



**Department of Political Science Centre For European Studies (CES)**

# **“CRISIS AND CRISIS FOR WHOM?”**

- A critical discourse analysis of how Swedish and British editorials framed the refugee crisis during the autumn of 2015

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## **Abstract**

This Master thesis aims to conduct a critical discourse analysis of how Swedish and British editorials covered the so-called "refugee crisis" during the autumn of 2015, specifically from Aug 1 to Dec 31 st. The overall aim is to investigate the discursive construction of the crisis, which entails investigating how the editorials framed the "crisis" and in what way it is a crisis: how the term was conceptualised. By making a comparison between two countries, the aim is to get a better understanding of the so-called crisis and the discursive construction surrounding it in various societal contexts. Two newspapers were picked in both of the countries from the UK was The Daily Telegraph, and The Guardian picked and in Sweden was Dagens Nyheter, and Svenska Dagbladet picked. Two theories was applied Framing theory and the securitization theory.

The analysis and results showed that the editorials framed the crisis in accordance to the literature that was reviewed. More specifically, in both countries the crisis was described as being an effect of the excessive number of refugees that entered the European borders. The framing focused on the crisis from a European perspective where most of the themes did not consider the perspective of the refugees. Moreover, the results show that the refugee crisis was in fact securitized due to the editorial coverage of the crisis. Furthermore, as a consequence of concluding the aim of this paper the result of the study will hopefully be used as a stepping stone for further research.

**Keywords: Refugee crisis, Crisis, Editorials, Sweden, The UK, Framing Theory and Securitization Theory.**

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# Acronyms

<b>CDA</b>	<b>Critical Discourse Analysis</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>UNHCR</b>	<b>The United Nations Refugee Agency</b>
<b>MP</b>	<b>Member of Parliament</b>
<b>UK</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>
<b>UKIP</b>	<b>United Kingdom Independence Party</b>
<b>CS</b>	<b>Copenhagen School</b>
<b>SvD</b>	<b>Svenska Dagbladet</b>
<b>DN</b>	<b>Dagens Nyheter</b>
<b>TDT</b>	<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>
<b>TG</b>	<b>The Guardian</b>

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# 1 Introduction

The so-called "refugee crisis,"<sup>1</sup> also called "migration crisis," has raised the topic on immigration to become one of the major issues in the second half of 2015. In 2015, more than 1,25 million refugees entered the European borders as an effect of war, violence and instability in their home countries. During the year the number increased from 5,500 people in January to 221,000 in October to the southern borders in Europe. The situation for refugees became even more critical when many boats were overloaded, and some went under water (overturned) which led to the death of numerous individuals (UNHCR 2015a). Even with a long history of immigration in Europe, the perception of incoming refugees and asylum seekers, described as a "flood," seemed to be hard to handle. The European Union (EU) stated that it was the worst refugee crisis since World War II. In the public debate, the situation led to a discussion on safety but also on who was responsible for the migrants and refugees when they entered the European borders (De Genova & Tazzioli 2016). European media during this time was in much focused on the pressure and burden that Europe has to handle by emphasising negative effects on the EU and its member states.

Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore (2016:4-5) state that people in Europe are dealing with a growing concern about immigration and asylum, where research has shown that the view of these issues has become more negative. This change in opinion can be explained by several factors, such as the increase of refugees, and the insecurity after the economic crisis with austerity policies which has led to social instability. Further, the rise of far-right parties has raised the issues on the political agenda and led the issue to become more polarised. One general assumption according to the authors is that media plays a significant role in the formation of public opinion towards asylum seekers, while the media has not been united in their response to the refugee crisis (Ibid). Recent research on the refugee crisis thus indicates that the crisis has been widely reported in the media, however, it has been seen as a complex phenomenon for researchers because the media coverage has not given a clear picture of the meaning of the crisis (Di Salvo 2016; Benson & Wood 2015). Here the media has both perceived the issue as a humanitarian matter, on the basis that rescue actions and help actions are a priority, where refugees are portrayed as victims. The negative coverage has viewed refugees as a threat and as a burden on states well-being, producing and

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<sup>1</sup> The term refugee crisis is considered in relation to this thesis as a word that is not natural but is central to the work in the discourse evolving around this saying in the media, the public, and in academia. In that assumption, the general use of this term is "the so-called refugee crisis".

reproducing a distinction between “we” and “them”. The negative coverage has been more prior during the crisis where problems rather than solutions been presented (Crawley, McMahon & Jones 2015: 8-11; Di Salvo 2016; Benson & Wood 2015) Media is influential as it helps us to understand the meaning of an event in the sense that it shapes the understanding of immigration (Hall 1997; Wodak & Boukala 2015).

Against this background, this master thesis in European studies will focus on the media debate on the so-called refugee crisis or more specifically the “crisis” where in many ways this term has been taken-for-granted; in fact we know little of the discursive construction of the refugee crisis in Europe which makes it relevant to study. During the autumn of 2015 has the notion of the crisis been used frequently and in many ways in media with little indications on what it actually means to the extent that it has become a “dominant discourse” (De Genova & Tazzioli 2016:5). The complexity and duration of the refugee crisis has lead to uncertainty about its effects and its implications which left room for the media to form the understanding of it. Building on framing theory, we can assume that media can frame an issue by putting emphasis on some aspects and exclude others (Entman 1993). Frames give the story a meaning, where frames are to be seen as a powerful tools in the establishment of a discourse (Van Gorp 2010). Drawing on the academic discussion on how media represents refugees according to which they have in recent years been described in a more negative way as a threat to identity, economic as well as security (Crawley, McMahon & Jones 2015:8-11; Threadgold 2009:8; Marfleet 2006:7; Venir 2015:3-5; Khosravini 2009:1-8; Balzacq 2009:64; Bennett et al. 2013:253; Moore 2012), this thesis will use securitization theory to see if this trend can, in fact, be found in the media coverage of the refugee crisis.

Nevertheless, in 2015 have we also noticed that the receiving states are handling the asylum issue in different ways. The European states have been reluctant to respond in varying degrees with stricter policies and closed borders which lead to the idea that maybe refugees and immigration have in some ways become a security problem in Europe (De Genova & Tazzioli 2016: 5-9). The coverage of the refugee crisis will be studied in editorial articles published in newspapers in Sweden and the UK during the autumn of 2015. Throughout the autumn these two countries have had different responses where Sweden has had a much higher number of refugees entering their borders it has even been described as a country with an open-door policy in comparison to other EU countries (Freeman & Mirilovic 2016:384). In both of the countries the debate has been focusing on how



many refugees the country can handle in relation to economics and the social systems. Indeed, what is significant for this time is the debate on restrictions both in policies and at the national borders. This thesis is focused on how the refugee crisis is presented in editorials for the reason that editorials are a place for debate and opinion-formation on current issues that are on the agenda. It may, therefore, be many interesting aspects to study the refugee crisis in the editorials.

## **1.1 Aim of the study**

The purpose of this study is to conduct a critical discourse analysis of how Swedish and British editorials covered the so-called "refugee crisis" during the autumn of 2015. The overall aim is to investigate the discursive construction of the crisis, which entails to investigate how the editorials describe the "crisis" and in what way it is a crisis: how the term was conceptualised. By making a comparison between two countries, the aim is to get a better understanding of the so-called crisis and the discursive construction surrounding it in various societal contexts. The research has the goal to shed some light on the countries' media coverage throughout a crucial period of the framing of refugee issue and the political discussion around them.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

How is the "refugee crisis" framed in Swedish and British editorials during the autumn of 2015, and are there any differences in how they conceptualised the "crisis"?

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### **1.2.1 Sub-questions**

- Whats makes it into a crisis?
- For whom is it a crisis?
- What political solutions are presented for the refugee crisis?
- How are refugees presented in relation to the crisis?

## **1.3 Thesis Outline**

The first chapter of this thesis presents the aim of the thesis. Further are the research questions, the relevance of comparing Swedish and British media explained and definitions are presented this is for making the aim of the study clear from the beginning. The following chapter presents the

Literature review on media representation of refugees and impact of media representation, and this is to show what that has been previously done and been discovered in this field of study both to show the scope of the field but also to make the choice of theories more clear. Moreover is the academic contribution of the thesis presented. In chapter 3, is the theoretical framework presented, framing and securitization theory and after that in the following chapter is the methodology of the thesis presented. In the methodology chapter, is the method and the theory put together into an analytical framework that will be used to do the analysis further are the material of the study presented, sampling procedures and a discussion on reliability, generalisability, and validity.

After the analytical framework and method have been explained, the analysis and the result will be presented in chapter 5. The findings of the results and the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis will be summarised and further developed in the concluding discussion in chapter 6.

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### 1.3.1 Relevance of comparing Swedish and British editorials regarding crisis construction

In this study, the focus is on editorial articles that are published during the autumn of 2015, more specifically from August to December as this period is defined by an increase in using and defining the refugee issue as a crisis in both countries. A media search on Swedish articles published during the autumn of 2015 showed that the use of the term “refugee crisis” went from around 135 in 2014 to around 18,000 in 2015 (Mediaarkivet 2015: “flyktingkrisen”). The relevance of studying different countries is to give a broader view and understanding of the media debate surrounding the refugee crisis and enables the identification of differences in different country contexts. Both of the countries are members of the EU, even if the UK has meanwhile since then voted to leave the EU: the debate has been divided between the countries and their respective relation to the EU. The UK has for many years had a more critical standing towards the EU where many MPs and newspapers have been open with their standing towards the EU. Sweden has not been that critical in the debate towards the EU, however, has both Sweden and the UK been skeptical to further political integration and to handing out more sovereignty towards the EU (Desmond 2010:4). Studying both Sweden and The United Kingdom editorial pages will give a better understanding of the “crisis” both when it comes to the political variety within EU and also give a more varied understanding of the discursive framing of the crisis. Hallin and Mancini (2004:2) argue that comparative studies on media increase our understanding of differences and similarities, hence our understanding of

discourses and events. In relation to this study, it is this important to understand the various constructions of the refugee crisis.

Sweden was selected since it has been the actor that has agreed to take the highest number of refugees in the EU in relation to its population. The UK has been selected for another reason as it has been one of the most influential actors in changing and debating the EU rules on immigration and asylum (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore 2015: 5-6). Both of the countries also has experience of receiving foreigners where the UK has received more EU-migrants, as many European citizens go to the UK mainly to work and to study. After the EU enlargement in 2004, there was a drastic growth in migrants from the Eastern European states which hence the influx of EU-migrants into the UK (The Migration Observatory 2016; MPI 2009). By the EU enlargement in 2004 member states was allowed to establish transitional controls up to seven years on free movement most of the member states chose to do so except the UK, Sweden and Ireland. These states allowed access to their labour market and social security system for the citizens of the new member states in 2004. This, later on, has lead to revision on rules especially in the UK and the former Labour government has apologised for the former more open migration policies (Freeman & Mirilovic 2016:224-231). While Sweden also has an experience of EU-migrants to a lesser extent the country has a higher degree of non-EU-migrants, refugees and asylum seekers rather. Further, both of the countries are placed high on the list of countries receiving most asylum claims (UNHCR 2015b). This factor makes the study of these two countries interesting because they both have a history of receiving foreigners. Below, a small overview of the political debate during the autumn of 2015 will be presented. This will help later on to contextualise the empirical findings because editorials often follow the current debate. In general terms, the debate concerns to be about border control and stricter asylum policies in relation to the increase in numbers of refugees.

#### 1.3.1.1 The British Debate

In the UK the debate has been more negative in recent years towards asylum seekers where the government has had discussions on how to reduce the numbers of asylum seekers, during the crisis in 2015 the debate became even more negative in terms of restrictions and control. This was an effect of the growing position of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) that brought the question to the front of the public agenda but also it became a major question in the referendum

debate. Some polls showed that this was one of the three most important issues when decided on the vote to leave the EU (Economic, law and immigration) (Katwala & Ballinger 2015).

In the general election in 2015 immigration was also high on the agenda. UKIP that came out as a winner in the European election during 2014 kept their position on the public agenda, being the main party focusing on immigration during the election where other parties rather focused on other issues. The party became the third biggest party after the Conservatives and Labour with 12,6 percent of the votes, however they only received one MP seat in the House of Commons. The Conservative leader David Cameron declared under the general election that he intended to reduce the immigration however after the election has this factor rather increased. In the UK the discussion on migration has mainly been about the right to benefits, also in relation to EU citizens (Katwala & Ballinger 2015). The Conservative party acknowledges that migrants should wait four years before being entitled for benefits, the Labour party has been more focused on security at the borders but also making a distinction between low and high skilled workers where they want to make it easier for high-skilled migrants to stay in the country (Ibid). As stated before the debate has been more negative in recent years; since the 1990s the approach has been to make it harder for refugees and asylum seekers to both claim refugee status but also to seek asylum (MPI 2009).

The issue has been discussed in the light of both defences of British values and protection of social order. The British politicians started calling the situation a crisis during the summer of 2015 where it became a growing term in the debate and the media (Stern 2016: 11). During this time former Prime Minister David Cameron stated that it was a “swarm” of immigrants entering the British borders about the tension at the borders of France. The French police reported that they had prevented around 39,000 attempts to cross the channel during 2015 where the numbers had increased. The UK announced during 2015 that it would put in more money into securing the security at the French border at Calais where they also put up a fence around one of the terminals (De Genova & Tazzioli 2016:23). The conservative government declared that they would take the most vulnerable persons, mainly children from refugees camps in Turkey and neighbouring countries like Jordan and Lebanon, and would not be a part of the EU scheme to settle Syrian refugees and other nationalities that had entered the Mediterranean. The reason for this was that they assumed that taking people that had already entered the EU would encourage others to follow and also would encourage smugglers (De Genova & Tazzioli 2016:23).

### 1.3.1.2 The Swedish Debate

During the autumn of 2015 the Swedish politics made a turn where most of the parties became more restricted when talking about immigration. Before this period the Swedish Democrats (nationalistic party) was the main force in the discussion on immigration and the party that had the most restrictive thoughts on asylum. The party led a discussion on “Swedish values” in the immigration debate where this often was a subject in the media but also the Christian Democrat’s leader also talked about the effect on values in relation to immigration. During the autumn, however, a debate on temporary residence permit began where some parties like the Moderate party (liberal-conservative) stretched the idea of closing the borders. During the period all of the parties talked about the collective responsibility in EU, and pointing to the numbers of refugees that Sweden already had taken (Magnusson 2015).

Sweden has had a more open policy towards immigration where Sweden has taken one of the highest numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe. In November Sweden stated after receiving 149,000 asylum seekers in 2015 alone that they could not handle it anymore and the system needed a “break”. This led to stricter implementation of rules and border controls between Denmark and Sweden was established during the last part of the year of 2015 into 2016. In November the Swedish government developed a temporary border control which meant that people without passport had a harder time to get in to the country, control was also established on passenger ships and in January 2016 (decision November 2015) on public transport from Denmark. The Government has described the actions as necessary for handling events that are out of their control and to build up a more acceptable reception of the asylum seekers. The debate has been that authorities cannot cope, given the fast pace that people are entering the borders where the numbers are too high (Stern 2016:12; Prop. 2015/16:67). Swedish Immigration politics has thus changed in recent years, both in the way that parties and politicians talk about it but also has there been changes in policies where they have become more restrictive. This is an effect of the growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers but also a growing support for the Swedish Democrats that under 2015 was the third largest party after the Social Democrats, and especially the Moderate Party this led the topic on immigration to become more central on the public agenda. The immigration issue has also climbed to be one of the most important issues for voters both for thus with more pro-attitudes and anti-immigrant attitudes (Stern 2016).

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### 1.3.2 Defining Terms and Concepts

Definition of a crisis:

One term that is essential for this thesis is the crisis and how it is conceptualised in the editorials; historically the term comes from the medicine where the term described a change in previous stable condition. On political level is the term associated with danger and difficulties where the consequences of an event can mean that the usual resources are not sufficient, to handle the event. “A time of intense difficulty, trouble, or danger” (Oxford dictionaries 2017a).

Definition of a refugee:

Article 1 in the Geneva Convention (1951), defines a refugee as this:

*“A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”* (UNHCR 2016).

Asylum seeker:

Is to be seen as a person that has moved for the reason of protection, although, him/she has not been granted protection yet ( have not been granted asylum).

Migrant:

Is described as a person that has moved for its own reasons, permanently or temporarily without other visible reasons (Ibid).

## 2 Literature Review

This chapter will discuss the previous research in relation to how media represent refugees and the impact of media representations, concluded by a discussion of the academic contribution of this thesis.

### 2.1 Media Representation of Refugees

Previous studies in the field have found some key themes in the representation of refugees in the media that have consistently reoccurred over time and across countries. These images have led to an ambivalent picture of refugees as victims, invaders and/or as a threat to cultural, national, economic values: questioning the state actions and well-being in the process of receiving asylum seekers. These categories seem to move together in the discourse surrounding refugees. Refugees, asylum seekers and migrants are considered as becoming even more newsworthy, as the attention has grown in media for these issues. Academic research on media representation on the topic has also increased in recent years, much in relation to events like 9/11, the Afghan war or more lately the war in Syria (Coole 2002). Even if the research has increased the topic are at the same time inserted in an official discourse around asylum which is still “ill-informed” (Marfleet 2006:7).

Studies have presented evidence that the mass media contributes to a negative view of refugees presenting them as a threat or as a risk to the national society. Since the 1990s the media discourse on asylum seekers has been thriving on the discourse on perceiving asylum seekers as a threat. Media has been one of the leading players in establishing more critical views in the society on the topic ( Ibid:277; Crawley, McMahon & Jones 2015: 8-11; Threadgold 2009:8). A Swedish study on editorials indicated that the media coverage had become more negative during the past five years (2010-2015). Even if Sweden has, in general, a more humanitarian coverage, the growing space that anti-immigration parties has in media generated the coverage to become more negative (Bolin, Hinnfors & Strömbäck 2016: 196-198).

Van Gorp’s (2005) study shows that the media coverage tends to be focused on more humanitarian actions for solving the situation for refugees where they are perceived as victims and as a group that needs help in relation to circumstances that are out of their control. This is done by presenting more humanitarian stance on asylum policies, obligations or presenting them as a group that needs

support. However, Van Gorp also found that refugees are also portrayed as unwanted intruders. Khosravini (2009) acknowledges that the media coverage on asylum seekers in the UK was defined by different stereotypes where they are presented in relation to security issues like crimes, conflicts, a threat to national identity or as an economic burden on the national state. Venir (2015:3-5) also shows that the coverage has become more negative, where the media debate has moved towards perceiving refugees as a security threat. Media coverage on refugees is often problem-oriented, associated with a growing population in relation to illegality, terrorism and economic issues. Refugees are presented as a group that has an effect on the national economy or threatens it; all these associations lead the public attention away from the humanitarian aspect (Bennett et al. 2013).

Different terms have also been used to describe asylum seekers where they are often presented as migrants rather than refugees, even if this has shown in comparative studies to differ between countries. A comparative study published in 2015 looking at the media coverage in the UK, Sweden, Germany, Italy and Spain showed that in Sweden media was more inclined to using the term refugee and in the UK which had the lowest number instead was more inclined to using the term migrant (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore 2015: 7-8). They further found that the UK press under 2015 describes those who entered the European borders as a group that entered Europe for economic reasons rather than as an effect of war that was more common in Sweden (Ibid). One interesting finding was that editorials tended to have more argumentation on actions and stronger standings on the subject in comparison with regular news articles where all of the countries saw the EU as the leading actor for solving the situation for refugees. The papers' political standings had an impact in the coverage where the liberal newspapers in the UK had more humanitarian frames compared with the conservative (Ibid: 253). This study shows an indication that the media coverage of the crisis can vary between Sweden and the UK even if the study was more focused on the content rather than the understanding of the crisis, where the UK coverage has been presented as being more critical and Sweden for having the most positive coverage.

In the UK, the media coverage on asylum and refugees has been dominated by perceiving the issue as a problem and using incorrect labelling. Where the UK has labeled refugees rather as migrants this is incorrect because migrants move for economic reasons (work) and refugees move for reasons like fear and war. The framing of these issues in the UK has been determined less by humanitarian concerns, rather the focus has been on securitization where these themes have been



more salient. Even if this factor has increased in recent years as it more often are reflected in relation to terrorism, the humanitarian frames have always been present too (Moore 2012). Even if Sweden has been described in previous research as being more humanitarian in the media, others have argued (Horsti 2008; Cederberg 2014) that media are prior in establishing discourses on the “other” in relation to minorities. Horsti presented evidence that the Swedish media establish a picture of African migrants as the “other,” for instance.

To portray refugees as an outside group is common where they are presented as “them” in relation to “us”; this may be in the coverage of perceiving refugees as victims which automatically can lead to being perceived as helpless rather than persons with skills. Indeed, this is a remark that can be critical, one view is this leading to compassion but it can also be critical where they being perceived as an out-group. Both positive coverage and negative coverage can be critical in the way of how refugees are presented research, for instance, being labelled with stereotypes and racism can be seen as natural because “difference is also needed in order to make sense of the world” (Hall 1997: 234). But when the coverage on refugees and asylum seekers as illegal, unwanted or criminal the stereotypical coverage takes over and leads to a distinction between “them” and “us” (Ibid 238).

To sum up, in the previous studies in the field one can see three characteristics of how media represent refugees and asylum issues. Firstly, refugees are described as passive victims, with a more *humanitarian* focus. Secondly, they are presented as a *threat* to the welfare, national cultural, security and/or the economy of the host country. Lastly, they are often presented as an *out-group*: portrayed as stereotypes “we” and “them”. Looking at the media coverage in Sweden and the UK, Sweden tends to have more humanitarian coverage where the UK has been shown to have more negative coverage and more associations to threat and security. In relation to this study of the media coverage on the refugee crisis during the autumn of 2015, we ask if we may find new ways in how the media represents refugees or perhaps a continuation of the already existing findings in the field?

## **2.2 Impact of Media Representation**

Many factors can explain the interest in studying media and media effects. First and foremost there is some evidence that media are active moderators in influencing immigration policy; some results have indicated that policy and political discourses thrive on the media discourse on migration. Media has been described as an actor that affects the view on immigration, and is seen as one of the

leading players in establishing more restricted policies on the issue (Crawley, McMahon & Jones 2015: 8-11; Gale 2004; Van Gorp 2005:504).

Secondly, there is a link between media and public opinion where the mass media is generally spoken the most important source for political information, in that way the media is the main source which decision and opinions are based on (McCombs & Shaw 1972:176; de Vreese 2010:187). Regarding the mass media and trust, there has been a change in recent years where trust in media has decreased. Printed press is considered the most reliable in comparison with television and new media, however, media are still the primary source for information (Kiousis 2001: 381; EBU 2016). Media helps us understand what different events mean. In that respect, it shapes our understanding of migration and refugees both in how we perceive them and the story that they are presented in (Hall 1997). The images displayed in media are “vital to the public perception of migration and migrants in ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse societies” (Bennett et al., 2013: 248), as most individuals have few real contacts with migrants in the daily life (Van Dijk 2000).

Much of previous research as mention before shows a similar pattern in how media represents refugees or ethnic groups where they often are presented as an out-group and as an anonymous group. Media has been presented as an actor that shapes “us-versus-them” attitudes, hence instrumental in the re-articulation of national identities, in this respect are refugees portrayed as the “other” or “them” in comparison to the “us” the “Western identity,” “European identity” (Baker et al., 2008: 280). They are often presented as a group rather than as individuals, where the coverage is less personalise where single individuals are often not presented. Van Dijk (2001:240) describes this process as having an effect on the negative view of refugees, where media often presents the issue of asylum as a matter that threatens the dominated society. Pro-refugees attitudes in media are few both in the conservative press and liberal and much of the opinions are built on how the issue has ben presented in the media.

Van Dijk (1991:40-42) perceives media as a portal that both can challenge the power relations in the society but also as a portal that can reproduce the existing discourses. This can be seen as a mutual consent or as, one actor influencing the other. This process means that newspapers can be formed by the effect of different elite groups where these groups can have the control over how they are portrayed in the media for example by press releases. Indeed, the media can act in the interest of a particular group, often by consent both from the group and the readers. In this process the media

can also go against the elite group and form an opinion. Where the news-gathering is to be seen as complex, for the reason that news structure and source gathering may inflate in the already existing power structures where “the social, economic and cultural power relations may indirectly become reproduced” (Ibid:41). Van Dijk further states that media sets the public discussion on migration by presenting how the reader should think about the subject. If media presents a negative view of refugees, then it can unconsciously influence our understanding of them and perceives the refugee issue as a negative one (Ibid: 246).

We can conclude that it is relevant to study media and their representation of the “refugee crisis” because media can be a linkage between the reader and how the reader interprets issues and develop the understanding of the issue at state. The media representation can have an effect beyond the actually media coverage. Previous studies have found that media can influence immigration policies, public opinion and our view of refugees, which indicates the importance in studying media representation.

## **2.3 Academic Contribution of This Thesis**

In the state of media research on how media represent refugees we can as mention earlier draw some conclusions but also one can acknowledge some gaps in previous studies. The study on editorials is rather limited in academic research as studies often focus on political parties and which parties that get the most media coverage. The choice of this thesis has not to been focus on parties because we already know from previous studies that the growth of far-right and anti-immigrants parties has lead the coverage to become more critical and also resulted in a polarisation of the issue (Bolin, Hinnfors & Strömbäck 2016: 196-198; Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore 2016:5). This thesis is more interested in the media debate surrounding the refugee crisis one way of doing this is to focus on editorials where editorials have the goal to state opinions. As Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore (2015) discovered in their research that editorials have more argumentation on actions and stronger standings on the subject in comparison with regular news articles that tends to be more describing, it would be an interesting prism to look at the refugee crisis where this is a relatively understudied spectrum that needs more clarification of it's meaning.

Another thing that can be seen is the one on a comparative analysis on editorials where often

research has been focused on one country context and in the comparison between Swedish and British editorials we know very little of its implications. Where we need to both update the research from a British perspective, further, from a Swedish perspective, we know little of how editorials represent refugees in general and especially the refugee crisis where's there's a need for more research. An additional thing that can be seen in the previous research as a discursive shift in society where the UK has been described as putting emphasis of securitization in relation to asylum and refugees during many years, while Swedish media has not been explored or showed clear indications on this (Marfleet 2006:7; Venir 2015:3-5; Khosravini 2009:1-8; Moore 2012 ). But because the refugee crisis became an issue of urgency where states that were earlier more liberal now turn more restricted both in asylum policies but also open up for a talk about border control, this thesis sees value in exploring this aspect from a Swedish perspective, that is if there has been a securitization of the discourse also in Sweden. This is considered as a gap in present research where this thesis aims to contribute to close this gap.

### 3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss theoretical framework of the thesis. The theoretical framework is based on framing theory and securitization theory.

#### 3.1 Framing Theory

News media are both portals for politicians and the public. Media work as a mediator and considered to be the number one information source today, where they use frames to make their message clearer for the readers both consciously and unconsciously. Frames work in a way that can influence opinions on a particular topic depending on how this topic is presented in media (Goffman 1974; McCombs 2006: 35). The term framing was first defined by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974), who defined the term as schemata of interpretations that people use to understand their environment. Since then has the term been used in different fields and ways. Van Gorp (2007:72) explains that frames do not have the goal to describe the whole picture of a story, rather the aim is to describe the essential of an issue; this is the concept of how frames work in the construction of news.

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman 1993:52).

Frames are central for how certain events are reported in media. News frameworks are important because they affect how citizens assess the reality on the basis of the information that is absorbed through the media coverage. The function of framing is to show the cause of the problem, why is it a problem, for whom, what solution are presented to the problem, and whether there are any moral judgments involved (Ibid:53). Jesper Strömbäck (2009:120) takes Entman’s ideas further by emphasising that journalistic news should be seen as reconstructions of reality because we only take in the media view of the reality. In the process of framing, frames can be used to frame a debate, where only some options or perspectives are mentioned. Frames are always placed in discourses and in media texts, and events can take different forms depending on which papers or which

journalist that describes it. Frames can, therefore, create or form a moral judgment of a person or an event and unconsciously let us read a story in a specific way (Van Gorp 2007: 61-63).

There are several definitions on framing according to Scheufele (2000:36) the process of framing is to be seen as a two-way process which he calls the audience frame/s and media frame/s. The media frames are central for how a story is presented in the media what is the story about. The audience frame is from Entman's definition; the main idea is that we have different of knowledge and ideas that later on helps us evaluate the information. The person that already has an idea about the issue is later on the most responsive to how the issue is presented. Culture is the primary base for how persons compose knowledge and meaning, but culture is also seen in the production of news and how news is formed by the journalists (Ibid). These "cognitive schemes" are vital to how people process information (Scheufele, B & Scheufele, D 2010). But different framing approaches have different ways of looking at this; some studies look at how different groups influence journalists and how these groups use the media to turn an issue to their standpoint. Another approach is a more narrative approach where frames give the story a meaning; here are frames to be seen as the important tool in the establishment of discourses (Van Gorp 2010). This approach is relevant for the aim of this thesis where media invokes different narratives in the construction of the refugee crisis.

Van Gorp found in his study on the issue on new reception centers for asylum seekers six different ways to frame the issue in Western European countries newspapers. "These were: (a) as a proof of misgovernment (theme: altruistic democracy), (b) as an aggregate of suspicious and criminal strangers (theme: strangers are intruders), (c) as a sign of our hospitality (theme: "Everything is lovely here"), (d) as an opportunity for the neighbourhood (theme: the donor), (e) as a shelter for needy refugees (theme: the innocent victim), and (f) as a cause of inconveniences because the location is poorly chosen (theme: Not in my backyard)" (Van Gorp 2007:66). All these frames invoke a central meaning for how we should perceive the issue and tells us how to think about asylum seekers.

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### 3.1.1 The Usefulness of Framing Theory

To generalise framing theory is crucial because it lacks a general operationalisation technique (Scheufele 1999:103), which make it complicated to use to some extent. Although, Entman's

approach gives a valid operationalisation approach that will be employed in the method. Entman describes the process of framing as a process that includes four actors: communicators, text, the receiver and culture. In this thesis is the communicators the journalists that write the text about the refugee crisis and the receiver is further the people that read the text in different cultures. Depending on how the communicator frames the problem, in this case, the crisis it can have an impact on how the receiver acts. In the study of two countries and two different contexts can the framing be different in the assumption that it is produced and written in two different cultures (Entman 1993). In this thesis the term framing will be closely linked to the notion of representation as it will aim to identify the meaning of the refugee crisis where the representation of the refugees is vital to the understanding of the concept. As Entman's definition of framing suggested that it is about "selecting some aspect of a perceived reality"... that, later on, promotes a "definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993:52).

### **3.2 Securitization Theory**

This part will begin by examining how securitization is to be seen in studies of security and international relations (traditional view), then explain how it fits into the concept of framing and societal security as it currently is understood in media studies.

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#### **3.2.1 Security and How Security Moves**

According to the Copenhagen School of securitization theory (CS) that was first developed in 1998, they make a difference between politicised, non-politicised and securitized issues. When an issue is entering the public debate, then it becomes politicised, or when the state starts working with an issue, that needs governmental decisions and resources. The security threat is much related to the politicised issue and is mainly seen as a stronger description of politicisation where the line between them is thin (Buzan et al. 1998). Securitization is implemented when the issue is seen as urgent and as a threat where external actions are legitimated that goes beyond the regular politicised actions. Security issues can be measured in three ways first by identifying the existential threat, secondly is the emergency actions and last when the security issue is defined " the breaking free of rules" where the external actions can be taken (Ibid:6).

*Emergency actions* are done by the “act of speech”; the process of getting an issue to become securitized is done mainly by a public announcement by speeches from securitizing actors. The traditional theory on securitization focuses on the threat between states, out over time the theory has moved from the traditional role and applied to actors, such as the media. The speech act tells the public that it is an urgent issue and “if we don't act now it will be too late” (Buzan et al. 1998:21-26). In a democracy, the political actors need to justify its actions, how the actors frame the issue and actions say much on how the actor perceives the world. CS defines security in these different issues: political, military security, economic, environmental and societal. Words can both be descriptive, but it can also have a performative character which can form/transform the social reality (Ibid). CS theory assumes that securitization is socially constructed: when something is experienced as a threat against a state or a group, then it becomes a question of securitization (Ibid: 21).

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### 3.2.2 Actors, Objects, Subjects and Audience

CS has four core concepts: “the referent object,” “the referent subject,” “the securitizing actor,” and “the audience”. The referent object is what is threatened (group, state, economy, principal, identity); this group needs to have a legitimate claim to its existence to be able to legitimate security status on the subject. The referent subject is further the unity that is threatening (real or not); this could be a state, another culture or, in relation to this study, refugees (Ibid:35-37). As previous studies showed, refugees have been perceived as the threat in media, both threatening for citizens, states, identity economy and in relation to crimes (Crawley, McMahon & Jones, 2015: 8-11; Threadgold 2009:8; Marfleet 2006:7; Venir 2015:3-5).

The third concept “the securitization actor” is the one or several actors that claim the referent object to be threatened. As mentioned before this can be the state ( government representative) that speaks for the nation, but it can also be other actors like media or from the political elite. The actors need to have support from the referent object (Buzan et al. 1998:35-37). The securitization process is done if the audience (public, politicians, military) is convinced that the object is threatened, then it legitimises external actions to be taken. CS generally assume that in a democracy when a government speak about security the audience accept the act speech (Ibid). Buzan et al. (1998: 25) state, “a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization-this is a securitizing move, but the issue is securitized



only if and when the audience accepts it as such". It is important to notice that it is not about explicitly mentioning security in the discourse but rather about creating the association of a topic with a threat.

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### 3.2.3 Societal Security, Immigration and Framing

CS theory raises immigration as a potential referent subject in the area of "societal security," which means that the securitization includes threats to the national society. In the societal security, the referent object would be identity, groups, religion, for example. States can have a hard time in handling differences, both cultural and identities; this can lead cultural differences to be seen as a threat where citizens and actors can be reluctant to accept new cultures and ethnic groups. Societal threats in media are often defined by putting emphasis on "we" and "them" where media has a significant role in how the public perceives a threat but also a portal for the political actors mediate through where it is a multisided relation (Ibid: 120-124).

Media frames combined with securitization theory suggest that securitization is a process that is drawn by political actors and later on crucially raised or pattern down by the news media, in a way that creates the understanding of an issue (Balzacq 2010:64). In relation to theories on media framing, securitization acts both as an independent variable (effect in media) and/or a dependent variable (effect of media). The effect is dependent on the interaction between politicians, the media and the public. Media do not have to have the same interest as the government in facilitating the securitization of asylum, but they have a vital role in the process. The media acts as complementary to the political and legal discourse (Balzacq 2010).

Huysmans (2000:758) describes immigration as subjective rather than objective where it always in a changing position; states can have different ways of processing a societal threat. The securitization of immigration as a threat to the survival of the national community is problematic according to Huysmans, as it labels the foreign immigrant as the "other," ultimately excluding them from the national society.

Sheehan (2005) argues that people are divided into different groups, for example, according to religion, language, identities, culture or political. Within these groups, individuals find their identity where they feel safe, which is the ground for societal security. Sheehan means that insecurity in the

society occurs when the group feels threatened (Ibid:83-86). How to perceive a threat is always about asking “what is threatening us”; a threat does not need to be real in that assumption: threat is always about how we perceive it. Conflicts are often about issues within society and outside groups. Refugees are a group that have grown to be perceived as a threat to the European society, and Sheehan argues that this is an effect “Societal security” (Ibid:86-88). The underlying mechanisms are based on the idea of European superiority and an outer identity threat from another culture, "the other". This leads states, people and communities to trying to protect themselves against that external threat. The effects are a securitization and dehumanisation of refugees, articulated by policymakers, the media and citizens (Ibid).

CS theory has been criticised for its social constructivist approach in the respect that it is limited to draw conclusions on how acutely “the actual situation” is. Even so, the theory is rather built on the assumption on what that is socially constructed as the truth by different actors when it comes to security issues like national borders and identity. Here media plays a crucial role in defining concepts and meanings where the discussion on borders will become visible in the editorials about the refugee crisis (Buzan et al. 1998). Buzan et al. (1998:29) argue that the actors in society have a tendency to exploit threats for national purposes, where the securitization of immigration has led the focus from establishing protection for the refugee and rather being about protection against the refugees. This would legitimise national security discourse at the expense of the humanitarian.

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### **3.2.4 *The Usefulness of Securitization Theory***

The theory on securitization is complex, although some questions can be asked to make it more analytical. These questions will later on help to guide the analyses of the editorials. CS theory describes the process of securitization to arrive from the actor who initiate a move of securitization, these are mainly political representatives, but it can also be media as this research is focused on. Linguistic securitization is often expressed by presenting a view of emergency, threat and danger where there's a need for actions to be taken (Buzan et al. 1998: 27). To study the editorials on the refugee crisis and to see if they in fact present a linkage to security issues two questions are asked.

The first question that can be asked is, *what or who that needs to be protected?* This is in relation to the referent object this could be the state, the national society and economy. This can also be done by making the distinction between “them” and “us”.

The second question is in relation to the referent subject, *what kind of threat are the referent object needs to be protected from?* Here there's a need for the issue to be presented as an existential threat or in related to survival one example could be if refugees are presented as a threat.

One limitation in using the theory in relation to this thesis is that the CS assumes that, “a discourse that takes the form of presenting something like an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization this is a securitizing move, but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such”. It is important to notice that it is not about explicitly mentioning security in the discourse but rather about creating the association of a topic with a threat (Ibid: 25). The scope of this study is not to study how the audience reacts; therefore, the whole process of securitization is not studied rather are the securitization move studied.

## 4 Methodology

### 4.1 Method

This study is built on a combination of frame analysis (Entman 1993) and critical discourse (CDA) analysis (Van Dijk 1988; Berglez 2010), with the aim is to establish an understanding of the meaning of the refugee crisis in Swedish and British editorials.

Frame analysis can in many respects to be seen as a discourse analysis method that is concerned with the analysis of how an issue is defined and problematised and the effect that it can have later on depending on how it is presented (Entman 1993:52). For the CDA scholars, “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258); thus seen as a two-way process in which discourses are both shaped by society but also having an effect on the shaping of the society. Discourses are constitutive in the sense that they both help, maintain and as well reproduce the social status quo, and help transform it. Discourse practitioners can have great ideological effects as they can help to produce but also reproduce unequal power relationships between, for example, social classes. The core of the theory is that language can have a social effect beyond how it is presented; language is a powerful tool that is inserted in current ideological positions and social cultural changes (Ibid). Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (2000:7) describe discourse as “a certain way of talking about and understanding the world (or a section of the world)”. This definition is very broad however shows the meaning of a discourse. Fairclough and Wodak (2000) emphasise that discourses are much shaped in relation to its social surroundings, where media structure and culture are much reflected in how discourses take form. Media texts can in that assumption influence its readers with a constructed discursive truth. Fairclough and Wodak definition of discourse is vital because it is described more from an institutional perspective in relation to this study the media. There is many definitions of what discourse is, the more general definition is the one presented by Winther Jørgensen & Phillips this is the definition that this thesis arrives from.

Frame analysis shares many of the building blocks of CDA as frame analysis also acknowledges the construction of meaning and the idea that language has an effect beyond the text (Entman 1993). The discourse analysis in this thesis is inspired by a framing approach because the refugee crises has been a dominating discourse where there is a rather limited indication of the discursive

construction of the crisis and its means. Where we know very little of what makes it into a crisis, why is it a crisis? This is questions that Entman approach to the function of framing is focused on what makes it into a perceived problem? Frames are always a part of a discourse, and it's vital for the understanding of a perceived discourse, frame analysis is rather a micro-analytical (answering how) in comparison with CDA that is more macro-analytical (answering why). On the ground that both CDA and framing sees language in relation to power structures and the effect that language has, they are both suited to understand the impact that the media representation of the refugee crisis can have depending on how the crisis is presented; and they both display an awareness of the effect that language has.

To study the discourse of the refugee crisis the choice has been to draw on Van Dijk's CDA, described by Berglez (2010) and Van Dijk (1988) himself. Van Dijk's approach is built on analyses both at the macro and micro level of news texts, thus detailed linguistic analyses on the micro level and the thematic structures on the macro level (Berglez 2010). Van Dijk presents a structured method for analysing news texts in different steps that will help to get answers to the questions that this thesis aims to answer and the method also helps to acknowledge different views and perspectives in the editorials. To grasp the meaning of the crisis Entman's function of framing has been implemented at the micro level to make the analytical tool more clear that will help further to understand the meaning of the crisis. Van Dijk's focus is on the linguistic construction of texts. He is primarily interested in the organisation of texts, as a process which entails analysis in each part of the text (headlines, sentences). The method is focused on four parts that will be presented in the next section (Ibid).

## **4.2 Method of Application**

Consequently, the editorial articles have been analysed by using Van Dijk's CDA method on news articles both on the macro and the micro level. The result will be presented on the basis of the themes that can be found in the articles. In relation to these themes, the theory on framing and securitization will be applied. The method of application is further stated in the analytical framework in Table 1. Van Dijk analysis is done in four different steps;

- Explain the main content of the article/editorial and any images that complement the article.

- The thematic structure of the article (macro)
- The schematic structure of the article (macro)
- Micro analytical analysis of the article (Berglez 2010:277)

These four steps are made in order as they are presented, however, they are not separate since they intersect with each other. To show how the method has been used in this thesis the procedures will now be described as well as the meaning of the different parts.

To explain the *main content of the article*, the first thing that is done is mainly for the researcher to get an understanding of the texts, at this stage the goal is to get a valid view of what the articles is about and how they are organised. In this research the focus is not on images because the aim is to look at editorials, therefore, the images have not been analysed, only the text, as one has to acknowledge the fact that this thesis does not focus on images which means that some analytical dimensions are not included (Berglez 2010).

Further, *the thematic structure of the article*, here the researcher searches for different themes in the texts, with the goal to see which themes that are more common. What is the main themes, themes in relation to the editorials are the different topics that are presented. Depending on how much focus a theme gets, less focus means less relevance and more the other way around (Van Dijk 1988; Berglez 2010). The idea is to establish an understanding of the themes and later on take the editorials that represent the themes and make a deeper analysis on them.

The schematic structure of the article is studied according to Berglez (2010:275) to identify “socio cognitive narrative conventions of the news discourse”. How is the texts presented and organised? Here the researcher looks at the different parts of the article like headlines, ingress and looks at which persons that get to speak in the texts or not to be heard? The focus is on the argumentative structure. The idea is to see who or what that gets to explain a theme or comment on the text (Berglez 2010:279).

Next step in the analysis is to move to the micro-analytical analyses of the article, where the analysis moves to a more in-depth analysis: at this stage the question is rather how than why. The analysis focuses on how the discourse is constructed in the text. In this part different tools can be

used depending on the aim of the study and how the studies research questions are formed, where different tools lift up different aspects in the text that help to understand the meaning of the text (Berglez 2010). In this research, the selection of analysis tools was taken in relation to the aim of the study and the research questions. This factor lead to that the analyses on the micro level having used Entman's function of framing (1993:53) as a guiding tool in the analysis. The function of framing is to show; the *cause of the problem* (what makes it into a crisis?), *for whom* (For whom is it a crisis?), *what solution are presented to the problem* (What political solutions are presented for the crisis?), and *whether there are any moral judgments involved* (Entman 1993:53). This led to the choice to exclude some of Van Dijk's tools<sup>2</sup> that were not suitable for this study but could possible produced other aspects of the text. The tools from Van Dijk (1988) method used in this analysis on the micro-level are lexical style and implications.

*Lexical style*, is the journalist's choice of words and metaphors analysed; these words can signalise opinions and form an understanding of an event (refugee/migrant). The lexical style means that the text could be presented in another way and then have another meaning (Berglez 2010).

*Implications*, Van Dijk states "one of the most important things in critical news analysis is that of implication" (1988:107). This means that it is a value in studying what that is not expressed in the text or information that is less relevant in the text. This can be that something is said but not explained, discourses in news leaves information implicit (Ibid). Words, clauses, and other textual expressions may imply concepts or propositions which may be inferred on the basis of background knowledge. Ideology implications can reoccur when some information is left out or when something irrelevant is being said by news actors. In this study can this take form by that the editorials not explaining what the crisis is about (Berglez 2010). Implications needs to be reconstructed by the researcher, as they are not necessarily explicit in the text.

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<sup>2</sup> Coherence, both local and global coherences, was excluded (Berglez 2010; Van Dijk 1988:104)

Table 1: Analytical Framework

Step 1: Macro analysis				
Content of the article	The researcher has to establish valid view of what the article is about and how it is organised			
The thematic Structure of the article	What different themes can be found in the editorials?	Which themes are more common?		
The schematic structure of the article	Argumentative structure: which persons gets to speak in the editorial or not, Who gets to explain the theme?  How is the text presented?			
Step 2: micro analysis				
Lexical style	What word and metaphors are used by the journalist?			
Crisis framing	What makes it into a crisis?	For whom is it a crisis?	What political solutions are presented for the crisis?	Are there any moral judgments involved?
Securitization	What or who needs to be protected?	What kind of threat are the referent object needs to be protected from?		
Implications	What is not expressed in the text or information that is less relevant in the text?			

Source: Own adaption of Berglez 2010; Van Dijk 1988; Entman 1993.



## 4.3 Empirical Material

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### 4.3.1 Editorials

Editorial articles often share a common structure and outline where they often are placed at the beginning of the newspaper. They often are placed under the headline “editorial/s” (Swedish “ledare”) in the section can you find the lead editorial and also in most cases shorter texts that are called the editorials (Nord 2001:53). The editorial section describes as “hard news” in the assumption that the purpose is to claim or to talk about opinions. These opinions are mainly bound to the current political agenda where much of the views are on the political situation within the current time. In that assumption, the analyst can get a valid view of the debate at the current time. Opinions are often expressed in relations to the newspapers' political standing where much of the argumentation is reflected on the political standing of the newspaper. In some cases, the editorial board or the publisher can write a stance on a political issue that is on the political agenda where they can form the paper's opinion on the subject. The articles and the writers are considered to have a high authority, where they were often influencing their readers with a specific view on a subject or knowledge. They are also known for having a tendency for creating a "us versus them" attitude. In this research, the editorials are to be considered as the voice of the newspaper (Fowler 1991: 211-212).

This study will investigate how editorials present a political issue. Those who are signed as editorials, can both be signed or not be signed with names (Nord 2001: 53). Signed articles indicate that the writer can write with an “I” and have more freedom to write with his/her own voice, unsigned articles also have freedom to write but not to the same degree as, signed editorials (Ibid). The choice of using both signed and unsigned editorials can indicate differences in the tone of the articles, however, this study is not focused on identities of the writer but instead, the focus is on the discursive representation of the refugee crisis, so this is not considered to be a problem. The disadvantage is that editorials do not represent the whole picture of the debate, where editorials only present a small part of the debate. Editorials are not presented for what's stated in the full newspaper; rather editorials are to be seen as a platform where one can see opinions that are presented in agreement with the newspaper's view. Other media channels could be used in the study of the of the refugee crisis like TV or new media; however, those channels has not the main goal to form or talk about opinions. New media are also problematic because it is a material that is hard to

follow and knowing where the information comes from. Editorials are rather a platform where you can follow the debate and see clear opinions on the debate, in that respect editorials, are relevant for this research by comparison of the coverage in Sweden and The UK. Another factor that can be mentioned is that new media habits have created a greater space for editorials in the political discussion. Opinion material is the most shared in the social media today in that presumption can editorials influence the political debate (Wadbring & Ödmark 2014: 41). On the ground that editorials do not have the goal to report on the reality objectively but have the aim to claim public opinion, it is interesting whether differences can be seen between the countries.

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### 4.3.2 Selection of Newspapers

The empirical material for this research is thus editorial articles from newspapers both in Sweden and the UK. The selection criteria have been to get the newspapers with a high percentage of readers, that they are of a high-quality press, published daily and available online. High-quality press stands for the seriousness of the paper the former definition was broadsheets that are the most common size of newspapers and are considered as more serious than tabloids, however, today has some broadsheets taken the same format as tabloids and are therefore called high-quality press (Oxford dictionaries 2017b). Because the aim is to get the newspapers with the highest circulation that are high on the news feed where the two newspapers with the highest readership picked in both of the countries (Venir 2015). In the analysis, the two countries will be compared, and moreover is it important to remark that the papers have different political standings which can show variations in the coverage in the countries. The aim is not to analyse if papers with different political standings describe the issue differently, even so, can it give an interesting aspect of the analysis when comparing the media coverage between Sweden and the UK.

From Sweden where two newspapers picked, these are Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and Dagens Nyheter (DN). Svenska Dagbladet is an independent Moderate (liberal conservative) newspaper and has around one million readers each day. SvD is mainly published in Stockholm and is own by the Norwegian company Shibsted where the editorial page are considered to be independent Moderate (Svenska Dagbladet 2015).

Dagens Nyheter is read by almost ten percent of the population and have a high circulation across the country but have a focus on Stockholm. It is an independent centre-left (Liberal) paper and is

own by Bonnier (Dagens Nyheter 2015).

From the UK was The Guardian and The Telegraph chosen<sup>3</sup>. The Guardian is a high-quality broadsheet and was picked on the grounds to have a high percentage of readership; The Guardian is also considered to have one of the most read online news sites in the world. The Guardian is a left-wing paper, the newspaper is independent but has since the foundation supported the Labor Party in the editorial section the primary owner are the Guardian Media Group (The Guardian 2016).

The Telegraph or The Daily Telegraph is a centre-right broadsheet and have an average sale around 581,249 copies every day. The newspaper has the highest circulation of broadsheets in the UK. The editorial section is considered to be supporting the Conservative party, however, is it independent. Primary owner is the Telegraph Media Group (The Telegraph 2016).

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#### 4.3.3 Databases and Sampling of Editorials

The sampling of the editorials went through two databases; the reason for this was that in the newspaper's own archives, it is hard to do sampling by using date or keywords and in the Guardians archive you could only search for one article at the time. Taking that limitation into account. The material has been collected from two databases: Retriever (Mediaarkivet) and Factiva. In Retriever one can get access to all the Swedish editorials, in Retriever can one find all of the newspapers from Sweden where articles are published the same day as they are published in the newspaper (Retriever 2016). In Factiva the British editorials were found where both of the newspapers are available (Factiva 2017). The sampling of the material is a purposive one. This in relation to the aim of the study, the time perspective and CDA as a method sees that you have to make some decisions to reach the problem. It is not possible to conduct research on every text that mentions the refugee crisis, to make random selection of the material would not be possible because the components that establish the discourse could not be quantified and to only focus on the refugee crisis can be seen as a purposive choice in its self. Keywords will be used in the data search to get access to all the articles covering the “refugee crisis.” The same keywords are used in the search for articles in both countries.

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<sup>3</sup> From July 2015 to June 2016 was both The Telegraph and The Guardian the most read broadsheets in the UK after the most popular tabloids (Daily Mail and The Sun) (Statista 2016).

In the search on Swedish editorials one problem could be found the reason for that was that it was not possible to only search for editorials and because the Swedish word for editorials (ledare) is the same word for (leader) lead to that the search for editorials to be more about political leaders. This lead to the choice to search on both newspaper and go through every article instead that mention one of the keywords: “flyktingkrisen” or “flyktingkris” or “migrationskris” or “migrationskrisen” during the time frame (1 Aug to 31 Dec 2015). That gave a result on (1166) articles (DN 600 and SvD 566), a search was also made on one newspaper at a time to be accurate, but the result was the same. When going through every article could (121) editorials be found that mention one of these keywords which of them was (DN 83 and SvD 38). When using Van Dijk’s method the researcher should first go through every article to establish a view of what the articles are about and how they are organized. So after going through the 121 editorials was the editorials placed in different themes, then after that was 7 editorials from SvD and 13 editorial from DN picked that represented does themes (Appendix1). A greater focus was placed on the DN editorials as it was more DN editorials on the specific themes.

In the search on British editorials in Factiva was it possible to pick both of the British newspapers and set the search on the specific time frame (1 Aug to 31 Dec 2015). In the first data search was both newspapers picked that gave a result on (43) editorials after that was a data search on one newspaper done to make sure that the search was right. The time frame was set, then the search was set on editorials and the keywords that was used where: “the refugee crisis” or “refugee crisis” or “the migration crisis” or “migration crisis”. This gave a result on (the Dailey telegraph 25) and (The Guardian 18). In the same way as the Swedish editorials was the editorials sorted in to themes and 10 editorials from each newspaper was picked for deeper analysis (Appendix1).

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#### 4.3.4 Validity, Reliability and Ethics

How to guarantee high quality in the research is mainly connected to validity, reliability and ethics that builds on variations of aspects on how to ensure the quality (Bryman 2008:49). Research quality in qualitative research is connected to the ability to be transparent, where it is vital to explain your study and your particular choices. This study will mostly consist of editorials and previous research. Therefore, it is significant to seek objectiveness and be clear in your process of selecting the material and your specific choices (Tracy 2013:244-5; Bryman 2008:120). Transparency also concerns problems that have come up during the study, to describe your

problems and describe in detail what you have observed: to be coherent (Tracy 2013:233-234). During the process of conducting this study, it has been vital to describe the choices both in material, and how the study is conducted and why, problems and limitations have also been presented for the reason to be transparent. The selection of materials has been made regarding the aim of the thesis. Transparency is also important in a later stage to making the study replicable; another researcher can reproduce the study to see if she/her get the same result. It is difficult to state that another researcher would, in fact, get the same result, however, what this thesis sees as intersubjectively is to be transparent in the choices and motivate why throughout the study.

Replication is connected to reliability, in qualitative research reliability is how well the analyses instruments in the research can, in fact, capture something and how well it is performed by the researcher (Tracy 2013:228; Bryman 2008: 49). Validity is one of the most important measures because it is about how well the researcher captures what he/she claims to capture. Validity can also be the relation between the method of choice and how well the researcher uses it and describes it. Whereas the selection of the method has been undertaken with care, and in agreement with the aim, CDA can be claimed to have weaknesses. By doing a CDA or qualitative research one limitation is that as a researcher you are an outside observer of what you tend to study further the one that draws conclusions on the material. This means that the researcher always has to be careful in being biased in the interpretation of the material because every researcher has its own baggage. However, this is not considered to be a significant problem because CDA sees that differences in interpretations can, in fact, be a source of data even if one have to acknowledge this factor (Ibid:50-51). In relation to this study two languages are used because the study focus on both Swedish and British editorials for that reason has the aim been to explain how the articles been translated. In the case from Swedish to English where the original text are stated in appendix (2) this for the reason to not create any bias in the research. There always are a risk in translations for the reason that one can lose some aspects of the meanings of the words, the translation that one chose, however, is the value in conducting a comparative analysis greater and makes this aspect worth it.

A researcher is never conducting research without any previous knowledge or values here ethics is prior. To be sensitive to the settings that the study is conducted or to the issue that you study. Since this thesis acknowledges that the topic can be sensitive as it is related to a sensitive group (refugees, asylum seekers) and are in many respect a politically sensitive issue. Situational ethics are about the issue at hand where you need to think about the effects that it can have later on. Ethics are about, to

be honest through the whole study as ethical concerns are always present where the researcher always needs to make decisions. Its about being aware of the effect that the research can have, can it be used in a negative way (Ibid:129-134).

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#### 4.3.5 Generalisability

Generalisability of the results is out of the scope of this thesis as in general in qualitative research the goal is rather quality than quantity. Generalisability is often explained in relation on how you can draw conclusions beyond the result of the study. In qualitative research, the study is often conducted in a particular area or group which makes it hard to draw conclusions outside that specific group (Bryman 2008: 369). And as this thesis studies the discourse of the refugee crisis both in a particular time period and in different country contexts it would not be reasonable to draw conclusions beyond that. It is not aimed to generalize for the reason that it's not possible to interpret the result of this thesis as applicable in other country context.

## 5 Analysis and Results

This chapter will present the analysis and the results of the empirical study. The analysis and results will be presented according to the different themes that were found. Throughout this chapter, the empirical material presented will be analysed in accordance with the theories and previous studies in the field. The analytical framework presented in Table 1 is utilised in the section, with the macro analysis preceding micro analysis within each theme.

### 5.1 Swedish Editorial Analysis

When going through the editorials in Sweden, it was clear that the term “the refugee crisis” was taken for granted. Throughout the editorials the term was continually utilised but never explained. It was clear while reading the editorials, that there is a general assumption that there was a “refugee crisis” during the autumn. It was often presented in relation to the numbers of refugees that entered the EU and Sweden, which became one of the main aspects that shaped the crisis. In the sections that follow the primary themes focus on Sweden and the EU.

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#### 5.1.1 The Crisis as “The European Refugee Crisis”

##### 5.1.1.1 The EU Cooperation

##### **Macro Analysis**

The theme that was most common in the editorials was the one that saw the crisis as the main problem for the EU. More specifically, considering the crisis from a biased perspective and disregarding the discussion from a refugee’s point of view.

An editorial stated: *“No country can runaway from taking their responsibility in the refugee crisis”* (DN 2015-09-09). The thematic and schematic structure of the editorials indicated the most common theme in Sweden was the EU cooperation. Many editorials revealed the key roles that Sweden and Germany played in relation to addressing the “crisis,” with the majority of the editorials arguing for more equal action in the acceptance of refugees. Germany’s role was emphasised in one of the headlines: *“Learn from Angela Merkel”* (DN 2015-09-09). Schematically this appeared under the section refugee crisis on the editorial page.

*“Don't let Europe Fall”* (SvD 2015-09-17); the headline states. Here the refugee crisis was described as a situation where *“crisis has put the rules out of the game”* (Ibid). The word “crisis” was written in bold text which makes it easy for the reader to acknowledge. Within this piece the framing of the crisis suggests that there will be a cooperation dilemma between the EU member states. Where the key points of the discussion related to the Dublin regulation and freedom of movement within the EU that the member states are not adhering to.

The crisis was described in the editorials as worsening because the member states did not cooperate. The message implies, if there is no change the crisis could lead to the end of the EU. The quote that follows, further supports this claim: *“When Europe at the most needs joint responsibility, the member States of the EU fails. Therefore it's not only the refugee crisis that is getting worse. The tendency to dissolve the Union itself is strengthened”* (DN 2015-09-02). In the editorials, it is rather the journalists that get to describe the themes and at no point are the refugees presented with their own voice.

### **Micro Analysis**

The solution to the crisis is framed as a problem that can only be solved with the full cooperation between all member states. Examples statements were: *“force member states to relocate refugees”* and *“a step towards common asylum politics within the EU”* (DN 2015-09-09). This was seen as the best way forward for the Swedish and German government. However, the editorials implied that the member states had their own interests at heart. This led to statements such as: *“puts the refugees in even more danger”*(DN 2015-12-17). Further discussion related to strengthening the common foreign politics, neighbourhood politics, the cooperation with the UN and maintaining the external borders. *“First step should be that more must assist in maintaining the external borders. It is a common responsibility and the kind of challenge that are at the very essence of the EU cooperation”* (SvD 2015-09-17).

The discussion on external borders referred to the borders between Germany and Austria that were closed. Where the closing of borders within the EU was described as not being a good solution because it affected the free movement within the EU, the focus should rather be on maintaining the external borders outside the EU. The journalist then steers the discussion towards Eastern member states needing to take responsibility. She argues *“these States have a demographic problem like the West but worse, the citizens are getting older”*. She argues that the labour market in the Eastern



countries are in need of a bigger work force due to population shrinkage. She continued with the statement: *“The Nativity in these states is placed/located at the bottom of Europe”*.

*“The European refugee crisis should never had happened. To receive one million asylum seekers should not be a major challenge for the EU-an region with 500 million inhabitants, receiving more than 3 million immigrants a year. The lack of a coordinated solution turns a manageable problem into an acute political crisis that can rage the EU”* (DN 2015-12-17).

The crisis is framed as being a result of the number of asylum seekers that have entered the EU as implied in the quotation. But also as a result of structural problems within the EU that lead the issue to become a political crisis within the EU. Moreover, it is clear that its rather the EU that has a crisis mainly as framing it as the “European refugee crisis”. And the fact that the editorials focuses on Europe, it seems like the crisis is in Europe and not in the places where the refugees comes from. The refugee crisis can also be seen as a broader crisis than the one of the EU where the aspect of free movement within the EU is being challenged due to the numbers of refugees entering the region. Is the crisis in and for Europe?

The theme is filled with moral judgments, the judgment of the member states unwillingness to cooperating. The wording in the theme is focused on blaming the countries that have not taken the same responsibility as Germany and Sweden. In a quotation Sweden and Germany were referred to as “we” where Eastern states were referred to as “them”. Furthermore words like “nativity” and “force” were used to describe the Eastern states approach to the matter.

There are different figurative terms used to describe the people in the refugee crisis like asylum seekers, economic migrants and migrants. Essential information that has been left out is: Why there are so many refugees entering the European borders? Furthermore solutions to solve the issues within the refugees’ countries are not discussed and mentioned.

When studying the theme it can be seen that there is a general concern about the effects of the refugee crisis, with a consequence being the end of the EU. The referent object is the member states within the EU that need to be protected and the refugee crisis is described as threatening the stability of the EU. The talk about external borders also gives the impression that the order within the EU is under pressure from refugees/migrants as expressed in the editorials. One editorial

discusses the solution of creating official gateways at the borders of the EU so everyone can get registered in order to “*restore the calmness after the Paris attacks*” (DN 2015-12-17). Many editorials in fact mention terrorism in the same stories as the refugee crisis which creates association between the two aspects.

As Venir (2015:3-5) found in her research, the media debate has moved towards perceiving refugees as a security threat, where media coverage on refugees is often problem-oriented, associated in relation to illegality and terrorism which draws the receiver away from the humanitarian aspect. In one editorial it is stated that the “*The refugee crisis has also raised existential, domestic policy issues*” (DN 2015-09-09). The crisis is described as opening up a discussion on culture and national identity, “*What does the immigration require from us*”(Ibid) and how is “*society creating a settlement culture*” (Ibid). In relation to securitization theory is this an example of societal security where states/media can have a difficult time handling differences, both cultural and identities. This can lead cultural differences to be seen as a threat where citizens and actors can be reluctant to accept new cultures and ethnic groups (Buzan et al. 1998:120-124). The editorial provides a view that the crisis has applied pressure on the national culture and raised questions on how it will be protected or how it will change can be seen as societal threat.

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## 5.1.2 The Crisis in Sweden or for Sweden

The following themes are presented in this section, resources, ID-controls, integration and the economy. There is no doubt that Sweden is experiencing a “crisis”. The focus is on the effects on the Swedish society rather than, where the refugees comes from. The refugee crisis was described as a situation that goes above and beyond ordinary functions in the society. Strong wordings like “system collapse” and “political crisis”: lead the editorials to become more negative in their way of describing the crisis.

### 5.1.2.1 Resources

#### **Macro Analysis**

The theme of *resources* was the most common theme after the theme of the EU cooperation when studying the editorials in Sweden. The theme was described in an editorial as: “*The refugee situation starts to go beyond ordinary activities*”.. “*where will this end* ” (SvD 2015-11-20). The

editorial emphasises that the local authorities cannot handle the pressure anymore, by letting a man that works at a local authority in a smaller city state the first quote, after the journalist states the second quote. This gives the view that something is happening in society, something negative beyond control. The editorial then follows the argumentation that all over the country it is spoken about “system collapse”. For instance from the local authorities it can be heard *“the limit will be reached soon”*. He builds this argumentation on a report that states that one-third of the local authorities admit not to be able to provide enough quality in receiving refugees anymore.

Focusing on the resources theme of the editorials many quotations from people working with the local authorities can be found. These quotations are used often in the editorials to build up the theme that Sweden has a crisis, with the lack of resources making the crisis difficult to handle. The aforementioned argumentation ends in the editorial with the statement: *“All recipient municipalities cannot even provide roof over their heads. Municipalities warn that the work and costs of asylum seekers goes beyond school, healthcare and care for the citizens of the municipalities”*.

Another editorial states that: *“There is no capacity to receive more than 100 single children and young people per day, neither personally or housing”* (SvD 2015-10-09), and the editorial then follows this by emphasizing *“there is a high risk that normal operations and society will suffer”*. Here a clear distinction between “we” the citizens of the municipalities and “them” the asylum seekers, even if they are not directly presented as the problem they are the only group presented in the context which results in the perception that they are the main source behind the lack of resources.

The theme of resources are mainly in the context of "Challenges" for the authorities where the authorities are presented as being under pressure in relation to the lack of resources both when it comes to the lack of staff, housing and money. This is presented in a clear way in the editorials, in the beginning of the editorials and are fluently stated in the rest of the articles with many quotes from authorities. Where the refugee crisis is presented as something that has created a problem in the national society.

### **Micro Analysis**

The theme resources refers to the crisis of the lack of resources. Here the lack of resources is central in the discourse of the refugee crisis. The lack of resources makes the situation difficult to handle

and the only point of reference to the problem is the refugee crisis. The theme focuses on Sweden and its authorities that have a crisis rather than the refugees with strong wordings like *“political crisis,” “system collapse”* and *“the refugee stream”*. *“All over the country is it spoken about a system collapse”* (SvD 2015-11-20).

This implies an issue of urgency which may be out of control due to the use of words like *“collapse”* and *“stream”*. Here the refugees are presented as a group that has an effect on society where the resources draws the line between the citizens and the refugees. Refugees are not stated in the editorials where they are not presented with their own voices the focus is rather on the pressure that the authorities in Sweden are under when receiving the big number of refugees. In one editorial the journalist wrote, *“When 80,000 people arrive over a few weeks is it regrettable, but not strange or noteworthy that some are forced to sleep some nights on a cardboard in some trade fair”* (DN 2015-12-07). Here the moral judgment relates to the living conditions lowering during a time of crisis.

The refugee crisis seems to establish an editorial view that during the crisis requires every political party to work together. During the refugee crisis in the autumn of 2015 Sweden was also undergoing a political crisis. This lead to that many of the editorials suggesting a solution could be achieved if the parties handle the crisis together. More specifically, developing an immigration plan that spans several years. *“The refugee crisis requires presence of mind in all parties”* (DN 2015-10-15).

Some editorials also argue that temporary resident permits can be the answer for handling the refugee crisis and to change the laws for resident so it will be easier to build living accommodations. *“When the government made up with Aliansen on response for the refugee crisis one of the points was temporary relief in the planing and building laws”* (DN 2015-12-09). Furthermore, the Swedish governments decision to try to relocate refugees and asylum seekers to other EU countries is described as a necessity. Even though solutions are presented, the editorials focus on what is wrong rather than solutions for the crisis. The journalists even judge the authorities that rather state what resources that are missing when someone should ask them rather *“How do you think this extreme situation should be solved?”*(DN 2015-12-07). There are no significant sign of securitization in the editorials on the resources theme. Within the theme of resources the media

coverage is problem oriented in relation to previous studies that illustrate that refugees are often associated with negative issues (Bennett et al. 2013).

### 5.1.2.2 ID-controls

#### **Macro Analysis**

The theme of *ID-controls* was fluently discussed in the editorials with a main argumentation on control or the lack of control at the Swedish borders. *“Under the whole refugee crisis the judgment has been that the police cannot handle the internal control of foreigners”.....“the control of foreigners is about having the control over who is within the national borders”* (SvD 2015-10-18).

This is stated in the first paragraph of the editorial where there is an argumentation that there is a need for more control at the borders where different statements from the police authority and reports gives the impression that ID controls is required to control the borders. The discussions on the ID control is described as something that its needed, to have order and safety within Sweden. Additionally, the majority of journalists are pro ID controls and there is a belief that this would encourage the Danish government to take more responsibility in regard to the refugees crisis.

The journalists who are against ID controls are critical that the region between Malmo and Copenhagen will suffer an increase in the infrastructural pressure. They argue that commuters traveling time over the Oresundsbridge will increase and a better solution is to put pressure on the Danish government.

The theme on ID control is argued by the journalist where they support their argumentation on police statement and political statements about the decision. The editorials share a similar structure, by either focusing on the ID controls before the decision or as the decision has been taken. Many of the editorials on the ID controls have the headline *“Refugee crisis”* but the editorials show no aspect from the refugees point of view.

#### **Micro Analysis**

The theme of ID controls shows two different ways in which it is a crisis, one editorial writes: *“Sweden together with Germany are the only two countries that see the refugee crisis as their human responsibility even if there has been a lower number of asylum seekers in Sweden the past*

*week*” (DN 2015-11-25). The crisis is described as being the effect of one of the biggest refugee efforts in Sweden in modern history.

The other way of seeing the crisis is the lack of control that makes it into a crisis within Sweden with authorities stating that there is a need for more control which includes controlling the borders in order to register foreigners. To not control refugees is described as a “*serious danger to the public order*” (DN 2015-12-05). The crisis is rather a crisis for the authorities, the Swedish society and the citizens. The ID controls are needed to “*create breathing space in the Swedish refugee reception*” (DN 2015-11-25). Many of the journalists are positive towards ID controls. Other solutions that are discussed relate to the government’s decision on making it harder for asylum seekers to get asylum. Furthermore, to establish tougher rules on family immigration. This is explained as a drastic move but not perceived as being wrong. There is some moral judgment in the editorials much of the judgment is on Denmark’s stance towards the crisis.

The wording in the editorials gives the view that the society is under pressure. Words like, “order,” “danger,” “threat,” “worrying,” and “insecurity” creates a view that the order in the society is threatened. The mention of the control of foreigners improving, implies that there is little control. As securitization theory suggests that securitization is implemented when the issue is seen as urgent and as a threat where external actions are legitimized that go beyond the regular politicized actions (Buzan et al. 1998:6). Where the talks about ID controls can be seen as an action that goes beyond ordinary functions. The statements create a separation between the Swedish society in relation to refugees and foreigners. Where the use of the term foreigners shows naivety on who that entails. What needs to be protected is the public order. The society needs to know that authorities are aware of who enters the border.

There is less relevant information in the theme where the choice of words makes it seem like the situation is more threatening. A negative picture is presented, and no editorial sees it from the refugee's standpoint even if the decision and solutions for most has an effect on the refugees and asylum seekers. In the editorials there are no metaphors used for the refugee crisis. It seems like ID controls and the talk about control at the borders raises a discussion on who will be included. More specifically, the separation of “we” the Swedish society and “them” that require IDs. Huysmans (2000:758) argue by labelling the foreign immigrant as the “other,” ultimately excluding them from the national society.

### 5.1.2.3 Integration

#### **Macro Analysis**

*“It is clear; however, that if Sweden fails to integrate the new arrivals, the tensions in the society can grow”* (DN 2015-11-07). There is a common agreement that Sweden needs to change in order to successfully integrate asylum seekers, with the majority of the attention being focused on the labour market. Integration failure will lead to the gap in society increasing which can lead to a negative opinion towards immigration. The labour market is already divided in Sweden where individuals that are foreign born find it more difficult to find work. There is a general debate about lowering the entry salaries however some editorials argue that this would only create more gaps and where the others believe that this would open up for more work opportunities. These argumentation is built on reports that has been published on the opportunities for jobs for new arrivals. *“Sweden's high entry salaries make it difficult for low-skilled and foreign-born workers to get jobs. That was the case long before todays refugee crisis”*(Ibid). *“The one that tries to lower wages in a middle of a burning refugee crisis put groups into each other and threatens the cohesion of our society”* (DN 2015-10-12).

The Union associations gets a lot of criticism that they hinder the integration for new arrivals. *“The unions needs to pull a larger load in the refugee crisis and help the integration”* (Ibid). The theme on integration illustrates few directions. Where integration belief seems to built on an assumption that newly arrivals are integrated when they find work. Once integrated new arrivals can help the Swedish society move forward. This theme is mostly championed by statements from reports and the journalists. The structure of the editorials is similar where they are argumentative

#### **Micro Analysis**

The micro analysis on the integration theme illustrates similar traits to the resource theme. Specifically, there is a large number of refugees that makes up the crisis, leading to the discussions focusing on asylum seekers and work opportunity. Work is significant to the integration: *“The key is that the newly arrivals are given the chance to work for the sake of their well-being and for the possibility of paying taxes is in the publics best interest”* (DN 2015-11-07). The crisis seems to be more a crisis for the Swedish society, where asylum seekers seems to put weight on the society if they do not work.

*“The limit is reached”* (Ibid). However the labour unions and the government are blamed for not doing enough. The integration has also establish a negative view of the refugees and asylum seekers as they are presented as a weight on the society rather than a resource. The solution is clear, if asylum seekers find a job they are likely to become more integrated in the society. The solutions that are discussed focus on lowering the starting salaries especially in the service sector where many immigrants already work. There is however a belief that it will increase the gap in society.

Editorials with a focus on the integration theme utilized terms for refugees as foreign born and immigrants. This shows that theme of integration is rather broader discussed and are also discussed in the light of immigrants that have been in Sweden over a longer time period. The solutions that the government has presented of higher taxes is morally judged as the wrong way to go. The labour union is blamed for not giving answers about creating more *“simple jobs”* that would make it easier for new arrivals to integrate into the labour market. The integration is discussed as an issue that goes beyond former actions where the crisis seems to establish the view that new actions are required. *“The trade union talks about justice as if there were still 70s out there, as if the refugee crisis did not existed”* (DN 2015-10-12). There is an overall tone that if something does not change, like lower salaries or more simple jobs, the integration is going to fail and the Swedish system is going to collapse. Even if it is not implied that the refugees are threatening the society it is suggested that if they are not able to work, it is going to threaten the stability in the society.

#### 5.1.2.4 Economy

##### **Macro Analysis**

This theme is about how the refugee crisis puts pressure on the national economy, with the theme discussions centralized in resources. The economy can both have a positive and negative effect when it comes to the crisis. Asylum seekers can both be a resource for Sweden’s economy in relation to having a positive effect to the work force in Sweden as the population gets older. However an opposing factor is the cost the crisis has on the economy.

In an editorial in DN (2015-12-19) the writer built his argumentation with statements from government representatives. These statements describe the refugee crisis as something that has put pressure on the national economy. *“The government is going to keep the order in the economy after the refugee crisis”* where the aftermath of the crisis is associated to high economic costs. *“When it*



comes to the costs for the refugee crisis it is better too say how it is: we are not going to be able to stay under the fix ceiling". In the editorial the government is blamed for not being straight about how they will handle the economy and admitting that the crisis is a major factor on the economy. In another editorial in SvD (2015-10-23) with the headline "*Unreasonable cost*" where the cost of immigration is discussed. Additional statements state: "*refugee crisis going to increase the government spending to approximately 130 billions in the next four years to come*" the whole editorial is based on different numbers and what it will cost for the society.

The economy theme is argumentative by the journalists where they are the ones that get to describe the theme where they comment on what the government representatives have said or done. The refugee crisis has lead to an argumentation on the need for a change in how the Swedish government handles the national economy.

### **Micro Analysis**

The framing of the crisis in the economy theme shows that the crisis has lead to a change in how Sweden should handle the national economy "*the refugee crisis has caused a reversal*" (DN 2015-12-15). This was stated to describe that the economy is under reconstruction as an effect of the refugee crisis. The number of refugees that make up the crisis has a substantial cost on the society. Many of the editorials describe the refugee crisis as something that has lead to higher costs and actions beyond the norm. It is clear that the crisis is rather a crisis on the national economy and the national society, "*the refugee crisis needs new rules for decisions*" (Ibid). The solutions focus on the government needing to fix the gaps in the economy by changing reforms for education and work laws. Furthermore the cost for migration needs to be changed because it cost the society too much. "*The risk is that the money is not enough*"(DN 2015-12-19).

Some editorials also focused on the government needing to increase the budget because it is not going to be possible to stick to the budget during the refugee crisis. There are more moral judgments in the editorials on the economy where cost seems to be described with the word unreasonable and cost that is higher than usual is expressed as concerning. The theme of economy gives a clear view that the economy is under threat because of the higher costs associated to the refugee crisis. A statement in an editorial stated, "*the state is going to have order after the refugee crisis*" (Ibid) which implies there is a concern.

*“That is the amount that corresponds to what a government normally imposes on different spendings during a full time in office”* (SvD 2015-10-23). The theme on the economy clearly indicated that the economy is threatened by the refugee crisis. The theme is focused on the cost and numbers with little mention of solutions. The theme is fluently using the term refugee crisis to make statements and argumentation. As previous studies can confirm has refugees been perceived as the threat in media, in relation to threats on the economy (Crawley, McMahon & Jones 2015: 8-11; Threadgold 2009:8)

## **5.2 The British Editorial Analysis**

When analyzing the editorials in the United Kingdom, the most common theme in the editorials was the ones focusing on the European Union; where almost two-thirds were written from an EU perspective. In the UK the crisis was taken for granted where no further explanations were presented. The term "migration crisis" was used more often in the editorials instead of the term "refugee crisis." The crisis was often presented in relation to the number of refugees entering the EU. The primary themes were on the EU cooperation, Britain's role in Europe and editorials focusing on the effect on Britain due to the crisis at the Calais. Although the editorials seem to refer to the crisis as an issue for the EU and the UK, there are some examples which focus on the humanitarian aspects of the crisis as well.

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### **5.2.1 The Crisis in the EU**

#### **5.2.1.1 The EU Cooperation**

##### **Macro Analysis**

The theme of the EU cooperation was the most common theme in the editorials and different argumentations on how the cooperation should work were raised. In addition many of the editorials expressed concerns about the willingness of the EU member states to cooperate. Another view was that the lack of respect of some EU member states (the Balkan states) in relation to accepting refugees. The focus is on that countries like Germany and France forcing the Baltic states to resettle refugees and where this is seen as nonsensical. Germany is presented as a country that has encouraged migrants to go to Germany and therefore do not have the same right to complain on other member states unwillingness to accept refugees. The crisis has revealed the flaws within the

EU where both the free movement and the shared borders policies are being scrutinized as a result of the migration crisis. This is due to refugees arriving predominately from Syria and Afghanistan through the Balkan states with the argumentation by the journalists being there is a lack of definitive action when addressing the matter.

One of the editorials headline states: *“Migrant crisis shows up dictatorial EU”* ( TDT 2015-09-24) and follows up this by stating *“The migrant crisis has proved again that the European establishment has no respect for the will of the member states (and their electorates)”* (Ibid). Another editorial writes in the ingress that, *“The refugee crisis faces the EU with a moral challenge”* and *“that it is the greatest challenge that the EU has faced”* (TG 2015-08-26).

The crisis is described as a situation that is going to last over several years, where the EU needs to be more progressive in making the cooperation work. One editorial states that it is a *“matter of solidarity”*(TG 2015-08-26), where its unacceptable that poorer countries in the southern region of Europe is left to pay for the growing number of refugees and migrants that enter their borders. One editorial strongly states *“without a responsibility-sharing scheme, the far right will only grow stronger”* (Ibid). The editorials that argue for better cooperation, where countries that do not cooperate are criticized for not assisting with the crisis.

Some of the editorials spoke about the situation in Syria mainly in October when Russia started the bombings in Iraq. The refugee crisis was presented in relation to actions that were taken in Syria and Iraq to work against terrorist groups like ISIL and the Islamic State. *“Syria’s tragedy is fast becoming a problem for Europe too, ISIL-inspired terrorists target European Citizens and the continent is flooded with refugees”* (TDT 2015-10-03). The majority of the editorials in this period focused on security issues where Russia and Turkey were questioned for their actions. Where the EU and Turkey needs to cooperate more with each other. One ingress states: *“On Monday President Recep Tayyip Erdogan held talks in Brussels with EU leaders intent on enlisting his help in controlling the refugee crisis”* (TG 2015-10-07). Turkey is presented as a key player for handling the refugees that are fleeing from the war in Syria.

Most editorials within the theme are unsigned where many headlines state for example *The Guardians* view on where much of the argumentative structure is built on politicians actions, statements and evaluations but foremost are the journalists that explain the theme. In one editorial a

statement from the commission president Jean-Claude Juncker can be found after the Paris attacks where he stated that, *“Paris changes nothing, the migration crisis still has to be dealt with”*. David Cameron and Angela Merkel is also often mention in the argumentation. The editorials also share a common structure first by presenting the subject in the ingress and later providing examples and concluding with what need to be done. The theme of cooperation shows three standings the first one is that member states needs to cooperate better in times of the crisis the other argumentation is on that the EU needs to progress in how they respect member states decisions and the third one is that the EU needs to work with countries outside its borders.

### **Micro Analysis**

The EU cooperation and the large number of migrants and refugees entering the EU continue to be the main focus. The numbers are associated to the number of migrants and refugees that have entered the EU and how many are expecting to enter. One example from an ingress states *“the refugee crisis, which is expected to have brought more than a million refugees to Germany by the end of this year”* (TG 2015-10-30). The numbers seem to make it into a crisis where much of the argumentation use words and metaphors to describe the numbers like "handle the influx," "era of mass migration," "thousands of people," "greatest movement of people," "mass of migrants" and "flooded". This gives the view that it is a situation is difficult to handle with the metaphors giving the view that there is a lack of control on the number of migrants entering the EU. This has lead to a cooperation problem regarding who is responsible for those who enters. Moreover it is rather a crisis for the EU and its member states, where the editorials focus on the European context rather than where the refugees comes from.

When going through the editorials numerous solutions were presented for the crisis. Some editorials that champion that every member state needs to take responsibility. The key points being the solution built on further integration of EU legislation like establishing more efficient EU asylum policies, strengthening the external borders, helping the southern countries in handling the refugees but also to resolve the tensions in Baltic where many migrants comes from. *“Fixing the Balkans is an unfinished task that the EU must now concentrate on as a part of its overall response to the migration crisis”* (TG 2015-08-27).

The moral judgment here is that migrants from Balkan states, that are not EU members, come to the EU with migrants and refugees. The decision on forcing member states to receive refugees may

cause a rift between the older member states (like Germany and France) and the newer member states. Germany is ridiculed for making the migrants and refugees enter their borders with sarcastic editorials stating: *“Mrs Merkel drew much praise, at home and abroad and from opponents, by boldly embracing Germany’s new migrants in the summer”* (TG 2015-10-30). Alternatively Hungary is also judged for making it harder for *“desperate people fleeing war zones”* by establishing blocks at train stations and using tear gas against the migrants where even one headline stated *“The Guardian view on Hungary and the refugee crisis: Orban the awful”* (2015-09-07).

The editorials that focused on the Russian bombings was the bombings seen as something that: *“would shore up Bashar al-Assad’s criminal government and, by doing so, humiliate the West”* (TDT 2015-10-02). Where the lack of leadership in Europe has given Putin the chance to act as he wants the situation seems to have created tension between the “west” and the “east”. Where the bombings are rather more seen as a mockery on the EU than a solution on the war in Syria, however did the editorials state that there is a need for *“finding an endgame”* (TDT 2015-10-03), to the war in Syria. But also to *“stop the crisis from overwhelming Lebanon and Jordan, supporting these countries should be a priority”* (Ibid). Turkey is also salient in the talk about solutions where the talk about establishing hotspots for asylum applications in Turkey is seen as a prior solution. Moreover to control the external borders is not possible without Turkey *“The crisis means that the Europeans and the Turks must work more together”* (TG 2015-10-07).

When going through the editorials it became clear that there is a general concern about the lack of control over the number of people that enter the borders with one editorial stating that, *“in ill-prepared EU reception countries must now be added the fear that this migration also brings security dangers”* (TDT 2015-11-16). Where the lack of control of the migrants to the EU raises the concerns about safety one solution could be to establish more *“controlled migration routes”* (Ibid). Furthermore the migration crisis is presented in relation to attacks like the Paris attack where the argumentation is that someone that could be involved in the attack could have entered Europe along *“with the mass of migrants”* (Ibid). It is clear that it is Europe that needs to be protected where the lack of the control on migrant raises concerns about security where the migrants are presented as somewhat threatening the control within the union. The discussion on external borders also creates a view that its “us” the EU and “them” that want to enter.

One thing that was clear in the editorials of this theme was that the crisis is labelled the migration crisis and migrants are fluently used in the editorials. Migrants not presented with their own voices but are presented in an unpersonalized collective manner by terms like the mass of migrants that arrives. In the case where the refugee crisis was used where the coverage more humanitarian that the people needed protection because they were fleeing from the war in their home countries.

#### 5.2.1.2 Britain's Future in Europe

##### **Macro Analysis**

*“At a summit this in Malta this week EU leaders will seek to grapple with the deepening refugee crisis that threatens to overshadow the debate about Britain’s future membership”* (TDT 2015-11-09)

The statement above was stated in an ingress and a common theme was the editorials that focused on Britain’s role and future in the EU. Here was the crisis framed as something that was less important, where the focus rather should be on the United Kingdom's future within the EU. David Cameron had little choice in his negotiation with the EU where the migration occupied much of the focus. Political parties featured heavily within these editorials with their argumentation occupying the majority of the pieces. At the time the Tory party was having a summit where the discussion was on *“The migration crisis and the continuing weakness of the eurozone mean the pools are beginning to turn against EU membership”* (TG 2015-10-03). Here the crisis is framed as leading to more emphasis on leaving the EU. David Cameron features heavily in the editorials in relation to the negotiations with the other two big leaders in the EU, Angela Merkel and Francois Hollande. Here Cameron is presented as both the main actor that wanted to discuss Britain's future in the EU and as the main actor that have to raise the question. Merkel is described in one ingress as someone that would prefer to discuss the crisis: *“Mrs Merkel wants to expend them to alleviate the refugee crisis”* (TDT 2015-10-09). Holland is portrayed as an advocate of suggesting that Britain should *“leave Europe”* (Ibid) if they do not support further integration. The editorials argue that Cameron needs to make it clear that the British want their sovereignty back.

The editorials are presented in a clear way the headlines states what the editorials are about, an example being, *“EU negotiation cant ignore immigration”* (TDT 2015-11-09). The ingress contains the debate where The UK's role in the EU is explained. In the editorials there are statements from

politicians used to support the notion greater focus on The UK's role in the EU other than that of the journalists.

### **Micro Analysis**

The refugee crisis in the theme Britain's future in Europe seems to occupy the majority of the debate, however the focus should be on Britain's role within the EU. In this theme it is the migrants that arrive in Europe that makes it a crisis. However the editorials argue that the crisis diverts the attention away from the EU referendum.

An editorial in this period stated if an agreement with the EU does not meet David Cameron's wishes then it will lead to *“worries about immigration and its impact on the UK’s population”* (TDT 2015-11-09) this was stated to explain the talks at the summit in Malta when discussing the refugee crisis. It implies there is a difference in perspectives with the UK's point of view related to a loss of sovereignty to the EU and where the crisis overshadow the referendum debate.

No solutions are presented for the crisis and the focus is on Cameron needing to be more progressive in his negotiation with the EU. Furthermore the moral judgment unjust that it is only Cameron that can and must handle the referendum. *“Mr Cameron will use a speech this week to make clear that he has not abandoned the option of campaigning to leave the EU, though he does not wish to do so”* (TDT 2015-11-09). There is argumentation that immigration could become an important subject for leaving the EU but there is also an alternative view, *“Vote Leave’s focus is more likely to be on the business case for Brexit, rather than on immigration”* (TDT 2015-10-09). The journalists do not state any opinions on if they want to stay within the EU or not and because the journalists does not implicate any solutions its hard to understand if the goal is to leave or stay.

There are no metaphors used for describing the crisis however the wording that is used implies to the reader that something has been lost or been taken. Words such as *“reclaiming,” “curtailing the power,”* and *“liberation”* all indicate to the reader that the UK has lost power to the EU.

Some the editorials express concerns about the effect that immigration is going to have on the British population. This is clearly indicated within the text where the migration is stated as having an effect on *“we”*. One example on this is stated at the end of an editorial *“Even if the UK is not*

*part of the common asylum system, we must be affected eventually by the huge rise in immigration into Germany and elsewhere because of the free movement rights” (TDT 2015-11-09). Here immigrants are presented as something that would have an effect on British society.*

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## 5.2.2 The British Crisis

### 5.2.2.1 The Crisis at the Calais

#### **Macro Analysis**

When going through the British editorials many editorials focused on the effect on Britain due to, the situation at the borders at the Calais between France and the UK. The editorials share a similar structure where the theme becomes clear in the headlines and the ingress. One headline states *“change...on the Calais frontier”* (TDT 2015-08-20) which is followed by stating in the ingress: *“Theresa May’s visit to Calais today to sign an agreement with her French counterpart to tackle the migrant crisis”*. Here the crisis seems to be at the British borders the argumentation is one that the French government do not play their part in protecting the borders regarding the migrants entering the UK. *“Europe is not on top of its migration crisis, that border controls are inadequate, that unacceptable numbers of migrants are heading for Britain and that continental governments are not doing enough to help protect UK borders”* (TG 2015-10-05)

Money that is used to build fences ( based on statements like, “Money-usually ours”) at the borders is written as being only from the British capital, in addition to the statements claiming that the French are to blame for the lack of order in Calais.

At this period there was a record number of migrants at the British border. Migrants entering the border are framed as being illegal and choose this path due to the pressure in Europe and at the Mediterranean sea. Economic migrants need to enter into the UK legally. Syrian refugees are advised that they are better off staying near their home country. There are exceptions on who is more welcome over the British borders. For example, Syrian’s who are Christians who are not safe in the Middle East, interpreters who have worked for the British Army in Afghanistan and the migrants that can work in the professions where there is a shortage. *“The government has also kept out the people we need, while allowing in those that we don’t”* (TDT 2015-08-28).



The editorials further use numbers and statistics to argue on how many migrants live in the French territory at the borders at Calais. However it is the journalists that governs the argumentation. The editorials blame the French authorities and politicians for not handling the situation on the border but there is no perspective ever given from the point of view of the French.

### **Micro Analysis**

The micro analysis on the crisis at Calais indicates that what makes a crisis is the pressure on the British borders due to the large number of migrants. There are few solutions presented for the crisis with much of the focus on the circumstances the border. Among journalists, there is a common view that a vetting system is required to determine who should enter the country. The EU commitment to the free movement of people both European citizens and migrants needs to change. In one editorial it is stated *“The fact of the matter is that if we want control of our borders this matter must be resolved”* (TDT 2015-08-28). Many of the editorials mention that there also needs to be a control of the European citizens that enter the British borders. However is two views presented some editorials argue that every European State has to admit that the migration to the Mediterranean is a shared challenge where the only solution is shared responsibility.

In the theme it was not explicit for who the crisis is for even if it is clear that the crisis is on the British borders. The majority of the moral judgement however was focused on the French and the EU. *“We have no control over the numbers that arrives from the EU”* (TDT 2015-08-28). *“Tuesday’s scenes from Calais feed the prevailing narrative of fear about illegal immigration to Europe in general, and to Britain in particular”* (TG 2015-10-05).

In some parts it seems like the UK is not a part of Europe and the other European states do not have any control of the migrants at Calais. The narrative is on other states not helping to protection the British borders, with no blame targeting the British government. It seems that this is a problem for France to solve. Further there is no implications on what will happen if the UK let the migrants through the border, with the focus being on not letting them in.

It is clear that the British borders are under pressure where words and metaphors like: “the flow,” “panic,” “fear,” “illegal immigrants,” “higher fences,” “no control,” and “security measures” establish a view that the borders require protection against outsiders framed as illegal migrants. It is clear that the editorials establish a security view that the national borders needs protection against

the numbers of migrants beyond the borders. The editorials focus is on both European migrants, migrants from states beyond Europe and refugees, therefore there is an ambivalent picture of who is regarded as an illegal migrant.

#### 5.2.2.2 The Humanitarian Crisis

##### **Macro Analysis**

There are examples of the crisis for being a humanitarian crisis especially during the month of September. The editorials become more humanitarian mainly as an effect of the dead three-year old Syrian boy Aylan Kurdi that was found on a Turkish beach. Both of the newspapers then become more humanitarian in their way of talking about the crisis. When going through the headlines the theme becomes clear: “...*the refugee crisis: it is people and stories that move us, not statistics*” (TG 2015-09-04) or “...*the refugee crisis: much more must be done, not just by the UK*” (TG 2015-09-03). David Cameron was in this theme described as thinking more of calculations rather than compassion. He was blamed for not giving answers on how many Syrian refugees the country would take. The theme was centralized on the Syrian refugees. The ones that described the theme were the journalist and the editorials presented numbers on how many that had died on their way to Europe. This gives the view that the UK needed to take more action. “*Almost everyone now sees that there is a moral imperative to help the Syrian refugees, even if this means letting them into the UK*” (TG 2015-09-04).

One ingress states: “*Britain cannot open its borders to everyone fleeing war anywhere in the world, but this does not excuse the government’s shameful determination to keep our borders closed to as many refugees as possible*” (TG 2015-09-03).

Even though there was a more welcoming tone for refugees, they are still presented as “them”. The editorials in the theme had a similar structure where much of the argumentation focused on the government and especially David Cameron needing to do more. One ingress states “*Refugees need safe homes now, and on that count Cameron is selling them short*” (TG 2015-09-08). The aforementioned statement illustrated that even the humanitarian themed editorials revolved around David Cameron and not the refugees. Even if the example of Aylan Kurdi was used it was only used to illustrate how the media coverage had changed during the week of his death.

## Micro Analysis

The framing of the crisis here is built on the numbers that had passed. In every editorial it is stated how many deaths there had been, and how refugees from Syria has escaped from the horrors in the war in Syria. The aforementioned makes it more of a humanitarian crisis. The solutions to the humanitarian crisis has a strong focus on that the UK and little regard for cooperation solutions with other European countries. Additionally there is moral judgement associated to the fact that the UK preferred to only provide money rather allow refugees from Syria to enter the country. The moral judgment in this theme is all on the government and David Cameron with the tone *“The prime Minister surely understand this: he is personally capable of compassion”*(TG 2015-09-03). Cameron is judged here for not doing enough when the government should have reach out to the Syrian refugees where it is a tragedy that needs *“immediate action”* (TG 2015-09-04). One editorial acknowledged that there are no perfect solution *“here or in Syria”* but the main focus should be on the *“war in Syria”* (TG 2015-09-03). The crisis here is much centralized on the refugees from the war in Syria, where Cameron’s statement of taking an extra 20,000 Syrians is seen as not being enough. *“Calculation continued to come before compassion in his handling the refugee crisis- and dubious calculation at that”* (TG 2015-09-08). Much of the focus is on money and calculation, the editorials are rather criticizing the government for not giving definitive answers on how many refugees the UK should take in. However, there is an understanding that they cannot take everyone fleeing the war.

The humanitarian theme is not securitized, rather the Syrian refugees are framed for being in need of protection from the war in Syria. However no external actions are discussed for the war. That its rather a crisis for the refugees from Syria is clear where words like “compassion,” “sanctuary,” “humanitarian,” “catastrophe,” “safe homes,” “heart,” builds up a view that the refugees from Syria are in need of help not only from the UK but also other European states. There are no metaphors presented where the term refugees is used fluently.

Van Gorp (2005) also found in his research that media coverage that tends to be more humanitarian is more focused on actions and presenting refugees as a group that needs help in relation to circumstances that are out of their control like the war in Syria.

## 6 Discussions and Conclusions

Based on the aforementioned aspects information and the study performed the following conclusions have been drawn. Before stating the concluding remarks of the thesis, several essential aspects related to study will be discussed, because of the influence these aspects have on overall aim of the thesis.

The purpose of this Master thesis was to analyze how Swedish and British editorials covered the so-called "refugee crisis" during the autumn of 2015. The overall aim was to investigate the discursive construction of the crisis, which entails to investigate how the editorials describe the "crisis" and in what way it is a crisis: how the term was conceptualised.

The key research question for the thesis was: How is the "refugee crisis" framed in Swedish and British editorials during the autumn of 2015, and are there any differences in how they conceptualised the "crisis"? However before this question can be addressed the sub questions that follow must be discussed.

### **Whats makes it into a crisis?**

The common aspects that defined the crisis within the editorials was the numbers related to the large amount of refugees during the autumn period and the lack of resources available at the Sweden and Britain's disposal to support the asylum seekers. Although there are two aforementioned aspects framing how the crisis is defined, it is fair to assume that the lack resources factor is a result of the excessive number of asylum seekers factor. Therefore based on the work presented in this thesis and the discussion, it is fair to conclude that the key factor that defines a crisis, relates to the number refugees that are seeking asylum with a given country.

### **For whom is it a crisis?**

The results presented in the analysis suggest that editorial for specific countries presented the crisis in a biased manner with little to no perspective of the point of view from an asylum seekers perspective. The themes followed the narrative of the asylum provider suffering the crisis, rather than the asylum seeker. This was the case for the majority of the Swedish and British editorials studied. Surprisingly even when the heartbreaking news of Aylan Kurdi's passing became the centre

of the media coverage, the perspectives never shifted. Instead this has the effect of further galvanizing the emphasis on the asylum providers perspective. More specifically greater attention on the authorities figures like David Cameron, with the added pressure further framing the circumstances as a greater crisis for the British. With this in mind, it is fair to conclude that within the context of this thesis the crisis is for the asylum providers (Sweden and Great Britain).

### **What political solutions are presented for the refugee crisis?**

Considering Sweden's stance regarding the refugee crisis, specifically accepting a greater number of refugees percentage-wise than most EU member states, there was several political solutions presented to address the crisis. Once again various solutions need to be discussed because of the perception that the large intake of refugees may cause the economy to collapse. Some of the solutions presented were related to better ID controls for the asylum seekers and a major solution involved encouraging other member states to take a greater responsibility regarding the number of asylum seekers they acquire. From the British point of view the major key focus was on the threat to Britain rather and recovering British sovereignty. Therefore the only real solution the editorial narratives discussed centre around Great Britain exiting the EU.

### **How are refugees presented in relation to the crisis?**

Although there was a more constant sympathetic view towards the refugee crisis from the Swedish, according to the results of this thesis, both countries failed to provide a more objective coverage of the crisis by providing a substantial perspective from the refugees point of view. Some Swedish editorials provided a slightly better outlook for the refugees were some solution referred to the benefit an influx of refugees can have on the ageing population. However, refugees still presented as inferior in a sense due to the circumstance that they are in. This was more explicitly obvious in the case of Great Britain case, where all the editorials studied made no reference to any positive aspects associated to refugees.

### **How is the “refugee crisis” framed in Swedish and British editorials during the autumn of 2015, and are there any differences in how they conceptualised the “crisis”?**

Throughout the analysis of the results the crisis is framed in a subjective manner view. As mentioned the answers to the preceding sub-questions, Swedish editorial had a more sympathetic view in comparison to British editorials, however both failed to give a substantial perspective of the

refugee's point of view. Both countries conceptualised the crisis as issues that needs to be addressed but it was their approaches that was the major difference. Swedish editorials indicated that various solutions were being discussed to address the even though there was a fear that the might not be adequate resources to resolve the crisis. Whereas Great British editorials indicated a very self-centered approach with the discussion of power leading the narratives of the editorials. Based on the analysis and the aforementioned discussions, there is no denying that there were key difference in how the Swedish and British editorials conceptualized and framed the refugee crisis.

By doing an analysis of the different themes that could be found in the editorials. It is fair to conclude that there were many similarities in how the editorials framed the refugee crisis in both of the countries.

In both of the countries, the main focus was on the EU and the crisis was explained in relation to the cooperation between the member states. The crisis was mainly presented from a European context, it was common that the material focus on the context of the EU as the crisis was in Europe: mainly as the leading actor that has to solve the crisis and as the main actor for whom it is a crisis. There were also discussions on the effect that the refugee crisis could have or have on the “future” of the EU, where the crisis seems to be within Europe more specific within the EU. Where the refugee crisis seems to be apart of another crisis. The crisis of the EU.

What became clear early in the analysis was that the crisis was taken for granted, where no editorial mention what that was intended with the crisis which indicated that the term was taken for granted. In both of the countries, the framing of the crisis was based mainly as being an effect of the numbers of refugees that had entered the EU, Sweden or the UK. Where rather the emphasis was on the receiving states rather than where the refugees comes from. Where the crisis was presented rather on the "Challenges" for the authorities, states or the EU. This could be challenges for the cooperation within the EU or challenges in protecting the border.

To conclude the editorials do not express the view of the refugees even if there were some examples of the crisis for being a humanitarian crisis the majority of editorials focused on other actors. One thing is clear is that refugees are not presented in their own crisis.

The result of the study can be discussed in relation to the theories that were applied. Where the analysis indicated that there are a securitization of the refugee crisis and refugees. Many editorials emphasis talk on borders, control and social security. The fact that that the result showed that the editorials in both of the countries arrive on a move of securitization can have further consequences. This accordance with the securitization theory leads to that cultural differences to be seen as a threat where citizens and actors can be reluctant to accept new cultures and ethnic groups, where the securitization of refugees and immigration leads the focus from establishing protection for the refugee and rather being about protection against the refugees (Buzan et al. 1998:120-124). The securitization of the crisis leads the focus from the humanitarian aspect or the aspect that the refugees comes from war zones.

In relation to previous studies in the field, one unexpected result was that the Swedish editorials were less focused on humanitarian standings even if they were more humanitarian than the UK. Previous research has found that the Swedish media coverage of refugees tends to be more humanitarian. In relation to Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore (2015: 7-8) study that rather focused on both news articles and editorials was Sweden described for having the most positive coverage of the refugee crisis. An additional aspect that can be stated is that the UK has been described as putting an emphasis of securitization in relation to asylum and refugees for many years.

The contribution of this thesis to the field of European studies has two aspects. Firstly, the result of the analyzed empirical studies contributed to the gap on securitization studies from a Swedish perspective where the study on the editorials showed that there is a securitization of the refugee crisis, and in editorials about refugees. The second aspect that this thesis contributed to was the comparative analysis on two European states. Furthermore, on editorials and the understanding of what the refugee crisis entails in these two countries and how the crisis was captured in the editorials.

In this thesis has the goal been to be objective and transparent in the way of describing in how the analysis and result has been conducted. It was, therefore, important to show every theme of the crisis to get a valid result. Even do it is impossible to state that another researcher would, in fact, draw the same conclusions, the method and the material selection is described so if this study was repeated the result would be similar and therefore strengthen the reliability of the result.

## **Future Research**

Further studies on the crisis are seen as vital as the crisis could be established differently in different countries this is also seen as complementary to this thesis. Because this thesis did not focus on the media receiver it is important to study the relationship between the media and the receiver.

The result of this thesis could be complemented by studying new media where social media could give the analysis more dimensions but also contribute with a wider view of media effects. Today people are more active on social media and in sharing opinions. One way of doing this could be to utilize articles/editorials which are popular online. The media coverage also tends to be negative where the refugees are often not stated. This raises the question that another interesting view could be to study how refugees themselves see the media representation of themselves.



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## 8 Appendices

### 8.1 Appendix (1): List of articles subjected to the analysis:

Swedish Editorials:

Svenska Dagbladet: "Spel med liv som insats", Date:2015-09-20

Dagens Nyheter: "Lär av Angela Merkel", Date:2015-09-09

Svenska Dagbladet: "Låt inte Europa falla", Date: 2015-09-17

Dagens Nyheter: "Bryt EU:s handlingsförlamning", Date: 2015-09-02

Dagens Nyheter: "En väg ur EU:s flyktingkris", Date: 2015-12-17

Svenska Dagbladet: "Skattechock av flyktingkrisen", Date: 2015-10-09

Dagens Nyheter: "Krafttag, var god dröj", Date: 2015-12-09

Svenska Dagbladet: "Politisk nativitet räcker inte", Date: 2015-11-20

Dagens Nyheter: "Björklund visar vägen", Date: 2015-10-15

Dagens Nyheter: "Skarpt läge för Sverige", Date: 2015-10-14

Dagens Nyheter: "Ömsesidig respekt, tack", Date: 2015-12-07

Dagens Nyheter: "Stäng inte bron", Date: 2015-12-05

Dagens Nyheter: "Nödvändigt Andrum", Date: 2015-11-25

Svenska Dagbladet: "Allt är väl i Konungariket Sverige", Date: 2015-10-18

Dagens Nyheter: "LO står i vägen för jobben", Date: 2015-11-07

Dagens Nyheter: "Facket har också ansvar", Date: 2015-10-12

Svenska Dagbladet: "Lövens jobb mål officiellt dött", Date: 2015-11-05

Dagens Nyheter: "Konsten att förvalta sitt pund", Date: 2015-12-19

Dagens Nyheter: "Farväl till krona för krona", Date: 2015-12-15

Svenska Dagbladet: "Orimlig kostnad", Date: 2015-10-23

British Editorials:

The Daily Telegraph: "will Paris Strengthen Europe`s resolve?", Date: 2015-11-16

The Daily Telegraph: "The Wrong judgment", Date: 2015-10-13

The Daily Telegraph: "Migrant crisis shows up dictatorial EU", Date: 2015-09-24

The Guardian: "The Guardian view on Angela Merkel:she still has work to do", Date: 2015-10-30



The Daily Telegraph: *“Merkel must get the message on EU reform”*, Date: 2015-10-09

The Daily Telegraph: *“EU negotiation can’t ignore immigration”*, Date: 2015-11-09

The Daily Telegraph: *“plus ca change...on the Calais frontier”*, Date: 2015-08-20

The Dailey Telegraph: *“The Pm’s instincts have proved correct ”*, Date:2015-10-03

The Dailey Telegraph: *“Russia compounds the chaos in Syria”*, Date: 2015-10-02

The Dailey Telegraph: *“Border control is key to EU renegotiations”*, Date:2015-08-28

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on Turkey: the EU’s ambivalent partner”*, Date: 2015-10-07

The Dailey Telegraph: *“A migrant magnet”*, Date:2015-08-26

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on Hungary and the refugee crisis: Orban the awful”*, Date: 2015-09-07

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on Britain's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: morally bankrupt”*, Date: 2015-08-26

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on the EU and migration:lets stop the Balkans being a part of the problem”*, Date: 2015-08-27

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on the conservative conference: Torries should enjoy the moment”*, Date: 2015-10-03

The Guardian: *“The Guardian view on the Calais migrants:Europe’s shared challenge”*, Date: 2015-10-05

The Guardian: *“The Guardians view on the refugee crisis:much more must be done, and not just by the UK”*, Date:2015-09-03

The Guardian: *“The Guardians view on Cameron’s refugee plans, big distractions”*, Date 2015-09-08

The Guardian: *“The Guardians view on the refugee crisis:it is people and stories that move us, not statistics”*, Date:2015-09-04

## 8.2 Appendix (2): Translation on the Swedish articles: original texts.

The crisis as the European refugee crisis:

DN (2015-09-09):

“Inget land i EU kan smita från sitt ansvar i flyktingkrisen” [No country can runaway from taking their responsibility in the refugee crisis]

“Lär av Angela Merkel” [Learn from Angela Merkel]

“ett steg mot en gemensam asylpolitik inom unionen” [a step towards a common asylum politics within the EU]

SvD (2015-09-17):

“Låt inte Europa falla” [Don't let Europe fall]

“flyktingkrisen har satt reglerna ur spel” [the refugee crisis has put the rules out of the game]

“Till en början måste fler bistå i arbetet att upprätthålla de yttre gränserna. Det är ett gemensamt ansvar, och den sortens utmaningar utgör själva kärnan i EU- samarbetet” [First step should be that more must assist in maintaining the external borders. It is a common responsibility and the kind of challenge that are at the very essence of the EU cooperation]

“de har ett demografisk problem precis som väst, fast värre. Befolkningen blir allt äldre” [these States has a demographic problem like the West but worse, the citizens are getting older]

“Nativiteten i länderna ligger i botten av Europa” [The Nativity in these states is placed/located at the bottom of Europe]

DN (2015-09-02):

“När Europa som mest behöver gemensamt ansvarstagande sviker EU:s medlemsländer. Därmed förvärras inte bara flyktingkrisen. Tendenserna till upplösning av själva unionen förstärks”

[When Europe at the most needs joint responsibility, the member States of the EU fails. Therefore it's not only the refugee crisis that is getting worse. The tendency to dissolve the Union itself is strengthened]

DN (2015-12-17):

“Europas flyktingkris borde aldrig ha uppstått. Att ta emot en miljon asylsökande borde inte vara något större utmaning för EU -en region med 500 miljoner invånare som tar emot mer än 3 miljoner invandrare om året. Avsaknaden av en samordnad lösning förvandlar ett hanterbart problem till ett akut politisk kris som kan rasera EU.” [The European refugee crisis should never had happened. To receive one million asylum seekers should not be a major challenge for the EU-an region with 500 million inhabitants, receiving more than 3 million immigrants a year. The lack of a coordinated solution turns a manageable problem into an acute political crisis that can rage the EU]

“flyktingarna i ännu större fara” [puts the refugees in even more danger]

“återställa lugnet efter attackerna i Paris” [restore the calmness after the Paris attacks]

DN (2015-09-09):

“Flyktingkrisen har också väckt existentiella, inrikespolitiska frågor” [The refugee crisis has also raised existential, domestic policy issues]

“Hur samhället skapar en nybyggarkultur” [society creating a settlement culture]

The crisis in if or for Sweden:

SvD (2015-11-20):

“flyktingsituationen börjar gå ut över ordinarie verksamhet”... ”var ska det här sluta” [The refugee situation starts to go beyond ordinary activities”.. ” where will this end?]

“system kollaps” [system collapse]

“Gränsen är snart nådd” [the limit will be reached soon]

“Alla mottagarkommuner kan numera inte ens få fram tak över huvudet. kommunerna varnar för att arbetet med och kostnaderna för de asylsökande, går ut över skola, vård och omsorg för kommunernas medborgare” [All recipient municipalities cannot even provide roof over their heads. Municipalities warn that the work and costs of asylum seekers goes beyond school, healthcare and care for the citizens of the municipalities]

“Runtom i landet berättas det om en systemkollaps” [All over the country is it spoken about a system collapse]

SvD (2015-10-09):

“finns inte kapacitet att, varken personellt eller lokalmässigt, ta emot över 100 ensamkommande barn och unga per dygn” [There is no capacity to receive more than 100 single children and young people per day, neither personally or housing]

“det finns stor risk att den ordinarie verksamheten och samhället drabbas” [there is a high risk that normal operations and society will suffer]

DN (2015-10-15):

“Flyktingkrisen kräver sinnesnärvaro inom alla partier” [The refugee crisis requires presence of mind in all parties]

SvD (2015-10-18):

“under hela flyktingkrisen har bedömningen gjorts att polisen inte klarar av den inre utlänningskontrollen”.... “utlänningskontrollen handlar om att ha kontroll över vilka som befinner sig inom rikets gränser” [Under the whole refugee crisis the judgment has been that the police cannot handle the internal control of foreigners”.....“ the control of foreigner is about having the control over who is within the national borders]

DN (2015-11-25):

“Det var tisdagens viktigaste besked från regeringen” [it was this Tuesday most important message that come from the government]

“Sverige är tillsammans med Tyskland de ända två länderna som ser flyktingkrisen som sitt mänskliga ansvar även fast det skett en viss avmattning i antal nya asylsökande i Sverige den senaste veckan” [Sweden together with Germany is the only two countries that see the refugee crisis as their human responsibility even if there has been a lower number of asylum seekers in Sweden the past week]

“skapa andrum i svensk flyktingmottagningen” [create breathing space in the Swedish refugee reception]

DN (2015-11-07):

“klart är dock att om Sverige misslyckats med integrationen av de nyanlända kan spänningarna i samhället bli stora” [It is clear, however, that if Sweden fails to integrate the new arrivals, the tensions in the society can grow]

“Sveriges höga ingångslöner gör det knepigt för lågutbildade och utrikes födda att få jobb. Så var det redan innan flykting krisen” [Sweden's high entry salaries make it difficult for low-skilled and foreign-born workers to get jobs. That was the case long before today's refugee crisis]

“Nyckeln är att de nyanlända får chansen att jobba, både för sitt välbefinnande skull och för möjligheten att betala skatt till det allmänhetens bästa” [The key is that the newly arrivals are given the chance to work for the sake of their well-being and for the possibility of paying taxes is in the public's best interest]

“Gränsen är nådd” [The limit is reached]

DN (2015-10-12):

“Den som mitt i brinnande flyktingkris försöka sänka lönerna ställer grupper mot varandra och hotar sammanhållningen i vårt samhälle” [The one that tries to lower wages in a middle of a burning refugee crisis put groups into each other and threatens the cohesion of our society]

“Facket must ta mer ansvar i flykting krisen och hjälpa integrationen” [The unions needs to pull a larger load in the refugee crisis and help the integration]

“Facket talar om rättvisa som om det fortfarande var 70-tal där ute, som om flyktingkrisen inte existerade” [The trade union talks about justice as if there were still 70s out there, as if the refugee crisis did not exist]

DN (2015-12-19):

“Staten ska hålla ordning och reda i finanserna efter flyktingkrisen” [The government is going to keep the order in the economy after the refugee crisis]

“Vad gäller kostnaderna för flyktingkrisen är det bättre att säga som det är: Vi klarar inte riktigt att hålla oss under taket” [When it comes to the costs for the refugee crisis it is better to say how it is: we are not going to be able to stay under the fixed ceiling]

“Risken är förstås att pengarna inte räcker” [The risk is that the money is not enough]

“staten ska hålla ordning och reda i finanserna efter flyktingkrisen” [the state is going to have order after the refugee crisis]

SvD (5015-10-23):

“Orimlig kostnad” [Unreasonable cost]

“flykting krisen innebär ökade statliga utgifter med omkring 130 miljarder kronor de närmaste fyra åren” [refugee crisis going to increase the government spending around 130 billions the four years too come]

DN (2015-12-07):

“När 80 000 människor kommer på några veckor är det beklagligt, men inte märkligt eller anmärkningsvärt, att en och annan tvingas att sova enstaka nätter på en kartong i en mässhall” [When 80 000 people arrive over a few weeks is it regrettable, but not strange or noteworthy that some are forced to sleep some nights on a cardboard in some trade fair]

“Hur tycker ni denna extrema situation ska lösas?” [How do you think this extreme situation should be solved?]

DN ( 2015-12-09):

“När regeringen gjorde upp med Alliansen om återfärder i flyktingkrisen var en av punkterna tillfälliga lättnader i plan-och bygglagen.” [When the government made up with Aliansen on response for the refugee crisis one of the points was temporary relief in the planing and building laws]

DN (2015-12-05):

“allvarlig fara för den allmänna ordningen” [serious danger to the public order]

DN (2015-12-15):

“Flyktingkrisen har föranlett en omvändning ” [the refugee crisis has caused a reversal]

“Flyktingkrisen kräver nya regler för beslut” [the refugee crisis needs new rules for decisions]

SvD (2015-10-23):

“Det är belopp som motsvarar vad en regering normalt lägger på olika satsningar under en hel mandatperiod” [That is the amount that corresponds to what a government normally imposes on different spendings during a full time in office]



**Department of Political Science Centre For European Studies (CES)**

MAES - Master in European Studies

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Thesis: Master thesis 30 hec  
Semester/year: Spring/2017  
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