe is interesting. It should be mentioned that the rising nationalism is not necessarily a consequence of the representations, nor are the representations a consequence of rising nationalism - that is like debating what came first: the chicken or the egg. It is arguably a dialectic relationship, wherein discourses affect politics, and vice versa, but beyond that, non-discursive events, in this case the arrival of thousands of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants at Europe’s borders also play a part in changing both discourses and politics. Therefore, the fluidity, so to speak, of discourse and politics, and its effects on each other, is of the essence here.

**Political consequences**

During the 2014 European Parliament election, it became clear that nationalism was winning favour in the minds of European citizens. This, I would argue, could very well be connected with the mainly negative representations of refugees, asylum seekers and immigration in the news media. In Fairclough’s theory, it is given, that discourses are affected by the social world, just as they impact the social world. It is, therefore, valid to argue that the majority of negative representation and discourses surrounding refugees, are one of the reasons why nationalism is on the rise. Wight (2014) argues that nationalist movements “have succeeded in legitimizing racist views and the revulsion of multiculturalism and immigration.” (Wight, 2014). Although, the articles used for this study do not contain blatant racism or ethnicism, it is an interesting point, as it empowers the position of discourse within political change. It is argued that nationalist movements have ‘legitimized’ racist views, thereby leading to a shift in the way politicians talk about immigrants. A recent study have, however, found that 50 % of Danes believe that the political tone regarding refugees has gotten to harsh (Ejsing & Brock, 2014), which seems to suggest that a discursive power struggle is going on politically and in Danish society to win hegemony over how we
represent and talk about refugees. The view of Wight (2014) suggests a social constructivist understanding, wherein discourses are constituted by politics, but also constitute politics. This also means that newspapers carry a massive power in constructing the world and our understanding of it. In the news articles analysed for this thesis, there is a clear nationalist point-of-view, which is evident in how refugees and immigration per se are represented, in how Danish culture is positioned as being under threat from ‘the outside’, and lastly in how border control is represented as a way of countering these threats. An interesting point of the article by Wight (2014) is that it connects economic hardship with the rising nationalism in Europe. It is interesting, as many of the articles in the empirical data for this thesis, reasoned economically when arguing why border control should be set up (see Refugees as an economic burden under Analysis). Lueck et al (2015) found that discourses in the Australian media concerning representations of asylum seekers could be seen as national and neoliberal, as they drew on “the (supposed) economic benefits of excluding asylum seekers and their undesirability on economic terms.” (Lueck et al, 2015:608). Although, the article is based on Australian media and politics, it found the same tendencies in discourse and representations as this study and others focusing on European media, which is interesting. The merging of nationalism and neoliberalism is especially intriguing as it signals a shift, not only in the public’s political view, but also in the foundation of ideological structures. It also means that within the neoliberal movement, which has previously been about free trade and free movement, there seems to be a shift, wherein the protection of certain financial policies become adaptable with policies of border control, etc. Or, as Lueck et al (2015) put it “Thus, the economic nature of border protection and security came to the fore not only in terms of its role in keeping out those seen as economically undesirable, but also in the economic investment required in ensuring that the nation-state was able to protect its sovereignty through the maintenance of a homogeneous population regulated at the borders.” (Ibid:624). Politically, this is also seen in Denmark where the right-wing party, Danish People’s Party (DF) works closely together with the liberal/conservative government. It can be argued that the shift in politics and the discourses means that more people will position themselves negatively towards refugees and immigrants, due to the newly found consensus of neoliberal and nationalist discourses towards refugees and immigrants being a threat - either economically or culturally. This could potentially explain the rise in nationalism, as nationalism is legitimized by neoliberal parties who support the nationalist discourses by also positioning outsiders as a threat to the sovereign nations of Europe. Thereby, it can be argued that nationalism has increased its legitimacy in European politics and in the news media landscape.
An interesting aspect concerning the connection between political discourses and news media discourse is that “Klocker and Dunn (2003) [in] analyzing the media coverage of asylum seekers in Australia during 2000–2001 found that the media largely adopted the government’s negative rhetoric regarding asylum seekers” (Ibid:612). This seems to suggest that the potentially nationalist rhetoric within a political discourse concerning refugees, asylum seekers or immigrants, is reproduced by the news media. This discourse practice is dangerous in terms of potential consequences of negative representations of refugees, as it indicates a news media that does not challenge the political discourses, but instead adopt the discourses which are ultimately reproducing unequal power relations and helps to win consent (hegemony) through the normalization of these representations.
Conclusion

This thesis sought to shed light on how the news media discursively represent and construct refugees in connection with the implementation of border control in Denmark. In doing so, the research has found that refugees are mainly represented negatively in the chosen articles by ‘Den Korte Avis’. Textually, refugees are represented as a threat and as a group that is inherently going to impact Danish society negatively. This is done by representing them as illiterate, unskilled, too culturally different or as being potential terrorists. The discourses draw on an understanding of integration having failed in the past, thereby arguing that it will happen again. It can be argued that the discourses therefore rely on what could be called historical logic. In doing so, the discourses draw on an understanding of refugees as a group, rather than as a group of individuals. The discourses all draw on an understanding of refugees and the asylum influx as being a threat to Danish society, and in that, draw on an understanding of border control as being necessary in order to counter this threat. Within the discourses refugees are subjected to stereotypical representations that reproduce an unequal power relation between refugees and Danes. This is done by representing refugees as incapable of integrating, not fitting into Danish culture and as exploiting the Danish welfare system. By focusing only on a few negatives and by subjecting refugees to a group predicate, refugees’ individuality is denoted and to a certain degree neglected in the representations.

From analysing the articles it is evident that ‘Den Korte Avis’ carries a nationalist bias, which is evident both textually and in the discourse practice. It is evident in their wording, how articles are angled, who is used for quotes, which discourses are drawn on and how political themes, such as border control, refugees, integration and economic policy are treated. It should be mentioned that political bias is not uncommon in the news media, the problem here lies in the actual production of this bias. The problem in this case is that ‘Den Korte Avis’ is not clearly differentiating between news articles, editorials or blogs. Therefore, all of the articles are made to look like articles, although many of them contain an abundance of personal opinions and even advice for the government on how to govern (see “Man skulle tro, at den voldsomme asylkrise ville styrke regeringen, men det er ikke sket - og det er der en meget klar grund til” (Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016)). Therefore, I would argue that many of the articles resemble editorials, blogs or contributions to the debate more than actual news articles, which leads me to suggest that these communicative events (the articles) are creatively challenging the order of discourse of the news media by incorporating traits of editorials, blogs, etc. into their articles.

In the discussion, it is argued that the negative representations could have serious consequences, not only to refugees, but also for Danish society, as we may become increasingly desensitised towards
refugees and other people with foreign background. This may cause us to not be able to see past the categorizations provided by politicians and/or the news media. To counter this, it is argued in this thesis that refugees should, in some way, be heard. Not within a Western news media context, but within their own context or discourse order. This would allow them to potentially provide readers of news media with a more nuanced representation of them, and it would empower refugees and potentially challenge the unequal power relation that is established and reproduced in news media today.

Lastly, it is argued that the arrival of an increasing amount of refugees and the negative representations of these refugees could possibly be connected with the rising nationalism across much of Europe. Although it can be hard to determine one or more particular reasons for political change, it can be argued that discourses have a huge impact. It is argued in the discussion that the merging of neoliberalism and nationalism has also helped to legitimize much of the negative discourses and representations of refugees, which indicates a fundamental change in ideological structure. Something that will be interesting to follow in the coming years and something which academia should seek to research and scrutinize.
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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Refugees as a cultural threat

Kort sagt: Hvor megen vægt skal man lægge på de åbne grænser, og hvor megen vægt skal man lægge på at "passe på Danmark"?

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

For de fleste kommer truslen fra det enorme antal asylsøgere. Når så mange bliver ved med at komme over grænser, rammer det den danske økonomi og velfærd, og det rammer det danske samfunds sammenhængskraft, kultur og værdier.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Samtidig vil det give Danmark store parallelsamfund, ægde konflikter, mere vold og kriminalitet, flere overgreb på kvinder, forringede uddannelser og omfattende kultursammenstød.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Og beskyttelse er der behov for i en verden under dramatisk forandring. Den samfundsfred, orden og stabilitet, som vi har vænnet os til at tage for givet, kræver i dag en meget aktiv indsats – for ikke at sige kamp.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

For de fleste kommer truslen fra det enorme antal asylsøgere. Når så mange bliver ved med at komme over grænser, rammer det den danske økonomi og velfærd, og det rammer det danske samfunds sammenhængskraft, kultur og værdier.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Samtidig vil en kraftig asyltilstromningen have store langsigtede konsekvenser for det danske samfund.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Der vil komme flere og langt større parallelsamfund, især med baggrund i muslimske lande. Der vil komme øget kriminalitet. Der vil komme stærke kultur- og værdisammenstød. Uddannelsessystemet vil blive trukket ned, som det er sket i Sverige.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

De vil som en sidegevinst også kunne opleve en hverdag i et land, hvor de svenske politikere med deres naive og uansvarlige indvandrerpolitik i den grad har ødelagt et stabilt land.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Sverige var tidligere et foregårsland på mange områder. Men det har politikerne fået ødelagt med Fredrik Reinfeldts: Vi skal åbne vore hjertes. Hvor naiv kan et højt uddannet menneske tillade sig være?

Iheden, 2016

Til denne indsats hører en grænsekontrol, som varer ved, så længe truslerne er der, og så længe der ikke er noget brugbart alternativ. En permanent grænsekontrol, så langt øjet rækker.

Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016


Jespersen & Pittikov, 2016

Så gør nu det rigtige, Lars Løkke Rasmussen! Der er endnu en lille tid til at afhende det værste, snart vil alt være for sent og slaget endegyldigt tabt.

Søren, 2016
Appendix 2 - Refugees as a terror threat

Endelig vil målende grænsekontrol øge truslen om terror i Danmark. Det står nu klart, at folk fra Islamisk Stat kommer ind i de europæiske lande forklædt som flygtninge.

Jespersen & Piltelow, 2016

"Grænsekontrollen bliver løbende vurderet, og stikprøvekontrollen vil kunne intensiveres efter behov," hedder det i pressemeldelsen, hvor det også understreges, at regeringen er parat til yderligere at forlænge stikprøvekontrollen med de til dage, som Schengen-reglerne tillader.

Det vil ske, "hvis der fortsat vurderes at være en alvorlig trussel mod den offentlige orden eller den indre sikkerhed," hedder det således i pressemeldelsen fra Inger Støjberg's ministerium.

Andersen, 2016

"Der har været et regulært efterretningsvigt, for hvis man ikke kan kontrollere sine grænser, ved man ikke, hvem der kommer ind, og hvad der sker," sagde Malcolm Turnbull ifølge The Sydney Morning Herald til TV-stationen NBC. Premierministern kritiserede Især Schengen:

Andersen, 2016

Bombeterorren i Paris i november sidste år og tirsagens angreb i Bruxelles har begge været mulige takket være de åbne grænser.

Andersen, 2016

Og i går, søndag, anholdt de hollandske sikkerhedsmyndigheder under stor dramatik fire formodede terrorister i den hollandske by Rotterdam (AP). De franske sikkerhedsmyndigheder mener, at de har været involveret i planlægningen af terror i Frankrig.

Andersen, 2016

Det er tydeligt, at terrorister unhildet rejser på krysset og tværs i Europa, og ovenstående er kun et udpluk af konkrete eksempler

Andersen, 2016

Men den vurdering var og er den tyske efterretningschef, Hans-Georg Maassen, lodret uenig i. Han har tidligere været ude med meldinger om, at muligvis over hundrede terrortrænede IS-krigere er kommet til Europa skjult i flygtningestrømmene, og så sent som den 6. marts i år udtalte han til den tyske TV-station, ZDF:

"Vi har gentagne gange set, at terrorist smagles ind under dække af at være flygtninge."

Også nogle af de involverede i den seneste tids terror er kommet ind i EU på den måde.

Andersen, 2016

Det lægger de enkelte lande åbne for et stort antal asylansøgere, hvis de ikke sørger for at beskytte sig selv. Også Danmark må regne med at antallet af asylansøgere vil fortsætte med at vokse kraftigt.

Jespersen & Piltelow, 2016

"Regeringen betrægter fortsat grænsekontrollen som nødvendig for at opretholde orden og sikkerhed i Danmark. Vi skal have stry på, hvem der rejses ind i landet, og vi ønsker ikke at se store ophobninger af flygtninge og migranter i Danmark," forklarer Inger Støjberg og fortsætter:

Andersen, 2016

EU sløser med sikkerheden, siger Australiens premierminister: Over tre hundrede EU-borgere har mistet livet i muslimske terrorangreb

Andersen, 2016

Men de kommer ikke til Danmark, mener PET-chef

Ifølge Rigsadvokatens seneste opgørelse per 20. marts i år skennes 94.000 uregistrerede flygtninge siden september sidste år at være indrejst i Danmark. Og der er tale om et minimumsskøn, understreges det fra Rigsadvokatens side.

Andersen, 2016

"De efterretninger, vi har, på baggrund af dem vurderer vi, at organisere militante grupper ikke vil benytte menneskesmuglere eller flygtningeurer til at forsøge på at få terrorister ind i Danmark, simpelthen fordi ruten ikke er hensigtsmæssig," sagde Finn B. Andersen dengangen.

Andersen, 2016

Over tre hundrede EU-borgere dræbt af muslimsk terror

Takket være Schengen har terroristeres mulighed for at rejse frit og uhindret omkring i det grænseløse Europa efterlod sig et blodsopor i adskillige europæiske hovedstæder.

I alt er 333 EU-borgere siden 2004 blevet dræbt som følge af muslimsk terror, modens over tre hundrede er blevet slået.

Andersen, 2016

Det fremgår af en opgørelse, "Islamiske terrorangreb i Vesteuropa", som det tyske myndighedsområde, BKA, har udført.

Blindt de bøger, som indtil et blikket hårdest vær, er Musulminder, hvor muslimsk terror i marts 2004 dræbte 101 og sårede 1.500, og Paris i november sidste år, hvor muslimsk terror knuste 130 menneskers livet og sårede flere hundrede.

Andersen, 2016
Appendix 3 - Refugees as an economic burden

Regeringens økonomiske politik er hårdt trængt af asylkrisen – og nu skubber Socialdemokraterne og Dansk Folkeparti den endnu mere op ad muren

Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016

Belastringen fra flygtningene

Det er jo ikke kun støtten, der belastes økonomisk af asylstrømmen. Efterånden som mange går asyl, skal de ud i kommunerne, og det giver store ekstra udgifter her, som kommunerne ikke får fuld kompensation for. Først og fremmest får kommunerne stadig større problemer med at finde boliger til en rimelig pris.

I de enkelte kommuner oplever danske borgere, at de bliver skubbet ned i boligkøen, f.eks. kommunen skal finde og betale boliger til flygtningene. Samtidig vil kommunens øgede boligudgifter betyde, at

Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016

For de fleste kommer truslen fra det enorme antal asylsøgere. Når så mange bliver ved med at komme over grænsen, rammer det den danske økonomi og velfærd, og det rammer det danske samfunds sammenhængskraft, kultur og værdier.

Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016

Uholdbart

En fortsat kraftig stigning i asylallet vil være klart uholdbar for det danske samfund.

Det vil være en kolossal økonomisk belastning, der især kan mærkes i kommunerne.

Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016

Helt uholdbar udvikling

Uden grænsekontrol vil der komme mange flere ind i Danmark. Og mange flere vil havne på offentlig forsørgelse. Det vil ske på et tidspunkt, hvor dansk økonomi har stærkt behov for at få væsentligt færre på offentlig forsørgelse, så ressourcerne i stedet kan bruges til at skabe økonomisk vækst.

Trots megen snak om integration på arbejdsmarkedet, tyder al erfaring på, at kun en lille del af flygtningene vil få et regulært job inden for nogle år.

Jespersen & Pittelkow, 2016
Appendix 4 - Refugees as migrants

Regeringen kan jo ikke være i tvivl om, at den har et flertal bag sig for en restriktiv flygtninge- og indvandrerpolitik i den danske befolkning generelt, men det gælder også blandt Venstre-vælgerne.

Sarauw, 2016

Merkel og Sverige har aflivet Schengen

Den solidaritet omkring modtagelse og fordeling af flygtninge i Europa, som forbundskansler Merkel, EU-toppen og Sveriges regering nu forlanger – uden det store held – kan man i øvrigt roligt sidde overherlig, al den stund Merkel (og Sverige) selv har vist en enestående mangel på solidaritet ved egenmægtigt at invitere hvem som helst, der kunne kalde sig syrer og betale en menneskesmugler, inden for i deres lande.

Sarauw, 2016

Nu kan man så formode, at fast grænsekontrol vil blive indført overalt i Europa i løbet af kort tid. Alt andet vil være det rene selvmord. EU-toppen kan trues og regere så meget den vil, den har ingen retslig makt, så længe en effektiv bevogtning af de ydre grænser ikke er en realitet. Og en effektiv bevogtning betyder en flåde af skarpt bevæbnete krigsskibe i farvandet omkring EU, der ikke fisker flygtninge op og sælger dem til EU, men tvært imod transporterer dem direkte tilbage, hvor de kom fra.

Sarauw, 2016

Ekstra Bladet har haft en journalist i området ved den tysk-østrigske grænse. Han beskriver de problemer, der tårmer sig op, og citerer en 19-årige marokkener for at sige: "Selvfølgelig, mand, selvfølgelig rejser vi for pengenes skyld".

Danmark får ikke bare flere asylsøgere. Vi får flere falske asylsøgere. Og vi får flere kriminelle falske asylsøgere.

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016

Virkeligheden gjorde Faymann til strammer

Men så møde Werner Faymann virkeligheden. Det væltelede simpelt hen ind i Østrig med asylsøgere. Så nu gås han forest med at stramme kraftigt op.

Forleden tog Faymann således et skridt, som ingen anden regeringschef i EU, har taget: I et interview insisterede han på, at de flygtninge, der kommer fra Tyrkiet til Grækenland/EU, skal sendes tilbage til Tyrkiet.

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016


Hendes kollega Faymann er derimod ved at have nok. Nu skal der handles. Asylsøgerne skal slet ikke nå til Europa.

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016

Eksemplet kunne være Lisbeth Zornig Andersens, som absolut skulle vise hele Danmark, hvor god hun var, da hun korte "flygtninge" til Sverige.

Hede, 2016

"Hvad vi ser, har reelt intet at gøre med, at folk søger sikkerhed. Det drejer sig om, at de søger mod det økonomisk mest attraktive land. Sådan kan det ikke fortsætte." (The Local)

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016

Over 300.000 flygtninge sidder fast i udlandet

En anden og måske mere sengsenslighed til det jævnfald i antallet af asylsøgere i løbet af årets første to måneder ligger i udlandet.

Ifølge det indflydelsesrige tyske nyhedsmagasin, Der Spiegel, er omkring 100.000 flygtninge og migranter på vej mod Europa således strandet på grænsen mellem Syrien og Tyrkiet.

Og mellem 200.000 og 250.000 venter i ojeblikket i Libyen på menneskesmuglere, der kan fragte dem over Middelhavet.

Dertil kommer, at Tyskland ved grænsen mod Østrig nu er begyndt at afvise flygtninge og migranter, der er på vej til Skandinavien.

Andersen, 2016

I mange år har vi i Danmark rystet på hovedet over, at Sverige lod strømmen af flygtninge og indvandrere vokse helt ud af kontrol.

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016

Eksemplet kunne være Lisbeth Zornig Andersens, som absolut skulle vise hele Danmark, hvor god hun var, da hun korte "flygtninge" til Sverige.

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Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016

Martin Henriksen tager afstand fra de sken over asylbillet, der er kommet fra regeringen: "Danmark skal slet ikke modtage 25.000 flygtninge og migranter i år og 15.000 næste år."

Henriksen mener, at "regeringen er for opgivende over for den migrantriske, vi befinder os i."

Jespersen & Pitt kelow, 2016