

Rapoport Center Human Rights Working Paper Series

1/2017

#RefugeesNotWelcome: Making Gendered Sense of Transnational Asylum Politics on Twitter

Inga Helgudóttir Ingulfsen



The Bernard and Audre
RAPOPORT CENTER
For Human Rights and Justice
The University of Texas at Austin
School of Law



Creative Commons license Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives. This text may be downloaded for personal research purposes only. Any additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copy or electronically, requires the consent of the Rapoport Center Human Rights Working Paper Series and the author. For the full terms of the Creative Commons License, please visit www.creativecommons.org.

The Rapoport Center Human Rights Working Paper Series is dedicated to inter-disciplinary and critical engagement on international human rights law and discourse. We encourage submissions from scholars of all disciplines as well as from activists and advocates that contribute to our mission to build a multidisciplinary community engaged in the study and practice of human rights that promotes the economic and political enfranchisement of marginalized individuals and groups both locally and globally. In order to facilitate interdisciplinary dialogue, each accepted paper is published alongside a brief response from a member of the multidisciplinary editorial committee; this unique WPS format allows for paper topics to be examined in terms of broader currents in contemporary scholarship

ISSN 2158-3161

Published in the United States of America
The Bernard and Audre Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice
at The University of Texas School of Law
727 E. Dean Keeton St.
Austin, TX 78705
<http://www.rapoportcenter.org/>

<http://blogs.utexas.edu/rapoportcenterwps/>

INTRODUCTION



In February 2016, a Twitter user based in the United States posted the above image with the following tweet: “I don’t want the same fate for America #RefugeesNotWelcome” (Dataset 2 tweet 62). The post exemplifies how Twitter can serve as a transnational platform for online commentary where the users tweet their perspectives on international issues. The Twitter user paints a dark picture of the current situation in Europe to support the claim that refugees are not welcome in the US. The violent and chaotic “after” photos, contrasted with the innocent harmony of the “before” picture, serve as warnings about the alleged dangers that await Americans if they accept refugees in numbers similar to Europe. The post suggests the innocence and ignorance of the girls holding the “refugees welcome” banner, presented as overly naïve to the consequences of accepting refugees. By sharing graphic depictions of female victims of

sexual assault, allegedly perpetrated by migrants, the user is signaling they “don’t want the same fate” for American girls (Ibid.).

In the broadest sense, the post is a comment on the increasingly contentious political issue of asylum. The aftermath of the Second World War saw the emergence of international legal frameworks establishing the right to seek asylum from persecution. In Western countries, these frameworks are contested and asylum has become a key issue in debates about citizenship and identity. A range of factors have given rise to this contestation: the dramatic rise in global levels of displacement, reaching 59 million displaced individuals in 2014; a spike in the number of asylum claims made in European countries, which witnessed the arrival of more than 1 million refugees in 2015; the rise of anti-immigrant far Right parties and movements; and the polarization of asylum debates in the United States and Europe.

This study explores the contentious landscape of asylum politics by analyzing the gendered discourses employed by Twitter users who tweet with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. A brief overview of contemporary asylum politics is followed by a literature review that outlines the theoretical foundations of the study. Twitter is theorized as a transnational venue for identity politics and tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome as transnational discourses that justify and legitimate refugee exclusion. This study builds on concepts developed by scholars of nationalism and immigration, particularly those who focus on the gendered cultural construction of national communities and immigration politics (e.g. Anderson 2006; Enloe 1989; Faist 1994; Fekete 2006; Hogan 2008; Kandiyoti 1991a; 1991b; Mayer 2000; McClintock 1995; Pettman 1996; Stolcke 1995; Thränhardt 1995), as well as scholars who have

explored the role of gender in anti-immigrant elite rhetoric and the impact of this rhetoric on immigration and integration policies (e.g. Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Fekete 2006; Freedman 2007; Haritaworn 2012; Kinnvall 2014; Siim Skjeie 2008; Ticktin 2008; Yilmaz 2012; 2015).

To explore the discourses put forth by the Twitter users, I collected three weighted samples from Twitter during December 2015, February 2016, and March 2016, capturing a total of 790 unique English-language tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. The analysis details the process by which the Twitter users construct discourses and narratives to justify refugee exclusion. I find that Twitter users employ gendered discursive strategies to imagine themselves as a White, Western, Enlightened community, in binary opposition to refugees, particularly Muslim refugees, who are construed as threats to the racial and cultural preservation and physical safety of the community. The construction of this binary relies on the racialized logic of what Liz Fekete (2006) has called *Enlightenment Fundamentalism*. According to this logic, Enlightenment principles and values, such as gender equality, democracy and human rights, are part of a distinctively Western political cultural heritage, distinguished from and opposed to what is framed as a fossilized pre-modern and barbaric Islamic culture.

Furthermore, I show how the process of constructing the Enlightened Western community is gendered by demonstrating how the users draw on particular notions of masculinity and femininity to cast members of the Western community as racially and culturally superior to refugees, and by deconstructing the narratives of sexual violence offered by the Twitter users, where women's bodies symbolize the racial and cultural

boundaries of the community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989; Enloe 1989; Mayer 200; McClintock 1993; Yuval-Davis 1993).

I conclude by arguing that gender constructs serve to concretize and universalize the distinctions drawn by the Twitter users between Us and Them, West and Islam, Modern and Pre-modern, Enlightened and Barbaric, Equal and Patriarchal, contributing to the users' appropriation and distortion of universal values and principles associated with the Enlightenment. In the Twitter users' discourse, human rights and gender equality are framed as culturally inherited values specific to a Western Enlightenment culture, while refugees and those who support stronger refugee protection are cast as threats to the preservation of this culture. Through a feminist deconstruction of tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome, I shed light on some of the most profound dilemmas of current asylum debates, in particular the challenges involved in forging counter-narratives to the racialized and gendered rhetoric of Enlightenment Fundamentalism.

I. THE EVOLUTION OF CONTEMPORARY ASYLUM POLITICS

In 2014, the number of individuals forcibly displaced worldwide reached 59.5 million,¹ the highest level since the aftermath of World War II and an increase of over 8 million in just one year (UNHCR 2015a:5). The violent conflicts in Syria and Iraq contributed to a significant amount of the increase, with the Syrian Arab Republic replacing Afghanistan as the top source country of refugees in 2014 (UNHCR 2015a:13). By March 2016, a total of 4.8 million Syrian refugees had been registered by the United

¹ 19.5 million refugees, 14,4 million of which are under UNHCR mandate and 5,1 million Palestinian refugees registered with the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), 38,2 million internally displaced persons and 1.8 million individuals who were awaiting adjudication of asylum applications. UNHCR determines refugee status under its mandate in cases where States are unable or unwilling to process individual asylum claims (UNHCR 2015:5, 27).

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and by the end of 2015, there were 6.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) inside Syria (UNHCR 2016; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2016).

Individuals forcibly displaced due to political or other forms of persecution are entitled to seek asylum in another country in accordance with customary international legal norms, enshrined in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR 2007:2-3). UNHCR is mandated to provide international protection for refugees and assists governments in seeking *durable solutions* for them.² However, the durable solutions are rarely available for individuals who are trapped in protracted refugee situations without the prospect of safe return home. Resettlement is only considered when the prospect for all other durable solutions has been assessed (UNHCR 2014:9). In 2014, only 103,890 of the world's 59 million refugees were submitted for resettlement, and 73,331 of those departed to their country of resettlement. 21,154 of the submissions were on behalf of Syrian refugees, but only 7,021 Syrians actually departed for resettlement in 2014 (UNHCR 2015b:48-51).

In situations where safe return is not an option, the current global system relies almost entirely on local integration in host countries, creating an unequal distribution of protection responsibilities. In 2014, 86 percent of the world's refugees were hosted by

² Refugees who have found a durable solution are no longer reflected in UNHCR refugee statistics. Durable solutions are: *Voluntary repatriation*, the most common durable solution, refers to the voluntary return to the country of origin. *Local integration* refers to integration into the local community in the country of asylum. "Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against *refoulement* and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country" (UNHCR 2014:9).

developing countries (UNHCR 2015a:2). Turkey was the top receiving country, hosting 1.59 million, and was joined in the top six by Lebanon (1.15 million) and Jordan (654,100) (Ibid.). Syrian refugees are faced with limited prospects for integration in the host countries in the region. Access to legal work for Syrian refugees is severely limited and in Jordan, 86 percent of Syrian refugees live below the poverty line (Map Action 2013; Amnesty International 2016). The regional humanitarian response to the refugee crisis only received 65 percent of pledged funds in 2015 (UN OCHA 2016). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates 1,046,599 migrants arrived in Europe by sea in 2015, with an additional 34,887 arriving by land (IOM 2016: 1). Approximately 51.2 percent was of the Syrian nationality and 7.1 percent were of the Iraqi nationality (UNHCR 2016:3). 3,770 individuals, including 267 children, are documented to have died or gone missing while attempting the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean in 2015 (IOM 2016:21).

These recent developments are symptomatic of the inadequacy of the frameworks created in the aftermath of WWII to respond to today's displacement crises. Not only have global displacement and migration patterns changed since 1951, but also the political context of asylum policy in Western countries has shifted towards increasing politicization and contestation.

The 1951 Convention was adopted in response to the collective failure of countries to provide protection for European Jews before and during WWII. Initially, individual countries set up small-scale systems to determine eligibility of a relatively small influx of asylum seekers. During the Cold War, asylum regimes served a positive political function for Western states, which saw ideological value in leaving their doors

open to political refugees from communist countries (Statham 2003:164). By the end of the Cold War, most Western states had introduced zero-immigration policies in response to global economic restructuring and increased economic migration from developing countries (Castles, de Haas and Miller 2013; Hammar 1985; Statham 2003). After the collapse of communism in 1989, mixed migration to Europe increased, including both a marked increase in asylum applications and economic migrants. The asylum systems set up in the 1950s were not designed to respond to large mixed migration flows. Faced with the difficult task of determining eligibility for asylum and separating those in need of protection from economic migrants, European states set up increasingly stringent and arbitrary processing systems (Levy 1999; Joly 2002; Freedman 2007). The suspicion that asylum was now a primary means of economic migration contributed to the politicization of asylum policies, which entered the core of political debates regarding citizenship, culture, and identity. Asylum had become “the field for disputing the criteria for entry to and membership rights in (that is, citizenship of) a national community” (Statham 2003:164).

A second important shift was the securitization of asylum and immigration policy, culminating in the aftermath of 9/11 when migrants came to be associated with the threat of terrorism (Bigo 2002; 2014; Bourbeau 2011; Buonfino 2004; Ceyhan and Tsoukala 2002; Huysman 2000; 2006; Ibrahim 2005; Neal 2009). One manifestation of this shift is the reinforcement and externalization of the EU’s common border control and policing (Bigo 2005; 2014; Boswell 2003; Leonard 2010). Travel restrictions and strict visa and

asylum criteria introduced by the EU³ have in turn increased irregular migration into Europe (Czaika and Hobolth 2016).⁴

External border controls have not succeeded in deterring refugees from risking the maritime route into Europe. Further, European asylum regimes are ill equipped to respond effectively to the large influx and protection responsibilities are unevenly distributed between member states. European countries along the Mediterranean are now facing a humanitarian crisis and are unable or unwilling to process asylum claims, while few of the countries in Northern Europe, Germany and Sweden being the most notable exceptions, have agreed to receive substantial numbers of refugees (Fratzke 2015).

The current crisis along the Mediterranean, along with recent events in Europe and the United States, have raised the temperature of the public discourse on asylum and refugees on both sides of the Atlantic, with high-profile politicians making explicitly xenophobic and Islamophobic statements. Responding to the refugee flows into Europe, Hungarian president Victor Orban referred to the history of Ottoman rule and added:

[w]e do not like the consequences of having a large number of Muslim communities that we see in other countries and I do not see any reason for anyone else to force us to create ways of living together in Hungary that we do not want to see (Orban in Reuters 2015a).

Responding to the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris, the Front National leader Marine Le Pen, recently acquitted for hate speech against Muslims, linked the arrival of Muslim migrants to terrorism: “Islamist fundamentalism must be annihilated, France

³ European Union Council directive 539/2001 restricted legal travel into the Union, requiring nationals of 134 states to acquire a visa prior to departure from their home country (Council of the European Union 2001a). Directive 51/2001 introduced sanctions for carriers bringing nationals of the listed countries into Europe without the required documentation (Council of the European Union 2001b). Because EU member states typically do not grant visas to nationals of the 134 countries listed, taken together, these two directives effectively barred nationals of those countries from traveling to Europe legally to seek asylum.

must ban Islamist organizations, close radical mosques and expel foreigners who preach hatred in our country as well as illegal migrants who have nothing to do here” (Le Pen in Reuters 2015b). Also responding to the attacks in Paris, more than a dozen US governors sought to halt resettlement of Syrian refugees (Malone 2015). Directly following the December 2015 mass shooting in San Bernardino, California, presidential candidate Donald Trump called for a “total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States” (Donald J. Trump in Reuters 2015c).

Meanwhile, a slight majority of Europeans have negative attitudes toward immigration and far-right parties and movements are mobilizing across the continent. According to a 2015 worldwide Gallup poll, European residents are on average the most negative to immigration, compared to residents of other regions, with 52 percent believing immigration should be decreased. Residents in Eastern and Southern Europe are the most negative to immigration (IOM 2015). Far-right anti-immigrant parties across the continent have received increased support in recent elections, including the Polish Law and Justice Party, the Danish People’s Party, the Sweden Democrats, Austria’s Freedom Party, the Greek neo-fascist party Golden Dawn, the Hungarian Fidesz Party, and most recently, in the April 2016 German state elections, Alternative for Germany (Robins-Early 2015; Smale 2016). The anti-immigrant far-right is also mobilizing at the grassroots level, one example being the rallies organized in February 2016 by the Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA), when thousands of their supporters took to the streets in cities across Europe (The Telegraph 2016).

⁴ In a 2013 policy brief, the European Parliament’s Directorate General for External Policies details the tensions between the EU’s restrictions on access to protection and member states’ responsibilities under international refugee law (European Parliament Directorate-General for External Policies 2013).

Asylum regimes in Western states, particularly in Europe, are thus coming under pressure from an increase in asylum claims coupled with polarized asylum debates, rising support for right-wing parties and grassroots mobilization by anti-immigrant far-right movements. In the following section, I detail my approach to studying contemporary asylum politics and make the case for a gendered deconstruction of transnational anti-immigrant discourses on Twitter.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

What do Twitter users in countries, as diverse as the United States, Germany, Sweden, Japan and Hungary, who are using the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome have in common? How can an analysis of their tweets help make sense of current transnational asylum politics? In the following, I will make the case for such an analysis by presenting the theoretical points of departure of the study.

I draw on key concepts from two broad strands of literature, firstly, the strand of nationalism studies that conceives of the nation as an imagined community in Benedict Anderson's (2006) terms, and that conceptualizes the process of imagining communities as inherently gendered (e.g. Enloe 1989; Hogan 2008; Kandiyoti 1991a; 1991b; Mayer 2000; McClintock 1995; Moghadam 1994; Pettman 1996). Secondly, the immigration scholars who contend that asylum politics are socially constructed through discursive practices (e.g. Faist 1994; 2000; Stolcke 1995; Thränhardt 1995), in particular authors who have demonstrated how these discursive practices are gendered and contribute to gendered outcomes (e.g. Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Fekete 2006; Freedman 2007; Haritaworn 2012; Kinnvall 2014; Siim Skjeie 2008; Ticktin 2008; Yilmaz 2012; 2015).

Based on this framework, I conceptualize Twitter users tweeting with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome as an imagined community whose members use gendered discursive strategies to imagine themselves in binary opposition to refugees, who are framed as not welcome. Based on the cultural form of the tweet, the political significance of Twitter, and the unequal participation of users on the platform, I theorize tweets as transnational discourse and Twitter as a transnational venue for identity politics, thereby

arguing that the content and structure of the data produced by Twitter users is of particular relevance to the study of transnational asylum politics. Further, an underlying premise for this study is that discourses of identity are “discourses of power” (Hogan 2008:11), and that these discourses shape social interactions and reinforce inequalities and injustice, thus meriting careful deconstruction.

Transnational Imagined Communities on Twitter:

Paradoxes and Gender Ironies

Benedict Anderson (2006:4,6) defined the nation as an imagined political community and nation-ness and nationalism as cultural artifacts:

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion...Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined (Anderson 2006:6).

This conception of the nation supports the analysis of transnational identity politics precisely because it is concerned with the *style* in which communities are imagined. It directs attention to the processes of cultural construction by which the boundaries of the community are drawn. In this framework, nationalism, rather than being *the* ideology that justifies the existence of *a* nation-state, is instead historically and culturally specific attempts to imagine the boundaries of a community. This process of boundary construction is inherently paradoxical: it is the constant search for generalizable and universalizing constructs to justify backward-looking and particularistic identities, or nation-ness, in modern societies founded on universal principles (Anderson 2006:5; Pettman 1996:47; Kandiyoti 1991b). The members of the community are imagined in

binary opposition to the Other (Said 1978). This process of imagining is the simultaneous construction of subjects: ‘Us’ ‘We,’ *and* objects: ‘Them’ ‘They,’ where the subjects are the privileged members and protectors of the community and the objects those who threaten the community either from the outside or from within (Hogan 2008:9; Pettman 1996:50). The inherent tension between particularism and universalism requires that the principles of distinction between Us and Them, subject and object, be *both* specific to a historical-cultural context *and* universally recognizable (Pettman 1996:47). Twitter users tweeting with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome embody a community insofar as they imagine themselves in opposition to refugees, construed as not welcome. This paper explores the culturally and historically specific principles of distinction they employ to justify refugee exclusion.

Feminist scholars have explored how the process of imagining communities is gendered and how gender constructs function as principles of distinction in nationalist ideologies (e.g. Enloe 1989; Hogan 2008; Kandiyoti 1991; 2004; Mayer 2012; McClintock 1995; Moghadam 1994; Pettman 1996). Some note how nationalist movements reinforce patriarchal power structures and reproduce traditional gender roles (e.g. Enloe 1989; Pettman 1996; Sen 1993). In this framework, the process of imagining the national community is a “discourse about moral code, which mobilizes men (and sometimes women) to become its sole protectors and women its biological and symbolic reproducers” (Mayer 2000:6). While both women and men participate in the cultural construction of the nation, the defense of the moral code, and the domination of the Other, they are typically assigned distinct roles in the national project. For example, I found that the Twitter users assign distinct roles to men and women as protectors of their

community: men are imagined as protectors (Enloe 1989:44; Mayer 2000:6) while women are cast as principled and heroic for warning their fellow female members of the alleged threat of migrant men and standing up against liberals and feminists who are framed as treacherous and hypocritical.

Some scholars have suggested the nation is gendered feminine, as the Motherland, where women, as the cultural and physical bearers of the future members of the nation, *symbolize* the boundaries of the community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989; McClintock 1993; Pettman 1996; Yuval-Davis 1993), and where “[t]he rape of the body/nation not only violates frontiers but disrupts – by planting alien seed or destroying reproductive viability – the maintenance of the community through time” (Peterson 1996:7). Cynthia Enloe (1989:54) contends that the emphasis in nationalist ideology on women’s bodies and proper feminine behavior arises, not just from the view of women as the nation’s cultural *and* biological reproducers, but also as its most valuable possessions, the most vulnerable to exploitation or defilement by the Other, and the most susceptible to assimilation by outsiders. Proper masculine roles and behaviors are also integral to nationalist ideologies (e.g. Nagel 1998; Mayer 2000). If the nation is gendered feminine as the Motherland “under threat of violation or domination,” then the proper role of the male members of the community is to “sacrifice for her safety” (Pettman 1996:49). Nations can be conceived of as brotherhoods (Mayer 2000:6) formed around national myths of masculinized humiliation and hope (Enloe 1989:44). The national project thereby relies on the construction of binaries between the pure and vulnerable female members, who are protective of their community, and promiscuous Other women (Nagel

1998:242), between the heroic, protective male members and emasculated *or* hypersexual Other men.

It is important to note however, that the gendered principles of distinction between Us and Them are context-specific and evolve over time. Tamar Mayer speaks to the intersecting and culturally specific processes of constructing social hierarchies of gender, sexual, *and* national identities:

[B]ecause nation, gender and sexuality are all constructed in opposition, or at least in relation to an(O)ther, they are all part of culturally constructed hierarchies, and all of them involve power. One nation, one gender and one particular sexuality is always favored by the social, political and cultural institutions which it helps to construct and which it benefits from (Mayer 2000:5).

The feminist theorizing on the intersecting boundaries of gender, sexuality, and nation benefits the study in two ways: it facilitates the exploration of the gendered discursive tools employed by Twitter users to imagine refugees as not welcome, and how these gendered tools intersect with other discursive strategies. Moreover, the analysis of transnational identity politics necessitates a feminist perspective because gender binaries are particularly impactful tools of boundary construction. Gender has the salient characteristic of being the “cultural marker for biological sex” (Vance 1984:9). Thus, while gender and sexuality are conceived differently according to cultural and historical context, individuals across diverse contexts are socialized to make distinctions between men and women by identifying the culturally specific visual markers of biological sex. Gender constructs therefore have universal characteristics that make them particularly powerful as principles of distinction between Us and Them.

Paradoxes and Gender Ironies of Transnational Asylum Politics

This thesis draws on the literature of immigration and asylum politics that sees the “social construction of immigration as a problem in public discourse” (Statham 2003:168; e.g. Faist 1994; 2000; Fekete 2006; Stolcke 1995; Thränhardt 1995).⁵ Authors in this tradition are concerned with the paradox within post-migration liberal nation-states:

[The issue of asylum] puts the universal principle that they should respect and protect human rights by offering asylum to aliens fleeing persecution in direct competition with the principle that they should primarily serve the interests of the national community of people from whom sovereignty derives – a group with a self-image of common descent (Statham 2003:165).

These authors see asylum politics as a core arena for boundary construction and have explored the culturally and historically specific discursive strategies by which immigrant exclusion and assimilation is justified. In the most general sense, the shifts in strategies align with the shifts in the political context of asylum outlined above.

There is an extensive literature that explores the dilemmas and changing nature of citizenship in the post-war era.⁶ For the purpose of this thesis, it suffices to note that existing models of citizenship came under challenge after the Second World War: human rights frameworks were gaining recognition, political and social rights were increasingly

⁵ This thesis *does not* address the empirical question of whether immigration politics are driven by political elites (e.g. Freeman 1998; Joppke 1997) or racist publics (e.g. Thränhardt 1995; Faist 1994; 2000).

⁶ This thesis *does not primarily develop a position* in the academic debates on citizenship. See for reference Soysal (1994) and Sassen (1998) who represent the post-national position in the debate, Brubaker (1990) who contends that states’ reactions to the challenge to citizenship is shaped by their specific ideal types of citizenship, and Joppke (1997) and Freeman (1998) who argue that states continue to control access to citizenship.

extended to immigrant communities in Western states, and racial and ethno-national identities had become contested as criteria for citizenship (Soysal 1994).

Verena Stolcke (1995) contends that these societal shifts gave rise to what she calls *Cultural Fundamentalism*, a culturalist attempt to craft a universal principle of distinction: coexistence in multicultural states is unfeasible because all humans are inherently ethnocentric and xenophobic. This principle is used to justify immigrant exclusion, or horizontal spatial exclusion.⁷ Immigration, because it results in increased cultural diversity, is construed as a threat to the social cohesion and integrity of the national community (Stolcke 1995:8). From this perspective, the arrival of immigrants is seen as a problem, not necessarily because they are framed as inferior or dangerous, but because they bring with them distinct cultural practices that complicate integration and compromise social cohesion. Cultural Fundamentalism then, leaves some room for the possibility of immigrant integration.

Liz Fekete (2006) argues that Cultural Fundamentalism gained traction in the post-911 era and transformed into *Enlightenment Fundamentalism*. Nations were still framed as monocultural bounded communities rooted in a set of traditions inherited from past generations, and immigrants as threats to the communities' social cohesion. However, the ideological foundations of the discourse had evolved: the political values and traditions of the Enlightenment were invoked as the basis of a common European progressive and democratic culture. The war on terror, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the prominence of Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis in public discourse left the ground fertile for ideological constructs that rely on a binary between European Enlightenment values and the values of the Other, construed as the Muslim World

(Fekete 2006:8-10). The Enlightenment is framed as a “sacred finished process” in the same way that religious fundamentalists envision the Bible or the Qur’an as sacred texts, leaving immigrants with no other options than to “cast off their ‘backward culture’ and assimilate into the modern, secular values of the Enlightenment” (Fekete 2006:8). Enlightenment values serve as the moral codes that determine acceptable behavior for the members of the community: the Western world has abandoned racism, fascism and authoritarianism for a superior, Enlightened culture. Fekete notes an additional ideological twist:

If there is anything amiss in this, our European homeland, it is the consequence not of evil, but of too much goodness. Over-tolerance towards people from different cultures is our Achilles’ heel. We must preserve our cultures at all costs and not let them be contaminated by what is alien (Fekete 2006:10).

Thus, Enlightened communities are imagined in opposition to *both* the alien, external Other *and* the over-tolerant, multiculturalist internal Other.

Moreover, Enlightenment Fundamentalism, unlike Cultural Fundamentalism, clearly *does* place Enlightened communities in vertical, hierarchical relationship to the Other and developed alongside the increasing racialization of immigrants (e.g. Cole 2005; Fekete 2006; Ibrahim 2005; Layton-Henry 1992; Ong et al. 1996; Schuster 2003; Silverstein 2005; Witte 1996). One manifestation of racialized anti-immigrant discourse in the post 9/11 context is what Fekete calls the archetypal Muslim, a framing of Muslims as bearers and transmitters of fossilized culture, as a demographic and existential threat to Enlightenment values (Fekete 2006:11; Kinnvall 2014:524). This racial discourse arguably leaves little room even for assimilation.

⁷ As opposed to vertical, internal exclusion, which is typically associated with racist ideologies.

Gender constructs are integral to immigration and asylum politics. The basic arguments behind Cultural and Enlightenment Fundamentalism are echoed in several studies of gender and anti-immigrant rhetoric, whereby gender binaries are used to imagine Enlightened communities as culturally superior to Other minority groups (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Basham and Vaughan Williams 2013; Fekete 2006; Haritaworn 2012; Kinnvall 2015; Siim and Skjeie 2008; Ticktin 2008; Yilmaz 2012; 2014). For example, some have noted unlikely alliances forged around discourses of moral outrage about cultural practices allegedly imported by immigrants. Feminists and LGBT movements have joined right-wing parties in condemning honor killings, headscarves, forced marriages, homophobia and circumcision and in promoting racialized and militarized rescue narratives directed at minority groups (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 213; Haritaworn 2012:73; Siim and Skjeie 2008: 331; Ticktin 2008; Yilmaz 2015:37). Importantly, these narratives have been offered by political elites to justify restrictive immigration and integration policies that are distinctively gendered and that result in gendered outcomes. Restrictions on citizenship, such as limited access to family reunification, and assimilationist policies, such as the ban on the hijab in France or Danish laws that allows for the removal of immigrants' children from their families if they "refuse to integrate into Danish society," are telling examples from the literature (Fekete 2006:3; Siim and Skjeie:336).

In the context of current asylum debates, communities are imagined in opposition to gendered and Othered migrants. In a time of global mass migration, global convergence of immigration policies toward stricter border control, and global mass and social media, the exclusion of migrants relies not only on ethno-national identities, but

also on the construction of multiple binaries, including ‘Western World’ and ‘Muslim World,’ ‘Civilized’ and ‘Barbaric,’ ‘Modern’ and ‘Pre-modern,’ ‘Enlightened’ and ‘Medieval,’ ‘Democratic’ and ‘Authoritarian,’ ‘Feminine’ and ‘Masculine,’ ‘Gender equality’ and ‘Patriarchy,’ ‘Peaceful’ and ‘Violent,’ ‘White’ and ‘Non-white,’ This paper explores the *specific, gendered ways* in which Twitter users imagine themselves in binary opposition to refugees, cast as not welcome.

Transnational Identity Politics on Twitter:

Theorizing Tweets as Transnational Discourse

Twitter, like other social media platform⁸, has permeated everyday life and *tweeting* has become recognized as a verb that describes the online practice of microblogging: sharing a 140 character long expression on Twitter, with the option of linking it to other content. In 2016, the number of social media users worldwide reached 2.1 billion, up from 0.9 billion in 2010 (Statista 2015a:8). Twitter was the sixth fastest growing social media platform in 2014, with an 8 percent growth in users (Statista 2015a:15). By the end of 2015, Twitter had 300 million monthly active users worldwide, compared to 30 million at the beginning of 2010 (Statista 2016a:17). A 2015 study found that Twitter users worldwide generate an average of 347,222 tweets per minute (Statista 2015b). This vast and constant stream of tweets appears as a global flow of real-time reactions and opinions, as a global virtual town hall. José van Dijck has noted the distinct cultural form of the novel types of interaction that take place on Twitter: the verb

⁸ Social media platforms can be defined as “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User-Generated Content” (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010:60).

tweeting signifies a casual and habitual speech act that would previously have taken place in a less public and more localized space, now recognized as a “global format for online public commentary” (van Dijck 2013: 7, 76).⁹ By tweeting, or retweeting another user’s tweet, with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome, an individual Twitter user is commenting on migration on a publicly accessible global media platform.

Twitter has been characterized as an inherently political social media platform, giving rise to new forms of civic engagement, activism and representation (Hands 2011; Rainie et al. 2012). The platform has been used for political grassroots mobilization, such as during the 2009 Iranian uprisings (Giroux 2009), the Occupy movements (Juris 2012) and the Arab Spring (Lotan et al. 2011). Some authors contend that social media platforms are manifestations of the Internet’s empowering and democratizing potential, of a new public sphere (e.g. Cardoso 2012; Castells 2008). For the purpose of this study, it’s important to note two qualifying factors of the “new public sphere” or “virtual town hall” thesis about Twitter: the unequal participation of users and the extent of intentional engineering of the platform. Empirical studies show that, rather than individual users participating actively in producing content, most users primarily consume content and express themselves by disseminating tweets posted by a small group of elite users or opinion leaders, such as celebrities or news outlets (e.g. Cha et al. 2010; Heil and Piskorski 2009; Kwak et al. 2010; Wu et al. 2011). One study found that 10 percent of users produce approximately 90 percent of the content (Heil and Piskorski 2009). Another study found that half of all links posted on Twitter originate from 0.05 percent of the user population (Wu et al. 2011:713). While the platform is democratic in the sense

⁹ The tweet as a distinct cultural form can be derived from a number of characteristics such as its concise syntax, the ‘twitlit’ inspired by the format, or the expressive and personal nature of messaging on Twitter

that anyone can produce or disseminate messages on Twitter, it is dominated by content produced by a small group of opinion leaders.

Furthermore, the unequal participation of users partially results from Twitter's technological structure and corporate strategy (van Dijck 2013; Fuchs 2013). Starting from a structure programmed to facilitate two-way communication in the early days, Twitter was gradually redesigned to maximize consumption and dissemination of individual posts, thereby generating trending topics and high click rates, making the platform more attractive to advertisers (van Dijck 2013:71-73).¹⁰ The company's revenue soared from \$28 million in 2010 to \$2.2 billion in 2015 (Statista 2016b). Twitter's current business model relies on simply ensuring continued user traffic, and the actual content observed on an individual Twitter user's stream is the outcome of a combination of Twitter's algorithms, designed to facilitate trending, content and trends paid for by advertisers, *and* content produced by individual users (van Dijck 2013:78).

Rather than inherently democratizing and empowering, Twitter can be seen as a platform for production and dissemination of discourse. Just as in other social spaces, Twitter users have unequal power and they use their economic, social and technological capital to shape public discourse. Opinion leaders on Twitter are those who are able to dominate Twitter's algorithms, *either* by using discursive (persuasive messaging) and technological (retweet, @, #) tools to make their posts trend *or* by paying for the dissemination of their messages. Posts that dominate the stream of tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome are discourses about migration on Twitter, put forth by

(van Dijck 2013:77).

¹⁰ Some of the functions include: the introduction of the hashtag, "#", in 2008, the retweet, "RT" in 2009, the integration of external media content into the platform and the possibility of

opinion leaders and spread by Twitter's algorithms and by users who resonate with the messages of the tweets.

Moreover, the structure and availability of the data produced by Twitter users makes it especially well-suited for the study of discourse. Twitter grants access to user generated content (UGC) through public Application Program Interfaces (APIs),¹¹ including metadata, such as the bio, geographic location and number of followers of a user, and allows for disaggregation of data by language, key words and hashtags within given timeframes. Tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome, an explicit discursive reference to international migration whereby refugees are framed as not welcome, can be captured as datasets using Twitter's public APIs.

Based on the foregoing observations, I theorize tweets as transnational discourses and Twitter as a venue for transnational identity politics. Twitter users across national borders post tweets in English with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome to make (gendered) sense of international migration and to produce or disseminate tweets that frame refugees as not welcome. The content and structure of the data produced by these users is therefore of particular interest to the study of transnational asylum politics.

purchasing promoted tweets and trends in 2010, and the connect and explore functions introduced in 2011 (van Dijck 2013:71-73).

¹¹ An API is a set of functions that allows third parties to access a service programmatically, in this case searching, capturing or posting content on Twitter. APIs are usually created to encourage third parties to develop software for using a particular service (Driscoll and Walker 2014:1748).

III. RESEARCH METHOD

To explore the gendered discursive strategies employed by Twitter users to imagine refugees as not welcome, I collected three samples of English-language tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. The choice to look exclusively at English-language tweets was deliberate. The aim of the study is to explore how users across different countries participate in producing and disseminating transnational discourse about international migration. My initial exploration of English-language tweets with anti-immigrant content revealed that users tweeting from European countries, the United States, and other countries outside of Europe participate in migration debates on Twitter. Further, users tweeting from outside Europe refer to the current situation along the Mediterranean or to other recent events in Europe, such as the terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015, in support of their opposition to immigration.

Twitter users also commonly refer to other countries' restrictive responses to migration as admirable. Alternatively, they cite alleged incidents of migrant offenses in countries with less restrictive policies to make their case for stricter border control. For example, many of the tweets explored in this study that were posted by users in the US refer to incidents of sexual violence allegedly committed by migrants in European countries, such as Sweden or Germany, to warn about what might happen if refugees are allowed into the US. The initial scoping of English-language tweets with anti-immigrant content thereby revealed that the discourse *does* transcend borders and that Twitter users across the world refer to events in Europe to make their case against immigration.

Twitter users who oppose immigration use a number of different English-language hashtags. The hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome was chosen for this study both because it is an explicit discursive reference to migration, whereby refugees are framed as not welcome, *and* because it has been consistently and moderately trending on Twitter over the course of several months.¹²

The data for the study consists of three samples of tweets with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome captured in three-day intervals using the online plugin NCapture. NCapture uses Twitter's Search API to capture results from Twitter's search engine in a data file readable by the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. Twitter states on its developer website that the search API "allows queries against the indices of recent and popular Tweets" and "is focused on relevance and not completeness", which means "some Tweets and users may be missing from search results" (Twitter 2015a). The search API was chosen for this study precisely because it returns weighted samples of "popular Tweets", rather than a random or complete sample.¹³ Based on the empirical studies cited above, the vast majority of Twitter users primarily consumes and disseminates content rather than produce their own unique content. It is therefore of interest to capture those tweets that are likely to dominate the stream of the average Twitter user who is engaging with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome, posted by those users who are able to get their

¹² Complete statistics for particular key terms or hashtags is only available from GNIP, a corporate data reseller acquired by Twitter, as of April 2015, when the company announced it would be the sole company with full access to the Twitter firehose, the entire stream of real-time tweets (Hofer-Shall 2015). However, websites such as hashtagifyme.com provide statistics for individual hashtags a few months back in time upon registration on their website. The website scores hashtags on a relative popularity scale from 0-100 where the most popular hashtag on Twitter receives a score of 100. According to hashtagifyme.com #refugeesnotwelcome has an average score of 40.

¹³ For more on different ways to accessing UGC from Twitter, the relative merits of Twitter's APIs and the methodological challenges of sampling from the Twitter population see for example: Barberá and Rivero 2014; Driscoll and Walker 2014; Gerlitz and Rieder 2013; Gonzáles-Bailón et al. 2014; Hofer-Shall 2015;

message across by exploiting Twitter's algorithms, getting captured in search results and trending topics, and getting retweeted.¹⁴

The purpose of this study is not to examine tweets as reactions to current events or to track trends on Twitter over time, but rather to analyze in detail the discursive strategies employed by users tweeting with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. Timeframes and intervals for the samples were therefore chosen primarily to ensure appropriate sample size. NCapture samples from three-day intervals proved to be of manageable size for the scope of this study, averaging from about 50 to 600 tweets. Three datasets of appropriate size were chosen for further analysis from several samples collected during the first two weeks of December 2015, during the last two weeks of February, and first two weeks of March 2016.¹⁵ The first dataset consists of a sample of 154 tweets captured from December 1st to December 3rd 2015, the second consists of 219 tweets captured from February 24th to February 26th 2016, and the third consists of 387 tweets captured from March 4th to March 6th 2016. In total, the three datasets amount to a sample of 790 tweets.

The data was analyzed through a multi-step process of simultaneous coding, using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. Simultaneous coding is the “overlapped occurrence of two or more codes applied to sequential units of qualitative data” and is

Mislove et al. 2011; Morstatter et al. 2013; Twitter 2015b; Zafar et al. 2015; Zafarani, Abbasi and Liu 2014.

¹⁴ An underlying premise for this study is that the Twitter search engine is built using the same or similar algorithms as are used to filter content onto users' newsfeeds. Twitter does not provide information on how search results are filtered.

¹⁵ I already had datasets that were captured during the first two weeks of December for a previous project and started capturing tweets for this project in late February. While it would have been desirable to also have a dataset from January, this was not possible because NCapture is unable to capture datasets further back than two weeks.

suitable for content that can be analyzed for multiple meanings, including both descriptive and inferred attributes (Miles et al. 2014:81).

The first step was to examine each individual tweet in the datasets, including all associated content. This involved clicking on any links and capturing screenshots of images or other content attached to each individual tweet. During this stage of data processing, the codes were developed through a hybrid inductive and deductive process.¹⁶ The process was deductive in the sense that the codes were derived from the theoretical framework, and I was looking specifically for elements of the discursive strategies employed by Twitter users to justify refugee exclusion, including the use of gender constructs and gendered imagery. The process was inductive since the final list of codes was decided based on the dominant themes I observed in the datasets. The codes were not developed as exclusive categories. Instead, they can be regarded as labels and are *either* simple and descriptive *or* more complex, symbolic or inferential (Miles et al. 2014:81).

The next step was to code each individual tweet for all relevant codes using NVivo nodes, in line with the instructions in the Codebook that can be found in Appendix A. The codebook was developed according to the format suggested by MacQueen et al. (2008:121-122). Each entry contains the code, a brief definition, a full definition, guidelines for when to use the code, guidelines for when not to use the code, and examples. For example, the Islam-Is-Evil code refers to all tweets that make explicit written or graphic references to Islam or Muslims as inherently evil or barbaric, and should not be applied in instances where it is unclear if what or who is referred to is the religion of Islam or Muslims, such as references to the Middle East or North Africa or

individuals from that region. Common hashtags for this code include #IslamIsEvil, #IslamIsTheProblem, #BanIslam, #MuslimsOut, StopIslam and #BanSharia. The following is an example of a tweet to which the code was applied: “More adult male refugees lying to get into child centres #IslamIsEvil #RefugeesNotWelcome” (Dataset 2 tweet 14).

Once each tweet had been coded, NVivo queries were used to explore code frequencies and relationships between the codes. Because simultaneous coding involves assigning multiple codes to each unit of data, it enables exploration of co-occurrence of codes. The results of the quantitative analysis were used to create tables and graphs that display code frequencies and co-occurrences. The next step was to extract broader concepts or patterns from the quantitative results to inform the theoretical analysis. This involved determining the discursive function of the coded content, how each coded element contributes to framing refugees as not welcome. The codes were assigned to both *subjectivizing* and *objectivizing* discursive strategies: some were exclusively applied to objectivizing strategies, whereby the Twitter user refers to external or internal Others (e.g. Islam-Is-Evil and Internal-Other), others signify subjectivizing strategies, used to conceive of the honorable protectors of the community (e.g. Protector-Defender, Whistleblower, Enlightenment) (Tramontano, N.d.). Some are flexible; they take on meaning when they are used in conjunction with other elements or used to assign certain characteristics to a subject or object (e.g. Feminine and Protector-Defender OR Internal-Other, Masculine and Protector-Defender OR Invasion). The simultaneous coding and quantitative analysis in NVivo enabled the identification of the elements of the Twitter

¹⁶ Codes are used here to mean simply “labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive of inferential information compiled during a study...and take the form of a straightforward, descriptive label or a more

users' discourse and an initial examination of the relationships between them, while the theoretical analysis that follows is necessary to discover *how* the elements are employed together to form narratives whereby refugees are imagined as not welcome.

evocative and complex one (e.g. a metaphor)" (Miles et al. 2014:81).

IV. FINDINGS

Once every tweet in the datasets had been coded, I set out to discover how the coded data might answer my research questions. What can be said about the ways in which the Twitter users imagine refugees as not welcome by observing the number of references for each code and by exploring the co-occurrences of codes? Further, how can these patterns facilitate the theoretical analysis of the gendered discursive strategies employed by the Twitter users?

I began by examining the frequencies of code references in the datasets. The first observation to be made was the prevalence of the Islam-Is-Evil code, which was assigned to tweets where behaviors or inherent characteristics explicitly linked to Islam or Muslims are presented as evil, barbaric, violent or inferior. As observed in Graph 1 and Table 1, the code was assigned to 441 tweets, which amounts to 58.8 percent of the 790 tweets in the datasets. The second most prevalent code was the Invasion code, which was assigned to 389 tweets (49.2%) and refers to tweets where the arrival of refugees is characterized as an invasion or a war. The third most applied code was the Masculine code, assigned to 280 tweets (35.44%). The Masculine code refers to tweets where behaviors, events, policies, or people are gendered masculine, *either* to assign a positive trait to a member of the community as part of a subjectivizing strategy *or* to objectivize an Other by assigning a negative masculine trait or framing them as emasculated. The Whistleblower code was applied to 246 tweets (31.1%), and refers to instances where a Twitter user claims to be exposing or is calling for the exposure of the alleged true nature of refugees. 225 tweets (28.5%) were assigned the Racial-Threat code, which signifies

explicit graphic or textual references to race, such as presenting refugees as threats to the white race. The Internal-Other code was applied to 219 tweets (27.7%) where behaviors, policies, groups or individuals are framed as disloyal or treacherous to their community. The code refers to instances where the Twitter users objectivize the members of their own community *and* to instances where refugees are objectivized for being treacherous or disloyal to their community. The Rape-SGBV code was assigned to 219 tweets (26.7%) and refers to all mentions of rape or other instances of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) to signify the threat posed to the community by Other men. The seven most referenced codes in the dataset thereby give some indication of the elements of the discourse among the Twitter users. To support their stance that refugees are not welcome, it is common for the Twitter users to employ Islamophobic, racialized and masculinized language or imagery, invoke the notion of refugees as invaders or rapists, conceive of themselves as whistleblowers or truth-tellers, and to single out those who are disloyal or treacherous to their community.

**Graph 1
Ten Most Referenced Codes***

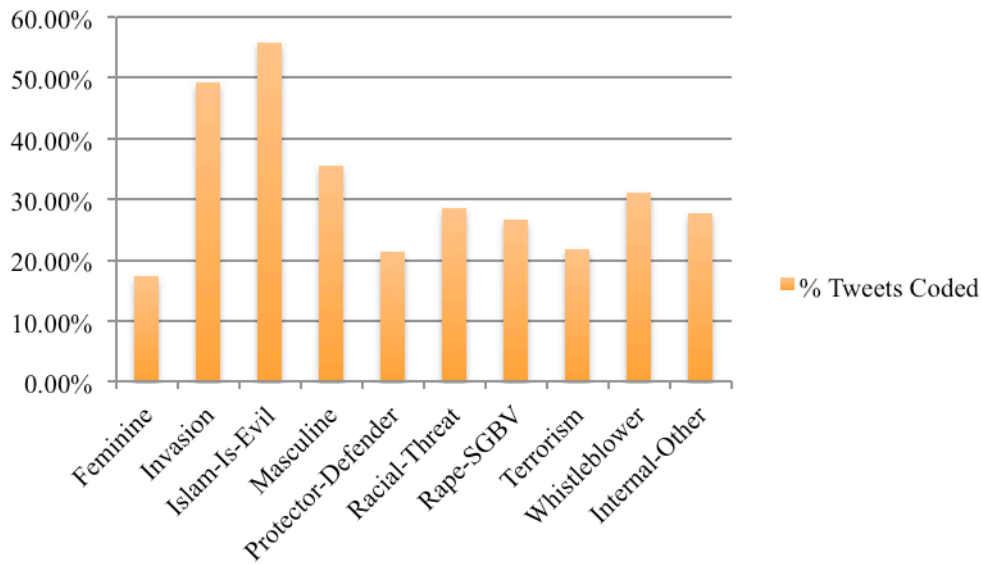


Table 1*

Code Name	Total Code References	% Tweets Coded
Error	4	0.50%
Economic-Threat	69	8.73%
Enlightenment-Values	48	6.07%
Fake-Refugees	103	13.03%
Feminine	137	17.34%
Internal-Other	219	27.72%
Invasion	389	49.24%
Islam-Is-Evil	441	55.82%
Masculine	280	35.44%
Protector-Defender	169	21.39%
Racial-Threat	225	28.48%
Rape-SGBV	211	26.70%
Terrorism	173	21.89%
The-Cover-Up	75	9.49%
Whistleblower	246	31.13%
Violence-Generic	121	15.32%

*Error: false positives in the dataset; Economic-Threat: arrival of refugees framed as economic threat; Enlightenment Values: proclamations of values associated with the Enlightenment; Fake-Refugees: refugees' claim to protection framed as false; Feminine: behaviors, events, policies or people gendered feminine; Protector-Defender: behaviors, policies or people characterized as protectors or defenders of the community; Terrorism: textual or graphic references to terrorism. See Codebook in Appendix A for full definitions. See previous page for brief definitions of remaining codes.

Since each tweet can be assigned a number of different codes, it is possible to explore relationships between the codes in the dataset. Graph 2 illustrates co-occurrences among the seven most commonly applied codes in the dataset. Each cell in the graph displays the number of times two codes were assigned to one and the same tweet. Red shades indicate that the two codes occur frequently together yellow shades signify a moderate number of co-occurrences and green shades suggest a low number of co-occurrences. The Graph reveals some interesting relationships.

For example, Invasion and Islam-Is-Evil were applied 200 times to the same tweet, which could indicate that the Twitter users conceive of the alleged refugee invaders primarily as Muslim. The high number of co-occurrences of the Masculine code with both the Islam-Is-Evil and the Invasion code might suggest that the supposed Muslim invaders are gendered masculine in the discourse of the Twitter users. The Islam-Is-Evil and Racial-Threat codes occur together 127 times, indicating that the users frame the arrival of Muslim refugees in particular as a racial threat, or that the users combine racialized and Islamophobic language and imagery. The relationships between the Whistleblower code and other codes, particularly Invasion and Islam-Is-Evil, suggest that the users are warning us that refugees should be regarded as barbaric, Muslim invaders.

The co-occurrence of codes also provides some preliminary insight into the gendered nature of the Twitter users' discourse. Graph 2 shows that the Rape-SGBV code occurs frequently together with the Invasion, Islam-Is-Evil and Racial-Threat codes, which may speak to a gendered process of boundary construction, whereby rape is construed as analogous to the breach of borders, whether literal, cultural or racial

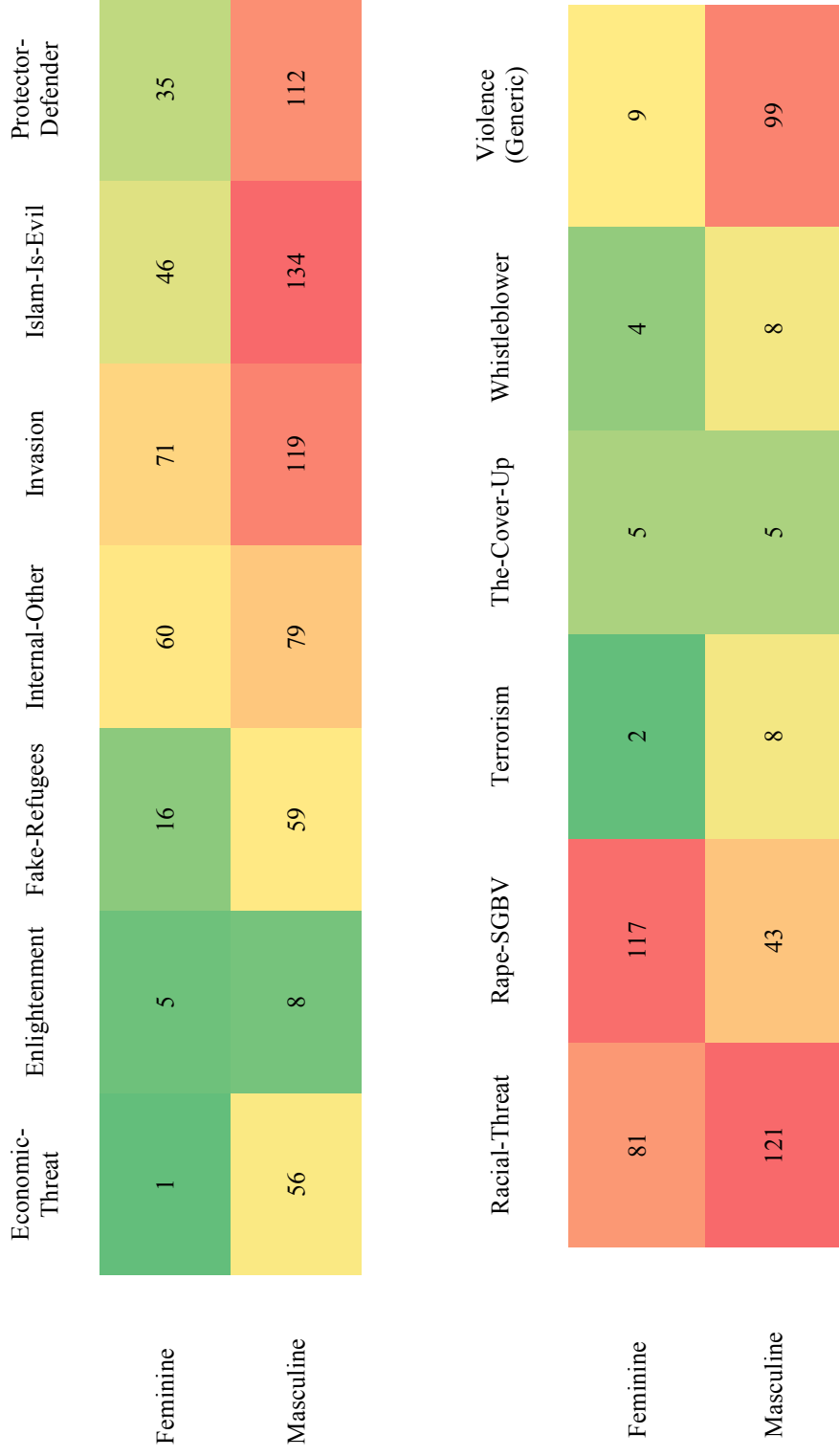
(Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989). Graph 3 compares co-occurrences with the Masculine and Feminine codes. The multiple uses of gender constructs in the Twitter users discourse limits the comparison between the two codes because the Masculine and Feminine codes signify both subjectivizing and objectivizing strategies, meaning that the Twitter users sometimes invoke feminine and masculine traits to assign positive characteristics and other times to assign negative characteristics. Still, the graph reveals interesting and distinct relationships between the application of the two codes and other codes in the dataset.

Graph 3 highlights a strong relationship between the Masculine code and the Violence code: 99 of the 121 tweets were assigned both the Violence code and the Masculine code. The Feminine code was applied to 117 of the 211 tweets to which the Rape-SGBV code was assigned. As noted above, the Masculine code occurs frequently together with the Invasion and Islam-Is-Evil codes. Interestingly however, the Feminine code is also assigned frequently together with the Invasion code, 71 times compared to 119 for the Masculine code, and the Masculine and Feminine codes both occur frequently together with the Racial-Threat code. These relationships suggest that the framing of refugees as racial and cultural threats and the notion of refugees as invaders are gendered in complex ways. Moreover, the Internal-Other code was assigned together with the Feminine code to 60 tweets, compared to 79 co-occurrences with the Masculine code, indicating that those who are presented as disloyal to their community, the internal Others, can be gendered masculine *or* feminine. The results of the coding process reveal interesting yet overlapping and complex relationships between masculine and feminine gender constructs and other elements coded in the dataset.

Graph 2
Code Co-Occurrences

	Internal-Other	Invasion	Islam-Is-Evil	Masculine	Racial-Threat	Rape-SGBV	Whistleblower
Internal-Other	219	28	114	79	21	108	58
Invasion	28	389	200	119	111	87	171
Islam-Is-Evil	114	200	441	134	127	107	223
Masculine	79	119	134	280	121	43	8
Racial-Threat	21	111	127	121	225	84	24
Rape-SGBV	108	87	107	43	84	211	58
Whistleblower	58	171	223	8	24	58	246

Graph 3
Code Co-Occurrences: Masculine vs. Feminine



The frequencies and relationships presented above give some indication of the elements of the discourses put forth by Twitter users who tweet with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome and suggest possible relationships between those elements. The theoretical analysis that follows is nonetheless necessary to discover *how* the elements function together to form discourses and narratives that justify refugee exclusion. Why might a Twitter user choose to depict a refugee as a masculine invader? What does a tweet signal when it both invokes racialized language and mentions sexual violence? What is being said about refugees in a tweet to which three different codes were applied together? How do the Twitter users invoke the various elements to form narratives and discourses about migration? I sought to answer these questions through a systematic theoretical analysis, which was informed by the preliminary relationships revealed through the coding process.

In the following, I offer an analysis of the specific gendered discursive strategies employed by Twitter users who tweet with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. I demonstrate how the Twitter users imagine themselves as a White, Western, Enlightened community (Fekete 2006; Huntington 1993; Stolcke 1995), in binary opposition to refugees, particularly Muslim refugees, who are construed as threats to the racial and cultural preservation and physical safety of the community, and consider the role of gender constructs in these discursive practices.

#IslamIsEvil #RefuseToBeSilent #WhiteGenocide:

The Archetypal Muslim and the Enlightened Defender of the White Race

Graph 2 shows that the Islam-Is-Evil, Racial-Threat, Whistleblower, and Internal Other codes are among the six most commonly assigned codes in the datasets, with some of them occurring frequently together, such as Islam-Is-Evil and Whistleblower that were assigned 223 times to the same tweet. The code frequencies and co-occurrences give an indication of the binary constructs that are integral to the discourse of the Twitter users, such as white and non-white, truth and hypocrisy, loyalty and betrayal, Islam and the West, secularism and religion. Further, the co-occurrence of the four codes with the Masculine and Feminine codes suggests the discursive strategies involved in constructing these binaries are gendered in complex ways. This section examines these relationships in closer detail and gives an analysis of how the Twitter users employ gendered notions of cultural and racial difference to conceive of themselves in opposition to internal and external Others, and to justify refugee exclusion.

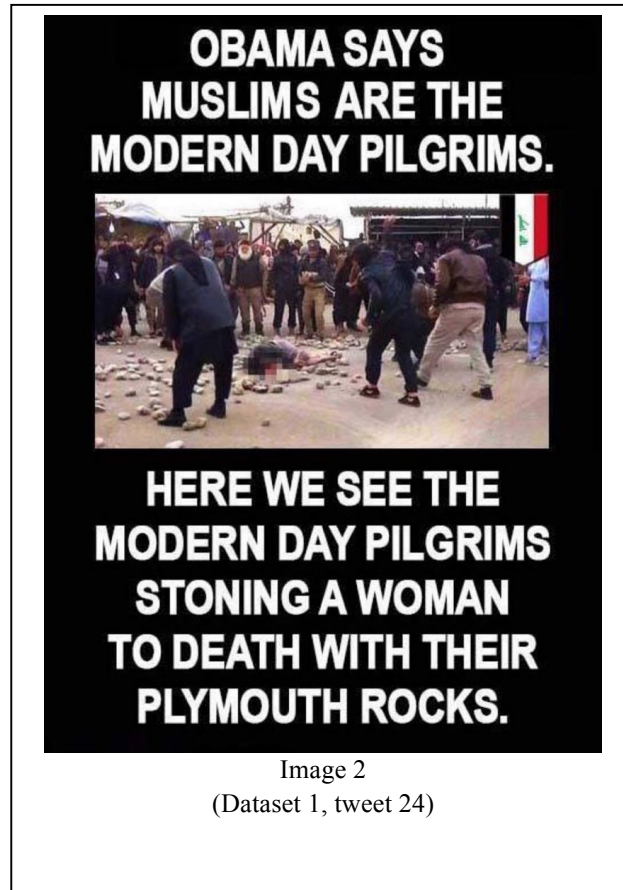


Image 2 was shared with the following tweet: “#refugeesnotwelcome Do we need THIS?” (Dataset 1 tweet 24). The Twitter user presents an image of a violent act, the stoning to death of a woman, and frames this practice as typical to Muslims, construed as barbaric and violent. The act is established as essentially pre-modern. The user refers to an alleged statement by US President Barack Obama that Muslims, presumably Muslim refugees fleeing persecution in the Middle East, are “the modern day pilgrims” (Ibid.). The Twitter user attempts to refute the analogy by offering a graphic picture, allegedly showing Muslim men engaging in precisely the type of violent persecution the pilgrims fled. The phrase “[d]o we need THIS?” implies that welcoming Muslim refugees to the West would be akin to importing this violent practice. Stoning is construed as an alien act, integral to the culture of Muslim migrants, irreconcilable with the modern societies that have developed in the West since the religious wars in Europe forced the pilgrims to settle in the

New World. The victim of the stoning is pictured in the center of the photo, surrounded by the stoning mob, visibly bleeding despite the body having been pixelated. The choice of an image where the victim is a woman and the central placement of her body serve to signal how Muslim men treat women, the most vulnerable and prized possessions of the community (Enloe 1989:54). The tweet exemplifies how Muslim migrants are objectivized as violent and barbaric, as representing an alien, pre-modern culture, essentially inferior and incompatible with modernity, and are therefore not welcome as refugees in the West (Stolcke 1995; Fekete 2006). Those who suggest otherwise, in this case President Barack Obama, need only take this image of a group of men allegedly stoning a woman to death as evidence of the alien practices the West risks importing if Muslim refugees are welcomed to stay. The post illustrates how the Internal Other is conceived as compromising the cultural preservation of the community by welcoming alien Others.

Brother kills sister for voting in Pakistan



Image 3

(Dataset 1 tweet 93)

Image 3 was shared along with the following tweet: “RT @ [REDACTED]: This is the shit that our western countries are importing in droves #BANISLAM #refugeesnotwelcome” (Dataset 1 tweet 93). The news article shared with the tweet is focused on patriarchal norms in Pakistan and their impact on women’s physical safety and political participation (Al Arabiya English 2015). The twitter user reframes the issue and warns “this shit,” presumably honor killings, limited political rights for women and the burqa, is imported into the West “in droves” by refugees (Dataset 1 tweet 93). The use of the capitalized hashtag #BANISLAM indicates that the user sees these practices as integral to Islam, leaving out other factors that limit women’s safety and political rights in rural Pakistan. In the context of the tweet, the women in the image are objectivized as victims of the oppressive practices that the user is warning us about. In fact, the women are lining up to exercise their right to vote. While the article notes that voter turnout for women is low, the author attributes this to patriarchal norms in a particular region of Pakistan and comments that honor-related violence against women is very rarely associated with voting. Further, the fact that the article refers to Pakistan, which is a host rather than origin country of refugees, is deemed irrelevant because the tweet frames these practices as symptomatic of Islam per se. The tweet implies that Muslim refugees will inevitably bring with them oppressive and violent practices, framed as integral to Islam, if they are granted asylum in the West. The proposed solution is not integration

or assimilation; it is to keep Muslim refugees out of the West.

Much like the previous two images, Image 4 posits Muslim men as violent and barbaric, as



sexual predators, “putting bombs in your buses” and “raping your children” (Dataset 2 tweet 65).

The meme suggests the professed moderate Muslim is not to be trusted as he is “lobbying your government to take away your free speech,” thereby threatening the secular Enlightened political culture of the West (Ibid.). The Twitter user warns that even Muslims who advocate for a peaceful interpretation of Islam cannot be distinguished from terrorists and rapists, framing deadly violence and rape as integral to Islam. The use of the phrase “while other Muslims” implies if someone identifies as Muslim, they are in one way or another condoning terrorism and other forms of violence.

The three images above exemplify the racialized discourse of Enlightenment Fundamentalism, whereby Muslim migrants are construed, not just as culturally different, but positioned in a vertical, hierarchical relationship to the West and Enlightenment values (Fekete

2006). Islam is framed as fossilized culture (Fekete 2006:11), a universal, evil and barbaric moral code adhered to by all Muslims independent of social, cultural and historical context. Exclusion is justified by constructing the racialized Archetypal Muslim (Fekete 2006) as inassimilable, inherently barbaric and pre-modern, and whose alien fossilized culture must be kept out of the West at all costs. Firstly, this framing relies on objectivizing women as victims of oppression and violence at the hands of the Archetypal Muslim man. Secondly, Muslim women, as the cultural and biological reproducers of the community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989), can be construed as “demographic bombs” (Kinnvall 2014:524) responsible for raising new generations of barbaric and violent Muslims, as expressed by one Twitter user: “@██████████ #calaisjungle #refugeesnotwelcome and that includes the shitty little brat mini jihadi 'children' too (Dataset 3 tweet 268)”. The quotes attached to the word children implies there are no innocent Muslim refugee children, instead they are framed as embodying the fossilized, violent jihadi culture that is allegedly shared by all Muslims.

What is at stake for the Enlightened Western community if the Other is allowed access? What values and cultural traditions are allegedly threatened by the arrival of refugees? The Enlightenment code was assigned to tweets where the users proclaimed personal commitment to values associated with the Enlightenment, such as free speech, secularism, democracy, freedom or liberty, in a tweet or in their bio. This code was only assigned to 48 tweets (6%). So, while the users typically do not explicitly communicate their commitment to Enlightenment values, they employ other strategies to express their identity as opposed to internal and external Others. Two observations from the coding process informed the analysis that follows of the ways in which the users conceive of themselves as an Enlightened Western community: the prevalence of the Whistleblower code, assigned to 246 tweets where the users subjectivize those who expose the alleged truth about refugees while objectivizing refugees as dangerous or inferior, and the

prevalence of the Internal-Other code, assigned to 219 tweets where the users objectivize those who are disloyal or treacherous to the Enlightened Western community.

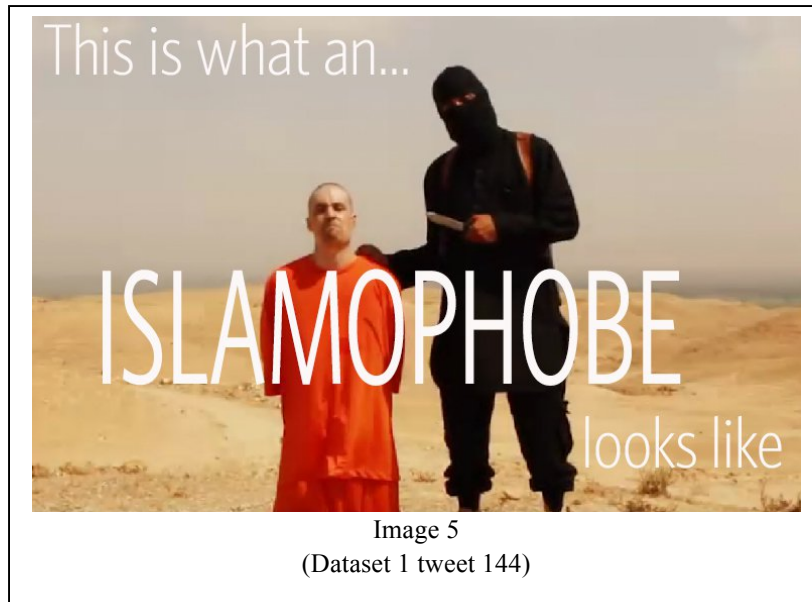
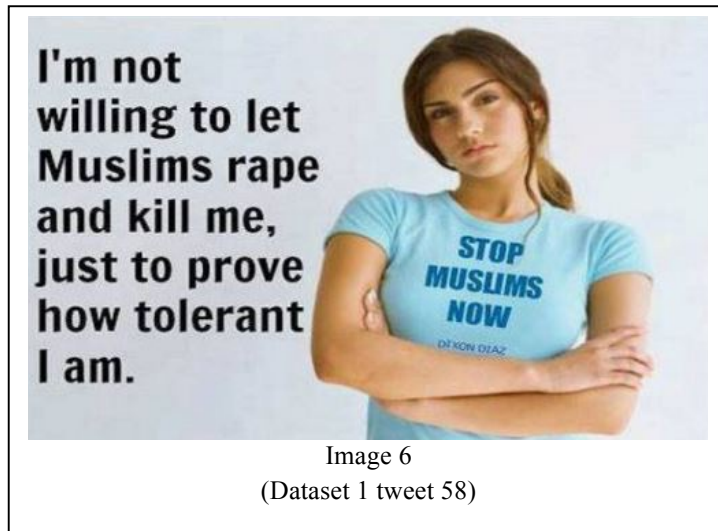
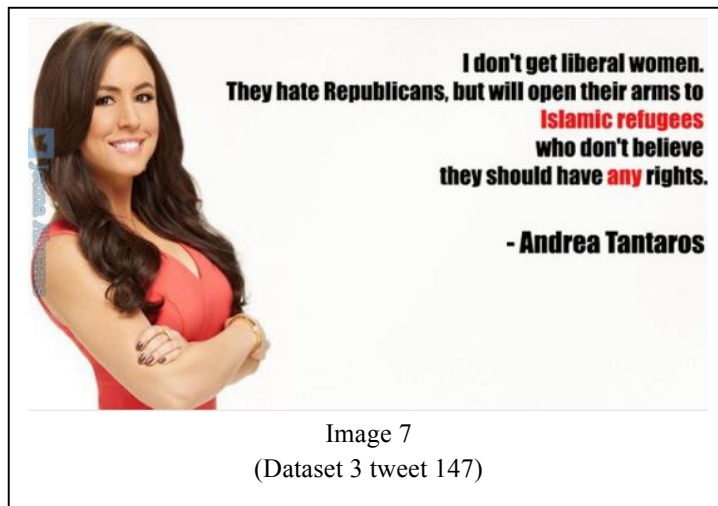


Image 5 was shared with a tweet that states “#WakeUpAmerica This is what an...ISLAMOPHOBE looks like #BanSharia #refugeesNotWelcome #Refugee Crisis” (Dataset 1 tweet 144). The image is presumably a screenshot from the video of the 2014 beheading of American Journalist James Foley by a member of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Mejia 2014). The image simultaneously warns about the dangers of being perceived as Islamophobic *and* posits Islamophobia as a heroic awakening about the alleged true nature of Islam. The journalist is presented as a martyr who died a heroic death because he supposedly told the truth about Islam. James Foley would likely object to being branded either as Islamophobic or a martyr, as he dedicated his career to reporting from conflicts in the Middle East to offer the world a more nuanced picture of conflict and to elevate the stories and perspectives of local communities (Mejia 2014). By invoking this narrative about Foley’s death, the Twitter user is positioning him or herself as belonging to the same imagined group of heroic truth-tellers about Islam as the journalist

and in binary opposition to the terrorist who kills anyone who disagrees with his moral code. Implicitly, the image thereby invites the notion that Enlightenment values are threatened by violent extremism abroad, that could be brought to the West with the arrival of refugees. It also suggests that Enlightenment values, in particular freedom of speech, are threatened by the branding of those who are critical of Islam in the West as Islamophobes. The twitter user thereby manages to reframe Islamophobia as a heroic stance in the fight against terrorism.



The user who shared Image 6 tweeted “RT @ [REDACTED]: "You are not required to set yourself on fire to keep other people warm." #RefugeesNOTwelcome #StopIslam” (Dataset 1 tweet 58). The tweet invokes the now familiar framing of Muslims as murderers and rapists and indicates that European women are being sacrificed on account of over-tolerance toward Muslim refugees. Further, the tweet signals just what is at stake according to the user: while Western women would allegedly have to sacrifice gravely, effectively being “set on fire,” killed or raped, very little would be gained from granting refugees asylum, aside from a vain display of tolerance while keeping “other people warm” (Ibid.). The woman in the picture is presented as brave and principled. Her posture and her T-shirt signal her readiness to “stop Muslims now,” and position her as a brave, principled truth-teller who will defend Western women against *all* offenses, in binary opposition to the over-tolerant internal Other, framed as hypocritical and cowardly, unwilling to stand up for Western women for fear of being perceived as intolerant of Muslims.



The woman pictured and quoted in Image 7 is Andrea Tantaros, a conservative political analyst and co-host of a daily talk show on Fox news (The Andrea Tantaros Show 2016). The image was shared with the following tweet “RT @ [REDACTED]: I don't get liberal women too. As well as liberal men #RefugeesNotWelcome” (Dataset 3 tweet 147). The Twitter user identifies with women like Andrea Tantaros, who is presented as taking a principled stance on women’s rights as opposed to liberal women who are framed as hypocritical for criticizing Republicans while “opening their arms to Islamic refugees who don’t believe they should have any rights” (Ibid.). The post invites the notion that there is an inherent contradiction between Islam and women’s rights and frames Tantaros’, and Republicans’, stance on women’s rights as principled on the account of allegedly speaking out against all violations, including those committed by Muslims. Much like the woman in the previous photo, Tantaros is presented as the embodiment of a proper feminine response to current migration flows, whereby Western women should put each other first, speak out against alleged Muslim offenses, and oppose those who welcome Other men into the community.

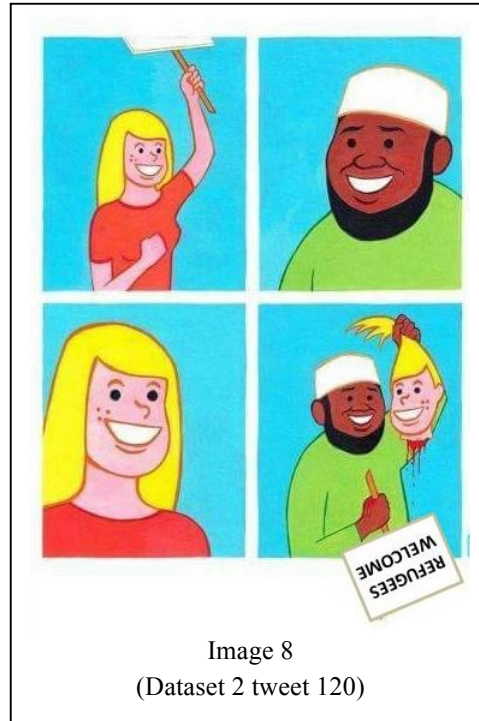


Image 8
(Dataset 2 tweet 120)

Image 8 and its accompanying tweet present the hypocritical internal Other as the multiculturalist woman: “RT @ [redacted]: The perks of multiculturalism #refugeesnotwelcome” (Dataset 2 tweet 120). The woman in this image embodies the opposite role of the women in the previous two images, easily controlled or deceived by outsiders, making herself and other women in her community vulnerable to defilement or attack by Other men (Enloe 1989:54). Images 5 through 7 exemplify how the Twitter users assert their commitment to women’s rights and physical security by calling our attention to the supposed hypocrisy of liberals, multiculturalists, and others who are overly tolerant toward Muslim refugees. It is common for the Twitter users, as is the case in Images 6 and 7, to offer a protective and heroic feminine role, perhaps more commonly assigned to men, as the “sole protectors” of their fellow female community members who are made vulnerable by the arrival of Other men (Mayer 2000:6), and as principled defenders of women’s rights against a Muslim misogynist culture. This feminine role is construed in binary opposition to the (female) internal Others, framed as the Achilles heel of the

community (Fekete 2006:10), who allow refugees access and refuse to speak up against alleged migrant offenses. The frequent reference to women as the most vulnerable and in need of protection serves to illustrate what is at stake:¹⁸ it evokes the analogy of women's bodies as symbolic of the community's borders and signals that the cultural reproduction of the Enlightened Western community, with its superior political values, is under threat (Fekete 2006; Pettman 1996; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989).

What is compromised by welcoming refugees, other than the physical safety of the (female) community members, and the cultural reproduction of Enlightenment values? The framing of refugees as threats to the White Race is widespread among the Twitter users, exemplified by the 225 tweets that were assigned the Racial-Threat code and the frequent use of hashtags such as #WhiteGenocide, #WarOnWhite and #ProWhite.

¹⁸ See next section for further exploration of this concept as it appears in the discourse of the Twitter users.



Image 9
(Dataset 1 tweet 142)

Image 9 was shared with the following tweet: “Fight for her. #NoMuslims #RefugeesNotWelcome #IslamIsEvil #WhiteGenocide #Girls #MakeAmericaGreatAgain #Trump2016” (Dataset 1 tweet 142). The phrases “Fight for her,” “this is Europe, not Africa,” and the hashtag #NoMuslims, imply that the girl in Image 9 is made vulnerable by the arrival of African and Muslim men. The girl signifies the purity of the White European race, and the sexual purity of White European women, which are threatened by migration from African and Muslim-majority countries, a threat that the user contends is equivalent to White Genocide. The girl symbolizes Europe’s most pure, valuable and vulnerable possessions, namely innocent white girls (Enloe 1989:54). This girl, on the account of her whiteness and innocence, more than any other girl is made to exemplify those whom the women in images 6 and 7 must protect at all costs from defilement by Other men. Women’s bodies are not exclusively used by the Twitter users to mark the cultural borders of the community. Often, they are explicitly made to symbolize its imagined biological and racial border.

The Twitter users then, imagine themselves as a White, Enlightened community, committed to free speech and women's rights, in binary opposition to refugees, particularly Muslim refugees, who are construed as the racialized carriers of fossilized, pre-modern and misogynist culture, and in opposition to the hypocritical internal Others, the liberals and multiculturalists, objectivized for welcoming Other migrants, thereby threatening the cultural and racial preservation of the community. The following two sections explore the processes involved in constructing these binaries in further detail by analyzing the narratives put forth by the Twitter users about sexual violence and their framing of refugee flows as an invasion or war.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This paper has explored discursive strategies employed by Twitter users who tweet with the hashtag #refugeesnotwelcome. To justify refugee exclusion, the Twitter users draw on the racialized logic of Enlightenment Fundamentalism. They imagine themselves as a White Western Enlightened community in binary opposition to refugees, cast as threats to the racial and cultural preservation of the community. I have demonstrated how this process of binary construction is inherently gendered, by illustrating how gender constructs support the boundaries drawn by the Twitter users between Us and Them.

The imagined borders of the community are gendered by crafting symbolic narratives, where sexual assault of White European women signals that the Enlightened political culture of the community and the purity of the White race are threatened. To cast refugees as racial and cultural threats, the Twitter users almost exclusively gender them masculine, as violent invaders or sexual predators. Where female refugees are represented, they are either cast as victims or cultural and biological reproducers of what the Twitter users frame as a fossilized pre-modern Muslim culture that dictates violence against women and that seeks cultural and political domination of the West. The Twitter users also rely on gender constructs to conceive of the internal threats to the community, the internal Others. Those who support refugee inclusion are presented as treacherous to the community for allowing refugees in or covering up alleged migrant offenses, and are objectivized for failing to fulfill their masculine roles as defenders of the community or for their feminine susceptibility to manipulation by outsiders.

Given the current context of international asylum politics, what are some implications that can be drawn from this study for advocacy and future research? What are some of the dilemmas of contemporary asylum debates that are captured by the analysis of discourses on Twitter? What

questions are raised by this study for future research on asylum politics? The study sheds light on the diminishing space for intersectional advocacy: Advocates of gender, refugee, and immigrant justice are faced with the burden of simultaneously defending refugees' rights to protection and responding to the racialized discourse of Enlightenment Fundamentalism. The analysis, detailing the ideological twists and distortions invoked by the Twitter users, speaks to some of the difficulties involved in forging a counter-narrative to this discourse, whereby anyone who argues for refugee protection and inclusion is accused of undermining the values of what is framed as a distinctively Western political culture.

The binary oppositions contrived by the Twitter users between the West and Islam, Modern and Pre-modern, Enlightened and Barbaric, Equal and Patriarchal feed into the illusion that the universal principles associated with the Enlightenment, such as gender equality, democracy and human rights, are exclusive to an imagined Western Enlightenment culture, while casting Other cultures as *essentially* pre-modern and patriarchal. Ironically, Enlightenment principles are invoked to undermine and weaken the universal right to seek asylum from persecution. Pluralism and tolerance of cultural diversity, arguably two of the most fundamental principles underpinning the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment, are framed as the Achilles heel of the West (Fekete 2006). Multiculturalism is doomed to failure in this illusory world drawn up by the Twitter users, with the feminist supporter of multiculturalism cast as the ultimate target of ridicule.

Every single alleged incident of sexual assault, whether taking place in the refugees' home countries or committed by an immigrant on European soil, can serve as ammunition for the rhetorical charges made by the Twitter users against multiculturalism. These charges sometimes invoke feminist principles, while other times explicitly targeting feminists, framing them as hypocritical and unprincipled for ignoring alleged migrant offenses. These discursive strategies exemplify the impossible dilemma faced by feminists who participate in public debates about migration: if they choose to speak up about violations against women within immigrant

communities, their statements risk being appropriated by opponents of immigration and used in public debates to justify exclusion or discrimination. However, if they choose not to speak up or if they refuse to attribute offenses to immigrants' cultural background and argue instead for immigrant inclusion, they risk being called out in the very same debates for being inconsistent or selective in their advocacy. The scholarly literature on immigration shows that feminist movements across Europe have been largely unsuccessful in overcoming this dilemma, joining the anti-immigrant right in promoting rescue narratives and discourses of moral condemnation directed at immigrant communities, sometimes supporting restrictive asylum and assimilation policies that adversely affect minority women (e.g. Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 213; Fekete 2006:3; Haritaworn 2012:73; Siim and Skjeie 2008: 331-336; Ticktin 2008; Yilmaz 2015:37).

Over 59 million individuals are displaced worldwide. In 2015, over 1 million of them braved the journey across the Mediterranean to Europe, thousands losing their life along the way. Given the immense protection needs of the millions of individuals forcibly displaced, including those who seek asylum in Western countries, feminist movements are faced with a defining moment and a unique opportunity to align with advocates of refugee and immigrant justice rather than those who seek to undermine the right to seek asylum from persecution. To realize this opportunity, it is necessary to thoroughly deconstruct and counter anti-immigrant rhetoric. While this thesis contributes to the deconstruction of transnational discourses that justify refugee exclusion, the counter-narratives of feminists and supporters of multiculturalism are outside the scope of this study. Further research is needed to explore the ways in which advocates for gender and immigrant justice respond to anti-immigrant rhetoric. How are issues of culture and identity resolved, or left unresolved, in feminist discourses on asylum politics? How successful are immigrant justice advocates in decoupling principles associated with the Enlightenment and modernity from an imagined Western culture? Do supporters of more inclusive politics rely wholly on a simplistic cultural relativism or do they offer a conception of culture and identity that can

counter the identity politics of the anti-immigrant Right? Answering these questions and addressing the concerns that they raise would mark progress toward a strengthened alliance between feminist movements and advocates for refugee and immigrant justice, an alliance I believe is essential to respond to the challenges of contemporary asylum politics and to overcome the cooptation and distortion of Enlightenment and feminist principles by the anti-immigrant Right.

REFERENCES

- Akkerman, Tjitske and Anniken Hagelund. 2007. "Women and Children First! Anti-Immigration Parties and Gender in Norway and the Netherlands." *Patterns of Prejudice* 41(2): 197-214.
- Al Arabiya English. 2015. "Brother Kills Sister for Voting in Pakistan." *Al Arabiya English*, December 2. Retrieved April 12, 2016 (<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/asia/2015/12/02/Brother-kills-sister-for-voting-in-Pakistan-.html>).
- Amnesty International. 2016. "Syria's Refugee Crisis in Numbers." Amnesty International. Retrieved March 15, 2016. (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/02/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers/>).
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso Books.
- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1989. *Woman-Nation-State*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Barberá, Pablo and Gonzalo Rivero. 2014. "Understanding the Political Representativeness of Twitter Users." *Social Science Computer Review* 33(6): 712-729.
- Basham, Victoria M. and Nick Vaughan-Williams. 2013. "Gender, Race and Border Security Practices: A Profane Reading of 'Muscular Liberalism'." *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 15(4): 509-527.
- BBC. 2016. "Cologne Sex Attacks: Women Describe 'Terrible' Assaults." *BBC*, January 7. Retrieved April 13, 2016 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35250903>).
- Bell, Brian. 2013. *Briefing: Immigration and Crime: Evidence for the UK and Other Countries*. Oxford: Migration Observatory. Retrieved April 12, 2016 (http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/migobs/Briefing%20-%20Immigration%20and%20Crime_0.pdf).
- Bell, Brian, Francesco Fasani and Stephen Machin. 2013. "Crime and Immigration: Evidence from Large Immigrant Waves." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 21(3): 1278-1290.
- Bigo, Didier. 2002. "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27(1): S63-S92.
- . 2005. "Frontier controls in the European Union: Who is in control?" Pp. 49-99 in *Controlling frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe*, edited by D. Bigo and E. Guild. Wiltshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- . 2014. "The (in) Securitization Practices of the Three Universes of EU Border Control: Military/Navy–border guards/police–database Analysts." *Security Dialogue* 45(3): 209-225.

- Blount, Dave. February 25 2016. "Colognization Hits Japan." *Moonbattery*. Retrieved April 12, 2016 (<http://moonbattery.com/?p=69241>).
- Boswell, Christina. 2003. "The 'external dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy." *International Affairs* 79(3): 619-638.
- Bourbeau, Philippe. 2011. *The Securitization of Migration: A Study of Movement and Order*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Brubaker, William R. 1990. "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis." *International Sociology* 5(4): 379-407.
- Buonfino, Alessandra. 2004. "Between Unity and Plurality: The Politicization and Securitization of the Discourse of Immigration in Europe 1." *New Political Science* 26(1): 23-49.
- Cardoso, Gustavo. 2012. "Networked Life World: Four Dimensions of the Cultures of Networked Belonging." *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal, Special Issue*: 197-205.
- Castells, Manuel. 2008. "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(1): 78-93.
- Castles, Stephen, Hein de Haas and Mark J. Miller. 2013. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ceyhan, Ayse and Anastassia Tsoukala. 2002. "The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27(1): S21-S39.
- Cha, Meeyoung, Hamed Haddadi, Fabricio Benevenuto and P. K. Gummadi. 2010. "Measuring User Influence in Twitter: The Million Follower Fallacy." *Proceedings Of The 4th International AAAI Conference On Weblogs And Social Media*: 10-17. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<https://www.aaai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM10/paper/download/1538/1826>).
- Cole, Jeffrey. 2005. *The New Racism in Europe: A Sicilian Ethnography*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of the European Union. 2001a. "539/2001/EC of 15 March 2001 Listing the Third Countries Whose Nationals must be in Possession of Visas when Crossing the External Borders and those Whose Nationals are Exempt from that Requirement." *Official Journal of the European Communities*. Retrieved March 14, 2016 (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=celex:32001R0539>).
- , 2001b. "Council Directive 2001/51/EC of 28 June 2001 Supplementing the Provisions of Article 26 of the Convention Implementing the Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985." *Official Journal of the European Communities*. Retrieved March 14, 2016 (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:32001L0051>).
- Czaika, Mathias and Mogens Hobolth. 2016. "Do Restrictive Asylum and Visa Policies Increase Irregular Migration into Europe?" *European Union Politics* 17: 1-21.

- Driscoll, Kevin and Shawn Walker. 2014. "Working within a Black Box: Transparency in the Collection and Production of Big Twitter Data." *International Journal of Communication* 8: 1745–1764.
- Dunai, Marton and Krisztina Than. 2016. "Hungary to Hold Referendum on EU's Plan for Migrant Quotas." *Reuters*, February 24. Retrieved April 14, 2016 (<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-idUSKCN0VX1EJ>).
- Enloe, Cynthia. 1989. *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. Lodon: Pandora Press.
- European Parliament Directorate-General for External Policies. 2013. *Current Challenges for International Refugee Law, With a Focus on EU Policies and EU Co-operation With the UNHCR*. European Parliament. Retrieved March 14, 2016 ([http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/433711/EXPO-DROI_NT\(2013\)433711_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/433711/EXPO-DROI_NT(2013)433711_EN.pdf)).
- Eurostat. 2014. "Crime Statistics." *Eurostat*. Retrieved April 13, 2016. (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Crime_statistics#Further_Eurostat_information).
- Faist, Thomas. 1994. "How to Define a Foreigner? the Symbolic Politics of Immigration in German Partisan Discourse, 1978–1992." *West European Politics* 17(2): 50-71.
- . 2000. "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23(2): 189-222.
- Fekete, Liz. 2006. "Enlightened Fundamentalism? Immigration, Feminism and the Right." *Race & Class* 48(2): 1-22.
- Fratzke, Susan. 2015. *Not Adding Up: The Fading Promise of Europe's Dublin System*. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved March 14, 2016 (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/future-eu-policy-development-immigration-and-asylum-understanding-challenge>).
- Freedman, Jane. 2007. *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freeman, Gary P. 1998. "The decline of sovereignty? Politics and immigration restriction in liberal states." Pp. 86-108 in *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*, edited by C. Joppke. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fuchs, Christian. 2013. *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Génération Identitaire. 2016. "Qui Somme-Nous?" Retrieved April 13, 2016. (<https://www.generation-identitaire.com/generation-identitaire-2/>).
- Gerlitz, Carolin and Bernhard Rieder. 2013. "Mining One Percent of Twitter: Collections, Baselines, Sampling." *M/C Journal* 16(2).

- Giroux, Henry A. 2009. "The Iranian Uprisings and the Challenge of the New Media: Rethinking the Politics of Representation." *Fast Capitalism* 5(2).
- González-Bailón, Sandra, Ning Wang, Alejandro Rivero, Javier Borge-Holthoefer and Yamir Moreno. 2014. "Assessing the Bias in Samples of Large Online Networks." *Social Networks* 38:16-27.
- Guardian. 2014. "Singer Kesha Sues Longtime Producer Dr. Luke for Sexual Battery." *Guardian*, October 14. Retrieved April 13, 2016 (<http://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/oct/14/singer-kesha-sues-producer-dr-luke-sexual-battery>).
- Hammar, Tomas. 1985. *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hands, Joss. 2011. *@ is for Activism: Dissent, Resistance and Rebellion in a Digital Culture*. London: Pluto Press.
- Haritaworn, Jin. 2012. "Women's Rights, Gay Rights and Anti-Muslim Racism in Europe: Introduction." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19(1): 73-78.
- Heil, Bill and Mikolaj Piskorski. 2009. "New Twitter Research: Men Follow Men and Nobody Tweets." *Harvard Business Review*, June 1. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<https://hbr.org/2009/06/new-twitter-research-men-follo>).
- Hofer-Shall, Zach. 2015. "Working Directly With the Twitter Data Ecosystem." GNIP, April 10. Retrieved March 11, 2016. (<https://blog.gnip.com/twitter-data-ecosystem/>).
- Hogan, Jackie. 2008. *Gender, Race and National Identity: Nations of Flesh and Blood*. New York: Routledge.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3): 22-49.
- Huysmans, Jef. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(5): 751-777.
- , 2006. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. New York: Routledge.
- Ibrahim, Maggie. 2005. "The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse." *International Migration* 43(5): 163-187.
- Infostormer. 2015. "Afghan Savage Sentenced to Life in Prison for Raping And Burning Young Finnish Girl Alive." *Infostormer*. Retrieved April 13, 2016. (<http://www.infostormer.com/afghan-savage-sentenced-to-life-in-prison-for-raping-and-burning-young-finnish-girl-alive/>).
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2016. "Syria IDP Figures Analysis." Retrieved March 15, 2016. (<http://www.internal-displacement.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/syria/figures-analysis>).

- IOM. 2015. *How the World Views Migration*. IOM. Retrieved April 21, 2016 (<http://publications.iom.int/books/how-world-views-migration>).
- , 2016. "Mixed Migration Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond: Compilation of available data and information for 2015." Retrieved March 14, 2016. (https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/situation_reports/file/Mixed-Flows-Mediterranean-and-Beyond-Compilation-Overview-2015.pdf).
- Joly, Danièle. 2002. *Global Changes in Asylum Regimes*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Joppke, Christian. 1997. "Asylum and State Sovereignty a Comparison of the United States, Germany, and Britain." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(3): 259-298.
- Juris, Jeffrey S. 2012. "Reflections on# Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation." *American Ethnologist* 39(2): 259-279.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz, ed. 1991a. *Women, Islam, and the State*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1991b. "Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 20(3): 429-443.
- Kaplan, Andreas M. and Michael Haenlein. 2010. "Users of the World, Unite! the Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media." *Business Horizons* 53(1): 59-68.
- Kinnvall, Catarina. 2015. "Borders and Fear: Insecurity, Gender and the Far Right in Europe." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23(4): 514-529.
- Kwak, Haewoon, Changhyun Lee, Hosung Park and Sue Moon. 2010. "What is Twitter, a Social Network Or a News Media?" *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on World Wide Web*: 591-600. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1772751>).
- Layton-Henry, Zig. 1992. *The Politics of Immigration: Immigration, 'Race' and 'Race' Relations in Post-War Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Léonard, Sarah. 2010. "EU Border Security and Migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and Securitisation through Practices." *European Security* 19(2): 231-254.
- Levy, Carl. 1999. "European asylum and refugee policy after the Treaty of Amsterdam: the birth of a new regime?" Pp. 12-50 in *Refugees, citizenship and social policy in Europe*, edited by A. Block and C. Levy. New York: Macmillan Press.
- Lotan, Gilad, Erhardt Graeff, Mike Ananny, Devin Gaffney and Ian Pearce. 2011. "The Arab Spring| the Revolutions were Tweeted: Information Flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions." *International Journal of Communication* 5:31.
- MacQueen, Kathleen M., Eleanor McLellan-Lemal, Kelly Bartholow and Bobby Milstein. 2008. "Team-based codebook development: Structure, process, and agreement." Pp. 119-135 in *Handbook for team-based qualitative research*, edited by G. Guest and K.M. MacQueen. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

- Malone, Scott. 2015. "U.S. Republicans Seek to Shut Door on Syrian Refugees After Paris." *Reuters*, Nov 16. Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<http://reut.rs/110UIIx>).
- Map Action. 2013. "Legal Status of Individuals Fleeing Syria." Retrieved March 15, 2016. (<http://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/legal-status-individuals-fleeing-syria-syria-needs-analysis-project-june>).
- Mayer, Tamar. 2000. "Gender ironies of nationalism: setting the stage." Pp. 1-25 in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, edited by T. Mayer. New York: Routledge.
- McClintock, Anne. 2013. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
- Mejia, Paula. 2014. "Remembering James Foley." *Newsweek*, August 20. Retrieved April 12, 2016 (<http://www.newsweek.com/remembering-james-foley-265946>).
- Miles, Matthew B., A.M. Huberman, Johnny Saldaña. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Mislove, Alan, Sune Lehmann, Yong-Yeol Ahn, Jukka-Pekka Onnela and J. N. Rosenquist. 2011. "Understanding the Demographics of Twitter Users." *Proceedings of the Fifth International AAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*: 554-557. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<https://www.aai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM11/paper/download/2816/3234>).
- Moghadam, Valentine M. 1994. *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morstatter, Fred, Jürgen Pfeffer, Huan Liu and Kathleen M. Carley. 2013. "Is the Sample Good enough? Comparing Data from Twitter's Streaming Api with Twitter's Firehose." *Proceedings of the Seventh International AAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*: 400-408. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<https://www.aai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM13/paper/download/6071/6379>).
- Nagel, Joane. 1998. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 242-269.
- Neal, Andrew W. 2009. "Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The Origins of FRONTEX*." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(2): 333-356.
- Ong, Aihwa, Virginia R. Dominguez, Jonathan Friedman, Nina G. Schiller, Verena Stolcke and Hu Ying. 1996. "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States." *Current Anthropology* 37(5): 737-762.
- Pettman, Jan J. 1996. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Price, Bob. 2015. "Armed Protesters Plan Another Demonstration at Texas Mosque." *Breitbart*, December 1. Retrieved April 13, 2016 (<http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/12/01/armed-protesters-plan-another-demonstration-at-texas-mosque/>).

- Rainie, Lee, Aaron Smith, Kay L. Schlozman, Henry Brady and Sidney Verba. 2012. "Social Media and Political Engagement." *Pew Internet & American Life Project*, October 19. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<http://www.pewinternet.org/2012/10/19/social-media-and-political-engagement/>).
- Reuters. 2015a. "It's Risky to Come to Europe, Hungary's PM Tells Migrants." *Reuters*, Sept 3. Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<http://reut.rs/1hCgV8x>).
- . 2015b. "France must 'Annihilate' Islamist Radicals, Far-Right Leader Le Pen Says." *Reuters*, Nov 14. Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<http://reut.rs/1OKvCoR>).
- . 2015c. "Trump Calls to Ban Muslim Entry to U.S." *Reuters*, December 7 2015, . Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<http://www.reuters.com/video/2015/12/08/trump-calls-to-ban-muslim-entry-to-us?videoId=366599798>).
- . 2016. "Merkel Wants Authorities to Get to Bottom of Cologne Attacks." *Reuters*, Jan 7. Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<http://reut.rs/1OQScqj>).
- Robins-Early, Nick. 2015. "How the Refugee Crisis is Fueling the Rise of Europe's Right." *The World Post*, October 28. Retrieved April 21, 2016 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/europe-right-wing-refugees_us_562e9e64e4b06317990f1922).
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Sassen, Saskia. 1998. "The de facto transnationalizing of immigration policy." Pp. 49-85 in *Challenge to the nation-state: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*, edited by C. Joppke. New York: Oxford University Press Oxford.
- Schuster, Liza. 2003. "Common Sense Or Racism? the Treatment of Asylum-Seekers in Europe." *Patterns of Prejudice* 37(3): 233-256.
- Sen, Samita. 1993. "Motherhood and Mothercraft: Gender and Nationalism in Bengal." *Gender & History* 5(2): 231-243.
- Sharia Unveiled. 2015. "German Citizens Now Being Terrorized Inside Their Own Homes By Muslim Immigrants." *Sharia Unveiled*, November 9. Retrieved April 13, 2016. (<https://shariaunveiled.wordpress.com/2015/11/09/german-citizens-now-being-terrorized-inside-their-own-homes-by-muslim-immigrants-video/>).
- Siim, Birte and Hege Skjeie. 2008. "Tracks, Intersections and Dead Ends Multicultural Challenges to State Feminism in Denmark and Norway." *Ethnicities* 8(3): 322-344.
- Silverstein, Paul A. 2005. "Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34: 363-384.
- Smale, Alison. 2016. "Setback for Angela Merkel as Far Right Makes Gains in Germany." *New York Times*, March 13. Retrieved April 21, 2016 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/14/world/europe/germany-elections.html>).

- Soysal, Yasemin N. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Statista. 2015a. "Social Networks - Statista Dossier: facts and statistics about social networks." Retrieved February 25, 2016. (<http://www.statista.com/study/12393/social-networks-statista-dossier/>).
- 2015b. "Media usage in an internet minute as of August 2015." Retrieved February 25, 2016. (<http://www.statista.com/statistics/195140/new-user-generated-content-uploaded-by-users-per-minute/>).
- 2016a. "Twitter – Statista Dossier." Retrieved February 25, 2016. (<http://www.statista.com/study/9920/twitter-statista-dossier/>).
- 2016b. "Worldwide revenue of Twitter from 2010 to 2015 (in million U.S. dollars)." Retrieved March 11, 2016. (<http://www.statista.com/statistics/204211/worldwide-twitter-revenue/>).
- Stolcke, Verena. 1995. "Talking Culture: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe." *Current Anthropology* 36(1): 1-24.
- Stratham, Paul. 2003. "Understanding Anti-asylum Rhetoric: Restrictive Politics Or Racist Publics?" *The Political Quarterly* 74(s1): 163-177.
- The Telegraph. 2016. "Thousands March in Anti-Islam Pegida Rallies Across Europe." *The Telegraph*, February 6. Retrieved April 21, 2016 (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12144357/Thousands-march-in-anti-Islam-Pegida-rallies-across-Europe.html>).
- Thränhardt, Dietrich. 1995. "The Political Uses of Xenophobia in England, France and Germany." *Party Politics* 1(3): 323-345.
- Ticktin, Miriam. 2008. "Sexual Violence as the Language of Border Control: Where French Feminist and Anti-immigrant Rhetoric Meet." *Signs* 33(4): 863-889.
- Tramontano, Marisa. N.d. "Homo Securitas: Trauma, Subjectivity, and Legitimation of State Violence." *Unpublished Paper*.
- Twitter. 2015a. "The Search API." Retrieved February 25, 2016. (<https://dev.twitter.com/rest/public/search>).
- 2015b. "Get statuses/sample." Twitter, Retrieved February 25, 2016. (<https://dev.twitter.com/streaming/reference/get/statuses/sample>).
- UN OCHA. 2016. "Financial Tracking System - Syrian Arab Republic - Civil Unrest 2015." Retrieved March 15, 2016 (<https://fts.unocha.org/pageloader.aspx?page=emergencyDetails&appealID=1090#>).
- UNHCR. 2007. *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. UNHCR. Retrieved March 14, 2016. (<http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>).

- . 2014. "UNHCR Resettlement Handbook and Country Chapters." Retrieved March 14, 2016. (<http://www.unhcr.org/4a2ccf4c6.html>).
- . 2015a. *UNHCR Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2014*. UNHCR. Retrieved March 14, 2016. (<http://reliefweb.int/report/world/unhcr-global-trends-forced-displacement-2014>).
- . 2015b. *UNHCR Global Resettlement Statistical Report 2014*. UNHCR. Retrieved March 14, 2016. (<http://www.unhcr.org/52693bd09.html>).
- . 2016. "Syria Regional Refugee Response Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal." Retrieved March 14, 2016. (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>).
- Uutiset. 2015a. "Wednesday's Papers: Rape Statistics and Migrant violence Debate." *Uutiset*, December 2. Retrieved April 13, 2016 (http://yle.fi/uutiset/wednesdays_papers_rape_statistics_and_migrant_violence_debate/8496423).
- . 2015b. "Police Brief Migrants on Customs." *Uutiset*, December 2. Retrieved April 13, 2016 (http://yle.fi/uutiset/police_brief_migrants_on_customs/8498833).
- van Dijck, Jose. 2013. *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Vance, Carole S. 1984. "Pleasure and danger: toward a politics of sexuality." Pp. 1-28 in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, edited by C.S. Vance. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Wu, Shaomei, Jake M. Hofman, Winter A. Mason and Duncan J. Watts. 2011. "Who Says what to Whom on Twitter." *Proceedings of the 20th International Conference on World Wide Web, WWW 2011*: 705-714. Retrieved March 11, 2016 (<http://wwwconference.org/proceedings/www2011/proceedings/p705.pdf>).
- Yilmaz, Ferruh. 2012. "Right-Wing Hegemony and Immigration: How the Populist Far-Right Achieved Hegemony through the Immigration Debate in Europe." *Current Sociology* 60(3): 368-381.
- . 2015. "From Immigrant Worker to Muslim Immigrant: Challenges for Feminism." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22(1): 37-52.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1993. "Gender and Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(4): 621-632.
- Zafar, Muhammad B., Parantapa Bhattacharya, Niloy Ganguly, Krishna P. Gummadi and Saptarshi Ghosh. 2015. "Sampling Content from Online Social Networks: Comparing Random Vs. Expert Sampling of the Twitter Stream." *ACM Transactions on the Web (TWEB)* 9(3): 12:1-12:33.
- Zafarani, Reza, Mohammad A. Abbasi and Huan Liu. 2014. *Social Media Mining: An Introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.