Visualizing Refugees and Migrants

A critical visual discourse analysis of the representation of the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ in five Danish newspapers

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Abstract

This study explores how the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ relate to the visual representation of these individuals and groups in five Danish newspapers. This study is particularly concerned with how the visual representation constructs an ‘us’ and ‘them’ between Danish society and these individuals. This study draws on a conceptual outline of ‘racialization’ that understands the concept as a ‘lens’ that ‘race’-thinking operates through in the process of constructing group boundaries. This study will draw on Gillian Rose’s visual discourse analysis in the study of Danish newspaper images. It is argued that the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are represented as a racialized ‘Other’ to the Dane, in particular the Muslim identity. It is shown that a Muslim identity is a main racialized identity. Moreover, it is pointed out that the use of the term ‘refugee’ is dominant which indicates that this term is in danger of becoming a catch-all category.

Keywords: migrant, refugee, visual representation, ‘race’, racialization, Denmark
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Ch. 1 Introduction

‘What of the refugees who do not evoke in the mind of the white European an image of their own offspring? The images of black African bodies washed up on the shores of Europe’s Mediterranean beaches last spring did not prompt an equivalent outpouring of compassion. What of the bearded male refugee? What of the woman in the hijab or burka? What of their dark-skinned children? ... The Islamophobia that thrives in European societies today means that rather than compassion, they elicit feelings of apprehension and fear’.¹

‘Race, so easy to shrug off and overwrite, yet so perfectly open to malleable interpretation, remains the signifier par excellence out of which the West is imagined, always in relation to its racialized opposite’.²

1.1 Introducing the topic

Across Europe, the current migration situation that is unfolding is widely covered by national newspapers. The newspapers are often the first to give the reader their initial impression of events outside their door, the city or the border. Theun Adrianus Van Dijk has argued that the press ‘not only set the agenda for public discussion … but, more important, they strongly suggest how the readers should think and talk about [these topics]’.³ Newspapers have a responsibility because they have the power to promote either compassion or division in the representation of social groups. Nadine El-Enany questions in the introductory quote, whether specific types of individuals such as the bearded male refugee or the female refugee in the hijab, are in danger of being excluded from society because of a growing xenophobia and islamophobia in Europe. The exclusion is further based on notions of who belongs. As Alana Lentin points out in the second introductory quote, these individuals are in danger of being excluded from a Europe that increasingly draws its identity from a perceived impenetrable difference to a racialized figure.

With these points in mind it is considered to be relevant to look into how the notion of ‘race’ draws boundaries of exclusion in relation to refugees and migrants.

1.2 Research problem

This research is concerned with how the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’ are visually represented in Danish newspapers in order to explore what marks these individuals and groups as potentially different to the Dane. Peter Hervik provides an argument that is relevant in relation to why the study of the visual representation of refugees and migrant is interesting in a Danish context. He writes that “there is much talk about “we”, the Danes, the hosts, who are born and raised in Denmark, represented positively in the news articles and interviews, and “the others”, the guests who “do not belong” properly and are described in negative terms and considered as a problem simply because they arrive with their importunate differences”. Denmark is a country that largely conceives itself as culturally homogenous, and perceives itself through a notion of ‘sameness’. The country is an interesting case in relation to the representation of refugees and migrants because ‘we’ (the Danes) implies that there is a clear sense of what ‘we’ are not. The refugee and the migrant can be marked as the individuals and groups which this sense of sameness is created against. In this process, Danish newspapers play a role in representing refugees and migrants in relation to the Danish public, and have the potential power to construct these groups as different. This study is concerned with what marks this potential difference between the Danes and the refugee and migrant, because these groups can be excluded on the basis of this represented differentness. Differences between the visual representation of the two groups should be explored as well, because the term ‘migrant’ has been argued to have become associated with negative connotations. This adds an aspect to the exploration of how the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’ are visually represented, because these two terms could relate differently to notions of who belong, and who should be excluded.

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1.3 Research question

In order to address the stated issue, and fulfil the purpose of study, the following research question will be answered:

*How are the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ related to the visual representation of these individuals and groups in Danish newspapers?*

I will base my interpretation of the images from Danish newspapers on a theoretical outline of the concept of racialization. For the purpose of this research, the concept of racialization is understood as the lens that ‘race’ thinking operates through. Racialization can be used as a tool to explore the many complex ways in which the notion of ‘race’ comes into being. This understanding of the concept will be clarified later on in the theoretical section of this study.

1.4 Thesis Outline

In order to address the purpose of study, and answer the stated research question, I will in this study firstly provide an overview of previous research into the representation of refugees and migrants. I will then introduce my method of choice, and describe the selection and coding of my empirical material, which will be followed by a description of my methodological standpoint. I will then move into a discussion of the theoretical framework of ‘racialization’ which requires an initial outline of the concept of ‘race’ and the many forms of racism. This framework will provide the background for the following analysis which will explore how the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ relates to the visual representation of these groups and individuals in five Danish newspapers.
In this chapter I will provide an overview of literature relating to the study of the representation of refugees and migrants, and the racialization of these individuals. Furthermore, I will also examine literature that has specifically focused on this topic in a Danish context.

2.1 Representation of refugees and migrants

Two studies within the UK provides relevant points to consider when analysing the visual representation of refugees and migrants. James Banks has studied how nine British newspapers have visually constructed refugees and asylum seekers. Banks has argued that the newspapers represent asylum seekers as ‘shadowy strangers’ that are positioned as dangerous to British society. This construction is argued to be used to justify the exclusion of asylum seekers and refugees, and support a political promotion of tighter immigration controls in the country. This study is relevant to my research, because it points out that security concerns should be considered in studying the visual material. A research project conducted by researchers at Cardiff University School of Journalism and the project Article 19 also shows that there is an overwhelmingly negative portrayal of refugees, asylum-seekers and immigrants in the UK. Buchanan, Grillo and Threadgold argues that terms such as ‘immigrant’ and ‘asylum seeker’ are used interchangeably in the British tabloid press, and the newspapers fail to accurately differentiate between the groups. This study is interesting to draw on in this research because it draws attention to the need to differentiate between these different groups. Moreover, the study shows that many images portray ‘threatening young males’. This result highlights that it is relevant to look at gender in relation to the representation of refugees and migrants. In the Australian context, Roland Bleiker et al. have explored visual patterns in the representation of refugees and migrants.

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7 Buchanan, Sara, & Grillo, Bethan, & Threagold, Terry. (2003) What’s the story? Results from research into media coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. Article 19, Cardiff University School of Journalism, p. 9
8 Buchanan, Sara, & Grillo, Bethan, & Threadgold, Terry. p. 9
refugees and asylum-seekers. Bleiker et al. write that ‘visual patterns have framed the refugee “problem” such that it is seen not as a humanitarian disaster that requires a compassionate public response, but rather as a potential threat’. This study is interesting in relation to this research, because it highlights potential visual patterns to look for in the material.

Paul A. Silverstein focuses specifically on the racialization of the migrant in Europe. In his study, Silverstein writes that race is a persistent part of migrants’ lives in Europe ‘due to the structural persistence of racial, racist and racialist discourses and hierarchies’. The racial categorization of the migrant maintains the individuals as Europe’s inferior ‘Other’. Silverstein points to the shift in the racial paradigm from a biological foundation to a cultural that has resulted in that ‘more recently Muslim immigrants and their offspring in Europe have occupied this racialized slot’. Silverstein’s arguments are particularly relevant for this study, because the racialization of Muslims in Denmark will be considered later on in the analysis.

Two studies have specifically focused on the racialization of the climate-change migrant/refugee. In Andrew Baldwin’s study it is argued that the ‘the figure of the climate change migrant designates a form of racial Other’. This notion of the climate-change migrant as racialized is further taken up by Chris Methmann that argues that ‘the climate migrant/refugee appears as a racialized figure, a passive and helpless victim of global warming’. The two studies are interesting to draw upon because they provide an insight into how the notion of racialization can be applied in a study.

2.2 Studies on representation and ‘race’ in Denmark

Peter Hervik is an influential researcher into the study of ‘race’ in Denmark. Hervik has argued that ‘in Scandinavia race and racism are clearly negatively loaded words with association to Nazi-ideology … The negative associations, and our strong egalitarian philosophy, results in a

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11 Ibid. p. 366
self-perception where the relation to visible minorities are based on a colour-blind philosophy that says that physical differences are not allowed to mean anything’. Hervik’s studies on ‘race’ in Denmark, are particularly interesting because it links the theoretical concerns of this study with the Danish context by providing valuable insights into how the concepts of ‘race’ and racialization relate to the country’s social and historical context.

Rikke Andreassen provides specific reflections on the representation of ethnic minorities in the country. Andreassen writes that ‘when the news media describe refugees, immigrants and their descendants, then they also describe – directly or indirectly – ourselves, the ethnic Danes’. This reflection concerns the relation between the representation of refugees and migrants and Danish identity. Andreassen will be referred to later on in the analysis, because her study gives specific examples of the Muslim identity in relation to Danish norms and values. It is interesting apply Andreassen’s study to the visual representation in Danish media.

Terence Wright argues that ‘the visual representation of refugees plays an essential, yet neglected, role in forming the stereotype of the refugee’. This study is concerned with the effect of visual representation of refugees and migrants in Denmark. It will build on the similar studies from other countries, as well as an understanding of race and racialization in a Danish context in an attempt to contribute to the 'neglected' area to which Wright refers.

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Ch. 3 Method

In the following section I will present my method of choice, and show how I selected, and coded my empirical material. Furthermore, I will highlight the methodological implications for this study.

3.1 Method

This research intends to analyse the use of the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ in relation to the visual representation of individuals and groups in Danish newspapers using Gillian Rose’s visual discourse analysis combined with Norman Fairclough’s model for a critical discourse analysis. Visual discourse analysis is an approach that is, as Rose writes, concerned with ‘how images construct accounts of the social world’. Images, in this approach are considered to be a language that structures and represents specific versions of the world. Similarly to linguistic structures, visual structures represent a specific interpretation of social interaction. As Gordon Fyfe and John Law claim ‘a depiction is never just an illustration … it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference’. An image can construct a certain version of human interaction by representing subjects in relation to each other. Visual discourse analysis pays careful attention to how an image describes the depicted in order to explore relations of power. Fyfe and Law further write:

‘to understand a visualisation is thus to enquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of inclusion and exclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises’.

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19 Ibid. p. 1
Visual discourse analysis is particularly interested in the relationship between images and power because it aims to investigate the construction, and legitimization of social inequalities that are structured within the visual realm. In the analysis, attention should be paid to how the specific topic is represented as natural or true. According to Rose, this is investigated by analysing ‘recurring themes and visual patterns’ in order to point out clusters of images that relate to one another and together structures a specific view of the subject. This further points out that visual discourse analysis is concerned with intertextuality, because it is in the sum of several accounts that a topic is discursively constructed. This is relevant for this study, because it draws on images from five newspapers.

In order to structure the analyses of the empirical material, I will apply Fairclough’s framework for studying discourse that builds on three interrelated dimensions of discourse:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts)
2. The processes by which the object is produced and received by the human subject
3. The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes

According to this approach, each of these three dimensions mentioned above requires a different kind of analysis: 1. Text analysis (Description), 2. Processing analysis (Interpretation), 3. Social analysis (Explanation). I will apply these three levels of analysis to four examples chosen from my empirical material in the analysis in order to explore the construction of the main visual pattern that I have identified.

Following this outline, I find that Rose’s visual discourse analysis combined with Fairclough’s model will be suitable for my study because it enables me to critically and systematically investigate my gathered visual material in order to explore how the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are represented in Danish newspapers.

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20 Rose, Gillian. (2001) p. 204
22 Ibid, p. 329
3.2 Material

The research material consists of a total amount of 274 articles from five Danish newspapers; Politiken, Jyllandsposten, Berlingske Tidende, B.T and Ekstra Bladet. These five newspapers were chosen because they, as argued by Rikke Andreassen, ‘together represent most of the political spectrum’. Politiken is a more social liberal newspaper, Jyllandsposten is liberal right-wing, Berlingske Tidende is conservative and Ekstra Bladet and B.T are both tabloid newspapers that tend to be more sensationalist. The newspapers’ different standpoints could provide a wider insight into how the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are represented. The articles were gathered from the Danish media database Infomedia by identifying the key words ‘flygtning’ and ‘migrant’ within the headline, subheading or caption of the article. The focus on the specific captions were found to produce articles that dealt particularly with the issue of migrants and refugees, and were therefore more likely to contain an image. Articles that did not include an image were excluded, and so were articles that only contained half an image. Half an image would be the result occasionally, because the article would be on one page, but the image would cover two pages. The second page would not be included in Infomedia, because the website is an archive for articles, and not images. The material is retrieved from the period between 2nd of July 2015 to the 2nd of November 2015. This time-span was chosen based on a previous personal observation of an increased debate in Denmark concerning refugees and migrants arriving in the country. The result of this search gave the following amount of material:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berlingske</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.T</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekstra Bladet</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyllandsposten</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politiken</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>274</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Andreassen, Rikke, p. 16
24 ‘Refugee’ and ‘migrant’ in English
3.3 Coding

I used a coding scheme in order to approach my empirical material more systematically, and to be better able to draw connections between the different images. A coding scheme would quantify the content of my material with the use of categories, and allow me to see connections between the images and establish main visual patterns. I derived the structure of my coding scheme from Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins that Gillian Rose suggests.\(^{25}\) Lutz and Collins construct their coding categories in relation to their theoretical concerns in order to make the categories ‘more obviously interpretive’.\(^ {26}\) I found this approach to the construction of a coding scheme very useful, because it would make the link between my theoretical concerns and the categories clearer, and highlight on what basis I constructed my key themes for the analysis. Moreover, I added the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘refugee’ separately to the coding scheme in order to check what term was used in relation to the categories.

Initially, I constructed a pilot coding scheme in order to do a test run, and enhance the reliability of the study. The categories in the pilot coding scheme was partly based on my first impressions when gathering the material, and also on my theoretical concerns relating to the concept of racialization. In the pilot coding scheme the categories such as ‘helpless’, ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ were applied. My final coding scheme was based on my experiences with what worked and did not work in the pilot phase, and based on additional theoretical concerns. This resulted in that the category ‘helpless’ was being altered to the more objective ‘passive’, and the ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ categories were further replaced with ‘passive’ and ‘active’. The final coding scheme can be viewed in the appendix (see Table 1).

I coded each newspaper separately in order to investigate whether there was a significant difference between the newspapers use of terms, and whether the newspapers different political standpoints would be reflected in their representation of the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’.

\(^{25}\) Rose, Gillian, p. 56
\(^{26}\) Rose, Gillian. (2001) p. 58
This research project follows a cultural studies approach to the study of images. Stuart Hall has been one of the main contributors to this approach derived from social constructivism. Hall writes that ‘since the “cultural turn” in the human and social sciences, meaning is thought to be produced – constructed – rather than simply “found”’. This approach emphasizes that meaning is not something that is already ‘in’ the world, but something people apply to things. Meaning is produced when things are represented, classified and conceptualized, and these practices can have social consequences. As Hall argues that meaning ‘organize and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects’.

This argument is important since newspapers represent specific social phenomenas to the public, and play a crucial role in how social groups are perceived, and treated in a society.

Fyfe and Law examine in focus the link between visual representation and its effect on the public. They write that ‘depiction, picturing and seeing are ubiquitous features of the process by which most human beings come to know the world as it really is for them’. This points out the link between the visual representation in newspapers and the effect on the public that I want to draw attention to in this study. Visual representations of the social world plays an important role in how people perceive and understands things that is around them.

Rose argues that ‘images are never transparent windows onto the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways’. It is therefore required in the study of images to be critical towards the portrayed content, because the image is a specific way of looking at the world. Images shape what can and cannot be seen, and in this sense they indirectly shape what can and cannot be thought. It is therefore important to critically engage with the images in an analysis, and be equally aware of that what is not shown can have implications for the representation of the topic that is investigated. However, my account should be equally scrutinized. As Rose further notes ‘interpreting images is just that, interpretation, not the

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28 Ibid. p. 3
29 Fyfe, and, Law, cited in, Rose, Gillian, p. 6
30 Rose, Gillian, p. 6
An interpretation of images should not be considered as a claim to reveal what the images are really showing. Instead, my interpretation should be considered as an exploration of aspects that can be revealed within an image. My background within the IMER field will impact my interpretation.

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31 Rose, Gillian p. 2
In this chapter I will introduce my theoretical framework on the concept of racialization. I will begin with an outline of the notion of ‘race’ that will lead into an exploration of the concept of racism. This outline will provide a background for an elaboration on the concept of racialization, and how it will be applied to this study.

4.1 ‘Race’

The concept of racialization is best understood through a clarification of the notion of ‘race’. The concept of ‘race’ has been contested because of its previous incorporation into the discourse of pseudo-science. Robert Miles provides an explanation of how theories of race were constructed and used within the scientific framework. Miles writes that:

‘by the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant theory of “race” asserted that the world’s population is constituted by a number of distinct “races”, each of which has a biologically determined capacity for cultural development’. 32

The notion of ‘race’ was previously understood as a biological category that divided people into groups based on their physical characteristics. This distinction naturalized boundaries between social groups, and fixed social groups within a racial hierarchy based on their perceived lack of progress. The categorisation of people into distinct groups could be used to distinguish between what was understood as inferior and superior ‘races’. This inherent inferiority served as a historical legitimation for specific ‘racial’ groups’ subordination.

‘Race’ was later argued to be a social construct that had no biological or scientific basis. Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown provide one of the reasons for this shift in the understanding of the concept. They argue that:

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'the fact that only certain physical characteristics are signified to define “races” in specific circumstances indicates that we are investigating not a given, natural division of the world’s population, but the application of historically and culturally specific meanings.'

The shifting use of ‘race’ to define different groups highlights the concept’s role within the ongoing social construction of reality. ‘Race’ is believed to be essentially related to social relations, and how these relations maintain power relations at specific historical moments.

Stuart Hall’s exemplifies the shifting meaning of ‘race’ by describing it as a ‘floating signifier’. As Hall writes:

‘Race is a signifier which can be linked to other signifiers in a representation. Its meaning is relational and it is constantly subject to redefinition in different cultures, different moments. There is always a certain sliding of meaning, always something left unsaid about race. Hence, race is a floating signifier’

Hall points out that a definite understanding of ‘race’ is difficult, because the concept is in a constant process of being redefined in relation to its specific historical and social context. This is relevant to the following analysis, because it highlights that ‘race’ can only be explored and understood in close relation to the specific context it is studied in.

Brett St Louis highlights this dilemma of defining race. St Louis writes that ‘attempts at definitive racial understanding have arrived at the following conclusion: race does/ does not exist and we should/ should not use the concept’. St Louis points out that the use of ‘race’ is complex, as it can reify the idea of ‘race’. However, the question of whether ‘race’ does or does not exist cannot sufficiently engage with the consequences and processes of ‘race’ thinking. Here it is relevant to draw attention to the concept of racism in order to explore the consequences of ‘race’ thinking.

4.2 Racism(s)

Racism is considered to be the explanation of the consequences of the notion of ‘race’. Miles and Brown trace racism to ‘the growing body of scientific evidence that undermined the idea of “races” as natural’, and to, ‘the reaction to the rise of Fascism in Germany and the use of the ‘race’ idea’.³⁶ The concept of racism can be seen to have developed as a term that described the action of inferiorizing and excluding groups based on their perceived physical characteristics. Racism developed as a concept from the realization of ‘race’ as a social construct, and the concept was used to describe the consequences of ‘race’ thinking.

Alana Lentin considers racism as inherently political. Lentin writes that ‘racism is political in the sense that it has become inherent in the structures of our political apparatus: the nation-state’.³⁷ Lentin views racism as intertwined with the construction of national identity. Racism is considering to be used to draw boundaries between those that is considered to ‘belong’ to the group, and those who are considered not to.

Peter Gale further asserts the idea of racism as political. Gale writes:

‘inherent “racial” assumptions of inferiority and superiority within colonial discourse have given way to new more subtle forms of racism founded on symbolic national boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within contemporary popular nationalism.’³⁸

Gale points out that racism can also be based on cultural differences in order to assert that different social groups are inherently different.

From this, it is clear why Neil Macmaster points out that racism is plural. Macmaster argues that ‘fundamentally, all racism/s are a cultural manifestation, a reflection or expression of tensions or problems within a society’.³⁹ Macmaster highlights that there exist different types of racisms, because the concept is closely tied with the social context that it is expressed in. This

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³⁶ Miles, Robert, & Brown, Malcolm, p. 59
³⁷ Lentin, Alana, p. xiii
³⁹ Macmaster, Neil, cited in, Lentin, Alana, p. 1
follows the previous point made by Hall where ‘race’ is viewed as a ‘floating signifier’ because as the meaning of ‘race’ shifts so does the expression of racism.

Hall contributes with a further understanding of how racism works. He writes that racism:

‘operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix an naturalise the difference between belongingness and otherness’.\textsuperscript{40}

Hall points out that racism is a tool that can draw boundaries of inclusion and exclusion between groups. His point is interesting to take into consideration, because it highlights that racism functions by categorising people into groups racially.

Peter Hervik points out that racism can be used to maintain a group’s position. He writes that racism ‘uses doctrines, religious and confessional beliefs, and stereotypes in order to render other groups inferior as a means of maintaining its own privilege’.\textsuperscript{41} Thereby, Hervik points out that racism is considered to be intertwined with structures of power. Moreover, it is highlighted that racism can be based on cultural differences that can be used to argue that groups are too different from one another to ever be united.

Following this outline, racism is a consequence of ‘race’ thinking. Racism can be a tool to maintain a group’s position within a specific social context by emphasizing the differences between racially constructed groups. However, the concept of racism does not explain how groups come to be ‘racially’ constructed


4.3 Racialization

The concept of racialization provides an understanding of how groups are racially constructed. Ellis Cashmore provides a general definition of the concept of racialization. Cashmore writes that:

‘the notion of racialization has been used in a broader sense to refer to any process or situation wherein the idea of “race” is introduced to define and give meaning to some particular population, its characteristics and actions’.\(^{42}\)

Here racialization is considered to describe a process wherein ‘race’ is used to define a group by ascribing meaning to real or imagined physical characteristics. This definition provides a basic understanding of how the concept is applied to describe a specific social group, but does not address how the concept functions.

Karim Murji and John Solomos write that racialization ‘is the lens or medium through which race-thinking operates’.\(^{43}\) Here racialization is considered to be a way of exploring the many ways in which ‘race’ comes into being, and becomes constitutive of social relations. Thus, the concept can be used to explore the complex ways in which individuals and groups are ascribed racial meanings.

Stephen Small further argues for the use of racialization to investigate the significance of ‘race’. For Small:

‘speaking of racialized identities and racialized relations offer better ways of discussing the power and influence of racial thinking without validating the idea of race itself’.\(^{44}\)

Small considers racialization as a way of discussing how ‘race’ still divides and structures people into specific groups, without approving of the idea that ‘race’ exists. Thereby,


\(^{43}\) Murji, Karim, & Solomos, John, p. 3

\(^{44}\) Ibid. p. 15
racialization is a concept that works through the assertion of ‘race’ as a social construct, but that
acknowledges the power that ‘race’ thinking maintains in the structuring of social relations.

Miles & Brown clarify the position of racialization in the structure of social relations. They write that the concept of racialization is:

‘a process of categorisation, a representational process of defining the Other, usually, but
not exclusively, somatically’. 45

Miles and Brown assert that racialization is connected to the process of defining differences
between groups through a process of racializing the Other. It is interesting to consider this point,
because racialization is understood as a process that draws boundaries between groups through
racial categorisation. Miles and Brown extend their notion of racialization in relation to the
‘Other’. They write that racialization ‘is a dialectical process of signification’46 further arguing
that racialization is a process in which representing the Other is a way of representing oneself.
Thus, the differences that marks the ‘Other’ are what constitutes the self. Thereby, racialization
describes a process wherein a particular notion of ‘race’ is employed to signify differences
between ‘them’ and ‘us’.

Karim Murji and John Solomos find the concept of racialization useful as a descriptive
tool for social exclusion. They write that:

‘the idea of racialization [is] useful for describing the processes by which racial meanings
are attached to particular issues – often treated as social problems’. 47

Murji and Solomos point out that racialization in some cases can be employed to describe how
‘race’ marks a negative difference between groups. Racialization can be used to describe what is
constituted as ‘race’, and thereby explore mechanisms of social exclusion that structures the
notion of ‘us’ and ‘them’.

45 Miles, Robert, &, Brown, Malcolm, p. 101
46 Ibid p. 101
47 Murji, Karim, &, Solomos, John, p. 3
Collins et al. further examine this mechanism of exclusion. Collins et al. write that racialization is ‘not simply an issue of representation, but of social practices through which political, economic and social relations are structured’.48 Racialization can be used to explore the structures of society, and how these are affected by the notion of ‘race’.

Alana Lentin argues that racialization is part of justifying racial discrimination. Lentin writes that:

‘racialization involves endowing the characteristics, appearances, traditions, and lifestyles attributed to groups of different “others” with negative signifiers that are deemed to be natural’.49

The process of racialization involves both biological and cultural elements. Cultural elements such as headscarves can be signified as an unwanted element that cements the incompatible difference in an ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy.

It is important to reflect further on how racialization is related to racist discrimination, because this is relevant for the following analysis. Miri Song provides a valuable argument for the distinction between racialization and racism. Song argues that:

‘not all forms of racialization constitute “racism” because not all racially based modes of thinking or behaving are based upon the belief that human beings can be differentiated according to essentialist understandings of inferior or superior racial groupings’.50

Song’s point should be kept in mind for the following analysis, because it highlights that a racist act is constituted by a complex set of interactions, and is not solely dependent on whether a group is represented to be inferior. This argument points out that though the figure of the refugee and migrant is shown to be racialized in the following analysis, this does not mean that those that participate in this construction are ‘racists’.

48 Ibid. p. 12
49 Lentin, Alana, p. xv
Peter Hervik provides a clear outline of racialization in order to highlight the distinction between the concept and racism. Hervik writes:

‘incidents of racialisation are not expressions of racism in themselves, but are the lens of race thinking’.  

His argument provides a clear definition of how the concept of racialization will be applied in this study. This research is not an attempt to assert that Danish newspapers are inherently racist. Rather, this research should be considered as an exploration of how racial thinking, through the use of the concept racialization, can be considered to be present within the visual representation of the ‘migrant’ and the ‘refugee’ in Denmark.

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51 Hervik, Peter, p. 49
Ch. 5 Analysis

In this chapter I will analyse my empirical material in relation to racialization. Firstly, I will comment on the results from the final coding. Following this, I will analyse four examples from my material, using Fairclough’s model on each, in order to exemplify the main visual pattern ‘the racialized “Other”’. I will end this chapter with a discussion on the use of terms.

5.1 Results

I chose to add all the numbers together from the final coding in order to highlight a main visual pattern that was present throughout the material. The total is all articles containing either the term ‘refugee’, ‘migrant’ or both. The results can be viewed in the following coding scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Explanation of codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Mass’</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>People are represented as anonymous group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Non-White’</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>People have dark skin, appear to be dark skinned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘White’</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>People have white skin, appear to be white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>People are represented as powerless, weak, in need of help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>People are represented as active i.e. working, having part in Danish community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security concerns</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>People are represented in relation to authority, or tumult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that there were three dominant categories throughout the material excluding the categories ‘men’, ‘women’ and ‘children’. These categories are excluded in this part of the analysis in order to highlight a general picture of the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’. The category ‘mass’ was present 98 times, ‘non-white’ was present 118 times and ‘passive’ was present 133 times. These categories often interacted with each other in the coding process, and would often be applicable to the same image. The category ‘mass’ was often translated in the images to represent an anonymous group that posed a problem to the ‘ordered’ society. ‘Non-white’ was
directly or indirectly present when there was an implied ‘us’, the ‘white’ Danes. The category ‘passive’ was present when people were represented as powerless, and not resourceful individuals. I could from this repeated combination of codes identify a clear visual pattern that constructed the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’ as a racialized figure within an ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy. This main visual pattern will be exemplified in the following section.

5.2 The racialized ‘Other’

Image 1 (see appendix) was coded along the categories ‘refugee’, ‘non-white’, ‘mass’ and ‘passive’. The image represents the ‘refugee’ as a racialized ‘Other’. In the image we see a group of people. In the foreground people are sitting down, all staring in a one direction, apart for one man, and a little girl, who stare directly into the camera. The little girl fixes the viewer with her gaze. She is juxtaposed to the man sitting to her left that also stares into the camera. In the background, half visible, people are standing up, blocking the view of the surrounding area. People appear to be tired, and dirty, and they are all waiting.

One aspect of the racialized ‘Other’ is identified in this image in the representation of the people as powerless. The people in the image are represented as passively waiting, the image does not reveal what the people are waiting for. They could be waiting for a meal, or for a decision to be made about their destiny. Their sorry situation, implied by the dirtiness, and their lack of action implies that they do not have the ability to control their situation. They are left in the hands of an invisible ‘us’ that marks them as passive, or weak. Andrew Baldwin provides an interesting reflection on marking the people in an image as weak. He writes that ‘racialization is a process through which meanings of the ‘Other’ are by necessity tethered to those of the Self. If the ‘Other’ is marked as different, it only appears as such in relation to a purportedly unmarked, neutral subjectivity’. The individuals in the image can only gain strength through the ‘us’ that has fixed them in this passive position. They are represented as dependent on ‘us’, because we are positioned as having power over what will happen. The individuals are reduced to passive victims, and are thereby fixed as a racialized ‘Other’ by the viewer’s gaze that marks them as helpless and in need of ‘us’ to save ‘them’.

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52 Baldwin, Andrew, p. 1477
The contrast between the girl and the man further asserts the notion of the racialized ‘Other’. Baldwin writes that ‘the racial Other is conceived in the language of threat and victimhood’. The contrast between the man and the child points out the binary of victimhood/threat that is intertwined within the construction of the racial ‘Other’. Children are often perceived as innocent victims of cruel acts. As Susan D. Moeller writes ‘children dramatize the righteousness of a cause by having their innocence contrasted with malevolence (or perhaps banal hostility) of adults in authority’. Children are the victims of adult acts, and are therefore a symbol of innocence and “genuine” victimhood. Contradictory, male refugees and migrants are often perceived as suspicious, and considered more as a threat. The contrast between the man and the child poses an implicit question of who is preferred. The ‘refugee’ is in this constructed only in relation to a question of a victim or a threat, and this simplifies the many characteristics of the individual. As Simon Behrman writes ‘we reduce forced migrants to one-dimensional figures’. The refugee is constructed as the racialized ‘Other’ by being fixed in a narrow binary that only leaves room for a prejudged conception of the refugee as either a passive victim or a threat to ‘us’.

The representation of a ‘mass’ of ‘passive’ refugees is interesting in relation to the Danish context. In Denmark, there have been on-going debates about whether the refugees coming to the country are able to participate and contribute to Danish society. The debate about whether refugees can and will contribute is complex, but it is interesting to note this in comparison with the result of this image where the ‘refugee’ is overwhelmingly represented as passive. Representing the ‘refugee’ as a one-dimensional and passive figure does not allow the possibility of an individual that is resourceful and can contribute. The category ‘active’ was an attempt to address this concern with whether the ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’ were visually represented as being a resourceful individual that can contribute. The coding scheme shows that

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53 Ibid, p. 1476
the category ‘active’ was present 54 times in total compared to the category ‘passive’ that was present 133 times.

This result points out that the individuals or groups that are represented as refugees and migrants are often visually represented as excluded from being considered as contributors to society.

A second example of the representation of the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ as a racialized ‘Other’ can be viewed in the appendix (see Image 2). In this image, two ‘white’ people, a man and a woman, are walking past a small park where small groups of ‘non-white’ people are sitting or standing. The man and the woman appear as the subjects of the photo. The woman is staring at the people in the park, while the man appears to be ignoring the people in the park. He is looking straight in the direction he is going. The man and the woman are both dressed in what could be described as holiday outfits; the man is wearing a hat, shorts and a loose shirt, the woman is wearing a light and colourful summer dress. In the small park, the groups of people have pitched tents. The people in the park appear to have made the park their temporary home, with shoes lined up next to the tents, and carpets spread out to make some common areas where people are talking. Some of the women are wearing headscarves. There has not been enough space in the small area, so some of the tents have been pitched exactly to the point where the pavement begins, and where the man and the woman are walking.

The racialized ‘Other’ is present in the multiple levels of division that are indicated in the image. One of the elements that makes up this division is the contrast between the clean path that the man and woman are walking along, and the tents that are on the brink of being on the path. The disruption caused by the tents indicates a sense of chaos in the normal routine of the man and woman. The man and woman represent ‘us’, the Danes, that are being confronted with ‘them’, an anonymous group of people that have settled down in the middle of a park, a recognisable symbol of orderly society. The man and the woman are represented in a superior position to the people in the park. Whereas the man and the woman are walking along on a clean path, the people in the park are represented as if they have settled here amongst the trees, bushes and dirt. Another element that indicates ‘us’ and ‘them’ in the image is the differences between the clothes that the ‘white’ woman walking past and the ‘non-white’ women in the park are wearing. The light summer dress, and the headscarf are cultural signifiers that indicate the
differences. Here, it is interesting to draw on the outline of Miles and Brown’s notion of racialization. Miles and Brown theorise racialization as a process of categorisation wherein the ‘Other’ was identified ‘usually, but not exclusively, somatically’. From this, the dividing line within the image is partly drawn on skin-colour, but also on the clothes that the individuals are wearing. The racialized ‘Other’ is in this image constituted by the racialization of the Muslim identity that is signified by the women’s headscarves. This cultural signifier demarcates a boundary between the man and woman, ‘us’, and the people in the park, ‘them’.

The Muslim identity is considered particularly problematic in Danish society. Peter Hervik writes that ‘the “bad” Muslim others, who are not much more than those the Danes do not like is strong and salient in the Danish media and popular consciousness’. 57 Incidents such as the Mohammad cartoons that were published in 2005 by Jyllandsposten is one example of how the Muslim has been positioned as different in relation to Danish norms and values. As Hervik points out about the debates concerned with the Muhammad crisis ‘the debate suggests that the free speech response is not much more than a reflection of the powerful, hegemonic dichotomization in Danish society of a positive “us” and a negative “them”’. 58 The Muslim identity has often been juxtaposed to the Danes. This has also been clear in the material where the process of racialization of the refugee and migrant was particularly tied to cultural signifiers. The headscarf has been a particular signifier of the difference between specific notions of Danish values and Islam. As Rikke Andreassen points out ‘the Danish media have primarily represented headscarves and covering up as an expression of the suppression of women’. 59 The headscarf has become a cultural signifier that supports the notion of an inherent difference between the Danes and the Muslim refugees and migrants.

This result points out that the representation of refugees and migrants in Denmark is often effected by a process of racialization wherein the Muslim identity is racialized.

A third example of the racialized ‘Other’ can be viewed in the appendix (see Images 3). The image was also coded in relation to the category ‘security concerns’. In this image, a group of ‘white’ local police officers are standing making a half-circle around a group of ‘non-white’

58 Ibid, p. 195
59 Andreassen, Rikke , p. 92
people in a field. The situation appears to be situated in the middle of nowhere, because there is nothing else to be seen in the distance other than fields. Four out of the six officers are wearing sanitary face-masks. The group of people that are surrounded by the officers consists of mostly women and children as well as a man that is sitting down to the left from the group. One of the women stands out in the image because she is wearing a white headscarf that stands out from the officers’ dark uniforms, and the green, dusty fields that make up the background.

The image represents the group of individuals that are surrounded as a cause for concern. The officers stand in a circle around the people. This indicates that the individuals within the circle should be kept separate from ‘us’. The importance of maintaining a distance is further highlighted by the fact that a majority of the guards are wearing sanitary face-masks. The face-mask implies that they might be bringing something with them that can be harmful. Here, there should be drawn attention to Murji and Solomos’ outline of racialization in which they argue that ‘racial meanings’ were employed to describe ‘social problems’. The racialization of the Muslim identity is in this image represented as a problem to society by the guards that surrounds the group, and this cements that specifically the Muslim refugee or migrant is considered to be a cause for concern.

A point made by Alana Lentin should be considered in relation to the Muslim identity. Lentin argues that ‘cohesion is unachievable under the present conditions because the West has done nothing to transform the basis upon which we conceive of what it means to belong; to be, to paraphrase Stuart Hall (2002) not only “in” but “of Europe”’. The Muslim identity is repeatedly excluded from the notion of a Western, or Danish identity, because these individuals are considered as a ‘security concern’. As Lentin points out, the ‘war on terror’ has given rise to the legitimacy of this mechanism of exclusion. The process of racialization is applied in this process of excluding the Muslim refugee and migrant in order to signify and cement this identity as inherently different in relation to society.

A fourth example of an image that represents the racialized ‘Other’ can be viewed in the appendix (see Image 4). In the image, a ‘mass’ of people are on a platform next to a train. The

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60 Murji, Karin, & Solomos, John, p. 3
62 Ibid. p. 488
group of people appear to be trying to get on the train. They are all moving towards the left of the frame where it can be assumed that the entrance to the train is. The picture on the side of the train stands out in contrast to the group. The picture shows black outlines of different individuals that are running towards either an embrace, or an unknown future. The background shows a blue sky. The foreground shows a grey razor wire that cuts across. In the middle, a German flag waves in the wind. The picture on the train represents the hopes and dreams of the people on the platform. However, the people on the platform are not represented in the same way. The situation appears chaotic, and they are all standing very close, pushing in order to get on the train. The people in the image are not ‘passive’, but the train that they are all trying to get on is.

In the image, the ‘migrant’ is represented as a cause for concern. The group of people in the image are represented as a ‘mass’ that creates chaos in their immediate surroundings by being represented as an unstoppable flow. The contrast between the picture on the train, and the group of people on the platform poses a question. The picture on the train represents an idyllic scenario, the blue sky implies hope, but this scenario is disrupted by the razor wire in the image and the scenario that is unfolding on the platform. The image appears to be asking whether this ‘mass’ is welcome.

This image is of interest because it was one of the few images that referred exclusively to the term ‘migrant’. Here, it is relevant to point out Robert Miles’s argument that ‘in the current environment in Europe, the construction of a ‘European identity’ inevitably involves a pattern of excluding “the other”, whether they be “migrants”, “blacks” or “foreigners”’. The ‘migrant’ was predominantly referred to as a ‘mass’ of people. This results in an identification with them as an anonymous ‘Other’ that could pose a threat to the German, or Danish society, because we do not know who they are. The exclusive use of the term migrant in relation to the image will be further elaborated on in the following section.

### 5.3 Use of terms

Following this outline of the main visual pattern within the material, it is interesting to distil the results in the coding scheme in order to highlight particular differences in the use of

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terms overall. The overall results of the categories in relation to the use of terms can be viewed in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘Migrant’</th>
<th>‘Refugee’</th>
<th>Mix of terms</th>
<th>Explanation of codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Mass’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>People are represented as anonymous group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Non-White’</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>People have dark skin, appear to be dark skinned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘White’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>People have white skin, appear to be white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>People are represented as powerless, weak, in need of help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>People are represented as active i.e. working, having part in Danish community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security concerns</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>People are represented in relation to authority, or tumult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What became clear from the results was that there was a dominant use of the term ‘refugee’ compared to the use of the term ‘migrant’. When the use of the term ‘migrant’ was present it was more often used in a mix with ‘refugee’. The result implies that the term ‘refugee’ has taken over as a dominant descriptive term within the representation of these individuals and groups. Whenever the term ‘migrant’ is applied it is often put together with the term ‘refugee’ which suggests that the term ‘migrant’ is at risk of being absorbed into the term ‘refugee’. This lack of differentiating between the two terms is crucial to highlight, because the two terms should be distinguished. The term ‘refugee’ is linked to a very specific legal action relating to the status of refugees within the Refugee Convention. The term is at risk of losing its potential power to protect people if it becomes a catch-all category that is associated with negative attitudes towards migration.

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64 UNHCR. *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.*
A concern with the use of the term ‘migrant’ was taken up by the major news agency Al-Jazeera that stated that they would no longer make use of the term ‘migrant’ because ‘migrant is a word that strips suffering people of voice’.\(^6\) Instead, the news agency chose to only make use of the term ‘refugee’, because for them, the term ‘migrant’ had come to be too associated with negative abbreviations such as ‘economic migrant’. However, adopting only the term ‘refugee’ to describe individuals and groups does not erase the negative connotations implicit in the word ‘migrant’. Instead, it can put the term ‘refugee’ at risk of becoming a “toxic” term as well, because it can be considered to only be used as a substitute for the term ‘migrant’. This is exemplified in Denmark, where the use of the term ‘bekvemmelighedsflygtninge’ translating to ‘convenience refugees’ is one added notion to the otherwise clear status of the term ‘refugee’. An overall change in how individuals and groups are represented would better meet this problem, because a simple change in terms does not adequately address the issue of a term becoming loaded with negative connotations.

The results show that the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are almost used interchangeably. In the case, where there is an exclusive use of the term ‘migrant’ the individuals are represented dominantly negative. This indicates that in the mixed use of ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ this negative representations is adopted. However, the dominant use of the term ‘refugee’ indicates that the term ‘migrant’ has been adopted into the term ‘refugee’. From this, it is clear that there are no significant attention payed to the term ‘refugee’ as a distinct category from ‘migrant’.

**5.4 Differences between the newspapers**

Differences between the newspapers’ use of the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ should be pointed out, because they each related the terms to some particular visual representations. The newspaper Politiken produced the largest amount of articles with 91 articles in total. The newspaper almost exclusively made use of the term ‘refugee’ instead of ‘migrant’ or a mix of the

two terms (see Table 2). This is worth noting, because it influenced the result in the final coding scheme that gathered the data. In the final coding scheme, Politiken’s exclusive use of the term ‘refugee’ added to that the term was dominant in the total gathering of numbers. But, this newspapers was the one that used the term ‘refugee’ more often than the others. It is further interesting to point out that the category ‘active’ was present 26 times in total, which makes up almost half of the times this category was present in the overall material. This could indicate that the newspaper has made an attempt to represent refugees in a more inclusive way.

The use of the term ‘refugee’ was also applied more often in Jyllandsposten. The newspaper produced the second largest amount of articles with 62 in total. The newspaper used the term ‘refugee’ more often than ‘migrant’, but did often use a mix of the terms (see Table 3). The mix of terms were present 7 times when the image were linked with ‘security concerns’ which made the use of a mix of term be related more to ‘security concerns’ than the other combinations. This implies that when images showed individuals or groups in relation to an authority, the newspapers was more likely to draw a link to not only refugees but also migrants. However, the term ‘refugee’ was dominant in most instances which again implies a preference in the use of terms.

The newspaper Berlingske gave a result of 61 articles, and again, the use of the term ‘refugee’ was dominant (see Table 4). However, it is interesting to note that when the term ‘migrant’ was applied it never referred to any individuals but only ‘masses’ of people. Again, the ‘migrant’ can be considered to be linked with notions of insecurity and cause for concern because this category always referred to large anonymous groups of people.

In the case of the newspaper B.T that produced 31 articles, the term ‘refugee’ was applied exclusively instead of ‘migrant’ (see Table 5). But, when there were men present in the image the article were more likely to use a mix of terms. This exemplifies Bleiker et al.’s argument that ‘the mother/child image is one of the most recognizable humanitarian symbols’. Bleiker et al. highlight that women and children are more often perceived as in need of help than men, pointing to that gender is considered to play a role in the perception of refugees. The newspaper Ekstra Bladet produced the smallest amount of articles with a total of 29. The use of the term ‘refugee’ was again used significantly more than ‘migrant’ or a mix of terms (see table 6).

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Ch. 6 Conclusion

In this final section I will draw a conclusion on the findings in my study. Moreover, I will briefly reflect on the validity, reliability and representativeness of this study, and further provide a suggestion for further research into this topic.

6.1 Concluding remarks

How are the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ related to the visual representation of these individuals and groups in Danish newspapers?

Through the study of the visual representation of the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ in Danish newspapers I found that the predominant visual patterns is the racialized ‘Other’, made by combining the categories ‘passive’, ‘non-white’ and ‘mass’.

The ‘refugee’ and the ‘migrant’ are constructed as different from the Dane in a variety of ways; through the representation of the ‘mass’ vs the individual, victim vs threat, security concern vs the ordered society, and as a passive drain on resources vs an active individual that can contribute. A clear pattern emerges of a common representation of the refugee and migrant, and a clear image emerges of the Dane that can be constructed against these individuals in society. Difference is specifically signalled through cultural signifiers, predominantly the Muslim identity that is positioned as different to the Dane. All the themes emphasize the refugee and the migrant as a racialized ‘Other’ that is a potential disrupter or intruder. The themes are related to different discussions in Danish society; can the refugee contribute, can the Muslim take part in the country’s norms and values, and are these groups too different to be part of the Danish notion of ‘us’.

The use of the term ‘refugee’ is dominant within the description of individuals and groups in Danish newspapers. This is problematic because the term is related to the specific legal status of refugees in the Refugee convention. If the term ‘refugee’ becomes a catch-all category that is associated with negative attitudes towards migration, the term will become diffused, and it can lose its potential powers to protect individuals.
6.2 Suggestions for further research

It would be interesting to expand the time period in this study of the visual representation of the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ in order to explore how the use of terms have changed in relation to how these individuals and groups are portrayed.

Furthermore, the study into the use of terms in relation to visual representation in a European context would provide an interesting insight into how the ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ are positioned in relation to this wider context. This could specifically be interesting in relation to the growing xenophobia across Europe, because this type of study could explore what marks refugees and migrants as different to the European identity.
Bibliography

Books


**Academic articles**


**Online articles**


Online sources

Table 1.

<table>
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**Image 1.**

(Politiken, 13/7-2015)
Image 2.
(Berlingske, 18/9-2015)

Image 3.
(Politiken, 2/9-2015)
Table 2.

**Politiken**

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Jyllandsposten

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Table 4.
Berlingske

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Table 6.
Ekstra Bladet

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