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Framing the Refugee Crisis

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ABSTRACT

With a history of accepting refugees and asylum seekers, Sweden accepted most applicants per capita in the European Union in 2014; however, in 2015 the government withdrew the welcoming policy in favour of border controls. This thesis takes a social constructivist perspective in answering the research question 'How has the conceptualisation of the refugee regime changed in Swedish media during the course of the refugee crisis?' Based on a narrative analysis of Swedish media coverage of the refugee crisis from 2014 and 2015, compared to a narrative analysis of the UNHCR Global Trends reports from 2014 and 2015, this paper examines the development of national narratives in relation to the refugee regime narratives. The analytical starting point for the analysis is the ideational factors, namely the commonly shared beliefs about the refugee crisis and the refugee regime. It is evident from the analysis that the development of different narratives regarding the same phenomenon reveals the different belief systems underlying the refugee crisis. By outlining the different frames in which these narratives operate, it is clear how the national implementation of the refugee regime becomes increasingly complex from 2014 to 2015, as the Swedish frames conceptualise the refugee crisis as gradually more political, as well as securitised, and consequently moves further away from the logics of the humanitarian frames utilised by UNHCR, which conceptualise the refugee crisis as a humanitarian crisis.

Keywords: asylum, crisis, humanitarian, media, migrant, narrative, refugee, regime complex, security, Sweden, social constructivism, Sydsvenskan,

PREFACE

This master's thesis was conducted at the master's program International Business and Politics at Copenhagen Business School during the spring and summer of 2016 and I would like to thank my supervisor Morten Ougaard for his engagement, input and knowledgeable supervision during this period.

The thesis focuses on how the conceptualisation of the refugee crisis and refugee regime has changed in Swedish media during the course of the crisis. I was motivated to write about this topic as I experienced very different conceptualisations of what I perceived as a refugee crisis, but what people in my surrounding explained as a north-south migration crisis, global extremist crisis, a humanitarian crisis in the Middle East, a European Union unity crisis, a Swedish capacity crisis etc. etc.. Due to the array of crises we were discussing, what was considered appropriate responses to the crisis also varied considerably. This is consequently an analysis of the various understandings of the refugee crisis and it is targeted towards individuals that seek to comprehend the interplay among international, national and local understandings of the refugee crisis, and how these understandings are guiding what is perceived as appropriate response to such crisis. Therefore, this thesis also provides insight to organisations such as the UNHCR and local, national and international politicians.

Ellen Edman
Copenhagen, 15th of September 2016

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU – European Union

IO – International Organisation

ISIS – Istamic State in Iraq and Syria

MENA – Middle East and North Africa

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

1. INTRODUCTION

In the end of December 2015, my friend and I were watching the evening news, reporting on yet another rescue of people on the Mediterranean Sea on their way to Europe in overcrowded boats. My friend and I were watching the same news coverage, but did not see the same crisis. I saw the results of a refugee crisis and was horrified by the pictures of people risking their lives in unsafe boats to flee war, conflict and persecution at home. These people were in need of protection, with the Geneva Convention warranting them the right to asylum in European host countries. My friend, on the other hand, saw a 2015 migration and security crisis in which Europe were struggling to handle an influx of migrants seeking a better life in European member states - societies that are lacking the societal capacity and interest to absorb the newcomers due to institutional, economic and cultural limitations. With different ideational understandings of the same material crisis, the debate about the crisis and the view on appropriate responses to the crisis has varied vastly across Europe. This debate has taken one of the most dramatic turns in Sweden, which is a country with a history of accepting refugees and asylum seekers, that accepted most applicants per capita in the EU in 2014; however, in 2015 the government withdrew the welcoming policy in favour of border controls. This thesis aims to explain these varying understandings of the refugee crisis and consequently takes a social constructivist perspective in answering the research question 'How has the conceptualisation of the refugee regime changed in Swedish media during the course of the refugee crisis?'

Social constructivist theory offers explanations for how an increasing number of increasingly specialised as well as more complex and interrelated issue areas have evolved with globalisation, complex dynamics and change in global governance structures by hypothesising that behaviour is shaped and transformed by socially constructed norms, how actors interact, how other actors view these actions, as well as how we talk about them (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010:17; (Karns and Mingst 2010:72). By socializing states in their understanding and acceptance of new norms, e.g. humanitarianism, international organizations can serve as agents of construction.

For global governance of refugee issues, the refugee regime was created in the aftermath of the Second World War and comprises two key elements, namely: the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, which defines who refugee are and the rights they are entitled to; and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that is responsible for supervising the implementation of the Convention by the States (Betts 2010). With globalisation and increased interdependence, issues have become interrelated and different

regimes overlap and may have authority over related issues. Examples of overlapping regimes are the human rights regime with complement to the refugee regime, humanitarian regime when it comes to in-country protection but also the travel regime, which can add restriction on access to asylum (Betts 2010). Thus, it makes sense to take about the refugee regime complex, with different institutions existing in parallel, nested in what shape States' responses towards refugees (Betts 2010). The understanding of the refugee complex is crucial due to its implications for refugee protection and long-term solutions and the work of the UNHCR (Betts 2010).

The refugee crisis and the increased concern regarding the relationship between immigration and security in Europe and accusations of irregular migrants abusing the asylum channels, has led to the securitisation of irregular migration and a new institutionalised cooperation on travel. The travel regime's cooperative mechanisms have enabled Europe to reduce asylum-seekers' access to spontaneous arrival asylum without obviously violating the main legal and normative obligation of the refugee regime, namely the non-refoulement principle in the 1951 Convention, as this principle only take effect once an individual reach the territory of the State (Betts 2010). Thus, the growth of the travel regime has created the opening for European States to engage in 'regime shifting', which means that they can address their concern with spontaneous arrival asylum though other forms of cooperation through another regime than the refugee regime. The new parallel multilateral venues has led to alternative mechanisms and language, which transform an individual fleeing persecution into an individual seeking economic migration. In this way, obligations under international refugee regime are avoided. From being presented as a purely humanitarian process by UNHCR, refugee protection is now highly politicised as refugees are instrumentalised for political objectives in Europe.

This thesis explains the varying understandings of the refugee crisis through global governance and regime complex theory. As the study is situated within the social constructivist paradigm, the narrative analysis takes the analytical starting point in the ideational factors, namely the commonly shared beliefs about the refugee crisis and the refugee regime. This thesis compares the development of Swedish narratives during the refugee crisis to the ones of the refugee regime's. This is done through an in-depth narrative analysis, consisting of a brief quantitative text analysis and a qualitative content analysis, of the Swedish newspaper coverage in Sydsvenskan from 2014 and 2015 and UNHCR's Global Trend reports for 2014 and 2015. To identify the belief systems underlying the various narratives, the analysis moves from the denotative, to the connotative meanings in a final interpretation, which is finalised through the identification of the general and issue-specific frames fundamental to these narratives. Once

the underlying ideas are outlined, the Swedish implementation of the refugee regime, as well as the Swedish fragmentation, due to the refugee regime complex, becomes clear. Consequently, the various and changing conceptualisations of the refugee crisis from 2014 to 2015 become logical, and it is clearer how these views on the reality of the crisis inform what possible responses to the refugee crisis the country could take.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the relevant field of literature for this thesis, opening with an introduction to global governance and its theoretical foundations, namely realism, liberalism and social constructivism. The appropriate social constructivist approach to global governance is further elaborated on, including its main focus on ideational factors, state identity and interest. Subsequently, the literature on how specific issue areas are globally governed is reviewed; with particular focus on international regimes and international regime complexity. This leads to the conceptualisation of governance of the refuge issue area and how rules, norms and structures in this particular issue area are connected in the international refugee regime. Lastly, the literature on the international refugee complex is reviewed with its theory of how the refugee regime has changed into the international refugee complex, intersecting with several other international regimes leading to securitisation and politicisation of refugees that present complications and change to the refugee regime.

2.1 GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

With increased globalisation, the number of interrelated and complex issues has evolved, which require international collective action (Karns and Mingst 2010:72). Instead of the national model of governance being transported to the planetary realm, today's global relations are regulated in post-statist fashion, which is anything but a 'world government' and therefore we today talk about global governance rather than government (Stiglitz 2007:281; Scholte 2002). Modern global governance is multi-layered with national action intersecting with local, regional and trans-world processes, public and private mechanisms working parallel and regulatory authority being decentralised and dispersed (Scholte 2002).

The United Nations Commission on Global Governance defines global governance as "*the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken*" (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010:7-8). Based on this definition, global governance is not only a structure but also the governors that engage and act upon the structures (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010:1). In this sense, global governance differs from international relations by its multi-actor perspective on the political world, meaning that it acknowledges other actors than states with the objective to govern areas of interest (Karns and Mingst 2010:14).

The recognised pieces of global governance are mutual problem-solving arrangements that actors, such as states, organise to deal with the global issues. These pieces include international

structures, such as international law; formal international intergovernmental organisations and international nongovernmental organisations; norms or soft law and international regimes where the rules, norms and structures are connected in particular issue areas; ad hoc global conferences and arrangements; as well as private and public-private governance arrangements (Karns and Mingst 2010:5).

Theoretically, these international structures have been categories into three broad types of structures, namely institutional, material and ideational frameworks (Milner 2014). Each of these categories originates from the three major theoretical traditions in international relations and global governance, namely liberalism, realism and social constructivism. These theories are based a set of fundamental ideas about the concept of the states, interaction among states and other actors and the international system, and they are thus answering global governance questions of "who governs?" "how is it governed?", "what are the effects are of governance?", and explain how change occur in the global system (Karns and Mingst 2010:35).

Liberalist tradition

Throughout modernisation, liberalists have believed that the increased democratisation and inter-state trade would intensify the interdependencies among states, which in turn would secure peace and prosperity. According to liberalists "human nature is basically good, social progress is possible, and human behaviour is malleable and perfectible through institutions" (Karns and Mingst 2010:35). Injustice and war are consequently products of insufficient social institutions, and can consequently be solved though institutional reform and collective action. Accordingly, liberalists advocate for international institutions as they facilitate collective problem solving (Karns and Mingst 2010:35).

In liberalist theorising, states are the key actors in the global arena, however, states are conceptualised as pluralist actors and non-state actors are acknowledged for helping shape states' interests. States are thus learning actors, whose interests change with society. International organisations' role in global governance is not only to carry out operational responsibilities in addressing global issues, but also to facilitate modes of cooperation and offer the arena for partnership and negotiations. By offering structure and shared principles these arenas mitigate the risk of war (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Liberalist have been able to explain why states actually do cooperate across boarders, however, with the theory's strong confidence in human reasoning and progress, liberalist theory has been labelled idealist. Particularly realists critique the idealist feature of liberalism and

maintain that the view is naïve by referring to historical failures of cooperation over global issues, such as how the League of Nations failed to prevent major disasters for example the World War II, the Holocaust and the Cold War (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Realist tradition

Realists merely acknowledge the power of states in global governance. As the main actors, states act unitary and rationally to maximise national interests, which are power and security relative to other states. Since power is relative, competition is concentrated and the room for cooperation consequently small. The theory thus assumes as a global system of instrumental states and structures of power; the allocation of power controls states in the international system, which is anarchic, and states only have themselves to rely on in it (Jackson and Sorensen 2006:165).

As international organisations have no enforcement power and states may withdraw their organisation membership as they wish, their authority and power is extremely limited and they have no independent effect on state behaviour, but are merely arenas or instruments for states to exercise their power affairs when desired. Even if international organisation may assist states in increasing their power, these changes will merely be reflections, and not actual changes, of the power distribution among states in the international system. Since states' identities and interests in the international system already are given, international organisations have no independent effect worth studying, and consequently, most realists have little to say about these actors in global governance (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010:7-8).

The realist global governance explanation has been criticised for being too simplistic to explain complex governance structures. The strength, however, lies in how the theory provides an understanding of how global governance outcomes are connected to the interests of powerful states and why international organisations therefore have issues in addressing threats to peace and security (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Social constructivist tradition

With the above-mentioned state-centred theoretical traditions, the dynamic world is made coherent and comprehensible with stratified levels of analysis, making analyses straightforward and comfortable (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010). While instrumental, these frameworks lack the capacity to capture the dynamics and changes in today's global governance challenges, with liberalists idealism assuming a too linear progress in resolving

global governance problems, compared to what can be observed today, and rationalists lacking sufficient explanation for the variations in world governance.

Social constructivist theory challenges these state-centric theories and offers explanations for complex dynamics and change in global governance structures (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010). In contrast to the realist assumption that identities and interests are given, social constructivists believe that these are socially constructed. According to social constructivists, it is the constructed state identity and interests that shape behaviour. States do not have an identity or interests prior to interaction; instead these are shaped and transformed by socially constructed norms, by interaction, by how actors perceive actions, as well as by how we talk about them (Jackson and Sorensen 2006:165).

By socializing states in their understanding and acceptance of new norms and political objectives, international organizations may serve as agents of construction. The international organization can thus influence the definition of states' interest and consequently hold a powerful position in global governance (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010). Governance is thus not only a product of constraining structures, but also the result of reproductive governors. The governors gain acceptance by the governed by formulating attractive ideas and convincing the governed of the ideas' significance. The authority of e.g. an international organization then stems from its recognition, which it gains from its relations – authority is not a product, which endures in vacuum (Avant, Finnemore and Sell 2010). The aim of constructivist study is thus to uncover organizations' social content and how it effects its actors. Constructivists can in this way explain how international organizations contribute to the common understanding of e.g. humanitarianism and poverty and how these norms then shape behaviour and outcomes in relation to these topics. Such changes are hard for more state-centric and instrumental frameworks to capture.

2.2 CONSTRUCTION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

As an analysis, constructivism deals with human consciousness on social life. According to the theory, the social world is constructed by the people in it, which is why the world is intelligible to them. The social world is one of: *"[…] thoughts and beliefs, of ideas and concepts, of languages and discourses, of signs, signals and understandings among human beings, especially groups of human beings, such as states and nations. The social world is an intersubjective domain: it is meaningful to people who made it and live in it, and who understand it precisely because they made it and they are at home in it" (Jackson and Sorensen 2006:165)*

Ideational factors

Constructivism hypothesises the structure of human associations as mainly being formed by ideational factors, as the material world is undefined and can only be interpreted within the bigger context of meaning (Jackson and Sorensen 2006). As the theory believes that the social and political world is constructed by ideational factors, rather than physical entities, the analytical starting-point in constructivist research are belief systems that are commonly shared rather than reducible to individuals (Finnemore, and Sikkink 2001; Jackson and Sorensen 2006).

The ideational element can be explained as widely shared intersubjective beliefs that are commonly acknowledged in the society or in different societal groups. According to Nona Tannewald, the belief systems can be described as: '*Ideas are mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientations for behaviour and policy*' (Tannenwald 2005: 15). To delimit this classification of ideas further, ideas can also be reduced to 'knowledge'. The definition of knowledge is in the sociological reading "*any belief an actor takes to be true*" (Wendt 1999). Consequently, commonly shared beliefs can be conceptualised as our understanding of what is true. We will then respond in a way we perceive as appropriately to this truth.

The ideational focus stands in contrast to materialisms' focus on material factors. Within constructivism, differences exist on how to understand material. The more extreme notion is made by radical constructivism, in which the role of material is not in any way acknowledged. This is in contrast to social constructivism, which acknowledges material, yet, material only matters as we assign it specific meaning. Social constructivism does consequently not argue for ideas' autonomy from, or supremacy over, interests and power. Rather, interests and power explanations presuppose ideas, and are consequently not explanatory opponents to ideational explanations (Finnemore, and Sikkink 2001).

These ideational explanations are juxtaposed to materialist explanations, embraced by both realists and liberals. According to materialism, power and national interest are driving international politics. National interests are the self-centred state objective to gain power, wealth and security; and power is the military capacity, supported mainly by economic resources (Wendt 1999). Interests and the power are considered objective, 'material' factors as the anarchy state is bound to the concerned with these. Since the material factors are objective and control state action, ideas simply play the role of rationalising already definite action.

Consequently, when liberalist theory claims that peace can be achieved through economic interdependence, an ideational theory would question the believe systems that establish the value of economic progress (Wendt 1999; Jackson and Sorensen 2006). For constructivist analysis, this means that the variables of trade relations are of scholarly interest, however, they are of interest due to their social meaning and not due to being objective facts about the social world (Wendt 1994). The social meaning, which these materials are carrying, are constructed through specific, yet complex, variations of beliefs and history, and, in order to explain state behaviour, these need to be understood (Wolfrum 2011). Constructivists thus shows how "*ideational structures shape the very way actors define themselves- who they are, their goals, and the roles they believe they should play*" (Copeland 2000:190).

State identities and interests

Social constructivism questions rationalism since it theorises that belief systems construct actors' identities and interests (Finnemore, and Sikkink 2001; Wendt 1999). Actors become socialised in structures of socially shared beliefs and redefine their relative identities and interest in the process of interaction. According to constructivists, identities determine 'who or what actors are', whilst interests define 'what actors want'. Based on this idea, interest presuppose identities, as actors have to know who they are before they can understand what they want (Wendt 1992).

It is international actors' subjective property and self-understanding that generate motivations. As the understanding of one's self depends on other's understanding and representation of it, its construction depends on internal and external structures, and thus has an "intersubjective or systemic" quality about it (Wendt 1994). Not only is national identity constructed from an inward looking formation that define common features, but identity is also constructed as an 'in-group' that differentiates itself from the 'other'. This group of the 'other' is possibly both internal and external others (Kleiner-Liebau 2009). The perception of in-groups and out-groups, friends and enemies are key determinant of state behaviour. There is consequently a central connection between the idea of the own national identity and the idea of immigrants as the 'other' within the nation-state. This discussion triggers an explicit and implicit reproduction of national identity characteristics and defines who is a community member, and who is not (Kleiner-Liebau 2009).

The processes with identities continuously being shaped and reformed are central to constructivist study (Atkinson 2006). Actors produce and reproduce identities and meanings through representation, both positive and negative, and this understanding then enables or

disables specific courses of action. States do not have interest portfolios independent of the social context; rather, states define interest in the process of defining situations (Wendt 1992). Uncertainty is thus described as "*the indeterminacy of a largely socially constructed world that lacks meaning without norms and identities. More often than not, these meanings are implicit*" (Rathbun 2007:534).

There are two key interpretation of the construction of state identity within social constructivism: the systemic and domestic interpretation. The main constructivist scholar with a systemic approach to the international system is Wendt. Even if Wendt is a state-centrist scholar, he opposes that the state is an intentional actor, with identity and interest determined by domestic politics rather than the international system. The state should not be problematized all the way down as that frames a theory of the state, rather than a theory of the state system, which is the subject of study in systemic theory. Wendt is thus focused on how the system of states work, and not the elements of which it is constructed, and he consequently handles states as given in his analysis (Wendt 1999: 246). The Wendtian systemic constructivism thus focuses on the state system as the level of construction.

Wendt has created three key arguments about the system, namely: the main unit of analysis is the state; the main structures in the system of states are intersubjective rather than material; and state identities and interests are to a great extent constructed by these social structures rather than exogenously given by human nature (realist claim) or domestic politics (liberal claim) (Wendt 1994). Wendt criticises realists and liberals for viewing the state as a fixed entity with intrinsic features like sovereignty, power pursuit and egoistic pursuit since when the ontological and ideational properties of the state system are taken for granted and materialised, potential structural change is not possible (Wendt 1999). Wendt's systemic theory is able to explain structural change due to its ability to show that state identity and subsequently interests are endogenous to state interaction. Depending on interaction, these could change, as they are not exogenous and fixed as in realism.

Wendt has, however, received critique for continuing, just like realists, to treat the state as a unitary actor with single identity and interest, since it is only in the initial part of the preference creation that domestic practises are considered, if they are considered at all. In contrast to what Wendt argues, Peter Katzenstein (1996) and Ted Hopf (2002) maintain that the internal character affects how the state behaves (Jackson and Sorensen 2006). The analytical focus is then the domestic identity formation so as to comprehend national interests and how these affect foreign policies (Hopf 2002). According to Katzenstein, systemic theory is

inadequate precisely because it fails to comprehend the significance of internal make-up of states and its effect on state behaviour in the international system. Instead of stressing a systemic analysis, Katzenstein (1996) focuses on domestic normative structures and their influence on state identity, interest and behaviour (Jackson and Sorensen 2006). This type of analysis is also demonstrated by another scholar, Alastair Iain (1995), who argue that China traditionally has acted in accordance with realist expectations in international relation, yet, this action is not based on the international system's objective structure but rather on the specifics of the country (Wolfrum 2011). The strategic culture in China has been internalised by national decision-makers, and has consequently persisted across very diverse interstate systems.

These domestic scholars thus analyse the domestic creation of state identity, and subsequently how it is carried out into the systemic level. Powerful groups in society aim to impose and institutionalise their ideas and identities during the state building process and are the main governors in the formation of state identity. What ideas succeed is dependent on actors' relationship to society and relative power to other groups. Any disagreements on the identity definition among larger societal segments and the state polity may trigger a debate on what constitute the collective identity. Such debate may activate an identity crisis, which in turn may produce new definitions, subject to whom dominates the political discourse. A new identity would subsequently reshape state interests and the construction of 'others'. It is these identities and ideas that states bring into interactions with others in the international arena (Jackson and Sorensen 2006).

There are, however, critique of both the domestic and systemic approaches due to their alike separation of systemic and domestic levels of analysis, as the critics mean that such rigid separation of the levels is not possible as the national and international are connected. Based on the particular research, is can be pragmatically defendable with eminence of one analytical level over the other, however, with the constructivist idea of co-constitution among actors and structures, the zero-sum debate over what level offers the most leverage is not fundamental. To establish whether international relations matters more than domestic politics is consequently secondary in constructivist thinking. Social constructivism aims to demonstrate how both social constructions shape international politics, as well as how the conduct of international politics alters or reproduces social construction. Norms and identities are consequently both independent variables, as well as dependent variables (Green 2002). Therefore, even if there is an apparent disagreement on the relative importance of domestic and international factors in state identity construction, this disagreement does not have to be fundamental (Jackson and Sorensen 2006).

The process of identity shaping is consequently interactive with systemic interaction shaping identity through elements, such as norms, which in turn intensify the domestic identity process or crisis. State officials' understanding about the international system and a state's role in it is rooted in domestic politics, as the officials are part of a community of values, identities and the understanding of the 'other' (Sjöstedt 2007). It is thus critical to take both domestic and international concerns into consideration when understanding state identity, interest and behaviour in international relations.

2.3 GOVERNANCE OF GLOBAL ISSUE AREAS

As previously described, the number of interrelated and complex global issues has evolved with increased globalisation, which require international collective action (Karns and Mingst 2010). The field of global governance is thus divided into the governance of specific issue areas, such as general issue areas like global economic governance and global environmental governance, as well as particular issue areas within the general issue areas, like e.g. biological diversity and climate change within global environmental governance. When analysing specific issues areas, the concept of governance is narrower than the notion of order and the analysis starts with establishing an inventory of the governing mechanism relevant for the particular issue area (Whitman 2009).

International regimes

International regimes are theorised pieces of global governance that firstly emerged from legal scholars within liberalism as a middle-level theory of global governance (Karns and Mingst 2010). These scholars observed that international law not only consists of formal authoritative law, but also of informal norms and rules of behaviour that became institutionalised in certain issue areas; international regimes are the totality of these rules, norms and structures that are connected to particular issue areas. The concept of international regimes is created in order to understand governance in specific issue areas where norms, rules, principles and processes are connected to each other. The existence of regimes means that actors - states and other international actors - accept certain agreements and due to governance without government, actors comply by these agreements based on the general recognition of the legitimacy of the norms as well as the validity of decision-making processes and the expectation that other states also will comply (Karns and Mingst 2010).

The most commonly used definition of international regimes are "*sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decisionmaking procedures around which actors' expectations*

converge in a given issue area" (Krasner 1983:1). According to Krasner (1983) 'principles' are beliefs in fact or causalities of specific issues, and 'norms' translate social behaviour into rights and obligations (Krasner 1983). Also, regimes encompass 'rules' and 'procedures' that are coherent with the norms and principles and translate these into particular directives for action (Diez, Bode and Fernandes da Costa 2011). Thus, any change in norms and principles also includes a transformation of the regime itself, whereas when producers and rules change, it is merely a change within the international regime (Krasner 1983).

As international regimes are constructed, partial international orders on specific issue areas, they are intended to remove self-help behaviour in the area by providing mutual beliefs and cooperation (Hasenclever, Mayet and Rittberger 2000). Especially liberalist regime theorists demonstrate how states create frameworks to coordinate action to achieve interests and how these regimes provide information and reduce uncertainty (Karns and Mingst 2010). This coordination may with time lead to partial merging of interests and values among members of a regime (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Whilst regime theory emphasise intergovernmental organisations' role in the formation and maintenance of regimes, the organisations' existence is not equated to the existence of a regime. International organisations can incorporate norms, rules and functions that formalise pieces of a regime, yet, by themselves, they do not constitute a regime. International organisations are used to sustain and develop traditions of cooperation and are used by states for the provision of common goods (Karns and Mingst 2010). The fundamental difference between international regimes and organisations consequently lays in the organisations capacity of work as an actor in international politics and work across issue areas while regimes do not function as actors and always relate to particular issue areas (Hasenclever et al. 2000). Since theory on international regimes has, by establishing that governance are embedded in norms rather than only organisational structures, enabled to link international institutions and global governance (Karns and Mingst 2010). By identifying and studying regimes, one can examine interaction among multiple actors as well as institutionalised norms, rules and procedures, and examine informal patterns and ad hoc grouping in international cooperation over time on specific issue areas (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Even if regime theory originates from liberalism, other theoretical foundations have also contributed to the formation of the theory (Karns and Mingst 2010). In a realist analysis of international regimes, the analytical focus is the role of power relations among states when they form regimes, particularly the role of hegemonic states (Karns and Mingst 2010). Realists

apply hegemonic theory to regime theory to create a power-based theory of regimes. Realists thus maintain that a strong hegemon is what constitute an effective regime. These power regimes are created to serve powerful states' interest and have no independent power over powerful states. While realists believe that the regime cooperation simply mirrors the power distribution of the international system, liberalists maintain that regime cooperation facilitate cooperation in an anarchic world (Karns and Mingst 2010).

Social constructivists have also taken part in shaping international regime theory. Fundamentally, social constructivists criticise liberalists' and realists' theoretical reduction of international regimes to functional logics. Rather than focusing on compliance, constructivist theory conceptualises regimes in intersubjective terms, by focusing on the intersubjective meaning and shared understanding within international regimes. The understanding of regime rules is not central; it is instead central to understand whether these have an effect on the behaviour of actors. The social constructivist take on international regimes thus focuses on the "*aspects of the constitutive effects of international regimes on the identity of the members of the regime action*" (Diez, Bode and Fernandes da Costa 2011). We consequently know regimes by their "*principled and shared understanding of desirable and acceptable forms of social behaviour*" (Kratochwil and Ruggie 1986: 764). To decrease uncertainty, actors need information and some kind of common understanding of ideas in order to decide on the rules of the game and to be able to take decisions (Hasenclever et al 1997). Common ideas (or knowledge) are thus important as interests are formed by these ideas, as these shape behaviour of actors and decision-makers as well as the expectations of others' action,

Regime complexity

Most international organisations and multilateral treaties used to be rather independent from one another, but with a new, increased number of organisations and treaties starting to overlap neighbouring issue areas, global governance has become denser. Consequently, new arrangements can no longer be negotiated on clear institutional tables (Morin et al. 2013).

International regime complexity is nested, parallel and partially overlapping regimes, which is not organised hierarchically (Alter and Meunier 2009). Even if a complexity of rules exists domestically, it is the lack of hierarchy in the international realm that characterises regime complexity since it complicates the resolution of issues (Alter and Meunier 2009). Simply because conventions overlap does, however, not mean that they constitute a regime complex, but regime complexes exhibit a level of divergence among norms, principles, rules or procedures of the elemental regimes (Morin et al. 2013). It is this divergence that is a

fundamental feature of regime complexes and forms potential problems for the relationship among elemental regimes, even if these redundancies may be solved and lead to specialisation or synergies among the elements, and consequently leads to non-diverging relations. In e.g. the existing refugee complex for refugee protection, the human rights regime seems to be synergetic with the refugee regime (Morin et al. 2013). For a regime complex to exist, stakeholders need to regard the simultaneous existence of elemental regimes as being an actual or potential problem (Morin et al. 2013). It is this perception by actors that form a regime complex, and not the subject or its rules itself. Thus, a regime complex can emerge as a result of changed understanding of a problem without any actual institutional change. It is the perception of which regimes shape a complex that draws the boundaries of the regime (Morin et al. 2013).

Regime complexes are not negotiated and coordinated jointly by the same group, and elemental regimes that are members of the complex overlap partially but not entirely. A subject matter, such as food security or refugee protection, may turn into the empirical foundation for a regime complex by functioning as the crossroads where the elemental regimes meet. The elemental regimes could then focus on broader issue areas, e.g. intellectual property, security, labour and agriculture (Morin et al. 2013). Regime complexities are thus focused on a specific subject issue, with a narrower scope than an issue area (Morin et al. 2013).

There are several types of interaction that may bring elemental regimes into a complex: compliance; material and political substance; and norms (Morin et al. 2013). When subjects are perceived as being intrinsically interrelated they may interact at the material and political level; when norms, procedures and rules are perceived as interrelated, interaction may happen at an normative level; and when compliance with one regime's requirements affect the performance of another regime, interaction may happen on an operative level (Morin et al. 2013). These relationships among elemental regimes are characteristically not hierarchical in a complex since competing hierarchical measures from legal, political and ethical hierarchies are concurrently at play in shaping complex interactions. Consequently, regime complexes may gather regimes that are connected by separate and possibly incompatible hierarchies. Using the food security complex as an example, it features intransitive interactions among the trade regime, which is legally powerful, the finance regime, which is highly resourceful and the human rights regime, which is normatively sacred (Morin et al. 2013).

There is a disagreement among scholars on whether regime complexes are managed, used and favourable to the traditionally powerful state-actors (realists), or whether the skills to manage

complexes differ from the classical power definition and include broader power such as legitimacy, authority and institutional flexibility (liberalism) (Morin et al. 2013). The literature primarily maintain that the linking of regimes mainly occurs through state politics, in which states are key contributors as well as key receivers of the norms embedded in regime complexes (realism), even if non-state actors also can manage relations among elemental regimes (liberalism) (Alter and Meunier 2009). Along with these actors, social constructivists maintain that complexes also are driven by norms (Zelli, Gupta and van Asselt). As the evolution of regime complexes is formed by global norms and discourses that are supported by existing institutions, these complexes are wide-ranging structures that rarely set off from existing trajectories and thus depend mainly on path dependency, even if they allow for some contestation to mount.

Change in regime complexes

Scholars have identified several pathways in which regime complexes reorganise global governance. Even without the existence of complexes are global agreements repeatedly redefined when they are implemented by implementers that are subject to other demands and concerns than the ones designing the agreements in the first place (Hafner-Burton 2008). With the existence of complexes, additional implementation implications are added to this divergence, due to the reduced clearness of obligations that regimes bring about with overlapping governing rules on specific issues. In terms of legal obligations, scholars refer to this issue as the 'fragmentation' of international law (Hafner-Burton 2008). Fragmentation may be overcome by resolving agreements, if interests are similar among states. When this is the case, the ambiguity in regimes is simply transitory. When state interests, on the other hand, diverge, states block these resolving agreements as the persisting ambiguity allows for states to select their desired interpretation and rules. When this fragmentation sustains, agreements become redefined over time and space, to account for developments in parallel domains. As multiple institutions exist and are coupled in authority over a particular issue area, changes in one international institution means changes of the conditions in another institution. The formal texts, however, predominantly remain unchanged. It is instead in the implementation phase that change is enabled or disabled by the regime complexity (Betts 2009).

The existence of international regime complexity and its enabling of cross-institutional political strategies may then modify the strategic playing field. Within the regime complexity literature, several types of strategies are identified, namely forum-shopping, regime-shifting and strategic inconsistency (Alter and Meunier 2009). Firstly, forum-shopping strategies involve states choosing venue based on where they best can promote their particular objectives. Strategic

inconsistency happens when contradictory rules are formulated in one regime, in order to weaken an agreement in a parallel regime. Lastly, regime shifting happens when states change from addressing its concerns about a particular issue-areas from one regime to parallel regime (Alter and Meunier 2009). When several institutions have authority over a particular issue area, a change in one institution may reposition other institutions, however, with forum-shopping, states aim to achieve a particular outcome within a regime, while regime-shifting reshapes the global structure (Helfer 2004).

It is more likely for change with these regime complexities to occur and new issues to be introduced when there is an introduction of new information within the field, or in connection to sudden chocks within the system. These happenings open up for opportunities for new issues to be added to the agenda due to the identification of an acute problem (Milner 2014; Birkland and DeYoung 2013). It, however, appears as though change occurs more or less easily depending on the issue areas, since regime complexes that are organised around functions, such as refugees and food security, are less stable compared to those organised around areas or sectors, such as environment and trade (Morin et al. 2013).

2.4 GOVERNANCE OF THE REFUGEE ISSUE AREA

In global governance literature, refugee issues are understood as being governed through a refugee regime. The main elements of the refugee regime are the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, which is the convention defining who refugees are and their rights; as well as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which is the responsible international organisation responsible for the supervision and implementation by states of the 1951 Convention (Betts 2010).

Among the main principles, rules, norms and procedures are two key ones, namely 'asylum' and 'burden sharing'. It is these two types of refugee protection that States can contribute with, and they are based on different logics. Asylum is the provision of protection to refugees that reach the territory of the State. Burden sharing is the provision of protection to refugees that are on other States' territory, through financial contribution or resettlement (Betts 2010).

The concept of asylum is governed by strong a normative and legal framework. It is supported by the non-refoulement principles, which prohibit States from returning refugees to their country of origin if there is a well-founded risk of persecution in that State (Betts 2010). Burden-sharing, on the other hand, is governed by a weak normative and legal framework. In the 1951 Convention, nor in other agreements, is it well defined, explicit nor binding what

responsibilities a State have towards refugees that reside on another State's territory (Betts 2010). Instead, UNHCR has simply had the mandate to arrange sporadic supplementary initiatives where this has been relevant to the agency's mandate (Betts 2010).

Refugee regime complexity

As explained earlier, contemporary governance issues have not only become more specialized, but also more complex and do no longer fit into conventional categorizations (Karns and Mingst 2010). Just like development issues no longer are simply economic, but also political and social, has the humanitarian process become politicized and refugee issues are no longer simply humanitarian, but also instrumentalised for political issues (Karns and Mingst 2010).

The increased concerns regarding the relationship between immigration and security in Europe and accusations of irregular migrants abusing the asylum channels, has led to the securitization of irregular migration, politicization of asylum and a new institutionalized cooperation on travel. The new mechanisms of cooperation are making it increasingly difficult to gain access to territory and Europe's increased regulation of travel is rarely sensitive to the difference between irregular migrants refugees and asylum-seekers (Betts 2010). This development has resulted in an increased overlap between the refugee regime and the travel regime, and has particularly implications for access to asylum channels as thus, spontaneous arrival asylum-seekers are constrained in claiming asylum. Different parts of the world has different traditions of asylum provisions, with the United States, Canada and Australia mainly providing protection through resettlement of refugees, while in Europe and a big part of the developing world, refugees are provided protection by spontaneous arrival asylum at the border of the country. Thus, access to asylum has been premised upon access to territory in large part of the world (Betts 2010). The travel regime's cooperative mechanisms have enabled Northern States' reduction of asylum-seekers' access to spontaneous arrival asylum without obviously violating the main legal and normative obligation of the refugee regime, namely the non-refoulement principle in the 1951 Convention, as this principle only take effect once an individual reach the territory of the State. Thus, the control of access to territory has allowed Northern States, in particular European States, to bypass the refugee regime and its obligations (Betts 2010).

The growth of the travel regime has thus created the opening for European States to engage in 'regime shifting', which means that they can address their concern with spontaneous arrival asylum through other forms of cooperation within another regime than the refugee regime. The new parallel multilateral venues has led to alternative mechanisms and language, which

transform an individual fleeing persecution into an individual seeking economic migration. In this way, obligations under international refugee regime are avoided. In this way, costs has been redistributed in the refugee regime, by placing a greater responsibility on Southern States to protect refugees, as they do not have the same capacity to limit refugees' access to territory (Betts 2010).

Even if the UNHCR has been forced to take developments in the parallel migration and security domains into account and redefine policy over time, the formal text of the 1951 Geneva Convention has remained the same. It is instead in the implementation of the regime, where one can study the transformation affected by the regime complexity (Betts 2009). Betts and Orchard (2014) note that the actual process of implementing norms and rules also contributes to the variation in how the same international norm is implemented due to local, regional and national challenges and variations. Among the factors that affect implementation in the context, three wide types of structures are mentioned, namely, institutional, material and ideational frameworks, and Betts and Orchard (2014) call for further research on the variation of these when explaining the variation of implementation of global refugee norms in regional, national and local contexts. It is noted that in studying global refugee rules and norms, such rules and norms are implemented outside of the global refugee regime where they might clash with other priorities and interests (Milner 2014).

Table 1. Outline of theoretical framework

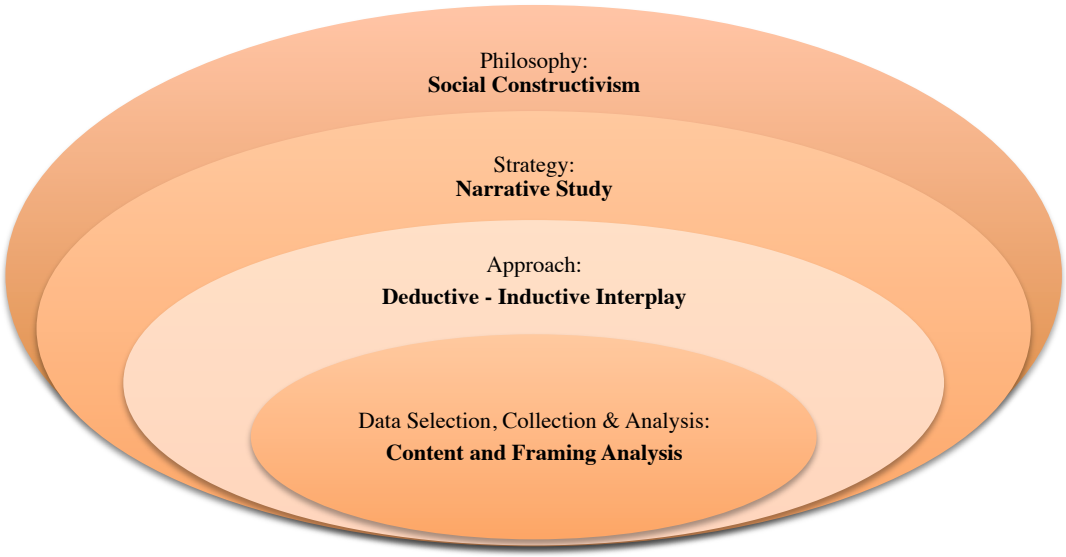
OUTLINE OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter has reviewed the relevant field of literature for this research, opening with an introduction to global governance and its theoretical foundations, namely realism, liberalism and social constructivism. The appropriate social constructivist approach to global governance is further elaborated on, including its main focus on ideational factors and construction of state identity and interests. Subsequently, the literature on how specific issue areas are globally governed is through international regimes and international regime complexity is reviewed. This leads to the conceptualisation of governance of the refuge issue area and how the main principles of asylum and burden sharing are connected in the international refugee regime through the UNHCR and the 1951 Geneva Convention. Lastly, it is explained how the refugee regime has changed into the international refugee complex, with the regime intersecting with several other international regimes leading to securitization and politicization of refugees, which has complicated and altered the refugee regime.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the methodological choices that were made in order to analyse and answer the research question. These choices include a social constructivist philosophy and a qualitative narrative study. In terms of data selection and collection, the news coverage from UNHCR's Global Trends reports 2014 and 2015, and from the Swedish newspaper Sydsvenskan in 2014 and 2015, are chosen. The analysis of the data is based on a deductive and inductive interplay and involves a narrative analysis that consists of a brief quantitative text analysis in combination with an in-depth content analysis. To identify the belief systems underlying the various narratives, the analysis moves from the denotative to the connotative meanings in a final interpretation, which is finalised through the identification of the general and issue-specific frames fundamental to these narratives. The section is ended with a discussion on validity, reliability, generalizability and limitations.

Figure 1. Methodology overview



3.1 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST PHILOSOPHY

Several competing research paradigms exist within social science. A paradigm could be compared to a lens thorough which the researcher sees the world; it is a collection of assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), human knowledge (epistemology) and methods to use for research (Denzin and Loncoln 2005). This thesis is logically situated within the social constructivist paradigm as the thesis' problem formulation is founded on social constructivist theorising about global governance of the refugee issue area.

According to social constructivist ontology, reality is constructed through collective processes of human interaction and is available though cognitive structures. We actively construct and bring forward our mental world, or experienced reality, as mental structures are actively constructed in our minds instead of passively acquired (Riegler 2012). This means that individuals constantly create meaning of their environment through interaction. As constructivism views reality as a construct, reality is subjective, everything is contingent and an objective world does not exist, nor does universality (Andrew et. al. 2011).

As there is not one reality, but several subjective interpretations of reality, there is no unity of science and epistemology is neither value neutral or objective (Moses and Knutsen 2007). Constructivists are thus epistemological relativists and believe that truth is not the ideal of knowledge, but plays a part in society. Individuals construct knowledge through what they already know in interaction with ideas and activities that they come in contact with (Cannella & Reiff, 1994; Richardson, 1997). Knowledge is therefore a human product, which is socially and culturally constructed through social interaction and is shared, as opposed to being an individual experience (Vygotsky, 1978). As knowledge is developed through involvement with content rather than repetition, the researcher is always part of the system and scientific knowledge is constructed by scientists, rather than discovered from the world (Kroll & LaBoskey, 1996). Therefore, it does not make sense to talk about a reality independent of our knowledge of it, and the knowledge we obtain cannot be satisfactorily evaluated against reality. There is consequently no single methodology when generating knowledge (Andrew et. al. 2011).

The goal of constructivist research is structuring and understanding, rather than prediction (Denzin and Loncoln 2005). The paradigm aims to uncover and interpret established truths about the social world. Theory is evaluated on its coherence and new knowledge is assessed based on what we already know. The validation by others of your discovered truths is how we validate our knowledge. Only within the perceived truth by the common are propositions true. However, as people interpret phenomena in different ways, truth is not singular and depends on cultural and historical contingency.

In the knowledge construction process, social constructivism emphasizes culture and context and consequently, studies focuses on context and setting (Andrew et. al. 2011). Findings are idiosyncratic as opposed to generalizable (Denzin and Loncoln 2005). The paradigm studies collectives to understand their common knowledge creation and construction of a shared reality. The unit is thus the collective, even if the individual sometimes are unit of study in

order to trace the collective discourses that are being used. Social constructivist methodology asks why instead of what and research within the paradigm thus go beyond the observable and instead interpret activities through historically constructed discourse (Riegler 2012).

3.2 QUALITATIVE NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Constructivist qualitative research can be described as "*... reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social world. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world*" (Merriam 1998:27). According to social constructivism, the researcher gathers interpretations of the constructed reality and reports on the interpretation (Stake 1995). Thus, the social constructivist qualitative research is appropriate when answering this thesis' research question *'How has the conceptualisation of the refugee regime changed in Swedish media during the course of the refugee crisis?'.*

The qualitative narrative method is an appropriate method for this thesis due to its ability to offer detailed accounts and find patterns in the public debate, by the told stories in the debate. The stories are the focus of discovery when uncovering the ideas that are shared about the refugee crisis. By doing a narrative study, the researcher identifies institutions by their common system of understanding. The stories that are of interest are not handled as passive presentation of an external reality that is objective, but rather a product of construction. In this manner, events are chosen to constitute a meaningful story for the collective and shared beliefs that are part of belief systems are constituted though shared storied (Zilber 2007).

Narratives are used as interpretative devices by which individuals represent themselves and their environment to other individuals, as well as to themselves. They are social products that are produced by people in social and historical context. Narration is a social process, where stories are co-authored with multiple narrators, which play with a variation of logics in managing the comprehension of our social world. The narrator is interpreting our reality, what it is like and sometimes how it should be like, by telling a story about it (Hinchman and Hinchman 1997). In managing meaning, narratives are powerful medium as they can influence how people understand, make sense of and formulate practices, action and structures.

In research, narratives are highly valuable due to their nature of being interpretations of the world, rather than reproductions of it. The accounts consequently form and present collective beliefs and identities for nations, organisations and various societal groups. Also, as narratives are our interpretation and understanding of the past and present social world, they have

implication for the future, in that when we make sense of past events and their consequences, it has implications for how we will understand future events and consequently also our actions (Gabriel 2000; Czarniawska 1998:20).

A text is narrative in its sequence and consequence; by the selection, organisation and connection of events, meaning is created for a particular audience. When studying the relationship between social reality and narratives, the texts that establish the discourses are systematically studied (Zilber 2007). Discourses support particular meaning systems that define the taken-for-granted structures within a field, with established institutions. Texts, and the actors generating the text, are reproducing the meaning of certain phenomena, and consequently structures.

In order to understand and explain underlying structures, this thesis is based on a narrative analysis that combines a quantitative word search with a qualitative manifest content analysis and a latent content analysis. The second more abstract latent analysis reduces the stories to more abstract explanations, which provides parallel strength to the study due to its enhanced comprehensibility. As the context is part of the analysis and determines the answer to the research question, the knowledge produced by such narrative analysis will be situated in its character, as well as particular and local and thus limited in its application. The analysis is subsequently finalised by a framing analysis to outline the underlying structures of the narratives.

3.3 DATA SELECTION AND COLLECTION

This section presents the process of selecting and collecting the data that the research is based on. The data selected for this thesis are the Swedish media representations of the refugee crisis by the regional newspaper Sydsvenskan in 2014 and 2015, as well as UNHCR's reporting on the refugee crisis in their Global Trends reports in 2014 and 2015, leading up to and during the outbreak of the refugee crisis in Europe and Sweden. This particular selection of data allows for an analysis of how the discourses in 2015 are intertwined with discourses from 2014 and how local, national and international discourses interweave. Subsequently, the data enables an analysis that uncovers the current Swedish discourse dynamics on the crisis and the connection to more general discourses.

As UNHCR is the main international actor in the governance of refugee issues, it is an appropriate organisation to analyse in order to uncover the international normative belief systems governing the refugee regime (Karns and Mingst 2010). UNHCR has full-time

statisticians that work on tracking the number of people forced to flee and track displacement crises. These numbers are released every year in review in their Global Trends reports (UNHCR 2015). The UNHCR Global Trends 2014 is published in June 2015 and the UNHCR Global Trends 2015 in review is published in June 2016. UNHCR's Global Trend reports are selected as data since they in review report on what has happened in terms of refugee crises in the world during a year, and consequently make sense of news and trends from a UNHCR and global perspective. The report is available to the public and was collected from UNHCR's webpage: http://www.unhcr.org/search?comid=56b079c44&&scid=49aea93a5b&tags=globaltrends

To uncover Swedish belief systems regarding the refugee crisis, Swedish media coverage and its interpretation of the refugee crisis is analysed. Media discourse is one type of several forms of public discourse, such as expert discourse and policy maker discourse. Media discourse is, though, arguably most influential in terms of shaping public opinion, which is why it is chosen as data (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). To uncover the Swedish public discourse through media, the media coverage from the southern Swedish newspaper Sydsvenskan is chosen as data for the analysis. The Southern state of Sweden, Skåne, is the region with international connections to Denmark by boat and bridge, and it is to this region that refugees arrive when they come to Sweden. It is also the region with the largest support for the nationalist and anti-migration political party in Sweden, the Social Democrats. The party had a support of about 22 % in November 2015, according to a report from the Swedish statistics authority (HD 2016). In Skåne, the newspaper Sydsvenskan is the largest newspaper, issued seven days a week, providing news to 299.000 people in the region, and is labeled independent liberal (IIS 2016). This newspaper is consequently of interest due to its reporting from the region with the largest exposure to the refugee crisis as well as anti-migration forces in Sweden.

The data sample from the newspaper Sydsvenskan is a collection of all front-page news as well as samples of full newspapers in the middle of each respective month, during October and November 2014, as well as October and November 2015. The data selection of front-page news enables an analysis of what news were understood as main news during the period and how these news were presented. The data selection of complete newspapers enabled a more in-depth content analysis of the how the refugee crisis was presented. The months were chosen due to the large amount of refugees arriving to Sweden during both these periods. Since the data is a year apart, it captures the media coverage leading up to and during the outbreak of the refugee crisis in Europe and Sweden. These months were also followed by the "December agreement" in December 2015 with Swedish border controls being reintroduced. The

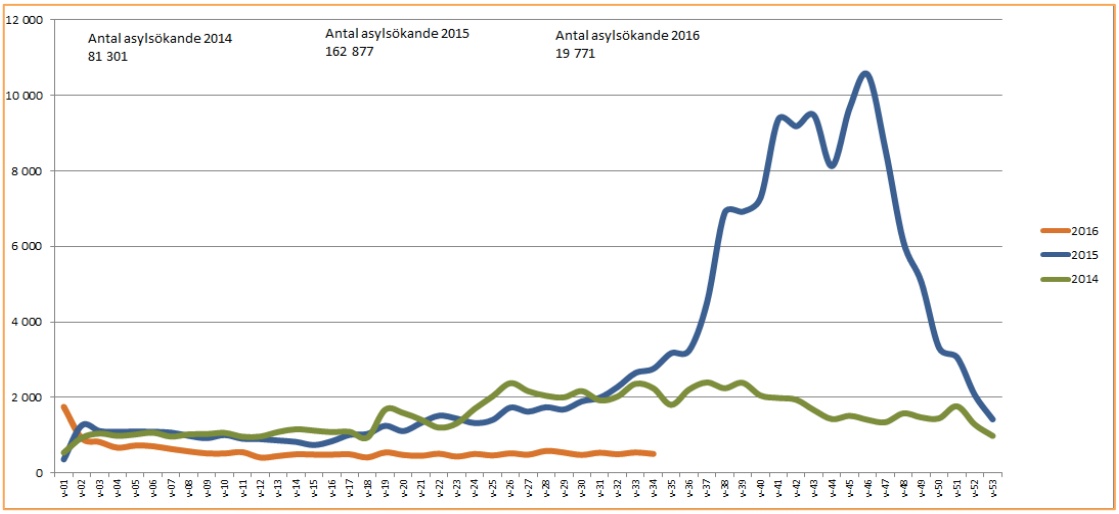
Sydsvenskan newspapers are available on subscription and were collected from the webpage: https://go.readly.com/newspapers

Table 2. Asylum applications in Sweden 2014 - 2016

Amount of asylum seekers in Sweden			
	2014	**2015**	**2016**
January	4 451	4 896	4 169
February	4 109	4 040	2 751
March	4 406	4 117	2 249
April	4 855	3 917	2 056
May	6 019	5 376	2 121
June	8 073	6 619	2 140
July	9 385	8 065	2 201
August	8 877	11 746	
September	9 976	24 307	
October	8 184	39 196	
November	6 009	36 726	
December	6 957	13 872	
Total	**81 301**	**162 877**	**17 687**

Numbers taken from: http://www.migrationsverket.se/Om-Migrationsverket/Statistik.html

Figure 2. Asylum applications in Sweden 2014 - 2016



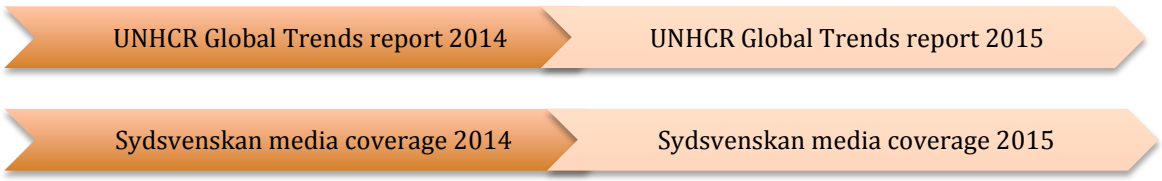
Graph taken from: http://www.migrationsverket.se/Om-Migrationsverket/Statistik.html

To capture country-level and international discursive dynamics, this paper explores the above-mentioned texts, UNHCR's Trend reports and Sydsvenskans' news coverage in 2014 and 2015, as they reflect both the Swedish public discourse, compared to the international, ideational discourse presented by UNHCR. The focus for the narrative analysis is the stories that are shared as social experiences and are derived from the text, namely UNHCR's Trend reports and Sydsvenskans' news coverage in 2014 and 2015. The UNHCR text is appropriate to use as data

as it reflect how the main international actor in the global governance of refugee issues report on the crisis. The Sydsvenskan text is appropriate to use as data since most of what we know about the refugee crisis predominantly comes from the media coverage of it. In analysing what narratives the media conveys, we highlight how the crisis is made sense of and how the topic is constructed. The time-line of when the texts were collected allows the analysis to capture the dynamics before the crisis as well as during the most pressured time of the crisis where the amount of refugees was significantly larger than expected in Europe, and especially in Sweden, at the time when the debate was at the initial stage of the country coming to terms with the crisis and the reasons and implications of the crisis were discussed, as well as how the experience collectively was understood as a crisis.

Indeed, this paper only analyses a part of the discourse, which is only one chunk of the process of crisis construction, which is a limitation. Yet, the process of constructing the reality of the crisis is on-going and any choice of data would be partial. Bringing together central actors in the debate, involved the dynamics of the processes in its entity, which can never really be captured, but is consequently considered to be a goo-enough proxy. The analysis of only one debate allows for a finely grained narrative analysis.

Figure 3. Overview of selected data



3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

This section introduces the inductive and deductive interplay of the research, the criteria and process of selecting and collecting data and the narrative content and framing analyses that were used to analyse the collected data.

Inductive - deductive interplay

Throughout the analysis process of answering the research question, there is a constant interplay between inductive inference (observation) and deductive inference (theory based). According to the inductive approach, the research question is posed due to observation; yet, the point of departure for the analysis is theory, which is in accordance with deductive reasoning. Consequently, this paper tests what we know, but still forms new theory.

Figure 4. This papers' reasoning

Quantitative text analysis

First, the collected data was read a number of times, for the researcher to get familiar with the texts. The first readings were followed by a quantitative word search, which is an introductory search in the text for the most common words, which helps to get an overview of the text by the type of words that are used and by the frequency that particular words are used with. The search was conducted after the first readings at the point where the text was becoming sharper. The words that were typical for the text and frequently occurred were counted using Microsoft Words' search function. The words were consequently documented in terms of total use of words, in a Microsoft Excel sheet.

Qualitative manifest content analysis

Following the quantitative word search, a content analysis was conducted. The content analysis consisted of two parts, the first one being the manifest content analysis. This analysis involved the creation of themes and codes based on the narratives in the text. This started with several readings of the text where the focus of the reading was the content. Based on this reading, the complexity of the data was reduced by grouping and organising related pieces of data. Certain ideas were repeated in each text, which constituted the themes. The themes emerged from the both the research objective, research question and analytical framework, as well as the data itself. With the grouping into themes, the text became more structured and comprehensible and the manifest content of the narratives became easier to grasp.

Qualitative latent content analysis

The second part of the content analysis was the latent content analysis. Moving on to this type of analysis meaning moving from the denotative to the connotative meanings of the text. The latent content analysis focuses on the subtle messages of the text such as what graphic images are presented, what data are used to support arguments, and it takes the context, within which the meanings are produced, into consideration.

In connection to the latent content analysis, a counter narrative analysis was also conducted, focusing on alternative stories and the connection between stories, which in turn generate alternative sets of stories that was not obvious from the manifest content analysis. Furthermore, differences between stories that at first seemed similar and commonalities among stories that at first seemed different are discovered (Zilber 2007). When conducting the

latent content analytical, relevant questions to ask are: How are events causally linked? Who are attributed responsibility, or blame? Is the outlook for the future optimistic or pessimistic? (Zilber 2007).

Final interpretation

The last part of the content analysis is the final interpretation, which brining the steps of the analyses together to integrate and interpret the results into narratives. The interpretation is analytically guided to answer the research question. This means that the regularities in patters are integrated and interpreted to bring the complexity of the analyses down to a comprehensible level.

Framing analysis

The data analysis is finalised through a framing analysis, which examine the belief systems underlying the different narratives, in order to explain the variation in the narration. Framing is, generally explained, used to identify major cognitive schemata by which people interpret and communicate their world. When moving from analysing language, looking at the collection of words, to analysing discourse one additionally focuses on the semantics and syntax of meaning that discourse bring to simple language. Discourses need frames of meaning to function within. Consequently, to understand the meaning of word and language, one needs to understand the meaning frames in which it is working. These frames are more abstract than visual signs of a phenomenon. The framing analysis is consequently appropriate to conduct after the word search, manifest and latent content analysis of the text (Minsky 1975). The frames are then identified through these above-mentioned techniques, since the words within particular frames, with the assumption that interest groups that employ a certain frame also employ a similar pool of words. The qualitative content analysis enables the identification of frames since it reduces meanings in the text to narratives (Minsky 1975).

A text operationalize different levels of frameworks, which helps to conceptualise an 'object'. Through a framing dimension, this 'object' is then translated into a problem, such as the problem of a refugee crisis. The identified frames are both generic and issue-specific frames, with generic frames being applied across issue areas, whilst issue-specific frames are connected to specific issues. These frames are hierarchical, as levels of thought direct our understanding. The higher-level, more generic, frames act as primes for the lower-level frames by mapping the principles and rational onto the more issue-specific lower level frames (Frameworks institute 2002). With each lower level of the framing, more detail is added to the phenomenon of interest (Frameworks institute 2002).

3.5 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY, GENERALIZABILITY AND LIMITATIONS

Even if this is the thesis' validity section, the validation of the paper does not belong here. Instead, the quality and credibility permeates and is embedded in each step of the knowledge production. Consequently, the control focus of validity is not in the final product, but of the whole research process (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). Due to transparency, the reader can follow every step of this thesis' work process, from idea to finished report, including the logic derivation of the research question, from observation, the established academic literature of the field of study and the conceptualisation and contextualisation of the research problem, as well as the adequacy of the research design, appropriateness of data selection and collection, as well as a transparent analysis process, sound reasoning in interpretation of findings, and this reporting on the process and presenting answer to the research question. It is ultimately the reader's role to validate the paper. The reliability of this thesis reflects the consistency and trustworthiness of the paper's findings based on the data selection, collection and analysis.

In terms of generalizability, this thesis is an intrinsic case study based on a social constructivist philosophy with the objective to understand the case at hand (Stake 2005). Hence, it is not possible nor an ambition to generalise this study on a universal level; yet, it can provide insight to comparable, similar situations.

Table 3. Outline of research design

OUTLINE OF RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is situated within the social constructivist paradigm and takes the analytical starting point in the ideational factors regarding the refugee crisis and the refugee regime. Through a narrative analysis, the study compares the development of Swedish public narratives regarding the refugee crisis to the ones of the refugee regime. This is done through an in-depth narrative analysis, consisting of a brief quantitative text analysis and a n in-depth qualitative content analysis of the Swedish newspaper Sydsvenskan's news coverage from 2014 and 2015, and UNHCR's Global Trend reports for 2014 and 2015. To identify the belief systems underlying the various narratives, the analysis moves from the denotative to the connotative meanings in a final interpretation, which is completed by the identification of the frames, which the narratives operates within. The result of this study, including theoretical framework, applied methodology and analysis of findings, is reported in this Master's Thesis.

4. ANALYSIS

This section presents the analysis of the UNHCR Trend report 2014 and 2015 and the Swedish Sydsvenskan media coverage in 2014 and 2015 of the refugee crisis. The analysis consists of a brief quantitative text analysis followed by a manifest and latent content analysis of the UNHCR trend reports in 2014 and 2015, which composed presents the narratives presented by the UNHCR. This is followed by the same analysis and presentation of the narratives presented in Swedish media during 2014 and 2015. Succeeding the presentation of the different narratives, a framing analysis is presented, outlining the different belief system in which the issue area of the refugee crisis is guided within.

4.1 NARRATIVES BY UNHCR

QUANTITATIVE TEXT ANALYSIS

The words used in both the UNHCR Trend Report from 2014 and 2015 are more or less the same, roughly used the same amount of times. The main difference is that 'Europe' increases in frequency from 2014 to 2015; going from being the 24th most frequently used word in 2014 (21 usages) to the 14th most frequently used in 2015. 'Child' also increases in frequency, yet not as dramatically, going from being the 19th most frequently used word in 2014 (23 usages) to becoming the 13th most frequently used word in 2015. 'Eritrea', on the other hand, is used less in 2014 compared to 2015, being the 15th most frequently used word in 2014 to being the 31st most frequently used word in 2015 (used 16 times). 'Pakistan', also went from 11th place, to being the 16th most frequently used word in 2015 (used 29 times).

Table 4. UNHCR word frequency 2014

UNHCR Word frequency 2014		
	Words	**#**
1	Refugee	537
2	Asylum	197
3	Return	97
4	Stateless/ness	95
5	Syria	85
6	Displaced	85
7	Protection	77
8	Afghanistan	71
9	Turkey	42
10	Iraq	40
11	**Pakistan**	38
12	Conflict	31
12	Somalia	31
14	South Sudan	29
15	**Eritrea**	28

Table 5. UNHCR word frequency 2015

UNHCR Word frequency 2015		
	Words	**#**
1	Refugee	493
2	Asylum	223
3	Displaced	116
4	Protection	96
5	Stateless/ness	96
6	Return	92
7	Syria	70
8	Afghanistan	65
9	Iraq	57
10	Turkey	44
11	Conflict	39
12	Somalia	37
13	**Child**	33
14	**Europe**	33
15	South Sudan	32

QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The overall structures of the 2014 and 2015 UNHCR trend reports are very similar. The central content are divided into chapters focusing on different types of displacement, namely: 'Refugee population', 'Durable/comprehensive solutions for refugees', 'Internally displaced persons', 'Asylum-seekers' and 'Stateless persons'. The sub headlines do, however, differ between the 2014 and 2015 trend report. In the 2014 report, the sub topics covered are: 'Resettled refugees in UNHCR'S statistics'; 'Refugees from Afghanistan: the world's largest protracted refugee situation'; 'Historical review of the 50 major source countries of refugees, 1980-2014'; and 'Naturalization of Burundian refugees'. The 2015 report, on the other hand, covers sub topics of: 'The humanitarian crisis in Yemen' and 'Europe refugee crisis 2015'. This change of focus, from Afghanistan to Yemen, and from general displacement statics to the European crisis, is reflected in the word count.

- What is the crisis?

The crisis is described both in 2014 and 2015 as: a Global displacement crisis of historical scale and acceleration; and a developing region displacement crisis. In 2014 it is described as a Mediterranean Sea humanitarian crisis, while in 2015 It is additionally described as a crisis of both numbers and solidarity; a European humanitarian crisis; and a Turkish host crisis.

Global displacement crisis of historical scale and acceleration

The global forced displacement is described as reaching unprecedented levels in 2014 due to an increase of wars and conflicts. The 2014 report states that levels were already in 2013 higher than the post-World War II era and compares the 2014 record-high number of forcibly displaced in the world to the population of the United Kingdom or Italy, or the 24th largest country in the world, if they were one.

> *"The year 2014 has seen continuing dramatic growth in mass displacement from wars and conflict, once again reaching levels unprecedented in recent history"*
> (UNHCR 2014:2).
>
> *" One year ago, UNHCR announced that worldwide forced displacement numbers had reached 51.2 million, a level not previously seen in the post-World War II era."*
> (UNHCR 2014:2).
>
> *"If these 59.5 million persons were a nation, they would make up the 24th largest in the world"*
> (UNHCR 2014:2).

It is highlighted that it is not only the scale of displacement that is worrying, but also its rapid acceleration, which is the highest ever in a single year. The scale of global displacement is described as a paradigm change with the new era dwarfing all other historical displacement when compared.

"It is not just the scale of global forced displacement that is disconcerting but also its rapid acceleration in recent years"
(UNHCR 2014:5).

"This is [...] the highest annual increase in a single year."
(UNHCR 2014:2).

"This [...] constitutes a four-fold increase since 2010 (10,900)."
(UNHCR 2014:8).

"We are witnessing a paradigm change, an unchecked slide into an era in which the scale of global forced displacement as well as the response required is now clearly dwarfing anything seen before." António Guterres, UN High Commissioner for Refugees
(UNHCR 2014:3).

A crisis of both numbers and solidarity

The 2015 trend report also emphasises that the amount of forced displacement has increased with record-high numbers. The displacement is described as the biggest crisis of our time with an increase of more than 50 % in 5 years. Similar to the 2014 trend report, the numbers are compared to the aftermath of the World War II. The crisis description also includes a quote by United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, emphasising that it is not only a crisis of high numbers, but also one of solidarity. The comparison and quote emphasise that these are people fleeing war no different that the Jews that were fleeing prosecution in WWII, which is a Western war and humanitarian crisis that Europe can relate to and feel solidary for.

"Global forced displacement has increased in 2015, with record-high numbers"
(UNHCR 2015:2).

"This is an increase of more than 50 per cent in five years"
(UNHCR 2015:5)

"[...] the current number of displaced globally is nonetheless the highest since the aftermath of World War II"
(UNHCR 2015:5).

"We are facing the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time. Above all, this is not just a crisis of numbers; it is also a crisis of solidarity. Ban Ki Moon, United Nations Secretary General"
(UNHCR 2015:5).

The 2015 trend report, like the 2014 one, puts the population of forcibly displaced people into perspective by comparing them to the size of the United Kingdom or the 21st largest nation in the world. Additionally, the number of newly displaced people per minute is used to understand the magnitude of affected individuals. It is worth noticing that the number of people being displaced was higher in 2014 than in 2015, even if Europe first stressed the existence of the refugee crisis in 2015, when asylum seekers started arriving in larger amounts to the continent.

"The global population of forcibly displaced people today is larger than the entire population of the United Kingdom"
(UNHCR 2015:6)

"If these 65.3 million persons were a nation, they would make up the 21st largest in the world."
(UNHCR 2015:2)

"[…] 24 individuals worldwide were newly displaced every minute during 2015. This compares to 30 people per minute a year ago, which remains the highest such figure on record"
(UNHCR 2015:6)

Developing region displacement crisis

The two reports also described the 2014 and 2015 refugee crisis as mainly happening in conflict countries, and not internationally, as individuals leaving their homes due to conflict mainly seek protection within their own countries. The protection granted internationally is not nearly as high. The countries that do host the most refugees are located in developing regions, specifically, 86 %. The Least Developed Counties host about 25 % of the global total. In the 2015 report, it was highlighted that these countries cannot even meet the needs of their own citizens.

"While 2.9 million persons sought refuge abroad, mostly in neighbouring countries, 11.0 million were displaced within the borders of their countries."
(UNHCR 2014:8).

"Developing regions hosted 86 per cent of the world's refugees – at 12.4 million persons, the highest value in more than two decades"
(UNHCR 2014:2).

"The Least Developed Countries provided asylum to 3.6 million refugees or 25 per cent of the global total"
(UNHCR 2014:2).

"During the course of 2015 more than 12.4 million individuals were forced to leave their homes and seek protection elsewhere; of this number, some 8.6 million remained within their own countries and around 1.8 million sought international protection abroad"
(UNHCR 2015:5-6)

"Developing regions hosted 86 percent of the world's refugees under UNHCR's mandate. At 13.9 million people, this was the highest figure in more than two decades"
(UNHCR 2015:2).

"The Least Developed Countries provided asylum to 4.2 million refugees or about 26 per cent of the global total"
(UNHCR 2015:2).

"[…] the Least Developed Countries – those least able to meet the development needs of their own citizens, let alone the humanitarian needs often associated with refugee crises – provided asylum to over 4 million refugees"
(UNHCR 2015:18).

Turkish host* country *crisis

It is also clarified in the 2014 trend report that Turkey has become the world's largest refugee hosting country due to the Syrian crisis. Previously, this position was held by Pakistan due to the prolonged Afghan crisis.

> *"The escalating crisis in the Syrian Arab Republic resulted in Turkey becoming the world's largest refugee hosting country, a ranking that had been occupied by Pakistan for more than a decade."*
> (UNHCR 2014:8).

Mediterranean Sea humanitarian crisis

The 2014 trend report emphasises the high increase of people crossing the Mediterranean Sea to seek asylum in Europe and the danger of this situation. The number of individuals crossing the Mediterranean Sea in 2014 increased with record high numbers, with mainly Syrian and Eritrean crossings due to the conflicts in respective country. The number of crossings was almost three times as high as the previous record, which occurred during the Arab Spring, The report emphasised the danger of the situation with individuals crossing the sea and reported that 3500 individuals were reported missing.

> *"In Europe, more than 219,000 refugees and migrants crossed the Mediterranean Sea during 2014. That's almost three times the previously known high of about 70,000, which took place in 2011 during the 'Arab Spring'. Nearly half of these arrivals were coming from the Syrian Arab Republic and Eritrea"*
> (UNHCR 2014:5-8).
>
> *"UNHCR has received information of over 3,500 women, men, and children reported dead or missing in the Mediterranean Sea during the year, clearly demonstrating how dangerous and unpredictable this situation has become"*
> (UNHCR 2014:8).

European humanitarian crisis

The 2015 trend report further emphasises the severity of the European crisis by offering a separate section on the European crisis. It emphasises the intense increase in the amount of refugees arriving to Europe during the second half of 2015, mainly by sea. By presenting the amount of people that embark on the dangerous journey and the amount of people that sacrifice their life on it emphasise the severity of the conflicts and the legitimacy of the people's desperation to seek safety, as they are willing to risk their lives in the dangerous crossing of the Mediterranean Sea.

> *"During the second half of 2015, Europe witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of refugees and migrants arriving by sea. Hundreds of thousands of individuals embarked on a dangerous journey, crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe in an effort to find safety"*
> (UNHCR 2015:7)

- Why do we have the crisis?

The forcibly displacement crisis is due to: increased crisis reason; Syrian, Afghan and Somalia conflict reason; and less known conflict reasons. The less known crises are mentioned in 2014,

but in 2015 it is mentioned that they are as important as the more well-known crises in Syria.

Increased unresolved, on-going and new crisis reason

In the 2014 trend report it is stated that increased persecution, conflict, generalised violence and human rights violations are the reason for the increased global forced displacement.

> *"Persecution, conflict, generalized violence, and human rights violations have formed a 'nation of the displaced'"*
> (UNHCR 2014:2).

The wave of forcibly displaced has increased, according to the 2014 trend report, due to crises, both unresolved ones in Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia, the ongoing crisis in the Syrian Arab Republic, and new conflicts in the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Ukraine, and Iraq. Half of the world's refugees come from three countries, namely Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, and Somalia. It is particularly the war in Syria that had led to the increase of displaced people, both internally but also globally. In 2014, one in every five globally displaced individual is Syrian. Before Syria became the main source of refugees in 2014, Afghanistan held the position for 30 years.

> *" New crises have broken out in the Middle East and Africa, compounded by continuing unresolved conflicts in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, and elsewhere. In addition to the ongoing crisis in the Syrian Arab Republic, new conflicts in the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Ukraine, and Iraq, among others, have caused suffering and massive displacement."*
> (UNHCR 2014:5).
>
> *"More than half (53%) of all refugees worldwide came from just three countries: the Syrian Arab Republic (3.88 million), Afghanistan (2.59 million), and Somalia (1.11 million)"*
> (UNHCR 2014:2).
>
> *"The war in the Syrian Arab Republic, entering into its fourth year in 2014, was a major cause for the global increase. With at least 7.6 million Syrians estimated to be displaced within their country at year end, global forced displacement levels were heavily impacted by this one country. Globally, one in every five displaced persons worldwide was Syrian."*
> (UNHCR 2014:8).
>
> *"The country also became the world's largest source country of refugees during 2014, overtaking Afghanistan, which had held this position for more than 30 years."*
> (UNHCR 2014:8).

Syrian, Afghan and Somalia conflict reason

In 2015, the crisis is also described to be due to the worldwide risks for individuals of persecution, conflict, generalized violence and human rights violations, and consequently these people are forced to flee. The main source of the crisis is also in 2015 due to conflict in three countries, namely in Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan and Somalia, as these countries provided more than half of the world's refugees in 2015.

"By the end of the year, 65.3 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or human rights violations." (UNHCR 2015:2).
(UNHCR 2015:2).

"More than half (54%) of all refugees worldwide came from just three countries: the Syrian Arab Republic (4.9 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million), and Somalia (1.1 million)."
*(*UNHCR 2015:3).

Less known conflict reasons

The report recognizes the worldwide attention the Syrian conflict was granted in 2015, and the refugee flows and humanitarian needs that comes with it, however, the report also emphasise that there are other crises, unresolved and new, that have contributed to the increase in global forced displacement, such as the unresolved conflicts in Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Yemen and new conflicts in Burundi, Iraq, Libya, Niger and Nigeria (UNHCR 2015:6)

"The conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic, which entered its fifth year in 2015, garnered significant worldwide attention because of the large refugee flows and humanitarian needs it generated. Yet other unresolved crises and conflicts, as well as new ones that arose during the year, also contributed to the increase in global forced displacement."
*(*UNHCR 2015:6).

- How can we solve the crisis?

In both 2014 and 2015, the only response to solving the crisis is a humanitarian response since durable solutions are out of reach due to conflict. In 2015, it is, however, noted that a cooperative state response is required, and that UNHCR is responsible for a protection response.

Humanitarian response but not durable solutions

The 2014 trend report states that the humanitarian system has been stretched since the number of individuals fleeing has increased due to increased and intensified conflicts. The growth poses additional challenges to humanitarian response and durable solutions remain a distant dream, with the lowest annual level of returnees for three decades.

"During this year of spiralling crises, with millions of people already forced to flee from their homes and many thousands dying while trying to get to safety, the global humanitarian system has been severely stretched"
(UNHCR 2014:2).

"Such growth poses challenges to finding adequate responses to these crises, increasingly leading to the multiple displacement of individuals or secondary movements in search of safety"
(UNHCR 2014:5).

"Although a number of breakthroughs in Africa brightened prospects for some refugees in 2014, durable solutions remain a distant dream for the vast majority. Globally, only 126,800 refugees were able to return to their country of origin during the year, the lowest annual level in three decades."
(UNHCR 2014:8).

The 2015 report states that durable solutions to the problems of forcibly displaced people are a challenge and are yet not feasible.

"Providing durable solutions to forcibly displaced people remains a challenge, and only a small proportion of the overall population found a solution in 2015."
(UNHCR 2015:8).

Cooperative state response

The 2015 trend report clarifies that the solution lies in the hands of states, but not in the hands of individual states, but in the cooperation among states, and that it is not only in the interest of the conflict affected populations, but in the whole human interest, indicating that we collectively, by being human, have a collective interest:

"The willingness of nations to work together not just for refugees but for the collective human interest is what's being tested today, and it's this spirit of unity that badly needs to prevail." Filippo Grandi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees"
(UNHCR 2015:8)

UNHCR international protection response

UNHCR also declares their responsibility for the individuals of concern (specified as refugees, asylum-seekers, returnees, stateless persons, internally displaced persons) since the international community has trusted them with this task.

"This report analyses statistical trends and changes of global displacement from January to December 2015 for the populations for whom UNHCR has been entrusted with a responsibility by the international community. These populations include refugees, asylum-seekers, returnees, stateless persons, and certain groups of internally displaced persons, collectively referred to as 'persons of concern'"
(UNHCR 2015:8).

4.2 NARRATIVES IN SWEDISH MEDIA

QUANTITATIVE TEXT ANALYSIS

Sydsvenskan's front-page news coverage about, and related to, the refugee crisis increased considerably from October/November 2014 to October/November 2015, going from being covered on 23 % of the front-pages in 2014 to 82 % of the front-pages in 2015. Consequently, the frequency of used words also increased from 2014 to 2015.

Table 6. Sydsvenskan front-page coverage

Sydsvenskan Front-page coverage		
	2014	2015
In headline	8.2%	31.1%
On front-page	23.0%	82.0%
Related areas	34.4%	54.8%

The words 'Refugee', 'Malmö', 'Sweden', 'police' and 'EU-migrant' are among the most frequently used words in both 2014 and 2015. The mayor change from 2014 to 2015 is that the two most frequently used words in 2014, 'Swedish Democrats' and 'Swedish' are not among the most frequently used words in 2015. The words 'commune' and 'help' are also going from being frequently used in 2014 to not being among the most frequently used words in 2015. Instead, in 2015, the new words 'housing', 'child, 'asylum-' and 'terror' are added to the most frequently used word list.

Table 7. Sydsvenskan word frequency 2014

Sydsvenskan Word frequency 2014		
Words		#
1	Swedish Democrats	15
2	Swedish	14
3	Refugee-	10
4	Malmö	9
5	Commune	9
6	Sweden	7
7	Police	6
8	EU-migrant	5
9	Help	5

Table 8. Sydsvenskan word frequency 2015

Sydsvenskan Word frequency 2015		
Words		#
1	Refugee-	55
2	Malmö	36
3	Police	27
4	Housing	21
5	Child	19
6	Asylum-	17
7	EU-migrant	17
8	Terror	16
9	Sweden	14

4.2.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Table 9. Type of front-page coverage

Type of front-page coverage		
	2014	2015
Local	15 %	31 %
Swedish	59 %	45 %
Europe	7 %	9 %
International	20 %	15 %

The front-page coverage of the refugee crisis with a national focus is common in both 2014 and 2015, even if the focus decreased from 59 % to 45 % during the year. The front-page refugee coverage with a local focus, on the other hand, doubled from 2014 to 2015; in 2015 the local coverage was 31 %, more than double the European and international refugee coverage. This focus is suggesting that the crisis is presented as a national and increasingly local crisis, rather than a European or international crisis. What is supporting this statement is the amount of times certain countries are cited. While Sweden is mentioned 7 times in 2014, and 14 times in 2015, and Malmö is mentioned 9 times in 2014 but 36 times in 2015, Europe is not mentioned once in 2014 and only 4 times in 2015. Turkey and Germany is neither mentioned in 2014, and only 3 respectively 2 times in 2015. Afghanistan is neither mentioned in 2014, but 3 times in 2015 and Iraq is mentioned 4 times in 2014, but not at all in 2015. Syria received slightly more attention by being cited 3 times in 2014 and 8 times in 2015. This is roughly half of the times Sweden is mentioned and a third to a forth of the times Malmö is cited.

Table 10. Front-page coverage 2014

Sydsvenskan Front-page coverage 2014			
	Code	#	%
1.	Politics	10	15
2.	Nationalism	9	14
3.	Personification	8	12
4.	Migrants	6	9
5.	Inte- and segregation	5	8
6.	Security	4	6
7.	Terror	4	6
8.	Stricter	3	5
9.	Capacity	3	5
10.	Distribution	3	5
11.	Flight	2	3
12.	Housing	1	2
13.	Crime	1	2
14.	Unaccompanied	1	2
15.	Religion	1	2
16.	Conflict	1	2
17.	Costs	1	2
18.	Culture & Multiculturalism	1	2
19.	Democracy	1	2
20.	Morals	1	2
21.	Voluntary	0	0
22.	Unregistered	0	0

Table 11. Front-page coverage 2015

Sydsvenskan Front-page coverage 2015			
	Code	#	%
1.	Security	24	12
2.	Politics	21	11
3.	Stricter	20	10
4.	Terror	17	9
5.	Housing	17	9
6.	Migrants	16	8
7.	Personification	12	6
8.	Capacity	10	5
9.	Voluntary	9	5
10.	Crime	8	4
11.	Unaccompanied	7	4
12.	Flight	7	4
13.	Religion	6	3
14.	Nationalism	5	3
15.	Conflict	4	2
16.	Unregistered	3	2
17.	Inte- and segregation	3	2
18.	Costs	3	2
19.	Culture & Multiculturalism	2	1
20.	Democracy	2	1
21.	Distribution	2	1
22.	Morals	1	0.5

The media coverage of the refugee crisis and topics related to the crisis, refugees and migration, was considerably increased from 2014 to 2015. Due to this, certain topics were covered to the same extent in terms of number of articles, yet, in relation to the total coverage, the percentage fell. Migration is mentioned twice as often in 2015, compared to 2014, but with the same % in relation to the coverage both years. Integration and segregation was coveraged five times in the sample from 2014, and was among the 5 most common topics in relation to refugees in 2014, but in 2015, it was only being mentioned twice. The themes of how to distribute refugees also fell in frequency, as did the coverage of nationalism, with a coverage of 14 % in 2014, falling to 3 % in 2015. The theme of costs, morals, democracy remained considerably low during both years. The topics that considerably increased in coverage, on the other hand, from 2014 to 2015, were housing issues, security issues, and topics regarding stricter rules regarding refugees and migration. Coverage regarding voluntary efforts in relation to the refugee crisis also increased.

- What is the crisis in 2014?

The crisis in 2014 is presented as four different crises, namely: the MENA humanitarian crisis; the European security crisis; the Swedish capacity crisis; and the Swedish nationalist crisis.

The MENA humanitarian crisis

The situation with large amount of forcibly displaced people is described as an acute and extraordinaire situation that requires acute responses, right here and right now. The situation is described as the largest refugee crisis since World War II, and Sweden is described as a being sanctuary during the WWII, just like it should be a sanctuary this time. It is emphasised that it is a crisis with real people fleeing, and these people should thus not be described or discussed as numbers (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5). However, the reporting regarding the international humanitarian crisis mostly ties back to European and Swedish complications. The news reporting on the situation in the actual conflict affected countries are short and described in clear and factual terms. Such examples are the short notice on a Member of Parliament being killed among 21 victims in a suicide attack in Iraq (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A14) as well as Turkish bombings of the first Kurdish PKK-targets in two years. Except from the short description of how the Turkish news raises questions about the fragile peace process, which is already shaken by the war in Syria, no further descriptions or elaboration is offered (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A15).

The European security crisis

A large part of the news reporting that focuses on Europe focuses on the European fear of radicalised Islamists returning home from taking part in Jihad, holy war, to commit terrorist attracts, and the European measures mitigating this risk (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A18). It is e.g. described how Great Britain's terror alert increased to the second highest level in August due to the threat of returnees that have fought for the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A18).

The Swedish capacity crisis

The newspaper reports that Sweden has not experience the arrival of these many people since the 1940s and that Swedish society now is under extreme pressure, mainly in terms of the refugee reception, labour market, public services (especially the school system) and there is a lack of housing capacity (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5 and 6).

The Swedish nationalist crisis

The newspaper also covers articles on how the attitudes towards Islam have deteriorated. Hate speech is more common towards Muslims and Jews, than other groups in Sweden (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A7). Just like the comparison with Jews fleeing WWII and the Middle Easterns fleeing current crisis, the prejudice against Jews are likened to Muslims. There is also news coverage describing how Malmö is less xenophobic than the rest of Sweden since most of its residents have immigrants in their close surrounding (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A8). This is in contrast to that the South of is more xenophobic than the rest of Sweden (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A8). News regarding the nationalist party, the Swedish Democrats, is describing the party and its top politicians as not even being invited to the Nobel Award Ceremony due to its political roots in right wing extremism, and that the representatives lack of respect for the fundamental democratic principles about all humans equal worth, regardless of skin-color, origin or religion (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A10)

- Why do we have the crisis in 2014?

There are these crises in 2014 due to several reasons, namely: the MENA conflict reason; the European human trafficking reason; the Swedish integration reason, and the Swedish economic reason.

The MENA conflict reason

The international refugee crisis is described to be occurring since people are fleeing terror and war in North Africa and the Middle East. There are also descriptions of decreased democracy in

many parts of the world, with Egypt introducing new laws with much tougher penalties which can be applied on anyone criticising the regimes, from individuals to human rights organisations (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A16).

The European human trafficking reason

The refugee crisis in Europe is due to organised, illegal people trafficking, as people, mainly thousands of Syrians, are paying for these illegal smuggling services in Egypt and Turkey to go to Europe (Sydsvenskan October 2014:A6). The Swedish police are reported to have problems arresting these criminals due to insufficient recourses and legal limitations.

The Swedish integration reason

There are also actor and structure discussions on the obstacles of integrating and utilizing foreign workforce in Sweden. The Swedish labour market is described as inflexible and unable to handle foreign merits, both for immigrants and Swedish expatriates returning home (Sydsvenskan November 2014:N10). There is a discussion on whether the argument that labour market does not have the capacity to absorb refugees is intertwined with xenophobia. The argument is compared to the arguments about ”Jew import” that the extreme right had during the WWII (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5).

The Swedish economic reason

There are also arguments that it is not a xenophobic invention that the costs of migration is increasing with the refugee crisis, but that migration naturally does entail costs, yet, the cost argument should not be enough of a reason to close the door for refugees. It is, however, a reason to rethink the reception services for the ones that have arrived (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5).

- How do we solve the crisis in 2014?

The crises in 2014 may be solved through a Swedish humanitarian response; a Swedish security response; and a Swedish integration response.

Swedish humanitarian response

The refugee situation is described as the largest refugee crisis since World War II (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5). It is emphasised how proud Sweden are of Raoul Wallenberg’s heroic efforts saving Jews during the war and how proud Swedes are for the collective action. It is followed by a reminder of how Sweden has protected defectors of Eastern regimes, refugees from Chile, Middle East and Balkan. Sweden is described as a sanctuary. It is emphasised that

since these are real people fleeing, it is not right to talk about them as numbers, and how many of these numbers we can handle (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5). It is asked what we will think about our current response to the refugee crisis when we in 50 years look back at our current reaction (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5).

Swedish security response

It is both covered how Swedish police is increasing their efforts against organised human trafficking (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A6) as well as discussions on how to increase the security alert when it come s to terror from returning Islamists that have fought for IS in Syrian and Iraq (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A18).

Swedish integration response

It is not enough that people are allowed to stay in Sweden, since immigration involves costs, integration is key and people that do stay must become part of society and contribute to it (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5). Costs are included in many articles, in which costs of migration and how these are covered are discussed (Sydsvenskan October 2014:C10). New initiatives are called for: new laws demanding a more equal distribution of unaccompanied children among communes are called for (Sydsvenskan October 2014:C10), employers should learn how to handle a variety of merits, simple jobs that are easy to learn need to be created (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A5) and there are tips on what individuals can do about the diversity issues, mainly: not blaming the system, understanding that no one is perfect and go out and make a difference (Sydsvenskan November 2014:N10). There are examples of Iranian chefs that started cooking authentic Iranian food as the heterogenic population in Malmö has started requesting authentic food for different part of the world (Sydsvenskan November 2014:A13).

- What is the crisis in 2015?

In 2015, the media presents slightly different crises, namely: a Swedish and Skånsk capacity crisis; a European security crisis; an ISIS humanitarian crisis; and a European solidarity crisis.

Swedish and Skånsk capacity crisis

On the national and local level, the situation is described as terribly strained, with the need for a variety of authorities and voluntary organisations to help and work together as the situation is acute (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A12; 6). People waiting to register are waiting in tents day and night without heating and are described to plead for at least the children, sick and elderly to get shelter inside while waiting, as the situation is not humane for people staying in tents

with dirty portable loos, no running water Yet, the asylum seekers are not complaining as they are happy they have food and are treated well (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A12).

The local situation in Skåne is described as worse than any other part of the country (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). Except from the failing reception and asylum process, the schooling situation is described as unsustainable (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B4). The unevenly distributed newly arrived youth in Skåne is due to the residential segregation, with 6 schools receiving almost 60 % of the new arrivals (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B4).

The living situation is also described as a problem due to lack of housing, as well as some security issues with asylum housing being set on fire. Innovative and stretched solutions are considered. Due to the security problem, surveillance has increased around the housing (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B6). It is described how these people cannot either just be moved around, as they are actual people (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B6).

European security crisis

One crisis is described as a war between the open society and the ones that wish to destroy it with terror attacks targeting the western open society (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9; A2). The Western society is described as everything that makes life worth living, such as love and community and culture, which is what Jihadists wish to destroy. (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A2). After the terror attacks in Paris, the focus are mainly on Paris and how we should pray for Paris, with Zlatan Ibrahimovic tweeting ”#prayforparis” (Sydsvenskan October 2015:B14), but also Barack Obama calling it an attack against the whole of humanity (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A2). The Paris terror attacks are described as Europe’s 9/11, against the open society (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3). In another article, the comparison to 9/11 is made, however, it is highlighted that the US attacks were controlled by Usama Bin Ladin from the Middle East, while in Europe the offenders are Frenchmen themselves, as the alienation among French Muslims are large (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9). The issue of French nationals travelling to Syria and Iraq to fight for IS is a safety issue as these returners develop terror cells on return (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9). The terror attacks are reminders of the vulnerability of the open society, and the includes risks of EU falling back into nationalist tensions which previously has destroyed the continent time after time in history. Isolation being the new rule that replaces solidarity is described as a consequent for the European Union (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3) as there are louder and louder voices in Europe calling for higher security, by closing boarders and increasing mass surveillance (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9).

ISIS humanitarian crisis

The ISIS crisis received a lot of news coverage when their crimes are targeted towards the Western world, however, the local crimes in MENA are only reported on very shortly and factually without further elaboration. There are several descriptions on how terrorists aim to destroy the Western open society, but only one comment on how these terrorists are trying to build this Kalifat in Syria and Iraq (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9). The findings of the remains of dozen of Yezidisk women found in the north of Iraq, executed by the Islamic State, are described shortly and factually (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A14). There is only one comment after the Paris attack that broadens the perspective, with John Guidetti posting a picture with the text "Pray for Paris, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and any country that experience the wrath and hatred of terror. Hate begets hatred, love begets love" Sydsvenskan October 2015:B14).

European solidarity crisis

It is a political European crisis of cooperation and solidarity, in with no one takes on their responsibility when the number of refugees arriving is huge (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). Certain members of the EU build fences, while other maximise the reception capacity, with Germany having a million asylum applicants in 2015, and Sweden in having 10 000 arrivals in one week (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3). The pressure is compared to the largest refugee crisis since WWII and Schengen and Dublin agreement is described to being close to falling apart.

- Why do we have the crisis in 2015?

It is described that we have these crisis in 2015 due to: Syrian conflict reasons; terrorist reasons; European solidarity reasons; and Swedish capacity reasons.

Syrian conflict reasons

The civil war in Syria, which will not end any time soon, is the reason for why Europe and Sweden are under pressure and will continue to be pressured with increased amounts of refugees arriving to the continent (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A3 and A4 and B12). However, even if the Syrian crisis is mentioned as the reason for the refugee crisis in Europe, the articles that actually describe the reason for why people are fleeing are fewer, shorter and more factual. Furthermore, the violent conflicts that do not involve ISIS, are almost non-existent, with only one article reporting that the war against Boko Haram have taken at least 1600 victims in Nigeria, Niger, Tehad och Kamerun" (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). This notice is, however, very short and only includes the above information.

Terrorist reasons

It has become a security crisis due to terrorism. It is described how the terror threats aims to scare away Western forces from the Middle East since ISIS has loosed ground in Syria and Iraq lately (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9). It also described how the terror aims to increase a fear of Islam in the western world (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A2; C2). It is however described how the attacks on e.g. Charlie Hebo have not resulted in Islamofobia, but that the surveillance has increased, which is why it has turned into a security crisis (Sydsvenskan October 2015:C2). In this sense, the terrorists have won, because the fear, fragmentation and call for closed boarders are in favour for the terrorists. There are also references to people returning from fighting for ISIS and then returning to create terror networks nested in Europe (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A9). This is also a reason for why security is increased. It is a crisis since terrorists wish to destroy the open society. That some terrorists come from Syria and Egypt, the same countries as the refugees is further problematic (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A7).

European solidarity reasons

It is a political European crisis of cooperation and solidarity, since no one takes their responsibility when the amount of refugees arriving is huge (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). It is said that in the refugee crisis, the European leaders turn into local politicians that consider national opinions more than the European Union responsibility (Sydsvenskan October 2015:C5). This is the reason for why countries are tempted to close boarders and make the refugee politics stricter (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3). It is described how the one that is the least solidary can dictate the conditions (Sydsvenskan October 2015:C5).

Swedish capacity reasons

In Sweden, there is a national capacity and integration crisis, as Swedish public institutions does not have the capacity yet resources to have the inflow of refugees. It a huge challenge to the school system as it is teaching a large amount of children not speaking the language (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A4; B5).

- How do we solve the crisis in 2015?

To solve the 2015 crisis, several responses are presented as appropriate, namely: a European solidarity response; a stricter Swedish boarder response; a stricter Swedish integration response; and a Swedish capacity response.

European solidarity response

If a united European Union shared responsibility, the responsibility would be spread out on 500 million people, without compromising the right to asylum. It is, however, emphasised that that solution is currently far out of reach (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3). It is described it should not be the one that is the least solidary that are dictating the conditions, that it is more important to have super state system than having a union that falling apart (Sydsvenskan October 2015:C5). As the European leaders turn into local politicians that consider national opinions more than the responsibility for the European Union the answer is to move the power from the local politics. (Sydsvenskan October 2015:C5).

Stricter Swedish boarder response

There is also descriptions on how the situation has reached a point where restrictions are necessary, not only on the outer boarder of EU, but also for individual countries (Sydsvenskan October 2015:A3). In Sweden, the solutions are reinstalled boarder controls, temporary residence permits, stricter requirements for family reunification. The more efficient rejection of paperless and faster investigations of asylum seekers from safe countries is politically agreed on (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6 and A12). These suggestions are clearly stricter than the previous migration politic that is described as generous (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). It should be noted that it is described as migration politics, and not refugee politics. It is discussed that in terms of refugee politics, less people need to be let in, even if the discussions about volumes is criticised.

Stricter Swedish integration response

The alternative solution to stricter boarder controls is stricter integration politics. Here, the focus is on costs instead of numbers. Costs need to be kept down, with lower grants and higher demands on the newly arrived in terms of employability (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A7). Less restrictive laws on residents permits are argued for, in order to ease the integration process. It is argued for also from a human perspective (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A4). Sweden should welcome these individuals being clear about demands and expectations, but not with threats about having to leave the country (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A4). Questions about migration and integration are discussed interchangeably, and there is a call for long-term and serious solutions (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A4). There is a common discussion on how newly arrived are integrated, especially on the labour market (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). This is both a political and individual question. There are discussion on that employment is key to fast integration in society (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B12). The newly arrived individuals are described as willing and capable of working and contributing to

society (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B12). It is instead the societal structure that is questioned. The costs for employing a new arrived persons needs to be incentivised though lower costs (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B12).

Swedish capacity response

The crisis is also described as mainly requiring short-term responses in terms of reception and integration politics, as this will enable long-term solution, since when these individuals have become citizens and got a job, they will in the long run contribute positively to Swedish society (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B12). It is thus the commune's public services that are under pressure, with schooling, socials services and housing being the biggest problems (Sydsvenskan November 2015:A6). The appropriate solutions involve creating cost incentives to incentivise the newly arrived individuals to distribute more evenly across Malmö. The city is e.g. paying public transportation for students to choose schools in other areas than their living area (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B4). It is emphasised how important it is to have schools with heterogenic students, when the society around them are heterogenic with diverse backgrounds, as it is good for integration (Sydsvenskan November 2015:B4). It is consequently through practical solutions that one solves these integration issues.

4.3 FINAL INTERPRETATION

The conceptualization of the refugee crisis has not particularly changed in the refugee regime between 2014 and 2015. The crisis is conceptualised as a global displacement crisis of both historical scale and acceleration, which is mainly affecting the developing regions of the world. The focus, however, slightly moves towards Europe in 2015, as the crisis not only is described as a humanitarian crisis of people dying in the Mediterranean Sea, but also a solidarity crisis and host country crisis new to Turkey as well as Europe. The reason for the occurrence of a crisis is both in 2014 and 2015 described as due to increased conflicts in the world, particularly in Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia. The amount of other, less known, conflicts is mentioned in 2014, but in 2015 these other conflicts' significance is particularly emphasised compared to the more well-known crises in Syria. In both 2014 and 2015, a humanitarian response is required to handle the crisis, but durable solutions are out of reach due to the increased conflicts. In 2015, it is, however, emphasised that a cooperative state response is required to handle the crisis.

The conceptualisation of the refugee crisis in Swedish media, however, both deviates from and brings complexity to the refugee regime conceptualisation, as well as changes between 2014 and 2015. Both years, a European security crisis is presented as well as a Swedish capacity

crisis. The capacity focus, however, increases and becomes more locally focused in 2015. The global focus also changes between the years, with 2014 presenting a humanitarian crisis occurring in Middle East and North Africa, while, in 2015, this crisis has become a humanitarian crisis only connected to ISIS and with a focus on the brutality this crisis has caused Europe, and not the MENA region. Lastly, a Swedish nationalist crisis was presented in 2014, with xenophobia spreading in the country, this crisis was more or less absent in 2015, and instead, a European solidarity crisis was presented, with a xenophobic Europe building fences and refusing to coordinate the refugee crisis. These crises are conceptualised as occurring due to the conflicts in the MENA region in both 2014 and 2015. In 2014, but not in 2015, human trafficking is one of the reason for the crisis, while in 2015 European solidarity is a reason. In 2014, there are economic and integration reasons for why Sweden is experiencing a crisis, while in 2015 the reason is more general capacity concerns. The major difference for explaining the crisis is the terrorist reason that enters into the news in 2015. It is thus worth noticing that the extremist conflicts are conceptualised more as a European issue, instead of a MENA problem. To solve the crisis, s Swedish security response is offered in 2014, but surprisingly not in 2015. There is a difference, however, in how the appropriate responses are described as a Swedish humanitarian response and a Swedish integration response in 2014, but in 2015 the response is instead a stricter Swedish boarder response; a stricter Swedish integration response; and a Swedish capacity response. The appropriate responses to the crisis that are offered are from 2014 to 2015 going from more and more nationally and politically focused, and goes from humanitarian and responsible to considerably stricter. It is noticeable how Swedish media coverage on local and national news are covered in longer and more descriptive articles, while new outside of Europe gain little attention, and when it does, the notices are short and described in strictly factual terms. I terms of how the refugee crisis is described, the Syrian and Iraq conflict is more or less the only conflict that are covered. Any other conflicts, that UNCHR are highlighting, are not mentioned once.

Table 12. Narratives 2014 and 2015

	UNHCR 2014	UNHCR 2015	Sydsvenskan 2014	Sydsvenskan 2015
What	- Global displacement crisis of historical scale & acceleration - A developing region displacement crisis - Mediterranean humanitarian crisis	- Global displacement crisis of historical scale & acceleration - A developing region displacement crisis - Crisis of both numbers & solidarity - European humanitarian crisis - Turkish host country crisis	- Local & national capacity crisis - International humanitarian crisis - European security crisis - National diversity crisis	- Local capacity crisis - European security crisis - International ISIS crisis - European solidarity crisis
Why	- Increased conflicts reasons - Syrian, Afghan & Somalia conflict reasons - Less known conflict reasons	- Increased conflicts reasons - Syrian, Afghan and Somalia conflict reasons - Less known conflict reasons	- Conflict reasons - Criminal reasons - Economic reasons - Capacity/integration reasons	- Solidarity reasons - Security reasons - International reasons
How	- Humanitarian, not durable, response - Cooperative state response - UNHCR protection response	- Humanitarian, not durable, response - Cooperative state response - UNHCR protection response	- Humanitarian response - Security response - Integration response	- European solidarity response - Stricter border response - Stricter integration response - Capacity response

4.4 GENERAL AND ISSUE SPECIFIC FRAMES

The final interpretation describes the answer to the research question *'How has the conceptualisation of the refugee regime changed in Swedish media during the course of the refugee crisis?'.* To further investigate the development of the conceptualisation, and whether these conceptualisations reflect different underlying belief systems regarding the construction of the refugee crisis, a framing analysis is outlined below. The frames are drawn from and summarise the latent meaning of the above narratives of the refugee crisis situation. By outlining the different, common rationales behind the conceptualisations, the sense making of the refugee crisis is clear.

2014 Frames		
	UNHCR's Frame 2014	**Sydsvenskan's Frame 2014**
General Frame	Humanitarian cooperation	National state politics
Issue Frame	Entrenched human rights	Cooperative, democratic responsibility
Framing Dimension	International politics & humanitarianism	Local and national politics

2015 Frames		
	UNHCR's Frame 2015	**Sydsvenskan's Frame 2015**
General Frame	Global humanitarian cooperation	National state politics
Issue Frame	Entrenched human rights	Stricter politics, security and capacity
Framing Dimension	International politics & humanitarianism	Local and national politics and security

By outlining the rationales of the narratives, the underlying meanings of the conceptualisation become clearer. The framing dimension, or in other words - how the crisis is problematized, differs between UNHCR and Swedish media. To UNHCR, the crisis is a humanitarian problem, within international politics where the issue is focused on the entrenched human rights of individuals within humanitarian cooperation. In Swedish media, the refugee crisis is a local and national political problem in 2014, and as well as a security problem in 2015, where the issue goes from being a cooperative, democratic responsibility within the frames of national state politics, to the need for stricter political response to the crisis, which is reflected in the reintroduction of boarder controls in 2015.

5. DISCUSSION

By taking a social constructivist perspective when analysing the research question, this thesis is able to identify, through a narrative analysis, how the crisis is conceptualised and how the conceptualisation has changed. This is followed by a framing analysis, which identifies the underlying belief systems of these conceptualisations. The discrepancy between how UNHCR, conceptualises the crisis in 2014 and 2015 and how the crisis is conceptualised in Swedish public discourse in 2014 an 2015 can be understood as the implementation and fragmentation issues that were previously described in relation to regime complexity.

Even if UNHCR is theorised as the main international actor and norm facilitator in the refugee regime, the implementation of the regime rules are redefined when implemented by states with their own identity and interests. In terms of the implementation of the refugee regime norms in the Swedish context, there is a direct complication in how the issue is politicised. It is, consequently, not only that the refugee regime norms are implemented outside of the global refugee regime that make the norms clash with local, national and regional interests and priorities, but, as demonstrated by the analysis of Swedish media discourse, the realm in which the crisis is interpreted may also differ from UNHCR's humanitarian realm. The framing dimension for the refugee crisis in Swedish media is within local and national politics, and the refugee crisis is consequently problematized within the political realm, and not the humanitarian realm as a humanitarian issue. In this sense, the logics of discussing the topic differ. In 2014, however, UNHCR conceptualise the crisis as an issue of entrenched human rights, which is more compatible with the Swedish understanding of the refugee crisis in 2014, through a more cooperative and responsibly focused political frame. In 2015, on the other hand, the stricter idea about the restrained capacity of the democratic society is more focused on national interest and security and less compatible with the human rights focused beliefs by UNHCR. The implementation of the refugee regime is thus more challenged when implemented in the Swedish national context in 2015, where the issue of the refuge crisis becomes understood quite differently than a humanitarian issue.

As also described in the theory section, regime complexes bring further implementation implications due to the fragmentation issue as it reduces clearness with overlapping governing norms on specific issues. On the issue of the refugee crisis, the refugee regime is normatively sacred, yet, the stricter boarder controls are crucial to the interest of the Swedish nation state since the refugee crisis mainly is conceptualised as a local and national political and security issues, and in such realm, cost, capacity and security argument are powerful. There is consequently a problem, as the security and travel regime uses logics closer to the sovereignty

argument used in national politics, compared the more universal, natural law human rights approach used by UNHCR. Through the analysis, it can be identified how the different frames of the refugees, travel and security complexes of are overlapping, which becomes apparent in how the topic is highly politicised in the public discourse, and no longer purely humanitarian, as when used by UNHCR. We can consequently see how Sweden moves towards a regime shift as the issues are addressed though frames coherent with the security or travel regime instead of the refugee regime. According the literature, this could eventually lead to a re-shaping of the whole global structure of refugee governance.

5.1 IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis analyses one piece of the public discourse, in one point of time in the constant construction of the refugee crisis. This is consequently not the final or complete reporting on the Swedish construction of the refugee crisis. It is yet too early to conclude how the changed conceptualisation of the refugee regime and the recently reintroduced boarder controls are connected to Sweden's national identity, but it would, however, be interesting to study the interplay between systemic and domestic politics and how Sweden might undergo a change from being a country with a history of refugee solidarity to one of boarder controls. It would also be interesting, in connection to this, to study whether the refugee regime might undergo a re-shaping due to regime-shifting by states.

In terms of further research, it would also be interesting to conduct analyses of the media discourse in several European countries and consequently compare how belief systems are shared, as well as deviate, in terms of how the crisis is conceptualised across countries, how the global norms are implemented differently depending on the national context and how the refugee complexity and consequent fragmentation might be reflected differently in various countries.

Due to the uneven distribution of burden sharing between Northern and Southern states, it would also be interesting to conduct a comparative study on whether the implementation and fragmentation of the refugee regime complex deviates if you compare its implementation in Southern states to Northern ones.

6. CONCLUSION

This thesis took a social constructivist approach in answering the research question 'How has the conceptualisation of the refugee regime changed in Swedish media during the course of the refugee crisis?'. The question was asked after that Sweden changed from accepting most asylum applicants per capita in the EU in 2014 to, in 2015, withdrawing the welcoming policy in favour of border controls. The varying understandings of the refugee crisis was theorised through regime complex theory and as the study is situated within the social constructivist paradigm, the analysis took the analytical starting point in the ideational factors, namely the commonly shared beliefs about the refugee crisis and the refugee regime. The research thus compared the development of Swedish narratives during the refugee crisis to the ones of the refugee regime's. This was done through an in-depth narrative analysis, consisting of a brief quantitative text analysis and a qualitative content analysis of the Swedish news coverage in the newspaper Sydsvenskan from 2014 and 2015 and of UNHCR's Global Trend reports for 2014 and 2015. To identify the belief systems underlying the various narratives, the analysis moved from the denotative, to the connotative meanings in a final interpretation, which was finalised through the identification of the frames within which these narratives operated.

By outlining the different frames within which these narratives operate, it is clear how the national implementation of the refugee regime becomes increasingly complex from 2014 to 2015, as the Swedish refugee crisis is conceptualised within frames that are gradually more political, as well as securitised, and consequently moves further away from the humanitarian frames utilised by UNHCR, which conceptualise the refugee crisis as a humanitarian crisis. Therefore, not only is there an issue in how the refugee regime norms are implemented outside of the global refugee regime, competing with local and national interests, but already in the conceptualisation of the refugee crisis does Swedish public discourse differ from UNHCR's humanitarian conceptualisation.

The implementation of the refugee regime in the Swedish national context is thus more complex in 2015, compared to 2014, as the frames within which the refugee narratives are understood has become more politicised and securitised, and have thus moved further away from UNCHR's humanitarian crisis. We consequently witness how Sweden utilises a regime shift, since the operationalized frames within which the refugee crisis is conceptualised is coherent with the security and travel regime, instead of the refugee regime. According to the academic literature on regime complexity, this could eventually lead to a re-shaping of the global structure of refugee governance.

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Appendix A: Codes and themes

Theme	Code	#
Security	Terror	
	Security	
	Crime	
	Conflict	
	Migrants	
	Unregistered	
Values	Inte- and segregation	
	Religion	
	Culture & Multiculturalism	
	Nationalism	
	Democracy	
	Morals	
	Voluntary	
	Unaccompanied	
	Personification	
Practical	Distribution	
	Housing	
	Stricter	
	Politics	
	Costs	
	Capacity	

Appendix B: Overview of collected data from Sydsvenskan

Color-coding

- Front-page head-line covering the refugee crisis
- Front-page text covering the refugee crisis
- Front-page head-line or text covering area related to refugee crisis
- Nothing on front-page about refugee crisis

2014																																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Jan	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr
Feb	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr			
Mar	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo
Apr	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	
May	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Jun	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	
Jul	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th
Aug	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su
Sep	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	
Oct	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr
Nov	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	
Dec	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We

2015																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Jan	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Feb	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa			
Mar	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu
Apr	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	
May	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su
Jun	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	
Jul	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr
Aug	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo
Sep	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	
Oct	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Nov	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	
Dec	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th