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Securitizing, re-securitizing, or de-securitizing migration? The representation of Ukrainian asylum seekers in The Guardian during the first year of the Russia-Ukraine war.

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Abstract

In the last decades migration has become increasingly considered as a potential security threat by the European Union and, as a result, several initiatives were implemented with the intention to strengthen European borders. However, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine may have opened the door to the re-securitization of asylum seekers as the massive influx of refugees became understood as a matter of human security, international assistance, and fundamental human rights rather than a threat to domestic security and social stability. Against this backdrop, this dissertation investigates how has the Ukrainian refugee crisis resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine been framed by *The Guardian*? Do these representations reify the idea of refugees as potential sources of national and societal insecurity, or do they focus predominantly on the conditions of insecurity experienced by refugees? Grounded upon the framework of securitization theory, and operationalized through the method of content analysis, this study analysis fifty-two articles published by *The Guardian* during the first year of conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The thesis puts forward two main conclusions. First, it shows that the framing of Ukrainian refugees went beyond the human layer of insecurity and helped to re-securitized multiple referents to be protected and threats to be secured. Second, and against the original formulation of securitization theory, it argues that the framing of some groups as being systematically insecure can actually contribute to ensure their human rights and facilitate their integration into host societies.

Keywords: Securitization; Migration; Russia-Ukraine War; *The Guardian*

Resumo

Nas últimas décadas, a migração tem vindo a ser cada vez mais considerada como uma potencial ameaça à segurança pela União Europeia e, como resultado, foram implementadas várias iniciativas com a intenção de reforçar as fronteiras europeias. No entanto, o conflito entre a Rússia e a Ucrânia pode ter aberto a porta à re-securitização dos requerentes de asilo, uma vez que o afluxo maciço de refugiados passou a ser entendido como uma questão de segurança humana, assistência internacional e direitos humanos fundamentais, em vez de uma ameaça à segurança interna e à estabilidade social. Neste contexto, esta dissertação investiga como é que a crise dos refugiados ucranianos resultante da invasão russa da Ucrânia foi enquadrada pelo *The Guardian*? Estas representações reificam a ideia dos refugiados como potenciais fontes de insegurança nacional e social, ou centram-se predominantemente nas condições de insegurança vividas pelos refugiados? Com base no enquadramento da teoria da securitização e operacionalizado através do método de análise de conteúdo, este estudo analisa cinquenta e dois artigos publicados pelo *The Guardian* durante o primeiro ano de conflito entre a Rússia e a Ucrânia. A tese apresenta duas conclusões principais. Em primeiro lugar, mostra que o enquadramento dos refugiados ucranianos ultrapassou a camada humana da insegurança e contribuiu para re-securitizar múltiplos referentes a proteger e ameaças a assegurar. Em segundo lugar, e contra a formulação original da teoria da securitização, argumenta que o enquadramento de alguns grupos como sendo sistematicamente inseguros pode efetivamente contribuir para garantir os seus direitos humanos e facilitar a sua integração nas sociedades de acolhimento.

Palavras-Chave: Securitização; Migração; Guerra entre Rússia-Ucrânia; *The Guardian.*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Over the past three decades, migration has increasingly become considered a potential security threat by Western countries. While this logic started to be visible after the end of Cold War and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, the securitization of migration became particularly significant after the 'Global War on Terror' that started in 2001, and the more recent 'Mediterranean Refugee crisis' since 2015. As a result, an increasing number of initiatives have been put forward to strengthen European borders, with major implications for the already precarious lives of refugees and asylum seekers. Paradoxically, the recent invasion of Ukraine by Russia and the war that ensued showed that the link between the rapid influx of asylum seekers and potential risks to national security can be transformed, that is, that the securitization of migration can function to foreground the insecurities and well-being of vulnerable groups and individuals rather than foster social anxieties. This puzzle, in which the association between the discourse of security and the challenges of integrating asylum-seekers came to be constructed differently, provides the empirical backdrop for this thesis which seeks to investigate how this process of de-securitization of migration came to take place. The following sections further clarify this puzzle, both theoretically and empirically, lay out the main objectives and research questions that will orient the analysis, and offer a brief overview of the argument.

1.1. The Security Dimension of Migration

Over the last few decades, transnational human mobility has become a central topic in the global agenda, paving the way for a growing number of international initiatives seeking to design and implement migration-related norms and policies at the bilateral, regional, and international levels (Kunz, et al. 2011). The rising significance of this issue became particularly evident in the European Union agenda, wherein migration has become a top policy priority (Boswell, Geddes, & Scholten, 2011). However, when analyzing the phenomena of migration in the European Union, one crucial aspect must be considered: the securitization of migration (Huysmans, 2002). This refers to the process whereby increasing migratory flows have been framed as a potential security risk, which if not

controlled might threaten the economic and political stability of society (Huysmans, 2002). Broadly, securitization can be defined as the discursive construction of something or someone as a potential threat to national, international, or human security (Wæver, 1995). By framing a problem according to the logic of 'threat-defense' and considering that the security of a particular political referent is endangered, the 'securitizing agent' is also reclaiming the need to adopt 'exceptional measures' to deal with that issue; securitization is thus a 'speech-act' and if accepted by the 'audience' that particular problem – be that migration, climate change or an epidemic – is elevated from the realm of 'normal politics' to the sphere of 'high politics', wherein decision-making can take place outside democratic procedures (Buzan et al., 1998).

This has led to a growing interest in studying the construction of migrants as security threats, especially within the European Union (Huysmans, J., 2000). By and large, most scholarship has pointed out the negative implications of successful securitization moves: apart from reproducing the idea of 'others' as either potential risks or powerless victims (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017), this logic has largely contributed to the increasing fortification of Europe, including the extra-territorialization of its borders (Asderaki & Markozani, 2021), the development of increasingly restrictive asylum policies (Simonovits, 2020), or the growing control over migrants already within its territory (Brosius, van Elsas, & & de Vreese, 2019). As a result, security has been widely seen as a mechanism to authorize violence and exclusion, broadening the authority of actors such as border officers and police forces, and often aggravating the insecurity of migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers who are already in a position of vulnerability (Asderaki & Markozani, 2021).

Understanding the difference between migrants and refugees is essential when discussing the topic of migration. Despite their different meanings, there is still a lot of misunderstanding regarding these two concepts. According to the UNHCR, refugees "are persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution" while migrants "choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons. Unlike refugees who cannot safely return home, migrants face no such impediment to return. If they choose to return home, they will continue to receive the protection of their government." (UNHCR, 2016).

The production of thousands of refugees is one of the war's direct effects. In addition to putting the victims of this war at risk, forced migration also threatens the stability of the entire global environment. Using the refugee crisis in 2015 as an example, the mass migration brought on by disruption in the Middle East and North Africa region, combined with the start of the Syrian War, the Congo, Sudan, and Nigeria conflicts resulted in direct economic and humanitarian effects on bordering nations. However, the responses carried out to address this crisis, as many researchers have demonstrated, were primarily motivated by fear and anxiety, which led to a rise in protectionist policies and sentiments when it came to accepting refugees but especially when it came to integrating into society (see Huysmans, J., 2006, and Lazaridis, G., and Wakia, K., 2015).

1.2. Setting the Scene: The War between Russia and Ukraine and the Refugee Crisis

The beginning of 2022 year brought a war that nobody was ready for. But is it so? Back in 2014, Ukraine had already been invaded and part of its territory annexed by Russia. This incident took place following protests by the Ukrainian population over President Viktor Yanukovych's rejection of an agreement with the European Union that would have allowed for greater economic integration. As the protests intensified, Viktor Yanukovych ended up leaving the country, leaving the territory of Ukraine abandoned to Russian occupation. The same happened in March 2014, in the region of Crimea (Center for Preventive Action, 2023).

The protection of the rights of Russian minorities in Crimea was the motive utilized by Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation, although this justification was untenable for the West and seen as crime under international law. In the years that followed, animosities persisted, attempts at a ceasefire by European states failed to develop, and to intensify tensions between Russia and the rest of the Western world, NATO also defined its position by delegating troops to Russia's neighboring countries to prevent a possible counter-offensive (Center for Preventive Action, 2023).

All these developments have led to the clarification of Russia as a threat from the West, but also vice versa. It was in October 2021 that US intelligence services noted an increase in Russian intentions to invade Ukrainian territory again. The climate became more tense as time went on. It was with the rejection of Russia's proposal for a ceasefire

by Western NATO troops and the United States in Eastern Europe, as well as NATO's contingency to expand near Russia's borders, which included the rejection of any chance of Ukraine becoming a member of this military organization. The year 2021 thus ended with clear divisions between the two sides (Center for Preventive Action, 2023).

It was in February 2022 that a possible Russian breakthrough started to take place, "satellite imagery showed the largest deployment of Russian troops to its border with Belarus since the end of the Cold War" (Center for Preventive Action, 2023). The risk of war was imminent and, ignoring all possible sanctions imposed by the European Union and the entire international contingent, Vladimir Putin announced, in the early hours of February 24, 2022, what he term as a "special military operation" intended to denazify and demilitarize the Ukrainian region for the alleged genocide of Russian nationals in neighboring territory (Center for Preventive Action, 2023). The so-called operation rapidly turned into a war between Russia and Ukraine and has resulted in a widespread effort by the European Union to rapidly assist and integrate Ukranian refugees across Europe. According to official data issued by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 6,204,600 refugees departed Ukraine until October 2023, with 5,835,400 of them remaining within the European Union (UNHCR, 2023).

Considered by some to be the worst refugee catastrophe since World War II (see UNHCR, 2023 & Ahmed, et al., 2022), the humanitarian response from international agencies and, above all, the economic, military, and humanitarian support from the European Union has led to a sense of caution about the stark contrast between the current wave of migration and that experienced since 2015 (European Council, 2023).

1.3. Research Problem & Research Question

Media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion. This is particularly true for media outlets with a global outreach. However, this process is multifaceted. While globalization allowed for the widespread of news and information, the subsequent revolution in technology and growing significance of social media also facilitated misinformation, but contributed to an increasing political polarization, and often to the amplification of extreme viewpoints in relation to key global issues such as climate change or international migration (see Postman, 2006 & Entman, 2003).

Despite that, the focus of this study would be on how the refugee situation following the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine has been represented by the media. The media, as other actors, can portray the refugee issue in a variety of ways. It can opt by showing that refugees can contribute significantly to their host nations and that their entrance is superior to that of all other economic and cultural competitors or, alternatively, to link refugees to potential terrorist threats and social unrest. The contrast between different conceptualizations of refugee waves by media outlets is the puzzle underlying this thesis for one important reason. How we perceive an issue will naturally condition the type of response that we utilize to address it. Hence, the association of migration with national security threats paves the way to protectionist measures that often limit the freedoms and rights of asylum-seekers, whereas a more humane approach to this issue might contribute to facilitate their social integration in the host country.

Thus, a fundamental notion throughout this research has been the ability of the media to shape public opinion and political acts, taking into account the various conceptualizations that the refugee crisis can adopt. I seek to understand how new wave of migration resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine has been linked to an international security, national security, and human security. In other words, we aim to see if refugees have been characterized as a threat to both national and international stability or, by the contrary, as the referent to be protected in urgent need for humanitarian support by the international community. Hence, this study seeks to address the following research questions:

- *How has the Ukrainian refugee crisis resulting from the Russian invasion of Ukraine been framed by The Guardian? Do these representations reify the idea of refugees as potential sources of national and societal insecurity or do they focus predominantly on the conditions of insecurity experienced by refugees?*

To structure our analysis, a set of sub-research questions have been developed:

- What was the predominant conceptualization of security adopted in the articles published by the Guardian on the refugee crisis resulting from the war between Russia and Ukraine during the first year of war?
- What conceptualizations of insecurity and threat became more prominent during this period and what sort of response did they invoke to address those insecurities?
- How did different conceptions of in/security authorize contrasting or complementing ways of responding to the refugee crisis and the broader war?

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis will be structured into six chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter introduces the theoretical framework of securitization theory. It analyses its origin and its central concern with understanding the construction of security or, in other words, how an issue or object can become a security problem and move from the sphere of normal politics to the sphere of high or exceptional politics. This theory also seeks to explain who holds the influence and power over securitizing processes, which type of discourse is more appealing to securitizing moves, the importance of the audience in such procedure, and the consequences of the securitization process.

Following from that, the third chapter will focus on reviewing some of the growing literature on the securitization of migration. In doing so, the chapter identifies the dominant trend to cast migrants and asylum-seekers under a negative light, as potential sources of insecurity. More critically, it allows us to locate the common conclusions of this literature and thus established a springboard to compare them with the how the recent Ukranian refugee crisis was framed and represented and whether there has been a process of re-securitization or desecuritization and international security has persisted, and as such, how this (in)security has been perceived.

Building upon those theoretical assumptions and insights from the literature, the fourth is focused on the methodological aspect of this thesis, explaining the concept of security and the set of research methods mobilized to investigate the representation of migrants during the first year of the war. Lastly, the fifth chapter will provide the analysis and the discussion of the data collected, answering the Central Research Question and the Sub Research Questions.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework: Securitization Theory and the ‘Copenhagen School’

At the theoretical level, this thesis draws upon securitization theory, also known as the ‘Copenhagen School of Security Studies’ (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998). The main definitions of securitization theory are presented in this chapter. In an effort to explain how a problem can move from the realm of ordinary politics to high politics by being characterized as an existential threat thus leading to the adoption of extraordinary measures in order to quickly contain the problem. The main authors of the theory are exposed along with the presentation of some of its critics.

2.1. The Core Concerns of Securitization Theory: Exception, Speech-Act, Audience

Until the end of the Cold War, security studies and the concept of security focused almost exclusively on two dimensions: the state primacy of the military element and the territorial integrity of the state (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998). The need to broaden the security agenda stemmed from a widespread feeling in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as the bipolar structure of the international order was dismantled, and numerous actors gained increasing relevance in international politics. In this sense, the reformulation of the concept of security was seen as something necessary in order to analyze the variety of actors that it now encompassed. Furthermore, military force was no longer seen as the only element that could threaten the security of a state, and this same state was no longer the only actor that could feel threatened or threaten others on its own (Rothschild, 1995). This opened up the space for the association of issues such as economics, energy, and environmental degradation of migration with the security agenda. It was in this context that securitization theory was initially formulated.

Initiated through a collaboration between Jaap de Wilde, Ole Wæver, and Barry Buzan, since then securitization theory has become one of the most successful theoretical enterprises within security studies. More specifically, this school has gained traction among the students seeking to better explain and understand the broader social construction of certain issues as potential risks and security threats. Broadly, the aim of

this theory is to explain the process of securitization, or, in other words, how certain issues become constructed and accepted as existential threats to a particular object, how this process develops, and with what consequences (Buzan et al., 1998; Nyman, J., 2013; Huysmans, J., 1998).

In order to be successfully securitized, threats must satisfy specific criteria that distinguish them from political concerns to be considered valid security issues. They must be staged as existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor to garner support for emergency measures beyond those that would otherwise be required. When a problem is framed as a security concern and the audience agrees, it takes on priority status and is resolved using extraordinary measures that would not be used in a typical democratic process (Nyman, 2013).

Underlying this process is the 'speech-act'. This act involves the attempt to convince an audience to adopt extraordinary measures for the treatment of the supposed threat, and its adoption process is faster than the traditional norms (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998). The persuasion of the security agent is the central point of the treatment of this school, leading to the study of how the threat is portrayed – it may be a global threat, a national threat, or even a threat to human existence – where the discourse analysis arouses different interpretations (McDonald, M., 2013).

Naturally, this theory is also concerned with understanding the removal of issues from the security agenda, or the process of desecuritization. Hansen (2012) analyzes the different ways in which the desecuritization[1] process can unfold – change through stabilization (détente) – "a rather slow move out of an explicit security discourse, which in turn facilitates a less militaristic, less violent and hence more genuinely political form of engagement" (Hansen, 2012, p. 539). Second, replacement shows the desecuritization process by securitizing other issues; rearticulation is a more political and moral engagement, where desecuritization is achieved by offering political solutions or by changing the public sphere and the image of Selves and Others. Finally, silencing is "when an issue disappears or fails to register in security discourse" (Hansen, 2012, p. 544), which leaves enough space for unanswered questions to explain the exclusion of some issues inside a general subject.

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[1] "a move from the securitised to the politicised" (Hansen, 2012, p. 531).

2.2. Securitization and Its Critics

Securitization theory is a well-established and developed theory, yet it is not without flaws. Although Buzan et al. assume that there are other objects besides the state, they are actually less critical of the state since they prefer it. The first is a result of the traditional form's historical roots. The second flaw is that it lacks a normative objective, making it challenging to judge whether securitization is beneficial or harmful. Instead, it emphasizes the significance of securitization while classifying desecuritization as advantageous. Securitization frequently embodies necessary and positive reforms, despite the perception that it signifies the failure of conventional policy. The imprecise definition of the speech act, which is both stated as "an intersubjective process of producing a threat" and as just an "utterance itself," is another limitation of securitization theory (Nyman, 2013).

The reformulation of the securitization process leads to new approaches and new critiques joining the debate. While the Copenhagen School admits that the predominance in securitization comes from the securitizing actor, his influence, his persistence, and even his choice of words, others assume a more post-structuralist, admitting individuality in the securitization process and the influence of society in changing the traditional norms of this theory (Buzan et al., 1998).

The divergence between the classical and modern strands of securitizing theory leads to a gap in the importance of identifying the securitizing actor, the role of the audience, and the entire background that encompasses the securitization process. In this sense, Balzacq (2005) approaches securitization as a pragmatic act that points to the interaction between words and actions and also emphasizes non-linguistic practices and the social context, "securitization is a force field, realized through linguistic impulses, that strives to establish an unfolding course of events as a shared concern intended to recommend immediate political action" (Balzacq, 2005, p. 178).

Another restriction that can be taken into consideration is the significance of quiet actions in the securitization process. Securitization theory maintains a fairly linear and prejudiced picture of how a problem is securitized despite the fact that it is a discursive act by omitting to present and evaluate quiet acts, non-Western acts, and gender acts in the securitization process (Nyman, 2013). Balzacq (2005) also emphasizes how the processes failed to evaluate the hearing, that is, those that need to accept something as a legitimate security issue in order for securitization to take place. Since an issue can only

be securitized if the audience agrees with it, the audience is the actor with the highest influence on determining whether the securitization process fails or succeeds. However, as he points out, the theory is biased in that it only takes into account successful procedures when it is examined and used, omitting to highlight any limitations or challenges in situations when the securitization process did not result in the intended outcomes.

Besides that, we cannot ignore the drawbacks that this agenda's openness has brought about: oversecuritization. Contrary to traditional approaches to security, which focused exclusively on the military dimension, the extension of security to the economic, social, and environmental levels has made oversecuritization a critical issue in a globalized and interdependent society (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998). This issue began to be considered, keeping in mind that while it provided opportunities for excessive securitization usage, it also provided opportunities for comprehending securitization without the use of force or the military (Buzan et al., 1998). All these criticisms and new observations of looking at security studies have made the traditionalist view become almost skeptical, and incomplete (McDonald, Securitization and the Construction of Security, 2008).

2.3. Conclusive Remarks

Clarifying the theoretical foundations of the "Copenhagen School" of Security Studies was the goal of this chapter. The theory's initial assertion was that the end of the Cold War was the pivotal event that changed the conventional viewpoints in the field of security studies. The expertise in this area at this time was limited and not particularly inclusive when confronting new actors in the international arena, such as new methods to determine when a problem is classified as a security threat.

Briefly, the Copenhagen School provides "a classification of what is and what is not a security issue, to explain how issues become securitized, and to locate the relevant security dynamics of different types of security on levels ranging from local through regional to global" (Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 1998, p. 1).

The conservative group had a more pessimistic and militaristic viewpoint, while the second group, with its broader perspective, allowed for a more reflexive agenda and

defended the idea that security is a social construction that depends on the subject being securitized the conversation, and the political, social, and economic environment.

In this regard, it also seems that the Paris School, which is a different dynamic when researching this topic, exists in this sector. This institution prioritizes the impact of various actors who are not often regarded as securitizing actors, such as police officers, coast guards, and others, in addition to defending the societal process of securitization.

All of the previously discussed procedures aided in the development of a systemic dialogue by enabling the development of many points of view within the same field and expanding the scope of research and discussion.

Chapter 3

The Securitization of Migration

Migration has always been a central feature of social, economic and political life. The movement of people has always existed, however, in recent decades its connotation has changed, from being substantially a positive factor for both the receiving countries and the individuals themselves to an object of (in)security study, now maintaining a negative connotation. Until the end of the 19th century, as Richmond (1988) notes, migration was seen as the result of the process of developing capitalism. An analysis of the thinking of classic authors such as Malthus, Marx, Durkheim, and Weber allowed a change in the perception of migration to emerge. First defined as the result of over-population, the naturalization of poverty with the maximization of profit by entrepreneurs, even as a factor in the breakdown of traditional communities and as a disintegrating factor, both religiously and culturally (Richmond, 1988, pp. 30-31). It was at the beginning of the 20th century that migration went from being just a consequence of capitalism to a field of study in its own right, taking on an increasingly substantial importance due to the growth of immigrants arriving at the borders of the United States and Europe, known as the New World (Richmond, 1988).

Migration is a process that impacts states, regions, societies, economies, and policies it has been difficult to deal with over the years (Castles & Miller, 1998). With increasingly divided societies, more interconnected economies, and more restrictive policies, this chapter presents the main trends in the literature on the securitization of migration. This chapter analyses the relationship between the securitization process and migration phenomena, showing how different migratory waves have been characterized and described, focusing on the European context due to the relevance of the European Union as a union and its unique system of organization and decision-making.

After analyzing the securitization theory, it is necessary to explore and study the sub-areas of securitization. The securitization of migration emerges with the new order, which is, with the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a multipolar international order, and most importantly, with the increasing and complex migration flows. Buzan et al. (1998) recognized four more sectors: the economic, the environmental, the political, and the societal (Nyman, 2013). The societal described everything that could destabilize and threaten a community, as migration turned out to be. The politicization of migration

started to increase in numerous countries, which led to some politicians and policymakers considering it as an existential threat, frightening national communities and their values (Huysmans, 1998).

The securitization of migration has led to the consideration of migration as a matter of security, a threat to the stability of a state and institutions. One key factor was the events of 9/11 and the subsequent emphasis on counterterrorism played a crucial role in linking migration to security concerns, with the fear of potential terrorists infiltrating through immigration systems (Lazaridis & Wadia, 2015).

3.1. The Securitization of Migration in Europe

The relevance of the Copenhagen School to Europe's security concerns is routinely questioned. The reformulation of security studies was first based on events in Europe, such as the *OstPolitik* case or even the politicization of migration in European decision-making centers that resulted in the development of the societal sector. Hence, "while US security studies link their analysis to US foreign and national security policy, the Copenhagen School is primarily interested in European security for the sake of European security" and "the Copenhagen group stresses a collective security problematic instead of a national security one" (Huysmans, 1998, p. 484). Even though the research agenda combines theoretical and practical study, which makes circumstances more testable (in contrast to the US, where there is only theoretical investigation), the truth is that the CS identity is mostly derived from European peace research.

Around the 1950s and 1960s, the arrival of immigrants in European countries was seen as a positive factor, an extra labor force, and an asset to build Europe after two major world wars (Huysmans, The European Union and the securitization of migration, 2000). The construction of the European project relied heavily on foreign aid for immigrants who were often considered illegal to facilitate their mobility, flexibility, and exploitation. However, with the start of the 1980s, the debate on the legality of these individuals became more connotative (Marie, 1988).

If until then - between the 1960s - Europe was known as a continent of emigrants, "about 55 million people, equivalent to about 18% of the Western European population in 1910, left ... for other countries" (Therborn, 1987), after the Second World War the number of migrants rose as never before. This continuous increase, mainly felt in Europe, one of the main recipients of a large percentage of war refugees and asylum seekers, led

to a stronger stance on the part of national authorities and, with the passage of time, international authorities.

In this sense, and as highlighted above, Europe has always been one of the most important fields of study, if not the most important (Huysmans, 1998, p. 484). This relevance of the European continent for security studies is due to the political, economic, and social organization of this continent, more specifically, the European Union. The uniqueness of this European project made the national security interest of a state pass to the collective interest of this institution, encompassing new threats in its agendas (Huysmans, 1998).

The complexity of the European Union system has always raised questions, not only in military matters but above all in security matters. As far as asylum and migration policies are concerned, since the EU is neither a state nor an international organization, it has 'equipped' itself with intergovernmental negotiations with third countries on the issue of asylum. In a post-Cold War scenario, with the fall of the communist regimes, "and the refugee crisis caused by the civil war in Yugoslavia providing the geo-political context in which migration came to be seen as a cause for concern for national governments and in European Union circles" (Karamanidou, 2015, pp. 40-41), this politicization of migration by major European leaders has increased concern about this phenomenon, from which can be drawn the importance of speech acts, textual analysis, and how the assimilation of migration as a human, national, regional, and international concern can influence position and decision making (Hansen, 2012, & Huysmans, 1998).

Even though the European Union established the Schengen Area in 1985 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, where the European Union's foundations on migration were solidified - thus Europeanizing migration and asylum policies – "rendering them a matter of EU policies and actions" (Karamanidou, 2015, p.37, & see Kasparek, 2010), confirming European intentions to control and delegate this phenomenon. However, it was not until 2013 that Europe began to see the need for greater border control, which raised security concerns.

With the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2011 and the ensuing Syrian civil war, instability in the Middle East and North Africa intensified, triggering a wave of migration to the European continent due to its proximity. The unsustainability of these areas led to an increase in not only intracontinental but also intercontinental migratory movements, opening up a panorama of illegal and deadly crossings (Asderaki & Markozani, 2021).

2015 was the year with the highest number of asylum applications and illegal entries. It was at this precise moment that the massive arrival of these migrants came to be seen as a security problem, "With over 3,770 estimated deaths, 2015 has been the deadliest year on record for migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean, trying to reach Europe" (IOM UN Migration, 2015).
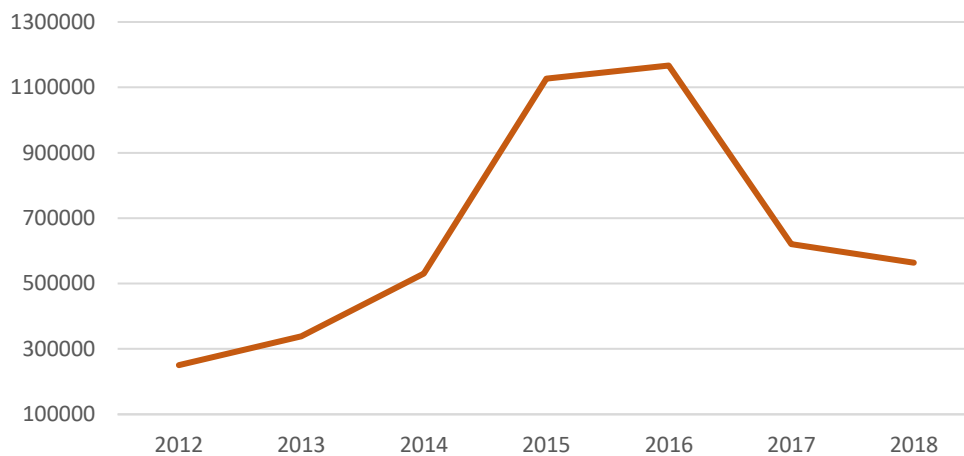

Figure 1. First-Time Asylum applicants (non-EU citizens) from 2012 to 2018. Source: Eurostat 2023.

Given the scenario of the refugee crisis from 2015 onwards, initially, according to Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) report, with the successive episodes of mass drownings, the mass arrivals of refugees fleeing war in painful and desperate conditions led to careful tolerance on the part of European public opinion.

September is considered the second period, a period of greater humanitarianism, where first-hand stories of refugees and immigrants shocked Europe. However, it was from November of the same year that these flows were intensively securitized due to the terrorist attacks in Paris, perpetuating fear and anxiety about the entry of these refugees, alluding to an existential threat to the European way and to the stability that had prevailed until then (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 8).

Throughout the 2015 crisis, the correlation of migrants and threat and terrorism was very present, not only due to the control of borders by European agencies as EUROPOL, linking the massive flow of migrants with criminal activities, but also the EU's official publications. Typically, the categorizations utilized to create the documents were negative, as an example "The fold increase of the results in 2013 to 2016, from 206 to

887 times, demonstrates that the acceleration of the interrelation of migration with any kind of threat have followed the escalation of the refugee crisis" (Asderaki & Markozani, 2021, p. 187).

Furthermore, the delegation of specialized European agencies, such as the shift of the migration agenda from the policy Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice to the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) (Asderaki & Markozani, 2021), to this precise problem and the militarization of them, obliging the Copenhagen Security School, resulted in the securitization of migration in European territory.

It's also worth mentioning FRONTEX's importance in this context. This agency is in charge of monitoring the member states' borders and providing training to help them have a better understanding of their frontiers. However, when the refugee crisis began in 2015, their position was reinforced, and since then, they have taken the lead in protecting member-states, and neighborhoods, with the authority to interfere if they perceive so (European Union, 2019).

This is a developing organization that can indicate that the securitization of migration within the European Union began in earnest in 2015, but that it remains a matter of regional security. As a result of the expansion of military/logistical agencies, we, as well as the rest of Europe, began to view asylum seekers as a threat. This hardening of the European Union's language and agencies, as well as its cooperation with NATO (PESCO) on Mediterranean Sea monitoring, demonstrates their presence and capability to confront the issues that have occurred and continue to arise within their boundaries.

Despite their efforts, the European Union was negatively impacted by the refugee crisis, not only because of their ineffectiveness in responding to all migrants but also because the crisis led to the emergence of extremist ideas that are now contaminating the EU's good functioning (van Prooijen, Krouwel, & & Emmer, 2018). The question that arises in academia is the process by which these restrictive measures are taken, how they are characterized, and by whom takes the reins of assuming an individual is a threat to our existence (Chouliaraki, L.; Zaborowski, R., 2017 & see Simonovits, B., 2020).

In this element, Huysmans (2000) admits three causes that lead to the securitization of migration, these being the collision of cultures and customs, where locals dread and worry about the immigrant disrupting their community's tranquility; the second, as each Member State, has its own security strategy and as a result, the way each one view migration is reflected in the European Union as a whole, internal security is another

barrier to the creation of a single immigration policy. Finally, the securitization of migration also affects people's well-being, where nationals are aware that only they can claim rights such as citizenship since they are the citizens of that nation permanently, in contrast to migrants, who are frequently in the country illegally and who have their fundamental rights, like the right to health, denied to them because of their status (Huysmans, 2000). As Huysmans notes:

> "For welfare chauvinists, immigrants and asylum-seekers are not simply rivals but illegitimate recipients or claimants of socioeconomic rights" whereas in "a welfare state struggling to guarantee an acceptable level of socio-economic rights, these metaphors portray immigrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees as a serious threat to the survival of the socio-economic system" (Huysmans, 2000, p. 767 & 769).

3.1.1. The Securitization of Migration throughout European Countries

The 2015 scenario was becoming untenable, despite having had already experienced countless migratory waves, the one related to the 'refugee crisis', as a result of the Syrian civil war and the instability of neighboring regions, revealed the weakness of the European system when it came to a joint response. As some noted: "Since no EU-level solution was adopted, Member States took the matter into their own hands" (Grigonis, 2016, p. 94).

3.1.1.1 Italy

One of the best-known cases goes back to the South Tyrol region, an Italian province bordering Austria and Switzerland with a German- and Ladin-speaking population and a past of ethnic tensions. As Carlà, A. (2022) identifies, the securitization process fits perfectly with the study of political borders, where the interethnic relationship has a great weight in determining whether or not a threat is present (Carlà, 2022, p. 172), the way the concept of border is used in securitization processes reveals a negative connotation, either by not performing its primary function (protecting those within that border) or by being a kind of a 'shield' from the real threat beyond that border. It was exactly for these reasons that the South Tyrol region has been (de)securitizing its borders.

Although it is a culturally diverse area, the truth is that the arrival of new migratory waves has caused some discomfort also due to the instability of the region, the issue of language is often debated by trying to associate the arrival of these immigrants to a certain

existing group ("Into which group will migrants integrate?" and "Do they constitute a new fourth group?" (Carlà, 2022, p. 175). However, this was never always the case, there were also waves of desecuritization that raised the spirit of unity in the face of diversity, however, the way they are perceived is interconnected with the political, economical, social and cultural organization of the province, where the arrival of migrants calls into question the balance of power between the various ethnic groups and leads it to be often perceived as a threat.

3.1.1.2 Poland

In the case of Poland, there was a negative reaction to this wave. Due to their conservative and right-wing stance, their position facing migration was seen as a threat, both culturally and economically (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022). After analyzing the influence of media in securitizing migration, the 2015 migration crisis devastated Europe in ideological terms, with the rise of numerous right-wing parties supporting the exclusion and denial of migrant entry, and the provision of aid, creating strong tensions at the regional level as well, Poland was one of the examples.

Despite different variants between the more liberal side of the more conservative side, the truth is that both did not view the current situation positively, however, the role of the media in this case ends up forcing this very idea by individually scrutinizing the migrant as 'Illegal migrant' and 'Muslim migrant' (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022, p. 9). The qualitative analysis of several Polish news reports state that "the meaning of the recorded speech acts, the transformation of repetitive events into security issues is a frequently used rhetorical ploy", with the use of "appropriate words" that connect migration with securitization (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022, p. 10).

3.1.1.3 Hungary

Another case could be the Hungarian. Characterized as a country that is also conservative and anti-immigration. In this case, the securitization process depends on the weight of the securitizing actor and the strength of his discourse, not ignoring the historical past of the country, referring here a bit to Balzacq's ideas of the historical-cultural context of securitization. The systematic association with keywords like 'crisis' and 'illegal immigration' leads to the creation of a narrative of crisis, fear, and anxiety that, also due

to the relevance of those who defend these ideas, perpetuates the anti-migrant position of the region (Troszyński & El-Ghamari, 2022).

One of the clearest moments regarding the direct link between immigration and terrorism felt in Hungary was the anti-immigration campaign of Viktor Orbán's government in 2015. After the November 2015 terrorist attack in Paris, the Hungarian government policy "frames immigration as a security issue and cultural threat" (Bocskor, 2018, p. 557). This perpetuation of immigration as a security problem was supported by the government and the pro-government media leading to a national and regional security problem, where "immigration and terrorism are inseparable, the inflow of immigrants results in layoffs in labor markets, and immigrants increase crime rates (Sík, Simonovits, & Szeitl, 2016)" (Bocskor, 2018, p. 558).

3.1.1.4 Greece

Another reference could be made to the Greek case. Historically characterized by safeguarding its national identity and being considered one of the most homogeneous European countries in religious terms, this has led to them being internally in favor of the securitization of migration. Externally, the securitization of migration may be due to elites trying to protect their political legitimacy, where "The inability of the state to control irregular migration would undermine the public's loyalty to some of its most vital institutions and symbols, namely the army, the police, and the government" (Karyotis, 2012, p. 401).

Combining these facts, the construction of the Evros fence in Greece in 2012 was followed by "an exceptional measure enabled by the social construction of migration as a security threat by political actors in Greece" (Grigoriadis & Dilek, 2019, p. 6), triggered by a series of speech-act approaches. While the practice itself of building this fence was a strong securitarian act, the entire debate and discourses leading up to this moment are held to be instrumental in placing border control as a threat to national security, elevating the message that "Greece is not an 'open gate' to Europe" (Grigoriadis & Dilek, 2019, p. 7). Despite provoking a series of controversies within the EU, the European Commission opposed its construction, ensuring its continuity only through national resources (European Parliament, 2012).

The challenge of the mass arrival of migrants and refugees in Greece since 2012, with its peak in 2015, has led European agencies such as FRONTEX to cooperate in

monitoring and controlling these routes, not only for the safety of the Greek population but for the European population as a whole, said the Prime Minister of Greece, Alexis Tsipras (Pallister-Wilkins, 2015 & Grigoriadis & Dilek, 2019 & see Leivada, D., 2016).

3.1.1.5 Germany

Moving to Germany, at the end of 2018 Germany continued to be the country with the largest stock of pending cases in all instances, despite a minor reduction compared to a year earlier (EUAA - European Union Agency for Asylum, 2019). As a region that initially showed solidarity with refugees arriving from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and Nigeria, its position on irregular immigration was different.

In 2016, the approval of the *White Paper on German Security Policy and Future of the Bundeswehr* defined the main security challenges for German security. Among climate change, the proliferation of weapons, and cyber domination, what is fundamental for this study is the challenge of the proliferation of international terrorism (a consequence of the European terrorist attacks from 2015 onwards) and unregulated and irregular migration (Lopes, 2021). However, despite being one of the countries with the largest influx of refugees, Germany's stance is to assimilate refugees as a human security problem, "demonstrating the need to provide aid to migrants" (Lopes, 2021, p. 76).

However, historically, Germany has always had a securitarian stance towards migration, where inclusion and exclusion are both evident in civic rights and human rights. Even though both are seen as promoting unity and facilitating integration into a society, the securitization of migration calls into question many of these citizenship rights and creates a division between migrants who are seeking asylum and those who were already in Europe before the relevant migration wave. Citizenship rights in this situation serve as a motivating factor in the separation of the lives of some from those of others, encouraging the exclusion of people deemed to be "others", which happened in Muslim citizens in Germany and even in Italy with the Roma community (Banai, 2017).

3.2. The Media as Enforcers of the Securitization of Migration

Academics have been analyzing the phenomenon of contemporary societies, highlighting its dependence on the media, however this dependence also brings negative factors, namely the challenge of misinformation, as social networks have become increasingly relevant on the global scene. The media plays a crucial role in shaping public perception

and understanding of various social issues. One such is the representation of migrants in media, which has been a topic of debate and scrutiny. In this sense, as Cottle (2000) states:

> "The media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and the play of cultural power. It is in and through representations, for example, that members of the media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not" (Cottler, 2000, p. 2).

The European Refugee Crisis in 2015 was a significant event that received widespread media coverage across the whole continent and beyond. It involved a large influx of refugees and migrants, primarily from war-torn countries in the Middle East and North Africa, seeking safety and better lives in Europe (Abdo, Cabecinhas, & Brites, 2019).

Considering the 2015 wave of refugees, the media coverage was varied. With different narratives and perspectives across different outlets. Some adopted a sympathetic approach, focusing on the humanitarian aspect, a humanitarian securitization (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 618), portraying refugees as victims fleeing conflict and persecution, as it was the case in Italy, and Sweden (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, & Moore, 2016). Still, there were also media outlets that took a more critical stance, emphasizing the challenges faced by host countries and raising concerns about security, social integration, and economic strains. These media visibility often expressed the fears of cultural clash, overwhelmed social services, and potential terrorist threats (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, & Moore, 2016).

Migration is a multi-faceted issue with socio-economic, political, and humanitarian dimensions (Swain, 2019, p. 1). Nonetheless, if on the one hand reinforces the perception that refugees are outsiders, who pose a risk to the security of the host country (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017), intensifying the securitizing rhetoric of policymakers and politicians.

On the other hand, media outlets can simplify these complexities and reduce the public debate about security concerns, oversimplifying the issue. This creates an environment that prioritizes security over humanitarian considerations, contributing to the securitization of migration, where "different types of crime are linked to different ethnicities: Arabs are casted as terrorists in Western Europe and North America (Van Dijk, 2000) and Latinos as cheating the system in the United States (Chavez, 2001)" (Kadianaki, I; et al., 2018, p. 408).

3.3. Conclusive Remarks

This chapter provides a conclusive analysis of the securitization of migration, focusing on the European context. To resume, the securitization of migrations refers to the framing of migration as a security threat, leading to exceptional measures and policies.

When studying the securitization of migration it is important to keep in mind that while governments consider that this framing is necessary to protect the well-being of their citizens, there are also human rights concerns. Framing migration as a security threat leads to human rights violations for not giving the access of a better life and for not giving the same opportunities as others, the national population of a given country. To balance human rights with security measures is important for not risking their violation and disrespect.

The European examples given were important when analyzing the European background on securitizing migration, with this explanation it can be confirmed that some countries within the European Union adopted restrictive measures to control the entrance of immigrants in their territory. All of these processes and positions were securitizing moves that were accepted by an audience which was convinced by a securitizing actor, which had the influence and power to persuade an audience into accepting extraordinary measures to be adopted.

It is important to note that the securitization of migration is a complex issue, as migration itself is driven by various factors, including economic, socio-political, and environmental conditions. Balancing security concerns with the rights and dignity of migrants is a significant challenge for policymakers and societies as a whole.

The question that arises at the end of this chapter is to understand if the current wave of migration, due to the Russia's invasion to Ukraine in 2022, lead the European Union and European countries to adopt a securitizing posture or it was different from the previous ones.

Chapter 4
Research Design: Concepts, Methods and Data

Moving to a more practical approach to studying securitization processes, the present chapter has the purpose of demonstrating how migrants were characterized by the media outlets, more precisely the international journal *The Guardian*. Media outlets play a significant role in shaping public opinion and perpetuating the securitization of migration by the impact on how the topic is framed, the language utilized, and even the coverage provided. All of these aspects are fundamental when the aim is to portray those migrants as destabilizers, a threat to national security and moral values.

So far as security studies are concerned, this chapter lays the groundwork for what can constitute a threat, what a threat is, and what kinds of threats can exist. The idea of security is briefly described in the backdrop, along with the lessons that can be drawn from it. Finally, we outline the methodology used to examine the language, threat level, and representation of the most recent surge of migrants in Europe in the two international newspapers.

4.1. Security: An Essentially Contested Concept

The concept of security has evolved significantly over time. While the traditional concept of security revealed a more state-centric action, linked directly with military and strategic aspects, and the balance of power, the power of politics (see Hobbes, 1651 & Clausewitz, 1832 & Morgenthau, 1948). The broader concept of security as a different way of looking at the whole panorama by firstly including not only the military aspect but also the economic, societal, environmental and cultural concerns (Buzan, et al., 1998). Secondly, instead of characterizing the protection of violence, the new term evolved the pursuit of freedom from threat" (Buzan, 1991, p. 432), prioritizing the well-being of communities and the human rights protection. Thirdly, moving from the state-centric vision, this notion admitted all types of actors, from regional ones, to individual. Lastly, with this universal concept, new approaches advocated for the clarification of security with a feminine perspective (see Hansen, 2010) and post-colonialist view (see Booth, 2005). Acknowledging security is understanding its subjectiveness, that security has different interpretations for different people, i.e., an (in)security issue depends on how it is interpreted and perceived by those who feel insecure (Williams, 2008).

As Wolfer (1952) explains, this conception has two connotations: it can be objective or subjective, which is important in "international relations despite the fact that the chance of future attack never can be measured "objectively"; it must always remain a matter of subjective evaluation and speculation" (Wolfers, 1952, p. 485). This subjectivity opens the debate for comprehending the question: Security to whom? Which type of security? (see Baldwin 1997 & McDonald 2013).

In this context, it is possible to differentiate the different levels of security: from how that threat presents contests to international security, a threat on a global scale, national security, and even a threat to human/individual security (Williams, 2008).

As the name implies, international security concerns how something or someone can become a threat to the international system, international organizations, and the international community, admitting cross-border consequences, that surpass the individual (Williams, 2008), but also the state, demonstrating damage beyond territorial, shaking the status quo. Here a cross-border response is required, with a need for international cooperation, as the case of climate change shows (see McDonald 2013). On the other hand, national security, or as the author prefers 'state security', where the referent object is a state, being limited geographically and only encompassing a set of actors (e.g. the nationals of that state), here the securitization process has as main actors the heads of state, political parties, in a more conventional way, where it "suggests threats to the sovereignty and institutional capacity of the state" (McDonald, 2013, p.45).

Moving to human security, the topic has been increasingly studied and supported, where "Human security is not a concern with weapons. It is a concern with human dignity" (Williams, 2008, p.7). Such a more individual level can be considered sensationalist because while on the one hand, it admits that the state is not able to guarantee the security of its own people, on the other hand, it admits its contemporary position, refuting the ideas of barriers and borders between different peoples and taking a much more sustained and modern position (see McDonald 2013).

When addressing these three levels of analysis in the matter of migration, the human security-migration nexus has been gaining a lot of attention in academia. While securing international and national security only allows for the overlapping of national aims and integrity, a "human security approach seeks to protect people against a broad range of threats and to empower them to act on their own behalf (Commission on Human Security, 2003, p.2)" (Vietti & Scribner, 2013, p. 18). A human security approach would focus on

the root problems that led to involuntary migrations, eradicating poverty, ethnic cleansing, persecution, and war, leading to a more diplomatic response, and a more humanitarian one (Vietti & Scribner, 2013). In this sense, international cooperation is implicit in this procedure.

4.2. Research Method: Content Analysis

Upon addressing the concept of security and the different levels of analysis that can have, the method selected for this research is the method of Content Analysis. A lot of media outlets have covered the subject of migration in a number of ways, from the personal experiences of the victims to how this wave is seen by the citizens of each state. The present migratory crisis, caused by the war between Russia and Ukraine, has given rise to a fairly worldwide concern. Therefore, the content analysis of newspaper articles allows researchers to uncover hidden ideologies, biases, and rhetorical strategies employed by media outlets. It provides valuable insights into how news is constructed and how it influences public opinion and discourse.

As Qin Xie states, news discourse does not have a common definition. For some academics, it can seem that is a reliable and neutral space of information, for others news discourse is not a description of reality but rather a product of that (see Ekstrom 2002 & Fowler 1991), and for that "News must be something extraordinary and particular enough to attract the public's attention" (Xie, 2018, p. 399).

In this section, I outline the analysis strategy used to examine news from *The Guardian*. In addition, I discuss the importance of the media chosen for analysis, the length of time examined and its justifications, the standards for including and excluding news, the thematic analysis of the news, and the analytical guiding questions.

Briefly, content analysis is "an approach to the analysis of documents and texts (…) that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner. It is a very flexible method that can be applied to a variety of different media" (Bryman, 2016, p. 283).

The primary goal of content analysis, particularly with regard to newspaper articles, is to comprehend the underlying structure, what is implied, and what lies beneath. This is accomplished by classifying the type of content described using, in this case, subcategories like "Referent object to be protected", "Threat to be secured" or "Means to be deployed in order to ensure security", among others, and by using a quantitative and

qualitative code scheme (Bryman, 2016), which includes enumerating the primary themes discussed, keywords, and emotions evoked, among other things.

This method is flexible enough to be used for a wide range of subjects, however Bryman (2016) outlines some of the benefits and drawbacks. The benefits of content analysis include the ability to generate knowledge on social groups to which it is difficult to acquire access and the ability to guide political decisions by showing trends and practices that give the analysis a certain weight. It is also easy to aggregate a big number of dates, as was the case with 52 articles evaluated over the course of a year. Finally, it may be reproduced for other periods and then compared over time (Bryman, 2016, p. 303).

Nevertheless, its drawbacks are equally apparent. When the goal is to impute latent rather than manifest content, certain issues are likely to develop. A content analysis can only be as good as the documents the professional is dealing with. Lastly, research using content analysis are occasionally charged of being theoretical (Bryman, 2016, p. 305).

It is the goal of this study to comprehend how these refugees have been perceived and, more significantly, what sort of threat they may pose. In this regard, the methodology entails a qualitative analysis of the discourse employed in news articles from *The Guardian*, taking into account that this type of mass media output can reveal constraints such as its veracity – due to the news's reporters (Bryman, 2016). Despite these impasses, however, the significance of spaces like these is fundamental in determining how a given situation may be conveyed to public opinion and to what extent this influence can lead to a different response from what has previously been expressed.

4.2.1. Newspapers' Significance to Analysis: The Guardian

To test the initial research question and to obtain an answer it is important to look at a newspaper with an international scope that can provide insight into the current refugee crisis. *The Guardian* was chosen for specific reasons. Despite having British roots, this daily has a global audience and offers in-depth coverage of international news and events, making it an important source of information for readers all around the world. Due to the fact that it is not governed by shareholders or billionaires, its international reports help throw light on significant topics and occurrences outside of national borders. (The Guardian, n.d.).

In addition, this newspaper is renowned for its dedication to investigative reporting, frequently revealing worldwide corruption, human rights violations, and environmental challenges (The Guardian, n.d.), which promotes transparency and accountability. Due to their significant online presence and its accessibility for free, internet accessibility was another key feature to select. Additionally, they are mentioned and used as references by researchers and academics all across the world, expanding their influence beyond national boundaries. To sum up, the publication's multiple journalism awards solidify its reputation as a reliable global source of news and opinion.

4.2.2. Analysis Timeframe

In order to have a succinct and well-organized line of discussion and study, it was necessary to develop periods of analysis due to the massive flow of news on the subject. In this sense, the time frame under consideration starts with the first week of the conflict (particularly, February 24 to March 2, 2022) and continues every three months after that. The analysis period concludes with the first year of war, with the final week being from February 24 to March 2, 2023. This allows for a more comprehensive evaluation of what can be seen during a year of conflict, including the main trends, potential changes in discourse, and similarities, among numerous additional variables. To be more specific, 5 weeks will be examined in total throughout the course of a year of war:

1st) February 24 to March 2, 2022

2nd) May 24th to May 30th, 2022

3rd) August 24th to August 30th, 2022

4th) November 24th to November 30th, 2022

5th) February 24 to March 2, 2023

Due to the large number of articles published within a year, these intervals were necessary. This time frame was chosen to preserve a coherent timeline with a degree of temporal proximity that would allow for an understanding of how the refugee crisis and the war itself have changed over time.

4.2.3. Exclusion-Inclusion Procedure

Although newspapers have great potential for scientific social analyses, it is necessary to follow a procedure for what should be analyzed and what should be excluded from analysis. In this study, the analysis break was used to group a particular set of articles.

The truth is that in the collection of news stories, only those that contained the keywords "Refugees," "Ukraine," "Security," or "Ukrainian Refugees" were chosen for analysis. This was done in order to examine how refugees from the war between Ukraine and Russia were perceived and what kind of threat they displayed.

In addition to these elements, it's crucial to keep in mind that papers explaining, in greater detail, the advancements made by one of those involved, the rise in the number of victims, among other things, are frequently published in newspapers like The Guardian, especially when it comes to the analysis of a conflict. All of these reports were taken out because they were thought to be explanation articles that did not accurately reflect how the international community views the refugee problem brought on by this conflict. On the other hand, opinion pieces play a significant effect in the public perception of what might be regarded as a threat, how this threat is represented, and what it is, despite frequently being viewed as biased and manipulative, the sentiment that many of these articles aim to express, which is frequently shared by others rather than just the writers.

4.2.4. Coding: Analytical Questions

It is crucial to categorize and code each article individually after compiling all of the articles that, in terms of date and subject, satisfy the criteria outlined above. I attempted to develop a set of questions that would allow us to identify how each news piece presents refugees and the classification of the security danger in order to respond to the study's opening question. This led to the definition of 4 questions that have been applied to all the news analyzed:

A) Who is the Referent Object that needs to be protected?

B) Which Threat needs to be Secured?

C) Which means should be deployed in order to ensure security?

D) What emotional response does it seek to provoke?

Chapter 5

Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will first concentrate on the examination of the data and uncover the earliest theories that attempted to address the study subject. In addition, some more concepts that may add to the discussion of the disparities between the treatment of Ukrainian refugees and other refugees will be offered.

5.1. Analysis of Articles: Type of Discourse and Awareness

Due to the initial impressions that the general public had about the war and its effects, the first week of the conflict is crucial to understanding the conflict. As a result, the first was the only one with a greater number of articles (around 22 articles) on the Ukrainian Refugees and Security, as well as what this war would entail for the local environment, the global context, and the actual victims. International help and attitudes were adopted within this first impression.

The media was consistently identified as the securitizing actor in the 52 articles that were gathered. Even when the articles explained and described the policies adopted by some nations or governments, the media always has the influence and power to add to a particular type of discourse, either by critiquing or endorsing a narrative. Apart from this, *The Guardian* has a propensity to focus on some features of these migratory waves in the context of their national situations, such as housing, economic support, and so forth. This may indicate a more limited understanding of how it was perceived by the international community, but it is still possible to investigate the preliminary analysis using the majority of the supplied data to have a more general understanding.

By carefully reading each of the articles, I was able to compile some key points about the context in which the concept of threat was being used. By establishing core questions, I was able to maintain a systematic data analysis and only collect relevant information.

5.1.1. Data Collection

Once all the information that matched the specified keywords and date had been gathered, it was possible to draw a few conclusions. Every article that was analyzed and examined was considered to have Russia and Putin as the impending threat and the media as the securitizing actor, precisely because the media has the influence and power to constantly

refocus arguments in a way that results are accepted by the public and the ability to shape or construct common perceptions. In addition, it is plausible to believe that Putin and Russia are portrayed as the threat in all of these publications given that Russia invaded Ukraine illegally and is blamed for sparking the current migrant wave.

A) Referent Object to be Protected

Moving on to the first question that was raised (Who is the referent object?), it was simply intended to determine who in the narrative should be safeguarded from the threat, be it Europe, the refugees, or the global scene. What sticks out in this section is the frequency with which Ukrainian refugees or even Ukrainian territory is used as a reference object, as shown in *Chart 1*[2]. According to the articles used, it was the refugees from this war, and Ukrainian civilians, who required more protection, as they were stated to be the ones who deserved to be shielded from Putin's threat. With a minor portion relating to European principles, world civilization, and, above all, British residents who welcomed refugees seeking asylum at this time.
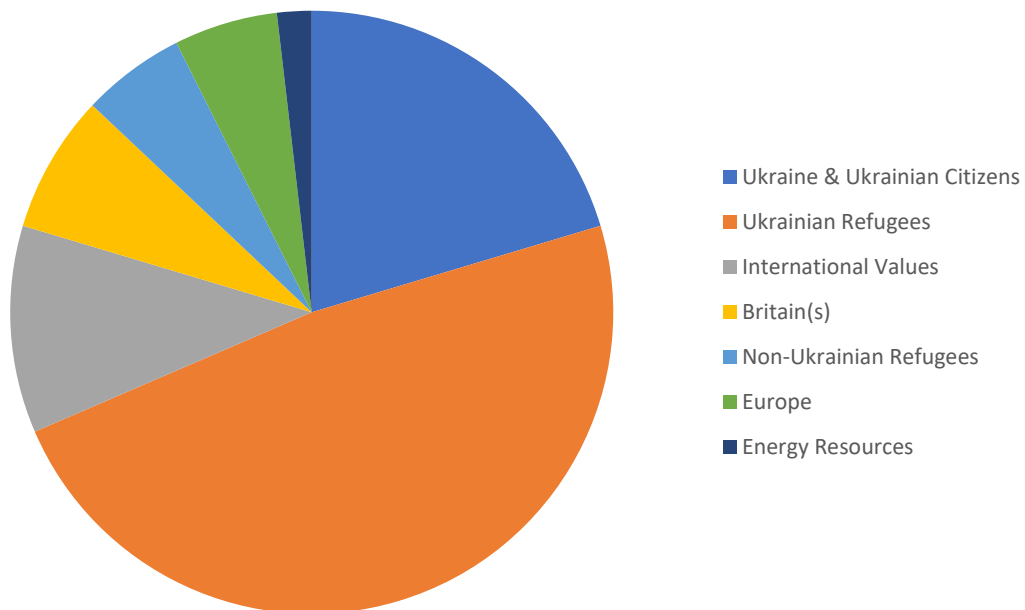
Chart 1. Referent Object used in the articles analyzed.

Although the graphic shows a list of relevant objects, there are a few things to bear in mind. The term "non-Ukrainian refugees" refers to refugees who were present in Ukraine at the time of Russia's invasion but are not of Ukrainian origins, primarily African refugees, Ukrainian refugees of color, and Roma refugees. These three groups

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[2] Note that some articles had both Ukrainian Refugees and Britains as Referent Objects.

were combined to make it easier to count the objects concerned. For the same reason, the term "International Values" gathered democratic values, Human Rights, and worldwide values. In a different reality, "Energy Resources" is a result of conflict and must be safeguarded because of their effects on the entire world.

When assuming Europe as a referent object the articles explored the way Ukraine's Neighbors were also afraid that the Russian invasion would spread throughout the entire European territory, especially people in Lithuania, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, and Poland. The exploitation of individual anxieties from people in several European nations in this case conveys a feeling of regional anxiety about what might happen, not just in terms of a conflict but also its repercussions. "It's the economic effect that is worrying people. (…) Igor Dudkiewicz, 23, law student, Poznań, Poland" (Obordo & Bannock, 2022)

In addition, the attack on the Ukrainian embassy in Madrid is a perfect illustration of the need for Europe to be protected from the threat that Russia poses. The attack on Ukrainian diplomats on European soil increases security measures and raises public anxiety (Jones & Burgen, 2022).

B) Threat to be Secured

It is essential to classify security in each item in order to understand which security we are dealing with. Every article was classified in this section under one of four categories of security: international security, national security, regional security, and human security. Despite the fact that the economic impact of this war, food insecurity, and even energetic consequences were also mentioned. Since each of these implications affects international security on a global level and poses a threat to human, national, and regional existence, I concentrated on all three of them in the International Security category.
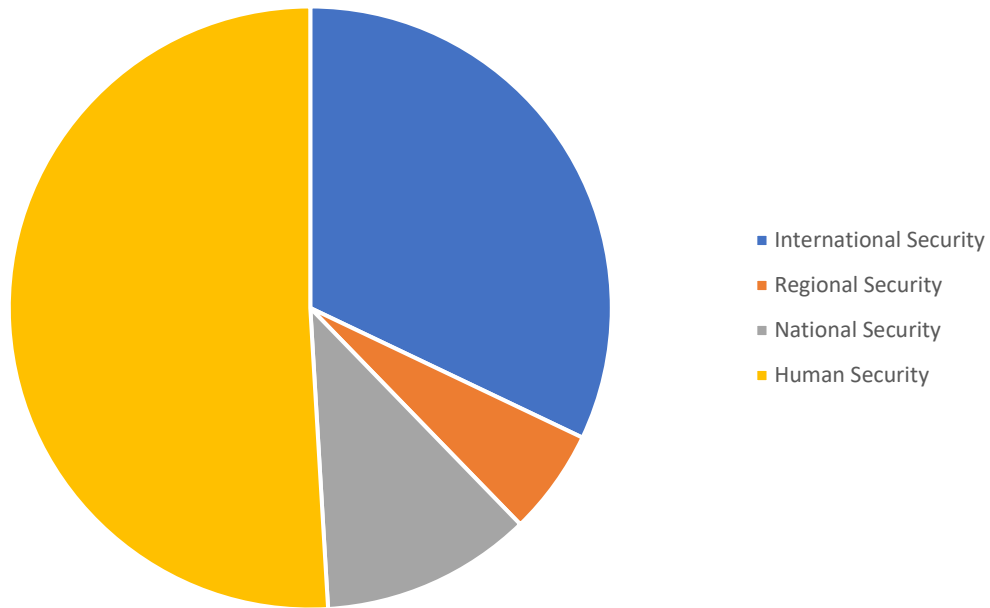
Chart 2. Type of Security used in the articles analyzed.

When considering "National Security", it is important to note that the majority of the articles express this type of security about the United Kingdom, not Ukraine. The large influx of refugees into British territory has resulted in extreme situations such as a lack of housing for those arriving in this country, situations that force Ukrainian refugees to seek assistance from food banks, or even economic difficulties for host families. Due to the protection of British borders and citizens, visa processes for Ukrainian refugees were very slow early on, forcing many to choose either other countries or return to the hub of the war – Ukraine.

Priti Patel, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, expressively said that "Security and biometric checks are a fundamental part of our visa approval process (…) That is vital to keep British citizens safe and to ensure that we are helping those in genuine need, particularly as Russian troops are now infiltrating Ukraine and merging into Ukrainian forces." (Syal, Elgot, & Slawson, 2022). This states the necessity in controlling the UK borders to unwanted refugees and threats. The economic and housing crisis (Batty, 2022) that happened in the UK during this time of analysis is involved in the National Security spectrum not only because is a matter of national crisis but also is involved with the government's priorities.

In a different scenario, while approaching the issue of "Human Security", the use of personal experiences of war victims becomes critical to ensure that this conflict is regarded not only as an atrocity to the human race but also closer to readers. The use of

more casual language drags the reader in and moves their emotions. This is one of the key reasons why this migrant crisis has received a more compassionate response than prior waves, not only because of the common enemy and geographic proximity, which will be discussed later.

C) Means to be Deployed in order to Ensure Security

By thoroughly reading and analyzing The Guardian articles, it was possible to gain a comprehensive understanding of the different actions advocated by various narratives. Despite the fact that all of the articles are in favor of Ukraine, the common actions that some of them promote are shown in the following table. For instance, while one article shows the number of refugees who have already fled Ukraine since the start of the war, presenting the welcoming of some countries in accepting refugees and opening their borders to settle them (Tondo & Walker, Thousands of Ukrainians flee country after Russian invasion, 2022), another can specify the international sanctions that have been imposed (Farrer, Roth, & Borger, 2022).

Type of Action	Number of Times Referred
Protection and Settlement of Ukrainian Refugees	11
International Aid to Ukraine (Militar, Economic, Humanitarian, Moral)	7
Granting UK visas for Ukrainian Refugees	2
Demand the same treatment for Ukrainian Refugee and Non-Ukrainian Refugee	5
Granting Homes for Ukrainian Refugees in the UK	2
End the use of fossil fuels in Europe	2
Work Opportunities to Skilled Ukrainian Refugees in UK	1
International Sanctions to Russia	3
Economic Support to UK Hosts	3
Financial Support	2
Education for Ukrainian Refugees	1
Conviction of Russia	2

Donations to Ukraine	1	
Does not specify	10	

Table 1. Type of Action advocated in the articles analyzed.

As can be observed, the "Does not specify" sort of action is more associated with storytelling as a narrative genre. A large number of refugees who had crossed borders in search of safety gave their testimonies. Despite illustrating the horrors of war and the immediate peril that the world is facing, this form of testimony does not present a particular action of what has been done or what needs to be done. Instead, it just serves to strengthen the readers' sense of solidarity and contribution.

D) Emotional Response Provoked

This final topic aims to demonstrate the emotions that each article arouses. The impact of articles and histories on readers is greatly influenced by these kinds of emotions in a complicated subject. The daily updates on the current refugee situation raise an expectation of reader engagement.
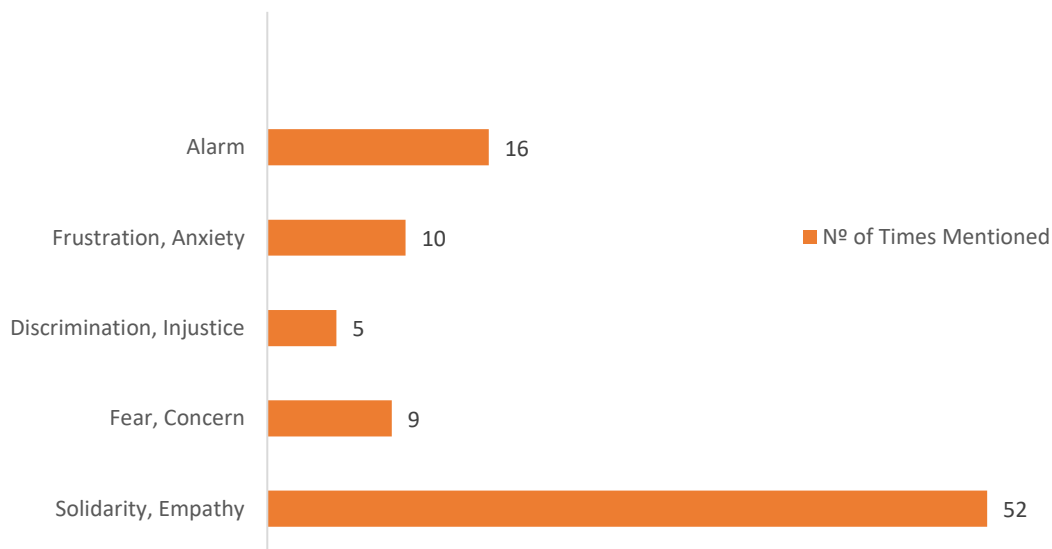
Figure 2. Most frequent emotions attributed to the analyzed articles.

As mentioned before, the casual account of the victims' experiences can aid the reader in remembering some of the specifics of the crimes that were made public. When readers relate to the personal accounts of those touched by the conflict, these stories can generate feelings like pity, empathy, or even wrath, where the importance of opinion articles is clear in these situations.

This narrative style has a stronger capacity for persuasion, which has the power to significantly alter a reader's viewpoint on the subject. A significant sense of injustice, prejudice, and bias is evident when comparing the treatment of Ukrainian citizen refugees with that of non-Ukrainian citizens, particularly non-white migrants. This causes the audience to resoundingly demand that all refugees receive equal treatment.

Furthermore, compared to other article kinds, such as straightforward news reports, opinion pieces give a higher level of empathy. This is demonstrated by the recurring themes of empathy and unity that appear in all fifty-two articles, even if they are not all opinion pieces. The suffering and desperation that are consistently conveyed in these writings strike a powerful chord with readers.

When reporting on the Russia-Ukraine conflict, media outlets like *The Guardian* may choose to express in a variety of ways, but it frequently mixes journalistic techniques to educate readers and stimulate emotions. The process of straightforwardly informative reporting typically adheres to journalistic norms, including factual information, quotes from significant individuals, and an accurate portrayal of events. This reporting is objective and aims to enlighten the audience without overtly endorsing any viewpoints. Attacks on the Ukrainian Embassy in Madrid (Jones & Burgen, 2022), the effects of war, inflation, and exorbitant energy prices (Mason, 2022) may all be seen here.

Additionally, the use of photos, videos, and infographics can affect the emotional tone of an article. As was the case with the conditions that Ukrainian civilians had during the winter, the photo essay contributes to showing a rawer reality, developing solidarity and concern with them (Tondo, Borger, & Mamo, 2022). Readers' emotions can be strongly evoked by powerful visuals of war-torn landscapes, refugees, or civilian suffering, stressing the human component of the battle (The Guardian, 2023).

The emotion of solidarity and empathy was felt throughout all fifty-two articles, where there was never a presence of blaming the migrants for anything, only the common adversary, Russia, despite feelings of dread, injustice, discrimination, and dissatisfaction.

5.2. Discussion

This is the time to thoughtfully construct arguments from the collected data, address the research topic, and consider how the media outlet's presentation may affect how the audience views particular points of view. After presenting some of the tendencies, it is important to understand besides the primary question, how the Russian invasion poses a

threat to what in particular, and to then investigate the tendency of this particular migratory wave. Were the refugees securitized like the others before them, or are we helping to desecuritize them, contrary to what people have come to expect, and why? What were the causes behind that? Additionally, there's space to give more details found while collecting the data, some sub-sections that are worth exploring.

The designation of Russia as a common enemy may imply varying degrees of threat. For example, the war may pose an illegal expansionist threat on a global scale, or it may demonstrate a threat to the European region, which may spread throughout Europe, attempting to undermine EU values. However, most importantly, war poses a threat to each and every one of us, to individuals and states alike, for fear that it will victimize everyone due to human rights violations as well as the nuclear threat (Pomerantsev, 2022).

Combining Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a powerful framework for examining how language is used in newspaper articles to construct meaning, power dynamics, and social realities. The intention is to understand what has been said but also how it has been said, underlying power structures, and ideologies at play in this war.

5.2.1. Considering the Approaching Threat

The data shows four different types of security in how this war has been viewed: at the international level, the regional level, the national level, and the human level. The article written by Mat McDonald in 2013 provides an illustration of how to look at the discourse at those levels, and, for that reason, this study takes influence from that examination.

The Mat McDonald's paper addresses the diverse ways that different perspectives exist regarding the relationship between security and climate change, including differing ideas about who needs to be protected from what threats, by whom, and by what methods, shows how specific responses to climate security (as well as the actors who articulate them) are either enabled or constrained by the ways in which security and climate change are related. (McDonald, 2013). In this dissertation, we plan to investigate this particularity.

5.2.1.1. An International Security Threat

Even though the migration phenomenon has more impacts at the national and regional level, as we will see later, the truth is that these extend to the global level. Considering

"an invasion of a sovereign state in defiance of the rest of the world" (Malik, 2022), a challenge to the status quo, and the efforts made in the name of peace and stability, the question of the Russian threat to international security in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war is not just about instability in the region, which subsequently causes instability at the international level. The acquisition of Crimea by Russia in 2014 shocked the world and helped to brace it for potential Russian expansionism, which, in actuality, began in 2022 and came to pass.

The invasion of a democratic state not only calls into question international values but also resurrects extremist values reminiscent of the motives behind the two world wars. Putin's justification for this 'special military intervention' with the motive of denazifying Ukrainian territory, recalled the human rights abuses committed by fascism during the Second World War, which "justifies its violence by offering to protect a supposedly pure religious and national identity from the forces of liberalism" (Stanley, 2022) which has already been proved wrong by history. The international concern is mainly due to Russia's military and nuclear power, which puts the world in a tension of impressibility, as Putin has threatened to improve his nuclear arsenal (The Guardian, 2022), classified as a "dangerous rhetoric" (Farrer, Roth, & Borger, 2022).

The United Nations' position against this Russian offensive has had an international impact, calling Russia and Putin the enemy and condemning these actions not only as a violation of international law but also as causing a humanitarian crisis (UNSDG, 2022).

Despite what has been said so far, this conflict has in fact increased dangers to global stability, particularly in the areas of the economy, energy, and food insecurity. When you take a closer look, all wars have an impact on the economy, however, since these are two countries that export heavily, namely Russia for gas and Ukraine for wheat the impacts are worldwide. These elements are related to one another. Due to the permeability of markets, inflation in a bloc like the European Union affects the rest of the globe. The price increase of a barrel of oil or the energy bill causes a domino effect on every continent (Harvey, 2022).

As an article by *The Guardian* shows, "As a result, global wheat prices leaped by 20% in March, owing to the direct impact of the war on wheat production, with the world facing a worsening state of food insecurity and malnutrition, at a time when 42 million people were already one step away from famine" (Tondo, 2022).

The real concern with the massive influx of Ukrainian migrants, who were usually praised as good people who could not be held accountable in any manner, had nothing to do with the potential threat to host communities or the rise in violence, but how the rest of the world handled the Ukrainian emergency, how generously each nation opened its doors to them, and why similar situations hadn't happened earlier with other outbreaks (Malik, 2022).

5.2.1.2. A Regional Security Threat

Europe is the primary focus of the regional landscape. Europe has been one of the continents most affected by Russian threats because of its proximity to Ukrainian territory, and it has also taken in the most refugees—roughly 5,831,200—making it one of the most impacted continents. Therefore, when we consider the threat on a regional level, we are considering the continent of Europe.

Because of its closeness to and commercial ties with pre-war Russia, the European continent was among those most impacted by dependency on Russian gas, as was already noted. Economic sanctions on Russia by the European Union and other European nations resulted in periods of high inflation and severe economic hardship, including increases in food and utility costs, .

The majority of refugees that have arrived in Europe have been from other parts of the world, but unlike past waves when a negative connotation was felt, the Ukrainian refugees were wanted, and European solidarity was persistent where "All EU member states are called to respond to the best of their capacities to the request for assistance from the Ukrainian authorities" (Connolly & Rankin, 2022).

Despite the pressure from migration, which caused their infrastructure and resources to be strained, as in the case of Britain, which ultimately led to a shortage of housing for them as well as resources (such as financial and health support), the articles analyzed never seen a negative opinion about the arrival of such refugees. Even nations like Hungary which always maintained a conservative posture regarding opening borders for immigration, in any form, it was never appropriate to blame war victims or demand greater security, as it was done in 2015 and 2016.

A more restrained approach to military support for Ukraine was likely to be taken in light of the impending threat of a potential Russian invasion of Europe, however, nations like Poland and the Baltics have increasingly established direct links of support for

Ukraine, defying Putin and his threats (Tondo, 2022). These shifts were also felt within NATO and the EU, where plans to integrate Ukraine were repeatedly raised and rethought despite the tense atmosphere.

As a result of this struggle, the security of the European continent has been threatened, but these threats have always served to force the EU to reconsider how it should come together and think as one entity rather than making distinctions between "us" Europeans and "them" Ukrainians (Graham-Harrison, 2022).

5.2.1.3. A National Security Threat

When it comes to the threat to national security, only the United Kingdom must be concerned. Only British territory was discussed in the national security articles that were studied at the corresponding time and may or may not have become biased.

In that instance, the concerns about national security were primarily economic, but there is a crucial point to be made. While there was a great deal of generosity on the part of the general public in accepting Ukrainian families and refugees at the beginning of this humanitarian crisis, the government was at a loss as to whether to take a more open stance or continue to impose restrictions. The threat of allowing all Ukrainian refugees to seek asylum in Britain may have allowed the enemy to infiltrate their land and sparked an intensification of this war but also a greater expansion. In the specific instance, Priti Patel mentioned, "security and biometric checks must stay in place for applicants because of concerns about extremists and Russian agents entering the UK while posing as refugees" (Syal, Elgot, & Slawson, 2022).

The allowance of only UK relatives in Ukraine to apply for asylum on British soil, as well as the delays in issuing UK visas to Ukraine refugees, might all be interpreted as ways for Britain to secure its borders from external escalations of violence. With the distinction between "them" and "us", the unknown, these so-called covert procedures set Britain apart from the majority of European nations and may indicate a more protective approach to securing the country's borders (Ahmed & al., 2022).

At the same time, the shortage of housing and financial assistance for Ukrainian migrants indicated that this migratory flow had placed the entire region of Europe into an economic downturn and catastrophe that is now being faced. The national pressure thUK was facing led to a critical situation where neither the UK families were no longer able to help Ukrainian refugees, where "The government's commitment was for three years, not

six months" (Bryant & Townsend, 2022). Despite their effort, neither those refugees were inserted in a organized system that would allow them to start a new chapter of their lives.

5.2.1.4. A Human Security Threat

The war between Russia and Ukraine and its subsequent refugee crisis pose serious risks to human security. The conflict has resulted in fatalities, civilian exodus, and human rights violations, all of which are major issues in the field of human security. Humanitarian issues have been raised as a result of the strain on resources and social structures of bordering nations. This particular case draws attention to the wider effects of armed conflict on people's safety and well-being, going beyond conventional state security issues.

The refugee crisis and its consequences for human security brought great trauma to the Ukrainian people, having a lasting impact, where also the loss of thousands of lives poses a danger to the fundamental right to life.

The Guardian's insightful presentation of the victim's narrative had a significant impact on how it touched the readers feelings, one great example is the stories of the desperate people wanting to leave the country at the train stations spreads shock and anxiety throughout the world, where "Everyone was fighting to get on a train, pushing women over to escape" (Beaumont, 2022).

Besides that, the fact that children and women made up the majority of the refugees as a result of this war had an even greater impact because of the fragile image that children carry in the media. the pictures conveyed sadness and desperation without using words (Khan, 2022). In the same way, the adjectives "desperate", "vulnerable", "survival", "dangerous" and "outrageous", "accentuate the urgency and responsibility the world now feels toward Ukraine.

The public's involvement in the catastrophe not only called for prompt humanitarian assistance and welcome but also strongly promoted it as a threat to human security. For example, the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) activation and other extraordinary measures taken, particularly by the European Union, but also "central European countries on Ukraine's western border have been making preparations for a potential influx of millions of refugees" (Tondo & Walker, 2022), created the individual obligation and urgency on the refugee topic.

The classification of this war and the escalation of these events as the largest displacement since the Second World War also carries additional weight in defining the magnitude of this war and the question of humanitarian crisis and the impact that it can have on hosting countries, individuals themselves, and on a global scale, as it did with the outbreak of World War II (Khan, 2022).

Last but not least, the sense of hope that Ukrainian refugees frequently convey in returning to Ukraine (Khan, 2022), in their personal stories, may give those citizens a sense of unthreatening, where, for example, the "stories of four mothers fleeing Ukraine have highlighted the heart-breaking decisions that families have had to make during three months of war" (Khan, 2022).

Discourse	Referent to be protected	Emotional response	Response	Example
International Security	International Order/Values	Alarm	- International Aid to Ukraine and International Sanctions to Russia.	"It is also a contemptuous attack on one of the core principles of the post-World War II order" (Hurst, Butler, & Hannam, 2022)
Regional Security	Europe	Fear, Concern	- Protection and Settlement of Ukrainian Refugees, as well as the end using of fossil fuels in Europe.	"I felt this wasn't Ukraine's war, it was Europe's war, my war," said Wyness." (Graham-Harrison, 2022)
National Security	The State	Frustration	- Granting Homes for Ukrainian Refugees in the UK and economic support for their hosts.	"Meanwhile, amid an escalating cost of living crisis, food banks are already struggling to meet the needs of people across the UK." (Bryant, Ukrainian refugees turn to food banks as UK hosts struggle with costs, 2022)
Human Security	Ukrainian Refugees	Solidarity	- - Demand that non-Ukrainian and Ukrainian refugees receive the same treatment, as well as their protection and settlement.	"Heartfelt thanks to the governments and people of countries keeping their borders open and welcoming refugees," said Filippo Grandi, the head of the UN refugee agency" (Beaumont, 2022)

Table 2. Discourses of Migration Security.

5.2.2. Racism and Exceptionalism

Considering the current migration crisis in Ukraine and the experience in 2015 and beyond, with the massive influx or attempted influx of refugees into Europe from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan, certain factors and attitudes contrast with each other. This section seeks to explain how the designation of Ukrainian refugees can provide more benefits than any other sort of nationality, with a focus on the European environment. A critical analysis of how the media, narratives, and attitudes of political leaders, among other things, hierarchize different groups of refugees is made in order to compare previous studies on how public opinion has categorized refugees from Middle Eastern countries.

As most academics are aware, 2015 saw a shift in Europe's attitude toward immigration, particularly the admission of war refugees and asylum seekers. The manner in which these refugees were delegated resulted in a period of crisis within the EU, but also throughout the continent, with a significant volume of refugees at European borders, imposing major restrictions for countries that assisted them, such as Greece and Turkey.

According to a 2017 study by Lilie Chouliaraki and Rafal Zaborowski, the perception of migrants is heavily influenced by how they are depicted in the media and in positions of authority. It is the evaluation of how recognized publications, as well as the influence and authority that many political leaders have over how particular groups of refugees should be seen, that has a significant impact on how the entire audience will react depending on the topic. In this way, the narratives surrounding these groups can take one of two forms: as victims or as threats (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017).

The portrayal of the "other" as a "terrorist" has resulted in more restrictive stances and policies on accepting refugees. As previously stated, the connection of the refugees as a source of terror was partly due to the world's historical and political situation, that is, after the 9/11 attacks, the way of looking to immigration changed.

Furthermore, the need for refugees to seek illegal routes was caused by the bureaucracy and impediments imposed on them, and these illegal routes became completely punishable in all European countries, including Hungary, where "the Hungarian Parliament recently voted on the so-called 'Stop Soros' law, which criminalizes helping illegal asylum seekers both as individuals or groups, defying both the European Union and human rights groups" (De Coninck, Vandenberghe, & Matthijs, 2019, p. 123).

Despite the fact that Europe as a whole increased its securitization of migration in 2015, there were clearly outliers, yet the dichotomy between the personification of victim and threat was consistent, leaving the public perplexed. According to a study, "across all analyzed countries, negative consequences of refugee arrivals were strongly emphasized in newspaper stories, as two-thirds (66% to be precise) of all stories in the sample mentioned these. To add to that, 59% of all articles mentioned no positive consequences (real or projected) of refugees arriving in Europe" (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017, p. 9). Although fairly close, the truth is that the negative outcomes were considerably more mediated than the positive ones.

In terms of the research's focus, Ukrainian refugees were viewed as victims, with no mention of them posing a threat, depending on the articles examined and the time period examined.

Even though we are confronting an obvious threat to human security, to all of us as individuals, the issue that emerges is why this wave of migration was categorized as such.

Soon after the acquisition of Crimea in 2014, Russia's expansionist objectives became evident, adding to the threat that the Russians saw NATO's expansion into Eastern Europe (Center for Preventive Action, 2023). Russia has historically been a shared enemy for the entire Western world, as it is a former Soviet Union, and the Western world has traditionally viewed Russia with caution due to its military and nuclear armament. Furthermore, the proximity of this country to the boundaries of the Western world heightened concerns about a future uprising, which has historically occurred.

Nevertheless, when considering the solidarity position of the entire Western world towards Ukraine, one criticism that needs to be made at this point is how this solidarity came racially disguised. Specifically, while many argued that Ukraine should be supported internationally to stop a threat that aims to destroy values like democracy and human rights, many others support humanitarian aid because of the appearance of Ukrainian citizens.

Titles like "they are civilized" and "they look like us" (Bayoumi, 2022) leave room for the superficial and non-threatening approach to be the only one that matters. It is even more concerning that the references to this discrimination in the articles under analysis come from statements made by journalists, politicians, and other people who are deemed to be 'of influence' rather than the articles' original authors. Additionally, the attack on

individuals of color by Polish nationalists demonstrates how refugees are treated unfairly and racially based on their race and nationality (Tondo & Akinwotu, 2022).

Another episode was at Polish borders, when several Polish officers "demanded $500 – we begged and negotiated to pay $100." (Akinwotu & Strzyżyńska, 2022). Those situations were not reported only at neighborhood borders, but also in Ukraine, where "Ukrainian officials "showed racist acts" (…) where "Some of them went to the borders but they were sent back and are still trying to leave" (Akinwotu & Strzyżyńska, 2022).

The accounts of various journalists, from Al Jazeera to CBS News, hold a high level of disgust, with one stating, "The unthinkable has happened. This is not a developing or third-world country. This is the continent of Europe"… "These are prosperous middle-class people... these are not obviously refugees getting away the Middle East. To put it bluntly, these are not refugees from Syria, these are refugees from Ukraine ... They're Christian, they're white, they're very similar" (Malik, 2022). The repeated reinforcement of a purported religious, racial, and economic connection leads to a clear distinction in the treatment of all types of refugees, with some deemed terrorists and others simply victims of a disaster that has nothing to do with them.

Another example is the Roma refugees who were in Ukraine at the time of the war were also victims of a discriminatory and damaging system in which, "unlike other Ukrainians who have been offered refugee visas, these families have discovered they have nowhere to go and no one who wants them" (Tait, 2022).

The migrants from Ukraine, as they were described by some, resemble us Westerners, and did not experience any of these examples. The first-person accounts describe how they were received, how they managed to leave their country of conflict and seek refuge in a safer location despite the challenges, and how people were kind and kind.

Exceptionalism comes in here. While TPD was exceptionally applied to "everyone regardless of nationality, of race, religion should be allowed into the European Union" (Rankin, 2022), in the case of 2015-16 this did not register the same level of protection, where, at the time, despite the possibility in adopting such a directive was considered, the situation turns out to be "very different" (Rankin, 2022), but what kind of difference can be greater than that of protecting any individual in an unsustainable situation of war, hunger, political persecution, and poverty?

According to a UN agreement, everyone fleeing a war scenario has the same right to safe passage, and neither the color of their passport nor the tone of their skin should

matter, as the president of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, said in reference to claims that Ukrainian police had stopped Nigerians (Akinwotu & Strzyżyńska, 2022).

These were the few words that identified racism and exceptionalism in the reporting and handling of the present refugee crisis. Despite our best efforts, there will always be those who prioritize certain races or religions over others. As a global society, it is our responsibility to stand up for all people in need rather than just when our neighbors are in danger.

Despite some delays in the attribution of their visas in the UK at least, all of this solidarity and open entry for Ukrainian refugees still led to a sense of securitization of these migrants. Surprisingly, unlike earlier waves of immigration, which were securitized by adopting more controlling measures and more restrictive policies, the recent refugee crisis was also securitized, but in the sense that extraordinary measures were taken to serve the Ukrainian refugees and to provide the fastest humanitarian aid.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis underlying research puzzle was clear. On February 24, 2022, the ongoing securing of migration as a danger to regional and global stability altered. It was at this point that we soon saw the support for Ukraine from a sizable portion of the international community, with some nations choosing to abstain. Numerous international sanctions were imposed on this region, restricting it financially, as a result of the certainty that Russia posed a threat to the integrity of the international order. What was not anticipated, though, was the influence that Russia had on the region. European, with its reliance on gas, and even Ukraine's prominence on the world stage, thanks to the export of wheat.

The immense adversity was felt at a human level in addition to generating disturbance at a regional, international, and certainly national level. However, many other calamities occurred on Ukrainian territory, with the death of several children, the attack on schools, and the attacks on maternity wards making chaos increasingly present in our reality, through first-hand reports. The largest mass displacement since the Second World War took with it the majority of women and children, which revealed the fragility of the situation. The significance of the media is revealed in this order. As is well known, the media exerts considerable power over readers and can set agendas or even form broad opinions using narratives. The ability to influence people through stories read online has come with the digital age.

In this regard, the issue at hand was how the current refugee crisis had been presented, how it had been dealt with, and how it had been done so. An argument only became apparent after three months of research of articles from *The Guardian* newspaper dating back to the first week of the conflict. The argument supported the idea that the migration wave was a human security issue that needed equal treatment for Ukrainian refugees and citizens of each receiving countries in addition to the humanitarian and financial assistance that states were compelled to provide.

In this case, there were none, if any, factors that set the Ukrainian people apart from the rest of the world or the rest of Europe; sympathy was widespread. The only apprehension felt today was the continuation of the Russian threat on a global scale, in contrast to the delicate example of 2015–16 where we observed a continuance of fear and anxiety.

Still, we must consider how the generalization was made, even though the study may be slightly biased because it only explores *The Guardian*'s stance. One could argue that the migratory crisis brought on by Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the ensuing war has led to a perception of this migration as a matter of human security in particular, as stated by *The Guardian*. Due to the social and historical framework that the Western world shares with Russia, this link was made simpler by the high percentage of first-hand accounts, which allowed for a more casual and intimate approach with greater impact.

The large volume of solidarity actions taken by society, but also the volunteering that many soldiers, doctors and other individuals made available to Ukraine, confirms the premise that it was a war 'for Europe' and 'for everyone'. As a result, and in terms of future research, it is crucial to compare a larger number of narratives utilized by foreign newspapers for upcoming study, particularly those the Western world. In order to assess the two narratives on both sides, it would be good to look at the reasoning used by Russia as well as how the Russian media interpreted the threat from Ukraine and how they presented the battle.

In conclusion, and answering the central research question, the refugee situation has been presented as a threat to human security and an issue affecting everyone, with concerns about the Russian threat not only affecting the unfortunate Ukrainian refugees but also potentially affecting people worldwide. The media emphasized the story of the necessity to safeguard individuals and their well-being over governmental protection in the face of this threat to human security. Hence, there is now more international support for these refugees. Examples of this include the imposition of harsh sanctions against Russia, the EU's extraordinary and previously unheard-of directives to protect and care for these refugees, and even the private reception of war victims by British families.

In this way, it was possible to examine and determine that The Guardian's analysis concentrated on the publication of a more casual, more intimate style of journalism, sharing the experiences of these victims, thereby reinforcing the notion of human security in the pieces chosen within the timeframe of one year. However, the terms and language also allowed for the evocation of global unity, which prompted reader empathy. The willingness of the Ukrainian people – where "Sasha, 57, told the Guardian. "We are going back to Ukraine. To our home. We are going to fight." (Tondo, 2022), and particularly the president, to stay in or return to Ukraine, made it possible for the country to be

recognized more widely as a victim of Russian oppression. This in turn attracted strong support from the West in the form of both financial and military aid, which was essential for the country's counteroffensive.

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Annexes

Ukraine fights for its survival as Putin presses forward	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/ukraine-fights-for-its-survival-as-putin-presses-forward
Thousands of Ukrainians flee country after Russian invasion	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/ukraine-russia-flee-country-invasion
Australia condemns Russia's 'brutal and unprovoked' invasion of Ukraine	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/australia-condemns-russias-brutal-and-unprovoked-invasion-of-ukraine
Is Putin's Ukraine invasion about fossil fuels?	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/24/qa-could-putin-use-russian-gas-supplies-to-hurt-europe
Charities urge UK to welcome refugees fleeing Ukraine conflict	https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/feb/25/charities-urge-uk-to-welcome-refugees-fleeing-ukraine-conflict
Vladimir Putin: What's going on inside his head?	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/26/valdimir-putin-russia-ukraine-inside-his-head
'Everyone was fighting to get on a train': the desperation of Ukrainians trying to reach safety More than 360,000 people have fled war in Ukraine so far, says UN	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/27/its-been-terrible-the-plight-of-ukrainians-hoping-to-reach-safety
More than 360,000 people have fled war in Ukraine so far, says UN	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/27/more-than-360000-people-fled-war-ukraine-so-far-un
The antisemitism animating Putin's claim to 'denazify' Ukraine	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/25/vladimir-putin-ukraine-attack-antisemitism-denazify
A safe haven for Ukraine's	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/28/a-safe-haven-for-ukraines-refugees-or-russias-rich

refugees, or Russia's rich?	
The British people want Ukraine's refugees treated fairly, not cruelly repelled	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/feb/28/british-people-ukraine-refugees-prime-minister
Priti Patel refuses to waive all visa rules for Ukraine refugees	https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/feb/28/boris-johnson-urged-by-tory-mps-to-do-more-for-ukraine-refugees
Johnson's government has drastically misjudged the public mood over Ukrainian refugees	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/feb/28/johnson-government-mood-ukrainian-refugees-war
Nigeria condemns treatment of Africans trying to flee Ukraine	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/28/nigeria-condemns-treatment-africans-trying-to-flee-ukraine-government-poland-discrimination
'It's stomach-turning': the children caught up in Ukraine war	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/27/children-caught-up-in-ukraine-war
Ukraine war: sanctions-hit Russian rouble crashes as Zelenskiy speaks of 'crucial' 24 hours	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/28/ukraine-war-sanctions-hit-russian-rouble-crashes-as-zelenskiy-speaks-of-crucial-24-hours
'I left everything': Tens of thousands of Ukrainians seek safety in neighbouring Poland	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/28/i-left-everything-tens-of-thousands-of-ukrainians-seek-safety-in-neighbouring-poland
'I'm afraid Russia will invade us next': alarm among Ukraine's neighbours	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/01/ukraine-neighbours-nato-lithuania-poland-slovakia-latvia-estonia-romania
Let the horror in Ukraine open our eyes to the suffering of war around the world	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/mar/01/let-the-horror-in-ukraine-open-our-eyes-to-the-suffering-of-war-around-the-world

They are 'civilised' and 'look like us': the racist coverage of Ukraine	https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/mar/02/civilised-european-look-like-us-racist-coverage-ukraine
People of colour fleeing Ukraine attacked by Polish nationalists	https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/mar/02/people-of-colour-fleeing-ukraine-attacked-by-polish-nationalists
Ukraine refugees given right to live in EU for three years	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/02/ukraine-refugees-right-to-live-in-eu-plan
'They won't accept us': Roma refugees forced to camp at Prague train station	https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/may/25/they-wont-accept-us-roma-refugees-forced-to-camp-at-prague-train-station
'My house, the barns, I lost everything': the Ukrainian farmers devastated by war	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/24/ukrainian-farmers-war-food-insecurity-famine
'Our civilisation may not survive' Ukraine invasion, says George Soros – video	https://www.theguardian.com/business/video/2022/may/24/our-civilisation-may-not-survive-ukraine-invasion-says-george-soros-video
Alleged Wagner Group fighters accused of murdering civilians in Ukraine	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/may/25/wagner-group-fighters-accused-murdering-civilians-ukraine-war-crimes-belarus
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