

Framing refugee “crises”: the case of Denmark

A comparative frame analysis of Danish newspapers’ coverage of the “refugee crisis” in 2015 and the “Ukrainian crisis” in 2022



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A comparative frame analysis of Danish newspapers' coverage of the refugee crisis in 2015 and
the Ukrainian crisis in 2022

by

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Abstract

In February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine triggering the fastest-growing refugee movement in Europe since the Second World War. News organisations worldwide have been massively covering the ongoing war, yet the tone taken by journalists in the attempt to contextualise it has sparked criticisms since Ukraine was described as more “civilised” than countries such as Syria and Afghanistan. This is a clear reference to other population displacements, such as the so-called refugee crisis of 2015. That year, Middle Eastern refugees met asylum centres and strict European rules, unlike Ukrainian refugees who encounter open borders and welcoming European nations, which include Denmark. However, the distinctions are not limited to the EU’s responses; the Western media has also been criticised for covering both events differently. This study investigates how Danish mainstream media framed the “refugee crisis” in 2015 compared to the “Ukrainian crisis” in 2022 through a content analysis and a frame analysis of a total of 349 news articles from two influential newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*. The reports were selected from periods of heightened media attention to refugees fleeing to Denmark. The findings reveal that while in 2015 refugees were framed as a problem and a threat to the country, in 2022 they were depicted as war victims who needed to be helped and protected. In both periods, the media largely followed the narratives of Danish politicians. Overall, the findings from this thesis could raise a debate on biases present in Danish and Western media coverage, conceivably leading to reflections and reassessments of old modes of covering war and conflicts around the world.

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1. Introduction and research question

On the 24th of February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine resulting in thousands of Ukrainians fleeing to countries within Europe. This was quickly referred to as the largest refugee “crisis” in Europe since the Second World War (Semotiuk, 2022). The European Union and its member states instantly welcomed the fleeing refugees, yet this reaction stood in stark contrast to a similar “crisis” a few years before. In 2015-2016, a large number of refugees arrived in Europe, but instead of open arms, they were met with closed borders and strict asylum rules. Both events were heavily covered by the media globally.

The reception of refugees of 2015 compared to 2022 seemed to differ. In 2022, European countries embraced the EU policy of open borders and worked towards removing existing bureaucratic hurdles. In Denmark, a special law was implemented in order to secure easier and faster access to work and school to refugees from Ukraine (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2022) preventing them from going through the restrictive rules implemented after the refugee influx in 2015. In that year, refugees encountered closed borders, pushbacks, bureaucracy and asylum centres. In addition, the EU was criticised for breaking human rights laws in 2015-2016 (DRC, 2020), while in 2022 solidarity was on the forefront of EU’s agenda.

Despite the apparent similarity of the circumstances of the “crises”, a debate soon started in Denmark and internationally, where the media was criticised for differential and discriminatory coverage of refugees. For instance, the news article from *The Guardian* “They are ‘civilised’ and ‘look like us’: the racist coverage of Ukraine” (Bayoumi, 2022) focused on the discriminatory media coverage of the war in Ukraine compared to other wars, e.g., in the Middle East. The Arab and Middle Eastern Journalists Association (AMEJA) also condemned the Western media’s coverage and the insinuation that Middle Eastern countries are uncivilised, and unrest is expected (Bach, 2022).

The idea that words carry meaning is not new and, therefore, the media bear a great responsibility in how events are reported. Thus, the media can play an important role in influencing the public’s view of the world and attitudes towards specific groups, such as refugees (Andreassen, 2007). The topic of differentiating media coverage sparked our interest and, therefore, in this thesis

we have set out to research how the Danish media framed the refugees of 2015 compared to 2022. Thereby, our aim of examining the frames the Danish news media employed when covering both refugee influxes has led us to the following research question:

How do the two most widely read Danish newspapers, Jyllands-Posten and Politiken, frame the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 and the Ukrainian crisis of 2022, and were there differences? If yes, what distinguishes the coverage in the two periods?

Thus, this study attempts to investigate the Danish media coverage in order to determine whether or to what extent frame differentiations occurred based on the refugees' country of origin. For instance, in 2015, the Danish media widely adopted the expression "the refugee crisis" (*flygtningekrisen*) to refer to the flow of refugees towards Europe, while it is observed that this term has been used to a lesser extent to describe the refugee influx from Ukraine in 2022. Thereby, we are interested in exploring the Danish media narratives regarding both "crises".

2. Context: the refugee “crises”

To ensure a better understanding of how the media framed refugees during the 2015 and 2022 influxes in Europe, it is key to know the crises background, i.e., the reasons that made people flee. Therefore, in this next section, we introduce the causes of the refugee influxes and the responses of the EU and Denmark. As the conflict in Ukraine is an ongoing phenomenon, the numbers and statistics presented in this thesis may change as the situation develops; however, the numbers are current as of January 2nd, 2023.

2.1 The European “Refugee Crisis” of 2015

At the beginning of 2014, an increasing number of people attempted to reach European countries with the influx peaking in 2015, when over one million people entered Europe. This movement was named “The European Refugee Crisis” (DRC, n.d.). The majority of refugees were fleeing Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria and travelled along land and sea routes. Crossing the Mediterranean by sea proved to be a dangerous journey, and in 2015 approximately 5500 people died attempting it (Chege, 2020). Refugees primarily arrived from Turkey to Italy and Greece, which could not accommodate the increasing number of people arriving at their shores; this resulted in a breach of the Dublin Convention. According to the Dublin Convention, asylum seekers must register and apply for asylum in the country where they first arrive. However, the receiving countries were not able to handle the large numbers of arriving refugees, so refugees were allowed to travel freely through Europe. This resulted in large groups of people walking along European highways, as also seen in Denmark (Berry et al., 2015; Chege, 2020; DRC, 2020; Nedergaard, 2022).

What made people flee?

The increase in refugees was attributed to the civil war in Syria, the continuous war in Afghanistan and Iraq and the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya (Nedergaard, 2022). The civil war in Syria resulted in one of the largest human displacements, with over 6.8 million Syrians fleeing their homes since 2011 and was the major group of refugees arriving in Europe. The

conflict began in March 2011 when the government reacted violently to public demonstrations in support of governmental reforms. Protests and the government's response rapidly escalated, resulting in a civil war between the Syrian military and an increasing number of militant groups (Reid, 2022; USA for United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2022). Even though 6.8 million Syrians fled their homes and left Syria, the majority remained in the Middle East, living in neighbouring countries, such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt, many of them in asylum camps (Reid, 2022; USA for UNHCR, 2022).

Reaction in Europe and Denmark

In 2014 and 2015, the increasing number of people seeking refuge arrived from both the Middle East and North Africa (Chege, 2020). Instead of rallying together, “the European Refugee Crisis” divided the EU members. At the time, there were numerous discussions among European countries concerning what could be enforced on member states, who should take responsibility for the refugees, and what constitutes European Solidarity (Nedergaard, 2022). Consequently, a range of policy restrictions were implemented in response to the influx of refugees, including in Denmark.

In this context, the EU states adopted two collective responses. One approach relied on the prevention of refugees from entering the countries by strengthening the EU’s external and internal borders (Berry et al., 2015). For example, Hungary constructed a border wall to prevent refugees from reaching Europe, and Denmark reintroduced border controls (DRC, 2020; Reid, 2022). A second approach adopted by the EU was the restriction of the activities of human smugglers who were helping people over the Mediterranean.

Furthermore, in November 2015, the EU and Turkey reached an agreement regarding the large number of refugees entering the EU through Turkey. Thereby, it was agreed that asylum seekers would be sent back to Turkey if they did not apply for asylum in the first country they arrived at. In return, Turkey received 3 billion euros in compensation (Chege, 2020). Several human aid organisations, such as The UN Refugee Agency - UNHCR, criticised the agreement, claiming it violated international law and humanitarian principles and was comparable to mass expulsions. The EU-Turkey deal resulted in a decrease in people on the move entering the EU (Chege, 2020). In Denmark, as an outcome of the “refugee crisis”, the Danish government implemented stricter

policy measures, including tighter regulations and restrictions on refugees' access to social services (Hagelund, 2020).

2.2 The war in Ukraine

On the 24th of February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine following a military escalation in the area. As a result of the war, more than 7.8 million people fled, many to neighbouring countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Moldova; the majority of refugees are being received by Poland (UNHCR, n.d.-c). Described by the EU as one of the largest humanitarian crises in Europe, the phenomenon has a major impact on the security and peace in the continent and is regarded as the greatest threat to Europe since the end of the Cold War (Global Detention Project, 2022; USA for UNHCR, n.d.).

In 1991, Ukraine became an independent state after the fall of the Soviet Union. However, in 2014 Russia annexed the Crimea peninsula, and in February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine. The invasion happened after Russia's president Vladimir Putin addressed the nation on the 21st of February, when he proclaimed several reasons for the special military operation, as the war is called in Russia (Rottbøl et al., 2022). In spite of the difficulty of pinpointing specific reasons for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, a variety of explanations have been proposed. While it can be hard to precisely identify a specific reason for Russia invading Ukraine, several reasons have been suggested for the invasion. Russia's official stated motive was to liberate the regions of Donetsk and Luhansk and to “demilitarise and de-Nazify Ukraine” (Kirby, 2022). Furthermore, the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Putin's belief in the unity of Ukraine to Russia and that Ukraine's own national identity is artificial has been presented as influential factors (Kirby, 2022; Mankoff, 2022; Rottbøl et al., 2022).

Reaction in Europe and Denmark

As a result of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the EU responded by providing emergency relief to the displaced, supporting Ukraine and its bordering countries. A number of initiatives were implemented to assist countries which host Ukrainian refugees. In addition, the EU approved a

400 million euros support package for the countries sheltering most refugees. Towards Russia the EU imposed strict sanctions as a means to condemn the invasion of Ukraine (European Parliament, 2022; Rottbøl et al., 2022).

In contrast to the “refugee crisis” in 2015, political leaders from the EU member states have publicly welcomed refugees from Ukraine, and neighbouring countries have been ready at the borders with emergency aid. As a further step, the refugees have been allowed to enter Poland and Slovakia without passports or other identification documents (Global Detention Project, 2022).

In sum, Denmark – like most other EU member states – has had a very welcoming approach to the Ukrainian refugees, in stark contrast to 2015, when the Danish government passed a range of restrictive immigration policies. However, these policies were reviewed and adapted in 2022 with the approval of a special law for Ukrainian refugees that secure them, e.g., better and faster access to the Danish welfare benefits and more direct access to school and work (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2022).

3. Immigrants in Denmark

This section aims at providing an introduction and overview of how the Danish media have covered refugees and migrants in Denmark over time. The overview of the “refugees and immigrants issue” in Denmark since the 1960s is important since it allows for a better understanding of the news coverage analysed in this study in a historical context. Firstly, we focus on the arrival of people on the move in Denmark throughout history and, secondly, on how the Danish media have reported immigration since the 1970s.

3.1 Historical overview

After the Second World War

During the World War II there were approximately around 238.000 German refugees in Denmark, which represented approximately 7 to 8% of the Danish population and it was considered an enormous challenge to integrate them. With the end of the war, the priority of Danish politicians was to send German refugees back home, however, it proved to be a difficult task due to the division of Germany after the conflict. Therefore, it took many years for German refugees to leave Denmark; the last refugees left the country in 1949 (Bejder, 2016).

Up until the 1960s, Denmark was a primarily homogenous society, however, since the 1950s a growing need for an additional labour force resulted in a rise in immigration which has been increasing since then (Bejder, 2016). Since the 1950s, many parts of Europe have been in need of laborers. At first, this need was met by workers from the now more mechanised agricultural sector, and later by women joining the Danish workforce. Still, it was not sufficient, thereby, the first guest workers (as they were called at the time) or migrant workers arrived in 1967 from Turkey, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia after an invitation from Danish employers. Besides the guest workers, during the 1970s, people from European dictatorships, such as Spain, Portugal, Greece, Latin America and Africa, also started arriving in Denmark. The growing numbers of migrants and refugees arriving in the country resulted in an increased focus on the topic in the media and in the public debate. As of 1973, the Danish government stopped accepting guest workers, yet refugees from countries such as Chile and Vietnam continued to arrive in the country (Bejder, 2016).

The Danish immigration law

As of 1983, Denmark had one of the most liberal immigration laws in the world. The supporters of the law emphasised its humanitarian aspect, while critics claimed that admission was too easy under the immigration law, which regarded family reunification as a legal claim. As a result of the liberal immigration law from 1985-89, refugees from Sri Lanka arrived in Denmark, but resulted in media and political debates. This became known as the Tamil case (*Tamilsagen*) after the then Minister of Justice, Erik Ninn-Hansen, halted family reunification for refugees from Sri Lanka. This specific incident received vast media attention and, consequently, the minister had to resign in January 1993 after having purposely misled the government. The reunification law has been limited in 1992 and in 2002 (Bejder, 2016).

With Denmark's ratification of international conventions, a large number of refugees arrived in the country. Between 1980 and 1988, numerous refugees fled the Middle East owing to the Iran-Iraq war, the Israel-Palestine conflict and the civil war in Somalia in 1988 resulted in an influx of refugees to Denmark.

Refugees from the former Yugoslavia and Kurds from Iraq were the two largest refugee groups fleeing to Denmark during the 1990s. Thus, in 1992 the Danish government passed what was known as the Yugoslavia Law (*Jugoslaverlov*) that secured Yugoslavians' residency in Denmark for a minimum of six months and the possibility of extension. In 1995, the law was replaced by the Bosnian Law (*Bosnierlov*) which granted former residents of Yugoslavia residence permits in Denmark (Bejder, 2016).

The restrictions of the 1990s and beyond

Denmark experienced a flurry of political, public, and media debates during the refugee influx of the 1990s (the latter will be further explained in the following section). In these years, areas considered ghettos by the Danish government, such as Ishøj, Gellerup, Vollsmose and Nørrebro, were under massive critique resulting in a tightening of immigration laws, e.g., the restriction of the reunification law in 2002 (Bejder, 2016).

In 2001, the Liberal Party of Denmark and the Conservative People's Party (*Venstre-Konservativ*) government implemented multiple immigration restrictions, which have continued

into the next decade (Bejder, 2016). Under the right-wing government in 2015, led by the Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the asylum rules were further restricted, e.g., the possibility of detaining asylum seekers to ensure registration, the suspension of the right of seeing a judge within 3 days (suspension of automatic judicial review) in the instance of massive refugee influx, limited residence permit for people in need of protection, increasing asylum seekers own payment for stay in Denmark, among others. These restrictions were all implemented as a reaction to the refugee influx in 2014 and 2015 (Udlændinge- Integrations- og Boligministeriet, 2016).

3.2 The Danish media coverage of people on the move

This section presents an overview on how the Danish media have covered the different refugees and migrants flows in Denmark over the years, which is relevant for understanding the coverage of the refugees' influxes from 2015 and 2022, since it may provide knowledge on, e.g., the Danish media behaviour. Thus, this section lays emphasis on the historical context in Denmark from 1970 and on how newspapers reported those fleeing to the country at the time. This overview is based on Jacob Gaarde Madsen's report on media construction regarding refugees and migrants (Madsen, 2003). The author analyses the Danish broadsheets *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, and the tabloid B.T., identifying themes for each influx in the coverage of refugees over the years in Denmark. Distinctions regarding the terms "refugee", "asylum seeker", and "migrant" as well as their implications will be further elaborated later in this thesis.

Historical overview

During the 1970s, the Danish media did not devote much attention to immigration issues, as people were coming to Denmark to work. According to Madsen, the thematization during these years was "guest workers as labour force", and the immigration happening in this period was viewed as a temporary political labour market phenomenon. However, during this period, two views were identified. The primary one perceived the migrants as necessary workers, and the second focused on the problems related to guest workers in Denmark (Madsen, 2003).

Around 1984, the media coverage shifted with the theme changing to crime. Thus, the majority of articles covered stories about refugees and migrants involved in criminal acts. The newspaper *Politiken*, however, presented an alternative theme where criminality was not as directly linked to these groups, attempting thus to present different explanations (Madsen, 2003).

The media narrative shifted again in the summer of 1985 when incidents such as the release of Mogens Glistrup¹, stories about immigrants selling narcotics and street violence, and a hostage case in Livø² created a more heated debate and increased focus on the topic. First, refugees were perceived as an external pressure that caused major problems and unrest in Denmark – a theme identified in all three newspapers. However, again *Politiken* presented a slightly different angle on this theme, also reporting the perspective of people on the move but presenting a more positive point of view. The second theme identified in 1985 revolved around racism and xenophobia. This theme presented the “problems” either as the fault of the Danish society (because of Danes own xenophobia) or as a natural reaction to foreigners. Yet, part of the blame was placed on refugees and migrants. Once more, *Politiken* represented a more humanistic approach, i.e., the first one which blamed “society” for discrimination, while *Jyllands-Posten* resorted to the approach that blamed the “foreigners” for the problems (Madsen, 2003).

In 1993, *B.T.* and *Jyllands-Posten*’s emphasised issues particularly related to refugees and migrants, e.g., Danish laws, politics, and government handling of refugees, as well as their behaviour, culture, and way of life. Refugees were often discussed in relation to topics, such as ghettos, arranged marriages, violence, and criminality. Furthermore, the “us” versus “them” discourse became salient in this period. As before, *Politiken* has taken a slightly different approach. The broadsheet approached the same topics as *B.T.* and *Jyllands-Posten*, yet from the refugees’ perspective. Thereby, *Jyllands-Posten* and *B.T.* coverage focused on the narratives of “them”, while *Politiken*’s reporting drew attention to the “us” as the root of the “problems”, such as ghettos and crime (Madsen, 2003).

¹ Mogens Glistrup was the founder of the right-wing party, Fremskridtspartiet, and was sentenced for tax fraud. Glistrup was known for anti-Muslim views and received two convictions for racism.

<https://danmarkshistorien.dk/vis/materiale/mogens-glistrup-1926-2008>

² 10 Libanese asylum seekers held 5 Danes hostage at an Asylum Center on Livø.

https://danmarkshistorien.lex.dk/En_farlig_verden

In 1997/1998 the media coverage was similar to that of 1993, when people on the move were perceived as a problem to Danish society. Following the same pattern, *Jyllands-Posten* and *B.T.* covered refugees as economic, social and cultural “burdens” for society, whereas *Politiken* viewed the problem as originating from “us” (the Danes), i.e., the perception that racism and xenophobia emanating from Danish society led to “the problems” (Madsen, 2003).

The current context

In 2022, news outlets received criticism for their coverage of refugees fleeing Ukraine compared to those fleeing other countries in past years, yet it is not the first time that the Danish media faces disapproval for the way people on the move are covered and portrayed in the news. Similarly, in 1997 there was a call for self-examination by the director of TV2, which included discussions about how the media portrays refugees and migrants in Denmark (Madsen, 2003).

The debate about people on the move is a relatively new social “problem” in Denmark; it only started to gain media attention within the last 30 years, yet mostly in the latest period. During these years, the immigration theme started emerging on the agenda of politicians and media, as well as in the public debate. Since then, the subject has increasingly gained attention, which can be noticed by the growing number of laws and debates regarding these groups over the years (Madsen, 2003).

4. Terminology and its implications

When referring to people relocating/moving between countries, it is important to be aware that the employment of different terms carries distinct meanings. In general, the three labels most used by the reviewed literature and the media to describe people in transit were “refugees”, “asylum seekers”, and “migrants”; yet there are crucial distinctions between them. As mentioned previously, past studies on the “refugee crisis” of 2015 often employed these terms interchangeably regardless of their dissimilar legal statuses; this also seems to be the case for the general public and some media outlets. However, it can be argued that “the choice of words to refer to people on the move matters, not only to describe and understand reality, but to govern it” (Green & Pécoud, 2022, p. 4).

In this section, we will provide the legal definition of these terms in order to clarify their differences. Thereby, it will possibly help to unravel the meanings behind the Danish media selection of terminology throughout the journalistic coverage of the “crisis” in 2015, as well as of the influx of Ukrainians in 2022 in Denmark.

Refugee

Refugees are persons fleeing war, violence, conflicts or persecution and who, in their search for safety, have left their homes and crossed an international border. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is defined as someone who:

“owing to 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, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (UNHCR, 1989).

Persons granted refugee status are entitled to international protection under international law (UNHCR, 1989).

Asylum seeker

The UN Refugee Agency defines an asylum seeker as “someone whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed” (UNHCR, n.d.-a), i.e., a person who fled his/her homeland in search of protection from severe human rights violation and persecution in another country, “but who hasn’t yet been legally recognised as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim” (Amnesty International, n.d.).

Migrant

At the international level, there is no consensus on a formal legal definition for “migrant”. Nonetheless, “most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status” for a period of at least one year (United Nations, n.d.).

The European Commission presents two different definitions for the term. One in a global context and one in the context of the EU and EFTA (European Free Trade Association). In the global context, a migrant is defined as “a person who is outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens and who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate” (European Commission, n.d.).

However, in the context of EU/EFTA, a migrant is:

a person who either: (i) establishes their usual residence in the territory of an EU/EFTA Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another EU/EFTA Member State or a third country; or (ii) having previously been usually resident in the territory of the EU/EFTA Member State, ceases to have their usual residence in the EU/EFTA Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months (European Commission, n.d.).

Economic Migrant

Economic migrants, according to the UNHCR (2006), are “persons who leave their countries of origin purely for economic reasons not in any way related to the refugee definition, or in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood”. Once economic migrants do not fulfil the criteria for refugee status, they are not eligible for international protection as refugees (p. 14).

Refugees and Migrants

The UN Refugee Agency alerts to the danger of conflating “refugees” and “migrants”, as it can “have serious consequences for the lives and safety of people fleeing persecution or conflict”, once refugees are a specifically defined group entitled to particular protections under international law due to the perilous situation in their homeland, which makes it impossible to return to their countries safely. In turn, “[m]igration is often understood to imply a voluntary process, for example, someone who crosses a border in search of better economic opportunities” (UNHCR, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, using the terms “refugee” and “migrant” interchangeably could divert the focus from the specific obligations owed to refugees by international law, e.g., protection from forced returns and from penalisation for crossing borders in search for safety without permission; undermining thus “public support for refugees and the institution of asylum at a time when more refugees need such protection than ever before” (UNHCR, 2018). Thus, in terms of policy, placing people in a particular category may affect their status, rights, and so forth (Green & Pécoud, 2022). Further, the selection of terms in political and media narratives, thereby, can have the power of influencing “the lens through which certain patterns of mobility will be apprehended”, hence the subsequent formulation of the political responses (Green & Pécoud, 2022, p. 4).

Additionally, there is an academic discussion around the problem of the dichotomy between refugees and migrants, as some people in need of international protection fail to meet the requirements of the Refugee Convention, thus falling outside of its scope owing to, e.g., the fact that they are not outside their own country, or were forced to leave their homeland for other reason than persecution, such as climate change (Pijnenburg & Rijken, 2021). “[E]nvironmental migrants/refugees’ are not refugees in the legal sense of the term because the Geneva Convention

does not recognize the environment as a reason to be granted protection”. As a result, this group is denied international protection under the Refugee Convention (Green & Pécoud, 2022, p. 3).

As far as terminology is concerned, numerous academic studies and policy documents have been adopting the term “people on the move” as an overarching category, since it offers the advantages of moving beyond the problematic dichotomy mentioned above specifically preventing negative connotations possibly associated with the labels “refugee” and in particular “migrant” in public debate; as well as it avoids laying emphasis on the dissimilarities between refugees and migrants, “which can be used wrongly to suggest that only refugees have rights while migrants have no rights at all” (Pijnenburg & Rijken, 2021, p. 283). While we are aware of these debates, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide detailed discussions and analysis on the suitability of these labels or on the adequacy of human rights law for refugees/migrants/people on the move. In this study, we opted to adopt the terms “refugee” and “people on the move” as we deem them more inclusive, yet employing mostly the first due to space limitations.

5. Literature review

In this literature review, we examine existing studies on media coverage of refugees in Europe in 2015 and the influx of refugees from Ukraine in 2022. These are divided into two sections. In addition to learning the pros and cons of former research methods and approaches, investigating existing studies is advantageous as it can provide us with insights into the field of study allowing for a better understanding of the gaps which our research may help to fulfil.

5.1 Past research on media coverage of the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 across Europe

Existing literature on public discourse, media representations, and media coverage of refugees, asylum and immigration issues in the wake of the so-called refugee crisis in 2015 is rather extensive. Previous research mostly englobes single case studies (e.g., Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Mayne-Davis et al., 2020; Serafis et al., 2020; Yilmaz, 2016) and comparative studies between countries (e.g., Berry et al., 2015; Brändle et al., 2019; Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017) with a significant number of academic articles comparing media reporting within the Scandinavian countries, namely, Denmark, Norway and Sweden (e.g., Hagelund, 2020; Hovden et al., 2018; Hovden & Mjelde, 2019). A substantial number of comparative studies includes Germany, Greece, Italy, and The United Kingdom in their analysis, as these countries – as the Scandinavian ones – were affected by the “crisis” in distinct ways and were differently attractive to people on the move as arrival (e.g., Greece and Italy), destination (e.g., Germany, Sweden and the UK) or transit (e.g., Denmark) countries (Brändle et al., 2019). While there is evidence that, e.g., institutions and national cultural repertoires play an important role in shaping news framing (Benson & Saguy, 2005), it is beyond the scope of this review to provide a detailed explanation of the political reasons and cultural traditions behind media coverage in the countries in question; rather it intends to present the results and interpretations from a variety of published studies on the subject, as well as pointing similarities, dissimilarities and research gaps. It is worth mentioning that some scholars make use of terms that imply value judgments when analysing their findings (e.g., fairly, aggressive, positive, negative).

As to The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the media's response to the "refugee crisis" was far from homogeneous. That is to say, media in European countries differed broadly in aspects as the use of journalistic sources (e.g., state and/or societal actors), the language employed (e.g., refugees, asylum seekers, migrants), and the reasons attributed for the increase in the refugee flows (e.g., geopolitical, economic, cultural) in 2014 and early 2015. Moreover, research shows major differences in terms of prominent framings in media coverage of the "crisis" (e.g., humanitarianism, victimisation, economisation, securitisation, criminality) (Berry et al., 2015; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Hovden et al., 2018).

As for journalistic sources, i.e., how media represents the voices of different actors involved, the literature highlights that governmental actors occupy a hegemonic position, once news coverage systematically privileges their voices, "and this means that they had the ability to set the agenda and define problems and solutions in regard to the 'refugee crisis'", thus shaping the tonality of the public debate on refugees to a great extent (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 169). In this line, Brändle, Eisele, & Trenz (2019) argue that "in times of crisis and emergency, where principles of humanitarian aid and solidarity are at stake, voices of state actors take center stage", while societal/humanitarian actors receive less visibility (p.728). That being so, state actors – particularly governments – play a key role as agenda-setters and main interpreters of refugee and immigration issues presented to the general public through the news (Brändle et al., 2019). Hovden et al. (2018) findings also support this tendency as their study shows that, like in the rest of Europe, government actors' voices predominated, though a little less, over refugees' voices in the Scandinavian media throughout the "crisis".

When it comes to refugees' and asylum seekers' representation in the news during the "crisis", research demonstrates that they are more frequently spoken about and depicted in images as victims and voiceless actors, with limited opportunities to speak directly on their plight, i.e., their opinions were scarcely represented; further, refugee and migrant women were nearly voiceless in news reporting as well; men and children prevailed in the narratives (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017; Hovden et al., 2018). Nevertheless, the study conducted by Hovden & Mjelde (2019) contradicts the existing literature on immigrants as an underused media source. Their findings reveal that, at least in the Scandinavian countries, "immigrants themselves are relatively often quoted" in news articles (Hovden & Mjelde, 2019, p. 148).

Regarding the language employed in the media coverage of the “crisis” in different countries, the report commissioned by the UNHCR shows that the choice of terms, e.g., “refugees”, “asylum seekers”, “migrants”, “immigrants”, had a significant impact on the tone of the countries’ debate. The United Kingdom, for instance, was considered an outlier due to its highly polarized press coverage, once the analysed newspapers used quite distinct labels including derogatory ones, such as “illegal”, “illegal immigrant”, or “illegal migrant”. Yet it was shown that there was a pattern shift in the employment of labels in all newspapers, with the term “migrant” being used more frequently than “refugee”. Thus, left and right-leaning newspapers framed their arguments differently: while the first “featured arguments in favour of a more liberal asylum and immigration policy and were sceptical of many of the policies pushed by EU leaders”, the latter greatly supported the “Fortress Europe style policies, which would make it far harder for refugees and migrants to enter the UK” (Berry et al., 2015, p. 254). The UN Refugee Agency’s findings are corroborated by Cinalli et al. (2021), who indicate that solidarity expression towards refugees across newspapers in the UK was strongly divided. Additionally, Georgiou & Zaborowski’s (2017) study points out that mentions of defensive measures (e.g., closing borders, making registration procedures stricter) prevailed over references to humanitarian measures in the British press.

Germany, in turn, figures as “the most welcoming EU state to refugees” (along with Sweden) at least in the initial stage of the “crisis”, and this was reflected in its media coverage, which manifested a more supportive attitude towards newcomers. German newspapers mostly used the labels “refugee” and “asylum seeker”; terms such as “economic migrant”, “economic refugee”, or “illegal” were rarely employed. Thus, “the press remained a space where there was significant advocacy for a liberal and welcoming policy towards refugees”, despite the strong concern about smugglers, asylum, and immigration issues in the country (Berry et al., 2015, p. 259-261). According to Georgiou & Zaborowski’s (2017), overall, German media mentions of humanitarian measures dominated over mentions of defensive measures. Thereby, news claims employed “a slightly more positive tone” upon refugees (Brändle et al., 2019, p. 720). The previous studies found support in the analysis of Cinalli et al. (2021), which outlines a relatively balanced political discourse on solidarity in Germany under the “crisis”. “[T]he welcoming culture is strongly echoed in an overall positive tone of claims reported in news articles during September 2015 (...)” (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 119). Despite the contrary opinions of state actors and other actors (e.g., non-

institutional and civil society actors) – the first with a decisive say and the latter adopting a more positive position – both could make their voices heard, according to the study.

In Greece, as well as in Germany, government actors seemed to be more sensitive towards refugees in media narratives bringing about debates on solidarity, thus giving them more space and visibility, after Cinalli et al. (2021). The authors argue that the views of societal actors were partially aligned with the positive position of state actors, unlike the neutral stance of government actors in Germany. “The so-called ‘welcoming culture’ is thus mainly reflected in public attitudes expressed in Greece as the country of first arrival of refugees and less in Germany, with which it is commonly associated.” (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 76). These findings confirm the results of Georgiou & Zaborowski’s (2017) study, which demonstrates that, in comparison with the European average, the voices of refugees were more represented in the Greek media, including mentions of gender and age. Moreover, references to humanitarian actions far surpassed references to defensive ones in news articles in the beginning of the 2015 “crisis”. In this fashion, Brändle et al. (2019) observations indicate that government actors’ position towards refugees were more positive in Greece if compared to other countries. Further, there were no significant differences between societal and state actors regarding their support for refugees. The labels most employed by the Greek media to describe the newcomers were not found in the reviewed literature.

In the case of Italy, “migrant” was the most common term used in the media, followed by “refugee” and “asylum seeker” (Berry et al., 2015). It was reported that the articles used the terms interchangeably with rather diverse meanings, as in the British media. Thereby, the labels “refugee” and “immigrant” appeared together in nearly a third of the news articles. The report points out that Italian newspapers’ focus was less on the reasons for migration flows than on discussions of solutions and the need to stabilise the countries in war. Although the level of humanitarian themes was high in the Italian media, this did not mean it was more empathetic (Berry et al., 2015). These findings are aligned with the research of Cinalli et al. (2021), who shows that public discourse in Italian newspapers was generally “less polarized and aggressive, but less favourable towards refugees” (p. 149). Likewise, Brändle et al. (2019) study concludes that, as in Germany, Italian news claims tonality was “slightly more positive” (p. 720).

Notwithstanding the different legal statuses of the terms “refugees”, “asylum seekers” and “migrants”, in general, the existing literature on the “refugee crisis” tends to use these labels

interchangeably as well; though some scholars are more attentive to the inclusive aspect of the term “refugee” compared to “asylum seeker”, while others prefer using the broader term “people on the move”.

According to the UNHCR report, which investigated what was driving news reporting in Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the UK, the reasons behind the “crisis” were primarily explained by the media as being conflict and human rights abuse-related, and to a lesser extent economic inequality; however, only a small number of news articles laid emphasis on the need to address the push factors driving refugee flows (Berry et al., 2015). In this line, Georgiou & Zaborowski’s (2017) study shows that the media frames across all the analysed countries, namely, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Serbia, and the UK, mentioned mostly geopolitical reasons behind the population flows. This is also the case with Scandinavian newspapers, as demonstrated in the research of Hovden et al. (2018). The scholars point out that mentions of economic reasons for the influx of refugees by Scandinavian news articles were less frequent compared to the other European newspapers studied. Nevertheless, the reviewed literature does not offer significant empirical data or in-depth reflections on how media emphasis (or the lack of it) on the reasons behind such population movements might have influenced and shaped the public debate around the “crisis”, e.g., affecting the expressions (of) and the calls for solidarity towards people on the move.

News framing is another recurrent subject in previous studies on media coverage of the “refugee crisis”, and it also correlates with the topic mentioned above. Existing literature tends to build on framing theory (e.g., Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Hovden & Mjelde, 2019; Joris et al., 2018) and analyse media narratives, as well as discourse shifts, during the “crisis” comparing different periods characterised by particularly tragic events, such as the mass drownings in the Mediterranean Sea in April and May 2015; the drowning of the Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi in September 2015, whose images made global headlines; and the series of terrorist attacks in Paris coordinated by the Islamic State in November of the same year. It is argued that these events resulted in high coverage and, therefore, the analysis of specific periods would provide insights into how the “refugee crisis” was framed in different national contexts, allowing to capture possible news framing shifts (e.g., Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017; Hagelund, 2020; Hovden et al., 2018). One of the key findings of the UNHCR report is that there were wide variations in how the

media in different countries reported asylum and immigration; further, it is argued that “research in many countries has found that refugees and migrants have tended to be framed negatively as a problem, rather than a benefit to host societies”. For instance, humanitarianism frames (understood as the media focus on the host country’s voluntary aid) were more common in Italian reporting of the ‘crisis’ than in British, German, or Spanish media, whereas economisation frames (meaning refugees as economic “burdens”, being a threat to the culture or the welfare system of the host country) were most predominant in Italy, Spain and the UK (Berry et al., 2015, p. 5).

A content analysis conducted by Greussing & Boomgaarden (2017), where they address framing in the media coverage of the “refugee crisis” through the analysis of several Austrian newspapers, reveals that established securitisation frames (meaning the focus on the border crossing issue added to the “stereotyped portrayal of refugees as an uncontrollable, dehumanised mass waiting to enter the country”) and narratives of economisation were most prevalent in the long run, while background/victimisation frames – meaning the focus on the plight of refugees and their portrayal as passive victims of circumstances in need of help (Van Gorp, 2005, as cited in Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017) – and humanitarianism narratives were presented on a smaller scale. The authors assert that their findings point therefore to a rather diffuse role played by the mass media discourse “in terms of providing for public perceptions of the refugee situation”. The most prevalent frames identified in their research are aligned with previous studies on media portrayal of people on the move, which point to “consistent Western mass media discourses of migration and migrants”, thus confirming the endurance of stereotyped reporting of newcomers, even at times of “crisis” (pp. 1756-1764).

Georgiou & Zaborowski (2017) carry out a content analysis as well. Their analysis of broadsheets in eight European countries highlights the pivotal role that European media played in framing the newcomers’ arrival to Europe in 2015 as a crisis for the continent. The authors claim that the media’s role was crucial for two reasons: the dependency on mediated information by publics and policymakers to make sense of the events unfolding in the face of their magnitude and celerity in the second half of 2015; and the exclusive reliance on the media by many Europeans to understand what was happening, once they were unfamiliar with the newcomers, their histories, and their plight motives. The main finding of their research was that the European media coverage emphasised the humanitarian frame throughout the summer (in light of the mass drownings in the

Mediterranean Sea) and particularly early autumn of 2015 (after the death of the Syrian boy Alan Kurdi); however, there was a shift towards discourses of securitisation after the November Paris attacks.

The study cited above is supplemented by Hovden et al. (2018) data since they adopted nearly the same research design yet mapping and analysing quantitatively how Scandinavian newspapers covered the “crisis” throughout the same periods – spring, summer, and autumn – in 2015. Although the three countries have “relatively homogenous polities with respect to political systems, media institutions, culture, language, and ethnic and religious make-up”, significant internal variations were verified in the crisis' news reporting (Hovden et al., 2018, p. 330). Whereas Denmark and Sweden occupied polar stances regarding news framing, with the former mentioning more frequently the negative economic effects of refugees coming, and the latter the moral benefits, Norway seemed to be in between these. Additionally, the study shows similarities and divergencies in Scandinavian news reporting if compared to the rest of Europe. The researchers observed that, as in other European countries, the Scandinavian media seemed to have “a more humanitarian perspective in April and September, and less so in the later period” (Hovden et al., 2018, p. 345). Moreover, the authors’ results support the international literature's general finding that frames of victimisation and threat themes are the most prominent in the media reporting of immigration issues, following broader European tendencies in the coverage of the “refugee crises” of 2015. Nevertheless, their data also revealed that Scandinavian countries shared a similar framing to a certain degree, appearing to report less frequently on the negative aftermath of refugee arrivals compared to similar publications in Northern Europe. Still, humanitarian frames became less prevalent in the Scandinavian media over time, according to the study.

Likewise, Hovden & Mjelde’s (2019) research investigates Scandinavian newspapers, yet they conduct a content analysis of media coverage and public discourse on immigration over a larger time span (1970 – 2016). The study, which is in line with previous research, shows that by and large the victimisation frames were the most predominant in Scandinavia, though mainly in Sweden. Furthermore, the scholars observed that, overall, in Scandinavian “[t]he ‘typical’ immigrant in the stories is still a young male, who tends to be portrayed as either a victim or, increasingly, a threat”. In line with past studies, the research demonstrates that while Scandinavian countries have various similarities in terms of coverage of immigrants, their framing in the media

often varies. Thereby, whilst in Sweden the victimisation frames were more common over time and still prevail, in Denmark threat-related frames have increased significantly and victim frames dropped notably. Norway and Sweden seemed to be more similar regarding the low emphasis on threat frames, however, the victim frames had also the lowest appearance in the Norwegian media over the studied period. The researchers point out that victim and humanitarian frames of immigrants were “most present when the largest waves of refugees hit Scandinavia” (Hovden & Mjelde, 2019, pp. 151-154). One could argue that, although Scandinavian countries’ media, national cultures, and political systems are commonly seen as quite similar, the internal disparities uncovered by previous literature highlight the need for further nuanced research on media coverage of people on the move, taking tangled historical contexts into account to better understand the phenomenon.

The case of Denmark

As shown in the preceding section, existing literature on media coverage of the “refugee crisis” in Scandinavia is mainly composed of comparative studies. Previous research tends to highlight the numerous similarities between Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in terms of culture, politics, welfare, language, and media systems. Thereby, Scandinavia figures as a perfect spot for a comparative case study providing an interesting context for investigating the dissimilarities in the news reporting of the “crisis” between the three countries, ruling out “what cannot explain these [similarity] patterns” (Hagelund, 2020; Hovden et al., 2018, p. 330; Nygaard, 2019).

It is worth mentioning that the media systems in the Scandinavian countries belong to a model “characterized by large newspaper circulation, tied to an early development of mass-circulation press and a historically strong party press (...). They are marked by strong media/journalistic professionalization and institutionalized self-regulation but also strong state intervention, with protection of press freedom” (Hovden et al., 2018, p. 330). Nevertheless, as far as immigration policy is concerned, Denmark stands out as the most restrictive with a harsher debate atmosphere; this is reflected in the media coverage of the “refugee crisis” of 2015 (Hovden et al., 2018). The authors claim that to some extent the Danish news reporting of the “problem of immigration” seemed to be different from Sweden and Norway as a mix of cultural, economic, and security

issues. Thus, the coverage of the events of September and November 2015 was clearly distinct from the other Scandinavian countries, laying more emphasis on securitisation narratives.

For context, the images of hundreds of refugees walking along Danish highways in September of 2015 (most of them on their way to Sweden) were considered shocking by many Scandinavians, who were recalled of the severity of the “crisis” and its grand scale effects perceived in Scandinavian for the first time, resulting in vigorous public debate and vast demonstrations (Hovden et al., 2018). Like Germany, Denmark is seen as an attractive destination for immigrants due to its solid economy and high quality of life (OECD, n.d.). However, the Danish restrictive immigration policies and refugee/migrant entry control along with immigration debates that reject multiculturalism (Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008 & Hedetoft, 2010, as cited in Cinalli et al., 2021) likely turned the country into a transit route rather than a destination of refugees. On top of that, at the beginning of September 2015, the Danish government published advertisements in Lebanese newspapers discouraging potential asylum seekers and migrants from coming to Denmark, warning them of the severe immigration policies, including incarceration and fast deportation (Gormsen, 2015).

While discussions on tightening security measures are similar in Scandinavia, the stories in the Danish media often referred to “solutions involving the police, military, stronger border control, etc.” as a means to safeguard the country/Europe from immigration. This more critical approach to the “crisis” might also be explained by matters of newspaper readership in Denmark, since it has an intense consistent stance for classic tabloid styles in the public discourse (Hovden et al., 2018, pp. 330-345). In terms of journalistic sources, the literature underlines a politicisation of the immigration issue in Scandinavia – and in the rest of Europe – over the years, though mostly in Denmark (e.g., Cinalli et al., 2021; Hovden & Mjelde, 2019), especially during the “refugee crisis” (Triandafyllidou, 2018), as national politicians have become more often quoted in the media.

Apart from the growing employment of threat frames by the Danish media, another aspect highlighted by the reviewed studies in Scandinavia is Denmark’s explicit emphasis on the integration of immigrants into society, e.g., culturally, in the labour market, in their neighbourhoods, in education and so forth (e.g., Hagelund, 2020; Hovden et al., 2018; Hovden & Mjelde, 2019; Nygaard, 2019). For instance, almost half of the Danish news articles analysed in Hovden & Mjelde’s research mention or discuss integration policies. It is observed that over the

years there has been a sharp decrease in labour- and civil rights-related issues and a rise in cultural issues, such as religion, family and traditions, in Scandinavian media narratives on immigration with Denmark standing out regarding its strong focus on integration and welfare issues. This trend began in the 90's when the Danish media's emphasis on alleged welfare state exploitation and on the meaning of the cultural practices of immigrants led to a notably harsh tone in the Danish debate (Hovden et al., 2018; Hovden & Mjelde, 2019). Furthermore, references to Islam became more frequent over time in Scandinavian media, yet most salient in Denmark. A quarter of all Danish news articles analysed in Hovden & Mjelde's study specifically mention Islam after 2010. This is in line with a study which asserts that there was a shift in the debate about immigrants in Denmark – from workers to Islam; the guest/foreign workers of the past are currently widely represented as Muslim immigrants (Yilmaz, 2016).

As mentioned previously in this subsection, most of the studies found in the media coverage of the “refugee crisis” carry out a comparative analysis between the three Scandinavian countries. Thus, it seems that there is a lack of more nuanced research focusing specifically on how the phenomenon was reported by the Danish media offering a broader historical and cultural analysis of the immigration issue in the national context, as well as explanations of how these factors might have affected and moulded the Danish news coverage and public discourse on the “crisis”.

5.2 Past research on media coverage of the Ukrainian refugee “crisis” of 2022 across Europe

As indicated above, there is a significant amount of research on the media coverage of the “European Refugee Crisis” in 2015. Naturally, given the recent character of the Ukrainian “crisis”, the same variety of studies on the topic could not be found.

Nevertheless, a study that compares Europeans and Americans attitudes towards refugees from Afghanistan after the Taliban's takeover in May 2021 and Ukrainian refugees in 2022 could be cited. David De Coninck's research, *The Refugee Paradox During Wartime in Europe: How Ukrainian and Afghan Refugees are (not) Alike*, investigates why there are differences in attitudes and why the public might feel more empathy to Ukrainian refugees compared to Afghan refugees. The scholar states that “the role of symbolic threat, a conscience collective and ethnicity” are

factors behind the different attitudes (Coninck, 2022, p. 3). Furthermore, the author claims that not all Europeans and Americans “consider all migrants to be equally deserving of aid: distinctions are made between migrants based on a number of migrant characteristics (e.g., ethnicity) to determine who should (temporarily) be helped by national governments in times of crisis” (Coninck, 2022, p. 6). However, Coninck has not conducted new research; instead, the scholar discusses and presents reasons for the different attitudes based on existing literature. This, therefore, leaves a gap which our study sought to fulfil.

6. Theory

In this section, we will introduce the framing theory utilised throughout this thesis in order to answer the research question. The adopted framing approach is based on Robert Entman's work, particularly, the paper *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, from 1993. Thus, this section introduces theoretical approaches within frame analysis and their application in this study. However, firstly we sought to examine the role of news media in shaping the public's opinion and the reasons why frames are of importance in relation to journalistic reporting.

6.1 News as frames

Newspapers are often perceived as a window to the world, since it is through the news individuals acquire information about a myriad of subjects, e.g., themselves, others, leaders, institutions, lifestyles, other nations, and so forth. As per Tuchman (1978), “the news media play an important role in the news consumers’ setting of political agenda” (p. 2). Thus, it can be argued that the information presented by media outlets tends to influence the public's opinion. This was a pivotal motivation for choosing news articles as this thesis's empirical data.

The media (consciously or not) make use of frames, which at times can be considered problematic. A frame can be seen as a window through which the story is told; a window can be large or small, and the view depends on which direction the window faces (Tuchman, 1978). This means that reality can change depending on the framing that it is seen through, and the media contribute to the creation of public frames. One could question whether the topics selected by the media are in fact the issues that the public considers most relevant and urgent. Still, news media have the power to influence people's opinions, as well as the context in which publics perceive and discuss the events. Thereby, it can be claimed that most used words and phrases in the news may become the common words and phrases used by the public (Tuchman, 1978, p. 2). Therefore, when the media consistently refer to a phenomenon as, e.g., “refugee crisis”, it may turn to a crisis in the consciousness of the general public. In this manner, frames are powerful tools since they may induce the audience to filter their perception of the world in a particular way, making some parts of a multi-dimensional reality more noticeable than others (Kuypers, 2009).

However, the influence of traditional news media, such as newspapers, has taken a step down in the face of the growth of non-traditional news sources, e.g., social media. Over the last decade, TV News have declined by more than 20 percentage points and in 2022 more than 80% of the Danish population expressed that online media, such as social media, are the main source of news, with Facebook being the top-used social media application for news (35% of the Danish population resort to the platform as news source) (Newman et al., 2022, p. 75). Although traditional newspapers are no longer the only and primary source of information, we believe that they still can play a crucial role in shaping people's perception of the world since the mainstream media's agenda likely influences the agenda of the digital media environment as well. Therefore, the media framing of events is of great importance.

6.2 Framing Theory

As previously mentioned, we draw upon Robert Entman's approach to framing in order to analyse our empirical data and answer our research question. Our choice relied on Entman's concept of framing as it further provides a relevant methodology to analyse mass media and how information is presented. Thus, this section elaborates on the terms within frame analysis and on the approach followed in the analysis.

6.2.1 Definition

Framing refers essentially to selection and salience. According to Entman (1993) "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" (p. 52). As a result, certain aspects and pieces of information are highlighted to the detriment of others and a specific frame is chosen over another. The author claims that while a frame draws attention to certain aspects of reality, it also redirects attention away from other aspects. In this way, it becomes impossible to convey the whole story, hence the communicator, e.g., a journalist, may have to select certain facts and stories leaving others out, resulting in specific frames. After Entman (1993), when it comes to frames, the omissions are as critical as the inclusions; "most frames are defined by what they omit as well as

include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience” (p. 54). His statement is supported by Scheufele’s definition of frames, who claims that “frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame” (Scheufele, 2000, p. 298). Therefore, it can be argued that throughout our frame analysis what has not been mentioned may carry almost as much meaning as what has been touched upon.

Salience is of the outmost importance when analysing frames. Entman (1993) defines the word “salience” as “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” and elaborates on it by stating that the more salience, the more likely it is that receivers will understand the meaning and store it to memory and act upon it (p. 53). The salience of information in a text is contingent on where pieces of information are placed, repeated or associated with culturally familiar symbols. Since in this study we are examining news reports, where traditionally the most important facts are placed in the beginning of the article, it is necessary to take into account that the placement of information may carry meaning³.

Even though frames may exert influence on public’s opinions, it is not guaranteed that texts and frames have an universal effect, i.e., are understood in the desired way by all of the receivers since “salience is a product of the interaction of texts and receivers” (Entman, 1993, p. 53), which means that there is a risk that the public will react critically to the presented frames.

³ News articles traditionally follow the writing principle of the inverted pyramid, where the most pertinent information should be placed as early as possible in the text.
<https://ohiostate.pressbooks.pub/stratcommwriting/chapter/inverted-pyramid-style/>

6.2.2 *The analytical approach within framing*

After Entman (1993, p. 52), frames have four functions. Thereby, frames:

1. Define problems: they determine what is happening, and which costs and benefits are at stake. Cultural values are usually used as a measure;
2. Diagnose causes: identifies the factors behind the problem;
3. Make moral judgments: evaluates causes and outcomes;
4. Suggest remedies: offers and justifies solutions for the problems and predicts the possible effects.

Thus, a text can perform all four framing functions or only some of them at once. Throughout this thesis, these four functions have served as the analysis structure/methodology through which we analysed how Danish news articles defined the problems, the causes, made moral judgements, and suggested solutions regarding the refugee “crises” of 2015 and 2022 in Denmark. Despite being deliberately selected by journalists, intentionally or not, their choice of sources, angles, and facts contributes to the emergence of certain frames with, e.g., specific problem definitions and solutions. As mentioned above, not necessarily all of the articles fulfil all four functions; some texts may solely focus on the problem and solutions while others emphasize all of them. Here, salience is key, as the selected facts and sources can influence how the audience understands a particular subject. Since salience also entails de-emphasizing certain aspects of a text, this understanding will likely come at the expense of other interpretations of events.

Furthermore, according to Entman (1993), a frame has four locations in the communication process (p. 52):

1. The communicator, who makes the framing judgements which can both be conscious or unconscious, and are shaped by the communicator’s belief system;
2. The text, which contains frames demonstrated by the presence or absence of certain keywords, information sources, overused phrases, sentences that reinforces judgements, and so forth;
3. The receivers, whose thinking and conclusion are influenced by frames; the receivers’ reasoning may or may not reflect the texts frames and the frames intended by the communicator;

4. The culture, which are the commonly understood frames, i.e., the common frames manifested in the discourse and thoughts of the majority of individuals in a social grouping.

Nonetheless, it is not the purpose of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of journalists' framing choices, as this is outside the scope of our research; the same applies for how the receivers understand and may be influenced by media frames. Instead, we are interested in investigating which frames were present in the Danish media at the time of the refugee "crises" of 2015 and 2022 in Denmark by analysing exclusively media texts, namely, news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*. In the historical overview of immigrants in Denmark (Section 3.1), we have touched upon the evolution of the media coverage of these groups over the years in the country, what has contributed to our understanding of the political and cultural contexts in which the articles were published, as well as the employment of frames.

Moreover, our research shows how the communicators' frames can differ depending on the newspaper's political leaning. For instance, the examined broadsheet *Politiken* is known as a more leftist newspaper, while *Jyllands-Posten* is more right-wing. On this account, the journalist's belief system might shape the frames when covering a story; an example is the choice of words, such as "immigrant", "refugees", "economic migrant" or "people on the move", in the journalistic texts. Thereby, the receivers, i.e., the readers, may understand the texts differently depending on their own belief systems, and they may or may not reflect the frames from the text. In this research, the cultural context is the Danish culture, which also may influence how the text is written and understood. It is, however, not the purpose of this thesis to explore the influence of culture in the media framing process, once our primary focus is on the analysis of media texts.

That being so, framing plays a crucial role in journalism, once the communicator, here the journalists, makes framing judgements by, consciously or unconsciously, choosing certain words, images, and so forth. Even though it is assumed that journalists aspire to report news objectively, they may still convey a dominant framing that can hinder the audience from evaluating an event (Entman, 1993, p. 56).

6.2.3 Agenda-setting

The concept of agenda-setting is closely related to framing theory. Thus, it is argued that framing should be seen as an extension of agenda-setting (Scheufele, 2000). In contrast to framing theory, which is concerned with “how” a topic is approached, agenda-setting lay emphasis on “what” subject(s) is selected to be covered. Scheufele (2000) states that “(...) agenda-setting is concerned with the salience of issues” (p. 298), while McCombs and Shaw (1972) claim that “the mass media force attention to certain issues. (...) They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about” (p. 177). Thus, agenda-setting research focuses on the understanding of why certain issues are on the agenda of the media, as well as why other topics are left out.

In this study, by the analysis of the news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* regarding the refugee “crises” of 2015 and 2022, it became clear that these topics were strongly present on the media agenda, as both events were massively covered. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the agenda-setting theory since we are interested in how refugees were framed in the aforementioned Danish newspapers rather than why this topic was on the agenda of the media. Nonetheless, since the terms are closely related, it is pertinent for this thesis to touch upon their differences and similarities.

6.2.4 The debate on framing

Research on framing has been conducted differently and, as a result, a clear, agreed-upon definition is hardly found, i.e., a conceptual clarity on the term is lacking. Since the term is ambiguous it can be used on different levels; frames can be used for a specific event or news, issue-frames or bigger frames that cover multiple events. This ambiguity is not necessarily negative, as it also offers the benefit of multiple analytic possibilities (Madsen, 2003).

Previous scholars have claimed that framing is not an applicable concept, but a metaphor which cannot directly be applied to answer a research question. Since it is argued that there is no clear definition of framing, the term has often been used to “label similar but distinctly different approaches” due to its vague conceptualizations (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). In Entman’s article, he argues for the advantages of constituting framing as a research paradigm. However, this notion is

contested by other scholars, such as D'Angelo (2002), who believes that there is not and should not be a defined paradigm.

Although Entman's approach to framing has come under criticism, it can be claimed that relying on his concepts is advantageous for this study as they are related to media and politics, in addition to being one of the most utilised approaches on the subject.

7. Methodology

The purpose of this section is to describe the methodological and method approaches employed in this study, as well as to present the empirical data and clarify the data selection criteria.

7.1 Methodological approach and researchers' stance

The starting point of this research was the observation of criticisms of the shift in media narratives, especially in Denmark, regarding the influx of Ukrainian refugees in 2022 compared to the influx of Middle Eastern refugees in 2015. Thereby, this study was oriented by an inductive approach for identifying framing elements, since the theories which underlie the research are the outcome of observations of the phenomenon and the consequent yield of generalizable inferences. As we were also able to previously recognize particular theoretical ideas of the field within the empirical data, e.g., media framing, it can be argued that a deductive approach was adopted as well (Bryman, 2016). Hence, this thesis research strategy draws on both quantitative and qualitative methods, namely, mixed methods, utilizing an explanatory sequential design as an attempt to enhance the credibility of the findings and for illustration purposes, i.e., the qualitative data is used to illustrate the quantitative findings (Bryman, 2016). The explanatory sequential design in mixed methods consists of the collection and analysis of quantitative (numeric) data, providing a general understanding of the research problem; and subsequent collection and analysis of qualitative (text) data, which help elaborate or explain the quantitative results in more depth (Creswell & Plano, 2017). A more detailed description of this method design will be provided later in this section.

As for the ontological position, social constructivism was the worldview adopted under this research, once this theoretical approach claims that social phenomena/practices and their meanings – in this study, language use and framing – are never fixed and are continuously under reconstruction by social actors. Thus, this meaning-making process is by no means objective, instead, it is socially constructed in and through interactions in society and is context-dependent, being in a constant state of revision. In this universe of socially defined roles, the constructivist

approach applies to frame analysis as it enables the examination of “news discourse with the primary focus on conceptualizing news texts into empirically operationalizable dimensions — syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures — so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered”. In this context, the presence of frames in news texts does not occur independently of readers of the text (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 55).

The social constructivist view argues for the impossibility of the researcher taking the stance of an objective observer of the phenomenon in the attempt to interpret it since it considers that “researchers’ own accounts of the social world are constructions” (Bryman, 2016, p. 29; Crevani, 2019). We are aware of the role that our own personalities, experiences, and opinions play in influencing and shaping our choices and approaches, we sought to maintain a reflective position throughout this study to avoid a biased interpretation of the phenomenon. Acknowledging the unsuitability of adopting a positivist position in this study, i.e., conducting a value-free or objective research, was the first step towards an interpretative stance in terms of epistemology. As the focus of this research is the subjective (connotative) meaning of social actions, relying on interpretivism allowed us to “place the interpretations that have been elicited into a social frame” (Bryman, 2016, p. 26). Further still, viewing theories and concepts as representations also entails the acknowledgement of the possibility of “other equally credible representations of the same phenomena” (Bryman, 2016, p. 391).

Therefore, in order to tackle quality criteria issues which might arise regarding the study’s reliability and validity, besides adopting a reflective approach, we have also attempted to maintain high levels of data and method transparency disclosing our data analytical and processing procedures throughout the thesis. Additionally, we sought to address the matter of accountability by providing in the appendices all materials/news articles used in the analysis section. Also, the fact that this project is conducted by two researchers allowed for establishing intersubjective validity, as we were able to reflect upon meanings and test our individual interpretations of the phenomena with each other, which revealed shared understandings and enabled the identification – and reflection on the significance – of gaps in these understandings as well.

Admittedly, our accounts of the social world, as well as of the social phenomena, are moulded by our backgrounds as communications researchers coming from different cultures (Brazilian and Danish), with different statuses of citizenship (immigrant and Danish citizen) and levels of Danish language proficiency (fluent and native). This means that the emphasis and outcomes of this study were inevitably influenced by our worldviews and our positions concerning, e.g., lexical choices of words or labels of the Danish media, once “lexical choices constitute an important aspect of news discourse construction and (...) are often made in conformity with structural rules” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 62). It can be argued that the researchers’ different levels of proficiency in the Danish language mentioned above likely increased the risk of not reflecting on taken-for-granted assumptions, even as misinterpretations and rapid conclusions. Nevertheless, our combined academic and professional backgrounds in Communications, Global Studies and Journalism, followed by our world (intercultural) experiences and knowledge on immigration and media allowed for a better understanding of the systems and structures of the settings where the phenomena took place.

7.2 The thesis within Craig’s communication traditions

Situating this study within Robert Craig’s propounded model, which summarize the field of communication into seven traditions, became relevant since they touch upon different modes of “conceptualizing and discussing communication problems and practices” (Craig, 1999, p. 120). Thus, being familiar with these traditions assisted in the consideration of new points of view regarding the subject of analysis, helping in the comprehension of the reasons why we related to and apprehended the information we assimilated.

On this account, this study is placed within the rhetorical, semiotic, sociocultural, and critical traditions of communication. In the context of the analysis of Danish media conducted under this study, the rhetorical character is reflected in our interest in the artful/strategic use of discourse, the “value of informed judgment” and the “power of words”, as “rhetoric is a powerful force in society (...) even seriously harmful” (Craig, 1999, p. 135); the semiotic feature is translated in our concern with the use of language and the process of conveying meanings through signs (e.g., language); the sociocultural tradition also defines our study as we rely on social constructivism, thereby, acknowledging that “every society has a distinct culture”, where reality is socially constructed

through “microlevel interaction processes” and communication is a (re)production of sociocultural patterns; lastly, the critical character is represented in our pursuit of critically reflecting upon the “problems of communication”, i.e., hegemonic ideology, distorted communication and “the naturalness of the social order” (Craig, 1999, p. 133-147). By and large, resorting to Craig’s communication traditions allowed for provoking reflection on the crucial role of mediated communication in shaping (and being shaped by) our social worlds.

7.3 Mixed methods and selection criteria for data set

The methodological approach adopted in this research is Mixed Methods, which in social science describes studies where the two research techniques behind quantitative and qualitative approaches are combined into one research design (Symonds & Gorard, 2009). A major advantage of this approach is that it combines the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative research, increasing the possibility of gaining more profound, detailed and comprehensive results while enhancing credibility and illustrating findings (Flick, 2019). The mixed method, when conducted optimally, is a stronger design compared to single method as “the supplemental component enhances the validity of the project per se by enriching or expanding our understanding” (Morse & Niehaus, 2009, p. 14).

However, mixed methods research does not solely entail the employment of two methods in one research. Instead, we have been aware of each method’s advantages and disadvantages in order to create a well-considered research design (Symonds & Gorard, 2009). The existing criticisms of mixed methods have been taken into account in order to create an optimal mixed methods design. It has been argued that a mixed method research design is neither feasible nor desirable since “the epistemological positions in which the two methods are grounded constitute irreconcilable views about how social reality should be studied” (Bryman, 2016, p. 636) and the qualitative and quantitative methods are paradigms “in which epistemological assumption, values, and methods are inextricably intertwined and are incompatible between paradigms” (Bryman, 2016, p. 636). Nevertheless, research conducted on the basis of mixed methods has been increasing since the early 1980s, indicating that the afore mentioned critique is not a consensus in academia (Bryman, 2016, p. 635). Thus, the criticism about paradigm mixing has been taken into account since the mixed method design might lead to contradictory assumptions when adopting qualitative and

quantitative approaches. For the purpose of this research, despite the dilemmas associated with mixed methods, the advantages of the method greatly outweigh the disadvantages. Therefore, this method was chosen as a means of enriching our understanding of the data as well as increasing the validity of the research.

Explanatory sequential design

In order to answer this study's research question, the mixed method design adopted was the explanatory sequential design (Figure 1), which is characterized by "the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data in order to elaborate or explain the quantitative findings" (Bryman, 2016, p. 640).

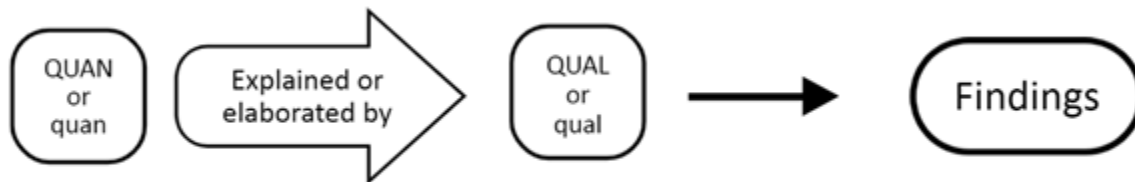


Figure 1: The explanatory sequential design (Bryman, 2016, p. 639)

The figure illustrates that both quantitative and qualitative research approaches may be used as the primary approach, here indicated in capital letters – QUAN and QUAL. The additional approach is indicated with lower case – “quan” and “qual”. However, Creswell & Plano argue that the quantitative element should have precedence in explanatory sequential design. Bryman, on the other hand, states that as long as the elaboration/explanation provided by the qualitative research is significant to the research questions, the qualitative approach can take precedence (Creswell & Plano, 2011, as cited in Bryman, 2016). Considering that only quantitative data cannot adequately answer our research question, we argue that qualitative frame analysis constitutes the primary research in this study, as our objective is to identify frames in the coverage of the refugee “crises” by the Danish newspapers *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*. Thus, empirical data were collected from these two sources, and the qualitative approach was applied in order to identify broader patterns through the examination of specific use of words in the news articles. Even though the quantitative

research was the first method employed, it is the qualitative research that forms the basis of this study. Figure 2 illustrates the specific explanatory sequential design adopted in this thesis:

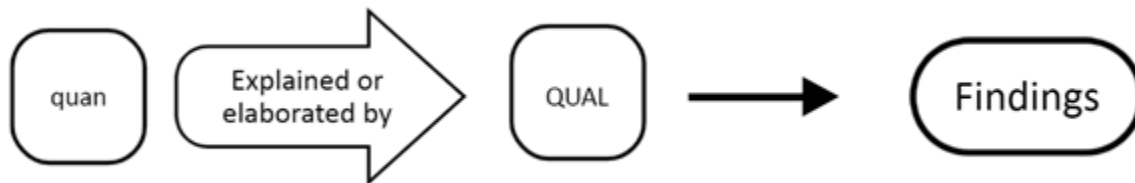


Figure 2: The explanatory sequential design applied in our research (Bryman, 2016, p. 639)

Firstly, the empirical data was collected from an agreed time period (further clarifications will be presented in the Data Collection section). In the initial stage, we utilised content analysis as our quantitative method conducting a word frequency search using the software NVivo to gain an overview and understanding of the empirical data. The quantitative data analysis has improved our understanding of the data and the themes found within the texts. Afterwards, the qualitative data analysis was conducted, i.e., all news articles gathered were read through, and frames were identified with the employment of a frame analysis.

7.4 Introduction and selection criteria

The empirical data consists of a total of 344 articles, 266 articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and 78 articles from *Politiken*. The broadsheets were selected as primary sources since it was shown that they had the highest number of weekly readers in Denmark in 2021 (Kantar Gallup, 2022); therefore, they are currently the two most popular Danish newspapers with an extensive outreach. Furthermore, their selection also relies on the fact that they represent two different positions in the Danish political spectrum. *Politiken* is known to be oriented slightly more towards the left-wing, while *Jyllands-Posten* is more inclined towards the right-wing. For instance, *Jyllands-Posten* states that they are an independent liberal newspaper (*uafhængigt liberal dagblad*) (JP/Politikens Hus, n.d.); in contrast, *Politiken* describes itself as an independent radical-social liberal newspaper (*uafhængig radikal-socialliberal blad*) (JP/Politikens Hus, n.d.). Thus, it has been a deliberate

choice to select newspapers with stated different political affiliations as empirical data, as it may enable the researchers to examine whether different frames emerge depending on political views. As most Danish newspapers, *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten* have no direct or declared ties to any political party, only left/right orientation. This is clearly indicated as both newspapers define themselves as independent. A study from the University of Copenhagen in collaboration with the American analytics and advisory company Gallup, Inc. further confirms that the two Danish newspapers represent different political views by investigating which newspaper readers preferred according to their political affiliation. This research indicates that left-wing readers choose *Politiken* while right-wing ones opt for *Jyllands-Posten* (Winther, 2011). It should be noted, however, that whereas readers often select newspapers which confirm their political views, they still tend to trust news from other broadsheets, according to a Danish study on media habits in Denmark (Schrøder et al., 2018). Thus, including news articles consumed by readers from both political orientations in our research may help to determine whether there are different patterns or specific frames in left and right-wing newspapers. It is noteworthy that *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* are not the only broadsheets with opposite political views. *Information* and *Berlingske* are also two prominent publications with known opposite political affiliations. However, we considered the weekly readership criteria as the most central, which resulted in the exclusion of other broadsheets.

Due to the fact that both *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* are broadsheets, we have considered to include a tabloid newspaper in the study. However, only including broadsheet papers has the advantage of making the articles easily comparable and similar in writing style, which facilitates determining whether coverage differs between political views. In contrast, broadsheets and tabloids newspapers have different traditions within writing styles and coverages. Traditionally, these nomenclatures refer to the newspaper page size, with tabloids being smaller than broadsheets. There are, however, also distinctions in the associations and traditions related to each type; broadsheets and tabloids are known for representing different target segments and covering different topics. It is common for tabloids to cover shorter stories, resort more to sensationalism, and bring more teasing or catchy headlines. Broadsheet papers, on the other hand, usually feature more text, contain more information, approach the topics in greater depth, and cover more serious issues (Rogers, 2020). The element of sensationalism could be cited as an argument for choosing tabloid newspapers as a data source, however, the comparability of the articles as well as the

analysis of the political aspect are more advantageous. Therefore, tabloid newspapers were ruled out in this research.

A dilemma faced in the selection process was due to the fact that *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* are both owned by JP/Politikens Hus A/S. Yet, the company is divided equally between Jyllands-Posten Holdings A/S and A/S Politiken Holding. Even though this could influence the newspaper's editorial independence, JP/Politikens Hus claims that its editorial independence is secured through financial independence (JP/Politikens Hus, n.d.). Although both newspapers are owned by the same company, they can choose and cover stories independently, e.g., frame refugees in different ways. As mentioned earlier, both publications may represent different views, which can be a result of their political stances. Our selection (and rejection) criteria will be further elaborated in the discussion section.

It is worth mentioning that some of the selected articles are written by the news agency *Ritzau* and republished by *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten*. *Ritzau* is a privately owned news agency that covers international stories for other news agencies, companies and organisations (Ritzaus Bureau, n.d.). These reports are often written without political angle since these articles' purpose is to be republished by different newspapers and news sources.

This research purpose is to carry out a strictly textual analysis, which means that pictures present in the news articles are not a part of the analysis. Nevertheless, it could be argued that pictures, as words, may play an important role in influencing readers and reinforcing frames. However, notwithstanding the relevance of images, they were not included in the analysis owing to our focus on identifying framing through language use and for matters of time limitations.

Data collection

This section aims at elaborating on how the platform *Infomedia* was used as a data collection tool. Furthermore, the selection criteria will be presented and explained.

The selection criteria were conducted as follows: the specific search words *flygtning**, *migrant** (“refugee” and “migrant” in Danish) and *danmark** were chosen limited to articles about Denmark (and this had to be the main focus of the news reports), within a specific time frame, and excluding debate and opinion articles. After choosing the criteria, we utilised the online database *Infomedia*

to sample our empirical data. *Infomedia* is a database that collects all Danish news published over all platforms, such as television, radio, printed, and online newspapers. Thus, all of the articles chosen as empirical data in this thesis were gathered from this platform.

As mentioned above, we decided on the search words *flygtning** and *migrant** and limited the search to include only the selected news distributors – *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*. Before deciding on limiting our search words to one word only (*flygtning**), we also attempted using a search string including both “migrant”, “asylum”, and “refugee”. This, however, did not significantly change the search result; therefore, the simpler one-word search string was used. To further limit the empirical data, several selection criteria were set in order to minimize the overwhelming number of articles returned by the database search. Thus, a further criterion adopted was that only articles that specifically addressed Denmark and the refugee influxes of 2015 and/or 2022 should be included. For example, articles concerning Italy' or Greece's responses to the refugee flow in 2015 were excluded even though they covered our topic of interest. For this purpose, the word *danmark* was added to the search string. By doing so, the *Infomedia* search displayed only articles containing the country name. We were aware, however, that including this criterion meant excluding other interpretations as well. Additionally, it could have been informative to examine how refugees across Europe were portrayed in the Danish media. Several articles have been written about refugees crossing the Mediterranean in 2015, as well as entering Poland and Hungary in 2022. The research question, however, required the exclusion of these articles.

Nevertheless, not all articles containing the search words *flygtninge*, *migrant* and *danmark* were included as our empirical data, since the emphasis of the articles had to be primarily on refugees in Denmark, that is, if refugees were only mentioned as a side note to another story, the reports would not be included. As mentioned previously, these were decisions made to limit the large amount of empirical data collected.

In addition, we have considered whether online articles should be included as well, in addition to printed articles, what could have further reduced the amount of data gathered in the selected period. However, we opted for including articles that have been published in both physical and online versions of the newspapers, since 50% of the Danish population reads their news online; only 15% access information from printed newspapers (Schrøder et al., 2018). Although the largest

part of the Danish population mainly reads news online, we decided to include the printed articles due to our assumption that they, at times, offer more in-depth news, thus we deemed it interesting to research whether this could affect the framings. However, if the same article was published both online and in a printed version, only one of the versions was selected.

To further restrict our search, we have decided on a specific time frame for each year. In 2015, a seven-day time frame was established. Thus, we focused on the days when the media coverage of the two refugee influxes reached its highest. The arrival of refugees in Denmark took place around the 6th of September in 2015, and it was also at this point that the media coverage of refugees in Denmark increased significantly. Before this date, many refugees had arrived in Europe. However, since our interest is mainly on how the Danish media portrayed and framed refugees fleeing to Denmark, we have limited the time frame to the period that refugees started crossing Danish borders. The seven days were selected including the beginning of the coverage, its peak and decrease. Additionally, when the coverage started decreasing, no additional information was appearing in the articles returned from *Infomedia*. Therefore, the time frame in 2015 became the 6th of September 2015 to the 12th of September 2015. Henceforth, this time frame will be called “Period 1” in the analysis. Figure 3 below illustrates the distribution of articles over Period 1, including the arrival of refugees in Denmark, the peak of the media coverage and its decrease:

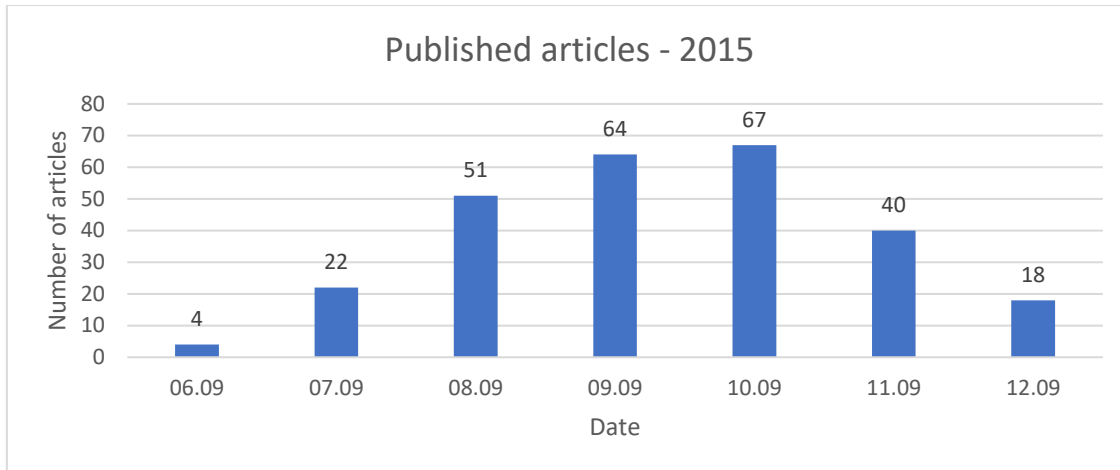


Figure 3: Total number of published articles per day in 2015

The time frame for 2022 was set after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which happened on the 24th of February. Consequently, part of the Ukrainian population fled the country, and a considerable number of refugees began to arrive in Denmark (and in other European countries as well) almost immediately. For the purpose of including the peak of media coverage in 2022, the time frame was extended to ten days rather than seven days as in Period 1 (2015). Additionally, the extra three days were included due to the fact that more than twice as many articles were published in the 2015-time frame compared to 2022. Thus, the additional texts were gathered as an attempt to enabled a more comparable data. As a result, the time period for 2022 was set from the 24th of February to the 5th of March and will be hereafter named “Period 2”. The number of articles per day from Period 2 is illustrated in Figure 4 below:

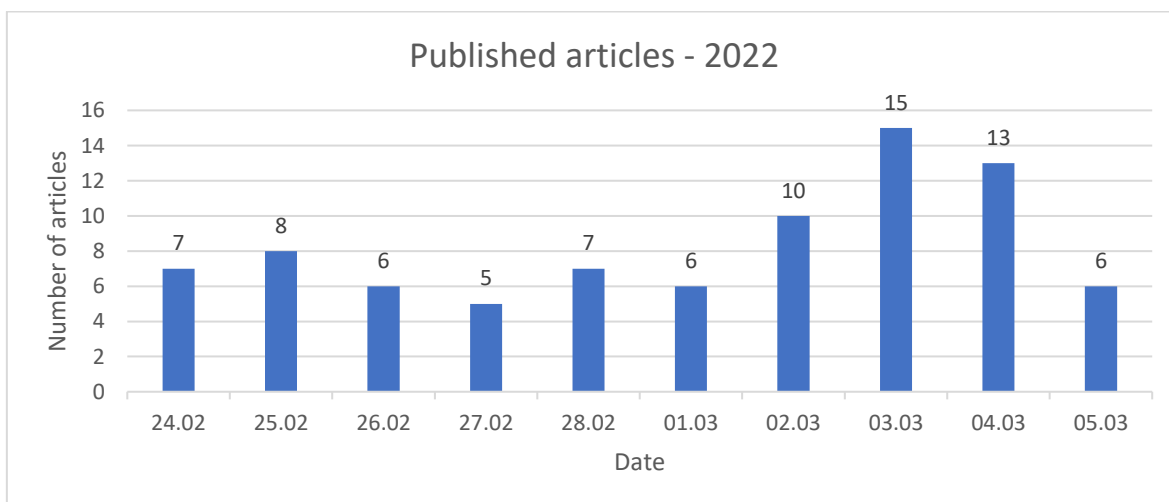


Figure 4: Total number of published articles per day in 2022

As informed, the selected newspaper articles were written by journalists from *Politiken*, *Jyllands-Posten* or the news agency *Ritzau* and we have decided to exclude debate articles, chronicles and the like as empirical data once these articles do not represent the views of the newspapers; instead in this thesis we sought to research how the newspaper framed refugees in factual reporting. However, it can be argued that debate articles also are selected by the editor of the newspaper and, therefore, still represent the newspaper's view. Yet, the exclusion of these articles was a decision taken to further limit the amount of empirical data.

7.5 The choice of content analysis

In this thesis, content analysis is used as the quantitative approach as it is an useful approach to quantify the content of texts in categories in a manner that is replicable and systematic (Bryman, 2016, p. 283). Throughout the academic literature, the term is used inconsistently both to describe a specific analytical approach as well as any method which analyses content (Deacon et al., 2010). In this instance, the term “content analysis” will cover the specific analytical approach. Berelson famously describes it as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, as cited in Deacon et al., 2010, p. 118). This quote indicates the attributes of the approach, its objectivity and systematic nature, which made it desirable to employ it as our quantitative method. It can be argued that the benefits of content analysis are that it focuses on the observable, and it is advantageous for analysing large amounts of textual data. Furthermore, our objective was to identify existing patterns and frames within the data set, which fits within content analysis’ purpose to quantify salience. Another reason for utilising content analysis is that the approach may help minimising the influence of the researcher’s personal biases, as it is about simply applying the decided upon rules to the data (Bryman, 2016, pp. 283-305; Deacon et al., 2010).

Using content analysis as part of our mixed-method research also offered the advantage of complementing the qualitative research. Some of content analysis’s disadvantages, such as the lack of insight and deeper understanding of the texts, as well as not identifying meaning-making processes in texts and rhetorical nuances, are aspects that will be investigated and discussed in our

(qualitative) frame analysis. Therefore, the desired outcome of this method was to provide an overview of the texts. This includes an understanding of trends, patterns and absences (Deacon et al., 2010). As content analysis is not an exploratory method and only answers the asked questions, what is counted needs to be specific and included for a reason. Thus, this method helped create an overview of the empirical data (e.g., the articles and how they are divided into dates and newspapers), the actors (e.g., state voices and personal accounts) and word frequencies. In this way, the word frequency search is advantageous for this research since the media choice of certain words over others can reveal a tendency to sensationalise events (Bryman, 2016, p. 289).

The use of NVivo

In order to conduct word frequency searches, the CAQDAS (Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software) program NVivo has been utilised. The main purpose of NVivo is to conduct qualitative analysis, such as organising, analysing and identifying insights in large amounts of qualitative data (Bryman, 2016; Wikipedia, n.d.). Although the primary application of NVivo is qualitative analysis, here, it was used for quantitative content analysis and word frequency research. Furthermore, the programme is also designed for coding texts material, and is a key phase of qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2016).

In order to import the data (news articles) into NVivo, they had to be cleaned for non-relevant words. Since the articles were initially saved as PDF files directly from the newspaper websites, additional information, e.g., links to other articles, links to the website, advertisements, and so forth, had to be removed so the program could identify words correctly. Consequently, all articles have been converted from PDF to Word files, and all non-article-related text has been removed. This process was conducted to enhance the reliability of the word frequency search.

The use of NVivo facilitated the analysis process as it enabled the acquirement of quantitative insights. However, the program also showed some disadvantages, since it does not recognise the Danish language, hence the language setting needed to be installed as “other”. As a result, some word-recognition features did not function as efficiently as they would if the articles were written in the English language. In Danish texts, the program was still able to identify the most frequently cited words, yet it was unable to recognize similar words or themes. The program, therefore, was solely used to search for words based on frequency and word length.

8. Quantitative introduction and content analysis

In this section, we will introduce our data and the quantitative method, namely, content analysis, providing an overview of the data corpus, as well as explaining how it is distributed between days and newspapers. Furthermore, with the help of a word frequency search, we sought to identify the tendencies and themes present in the texts. The data presented here figured as a starting point for the frame analysis.

8.1 Data overview

The number of news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* (JP) and *Politiken* (P) gathered to this study was 349 in total. The division between newspapers and periods is illustrated in Table 1 below:

News articles overview			
2015		2022	
Newspaper	Number of articles	Newspaper	Number of articles
JP	163	JP	53
P	103	P	30
Total	266	Total	83
Total of articles from 2015 & 2022			
349			

Table 1: Overview of the number of news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* in 2015 and 2022

As illustrated, a significantly larger number of reports were published during Period 1 (2015) compared to Period 2 (2022). In Period 1, a total of 266 articles were included in the study, while 83 were selected in Period 2. The same selection criteria were employed to both periods, except that the time frame was extended three days in Period 2 in order to allow the inclusion of reports from the peak of media coverage on Ukrainian refugees in Denmark. The fact that 180 more news

articles were published about the “refugee crisis” in Period 1 indicates a disproportion in the media coverage between the two periods.

Furthermore, *Jyllands-Posten* has published considerably more on the subject than *Politiken* in Period 1 – 163 (JP) versus 103 (P). The same pattern was observed in Period 2, when *Jyllands-Posten* published 53 articles against 30 from *Politiken*. The additional articles from *Jyllands-Posten* could be explained by the fact that it has republished more articles authored by *Ritzau*. In Period 1, 98 articles were written by *Ritzau*, and *Jyllands-Posten* reused 78 of them. A similar tendency is seen in Period 2, where a total of 15 articles were authored by *Ritzau*, with *Jyllands-Posten* republishing 11 of them. Because *Ritzau*’s articles are externally written, it can be claimed that it is convenient and fast for newspapers to publish them. Since *Jyllands-Posten* has used many of the agency’s reports, the broadsheet has for this reason published significantly more than *Politiken* over the same period.

8.2 Time overview

The chosen time frames and their selection criteria were described previously in the methods section, i.e., Period 1 (from 06.09.2015 to 12.09.2015) and Period 2 (from 24.02.2022 to 05.03.2022). Moreover, in the same section the numbers of published articles and their distribution over the Periods 1 and 2 were presented. Therefore, in this subsection we present how the articles were distributed between both broadsheets, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, in Periods 1 and 2, which is illustrated in Figure 5 and 6 below:

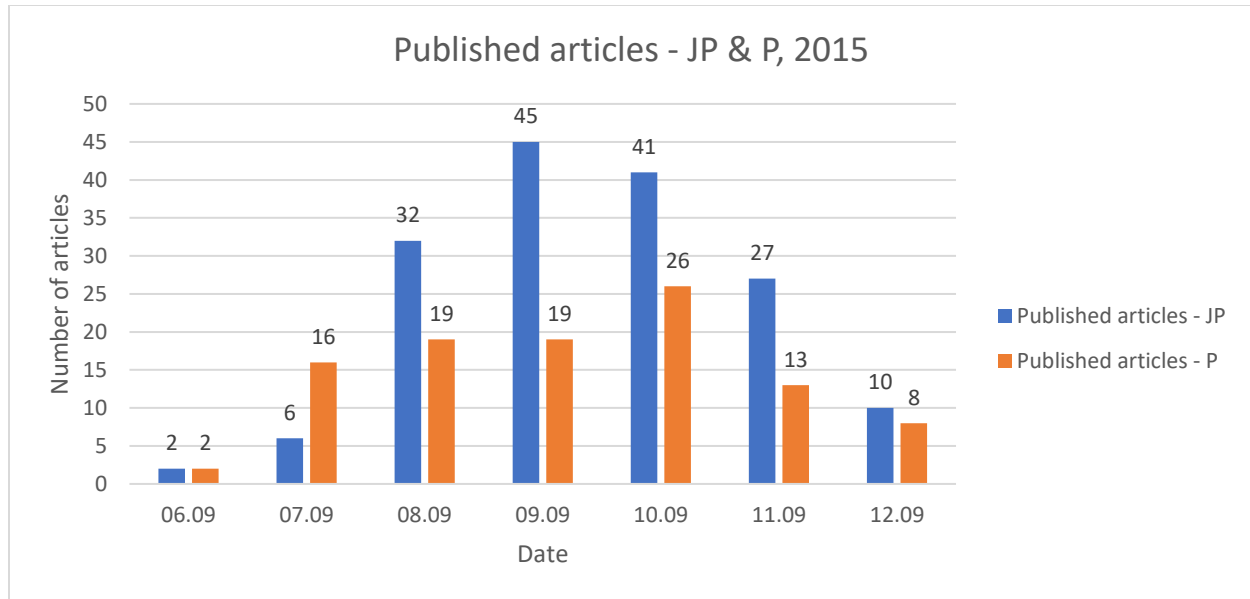


Figure 5: Number of news articles per day published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken in 2015

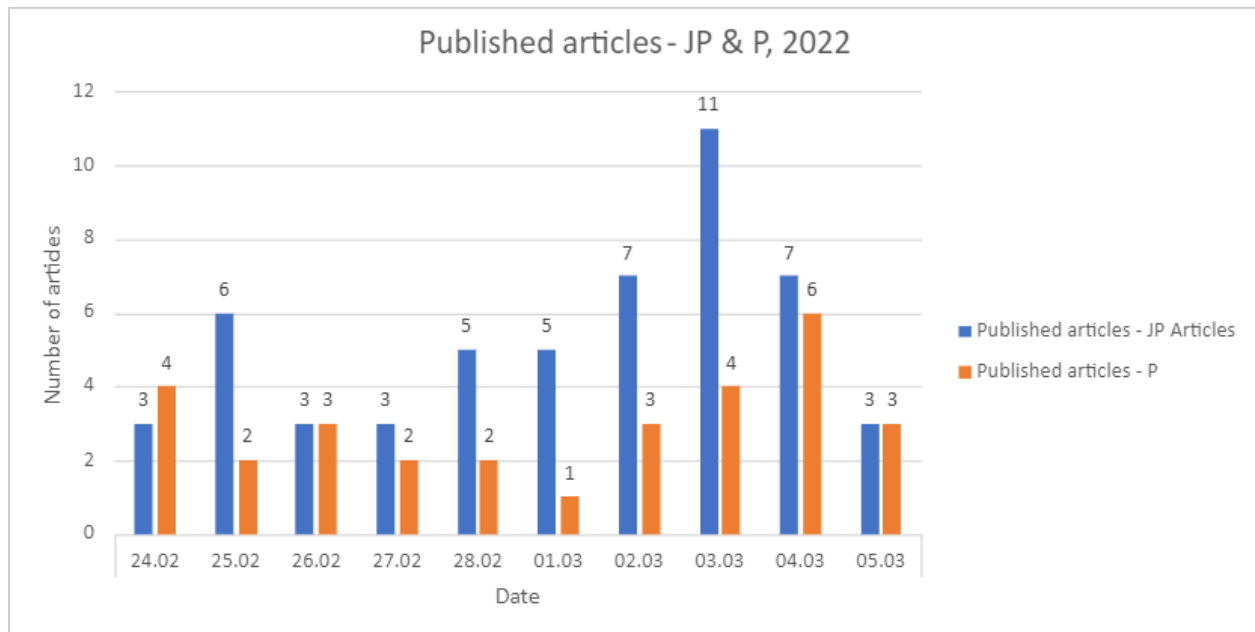


Figure 6: Number of news articles per day published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken in 2022

As illustrated in the figures and described above, the majority of articles were published by *Jyllands-Posten*. The most significant difference in the coverage in Period 1 (2015) is that when articles from *Jyllands-Posten* peaked, the number of reports from *Politiken* slightly decreased. In

contrast, in 2022 the number of articles of both broadsheets followed somewhat the same pattern; here, *Jyllands-Posten* also published considerably more as presented in Figure 6.

8.3 Word frequency

As cited earlier, through the use of the computer software NVivo, we conducted a word frequency search in order to detect word patterns and themes across the data set. Thus, the top 10 most frequent words used by the broadsheets in both Period 1 (2015) and Period 2 (2022) were identified. The systematic employment of certain words illustrates how the journalists made some aspects and topics more salient than others. Table 2 and 3 below show the 10 most used words throughout the articles in Period 1 and 2:

Top 10 words in frequency search - 2015			
Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
<i>danmark</i>	7	1437	2.09
<i>flygtninge</i>	10	1309	1.9
<i>sverige</i>	7	601	0.87
<i>politiet</i>	8	596	0.86
<i>migranter</i>	9	533	0.77
<i>asyl</i>	4	344	0.5
<i>videre</i>	6	339	0.49
<i>danske</i>	6	306	0.44
<i>tog</i>	3	278	0.4
<i>rødby</i>	5	272	0.3

Table 2: Top 10 list of the most frequently cited words in 2015

Top 10 words in frequency search - 2022			
Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
<i>danmark</i>	7	455	1,77
<i>ukraine</i>	7	372	1,45
<i>flygtninge</i>	10	317	1,23
<i>ukrainske</i>	9	314	1,22
<i>ukrainere</i>	9	277	1,08
<i>tesfaye</i>	7	145	0,56
<i>danske</i>	6	124	0,48
<i>regeringen</i>	10	113	0,44
<i>flygtninge</i>	9	113	0,44
<i>hjælpe</i>	6	112	0,44

Table 3: Top 10 list of the most frequently cited words in 2022

These lists have favourably given insight into the most used words by the Danish media, hence the most approached topics. By this word search, we were able to identify similarities and variations between Periods 1 and 2. Yet, the words *Danmark* and *flygtninge* (refugees) were chosen search words, therefore, it is not surprising that they are present in all articles and are the most mentioned words. Further still, it became clear that a particular focus is placed on the political aspect in both time frames. In Period 1 (2015), “asylum” (*asyl*) and “Sweden” (*Sverige*) are at the top of the list. In this context, the words refer to the debates over asylum rules and the refugees' wish to travel to Sweden, while in Period 2 the political aspect is manifested in words, such as “Tesfaye” and “government” (*regeringen*) – Mattias Tesfaye is the Danish Minister of Justice who has been often interviewed by both newspapers.

The differences between the two periods can be noted by the media use of particular words, such as “police” (*politi*) and “helping” (*hjælpe*). In Period 1, the word “police” appears as the fourth most used word in the media, while it is absent in the articles referring to Ukrainian refugees in Period 2. Furthermore, “helping” is the tenth most frequent word in Period 2, while it ranks 29th in Period 1, which indicates a stronger humanitarian focus in Period 2 compared to Period 1. Also

noteworthy is that in Period 2 Ukraine (and different inflections of Ukraine) is on the top 10 most frequent used words, while no country of origin is mentioned in Period 1. Here, only Denmark and Sweden were on the list, indicating a focus on how refugees affected the receiving countries instead of why the refugees were fleeing. The employment of these words will be further discussed in the qualitative analysis section.

Additionally, we have conducted a word frequency search of the 55 most cited words in both periods. These have been divided into categories indicating their overall theme:

Top 55 words, 2015								
Countries	People	Authorities	Political	Transportation method	Where	Movement	Action	Other
danmark	flygtninge	politiet	asyl	tog	rødby	videre	hjælpe	lande
sverige	politiet	politi	dublin	toget	padborg	rejse	søge	land
danske	migranter	lække	regeringen	færger	københavn	går		kommet
tyskland	flygtningene	lars	statsminister		rødbyhavn	motorvejen		000
dansk	folk	støjberg	registreret		lolland			landet
europa	mennesker	rasmussen	løsning					situation
syrien	asylansøgere	inger	fælles					situationen
svenske	personer							
europæiske	flygtninge							
	gruppe							
	børn							
	udlændinge							

Table 4: Top 55 most frequent words in news articles from Period 1 (2015)

Top 55 words, 2022						
Countries	People	Authorities	Political	Where	Action	Other
danmark	flygtninge	udlændingeordfører	regeringen	nærområde	hjælpe	000
ukraine	ukrainske	udlændingestyrelsen	arbejde	grænse	klar	står
polen	ukrainere	integrationsminister	asyl	grænsen	brug	krigen
dansk	danske	tesfaye	særlov		hjælp	både
rusland	mennesker		opholdstilladelse		gerne	situation
rwanda	udlændinge		kommuner		flugt	invasion
	ukrainerne		modtagecenter		åbne	krig
	folk		folketinget		adgang	hjem
	familie				sikre	situationen
	børn				flygtet	landet
	russiske					land
	asylansøgere					lande

Table 5: Top 55 most frequent words in news articles from Period 2 (2022)

Table 4 and 5 above show on which topics the journalists have put more emphasis on, i.e., they illustrate the salience of the themes. Unsurprisingly, the focus on people takes up much space in both periods, as the majority of reports referred to people on the move. Another similarity observed was that several words revolve around politics in both time frames, e.g., “asylum” (*asyl*) and “the government” (*regeringen*). However, differences can be observed in the “authorities” category; the word “police” (with distinct suffixes in Danish) and different politicians were often mentioned in Period 1, while in Period 2 the main sources of the media were the immigration spokespersons of Danish political parties.

8.4 Themes

Together with the perusal of the articles, the word frequency has allowed the identification of specific themes in each period. Thereby, eight themes were identified in Period 1 (2015), namely, “Measures to prevent the flows of refugees”, “The desire of refugees to travel on to Sweden”, “Smuggling issue”, “The Danish crisis/dilemma”, “Border control”, “Humanitarian”, “Personal accounts from refugees” and “Securitisation/threat”. Figure 7 below demonstrates the number of articles divided among the identified themes:

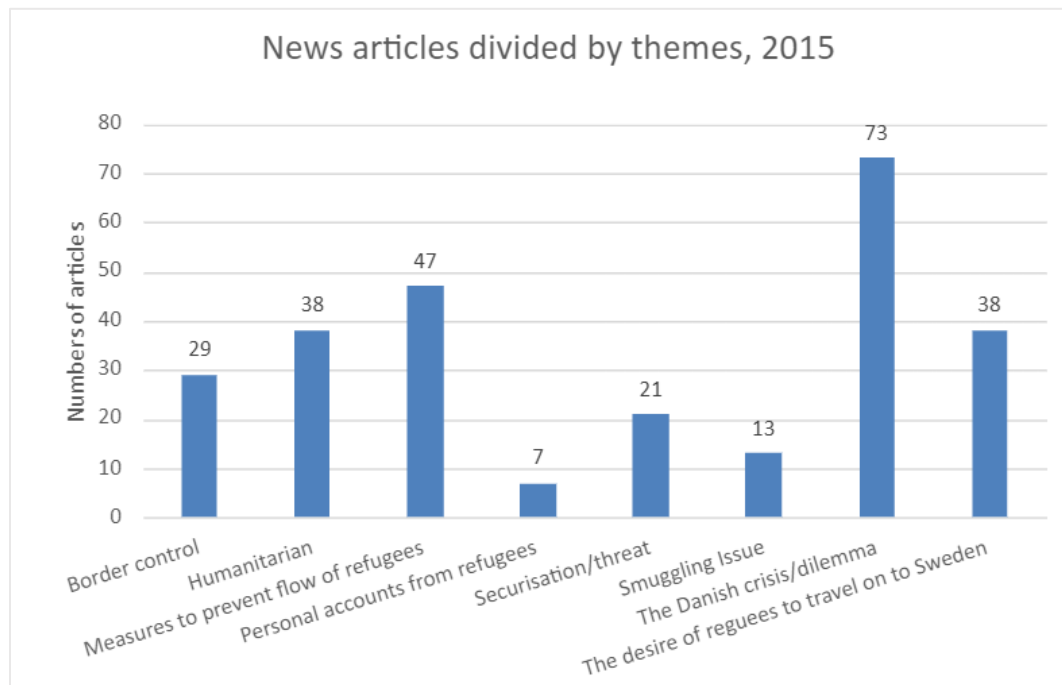


Figure 7: Numbers of articles divided per themes published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken in 2015

In Period 2 (2022), eight themes were uncovered: “2015-2022 debate”, “Accommodating refugees”, “Humanitarian”, “Personal accounts from refugees”, “Collecting refugees at the border”, “Rwanda debate”, “Special law”, and “EU’s unification”. Figure 8 illustrates the number of articles divided among the identified themes:

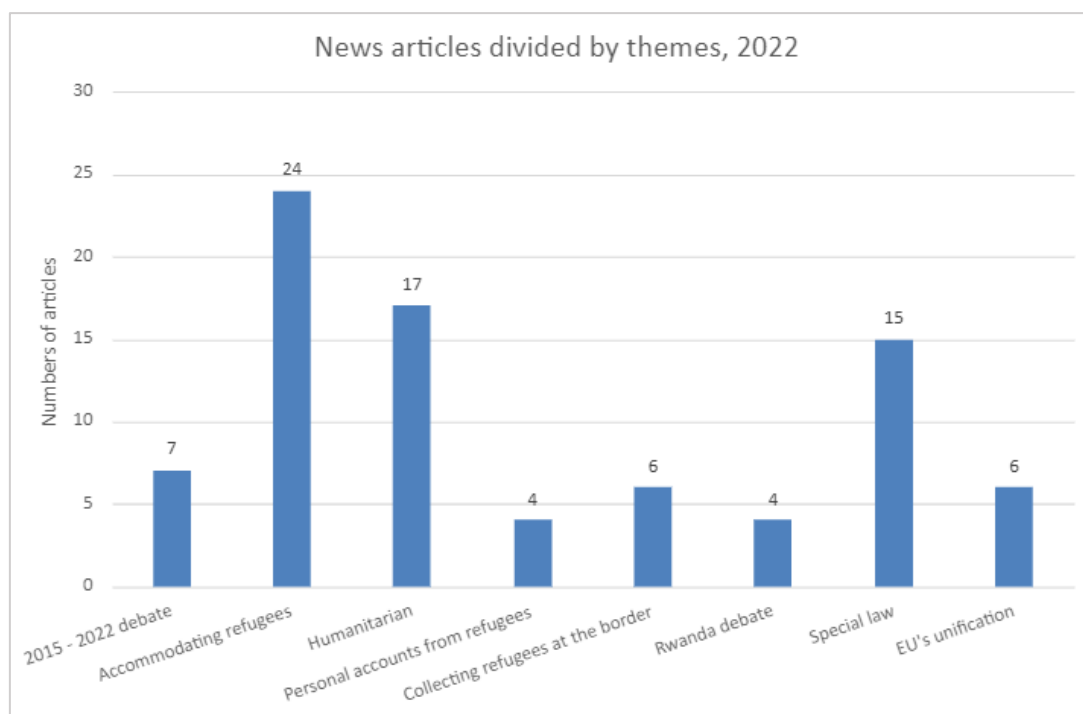


Figure 8: Numbers of articles divided per themes published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken in 2022

The Figures 7 and 8 above show that the most prominent topic in the coverage of refugees by both Danish broadsheets concerned legal and political aspects of the events. In Period 1 (2015), “The Danish crisis/dilemma” figures as the biggest category, with the second largest being “Measures to prevent flows of refugees”. The first includes articles about the Danish political discussion regarding the reception of refugees; the Denmark-Sweden debate is also included in this theme, i.e., the debate on whether the refugees should be allowed to travel freely to Sweden, as well as Denmark’s attempt to come to an agreement with that country about this matter. The second category consists of specific initiatives taken by the Danish government to hinder the flow of people on the move, such as advertisements in Lebanese newspapers and discussions within the EU regarding refugee quotas; notably, a significant part of this category is devoted to the quota debate. In Period 2 (2022), the largest category identified was “Accommodating the refugees”.

Similar to Period 1, it contained articles related to the political aspects of refugees' reception. In all of these themes the political aspect of the refugee "crises" was addressed.

Beyond that, a theme that stood out in the Danish media coverage was the "Humanitarian". In Period 1, it figures as the fourth largest category, while in Period 2 it is the second one, which indicates an increased focus on the aid to refugees in Period 2. Thus, the articles in this time frame approached how the Danish state and population have been willing to help Ukrainians fleeing the war. Furthermore, it was observed that refugees were often spoken about, yet their viewpoints were rarely represented. For instance, out of 266 articles in Period 1, only 21 contained statements from refugees. The same tendency was found in Period 2, where only five articles presented direct quotes from refugees. Thus, articles bringing personal accounts of refugees appeared as a minor category in both periods, with only seven news articles in Period 1, and four in Period 2 presenting refugees' voices.

8.5 *Jyllands-Posten* versus *Politiken*

The graphics below (Figures 9 and 10) demonstrate the distribution of the identified themes in both newspapers:

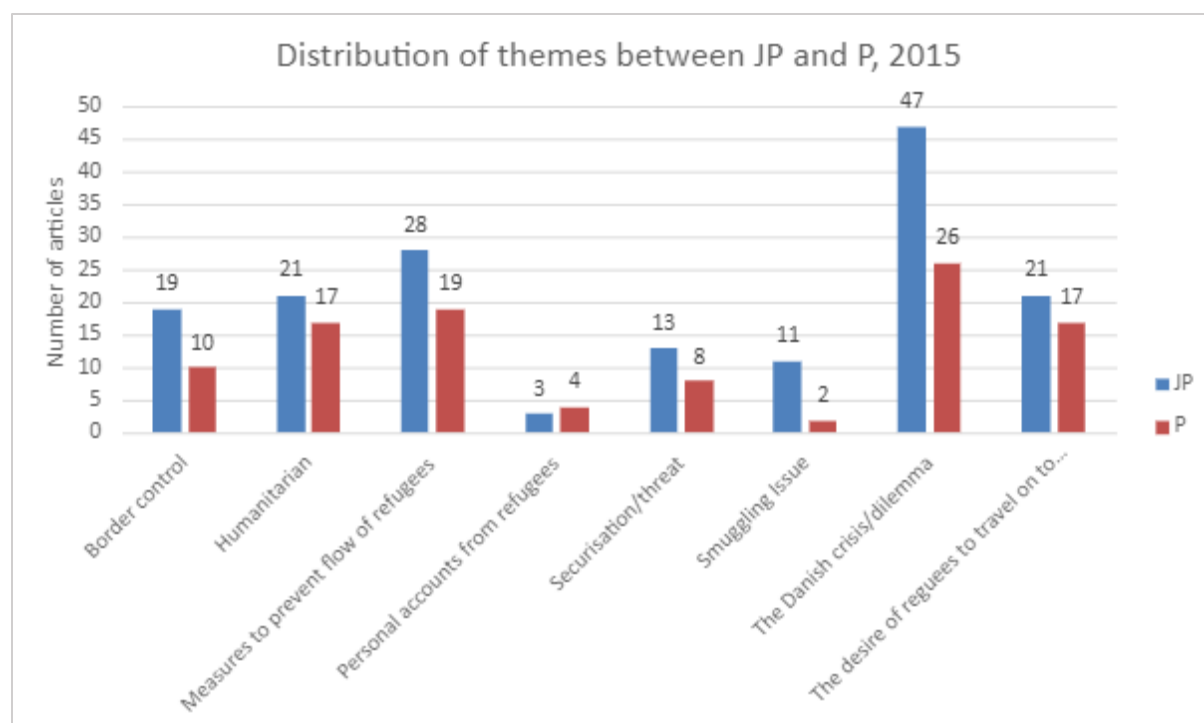


Figure 9: Number of articles published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken articles in 2015 divided by themes

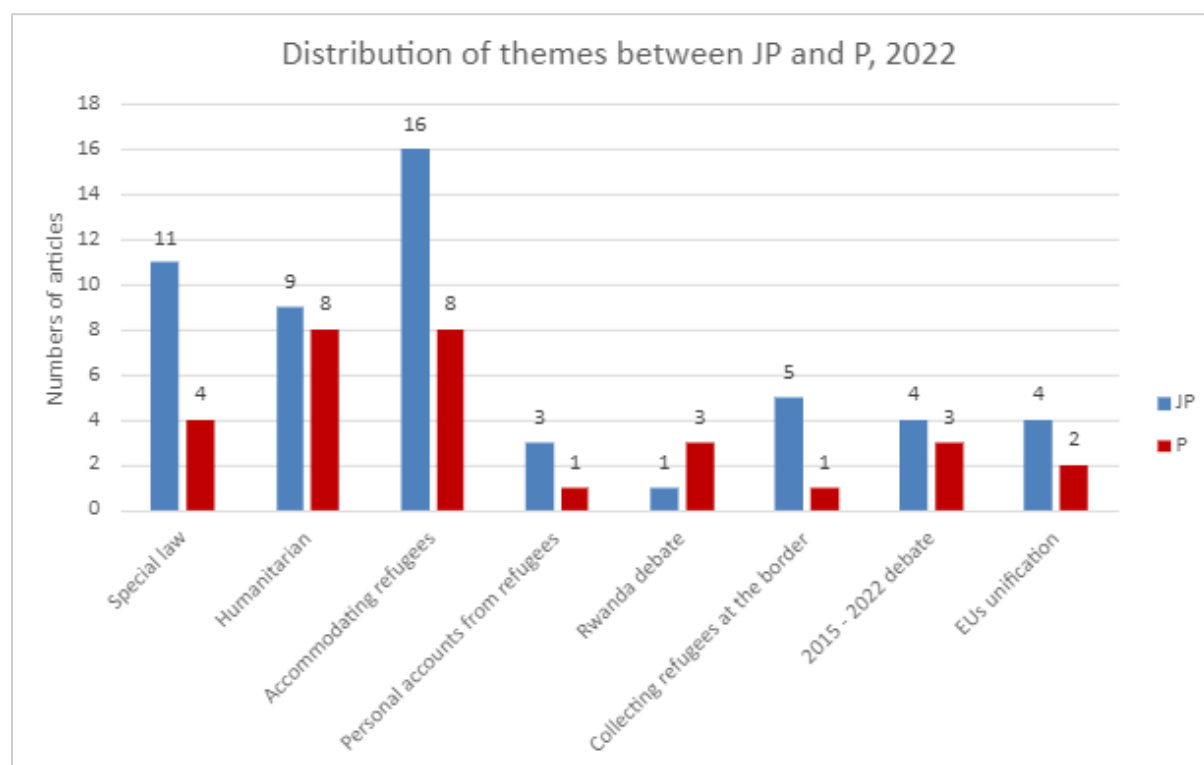


Figure 10: Number of articles published by Jyllands-Posten and Politiken articles in 2022 divided by themes

As prior mentioned, in both Period 1 and 2 there were significantly more articles from *Jyllands-Posten* compared to *Politiken*, which can be clearly seen in the figures above. Further, to better compare the categories across periods, we have created Table 6 below containing the numbers and percentages of news articles related to each theme across both time frames:

Identified themes in JP and P, 2015								
	Border control	Humanitarian	Measures to prevent flow of refugees	Personal accounts from refugees	Securisation/threat	Smuggling Issue	The Danish crisis/dilemma	The desire of refugees to travel on to Sweden
JP	19	21	28	3	13	11	47	21
% of 163	11.66%	12.88%	17.18%	1.84%	7.98%	6.75%	28.83%	12.88%
P	10	17	19	4	8	2	26	17
% of 103	9.71%	16.5	18.45	3.88	7.77	1.94	25.24	16.5
Total	29	38	47	7	21	13	73	38
% of 266	10.90%	14.29%	17.67%	2.63%	7.89%	4.89%	27.44%	14.29%
Identified themes in JP and P, 2022								
	Special law	Humanitarian	Accommodating refugees	Collecting refugees at the border	Rwanda debate	Collecting refugees at the border	2015 - 2022 debate	EUs unification
JP	11	9	16	3	1	5	4	4
% of 53	20.75%	16.98%	30.19%	5.66%	1.89%	9.43%	7.55%	7.55%
P	4	8	8	1	3	1	3	2
% of 30	13.33%	26.67%	26.67%	3.33%	10.00%	3.33%	10.00%	6.67%
Total	15	17	24	4	4	6	7	6
% of 83	18.07%	20.48%	28.92%	4.82%	4.82%	7.23%	8.43%	7.23%

Table 6: Percentage of news articles published by *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* in 2015 and 2022

It was noted that the broadsheets' coverage of refugees was similar in general, yet some aspects stood out. A tendency has been observed in the data regarding the tone of the reports, e.g., *Politiken*'s news coverage can be considered as slightly more positive towards refugees fleeing to/ in Denmark, and more critical about the different political responses. As shown above, in Period 1 the theme "Border control" takes up 11,59% of *Jyllands-Posten*'s news coverage, while it represents 9,8% in *Politiken*. Moreover, in Period 1 the category "Personal accounts from refugees", which is present in both periods, news articles from *Politiken* prevailed. Similarly, the critical approach regarding the "Rwanda debate" in Period 2 was also more dominant in *Politiken*'s news reports; this debate consisted in the questioning of whether refugees from Ukraine would be sent to Rwanda according to the Danish government's plan of establishing a reception centre for refugees in an African country.

8.6 Categorising articles

While assigning news articles to specific themes, it was noticed that some of them could fall between different categories or belong to multiple themes. In those cases, the themes were

attributed following the salience of the topics approached in the texts. As the selected categories were named generically, i.e., not taking the tone of the text into account, they contain articles which bring both positive and negative views towards people on the move. An example can be verified within the theme “Measures to prevent flows of refugees” in Period 1, where some texts describe initiatives taken by the Danish government and the EU, while others criticise them. Other examples of texts placed under this theme are: articles that criticised the government’s advertisement in Lebanese newspapers in 2015, the ones that chronically presented the numbers of refugees arriving in Denmark (also citing border control measures), and reports about the police control taking place across Danish borders.

Furthermore, under the theme “The desire of refugees to travel on to Sweden” in Period 1 are also texts which conveyed the perception that refugees were bringing trouble to Denmark by wanting to travel on to Sweden, as well as articles about refugees refusing to register in Denmark as they wished to seek asylum in Sweden, making the Danish police work challenging. This same theme includes also different points of view, e.g., some articles portrayed the refugees as ungrateful for not wishing to apply for asylum in DK, while others presented a more understanding tone.

The theme “Border control” in Period 1 also contains articles about settlement of refugees in Denmark, e.g., their placement in schools and sports halls, and the re-opening of asylum centres across the country.

In Period 2, for instance, the “Accommodating refugees” theme includes articles concerning specific initiatives that the Danish state has put into action to facilitate de settlement of refugees, such as creating a specific webpage with information just for refugees arriving from Ukraine. Moreover, the theme “Collecting refugees at the border” could have been placed under the “Humanitarian” theme, yet given the high number of articles about this topic, a new category was created.

Some of the words from the word frequency query results, as well as the themes identified in the content analysis, will be exemplified in the following frame analysis in order to support our arguments.

9. Frame analysis

Framing is the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public. Successful political communication requires the framing of events, issues, and actors in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one side while hindering the other (Entman, 2003, p. 417).

As framing is the research paradigm we have drawn upon in this study, in this section we will conduct a frame analysis of the selected news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, hereafter “JP” and “P”, within the researched time periods, the “refugee crisis” in 2015 (Period 1) and the influx of Ukrainian refugees in 2022 (Period 2) in Denmark, resorting to Entman’s method of identification of frames in a text. Thereby, we will attempt to uncover the role of the Danish media in constructing an argument to “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” regarding the two studied phenomena (Entman, 1993, p. 52). This analysis will serve to illustrate our quantitative findings, as previously mentioned. Furthermore, all the cited news articles can be found in Appendix I, where the extracted quotes have been highlighted.

9.1 Defining the problem(s)

9.1.1 In 2015: “Refugee crisis” or “Danish crisis”?

It can be argued that the word patterns which emerged from the quantitative analysis of the news articles in this period already point to what is considered the initial problem. Frequently cited words, such as “Denmark”, “refugees” (*flygtninge*), “migrants” (*migranter*), “police” (*politiet*), “train” (*tog*), “Rødby”, and “[Lars] Løkke” – the then Prime Minister of Denmark –, reflect the problematic scenario of uninterrupted flow of refugees towards – and already in – Denmark and the difficulty of dealing with the situation on the part of the Danish police and the Danish government. The headlines “Denmark: Hundreds on the run reach Rødby” (Danmark: Hundreder på flugt når Rødby – P1), “The third refugee train is on its way to Rødbyhavn” (Tredje flygtningetog er på vej til Rødbyhavn – JP1), “Chief of police sends a distress call to the politicians: Help us” (Politiformand sender nødråb til politikerne: Hjælp os – JP2), and “The Social Democrats: Do you even have a plan for refugees, Løkke?” (Socialdemokraterne: Har du

overhovedet en flygtningeplan, Løkke? – JP3) are just a few examples among many others that clearly frame the circumstances in the beginning of September 2015. Here, it can be argued, the securitisation/threat frame became predominant.

Thus, it can be observed that the greatest concerns were not of a humanitarian character, but on adopting measures to prevent further flows of refugees from reaching the country, i.e., the newcomers were the problem that needed to be managed. This is illustrated by a substantial number of articles from both broadsheets over the whole researched period in 2015, such as “The police orders all train operations to be suspended between Denmark and Germany” (Politiet beordrer al togdrift indstillet mellem Danmark og Tyskland – P2), and “Refugee flow results in extra control at the Danish-German border” (Flygtningestrøm giver ekstra kontrol ved dansk-tysk-grænse – JP4), as well as in the following sentence from the latter (our translation⁴):

Control at the Danish-German border has been tightened due to the unusually large number of migrants and refugees who were stopped by the police on Monday at the train station in Padborg, a few kilometres from the border. **(JP4)**

Besides the unstoppable influx of refugees and the struggle to prevent it – which can be named as “measures to prevent the flow of refugees frame” –, another problem suddenly emerges in the media narratives: the desire of refugees to travel on to Sweden and, consequently, their refusal to be registered as asylum seekers in Denmark. Although, at first, this does not seem to characterize a problem – and one could even argue that it is positive for a country with restrictive immigration policies like Denmark –, the Dublin Convention rules hindered the free transit of refugees through the country, which resulted in several dilemmas for the Danish government. The quantitative analysis anticipated the high salience of the topic, revealing the strong presence in the media texts of words, such as “Sweden” (*Sverige*), “continue [to Sweden]” (*videre*), “walks” (*går/vandrer*; as refugees were walking on Danish highways trying to reach Sweden), and again “train” (used in this context due to the refusal of refugees to leave the trains to be registered in Denmark, once they wished to continue the travel to Sweden). According to the Danish media narratives, the issue promoted chaos in the country, thus a significant number of articles approached the problem both from the state – especially the police – and the refugees’ perspectives, albeit emphasizing state

⁴ The subsequent quotes in this thesis were translated by the researchers as well.

sources over refugees' voices. Some examples are "Wandering refugees block the Southern Jutland highway" (Vandrende flygtninge spærrer sønderjysk motorvej – JP5), "Refugees refuse to leave train carriage in Rødbyhavn" (Flygtninge nægter at forlade togvogn i Rødbyhavn – P3), "The dream of Sweden burst in Rødby" (Drømmen om Sverige brast i Rødby – P4), and "That's why the refugees fear having their fingerprints taken" (Derfor frygter flygtningene at få taget deres fingeraftryk – P5). The latter encapsulates the situation:

Many of the newly arrived people would like to apply for asylum in Sweden, but this cannot be done if they have first started their case in Denmark (...).

Some of the refugees who ran away from the police in Rødby yesterday had bought tickets on to Sweden, which, according to both the Swedish police and statements from asylum seekers, is a more attractive country to seek residence in. This may be due, among other things, to shorter case processing times and better opportunities for family reunification, and that the refugees have family in the country. **(P5)**

Notably, while some stories highlighted the refugees' wish to travel to Sweden, others focused on their categorical rejection of staying in Denmark, which could be interpreted as ingratitude by readers. This can be illustrated by the headlines "I just want to get out of this country" (»Jeg vil bare ud af det her land« - P6), "I don't want to live in Denmark" (»Jeg vil ikke bo i Danmark« - P7), and "Well, what will happen when they don't want to apply for asylum?" (Jamen hvad så, når de ikke vil søge asyl? – P8). This matter will be further discussed in the subsection about moral judgments. Further, it is worth mentioning that the Danish government published advertisements in Lebanese newspapers during this period warning potential asylum seekers of the harsh Danish immigration policies, i.e., aiming at making the country less attractive to people on the move, which might explain their unwillingness to seek asylum in Denmark. It is also noteworthy that the government's announcement provoked criticisms from the NGO Danish Refugee Aid, as well as reactions from ordinary citizens, who in response also placed an advertisement in Lebanese broadsheets apologizing for the attitude of Danish politicians and showing support for the refugees, as reported in the news article "Danish counter-campaign underway in Lebanon" (Dansk modkampagne på vej i Libanon – P9).

In parallel with the registration problem, the "smuggling" issue attracted a great deal of media attention, as ordinary citizens were helping refugees driving them to/across Danish borders to

Sweden, which was considered human smuggling by the police. Thus, Denmark's residents who offered what they believed to be humanitarian aid to refugees were suddenly committing an illegal act and being punished. Here, it can be argued that there was a frame transition from humanitarianism to criminality when we zoom in on news reports, such as "Sailed refugee to Sweden: 'There are prison-like conditions in asylum camps'" (Sejlede flygtning til Sverige: » Der er fængselslignende tilstande i asyллеjre« - JP6), "Man arrested for driving refugees to Sweden ferry" (Mand anholdt for at køre flygtninge til sverigesfærge – JP7), and "Still illegal to pick up refugees in the car" (Stadig ulovligt at tage flygtninge med i bilen – P10). Although some articles clarify the good intentions of the civil society in helping refugees, the term "smuggling" is widely chosen to describe it. One example can be found in the passage from *Politiken*'s report "Criticism: Sweden and Germany indirectly reprove Danish asylum policy" (Kritik: Sverige og Tyskland revser indirekte dansk asylpolitik – P11):

In the past week, 15 Swedes have been arrested for smuggling refugees from Denmark to Sweden. **(P11)**

The following sentence from *Jyllands-Posten*'s article "Human smuggler or just plain humane?" (Menneskesmugler eller bare helt almindelig medmenneskelig? – JP8) underlines the criminal nature of the acts:

Most people call it civil disobedience, but in fact some of the actions that people have carried out quite openly and also often displayed on Facebook are illegal. And to such an extent that it can lead to up to two years in prison. **(JP8)**

Apart from the (illegal) help offered to refugees by ordinary citizens, other humanitarian actions were reported as well. For context, it was also at the beginning of September 2015 that the image of the corpse of the Syrian child Alan Kurdi made global headlines. However, the vast majority of articles published by both broadsheets reflect solidarity and help coming mostly from civil society, volunteers, activists, NGOs, and so forth, not from politicians, implying that in the eyes of state actors the refugees were not in such need of help and protection. This is made clear in articles, e.g.; "When civil society rises up" (Når civilsamfundet rejser sig – P12), "After all, there was no one from the official side who wanted to help them" (»Der var jo ikke nogen fra officiel side, der ville hjælpe dem« - JP9), "Analysis: The people against the politicians" (Analyse:

Folket mod politikerne – P13), and “30,000 gathered at Christiansborg Palace Square: ‘Refugees are welcome here!’” (30.000 samlet på Christiansborg Slotsplads: »Flygtninge er velkomne her!« - P14).

The overall problem, given the number of articles published by both newspapers on the “refugee pressure”, seemed to be that Denmark was under pressure regarding the reception and distribution of refugees and facing its own crisis being the one in need of aid, along with the EU, as politicians and media repeatedly stated that the European asylum system was “in collapse”. This could be called the “Danish crisis/dilemma frame” (rather than the “refugee crisis frame”) endorsed by the opinion of elites, e.g., experts. The following news reports illustrate this matter: “Professor: The EU's asylum plan will have big consequences for Denmark” (Professor: EU's asylplan får stor betydning for Danmark – JP10) and “EU proposals challenge Denmark's asylum policy” (EU-forslag udfordrer Danmarks asylpolitik – JP11). The latter summarizes in the sub-headline and first paragraph what was considered the problem:

Denmark may become a magnet for refugees, as a new EU proposal puts Denmark in a Dublin dilemma.

A new asylum policy headache may be on the way for the Danish government when the EU Commission presents a proposal on Wednesday for a common distribution key for the massive refugee flows in the EU. (JP11)

9.1.2 In 2022: Is there a problem?

In the case of Ukraine, it can be argued that the problem framed by the Danish media, which is the main focus of most news articles analysed in Period 2, was how to ensure that Ukrainian refugees were welcomed, helped, protected and integrated into the society in the face of and despite the restrictive Danish asylum policies (although there were not only Ukrainian citizens fleeing Ukraine). One could point out that this does not sound like a troublesome issue, and indeed it was noticed that the matter was not framed as a problem, but the main concern of the government and civil society as well. As Ukraine is not part of the EU, the refugees would have to apply for asylum in Denmark and meet several conditions before they were granted access to the Danish labour market or Danish welfare benefits.

This context is mirrored by some of the most frequently used words in *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*'s reports within the analysed period, namely, [Mattias] “Tesfaye” – current Justice Minister of Denmark –, “help” (*hjælpe*), and “the government” (*regeringen*), revealed by the quantitative analysis. Among a variety of reports on the topic, it could be mentioned: “Majority in the Danish Parliament is ready to accept Ukrainian refugees” (Flertal i Folketinget er klar til at modtage ukrainske flygtninge – P15), “The Conservatives want to give all Ukrainians special permits” (De Konservative vil give alle ukrainere sær-tilladelse – JP12), “Ukrainians should not be isolated in an asylum centre, believes the political majority” (Ukrainere skal ikke isoleres på et asylcenter, mener politisk flertal – JP13), and “A Ukrainian family has fled the war and moved into a children's room in Silkeborg” (En ukrainsk familie er flygtet fra krigen og flyttet ind på et børneværelse i Silkeborg – P16). The following quotes from the last three articles illustrate the humanitarian character of the news articles (the first quote is present in the first two articles from *Jyllands-Posten*), respectively:

“(…) The most important thing is that they know that if they come to Denmark, they will not have to sit in an asylum centre. They will be warmly welcomed, and they can go directly into society, where they will be welcomed”. Marcus Knuth, the former Conservatives' immigration spokesperson. **(JP12 & JP13)**

In addition to shelter, Halyna Oleksandrivna has also collected donations from Danish friends and acquaintances and used her own savings to buy, among other things, diapers, painkillers and stockings sent to Ukraine. **(P16)**

Indeed, the humanitarianism frame is notably present in Danish media narratives in Period 2. It is worth mentioning that besides providing refuge and donations, Denmark residents were voluntarily collecting Ukrainian refugees at the Polish-Ukrainian border. Here, both news contributors have largely stressed the reasons why these were legal acts explaining that Ukrainians do not need a visa to enter the EU, i.e., they can stay legally in Denmark for three months, thus there is no requirement for them to be registered as asylum seekers if they are in the country on a tourist visa. The reports “Refugee chaos, yes, but no division in the EU” (Flygtningekaos ja, men ingen splid i EU – JP14) and “At the border in Poland, helpers are ready to pick up war refugees to Denmark” (På grænsen i Polen står hjælpere klar til at hente krigsflygtninge til Danmark – JP15) illustrate the circumstances in the following sentences, respectively:

In contrast to, for example, Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans, Ukrainians also have access to any EU country without a visa for 90 days. This makes it practically easier for Ukrainians to cross the borders and travel on to family members elsewhere in Europe and apply for asylum there. **(JP14)**

Several passenger cars are on their way from Denmark, and on Monday the Danish-Ukrainian organizers in Denmark will also send a bus to pick up refugees here at the border post (...). **(JP15)**

It can be argued that the emphasis of the Danish media on this topic is also a reference to the 2015 refugee flow and the “smuggling” issue, once helping refugees to cross the Danish border was considered illegal and condemned by the police. At the time, unregistered refugees willing to travel on to, for example, Sweden were regarded as illegal in Denmark as they did not have a visa.

In the analysed texts, it was also observed that shortly before the arrival of Ukrainian refugees in the country, the Danish media sought to problematize the refugees’ reception/asylum matter by bringing up the “Rwanda debate” in the news agenda, i.e., the discussion about the reception centre which since 2019 the Danish government has been working to establish in Africa for all refugees. One could claim that this was a means of exposing the government’s discriminatory behaviour by questioning politicians whether Ukrainian refugees would be sent to Rwanda to have their asylum processed, if the government's plans came true.

It is worthy of note that this criticism was raised mainly by *Politiken*’s articles which, one might say, carry an ironic tone as in “Both the opposition and the support party are clear: the Prime Minister will not answer whether Ukrainian refugees are going to Rwanda” (Både opposition og støtteparti er klare i spytet: Statsministeren vil ikke svare på om ukrainske flygtninge skal til Rwanda – P17), “The government is preparing to receive Ukrainian refugees. But can they end up in Rwanda?” (Regeringen gør klar til at modtage ukrainske flygtninge. Men kan de ende i Rwanda? – JP16), and “On one significant point the Ukraine war has changed the government's immigration policy” (På ét markant punkt har Ukraine-krigen ændret regeringens udlændingepolitik – JP17). The critical approach is illustrated in the passages from the latter:

It is a significant change in both rhetoric and realpolitik compared to previous announcements. Only a year ago, the prime minister said that the aim of the government's immigration policy was zero asylum seekers.

(...) If the government closes an agreement with Rwanda, while thousands of Ukrainians are seeking asylum and protection in Denmark, will they go to... Rwanda? Mette Frederiksen would not answer that (...). **(JP17)**

In addition to the “Rwanda debate”, the government’s ‘immediate area’ argument for helping Ukrainian refugees, including creating a special law, was broadly discussed in the Danish media, which was demonstrated by the high frequency of the word *nærområde* in the content analysis. Thereby, both broadsheets published a significant number of reports prioritizing state sources, who repeatedly argued that by having a policy which states that refugees must primarily be helped in the surrounding areas, the Danish government has a special obligation to help the Ukrainians. This issue was also problematized and criticized by both news outlets, once the welcoming attitude towards Ukrainian refugees was seen as a stark contrast to the treatment given to refugees from Middle East and Africa in prior influxes. The government’s chief argument and the media’s criticism are explicit in, among others, the reports “EU countries support Ukrainian refugees' access to work” (EU-lande støtter ukrainske flygtninges adgang til arbejde – JP18), “Majority in the Danish Parliament is ready to accept Ukrainian refugees” (Flertal i Folketinget er klar til at modtage ukrainske flygtninge – P15), and “On one significant point the Ukraine war has changed the government's immigration policy” (På ét markant punkt har Ukraine-krigen ændret regeringens udlændingepolitik – JP17), where the following passages can be highlighted, respectively:

According to Tesfaye, Denmark and the other EU countries have a special obligation to help the Ukrainians. This is because they are fleeing from a country in Denmark's immediate area. He rejects all talk that you are racist if you would rather help Ukrainians than people fleeing from the Middle East. **(JP18)**

A broad majority in the Folketing generally wants as few foreigners as possible to come to Denmark. Instead, the position is that Denmark must help in the surrounding areas. This crisis, however, is different. **(P15)**

If you draw a circle of just over 2,000 kilometres from Denmark's southern border on a map, it will hit both Donbas in eastern Ukraine, but also the northern borders of Tunisia and Algeria. This raises the question of what an immediate area actually is. **(JP17)**

9.2 Identifying the causes

9.2.1 *In 2015: Refugees, Germany and the EU*

“[F]rames exert their power through the selective description and omission of the features of a situation” (Edelman, 1993, as cited in Entman, 1993, p. 54). Thus, it was noticed that most of the analysed texts do not mention war, violence, and persecution in the refugees’ countries of origin as the causes of the flow in Period 1. As observed earlier, in the Danish media narratives the general problem seems to be the “Danish crisis/dilemma” and the causal explanation, the influx of refugees. This is explicit in the following passages from the articles “Lars Løkke: Other countries must take responsibility” (Lars Løkke: Andre lande må tage ansvaret på sig – P18) and “After refugee pressure: Asylum centres are opening in Denmark here” (Efter flygtningepres: Her åbnes asylcentre i Danmark – JP19), respectively:

Lars Løkke Rasmussen's message comes after a day when the European refugee crisis plunged Denmark into a state of chaos that is completely unfamiliar to an orderly, Nordic welfare society. **(P18)**

After the dramatic refugee and migrant pressure on Denmark over the past few weeks, the Danish Immigration Service has chosen to open or reopen four asylum centres around the country. **(JP19)**

Nonetheless, a perusal of the news reporting from Period 1 shows that refugees do not seem to stand alone as the cause of Denmark’s problems and dilemmas; the responsibility also falls on other actors in different levels, namely, Germany and the European Commission. It could be argued that the former is portrayed as the cause of the “crisis” and chaos in the country at the national level, while the latter is depicted as responsible for the Danish dilemma at the global level. This was firstly demonstrated by the quantitative analysis, which showed the rather high frequency

of the words “Germany” (*Tyskland*) and “Dublin” in the texts, pointing to the massive coverage of the themes by the Danish media in the analysed period.

Accordingly, the media narratives on Germany as the cause of the problem – as the country was blamed for opening its borders taking in thousands of refugees, facilitating thus their access to Denmark – can be identified in a variety of articles, which also prioritize state voices, e.g., “Thulesen: Send more refugees back to Germany” (Thulesen: Send flere flygtninge tilbage til Tyskland – JP20), “The refugee crisis has reached Denmark: Here are the politicians' reactions” (Flygtningekrisen er nået til Danmark: Her er politikernes reaktioner – JP21), and “DF wants a control that could lead to more refugees” (DF ønsker en kontrol, der kan medføre flere flygtninge – JP22). The last two texts bring the following sentences that delineate the media discourse and its sources, respectively:

The refugee crisis is developing almost hour by hour. Over the weekend, Germany opened its borders and welcomed thousands of refugees and migrants, and on Sunday several hundred arrived in Denmark by ferry and train, leading to turmoil in Rødby. **(JP21)**

“At the moment there are people walking up the highway from Rødby towards Copenhagen (...). But everything is in complete chaos now. Germany has thrown Europe into a major crisis, which they must clean up themselves. We have no obligation to take people who come from Germany”. Søren Espersen, deputy chairman of the Danish People's Party at the time. **(JP22)**

As observed, the responsible for Denmark's problems at the global level after the Danish media narratives seems to be the EU Commission, which proposed a common (mandatory) distribution quota of refugees between the member states in an attempt to solve the refugee “crisis”, thereby, compelling the Scandinavian country into an arduous dilemma. Thus, the Danish government became under pressure to choose between standing completely outside the Dublin Convention (meaning that Denmark would no longer be allowed to return rejected asylum seekers to some of the other Dublin-countries, i.e., countries that are part of the cooperation) or taking a share of the common refugee binding quotas in order to continue to be part of the Dublin regulation. In this context, the term “refugee magnet”, which carries a negative connotation, was broadly adopted by both Danish newspapers to describe the possible outcome of Denmark's exit

of the Dublin agreement, further stressing the seriousness of the problem. Among others, the articles “EU proposals on the distribution of refugees challenge Denmark's asylum policy” (EU-forslag om fordeling af flygtninge udfordrer Danmarks asylpolitik – P19) and “Quotas or refugee magnet? This is the parties' opinions” (Kvoter eller flygtninge-magnet? Det mener partierne – P20) emphasize the intricate situation faced by the Danish government. From these texts, the following passages can be highlighted, respectively:

When the EU Commission on Wednesday presents a proposal for a common distribution key for the massive refugee flows in the EU, it may be the beginning of a new asylum policy headache for the Danish government (...).

But the EU proposal may still push Denmark into a dilemma if it is adopted. **(P19)**

Accept EU refugee quotas or leave the Dublin cooperation. According to government notes, Denmark may end up facing that dilemma (...). **(P20)**

9.2.2 *In 2022: Are causes/responsibilities as relevant in this “crisis”?*

In period 2, it was observed that the Danish media was unanimous about the cause of the arrival of refugees in Denmark, namely, the Russian invasion of Ukraine that triggered a war in the country, with Russian President Vladimir Putin solely responsible. While the causal explanation for the refugee flow was largely cited by both broadsheets – which was earlier indicated by the frequency of the words “Russia/Russian” (*Rusland/Russiske*), “the war” (*krigen*), and “invasion” in the content analysis –, it can be claimed that the discussions about cause/responsible for the “crisis” were not considered to be as relevant in the media narratives, since Ukrainian refugees were remarkably welcomed in Denmark.

In other words, as it seems that this refugee flow was not perceived as a problem by the Danish government, one may argue that there was no need to emphasize causes and responsibilities to, e.g., justify a possible rejection of asylum seekers once Ukrainians were well-accepted in the Scandinavian country and Europe in general. Some of the many articles and passages which mention the reason for the arrivals are “Majority in the Danish Parliament is ready to accept Ukrainian refugees” (Flertal i Folketinget er klar til at modtage ukrainske flygtninge – P15) and

“The first Ukrainians have arrived in Denmark after the invasion” (De første ukrainere er kommet til Danmark efter invasion – JP23), respectively:

Ukraine is subject to a "full invasion" perpetrated by Russia, and therefore Denmark is ready to assist any refugees who may seek refuge. **(P15)**

A few days after Russia launched an invasion of Ukraine, the first Ukrainians have fled to Denmark (...).

The war between Russia and Ukraine broke out when Russia launched an invasion of the Ukrainian neighbour on Thursday night. **(JP23)**

9.3 Conveying moral judgments

9.3.1 *In 2015: Refugees or migrants?*

Surprisingly, almost in half of the articles from Period 1 journalists employ the terms “refugees” and “migrants” (*flygtninge og migranter*) together and/or interchangeably when referring to people on the move. As previously clarified in this study, these labels are denotatively different regarding the reasons behind the decision to leave the country of origin and legal status. Thereby, the media’s choice of terminology should not be taken for granted, once the term “migrant”, especially, can carry negative connotations. When used in conjunction with “refugee”, it serves to underline their dissimilarities, which may lead to misperceptions of these individuals, hence, value judgements and considerations about the deservingness of aid on the part of the reader. Thus, this could shift the focus from other problems, such as the need for help and protection by people on the move. Moreover, conflating these two terms or using them as synonyms might reinforce prejudices weakening society’s empathy and support towards them.

This said, one might wonder what evidence Danish journalists had to claim – through the systematic employment of the label “migrant” in the texts – that there were so many migrants “infiltrated” in the refugee flows, while the police did not appear to be in full control of the situation, i.e., in a scenario where many people refused to be registered in Denmark and also crossed borders unnoticed, it might have been difficult to generate these statistics. Although this

inquiry remains unanswered, a great deal of news articles conflates the terms “refugees” and “migrants” with *Jyllands-Posten* reporting in this way three times as often as *Politiken*. Further, the former occasionally employed the term “migrant” alone to refer to people on the move, as well as “migrant flows” (*migrantstrømme*) and “migrant challenge” (*migrantudfordring*) rather than the consolidated expressions “refugee flows” and “refugee crisis”. The passages from the following news articles illustrate the choice of terminologies by both broadsheets: “Officers remove children against their parents' will from trains in Rødby” (Betjente fjerner børn mod forældrenes vilje fra tog i Rødby – JP24) and “Refugees are turning away. The Southern Jutland motorway has now reopened” (Flygtninge drejer af: Den sønderjyske motorvej er nu genåbnet – P21), respectively:

The migrants who are in the two trains continue to refuse to get out, just as they refuse to receive help from the police. **(JP24)**

(...) [S]ince Sunday morning, around 3,000 migrants and refugees have crossed the Danish border. **(P21)**

In addition, it was observed the employment of the term “illegal” to a certain extent in the media texts also in expressions, such as “illegal immigrant” (*illegal indvandrer*) and “illegal entrant” (*illegalt indrejste*), to describe refugees who did not want to seek asylum in Denmark. Institutions such as the European Parliament and the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) have long considered these terms discriminatory, offensive, and outdated calling on EU institutions and member states to stop using them, and instead to refer to “irregular” or “undocumented” migrants, which is more neutral not carrying the stigmatisation of the term “illegal” (PICUM, n.d.). For instance, in the news report “Illegal foreigners must face a judge, go to Germany or be released” (Illegale udlændinge skal for en dommer, til Tyskland eller slippes fri – JP25), the journalist uses the expression “illegal immigrants” extensively throughout the text attributing it a rather pejorative tone. This is also perceived in the explanatory article about the different terminologies employed by the media and its sources, “Facts: Migrant, refugee or asylum seeker” (Fakta: Migrant, flygtning eller asylansøger – JP26):

* Illegal immigrant: A person who enters a country illegally and bypasses the authorities. **(JP26)**

It can be claimed that the same derogatory connotation was conveyed by journalists through the choice of expressions like “refugee invasion” (*flygtningeinvasionen*), “these people” (*disse mennesker*) and “asylum shopping” (*asylshopping*) further contributing to the dehumanisation of the refugees as an uncontrollable mass, promoting the social group categorisation of “us” (host countries) and “them” (refugees), and perpetuating their image as exploiters of the welfare state. This became apparent in a considerable number of reports, e.g., “Residents of Rødbyhavn hardly felt the 'refugee invasion'” (Beboere i Rødbyhavn mærkede næsten ikke 'flygtningeinvasionen' – P22), “Well, what will happen when they don't want to apply for asylum?” (Jamen hvad så, når de ikke vil søge asyl? – P8), and “Refugees get political help to come to Sweden, but not to Finland” (Flygtninge får politisk hjælp til at komme til Sverige, men ikke til Finland – JP27), and can be exemplified by the following passages from the last two articles, respectively:

But what does Denmark do with these people? (...)

But then there is the group that we can call category 2. These are all those who do not want to apply for asylum in Denmark. The silent, the denying, the wandering. **(P8)**

The latest version of the set of rules is from 2003 and was created to avoid so-called asylum shopping, where a person, after being refused in one country, tries to get to another country (...). **(JP27)**

Likewise, it can be argued that the employment of the adjectives “the silent, the denying, the wandering” in the first passage, as well as the term “asylum shopping” in the second, leads to negative associations as this wording may frame refugees as ungrateful and opportunists, e.g., for denying the government/police help (when in fact the uncertainty about the asylum processing in Denmark and fear of being returned might be among the motives for the refusal) and for conveniently applying for asylum in Europe/Scandinavia based primarily on the financial benefits that the welfare state would offer them (while these choices might have been governed by other reasons, such as the search for a more refugee-friendly country). As mentioned previously, the headlines “I just want to get out of this country” (»Jeg vil bare ud af det her land« - P6), “I don't want to live in Denmark” (»Jeg vil ikke bo i Danmark« - P7), and “Why not Denmark?” (Hvorfor

ikke Danmark? – JP28) may reinforce these moral evaluations especially when ratified by the discourse of state voices, e.g., the then Minister of Immigration and Integration Inger Støjberg, as expressed in the article “Støjberg on disappointed refugees: Ungrateful” (Støjberg om skuffede flygtninge: Utaknemmelige – JP29). Despite the tone of ingratitude that the first two headlines – which can be considered misleading – may imply, it is only by looking through the texts that the reader realises the, one might claim, reasonable motivations behind the declarations, i.e., family reunification in Sweden and uncertainty about the asylum processing in Denmark, as explained in the following quote from the refugee Mohamad in the second news article mentioned above:

“I don't want to live in Denmark (...). I don't think about the money or the discussions in Denmark. I think about my own future. I have a fiancé in Syria whom I love. I would like to have her here, but I know that the [asylum] processing in Denmark are getting longer and longer”. (P7)

Within the researched period, it was observed that only a few articles have resorted to refugees as sources, that is, they were mostly spoken about by state voices and media outlets analysed in this thesis. Interestingly, in nearly all these news reports the interviewees were predominantly young men (e.g., in the second and third articles cited above), which might give the impression that they were not war refugees, but economic migrants or even terrorists. Thereby, one could argue that this way of portraying people on the move combined with what could be considered as disturbing publications, such as “PET: There may be extremists among the refugees” (PET: Der kan være ekstremister blandt flygtningene – JP30), “Can the wrong ones be hiding in the refugee flow?” (Kan de forkerte gemme sig i flygtningestrømmen? – JP31), and “Intelligence warning: Islamists are trying to recruit asylum seekers” (Efterretningsadvarsel: Islamister prøver at hverve asylansøgerne – P23), might contribute to the consolidation of stereotypes and prejudices towards people on the move as they are at risk of being perceived as a threat.

Moreover, it can be claimed that the rejecting behaviour of society which may follow with this perception can be further reinforced when validated by expert sources as in the article “Professor: It will be difficult to integrate Syrians” (Professor: Det bliver svært at integrere syrerne – JP32). Here, based on a statistic which shows that only 13% of Syrians who have come to Denmark as refugees between 2009 and mid-2013 were employed, the professor Jacob Arendt from the Danish Institute for Local and Regional Government Research (KORA) concludes:

“It will be a big challenge to integrate the Syrian refugees both because of their level of education and because they come in such large numbers. At the same time, experience shows that education brought from one’s home country is rarely effective when it comes to getting a job”. (JP32)

9.3.2 In 2022: Instant refugee label

Regarding terminology, in Period 2 the media outlets analysed in this study have employed exclusively the term “refugees” (*flygtninge*) in their coverage to refer to people fleeing the war in Ukraine. Thus, the few mentions of the label “migrants” (*migranter*) – conflated with the term “refugees” – occurred to allude to people on the move in the 2015 and 2020 flows; the term was utilized to quote a letter from the Danish Immigration Office as well. This is illustrated in the following news articles “The Syrians walked on the highway - Ukrainians get a train ticket. Why the difference?” (Syernerne gik på motorvejen - ukrainere får en togbillet. Hvorfor den forskel? – JP33), “On one significant point, the Ukraine war has changed the government's immigration policy” (På ét markant punkt har Ukraine-krigen ændret regeringens udlændingepolitik – JP17), and “Warning: We may face a large influx of refugees” (Varsel: Vi kan stå over for stor flygtningestrøm – P24), which bring the subsequent sentences:

This was not the case in 2015, when refugees from Syria and migrants from a number of other countries arrived in Europe and Denmark. (JP33)

It was in March 2020. (...) Hundreds of refugees and migrants knocked on the door of the EU's borders (...). (JP17)

"Denmark may, however, depending on the security development in Ukraine, risk facing a large influx of migrants and asylum seekers", says the letter. (P24)

It is noteworthy that *Politiken* chose in the last article to employ the expression “influx of refugees” in its headline, rather than “influx of migrants and asylum seekers” used by the Immigration Office in the letter addressed to the Danish municipalities. In this way, it could be said that by doing so *Politiken* has maintained consistency since the term “migrant” has not been employed in its publications in Period 2 to describe people fleeing from Ukraine.

Moreover, in Period 2 it was observed the wide use of various expressions in the media texts to refer to Ukrainian refugees and the situation in their country of origin, e.g., “war ravaged country” (*krigshærgede land*), “war-stricken country” (*krigsramte land*), “war refugees” (*Krigsflygtninge*), and “victims of war” (*krigs ofre*). Thereby, one could argue that through these language choices the Danish media sought to lay emphasis on the tragedy and plight of refugees from Ukraine contributing to enhance solidarity towards them. The article “At the Polish borders, helpers are ready to bring war refugees to Denmark” (På grænsen i Polen står hjælpere klar til at hente krigsflygtninge til Danmark – JP15) is one of the reports, among many others, where this phrasing is employed:

A motorcade of nine cars with Danish number plates (...) arrived on Saturday at the Medyka border crossing on the Polish-Ukrainian border to help desperate war refugees to Denmark. (JP15)

Notwithstanding the humanitarianism frame was more recurrent in Danish media narratives in this period, it was noticed that *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* have primarily selected state actors rather than refugees’ voices as sources for most of their reports.

Certainly, the portrayal of Ukrainian refugees in the media narratives can be considered rather positive and this is reflected by a substantial number of reports from both broadsheets. The texts made clear the sentiment of unity and solidarity in Denmark and across Europe, rather than division. Notedly, several times journalists made a point of highlighting this matter by comparing it with the “refugee crisis” of 2015 as well as sought to explain the differences in treatment between refugees from Ukraine and from, for example, Syria. Here, the arguments of “immediate area” (explained previously) and identification of the Danes with the Ukrainian people were employed to a great extent in the media discourses, endorsed by experts and state sources’ rhetoric. Further, the “unification frame”, i.e., the sentiment that the war in Ukraine is unifying Europe rather than splitting it, was widely employed by the media, e.g., in the analytical article “Refugee chaos, yes, but no division in the EU” (Flygtningekaos ja, men ingen splid i EU – JP14), where the journalist from *Jyllands-Posten* writes about how Europe frustrated Putin’s plans and also seeks to explain why the Ukrainian refugee “crisis” is different. The following sentences can be underlined:

There are several reasons why Europe is speaking with one clear voice this time when it comes to accepting refugees, in contrast to the refugee crisis of 2015-2016 (...). First, it should be emphasized that the two refugee crises are different. (...) [T]his time they [EU and neighbouring countries] are better equipped for the task of helping millions of refugees on the run (...).

Putin had of course thought that such violent refugee flows as we are seeing from Ukraine right now would cause the EU countries to quarrel. Make the unity crumble. But he was wrong. **(JP14)**

One of the reasons stated by the journalist is that in 2015 Europe was somewhat unprepared for the massive flow of what he calls “illegal refugees and migrants” mainly from Middle East countries. Firstly, it is surprising that the term “illegal”, which carries a discriminatory connotation as mentioned above, is now employed also to describe refugees although they are entitled to protection under international law. Secondly, one could argue that the unpreparedness argument is not a convincing one since, e.g., the civil war in Syria began in 2011 and by 2013 the number of refugees living in camps in neighbouring countries like Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon had exceeded 2 million people (UNHCR, n.d.-b). Thereby, it can be also speculated whether the journalist’s perception is a result of a possible normalization of war and violence in non-European countries by the Western media.

A further attempt to explain the difference in treatment between Ukrainian and Middle East refugees is seen in the report “The Syrians walked on the highway - Ukrainians get a train ticket. Why the difference?” (Syrrerne gik på motorvejen - ukrainere får en togbillet. Hvorfor den forskel? – JP33). Here, the journalist resorted to expert sources that relied on the arguments of “immediate area”, identification and integration to justify and also criticize the distinction. These discussions were made clear in the following passages and the moral evaluations became evident through the contrasting opinions as well:

The question is why do we make a difference and is it okay to make a difference? (...). “[Ukrainians] are Europeans like us, and they are Christians (...). When Russia attacks Ukraine, we also perceive it as an attack on Western values and ideology. It is about our immediate area. It is a war in Europe, which is crucial”. Rasmus Glenthøj, Historian at the University of Southern Denmark. **(JP33)**

“(...) Ukrainians who live in Denmark have been good at integrating: they buy houses here, they establish themselves, they speak Danish (...). When we closed in on ourselves [in 2015], it wasn't people - it was hordes. The rhetoric was that we were swamped. Now we see the man behind it again. These are people who look like us (...). And then we're probably all in shock that it can happen so close to us”. Henrik Stubkjær, bishop of the Viborg Diocese. **(JP33)**

“It shows that we make a difference between people. There was also great helpfulness in 2015, but there was also extreme prejudice (...). Because they had a different skin colour, a different culture, way of life and religion, we were generally less inclined to help them (...). In a way, it is understandable that many find it easier to identify with people who look like ourselves. But we have a refugee convention that does not distinguish between skin colour or religion. (...) [W]e must help all people who need help”. Anne Lise Marstrand-Jørgensen, writer and co-founder of the organization *Venligboerne*. **(JP33)**

The debate around the different treatment given to refugees arose after the Conservative People's Party proposal of immediately granting temporary residence to Ukrainians, so they did not have to undergo the Danish asylum system. In this context, state sources had wide resonance in the Danish media with the then immigration spokesperson of the Conservative Party, Marcus Knuth, being quoted to a great degree. After the politician, the distinctions between refugees from Ukraine and Africa or the Middle East are *natural* and have *purely political reason* as he argues that refugees must be helped in their immediate area, what did not apply in 2015 for Syrians and Somalis who “had wandered through many countries where they could have sought asylum. But they moved on towards the high welfare benefits in Denmark” (JP33). These arguments can be founded in the article cited above and in many others in Period 2 as well. Furthermore, it is worthy of mention that the report above from *Jyllands-Posten* containing the judgmental statement of the

Conservative's politician about people on the move in 2015, who were deemed opportunistic exploiters of the welfare state, was followed by the report "Ukrainian refugees have travelled for three days to get to Denmark: 'I don't know what will happen, but I don't want money from your government'" (Ukrainske flygtninge har rejst i tre døgn for at komme til Danmark: »Jeg ved ikke, hvad der skal ske, men jeg vil ikke have penge fra jeres regering« - JP34), published the next day, bringing the following quote from an Ukrainian refugee:

"I wanted to go to Denmark because it is far from the fronts where there is currently a war. (...) [B]ut I don't want money from your government. (...) [I] want to work as soon as I can", says Anastasiia Ioda, who is a marine engineer. (JP34)

While the broadsheet's intentionality in juxtaposing these articles cannot be confirmed, it might be argued that it further fosters a prejudiced view of non-European refugees in Denmark as a group that is unwilling to work and contribute to the Danish society, but rather to take advantage of the country's social benefits.

An article from *Politiken* titled "Something is different about the refugee flow we are experiencing now" (Noget er anderledes ved den flygtningestrøm, vi oplever nu – P25) could be regarded as a remarkable example of, one might claim, an unintentional media framing. Seemingly overwhelmed by emotions, the journalist attempted to describe the situation at a railway station in a Polish border town where Ukrainian refugees were lying on folding beds in a dormitory. Here, the "identification frame" emerges and, by the reporter's wording, it can be argued that he was rather surprised by the profile of the people he encountered:

One thing catches the eye at the railway station, says [the reporter] Martin Bjørck. "This is a refugee picture that we are not used to seeing. The people here have blond hair, light skin and blue eyes (...). They dress in the same clothes as the Danes. When you walk into the dormitory, we could be in any northern European city". (P25)

In this manner, the overall impression left by the narratives of both Danish broadsheets in texts which approach the "identification" matter – often prioritizing state sources – is that in Denmark/Europe genuine sentiments and acts of solidarity towards refugees arise mostly when one can relate to their appearance, religion, and so forth. Thus, it is observed that while some actors conveyed this message more clearly, others left it implicit. Further, one could argue that these are

offensive comparisons that reveals an unexpected bias in the media coverage, thus suggesting that refugees from, e.g., the Middle East, are less civilised and less deserving of refugee status.

Interestingly, amid the coverage of the Ukrainian crisis, *Politiken* published an article about the increasing number of foreigners on tolerated stay in Denmark, i.e., foreigners who have committed crime and served their sentence in the country but cannot be deported, as they are considered at risk of torture or death penalty in their country of origin, thus, being protected by international conventions. The report titled “The number of tolerated stays is growing: ‘Unfortunately, it is a condition that there are some foreigners who choose to acknowledge our hospitality by committing serious crimes’” (Antallet på tålt ophold vokser: »Det er desværre et vilkår, at der er nogle udlændinge, der vælger at kvittere for vores gæstfrihed ved at begå alvorlig kriminalitet« - P26) brings the following passages:

While Denmark prepares to receive thousands of refugees from Ukraine, there are more and more of one of the most unwanted groups in the Danish society (...).

The ministry further states that well over half of the total group who have come on tolerated stay during these two years [2019-2021] are Syrians or stateless persons from Syria. As is well known, a number of asylum seekers came from Syria in 2015 and a few years later. (P26)

Thus, this could be regarded as one more example where refugees from Ukraine were tacitly compared to people on the move in 2015 – particularly Syrians – by the Danish media, which often assigned negative connotations to the latter. Thereby, it could be argued that these comparisons help to promote the acceptance of Ukrainian refugees in Denmark while further contribute to the rejection of non-European refugees by Danish society.

9.4 Endorsing the solutions

9.4.1 In 2015: An insoluble problem

Undoubtedly, the Danish media coverage within the analysed period was dominated by political discussions on how to deal with the “refugee problem” in the country, particularly in view

of the solution proposed by the EU Commission, namely, a common European distribution of refugees. One of the main arguments against the acceptance of the European quota system was the respect for the Danish reservation rights, which means that Denmark is not part of the EU's refugee and asylum policy, though in a few articles state and expert sources disagreed that this was an impediment. The prominence of this debate was prior expressed in word patterns identified through the quantitative analysis, e.g., “[Lars] Løkke”, “Europe/European” (*Europa/europæiske*), “[Inger] Støjberg”, “common” (*fælles*), and “solution” (*løsning*).

A perusal of the news articles both from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* reveals – reflecting state actor's narratives – that the focus was less on the suggested solutions than on the Danish dilemma, which leaves the impression that the “crisis” was an insoluble problem to Denmark. However, the border control solution also emerges in this period leading to disagreements inside the government between the then Prime Minister and the Danish People's Party, with the former being against it and the latter in favour. Here, at least *Jyllands-Posten* seems to be aligned with the Prime Minister's opinion, as observed in the article “DF wants a control that could lead to more refugees” (DF ønsker en kontrol, der kan medføre flere flygtninge – JP22). Although the report brings the then deputy chairman of the Danish People's Party as the main source and hence his defense of border control, the following sentence from the journalist implies that this would not be a good remedy as Denmark would be “forced” to accept more refugees, who might otherwise have been “dispatched” to Sweden:

While the Danish People's Party is firmly adamant that Denmark should introduce border controls here and now to stop refugees at the border, that very proposal will probably mean that more asylum seekers will have their case processed in this country instead of moving on unnoticed to Sweden. (JP22)

A large quantity of reports approaches the EU's proposal, its consequences to the country and hence the Danish dilemma, e.g., “A European solution could also become a political nightmare for the government” (Også en europæisk løsning kan blive et politisk mareridt for V-regeringen – JP35), “Denmark risks becoming a black hole in Europe” (Danmark risikerer at blive et sort hul i Europa – JP36), and “Quotas or refugee magnet? This is the parties' opinions” (Kvoter eller flygtninge-magnet? Det mener partierne – P20). The second example is one among many others

that lay emphasis on Denmark's dilemma and the dangerous consequences of opting out the Dublin agreement:

The Ministry of Immigration predicts that new refugee quotas will put Denmark in front of a difficult choice: Either we become part of the quotas, or we quit the Dublin cooperation. If that happens, Denmark could become a refugee magnet. **(JP36)**

Regarding the latter, one could have the impression that it carries an ironic tone when evaluating the EU common solution given the journalist's reference to the revised Dublin Regulation proposed by the EU Commission as "Dublin Plus":

The fact is, however, that if Denmark does not accept the Dublin Plus model, then according to a memo from Støjberg's ministry, we can completely opt out of the Dublin regulation, which is why we will no longer be able to send rejected asylum seekers to some of the other "Dublin-countries". **(P20)**

Proceeding with the dilemma topic, the power of framing becomes clear in two articles, one from *Jyllands-Posten* and the other from *Politiken*, where both report the same news, yet with different approaches in their headlines and texts: "Vestager: Denmark must take responsibility for the refugees" (Vestager: Danmark skal tage sit ansvar for flygtningene – JP37) and "Vestager: Now Denmark must choose which country we want to be" (Vestager: Nu må Danmark vælge, hvilket land vi vil være – P27), where the following passages can be highlighted, respectively:

In the speech, Juncker calls on the EU countries to accept a forced distribution of 160,000 refugees here and now and a permanent system for the distribution of refugees during future crises. **(JP37)**

Here, Juncker presented a plan for the EU countries to agree as soon as possible to redistribute 120,000 refugees from the hardest-hit countries - Greece, Italy and Hungary. **(P27)**

Firstly, it is observed that both broadsheets have chosen distinct quotes from the same source for their headlines; the former have drawn attention to Denmark's responsibility as an European country, while the latter appealed to the Danish moral and values, it can be argued. Moreover,

whereas the two news outlets relied on the same speech from the very same source in the sentences above, when juxtaposing both texts the frame differences become further salient by the journalists' language choices affecting the tonality of the messages. Thus, one could argue that the constructions “to accept a forced distribution”, “permanent system”, “her and now², and “future crises” employed by *Jyllands-Posten* assign a negative character to the report, what might yield scepticism about the EU solution undermining the support of the Danish society. In contrast, it can be noticed an attempt to soften the message by *Politiken*'s journalist wording as “to agree as soon as possible to redistribute” and “hardest-hit countries”, which conveys a tone of solidarity and might also influence positively the readers' perception of the proposed solution, thus enhancing empathy. Lastly, even the numbers regarding the quantity of refugees to be distributed among the member states were chosen differently; while *Jyllands-Posten* opted to inform the total sum of refugees (160.000), *Politiken* preferred not to mention/add the distribution of the 40.000 refugees from the initial proposal presented in May 2015, only the 120.000 of the new EU's refugee plan from September of the same year.

9.4.2 In 2022: A special law to protect refugees

In Period 2, the Danish media's persistent employment of the “immediate area” argument (explained previously), where state actors virtually dominated the narratives, has served also to justify the creation of a new special law on an emergency basis to protect Ukrainian refugees preventing them from submitting to the normal Danish asylum system. As mentioned earlier, the fact that Ukraine is not part of the EU was of concern to the Danish government as it could push the newcomers to a harsh asylum process after the expiration of the 90-day visa, i.e., the tourist visa. Thereby, the new law was a remedy proposed to grant Ukrainian citizens and persons with refugee status in Ukraine and their accompanying close family a temporary residence permit in Denmark for two years with the possibility of extension, hence providing them access to education, health services, and the Danish labour market. The emergency law was proposed by the Conservative's Party and went into effect two weeks after it was approved. These circumstances were firstly demonstrated through the salience of expressions, such as “immediate area” (*nærområde*), “special law” (*særlov*), and “residence permit” (*opholdstilladelse*) in the quantitative analysis.

In this manner, the special law – also called Danish Ukrainian law –, along with the proposal of an expeditious integration of Ukrainian refugees into the society, was widely approached and discussed in the texts of both news contributors, what can be exemplified by the news reports “Special law: Ukrainians can get a residence permit in two weeks” (Særlov: Ukrainere kan få opholdstilladelse om to uger – P28) and “The government plans for 20,000 Ukrainian refugees to come to Denmark” (Regeringen planlægger efter, at 20.000 ukrainske flygtninge kommer til Danmark – JP38). The passage below from the last article summarizes the government’s discourse widespread in the Danish media:

The [former] Conservatives’ immigration spokesperson, Marcus Knuth, believes that a special law should be made that gives all Ukrainians a residence permit in Denmark from day one. “That way, they can enter the labour market directly and the children can go to school, without having to go through a heavy asylum system. To put it bluntly, they should not sit in an asylum centre with Somalis and Iraqis who have come here for completely different reasons.” **(JP38)**

While the special law solution was broadly supported in the Danish Parliament and largely diffused in the media, it also brought about criticisms inside the government for discriminating against refugees, once it was argued that the need for a new asylum law to protect Ukrainian refugees who come to Denmark further exposed the restrictive and, one might claim, unprotective nature of the current immigration legislation. Yet, other state actors rejected the criticism that the measure showed the hypocrisy of the Danish asylum rules claiming that it is solely a matter of geography, i.e., resorting to the “immediate area” argument. However, criticisms of the special law have not gained much attention from the Danish media in the analysed period. Still, the debate can be highlighted in one of the sentences of the report “Special law opens Denmark for refugees from Ukraine” (Særlov åbner Danmark for flygtninge fra Ukraine – JP39):

Venstre [The Liberal Party of Denmark] believes, however, that Ukraine’s geographical location in Europe is decisive: “We have always had the point of view that when conflicts break out in an immediate area, then you have to stand up in that immediate area”, says the [former] immigration spokesperson Mads Fuglede. **(JP39)**

9.5 The crisis frame

In April 2015, the European Commission officially employed for the first time the term “crisis” – more specifically, “the migration crisis in the Mediterranean” – to refer to events that year, namely, population displacements and increasing sea arrivals and deaths in the Mediterranean region. Since then, the “migration crisis” facing the EU narrative has been embraced and broadly utilized by multiple actors in various manners. Thereby, the focus on what was considered as a critical moment in 2015 closed any space for disagreement around the need for decisive measures, that is, there was a relocation of those issues from the normal sphere of politics to the context of politics of emergency (Schmitt, 2005, as cited in Squire et al., 2021).

“Through the term ‘crisis’, the singularity of events is abstracted by a generic logic, making crisis a term that seems self-explanatory” (Roitman, 2013, p. 3). Thus, the perceived scenario of increase in new arrivals, loss of border control, and threat to the security of European economy and society set the stage for governmental actors to appeal to securitised language of crisis to claim for harsher hindrance measures. In turn, other actors, such as NGOs, strategically harnessed the discourse of crisis to draw public attention to the situation of human tragedy and the humanitarian needs of people on the move, as well as criticize what they regarded as “the failure of the international governmental response to provide adequate protection for them”. These diverging crisis narratives “were often reproduced uncritically and with sensationalising effect in mainstream media sources”. As a whole, the language of crisis, used supposedly only to describe social realities, has verily had a transformational outcome, i.e., the crisis narrative must be understood as a political intervention that was not only responsive to the events in 2015, but had an active role in shaping them; “its impact continues to set the context in which political and legal challenges associated with migration are framed in the EU” (Squire et al., 2021, pp. 8-33).

Regardless of the portrayal of Europe as a continent “under siege” in 2015 facing what was described by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) as a situation of immeasurable proportions (Frontex, 2016), the arrival of about one million people in the EU during that year represents a small percentage of the 65 million individuals categorized as displaced in the same year worldwide owing to conflict and violence; “the total number was equivalent to 0.5 per cent of the EU's total population” (Crawley et al., 2017 & Anderson, 2018, as cited in Squire

et al., 2021, p. 49). Still, the crisis narrative was invoked by institutions, e.g., the European Commission, and governments, as well as reproduced by mainstream media, facilitating thus the implementation of a variety of “exceptional measures that would otherwise be unpalatable to liberal democratic societies in ‘non-crisis’ times”, such as building fences and border walls, suspending the Schengen Agreement, and speeding up the process of outsourcing border controls to African countries (Crawley et al., 2017 & Anderson, 2018, as cited in Squire et al., 2021, p. 45). Furthermore, the fact that the migratory routes shifted from Syria’s neighbouring countries – like Lebanon, Turkey and Egypt – to Europe is seen as a possible explanation for why 2015 was a watershed year in the appeal to the crisis narrative by EU governments and Western media (Leurs & Ponzanesi, 2018, as cited in Squire et al., 2021).

Similarly, the number of asylum seekers in the Scandinavian countries reached unprecedented levels in 2015: 156,110 in Sweden, 30,470 in Norway, and 20,825 in Denmark (Eurostat, 2016). Against this backdrop, at the national level governmental actors in Denmark have also relied on the crisis frame, which was endorsed and largely adopted by the Danish mainstream media, to justify the introduction of a range of securitising measures, as previously observed. More restrictive immigration policies, border controls, and – one might claim – the controversial “jewellery law” passed in 2016 by the Danish parliament, which issued the national police with guidelines to search and seize cash, jewellery without sentimental value, and other valuables above 10,000 kroner (1,340 euros) from refugees applying for asylum in the country, allegedly to finance their reception and stay (Hagelund, 2020; Pace, 2021) are some examples of the deterrent measures.

Likewise, along with the EU, Danish state actors and news distributors also invoked the narrative of crisis in 2022, though to a lesser extent, at the height of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine which has triggered the fastest-growing refugee movements in Europe since the end of World War II (Semotiuk, 2022). By November 2022, nearly 7.9 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded across Europe and about 37,000 in Denmark alone, of which 34,945 were registered for Temporary Protection or similar national protection schemes in the Scandinavian country (UNHCR, n.d.-c). Nevertheless, it can be claimed that here the crisis frame was employed to argue for a number of measures which would be unthinkable otherwise, such as the activation of provisions of the 2001 Temporary Protection Directive by the EU (to be applied in times of crisis) providing Ukrainian

refugees “immediate and automatic acceptance of refugee status without requiring an asylum” with the aim of sparing them a “lengthy administrative process of recognition and, rather, have rapid access to essential services and a work permit”, which did not raise voices of disapproval in the main host countries (Walker, 2022 & Martin, 2022, as cited in Coninck, 2022, p.4). As mentioned earlier, the Danish government has followed the same path through the creation of a special law for refugees from Ukraine.

On this account, the use of the crisis label in many ways implies that there are errors and failings in existing laws and policies that must be suppressed or changed radically, thus requiring the formulation and implementation of new ones thereby enabling “other historical trajectories or even (...) a (new) future”; that is to say, the concept of crisis is key to the understanding of how it “serves as a transcendental placeholder because it is a means for signifying contingency; it is a term that allegedly allows one to think the ‘otherwise’” (Roitman, 2013, pp. 4-9).

10. Comparative analysis and discussion

The purpose of the following section is to compare and discuss the matters presented throughout the frame analysis. As a means to minimise repetition and create a more fluent narrative, the comparative analysis and discussion will be interwoven throughout the section. In addition, we will bring forth considerations on the contributions of this research to the field and society in general. Lastly, a method evaluation will be presented and further discussed, also including research limitations and choices made throughout the thesis, as well as reflections on how these have influenced our research.

10.1 Comparative analysis

The Table 7 below illustrates the frames identified throughout the qualitative analysis:

	Period 1 (2015)	Period 2 (2022)
Defining the problem(s)	- Refugees as a problem that should be managed and controlled - Uncontrollable flow of refugees - Refugees' desire of travel on to Sweden - Human smuggling	- Restrictions of regular Danish asylum rules - Ensure help to Ukrainian refugees despite the harsh asylum system
Identifying the causes	- War and persecution in the country of origin of refugees as causes of the flow were not relevant - Germany and other European countries as the causes of refugees fleeing to Denmark - The breach of the Dublin convention	- Numerous mentions of the cause of the refugee flow (the Russian invasion) - Pointing and discussing responsibilities were not relevant as refugees were welcomed
Conveying moral judgments	- Conflation of the terms "refugees" and "migrants" – minimising deservingness of aid and refugee status - Employment of the terms "migrants" only and "migrant flows" when referring to refugees - Use of terms, e.g., "illegal immigrant", "asylum shopping" and "refugee invasion" - Dehumanisation of refugees - Social group categorisation "us" and "them" - Refugees as exploiters of the welfare state - Stereotyped portrayal of refugees (young men chosen as sources in the news articles)	- Ukrainians immediately labelled as "refugees" "Ukrainian refugees" as a term that distinguishes them from other refugees - Focus on war in the country of origin of refugees (e.g., "war refugees" and "war-stricken country") - Non-European refugees vs. refugees from Europe - Comparisons with the "refugee crisis" of 2015 - Use of the expression "refugees and migrants" when referring to the 2015 "refugee crisis" - Ukrainians as refugees willing to work and contribute to Danish society "This crisis is different"
Endorsing the solutions	- EU's refugee quotas proposal (provoking division in the EU) - Proposal of border control - Focus on the Danish dilemma – the "crisis" as an insoluble problem	- Lenient EU rules (unifying the EU) - Special Ukraine law - Low resonance of criticisms of the special law in the Danish media

Table 7: Identified frames within the categories in the frame analysis

Period 1 (2015) versus Period 2 (2022)

As Table 7 illustrates, the frames that emerged throughout Period 1 and 2 differ in regard to their specific content. In Period 1, refugees from, e.g., the Middle East and Africa, are portrayed as a problem and a threat for both Denmark and the EU, in contrast to Period 2, where Denmark and the other EU member states have immediately welcomed Ukrainian refugees. Another problem identified, besides people on the move themselves, was the violation of the law by those driving refugees to Sweden, named “smuggling issue” in this study, as it was against Danish law to aid refugees in this manner. Thus, it was observed that this frame had two aspects: the focus on the humanitarian perspective of people still willing to risk punishment to drive refugees across Danish borders (primarily seen in *Politiken*); and the criminal perspective which focused on the actions of people engaging in human smuggling by not following Danish laws. The latter was the view with most salience by *Jyllands-Posten*’s news articles. Here, it is relevant to highlight that what was considered illegal in Period 1 was regarded as a (legal) humanitarian act in Period 2 by state actors under the visa argument. These visa differences make a direct comparison between Period 1 and 2 more challenging.

Concerning the matter of identification of causes, it can be claimed that, in Period 1, the emphasis was on attributing the responsibility of the arrival of refugees in Denmark to other European countries, as well as to the breach of the Dublin Convention. In the news reports, it is argued that this is the reason why refugees were able to travel freely across Europe and thus reach the Scandinavian country. Hence, this leaves the impression that refugees should never have travelled to Denmark in the first place and were, therefore, not welcomed. Unlike Period 1, the news articles in Period 2 repeatedly mention war (in Ukraine) as the cause of the arrival of refugees in Denmark/Europe in large numbers. Thereby, we argue that these differences in the coverage may result in more sympathy towards refugees in Period 2. Also, we claim that the frame in which refugees' reasons for fleeing are presented might have a significant impact on how they are perceived. Therefore, in Period 1, people on the move were at risk of being perceived as less deserving of help as the majority of the articles did not state clearly the reasons behind population displacement.

It is relevant to note that the frames presented under moral evaluations differ greatly between the two time periods. For example, laying salience on the fact that not all individuals were fleeing

directly from war in Period 1, as many refugees were living in neighbouring countries and asylum camps for years before fleeing to Europe/Denmark and others were identified as economic migrants, may influence impressions about people on the move and their deservingness of refugee status. Here, it is important to underline that the media did not mention the living conditions of refugees before fleeing to Europe. Moreover, in a series of articles in Period 1, the possibility of terrorists hiding among refugees was also raised, likely contributing to the portrayal of the “refugee crisis” in 2015 as a threat to Denmark. This issue, along with the shifting and inconsistent use of the terms “migrants” and “refugees” may have led the reader to believe that refugees were unreliable due to the possibility that they could be migrants or terrorists. These judgements were not identified in Period 2, where refugees were well-accepted and also needed as workforce, as became clear through the declarations of Danish politicians in the media. Thus, the need for workers in the Danish job market was also introduced as a reason for welcoming Ukrainian refugees and quickly integrating them to society. Furthermore, a central argument for helping people fleeing Ukraine in Period 2 was the “immediate area”. This is an overall argument seen in most articles and across all themes, in contrast to Period 1, where the reporting of refugees' long journey to Denmark demonstrated that they were coming from far away. In Period 2, the fact that the refugees were coming from Denmark's nearby area was the answer given by state sources to nearly all the questions that arose in the media (and also from politicians) on the difference in treatment of refugees from 2022 compared to 2015. Indeed, it was also observed in Period 2 a critique of the different media coverage regarding people on the move; here the broadsheets made use of numerous sources which resorted to the immediate area argument to explain the differences in the reception of refugees in Denmark comparing both flows, with *Politiken* being the most critical regarding the “2015-2022 debate”.

Regarding the proposal of solutions, it was noticed a considerable difference between the two time periods as well. The remedies presented in Period 1 consisted in the implementation of more restrictive immigration rules, border control and the possibility of accepting the refugee quotas proposed by the EU. This stands in stark contrast to the solutions presented in Period 2, which can be considered more lenient with regard to immigration rules and special laws for Ukrainian refugees. In this line, the analysis of the data has shown that political frames/themes were prominent in both periods, suggesting that journalists and newspapers prioritised state sources in their reports. It could be stated that in 2015 the media coverage was dominated by “sceptical

frames” in relation to refugees if compared to 2022, as demonstrated in the frame analysis. Thus, to a great degree *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* coverages mirrored politicians' responses and opinions in each period.

Furthermore, dissimilarities were also verified in the reporting of the refugee “crises” between both broadsheets. Generally, it can be said that *Politiken* has framed refugees in a more favourable mode compared to *Jyllands-Posten*. Yet, the differences found were not completely unexpected. As cited earlier in the historical overview of media representation of refugees in Denmark, *Politiken* has covered people on the move more positively over the years and, we argue, more nuanced than *Jyllands-Posten*. The fact that *Politiken* is a left-wing oriented broadsheet may explain the more humanistic approach in its reports.

Why the difference

As mentioned in multiple articles, the Danish laws applying to the two refugee groups were distinct, especially owing to the different visa laws. This was the explanation put forward by state actors and media to justify why refugees in Period 1 (2015) were stopped at the borders while Refugees in Period 2 (2022) were welcomed. Further, it also clarifies why the police have not been involved in the reception of refugees in Period 2, a theme which occupied a considerable space in the coverage in Period 1. As Ukrainian citizens can travel freely in Europe on a tourist visa for 90 days, a limited number of people needed to seek asylum during our analysed time frame in Period 2, and border control was not considered necessary for the arrival of these refugees. Yet, these are primarily political differences, which have not been the focus of this thesis. However, our analysis indicated that the media frames and the political perspective in these periods were often in sync. Therefore, a question that remains latent is why they are so similar. It is often argued that the media influences politicians (Lund, 2004). However, as no contrasting frames were identified, i.e., opposition frames to the ones presented by Danish politicians, our results indicate that Danish media is rather aligned with Danish politicians, following their frames to a large extent as well. This claim is supported by Green-Pedersen and Stubagers research that concludes that political parties control the agenda more than the media itself (Green-Pedersen & Stubager, 2010). That being so, who “controls” the frames in the media? Journalists or politicians? Future research could explore these inquiries in depth.

“Us” and “them”

The identified frames reveal differences in the media coverage of the two groups of people on the move, as previously demonstrated. Derogatory terms, such as “refugee invasion”, “asylum shopping”, “these people”, and the arbitrary use of the labels “refugee”, “migrant”, and “refugees from Ukraine”, may create a separation between different groups. In addition, the frames of “us” versus “them”, which emerged in media coverage of refugees in the 1990s became clear in these two time periods, we claim. In 2015, the refugees were primarily categorised as “them”, i.e., they were portrayed as strangers coming from outside, “flooding” the borders and promoting chaos. On the other hand, it can be argued that refugees in 2022 were portrayed as belonging to the “us” category, i.e., they were coming from an immediate area, fleeing a war on European ground, and therefore deserved protection and help from Denmark, according to Danish state actors and media.

For a better understanding of individuals’ attitudes toward people from other cultures, we could have incorporated Stuart Hall’s theory of representation (Hall, 2003). Hall suggests that an individual create their own self based on what they do not identify in others. Thus, the language used can create a perspective of difference that may negatively affect some groups. An example is the employment of the terms “refugees” and “migrants” by the media, which may limit people to only being defined by the “other” group’s expectations of them. By using these words, refugees and migrants are placed in a distinct group with specific expectations and characteristics. Thereby, resorting to Hall’s theory could have contributed to an understanding of why some groups are perceived as more deserving of aid than others.

Contrasting frames

When it comes to frame analysis, as earlier stated, information that is excluded from texts may carry as much meaning as the ones included. Although we touch upon the absence of some issue in the Danish media coverage of the “crises”, our main interest is in what has been written by Danish journalists rather than what was omitted. In this study, contrasting frames, that is, frames that simultaneously contradicted the established frames in the media coverage were not identified in the analysed newspapers within the selected time frame since both media outlets covered the events similarly. As a result, it might have been worthwhile for the research to include news articles from different types of newspapers, e.g., *B.T.*, the online newspaper *Zetland* or the non-profit

magazine *Ræson*, to investigate whether contrasting frames emerged in the media coverage of the “crises” of 2015 and 2022. *B.T.* is known for a more sensational journalism, while *Zetland* claims that they dive further into the stories and to show multiple perspectives (Zetland, n.d.); *Ræson* claims it is completely independent and brings articles written by politicians, experts and journalists (RÆSON, n.d.).

Since no contrasting frames emerged from *Politiken*’ and *Jyllands-Posten*’s coverage, we have resorted to other news sources to investigate whether they appeared during Period 1 and 2. For example, in Period 1 (2015), when refugees were walking on a Danish highway, a man was photographed spitting at them from a bridge; other newspapers, e.g., *B.T.*, covered this event more extensively. Thus, it can be argued that if the analysed broadsheets had reported this event in the same way, a contrasting frame could have been come to surface in Period 1, where perhaps the media would have been more critical of the Danish reception of refugees and more in solidarity with people on the move arriving in Denmark. Likewise, later in Period 2 (2022), a critique of racism at the border crossing in Ukraine appeared in the media, where stories were published about people of colour being denied access to Poland; this laid more emphasis on the aspect of racism towards refugees who were not Ukrainian citizens and the matter was considerably covered (OHCHR, 2022). Thereby, it can be argued that contrasting frames could have been identified by this study if a longer time frame was adopted or different periods across months ahead were selected.

Even though we can conclude that *Politiken* and *Jyllands-Posten* largely followed the frames presented by politicians, they were also sometimes critical of them. For instance, in Period 2 criticisms were raised about differences in the government’s reception of refugees in 2015 and 2022 in Denmark. This was a minor theme compared to the political frames, yet the criticisms were present in both newspapers.

Research contribution and recommendations

To our knowledge, this study is one of the first to compare the “refugee crisis” of 2015 to the “Ukrainian crisis” of 2022. Thereby, we sought to contribute to filling existing gaps in the field of research. However, it can be argued that this research is not solely relevant to academia as it uncovers important issues in the coverage of news by Danish media. Thereby, our results may

bring about reflections on the manner which journalists portray individuals or different groups in their reports since certain frames may carry distinct meanings for the receivers. The media is known as the “fourth estate”, however, this research indicates that in Denmark the newspapers *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* primarily convey the opinion expressed by Danish politicians. On this account, we argue that Danish journalists should follow (or perhaps update existing) language use guidelines when covering sensitive topics, such as war and conflicts around the world. Besides being more attentive to language choices, diversity in the selection of sources could also allow for a more multiple-angle or unbiased news coverage by media outlets.

Method considerations

As explained earlier in this study, a range of selection criteria was implemented in an effort to limit the large amount of empirical data, e.g., the exclusion of debate articles and editorials, once they normally reflect the journalists', editors' or readers' opinions. Although, as underlined previously, analysing these articles could have provided insight into a broader point of view regarding refugees. Therefore, it can be argued that many of the articles examined represent a more neutral stance where the journalists are to a great extent uncritical of politicians' statements.

Moreover, as we have analysed texts written in Danish language yet conducted the study in English, the quotes used needed to be translated. When doing so, there is always the danger of loss of meanings and different interpretations (van Nes et al., 2010). Thus, translations can be subjective especially when examining discourses and framings as we assign meaning to words and sentences; therefore, the way sentences are translated can influence the meanings and the translator's personal perspective and interpretation can affect the translation. However, we argue that translations were conducted in this study taking these issues into account, since poor translations can also result in a decrease in validity in quantitative research (van Nes et al., 2010). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Danish expressions and metaphors can be difficult to translate directly to English once words and sentences can carry a cultural meaning that is not translatable. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that the fact that the researchers are a native Danish and an immigrant fluent in Danish contributed to the questioning and further reflections on the wording employed by journalists in Denmark, as some words and meanings may be taken for granted by native speakers. In other words, the non-native Danish reader's lack of familiarity with

certain implicit meanings, hence questioning of these meanings, have allowed for relevant discussions and better understanding of the Danish media coverage of both “crises”.

Due to time constraints, further criteria were adopted regarding the selection of empirical data's time frames from which news articles were collected in both periods (2015 and 2022), i.e., they needed to be reduced, as cited earlier. One could argue that the limited analysis period may decrease the validity of the study as media frames could have changed in later days, and these would not have been identified in our project. However, as we have conducted an analysis of the news reports when the coverage of both events was at its highest point, we argue for the reliability of our results as we believe they provide knowledge and valuable insights into the Danish media coverage of both phenomena, uncovering the differences between them.

11. Conclusion

This research aimed at examining how two influential Danish newspapers, namely, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*, framed the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 and the Ukrainian crisis of 2022 and whether there were differences between both coverages. Thus, through a quantitative content analysis and a qualitative frame analysis of a total of 344 news articles from the Danish broadsheets it can be concluded that the events were framed differently in many aspects.

The findings reveal that while in 2015 refugees from, e.g., the Middle East, were framed as a problem which needed to be managed, in 2022 the issue was the inadequacy of the Danish asylum system in protecting Ukrainian refugees and, therefore, it had to be adapted with the creation of a new special law. Furthermore, in 2015 Germany's open borders policy and the breach of the Dublin agreement were pointed as the causes of the arrival of refugees in Denmark, whereas in 2022, despite the frequent mentions of the Russian invasion of Ukraine as the cause of the arrivals, pointing and discussing responsibilities were not necessary since Ukrainian refugees are well-accepted in Denmark/Europe. In addition, dissimilarities were observed also in the use of terminology by both broadsheets; while in 2015 the terms "refugees" and "migrants" were largely conflated when describing people fleeing to Denmark, which might have affected society's perception of this group reinforcing stereotypes; in 2022 Ukrainians were immediately labelled "refugees" only. Lastly, in 2015 the "refugee crisis" was framed as an insoluble problem owing to the unsuitability of the solutions proposed by the EU and Danish state actors, which pushed Denmark into a dilemma, i.e., accepting the EU refugee quota system or implementing border control (what could mean taking in more refugees). In contrast, in 2022 more lenient solutions were quickly found and approved by the Danish government and endorsed by the media, e.g., the creation of a special law to Ukrainian refugees.

Furthermore, it was concluded that securitisation/threat frames and political themes prevailed in *Jyllands-Posten*' and *Politiken*'s coverage of both crises, with Danish politicians often being quoted in their publications, despite a higher presence of the humanitarian frame in 2022. This is in line with prior research on Danish media framing of the 2015 "refugee crisis". Some examples of the issues frequently reported were the implementation of more restrictive immigration policies and border controls in 2015, and the Ukraine special law in 2022. Moreover, we can conclude that

in the instance of immigration policies, the broadsheets have barely challenged Danish politicians' rhetoric.

Although both Danish broadsheets framed refugees similarly, the findings reveal subtle distinctions between the two newspapers, especially in the coverage of the "refugee crisis" in 2015, with *Politiken* reporting refugees in a more diverse and nuanced way compared to *Jyllands-Posten*, which appeared more apprehensive in this period. Even in 2022, when both news distributors were predominantly positive in their coverage, *Politiken* published more articles on the debate around the differences between the refugees' reception/treatment by the government.

Ultimately, the results of this comparative research uncover problematic issues regarding Danish/Western mass media narratives which may bring about debates on biases present in the news coverage, conceivably leading to reflections and reassessments of, e.g., old modes of covering war and conflicts around the world. In this context, considering that language is a powerful rhetorical tool, media outlets should always be aware of its responsibility since what (and how) is reported can have an impact on the public. Thus, resorting to language use guidelines as well as to diversified sources of information in the coverage of events is highly recommended to avoid discriminatory and biased approaches for the benefit of society.

12. Communication article

NYHEDSOVERBLIK / JOBS / NAVNE



Similar refugee crises, different media coverages

Research reveals differences in how the Danish mainstream media framed the “refugee crises” in 2015 compared to the Ukrainian crisis in 2022

20. DECEMBER 2022, 14:47

Carla Silveira

Winnie Klitgaard

There are significant differences in the Danish media coverage of the “refugee crisis” of 2015 compared to the “Ukrainian crisis” of 2022, according to a new study from Roskilde University.

The research, which was carried out by two Masters’ students from the department of Communication and Arts at Roskilde University, investigated more than 300 news articles from the most widely read Danish newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken*.

The aim was to compare the Danish media coverage of the so-called refugee crisis in 2015 and the Ukrainian crisis in 2022 to verify whether the newspapers portrayed (or framed, in journalistic language) both events differently.

The news articles were selected from periods of heightened media attention to refugees fleeing to Denmark from war-torn countries, like Syria, Afghanistan or Iraq in September 2015, and Ukraine in February 2022.

The comparative study reveals that in 2015 *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* framed refugees as a problem and also a threat to the Scandinavian country, following the narratives of the Danish government at the time. This view was widespread by the newspapers and used by politicians in Denmark to justify the adoption of stricter asylum policies in the country, according to the research.

In turn, the analysis of the news article from 2022 shows that refugees were depicted as war victims from a neighbouring European country and, therefore, deserved to be helped and welcomed in Denmark. Again, it was shown that the newspapers endorsed politicians' narratives and measures to protect Ukrainians, like the creation of a special law to spare them from the harsh Danish asylum policies.



**The results also
reveal differences in
the way that Danish
media referred to
people fleeing to
Denmark in both
periods.**

Winnie Klitgaard & Carla Silveira, study authors

The results also reveal differences in the way that Danish media referred to people fleeing to Denmark in both periods. While in 2022 the newspapers immediately labelled Ukrainians as “refugees”, in 2015 they oscillated between the terms “refugees” and “migrants” when referring, for example, to Middle Eastern refugees.

The authors of the study argue that mixing these terms may reinforce stereotypes and prejudices, undermining solidarity. The reasons for leaving the country of origin and legal statuses of these two groups are different. “Refugees” are a defined group entitled to protection under international law, while the term “migrants” implies a voluntary process.

Another finding of the research is that security and political themes dominated in *Jyllands-Posten*' and *Politiken*'s coverage of both crises as politicians were often quoted in the publications. Some examples of the issues often reported were implementation of more restrictive immigration policies and border controls in 2015, and the Ukraine special law in 2022.

The study also shows distinctions between the two Danish newspapers, especially in the coverage of the “refugee crisis” in 2015, with *Politiken* reporting refugees in a more positive and nuanced way compared to *Jyllands-Posten*. The political leaning of the newspapers may be one of the explanations for the dissimilarities, claimed the authors. *Politiken* is known by its centre-left stance, while *Jyllands-Posten* has a liberal-conservative orientation.

Language and source choices matter

It is important to be aware that what the media report and journalists say may have an impact on readers and viewers. So, the media has a responsibility, highlighted the study.

When the Danish governments and media label population displacements as a “crisis”, they set the stage for the need of decisive measures that might have been unthinkable before, as the creation of a special law for Ukrainian refugees, points out the research, because the crisis narrative leaves little room for disagreements.

The use of expressions like “refugee invasion” and “illegal immigrant” in the Danish media in 2015 is also problematic, according to the authors, since they carry negative connotations and might cause unrest in the society, undermining solidarity towards refugees. In 2022, the description of Ukrainian refugees by a Danish journalist, who stated “the people here have blond hair, light skin and blue eyes”, exposed an unexpected bias in the coverage.

Therefore, the authors recommend that Danish and Western media in general follow guidelines on language use when covering sensitive topics, such as war and conflicts around the world. Danish journalists should also diversify the sources in their stories more to show angles other than politicians' views, suggested the research.

12.1 Audience account

This news article was written for publication on the Danish digital platform *Journalisten.dk* and it is targeted at professionals within the journalism and communication industry. *Journalisten* is a membership magazine for member of the Danish Association of Journalists. However, the trade journal has also an online news website, which our article is intended for. It's target group englobes, e.g., journalists, photographers, graphic designers and communication professionals working with journalism and communication in and outside the media.

As the article is aimed at a Danish audience, it needs to be translated to the Danish language in order to be publish by *Journalisten*. The text brings a short and catchy headline that is meant to grab the attention – and arouse the curiosity – of readers, prompting them to click and read the news. The clarity and appeal of the title are important since it is displayed solely on *Journalisten*'s frontpage, i.e., without the sub-headline. The sub-headline has an explanatory role providing additional information to the headline. The body of the article contains a subheading that helps structure the text and emphasize important aspects of the research. In the first paragraphs of the news article, the study, its purpose (research question) and the method are presented. The paragraphs that follow summarises the main findings and the subheading content bring some of the study's reflections and recommendations.

Since the article is intended for publication on an online news platform, the text – which is informative about scholarly research – was written in a non-academic language and structure, i.e., the scholarly and technical terms were translated to a more informal language and the narrative does not follow a rigid structure. Furthermore, unlike academic writing, the text is composed of short sentences carrying a conversational tone which is easily comprehensible. However, the fact that the target group is composed of journalists and communication professionals allowed the use of jargon of the field in the text.

Journalisten was particularly chosen for this article's publication since it is an independent critical platform well-known as an information body for Danish communication professionals and a debate generator. Thereby, this medium may help setting the agenda for the debate around the issues identified and discussed in this study, provoking reflections on the very way journalists cover

sensitive issues, the language employed, their selection of sources and so forth, thus contributing to changing media practices in Denmark.

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14. Appendices

14.1 Appendix I

Compilation of the news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* cited in the Frame Analysis (section 9).

14.2 Appendix II

Full list of news articles from *Jyllands-Posten* and *Politiken* used as empirical data in this research.