Bachelor thesis

A ‘snapshot’ of Swedish media’s portrayal of immigrants and refugees leading up to the 2018 election

-A qualitative critical discourse analysis from Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet

Author: Alexander C. Jonsson
Supervisor: Christopher High
Examiner: Manuela Nilsson
Date: January 25th, 2019
Peace and Development Studies
Level: Bachelor Thesis 15 hp
Course Code: 2FU32E
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family, friends and teachers that have helped me to complete this paper. I would especially like to thank Gadis T. and T.L. for all of their support. Without their support I would not have been able to manage this feat.
Abstract

Immigration is a topic that is not an uncommon occurrence within Sweden, especially in regards to the long history of wars and crisis occurred since the beginning of the 21st century. It could take form of individuals fleeing for their lives as refugees from conflict, or as economic migrants seeking a higher quality of life in a new country. The aim of the study was to analyze the critical discourse on how the Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees in line with Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework and Dijk’s textual analysis from a socio-cognitive approach. The purpose was to focus on gaining an insight on how Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees. The newspapers that were analyzed was Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) which are two of the largest newspapers in Sweden. The results showed that there was a tendency of the Swedish media to lean toward left-wing discourse in comparison to the rest of Europe. However, the perspective of ‘us’ vs ‘them,’ negative economic costs of refugees and less of a voice for the refugees and migrants was found. Some positive actions for future reporting of immigrants and refugees is to give newcomers to Sweden a stronger voice in the media, where a full account of the report is evident and to utilize neutral diction such as, ‘nyanlända’ when addressing refugees or migrants.

Keywords: Integration, Immigration, Migration, Critical discourse analysis, Agenda setting theory, Sweden, Media research, News, Power
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................. 3
Table of Contents .................................................................................................. 4
List of Abbreviations, Tables and Figures ............................................................. 5
1. Introduction ....................................................................................................... 6
  1.1 Research Problem ....................................................................................... 9
  1.2 Research Objective ................................................................................... 12
  1.3 Research Questions ................................................................................... 12
  1.4 Analytical Framework .............................................................................. 12
  1.5 Theoretical Framework .......................................................................... 13
  1.6 Methodology ............................................................................................. 14
  1.7 Limitations, Delimitations and Ethical Considerations .......................... 15
  1.8 Structure of the Thesis ............................................................................. 16
2. Literature Review ............................................................................................. 17
  2.1 Theories of news and Journalism ........................................................... 17
  2.2 Textual News and Its Relevance to CDA: Power and Dominance ......... 18
3. Background ....................................................................................................... 21
4. Methodology ..................................................................................................... 27
  4.1 Data Collection .......................................................................................... 28
  4.2 Data Analysis ............................................................................................. 28
  4.3 Analytical Framework: Previous Research ............................................. 29
  4.4 Framework .................................................................................................. 33
5. Results and Discussion ..................................................................................... 34
  5.1 Swedish Newspaper Articles Analysis .................................................... 35-46
  5.2 Swedish Media Portrayal of Immigrants and Refugees ....................... 46-49
  5.3 Framework ................................................................................................ 49-51
6. Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 52-53

References ........................................................................................................... 54-60
Appendix .............................................................................................................. 61-66
List of Abbreviations, Tables and Figures

DN - Dagens Nyheter
Eg. - Example Given
EU - European Union
Hbtq - Homosexual, bisexual, trans and queer individuals
k - Abbreviation for thousand (Ie 1k = 1,000)
Nyanländ - ‘Newly arrived individual with normally a refugee background who has only lived in Sweden at most 2 years’ (Umeå Kommun, 2015).
SCB - Statistiska Centralbyrån (Central Statistical Bureau)
SD - Sverigedemokraterna or the Swedish Democrats
SvD - Svenska Dagbladet
T: - Translation to English
UN - United Nations
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
¶ - Symbol for paragraph

Figures:

Figure 1.1 SCB: Immigration to Sweden demography (SCB, 2017) - page 6
Figure 1.2 YouGov Media bias opinion poll (Dahlgreen, 2016) - page 7
Figure 1.3: Asylum applications from non-EU members in the EU-28-member states 2006-2017 (Eurostat a, 2018) – page 18
Figure 1.4 - Diagram of citizens born in and outside EU (SCB Andö, 2016) page – 19
Figure 1.5 - Education level of asylum seekers who come to EU from 2009 - 2014 (SCB Andö, 2016) Page - 20
1. Introduction

Migration, immigration and particularly integration has become a hot social topic within the western world. A poll in a national evening Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet, revealed that refugees and immigration was the most leading political topics (43%) for the Swedish 2018 election (Mellin, p.13, 2018). The topic of refugees and immigration was the most dominant among other political questions such as healthcare (39%), law and order (31%) and education (25%). The poll was conducted online from 6 - 10 August 2018 where 1,067 respondents aged 16 and older replied. At a larger scale, in the European Union, this can be observed through political debates within the EU countries where politicians such as Angela Merkel of Germany, Guiseppe Conte of Italy or Stefan Löfven of Sweden discuss methods of how to handle both economic migrants and asylum seekers. In the recent European debate, countries such as France and Italy were considering to create asylum centers that bordering the EU, which in turn would handle legitimacy of asylum applications (Smålandsposten a. & b, 2018). In this debate, news media has a very important role as a medium for inhabitants of the EU to be able to interpret, understand and follow the events surrounding immigration and integration.

The discourse surrounding immigration and refugees within media is relevant in today’s society. Immigration is a topic that is not an uncommon occurrence within Sweden, especially in regards to the decade and a half since the beginning of the 21st century. The wars in the middle eastern countries such as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, as well as riots and poverty in African countries such as Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, has been some of the reasons for the increase in both refugees and immigrants into Sweden (SCB, 2017). In part, these statistics can be explained through immigration from other European countries who have joined and became new members of the European Union since the millennium, searching either for work, studies or settlement (SCB, 2017).
The media is important as a tool for what is shaped and talked about within a society. In regards of agenda setting theory, McCombs and Shaw argue that in relation to mass media reporting has some form of correlation between what is being discussed within a society, and what is portrayed within media (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; McCombs 2006). Their main argument is that if an agenda is framed by the media by the amount of attention that is provided, it will provide more exposure to that element. Agenda framing can be settled through several ways such as the placement of the topic on the headline and first few pages of a newspaper, the length of the article, as well as the frequency of the topic. The elements in agenda framing create knowledge about a topic in a direct or indirect exposure by making a topic active within a particular community.

The Swedish news has been considered to have a left-wing bias in media according to YouGovs Media bias in Europe poll (Figure 1.2). It should be noted that in terms of the terminology: left-wing has a connotative association with a more liberal perspective on politics, and where the right-wing is associated with a more conservative political view. The left-wing bias found in the opinion poll in Swedish media was apparent, particularly in regards to the issue
of immigration and crime (figure 1.3) (Dahlgreen, 2016). The survey, however, did not represent the objective opinion of the whole Swedish society since the individuals that answered the questions might have strong influence from the United Kingdom. This was assumed since the poll was done through an opinion service website that was based in United Kingdom and thus might provide a sample from Swedish individuals living outside of Sweden, and might portray different polling results. Yet it provided some insight into how a particular socio-economic group might view the media bias within Sweden and Europe.

Figure 1.2 - YouGov Media bias opinion poll (Dahlgreen, 2016).

The level of how active a topic is, or how largely it is placed in the agenda, does so that individuals can theoretically be engaged in conversations about the particular topic. In this case topics such as migration, immigration and refugee issues can be placed into the agenda. The focus of a headline is very important, since the discourse of refugees in a country potentially affects how people discuss with one to another. The discussion and choice of discourse is arguably important to measure how far the ‘exposure’ of such topics are. In this paper the theory of agenda setting theory was used as a conceptual method to see how implemented topics such as migration, immigration and refugee were put into the focus of the media.
Within the multi theory framework, the general basis of agenda setting theory was used as a premise to understand if the topic of immigrants, migrants and refugees were placed into the news media agenda. For a more in-depth qualitative study, critical discourse analysis was used as the main analytical method. The critical discourse analysis would bring forth not only the outer analysis which the original base level agenda setting theory has been criticized for, but also could provide potential insight into the power relations and influence. Alongside the social elements such as the aspect of social cognition elements (McCombs et al. 2014). This could be done through taking into account elements such as the cognitive situation in text and talk, along with other elements within the discourse of a topic area (Dijk, 1993 and 2006). Furthermore, even though the original base theory was dated and has since evolved into various theories such as framing theory, it would provide merit in analyzing how exposed migrants and refugees were within news media (McCombs et al, 2014). These theories in turn would complement each other in terms of immigration, migration and refugees to see how they were portrayed within the news media.

1.1 Research Problem

Even after the Swedish general election of 2018, the debate on the topics of immigration, integration and refugees are still noteworthy within Swedish media. The topics have been brought up mainly in response to the 2015 Syrian refugee crisis. Despite the fact that the number of migrants entering Europe are not arriving in the same volume, social cohesion and acceptance is still a relevant issue for future consideration. Within this context, the Swedish political sphere has changed since 2012 where Sverigedemokraterna (SD) has immigration as one of their central political issues. The party has received high political gain in recent years with their conservative and nationalistic policy perspective (Sverigedemokraterna, 2018). SD rose from 12.9% in 2014 to 17.5% in 2018 (Valmyndigheten, 2018). The research gap is that despite a sizable number of research articles being published regarding specifically the 2015 period in Europe (e.g. Georgiou and Zaborowski 2017, less is written about Scandinavia (e.g. Hovden et al. 2018) and even less about Sweden specifically (e.g. Holst and Bingöl, 2016; Strömbäck, 2017; Nindorera, 2017). Not to mention less articles are focused in-depth on Sweden specifically in regards to immigration
and integration around 2015, compared to other frequent European countries, such as the United Kingdom. The number of articles being published accounting for the Swedish 2018 election period are limited and open for research.

The number of asylum seekers to Sweden has risen from time to time up to 2015, after the Syrian war escalated in 2014. Sweden has never experienced such a large number of asylum applications within a short time period. The sudden massive refugee ‘wave’ to Sweden are overwhelming, and unfortunately followed by an imbalance in the Swedish integration system to prepare them to live and adapt in Swedish society. Language barrier, cultural clash, different educational standards, and other social reasons may bring exclusivity to the mindset of the newcomers and the residents (Swedish society), and therefore create dissonance and alienation between them. An integration system that does not work effectively may cause social and economic inequality and make it difficult for newcomers to get appropriate access to education, health and employment. Potentially, lower levels of education, destitution, and higher crime rates will more likely to happen in vulnerable areas for ‘outsider’ groups (Andö, 2016; Nindorera, 2017).

As the discourse surrounding migrants and refugees in media has a large outreach and legitimacy within Swedish society, it is imperative to study the portrayal of immigrants, respectively refugees, to avoid social conflicts in the integration between native and non-native Swedish groups. In a focus to avoid undesirable negative sentiments and outcomes to the blameless immigrants in Sweden due to sharp political clash during the election period. The upsurge in political support for Sverigedemokraterna exposes the relevance of research in regards to immigration, integration and how the perspective of refugees might be portrayed within Swedish news media. A discursive shift potentially could happen compared to the previous election in 2014. The portrayal of individuals outside of the considered ethnic norm in a positive or negative manner can theoretically propagate an ‘accessibility bias’ (Iyengar p.1, 1990). In general, the argument stipulates that information which can be more easily retrieved from memory tends to dominate judgments, opinions and decisions in the area of public affairs. The general relevance to conduct the current study is not solely on the basis of the rise of nationalistic support, but it is mainly on media and how newspaper media portrays immigration,
integration and refugees. Where at a minimum a fair or neutral portrayal should be presented as to avoid bias creation towards migrants without justified balanced media reporting (Strömbäck, 2004; Strömbäck et al. p.58-61, 2017). As well as by creating a snapshot of how Swedish media portrays immigration and refugees leading up to the election can be used in comparison to future media research.

In 2016, Holst and Bingöl set a research about a critical discourse analysis of how the asylum seekers image were constructed in the Swedish local newspapers (En kritisk diskusanalys om hur asylsökande konstrueras i svenska lokal tidningar). The research compared four local Swedish newspapers; Nerikes Allehanda (Örebro län), Uppsala Nya Tidning (Uppsala län), Helsingborgs Dagblad (Skåne län) and Västerbottens-Kuriren (Västerbotten län). A post-colonialism social practice theory was used in their research framework and they found that the theory had varying levels of opposition framing between refugees and immigrant towards the considered ‘local’ Swedish society. Holst and Bingöl research were providing a more localized perspective of how different specific local newspapers might have different agendas and might represent more homogenized society. In the aspect of the population size and ethnic diversity, can be arguably less than the bigger cities of Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö. The keywords” asylboende” och ”asylboenden” (asylum accommodation) were used as the main keywords in the sampled newspapers, therefore it established smaller scope of individuals who are in the process of seeking refuge into Sweden.

This research used immigrants and refugees as the main search keywords instead to provide an updated coverage within the case of both established or newly settled refugees and immigrants in Sweden, as well as those who are still in process to get into the country. It took into account for any potential changes in news media that might have occurred post 2015 research in Sweden closer to the 2018 election period. In this research the author used frameworks from Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional analysis of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, p.421-422, 1995; Janks, 1997), together with Teun van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis of social cognition as well as social micro and macro perspectives (Dijk, 1993 and 2006). The frameworks were within the field of discourse analysis in which the main authors were well established.
1.2 Research Objective

The aim of the study was to analyze the discourse on how the Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees from a critical perspective, in line with Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework. The purpose was to focus on gaining an insight on how Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees in Swedish newspapers. The studied newspapers were Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD), which are two of the largest newspapers in Sweden. In the future, the result of this research could be used as a tool for future researchers to improve the perspective of foreigners in the Swedish media, as to avoid potential integration and socio-economic issues.

1.3 Research Questions

How is (im)migration and integration portrayed within Swedish media?
What is the potential effect of the current portrayal within Swedish media?
How can the perspective of migrants be improved for future generations?

1.4 Theoretical Framework

As the research studied the impact of critical discourse analysis in the Swedish newspapers, it would be wise to use an approach that could give insight of language as a form of social practice. One theory that could be used as a theoretical framework is the three-dimensional framework of critical discourse analysis found by Norman Fairclough (1995).

The three-dimensional framework was essentially a method of discourse analysis in which had three parts; (1) text analysis (description), (2) processing analysis (interpretation), (3) social analysis (explanation) (Janks, p.329, 1997). Critical discourse analysis has a strong connection between power relationship and different parties. According to Fairclough (1995), the main purpose of critical discourse analysis is to expose hegemonic power relationship between different groups, the speaker (i.e. authors in Swedish newspapers) and the audience (i.e. reader of the newspaper).
The critical discourse analysis could be used as a tool to analyze how elite groups could use text and talk and able to formulate a particular perspective towards topics, such as refugees and immigration. In regards to the former Sweden’s national election, it would be interesting to look at how the media portrays refugees and immigrant groups, as the topic was well-discussed in the country. It also raised questions of whether the issue in immigration was brought up in the media because it was a crucial issue, or was it because the media was being used by certain elite groups to potentially influence people opinions to think about a particular topic based on the level of salience (Dijk, 2006; McCombs et al., 2014).

1.5 Analytical Framework

In 2016, Holst and Bingöl performed a study of critical discourse analysis of asylum seekers portrayal within the local Swedish newspapers. They used words “asylboende” and ”asylboenden” (asylum seekers). The main analysis tool in that study was the critical discourse analysis for analyzing the micro and macro structures that exist within discourse by Teun van Dijk (2006). The element of mental models was something that could be expanded upon within the analysis. There was some reference along the lines of the concept of mental models, yet it would be intriguing to reach this concept deeper, noted within the article. Dijk frequently made strong notions to be aware of the cognitive situation and be conscious of the formulation of mental models when referred to discourse analysis.

Holst and Bingöl (2016) created a legitimate study in regards to the critical perspective on how asylum seekers are portrayed within local newspapers. However, the study cannot reflect and provide the updated current situation within the immigration topic as the media is in a constant state of evolution. Snapshots of discourse during a specified time can be taken as a method of comparison to previous data, but should not be assumed in complete definitive terms of how the future discourse will be. The comparison should be made between the previous refugee wave in 2015 to the current immigration situation in the country.
In 2015, Camuz and Lernstål made a study relating to critical discourse in the Swedish media which focused on the perspective of female refugees within evening newspapers such as Aftonbladet and Expressen (Camuz and Lernstål, 2015). Another more recent study was in Krzyżanowski’s article of the hybrid politicization of Swedish discourse within the media. However, the method of analyzing the Swedish Social Democrats twitter feed hypothetically has a smaller outreach compared to regular news reporting in daily newspapers such as Dagens Nyheter or Svenska Dagbladet (Krzyżanowski, 2017).

1.6 Methodology

Similar to Holst and Bingöl (2016), the data collection used keywords as search parameters. However, in this research the author also counted the frequency of articles with the keywords that appeared in the collected articles during the collection period. To obtain objective perception/analysis of the social/media discourse towards refugee and immigrant on the Swedish media, the used data were sourced from articles in the recent two Swedish newspapers: Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) from March 2017 until September 2018. The data collection was done through selection of articles which contains specific keywords; ‘flykting’ (refugee) and ‘migrant’ (immigrant), where articles which include both keywords will be prioritized as ‘refugee and immigration’ during the observation period. The keywords ‘flykting’ (refugee) and ‘migrant’ (immigrant) were used as search parameters instead of ‘asylum seekers’ since ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ were referred to unspecified groups of foreign individuals who just arrived in Sweden, but also other migrants who has settled and lived in the country for a longer time. Also, the recent keywords could broaden the scope in order to outreach wider Swedish society.

Through the data collection, a set of data (newspaper articles) were obtained. The next step was to sort and select several news articles to be analyzed. Data analysis of the selected articles observed the placement of the selected article, what type of terminology was used, the literary devices (i.e. simile and metaphor) and the logical structure within the text body, to see how the refugees and immigrant were portrayed in the sampled Swedish newspapers. Furthermore, Fairclough’s three dimensions of discourse and Dijk’s textual analysis in a socio-cognitive
approach will be used to determine the perspective of migrants and refugee within the Swedish media.

1.7 Limitations, Delimitations and Ethical Considerations

*Limitations*

In terms of discourse of text and talk there would be room for interpretation and understanding. It was in accordance to the ability to notice, interpret and express all aspects of a text through all potential perspectives (lenses), while anticipating all potential mental models was near impossible. Not to mention that in the utilization of text as a medium for presenting the thesis, there was a conscious choice by the author of diction as well as the selection and omission of information. As discourse on a subject is based on personal mental models and written the from the perspective of the speaker, there was a naturally occurring bias. As this bias was inevitable, the author attempted to portray any findings with impartiality and attempted to offer multiple perspectives when relevant.

*Delimitations*

The study of the thesis focused solely on print media in the form of newspapers of two Swedish newspapers; Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. Delimitation to only two newspapers could provide more concise comparisons through critical discourse analysis in order to pinpoint overlapping themes. The research should be adequate in establishing general trends through the perspective of morning newspapers, where both newspapers combined have an outreach of 930 thousand average readership per day for the whole week (Nordicom, 2017). Dagens Nyheter has the highest readership, while Svenska Dagbladet was the fourth largest daily newspaper after Aftonbladet and Expressen according to Nordicom. This in turn shows some representation of the reader sector. Another delimitation was the choice of analyzing a national newspaper over a mixture of regional newspapers to focus mainly on the bulk of the population
rather than specific regions, yet this can be considered in the future. The choice of Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet was also done to avoid using newspapers which have more of a tabloid news structure. The author also focused more on newspapers which have smaller headlines, such as the chosen Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet compared to Aftonbladet or Expressen, who often have large font sizes for frontpage headlines.

The selection of news articles was done through delimitation of the section to only include articles related to Sweden or individuals within Sweden. Moreover, the author avoided any articles related to the ledare (editorial) section or the debate section. This decision was made to avoid preconceived bias by the newspaper that might reveal any underlying bias outside of these sections. All articles were focused on immigrants or refugees in the main text which in combination with the other delimitations led to a small sample size, but was deemed acceptable for qualitative data for a media ‘snapshot’ before and during the election period.

1.8 Thesis Structure

The research was written for a bachelor thesis, and it divided into six main sections. The first section is introduction where the main idea, the research purposes, and the tools as well as the structure of the research were described. Introduction section included the general description of the research base, the risen problems and questions of the research idea, as well as the purpose of the research and how did the research was done (research frameworks and methodology).

The following section was the literature review which explained relevant theories and facts about the chosen title and theme, which included the facts about immigration situation in Sweden, theoretical background of critical discourse analysis, and power and dominance. Next section was the methodology. The section described how the data was collected and the techniques to analyze the collected data, based on the chosen analytical frameworks. Where the section went in-depth into the analytical framework in regards to previous research.
Results and discussions were the next section. In this section, the author described the findings of the selected articles which contain the search keywords and the analysis of each selected article according to the used framework and method. The author explained how the findings reflect and relate to the referenced theories of critical discourse analysis and power and dominance from the social cognitive view. Lastly, a conclusion section summarized the essence of the research findings.

2. Literature review

2.1 Theories of News and Journalism

According to Deborah Potter (2006) in her *Handbook of Independent Journalism*, news was defined as a broadcasted newsworthy report of recent or previously unknown events. To become newsworthy and publishable, an event or a story has to cover the news values as follows; timelines, impact, proximity, controversy, prominence, currency, and oddity. Recent event with big impact to the society that is closer to where the readers are, will catch more attention and be discussed more. Also, when a public figure or a well-known figure is being talked about or if the event is opposing normal sense, it will be more likely to be featured as newsworthy story.

Published news is a result of journalism, an act to share events or stories, even knowledge, to other individuals. Journalism has been around the society since people realize their need of sharing information about themselves to others (Zelizer, 2004). A journalist is a person who responsible in interpreting the truth of an event, constructing the story content, and retelling the event (in a form of published news) to public (Wahl-Jorgenssen & Hanitszch, 2009). Journalism shares a strong tie to democracy, in the term of shaping the way for the readers see the world through the perspective of the journalist. The shared news could create an identity of the people who has been discussed in the news and the people who receive the news. Due to this, the news could act as a ‘social glue’ to the people who shared the information, or shared similar experience in the given information. The described event in the news can bind the people in an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983 in Wahl-Jorgenssen & Hanitszch, 2009).
In the Routledge Companion to News and Journalism (edited by Stuart Allan 2010), journalists or the press was regarded as ‘The Fourth Estate’ as a contrast to the Three Estates of Realm in France (Clergy, Aristocracy, and Commoners). The idea of the Fourth Estate signified that the genuine political power resides in the informal role of the press, despite of the formal constitution. Therefore, the press could derive a relationship between the press and its readers. The press can serve as an agency of public discussion where rival ideas and interests could compete each other until the singular truth prevail. At chapter 17 about journalists as interpretive community by Barbie Zelizer (2010), it was described that, “journalists have responded to their changing circumstances by doing what they have always done – crafting adjustments to both their news making routines and their interpretive strategies so as to keep the journalistic community intact.” Through their interpretive strategies, journalists are not solely provided with journalistic coverage to produce meaning about journalism, but also to retain a collective and the voice of authority amidst the unpredictable changing boundaries of news-crafting, and eventually continues to evolve in the environment of given information.

2.2 Textual News and Its Relevance to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) from The Perspective of Power and Dominance

Published news could be found in various forms, one of the old - but not obsolete - form of published news is newspapers. The printed press relies on journalists and editors to look for newsworthy events and information, as well as to deliver the crafted news to public. By means crafted, the piece of newsworthy event or information has been interpreted to be retold to the public according to the news values. As the journalist could interpret and crafted the news to be published, there is a potential of impartiality and subjectivity involved in the objectivity of empiric news. In other words, journalist could provide arguments or objects to the readers what to think about within the given news (McCombs, et al, 2014).

The act of setting a frame of what should be included in the news and how to set opinions about certain topic in the news is a part of media discourse. To analyze whether a news has a heavy discourse about certain topic or information, it could be done through critical discourse
analysis. The critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to study the discourse within the media and the social practice derived from it, through the views of language in the news text. CDA was developed by Norman Fairclough in the 1990s. In Fairclough’s ideal conception, CDA has three dimensional frameworks that map and links three separate forms of analysis; textual analysis, analysis of discourse practices through the production, distribution, and consumption of the news text, and lastly the sociocultural practices from the produced news text (Fowler, 1997; Janks, 1997).

To address and analyze the critical discourse within the media, specifically in the newspaper texts, a textual analysis method from Teun van Dijk (2006) can be used. In his book about Discourse and Power (Dijk, 2008), Dijk stated that a critical discourse study or analysis is crucial since it can provide insight of the abuse of power within the media. The abuse of power could lead to social inequality and injustice such as racism. The discourse about racism could be characterized through the notions and emphasize of Ingroup and Outgroup that excluded some group of race to another (‘we’ vs. ‘you’) perspective. The idea of this type of critical discourse analysis was also used in a previous research by Holst and Bingol (2016), where they studied about the portrayal of asylum seekers within the Swedish media. In the previous research, they found that the Swedish media typically did not include the asylum seekers as part of their society through the way they describe asylum seekers as an outgroup.

According to The Handbook of Qualitative Methodology for Mass Communication Research (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991), a good critical discourse analysis could be done through the textual analysis. In the Chapter 5 of the book about Media Contents: The Interdisciplinary study of news as discourse by Teun van Dijk, it was mentioned that textual analysis of media which includes the language analysis in the news text (semantic analysis and style, and rhetoric). In the end, it described the social cognition and sociocultural context as the implication. The semantic in the language used is observed through the formulation of words interpretations, sentences, paragraphs, or whole discourses. One important semantic notion used to describe meaning was proposition, which may be roughly defined as the conceptual meaning structure of a clause. Special emphasis on specific topics might have ideological implications. Words, clauses, and
other textual expressions might imply concepts or propositions which may be inferred on the basis of background knowledge.

The analysis of the “unsaid” is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in the text. Many ideological implications follow not only because too little was being said, but also because too many, irrelevant things were being said about news actors. The well-known example in news reports about minorities is the use of irrelevant ethnic or racial labels in crime stories. Dijk’s emphasized his theory of critical discourse analysis on power and domination, in this manner, the elite groups in the Swedish newspaper. When a Swedish journalist/columnist discuss about immigration, refugee, or immigrant in the Swedish newspapers, they would provide information and evaluation of immigration cases from a perspective of an observer. The impartiality of the newspaper could later become questionable when the newspaper was failed to provide a writing/journal about immigration problems and polemics from a journalist who is or was an immigrant to share their insight of immigration in Sweden.

A poll by YouGovs Media bias in Europe poll as seen in Figure 1.2; suggested that Swedish news has been considered to have a left-wing bias in media. This was particularly apparent in regards to the issue of immigration and crime (Dahlgreen, 2016). Where there was some discrepancy in the data collection on the basis that even though 1,009 Swedish adults participated in the survey, due to no knowledge about the socio-economic status or any other societal factors of the individuals that provided the information. This could present a homogenous social class which represents a particular perspective of that specific group. Nevertheless, it provided an insight into how some Swedish individuals might view the current media bias currently, and thus was relevant to portray a holistic perspective on media. Moreover, even if the Swedish individuals that provided the information were mainly Swedes living in The United Kingdom, there were a large amount of Swedish people that travel between the countries on a constant basis encountering both perspectives.
3. Background

Migration in Sweden and its problems

In current society, migration and particularly immigration has become a hot topic within the western world. One of the reasons was the increase of refugees and asylum seekers which have been entering EU countries in response to the war in Syria, as well as other conflicts in the middle east. The Syrian conflict began to heat up during 2011 with protesters against the Assad regime and later escalated severely in 2012 and onwards. According to the BBC on UN reports in 2013, the death toll rose from 90,000 to 250,000 lives in 2015 (Rodgers, Lucy et al, 2016). In 2018, the death toll was estimated to be as high as 511,000 lives according to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (Specia, 2018; McDowall, 2018). The situation in turn has caused those with the available means to flee from Syria in search of refuge. Most of the Syrians that have fled the war have ended up in neighboring countries such as Turkey (2,823,987 refugees), Lebanon (1,005,503 refugees), and Jordan (648,836 refugees), according to 1951 UN refugee Convention (UNHCR, 2017). Other displaced people have sought asylum in European countries, and notably Germany, Italy, France and Sweden were some of EU countries with the most asylum applications. Not to mention within the European Union applications from non-EU countries went from 206.9k first time applications in 2010 to 1,257k in 2015 (Eurostat, 2018). The number of asylum applicants decreased in 2017 with only about 649.9k with first time applications (Eurostat, 2018).

In Sweden itself, 81,301 individuals applied as asylum seekers in 2014. The number rose to double that amount from the previous year and rose to 162,877 applications by 2015 (Migrationsverket, 2018). In 2016 the number of asylum applicants was lower with only 28,939 applicants which could be explained by the implementation of the temporary border identification control, as well as more stringent border policy throughout the rest of Europe as well (Migrationsverket, 2017). The total immigration to Sweden in 2017 was roughly around 180,000 individuals with an estimation of 110,000 persons every year in the future. (Pensionsmyndigheten, 2018)
Asylum applications (non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States, 2006–2017 (thousands)

Figure 1.3: Asylum applications from non-EU members in the EU-28-member states (Eurostat a, 2018).

As arrival of immigrants and refugees alike has risen within Sweden particularly from 2012 onwards, there are apparent changes in the Swedish native society - both positively and negatively. The current debate surrounding immigration and the refugee situation has been mixed. On one hand people have been working hard to integrate newly arrived individuals from refugee countries such as Syria, whereas on the other debate sections in media showed the dichotomy of favor towards more restrictive policy (Gerin, 2017). The way Swedish media has
portrayed immigrants and refugees has set a potential tone around the subject. In general, Swedish news has been considered by some sources to have a more left-wing perspective than other countries around the world (Dahlgreen, 2016). Where newspapers such as Dagens Nyheter (DN), Aftonbladet, Expressen and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) claim to be independently liberal, independently social democratic, liberal without stating if independently funded and independently moderate/independent respectively (DN, 2018; Persson, 2017; Expressen, 2018; Lifvendahl, 2017). The negative connotations toward refugee and immigrant caused negative sentiments and widen the gap between the Swedish native society to the refugee and immigrant communities, as well as complicating the integration process between them. As the result, distrust/skepticism towards the refugee and immigrant has risen and led to aggression towards them to have proper jobs, in addition to other hurdles they needed to encounter, i.e. culture clash, language barriers, lack of proper/equivalent education, etc. If we look at Sweden for example, since 2015 there has been more communication regarding the topic of immigration. Especially in current media, the topic of integration has been a large talking point as well. This could be seen through a comparison in terms of the amount of mentions of the word integration from 2010-2014, to 2015-2018 in the two Swedish newspapers Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter in the context surrounding immigration. While in 2010-2014 the context could have been more in line to general migration patterns, where potentially more contextual towards countries such as Afghanistan especially up to 2013. Another way to look at it was through looking at data from the Swedish Statistics Bureau (SCB), where a previous study showed that one in three individuals born outside of the EU were in the risk for being under the poverty line (Andö, 2016). In comparison to 2008, the percentage of the population which could be considered under the poverty line has increased from 12 to 15% in 2014.
The graph by SCB (Fig 1.4) showed the percentage of the population that was at risk for poverty of both native (inrikes födda) and individuals that are foreign born outside the EU from age 18 and older. The graph showed an indication that foreign born individuals (non-EU origin) in countries such as Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Austria, and France, have quite a significant part of the population living in risk of poverty compared to native born individuals. Individuals who were born outside the EU have a 34% poverty rate risk where Swedish natives have a poverty rate of around 12%. One reasoning which Andö brings up was lower education of the foreign-born individuals. To compare, 25% of everyone in Sweden that has at most a 2-year high school education was living below the poverty line, where around 9% have a 3 year or longer post-high school degree. The data showed that potentially the education levels of foreign-born individuals were lower than native groups, and this might cause the segregation between them (Andö, 2016).

The next figure (figure 1.5) showed a graph over the 5-year period of 2009-2014. The asylum seekers who came to Sweden have lower education, less funds, and causing higher social costs. Therefore, in a sense, those who came from abroad were potentially portrayed poorly in media. The Cologne rape case in 2015 was an example of what could occur if the integration system fails to integrate new people properly. The individuals with poor economic background/opportunity could have higher potential to commit crimes in a new country due to their failure - and can be led to frustration - to adapt and thrive in the new environment.
2015 was a particularly notable year as it had one of the highest levels of refugees into Sweden that has been recorded. There was also a significant amount of discussion on the topic about how to handle increased levels of asylum seekers as well as general migration movements within the European nations. Not to mention that there has been hard critique given by Greece, Italy, Sweden and Germany, that the other European countries where not doing their part in regards to asylum seeker policies. In regards, Sweden and Germany have historically been seen as quite pro-immigration in comparison with most other European countries (Hovden et al. p.330-331, 2018).

According to the former Yugoslav Wars in the former Yugoslavia during the late 1990s Sweden, Germany and The Netherlands had the highest number of asylum applications for Bosnians than any other country (USCR, 2001). However, in 2016 Sweden implemented border controls between Sweden and Denmark for the first time since being a member of the European Union in response to the recent increase of refugees coming into the European Union. Evermore, there has been an increase in popularity towards more right-wing populist parties that entering into varying forms of government. This could be seen in multiple countries such as Germany with the AFD (Alternative für Deutschland) party, Sweden with Sverige Demokraterna or FPO (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) in Austria. Along with this increase of right-wing populism, there has subsequently been an increased debate surrounding implementing stricter immigration and refugee policy within both Europe and the European Union.
Currently, a pressure applied towards the European Union, in terms of more devoted resources to handle an increase in migration into Europe. One aspect was to look into the social cohesion or the public view towards refugees and migrants within Sweden in this current period. A potential method of assessing the public opinion on the matter was to look at the discourse surrounding the topic of migration, which is readily available to the masses. Thus, exploring the news in Swedish media could provide insights of how migration was portrayed in a common medium.

**The impact of the migration problem in Sweden to the Swedish national election**

The impartiality of these newspapers has been researched in the past towards particular political blocks by a study conducted during the 2014 political movement. According to the research, DN was considered partial towards the *Alliansen* block which encapsulates a mix of *Moderaterna, Liberalerna, Centerpartiet* and *Kristdemokraterna* political parties. *Alliansen* parties could be considered providing positive attention compared to *Socialdemokraterna, Vänsterpartiet* and *Miljöpartiet* during the campaign (Elowsson, 2015). Comparatively SvD was seen to have a balanced reporting on the 2014 election and considered to be impartial on the subject; while Aftonbladet and Expressen had inconclusive results for a definitive statement of impartiality (Elowsson, 2015). It must be stated that despite the fact that this particular issue related to political sway in the 2014 election; it translated into the potential bias that can occur in media reporting within the concept of immigration and refugees.

The topic of immigrants and refugees within the Swedish media was also depicting the current political situation and its changes from time to time. This could be seen through both positive and negative notions in the news reporting. During the campaign period of 2018 Swedish election, the topic about immigrants and refugees was also became an important issue to be discussed and debated. There was a poll by SvD/Sifo about how S-party voters view of permanent residency for refugees and their family members in the future (Reuterskiöld, 13 June 2018). The poll was held from 4-7 June 2018 with 1,247 web-interviewees. According to the poll result, in June 2018, 55% of S-party voters wanted to have less refugees granted with permanent residency compared to 29% in 2015. Another article from DN also mentioned that people were
more satisfied with SD-party answers on the topic of immigrants and refugees’ issues, compared to other parties (DN/Ipsos: Rosén, 5 July 2018). Positive supports, as well as raising satisfaction level towards SD policy in reducing permanent residency of refugees in Sweden indicated the shift in Swedish society political views. The changes in the Swedish political situation might be reflected in the news reporting of refugees and immigrants, and vice versa. This suggested that the media played a strong role in the formation of public opinion through the selection of issues, discussion topics and writing methods.

4. Methodology

4.1 Data collection

This research used a qualitative approach to study the portrayal and interpretation of migration in Sweden. The methodology used in this research are based on the critical discourse analysis framework. Words related to immigration, migration, and refugee are used as keywords which the reflection and interpretation was based upon in the Swedish daily newspaper. To receive a holistic and in-depth perspective of the status of migration in Sweden, two main keywords were used; “migrant” which includes the words of immigrant, migrant, and any suffix surrounding the base word such as ‘migranter’ etc. The other main keyword that was used in the search was that of “flykting” (refugee). These keywords were used as the indicators to find related news in the Swedish newspapers, Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD). DN and SvD were chosen because both newspapers combined has 930 000 average readers per day, therefore they can be considered as potentially influential to those readers (Nordicom, 2017).

The article-collecting period was from March 31st, 2017 to September 8th, 2018, with a consideration of providing results that are closer to the Swedish election on September 9th 2018. The search was conducted through comprehensive browsing of DN and SvD newspaper articles in Växjö City Library using the Retrievers Mediearkivet database (Vaxjo Stadsbiblioteket). There were 297 articles found between June 8th - September 8th 2018 by using keywords of ‘migrant (immigrant)’ and ‘flykting (refugee)’. Furthermore, the articles were narrowed down to articles
related to events in Sweden and excluding debate, editorials and other articles which were not related to direct news reporting. The selected articles were narrowed down to 67 articles, with the focus on news only happen in Sweden and eliminate editorials and debate pages (only actual news used). Articles that were less than 200 words were removed. In the end, five articles were collected, where three are from SvD and two are from DN.

One relevant article from September 2nd 2018 was removed despite of its appearance in the data search, since it did not include the keywords directly in the article text. Through the second data collection (six months prior to election date), six articles were found and deemed as relevant. The three articles were more focused towards reporting of actual news events and the other three were more about opinion poll based. Thus, the reporting articles were selected. Out of the three articles, two were from SvD and one was from DN. The article of ‘Barn till förmånga fick gå före skolkön via kvot för nyanlända’ from June 30th, 2018 was selected to complement the first March dataset. It should be noted that despite the gap from June 30th 2018 to September 8th 2018, the March dataset was still relevant as it provided more recent and relevant data leading up to the election period.

4.2 Data analysis

The data analysis was conducted through selection of articles which were representing both positive and negative portrayal of refugee and immigrant in the Swedish media. Selected articles could cover news about economic aspects, criminality, peace and harmony, immigrant achievements, as well as about assimilation and integration between immigrants and the Swedish society. The research followed Teun van Dijk (mainly 2002; 2006) critical discourse analysis technique of textual analysis. The technique covered semantic, style, and rhetoric aspects. Eventually, from the analyzed articles, social cognitive and sociocultural aspects were described.
4.3 Analytical Framework: Previous Research

As it has been previously examined in other research, one of main conceptual basis to contributed into the field of migration and journalism studies was a 2016 study by Holst and Bingöl. The research thesis by Holst and Bingöl studied on the portrayal of asylum seekers within the Swedish local newspapers of Nerikes Allehanda, Uppsala Nya Tidning, Helsingborgs Dagblad and Västerbottens-Kuriren (Holst and Bingöl, p.31, 2016). In their thesis they used the search words, “asylboende” and “asylboenden” which translated to housing for individuals who are seeking asylum during their asylum application (Holst and Bingöl, p.31, 2016; Folkhälsomyndigheten, p.8, 2015). Their study was conducted in a legitimate manner in terms of adequate and relevant research into the field of journalism on the topic of refugees. Within their research, they concluded that within their analysis framing concept of ‘Us and Them’ was an important tool for discussing the discourse dynamic between the individuals who were included and excluded within the connotation and denotation of asylum seekers (Holst and Bingöl, p.52-53, 2016). The asylum seekers were deemed as members of the in-group as well as portrayed with more responsibility and legitimacy, yielded the perspective of seekers with more ‘knowledge, power and relevance’. On another side, the opposite held true of the out-group of less ‘knowledge, power and relevance’ (Holst and Bingöl, p.53, 2016). The use of postcolonial theory might be able to be utilized as a tool to distinguish between individual groups within the news discourse, and thus might be added later in terms of analysis in regards to societal factors such as social exclusion or racism.

An important discussion element was hypothetically mentioning the possible variation between the western world and other countries where cultural clashes could occur, particularly for newly arrived individuals (Holst and Bingöl, p.52-53, 2016). Despite the fact that the 2016 article contained some thought-provoking discussion in the results, some elements could be used as arguments to be expanded in order to fit the current discourse surrounding asylum seekers. The provided dataset range from March 31st, 2017 to September 8th, 2018, allowed more naturalistic data selection that was less inhibited by the discourse around the 2018 Swedish national election. At the same time, it was still upholding updated relevance to modern media research.
A variation in the choice of researching the national newspapers of Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter was used instead of regional newspapers. The use of wider national newspapers gave two benefits: firstly, it allowed for an analysis of a larger section of the news audience per paper. Secondly, the access to compare the provided results to future studies within the field might be more comparable. Comparable in a sense that more research might be conducted surrounding newspapers such as Expressen, Aftonbladet, Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter compared to specific local newspapers mainly on the basis on the sheer amount of readers. In comparison to the argument by Holst and Bingöl that used a more local level dataset which can provide a more spread out selection of regional media content to reduce geographic bias is valid (Holst and Bingöl, p.28, 2016). The current research was built upon Holst and Bingöl with an updated dataset from national newspapers. It would provide a snapshot of the more recent situation surrounding the portrayal of not directly asylum seekers, but rather immigrants and refugees as the main search keywords. The choice to focus on immigrants and refugees was to concentrate more on definitive established terms within the media discourse. In this sense, a definitive recognition compared to individuals who are in the process of seeking refuge. Moreover, by providing one of the main search keywords that involve immigration, we could see if there was any change in discourse surrounding the topic in correlation to the recent Syrian conflict.

Another similar study was conducted by Nindorera in which the author analyzed the discourse in Swedish newspapers in regards to migration and refugees. The investigation went over the period of 2004 to 2014 in which both daily and evening newspapers were taken into account of Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen and Svenska Dagbladet (Nindorera, 2017). In the findings, the themes of migration and refugees from a ‘economic, security and political, and a socio-cultural’ perspective were the main themes that evolved from the data. Not to mention that threat and solidarity were significant themes (Nindorera, p.3, 2017). However, an argument that was formulated in the paper was; the media discourse preserves the post-colonial power structure where the elites maintain order without providing the true perspective of immigrants and refugees (Nindorera, p.3, 2017). The post-colonial theory concept has been utilized within other papers, with the focus of immigration and refugees. This can provide some
conceptual perspective of Sweden as former colonizers which is still within the mindset (Makaryk, p.155, 2000; Nindorera, 2017; Holst and Bingöl, 2016 and Camuz and Lernstål, p.5, 2015). The mindset in turn set up an arguable discursive establishment of divided groups within the social agenda. Nindorera provided some useful insight into how the data sets of both daily and evening newspapers could be seen. In such manner, the analysis was done in a systematic order. He presented findings which indicated that insight within the umbrella of the economic discourse theme, the immigrants and refugees.

In a more recent Norwegian paper by Hovden, Mjelde and Gripsrud, a quantitative discourse analysis approach was taken towards investigating Scandinavian news media coverage from 1970 to 2016, with a focus on immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees (Hovden et al., 2018). Their goal was to analyze any discursive changes in public opinion, attitudes or immigration policies over the period to establish an understanding of the period before and during the Syrian crisis of 2015 (Hovden et al. p.327, 2018). Their report expanded on the work of Myria Georgiou and Rafal Zaborowski who focused on the news media reporting in the countries of, “Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Serbia and the United Kingdom” during 2015 (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017). Both reports were relevant as they provided more complete picture of how the discourse of the news media could be seen in contrasting countries within Europe during 2015. In another hand, Hovden et al. focus was more in-line with the aim of the current paper to observe the Swedish portrayal of immigrants and refugees in Swedish media. The Norwegian paper focused on Scandinavia and in turn included Sweden in the results, where they concluded that comparatively to Norway and especially Denmark, that Sweden portrayed refugees in a more positive moral perspective (Hovden et al. p.326, 2018). On the other hand, Denmark showed negative economic attributes to the refugees, more securitization themes and in general in Scandinavia, “prioritizes elite voices over refugees’ own voices...” (Hovden et al. p.326 & 345, 2018). Within the context of Europe (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017), Sweden portrayed refugees more positively than other countries during the 2015-2016 period, yet there was a shift towards negativity at that period due to the November 2015 Paris attacks (Hovden et al. 345, 2018).
In general, the two articles of Hovden et al. and Georgiou and Zaborowski provided an excellent baseline for the European general perspective, and to some degree the Swedish perspective. Yet the focus of the research was to build upon this work and to expand it into a segment closer to the Swedish 2018 election and to find if any discursive shift has occurred through a more qualitative approach.

Lastly came the recent report from Strömbäck et al. 2017 with an in-depth analysis into the period of 2010 to 2015 in regards to the portrayal of migration and refugees within Swedish media. The article brought a quite complete and relevant perspective to the question to how immigration and refugees are portrayed within the media. The authors used a quantitative approach in which Aftonbladet, Expressen, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet were all analyzed and coded up to the period of 2015 (Strömbäck et al. p.v & 26-27, 2017). The positive elements of the report were that the research was well focused on the period leading up to June in 2015 and provides some previous comparison to 2010, which established a basis that was in-line with other research such as, Nindorera, 2017 to the potential bias of the media. Despite less of a focus on the element of power from a critical perspective in Strömbäcks paper, it provided an overarching perspective on the topic of migration which was noteworthy. Some negative elements of Strömbäcks paper is that despite a solid quantitative analysis, the specificity of the research was potentially not as in depth per article compared to qualitative research hypothetically missing minute discursive elements (Strömbäck et al. p.28, 2017). Regardless, the quality of the paper was relevant as a resource for prior research. Where if combined with a more recent dataset closer to the 2018 Swedish election and a qualitative critical discourse analysis created a more recent and complete portrayal of the Swedish media situation to see if the negative portrayal was actual.
4.4 Framework

Similarly, to the previous research by Holst and Bingöl (2016), the current research used theoretical framework of three-dimensional framework by Norman Fairclough, and analytical frameworks about critical discourse analysis, with the perspective of discourse and power from Teun van Dijk (2006). One recent article that comparable was by Holst and Bingöl in relation to the topic of immigration and refugees. However, there were already some scientific articles with slightly different analysis focus (Holst and Bingöl, 2016).

The duo made a legitimate study in regards to the critical perspective on how asylum seekers were portrayed within local newspapers. However, the study could not reflect and provide an update that fits current situation within the immigration topic as the media keeps changing from time to time. Firstly, the article was created in 2016 where more recent newspapers could be analyzed. Secondly, they focused on local newspapers compared to more outspread newspapers and it can have an effect on reporting, despite the fact that they used Dijk’s method of critical discourse analysis as a main tool for analyzing the micro and macro structures that existed within the discourse. The element of mental models was something that should be added into the analysis. Dijk frequently made strong notions to be aware of the cognitive situation and be aware of the creation of mental models when referred to discourse analysis. In turn, the effect of how the speaker creates text and talk through assumptions about the audience and how social elements are could be added into discourse. Subjectively, the further study into these aspects could yield intriguing and hypothetically varying results.

The study by Holst and Bingöl in 2016 was deemed as the closest to the current research through the similar approach used in it. Both were using Dijk’s critical discourse analysis to analyze the refugee situation in Sweden since 2015 to the current time. Camuz and Lernstål, (2015), also made a study that focused on the perspective of female refugees within evening newspapers such as Aftonbladet and Expressen. Another more recent article was Krzyżanowski’s article of the hybrid politicization of Swedish discourse within the media. However, the method of analyzing the Swedish Social Democrats twitter feed hypothetically has a contrasting outreach audience compared to regular news reporting in daily newspapers such as Dagens Nyheter or
Svenska Dagbladet (Krzyżanowski, 2017). The twitter audience might focus only on younger generation, and limited mainly to individuals who have a twitter account and following the Swedish Social Democrats twitter feed. There was a possibility of having bots and paid followers accounted in, therefore the validity will be more likely to be questioned.

5. Results and Discussion

Through the data collection, five articles have been analyzed under the search parameters of ‘flykting’ and ‘migrant’ within Sweden. The words used as the search parameters were chosen to account misunderstandings and biases due to one of the integral meanings of the words ‘immigrants’ and ‘refugees’. Immigrants are individuals moving from one place to another while refugees are often defined and established through the United Nations definition of a refugee. At first, they were often counted as asylum seekers which are later defined as refugees after receiving their status. Through using these keywords, some form of incite to how individuals who do not understand the difference of refugees and migrants and how they might be interpreted in the news could be received.

The analysis was aimed at analyzing any potential underlying power structures that could be formulated in reference to Teun A. van Dijk critical discourse theory, which was formulated by a multidisciplinary approach (Dijk, p.108-120, 2002). Here the articles were analyzed through textual and lingual analytical aspects which include; diction, style of writing, and definition of meanings (Janks, p.329-336, 1997), as well as cognitive situation and mental models (Dijk p.116-118, 2002) that include; previous experience of the news subjects/objects that based on knowledge. Through analyzing this mental model, we can study whether the news article content lack of/need for orientation (McCombs et al 1973), and therefore could indicate bias in it.

The timeframe of the data collection started from March 2017 until before the Swedish Election date on the 9 September 2018. The author randomly selected news articles from the set criteria such as keywords and focused on providing more objectivity in selection of the news. It was hoped that there would be relevant news articles on how Swedish media portrayed immigrants and refugees and brought the theme of the country political conditions. This was
especially during the election period, since topics of immigrants and refugees were quite sensitive in the country. In total, the author has selected five articles to be analyzed in details from the period of one year and 6 months (campaign period) prior to the general elections were held. The articles were deemed to provide both positive and negative perception of refugees and immigrants as well as the power structure in SvD and DN news articles.

5.1 Swedish newspaper articles analysis

Article 1: Svenska Dagbladet Hbtq-flykting: “I mitt hemland blir man mördad om man är som jag” Translation - (T: Hbtq-Refugee: In my homeland you will be murdered if you are like me) (Treijs, p.13, 2018).

In Treijs news article within Svenska Dagbladet, the article focused on the main subject of Hbtq (Homosexuals, Bisexuals, Trans and queer persons) refugees applying for asylum within Sweden. In regards to the political situation, the article has a focus in a particularly uncommon topic within Swedish media, in comparison to the more general topic of refugees. Within the Dijk mindset, all text has some form of potential underlying political agenda and the author provided a very open and inclusive discourse. The article used specific writing and accepted the trans individuals of Darya and Zana by addressing them as ‘kvinnor’ (women) in the first paragraph. This was a contrast to the next main header of, “Situationen är allvarligare…” (T: The situation is [more] serious…) where as it was mentioned that Zana Gagal has returned to Iraqi Kurdistan and thus had to cut his hair short (Treijs, p.13, 2018). The contrast of gender pronoun was arguably a conscious choice by the author to state the implication of individuals who were unable to express themselves sexually, and were sexual identity prisoners or ‘Könsfängelse’. The positivity towards the individuals to live freely was evident in the amount of mentions of the discursive word choice of ‘frihet’ (freedom). The words were often used within the text to either mentioned by the author or within quotations. In general the use of the quotation,
“Jag vill finna kärleken, gifta mig. Men också hitta ett jobb och börja leva fullt ut.” - I want to find love, get married. But also find a job and begin living my life to the fullest.

summarized the main theme of the text and the contrast between individuals who were able to live their lives relatively freely within Stockholm milieu. The live that they have in Sweden described to be better when compared to their countries that filled with fear of harassment, violence and disownment from family ties. At the micro level of critical discourse analysis, the portrayal of the two transgender individuals provided a more traditional left-wing ideology. This could be seen in reference to acceptance of individualism, and the specific group of Hbtq asylum seekers from Iraqi Kurdistan. At the macro level, this brought up the potential cognitive thinking process that could happen to other refugees who were also under sexual identity constraints, hence hindering their expressive freedom.

**Article 2: Svenska Dagbladet - Sverige på väg att öka sitt bidrag till FN:s insatser för flyktingar**

*T:* Sweden is going to increase their budget for UN led missions for refugees

(Hultin, p.16, 2017)

The Hultin’s news article explained about the increase of Swedish financial aid towards the United Nations where the structure followed by some interview within the topic. In terms of the tone of the article, the author mentioned the seriousness of the topic at hand in reference to refugees, despite of an introduction of more informal structure in news reporting. It could be seen in terms of self-reference by the reporter with the word choice of ‘jag’ (I), (Hultin, p.16, 2017).

“Situationen är allvarlig. Vi har sett en kraftig ökning av antalet flyktingar.” - T: The situation is serious. We have seen a significant increase in the number of refugees.

Most articles from Svenska Dagbladet followed a similar structure with choice of a direct citation, providing a general understanding of the article’s topic. The selected quote was shown above. This quotation mentioned that the situation was serious in regards to the increase in the number of refugees. Furthermore, from the perspective of power relations between governing
elites and from the critical perspective, the production and reproduction of discourse could reveal the political agenda (Dijk, p.249-251, 1993).

In the article, there was a keen interest into the investigation and portrayal of exact statistics making note of differences between previous and current changes in the number of refugee quotas, as well as budget information. The author wrote, “Hur mycket pengar (T: how much money)” that Isabella Löven would provide in the UNHCR was uncertain with bold text in the third paragraph. The use of bold font, despite the fact that it was a common feature of dividing news article, did provide extra emphasis into the question of how much funds would enter the UNHCR budget. This was relevant since within the entire text Hultin mentions quantitative amounts at a frequent rate, with words and phrases such as ‘rekordmänga’ (record amount), ‘rekordmycket’ (record amount), ‘mycket’ (very/much), and ‘högsta siffra’ (highest figure) (Hultin, p.16, 2017).

The frequency of discourse from the author to the speaker about specific amounts pushed forward the perspective of an economic cognitive situation, in which the speaker indirectly implied that providing knowledge about specific numbers to the reader was important. Numbers such as the number of refugees reaching up to “66 million”, receiving a record-breaking amount (rekordmycket) of funding in 2016, with “4 miljard [(billion)] dollar” (Hultin, p.16, 2017). Alongside the notion that the amount of “kvotflyktingar” (quota refugees) were increasing from 1900 to 3400 in 2017 in Sweden, in parallel to USA’s decrease of 110 000 quota refugees to just 50 000 refugees (Hultin, p.16, 2017). This salience frequency implied the authors potential interest in finding out how balancing the Swedish budget could play out in relation to the ‘rekordmänga’ (record amount) of refugees. While in the meantime there was an increase in the waiting time for refugees in camps (läger) from six to ten months up to years, or even decades (årtonde). This interest for economic figures and thought processes might be in line with an economic writing background, as well as a potential ideological ‘moderat’ stance seen within other newspaper articles within the editorial section of Svenska Dagbladet in the past (Hultin, 2018; Lifvendahl, 2017).

The moderate party which has a connotation of; and claims, a strong focus on economic issues within their political agenda (Moderaterna, 2018). This ideological position provided a
potential for an economic framing in relation to refugees on the basic emphasis. Despite the fact that Svenska Dagbladet has written from a clear moderat perspective before, this did not prove with definitive proof that Hultin has specifically a moderat agenda. Nevertheless, there appeared to be an economic focus within the text and from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Specifically, if the writer has an economic mental mindset or a mental cognitive model with an economic background, it could theoretically be reflected within the text by the stress of the author on the cost of refugees. This in turn can be seen as an attempt to worry about the economic cost towards Swedish taxpayers. It could be seen as previously mentioned in regards to the semiotic structure (Saussure, 2008). Despite of the critique by previous authors in regards to social semiotics through not providing adequate sociopolitical analysis, the journalist has written previous work within the scope of economic perspective. It was written in a newspaper which often has editorials from a clearly stated moderat perspective where the mentality could theoretically be transferred within the SvD group as their ‘agenda.’ Yet despite the paper haven written moderat critiques in the past and SvD mentioning that stance. The negative theme of refugees as a cost for Sweden is present by the author.


In the Al-Qaisi article the main focus of the piece was a story of a former Syrian refugee in Sweden who has created a job for helping academics in particular. The academics were mainly people who have newly arrived to Sweden and were seeking for jobs in the right way (*på rätt sätt*). The article was interesting in the aspect that it used the word “*nyanlända*” in the main headline. A headline is usually applied as a means for the reader to receive a quick understanding about the article, as well as to some extent grab the attention of the audience. When the authors constructed the headline of “*Han lär nyanlända att söka jobb på rätt sätt*”, there were multiple elements which were worthy of analysis.

The word choice of using he (*Han*) and newcomers (*nyanlända*) were relevant as they were relatively neutral, in regards to potential mental connotation. The pronoun of ‘he’ allowed
the reader to have more association to the subject through himself as a man, instead of included
the person’s name (Imad) in the headline. This could also be viewed as an attempt to portray the
individual as a member of the Swedish society and not as an outside member. In the same
thinking process, the use of the word newcomers or newly arrived individuals (nyanlända) could
refer to any individuals that were newly arrived to Sweden. There was a level of inclusion with
the use of nyanlända as the individuals in question did not necessarily have to come from Syria
or Somalia, but by meaning could come from Germany, Denmark or any conflict-free country
outside Sweden.

Through further analysis of the headline, it was interestingly discovered that the authors
wrote the statement, “he teaches newcomers to search for jobs the right way”. The use of
searching jobs the right way (söka jobb på rätt sätt), brought up a potential question of was it
true that newcomers searched for jobs the wrong way as well as how this could be true. In that
sense, the reader might get intrigued to read the piece similarly to how magazines use particular
‘jump words’ to make the reader wanted to continue reading and find more information about a
subject. However, it was to a lesser extent compared to news articles from The Sun newspaper,
which could be associated with sensationalization. Through another perspective, the article
provided some ‘truth’ that for a job seeker to become established at a workplace, they would
need to adapt to the environment. An environment that the employer has a sense that the
employee is ready to join the workforce. What made the article interesting was the fact that the
author mentioned integration for newcomers into the workforce, which was a requirement that
every employee need. In this aspect, it furtherly brought the audience to relate with the text to
some degree within the frame of ‘media impact’, ‘media proximity’ and to understand that there
was a potential for coexistence for newly arrived individuals (Potter, p.7, 2006). Several
examples to be more integrated into society could be done through joining a sports group or a
book circle (Al-Qaisi and Bergman, p.6, 2017). To some extent, it was only natural that
magazines as well as newspapers need to or have gotten used to the “news schemata” or a format
that created and reinforced by the audience, the authors, the editor of the paper, the newspaper
company itself and society (Dijk p.116-117, 2002; Scheufele, 2006; Strömbäck, chapter 2 and 4,
2004).
The potential effect of the current portrayal within Swedish media in regards to the article could arguably be considered a positive effect on society. The article provided a hopeful feeling towards the reader that newly arrived individuals to Sweden might have a chance to find a job if they follow Imad Elabdala’s example. The article attempted to provide a neutral approach to address newcomers by using inclusive diction such as nyanlända, vi (us), han (him) and du (you). It provided a sense of inclusive properties between the meaning of the text and the audience. These inclusive properties should be included in future news articles as to encourage news reporting which does not inspire structural oppression, and potentially allows for individuals regardless of origin to be portrayed equally.

**Article 4: Svenska Dagbladet: Fler och yngre barn från Marocko kommer till Sverige.**

**Translation - (T: More and younger children from Marocko [are] coming to Sweden)**

(Kudo, p.9, 2017).

The journalist, Kudo, wrote the story about an increase in the amount of unaccompanied Moroccan minors arriving to Sweden, and the children were relatively at younger age compared to the Moroccan immigrants in the past. This in turn brought up the comparison of the previous years when the large migration period to Sweden happened since 2015. Although the number of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children decreased drastically in 2017 with up to 96% less children (in compare to 2015), more Moroccan child immigrants were being reported (Kudo, p.9, 2017; Migrationsverket Ensamkommande, 2018).

As seen from an analytical perspective, the article put off a relatively high level of credibility in the reporting through many mentions/comments made by legal authorities, “Polis, socialtjänst [and] migrationsverket” (police, social services, the Swedish migration board). The released statements from authorities mentioned that more Moroccan children have arrived in Sweden (Kudo, p.9, 2017). Through mentioning other state actors that have reputable connotations behind them, strengthen the legitimacy of the claims within the article, which in turn provided the reader with a feeling that the contents of the article were true. This came from the basis that the reader in question did indeed have a positive or trustworthy mental model of governmental actors to work in a lawful manner for the country. The credibility of the story was further
strengthened by the fact that the police officer specified in the article, Christian Frödén, worked as a border officer who was specialized with immigration issues.

The author used the word of “Utsattheten...” which means the vulnerable. The word refers to the vulnerable Moroccan young people within the group that were potentially exposed to crime, where the number was rising (Kudo, p.9, 2017). The word for vulnerable did not place the children as actors, but yet as victims of the criminal environment around them. In paragraph 11 the phrase, “Vi arbetar med unga barn i Stockholms riskmiljöer, miljöer som ju är präglade av missbruk, psykisk ohälsa och kriminalitet”. In the paragraph the author described the living environment of the young individuals as ‘riskmiljöer’ (risky environments) instead of a ‘getto’ (ghetto). This provided a more neutral or less harsh description since the perception of getto could give the image of worse crime and violence; such as homicide and shootings. With the expression of riskmiljöer, it also suggested that the author might have the opinion that the Moroccan children which come to Sweden could end up in these risky environments and eventually ended up in criminality. It provided the suggestion that this was an issue that needs to be addressed by either fixing the environment which they live in, or to stop these children from arriving.

The situation of the children arriving into Sweden was portrayed in a quite serious manner, as many children were ending up in criminality. The author brought up the story of a former Moroccan street kid, Abdelfattah Maagbi, who arrived to Europe in 1995. Abdelfattah has lived as a, “kriminellt gatubarn” (criminal street child) in Sweden and made the statement that, “Det är svårt i Marocko också, men problemet är att de tänker att det är enklare i Europa. Vi måste säga sanningen till dem, att det är svårt här, du får ingen Mercedes efter tio år och du kan hamna på gatan...” - It is hard in Morocco as well, but the problem is that they think that it is simpler in Europe. We have to tell them the truth, it is hard here, you don’t get any Mercedes after ten years and you can end up on the street… (Kudo, last paragraph, 2017).
Through the diction and the meaning that has been chosen, it indicated that the author was attempting to portray the message that the children that were coming to Sweden are misled to believe that it was easier to escape to Europe than living in their own country. These individuals were ending up in ‘riskmiljöer’, turned to criminality to survive and ended as street children. On a macro level it delivered a signal that most immigrants that came to Europe believed that their lives would be improved without much effort. Despite of using ‘softer’ words such as riskmiljöer instead of *getto*, the article in summary still signaled that it was the immigrants’ fault for coming to Sweden with false hopes. On the other hand, there was another problem faced by the country in terms of immigration: the integration system was inadequate. This could be seen from the case of Abdelfattah in 1995 while more than a decade later the same problem of street children from Morocco was still evident.

In terms of power relation, the article placed the immigrants as individuals which were powerless, since everything they tried to do ended in loss of either plunged into crime or homelessness. The immigrants were portrayed as having less power than the Swedish authorities (Eg. police, social services or Migrationsverket). Therefore, whenever the authorities gave comments or opinions it could influence Swedish society into believing that immigrants cause nothing but trouble.

**Article 5: Dagens Nyheter: Barn till förmögna fick gå före skolkön via kvot för nyanlända.**
*Translation* - (T: Children of the wealthy got to go ahead in the school queue via a quota for newcomers) (Bouvin and Delin, p.6, 2018).

The article was a report of a famous school in Stockholm, Campus Manilla, which has allowed children of wealthy families to skip the school queuing system by using a quota which was originally intended for refugees or newcomers. In the article, multiple elements constituted for creating a noteworthy article from the basis of Deborah Potter (Potter, p.7, 2006). Every news article has to have various levels of relevance to the reader base to be of interest for the publisher. The timeline of the article was within a great significance as there was a new regulation that was implemented in 2016, in response to the 2015 migration era. The regulation was to allow schools an opportunity to quickly bring in refugees and migrants who were coming
from war torn countries or other harsh circumstances. There has been around two years since the regulation has been implemented, yet only children from wealthy families have received this quota in Campus Manilla. The story also engaged the reader through mentioning that the Swedish princess, Estelle, would be starting school there. This showed some degree of prominence along with any famous families that might be involved.

The most significant element to evoke interest from the audience was the media impact of the article in relation to Ms. Potter (2006) and could be considered as noteworthy reporting. The article’s impact was multilayered and has the potential to evoke irritation towards any individual which could be negatively affected by the school system queue. At first glance, any of the children and parents that were directly involved in applying to a spot at the school could feel a sense of anger towards the school board as there was a very long queue of eight-thousand students. Not to mention the fact that the authors claimed there was a great deal of secrecy surrounding the queue number of each application, as well as a lawsuit that was previously filed against the school in the past. Meanwhile, on a macro level the article could be impactful for any individual who has family or friends with children that goes to school in Sweden. Therefore, the article could be considered as relevant to a large readership.

In terms of textual and lingual analysis the article was very well structured. Moreover, it was written in a manner that argued mainly against Campus Manillas actions in regards of the ‘nyanländ’ quota. Through a structural perspective, the article was formulated in a manner that from the beginning the reader has met the headline, “Barn till förmöga fick gå före skolkön via kvot för nyanlända”. The title introduced the theme of justice, socio-economic class and vulnerable newly arrived individuals (Bouvin and Delin, p.6, 2018). As the headline was read, some particular words and phrases stand-out such as ‘...förmöga... gå före… nyanlända’. The used words stated the wealthy ones to go ahead [of] newly arrived individuals. It brought in the thought processes of the reader to evoke emotions, as to whether or not it was acceptable for the wealthy to go ahead of newly arrived individuals. The word ‘förmöga’ means wealthy, but it could also be seen as introducing the element of socio-economic class. To be considered wealthy, there has to be an individual who were poor, and by placing that in contrast to ‘nyanlända’ at the end of the sentence were juxtaposing each other. The writing strengthens the
difference between the rich and the newly arrived, who might not have the proper socio-economic status in society as they might not be as well established or as fortunate. This juxta-positioning placed the wealthy and the ‘nyanlända’ at opposite ends of each other. Moreover, by adding the other term of ‘skolkön’ allowed for any individual who has friends or family with a child who might be aware of the school system brought in the media proximity, allowed for them to relate to the ‘nyanlända.’ Through allowing the reader to formulate an emotional attachment to the article, it evoked a reaction of a feeling that perhaps the wealthy, who were the socio-economic elites in society, should not go ahead in the school queue of average income individuals. Especially not before the potentially vulnerable newly arrived individuals to Sweden. This emotional argument was established at the beginning of the article and created the setting of how the reader might interpret the piece.

Through the emotional setting, the authors continued as though they have uncovered a scandal with using the word, ‘avslöja’ (exposing) as well as the mention of ‘berömda miljonärer’ (famous millionaires) who were all part within the Campus Manilla environment. There was a sense of elitism, secrecy and the question of legislative morality within the article. It was mentioned multiple times about the children that have arrived via the nyanlända quota to the school were coming from famous wealthy families, where some influential (inflytelserika) families have even given money to the board. The authors purposefully made the reader aware of that there has been rumors about the school in the past and secrecy around student’s placement within the regular school queue. It was established by the fact that the administration has regulations to divulge such information, the board refused to talk in an interview, and a wealthy family got into the school ahead of someone with a sibling and first in line in the queue.

There was almost the sense of shame being brought up by the authors towards Campus Manilla. In the background information, they mentioned the purpose of the quota that was aimed at children who have newly arrived to Sweden and were fleeing from war. However, instead of newly arrived refugees, children from wealthy established Swedish families have received space at the school via this quota. This was suggested through the citation of an official statement from all the political parties from 2016 (paragraph 9) stated, ‘(T:) In the period of the worst refugee-catastrophe since the second world war, we will ensure that all schools that want to help are able
to do so’ (Bouvin and Delin, p.6, 2018). The comparison to the second world war and the statement that the situation was the, ‘värsta flyktingkatastrofen’ (worst refugee-catastrophe) showed the seriousness in the matter that the situation was not just a crisis (kris) but has evolved in intensity to a catastrophe. The word ‘katastrof’ (catastrophe) was relatively uncommon compared to the use of ‘kris’ (crisis) in news discourse in regards to 2015 refugee crisis. To include this quote was a conscious decision by the authors in using rhetoric as a mean to influence the reader. Through using the word ‘katastrof’, the author implied that on one side it was difficult for the refugee to escape a horrible war at their homeland. On another side, it could be interpreted as an inadequate integration system in Swedish society to take care the refugee situation.

The authors continued with a quotation by Gustav Fridolin where there were clear humanitarian concerns voiced in paragraph 10, ‘(T:) ...children have been uprooted by war and oppression and the parents have an impossibility of placing them into a school queue in a country far away, several years before the war has even broken out’ (Bouvin and Delin, p.6, 2018). The metaphor of children being uprooted ("...ryckts upp") provided the mental image of children forcefully being pulled from the security of their homes by war (‘krig’) and oppression (‘förtryck’). The quote containing this mental image with serious diction such as ‘krig’, ‘förtryck’ and ‘omöjligt’ (impossible) exemplified further the harsh refugee catastrophe that led to the implementation of the 2016 regulation, as there were limited options for the refugees. The implementation of the regulation (in line with the quote), suggested that by allowing the regulation to be put into place allowed vulnerable children fleeing from war the possibility to integrate into Swedish society, and idealistically avoid war and oppression. In combination with the 10th paragraph provided the sense of a humanitarian ground for creating the regulation. However, the argument was that the authors wrote establish a sense of shame towards the school through the ethics of the regulation. Initially the law was established in good faith towards ‘nyanlända flyktingar’ (newly arrived refugees). Nevertheless, the law was written in a manner that allowed any individual that has arrived to Sweden within a two-year period regardless of vulnerability status. Even if the action was considered as perfectly legal, there might be some debate in using the law to allow wealthy established families going ahead of 8,000 other students, as well as children from war torn families who need help integrating into society.
Interestingly, the authors included the definition of ‘nyanlända’ in paragraph 11 to clarify the definition according to Migrationsverket. Through providing the official definition by the main authority which handled immigration and refugee applications, clarified that by using ‘nyanländ(a)’ the authors specified in the title headline that the quota was for individuals, ‘who have received residency in Sweden on the grounds of refugee reasons (“flykting skäl”) or other reasons for protection (“skyddsskal”)’ (T: Douvin and Dellin, p.6, 2018). This suggested that on a micro level the authors argued that children of the wealthy went ahead, not only in the school queuing system, but indirectly ahead of refugees and who have little or no economic, social or political power compared to the established Swedish families, especially the wealthy elite.

This concept of questioning the spirit of the regulation was also mentioned in a relatively neutral manner by Anna Gabrielsson, an individual who worked as the school inspection investigator on the Campus Manilla case. To some degree, the following sections aimed to explain and clarify the position of Campus Manilla through not only the investigator, but through a direct interview with the former principal Maija Grimakova. Through the school investigator interview, Ms. Gabrielsson (with the syntax structure written by the authors) formulated the message to the reader that all actions by the school was according to law. There was also a lack of specificity regarding refugee or protection status in the regulation. Ms. Gabrielsson almost defended Campus Manilla, despite using the regulation as a means for Swedish wealthy newly arrived children into the school being against the intention of the legislators (‘...lagstiftarnas’). The quote was, “it is not the responsibility of the school to fulfil the law in ‘good faith’ (loosely paraphrased from the word ‘ambition’)” (Douvin and Dellin, p.6, ¶18, 2018).

5.2 The Swedish media portrayal of immigration and refugees

Through an egalitarian perspective, the right method of news-making has to deliver correctness, objectivity, fairness, and credibility. A holistic news report has to include complete news elements of 5W1H; Who, What, Where, When, Why, and How. According to the findings in this research, the news elements were already included in most of the news articles found in the studied Swedish newspapers (DN and SvD). Most of the articles have provided what was the
main topic or event discussed in the news, who were the actors or sources involved, where and when did the event take place, how did the event happen, and why did the event happen.

However, in one article about Moroccan youths that came to Sweden as refugees/asylum seekers and caught in crime (Kudo, 2017), the author did not state clearly why the Moroccan youths could end up in criminality. It was vaguely expressed that the same issue had happened more than a decade ago in Sweden, through a story of a former Moroccan street child that came to Sweden in 1995. In his explanation, the Moroccan youths in the past and current generations were still having the illusion of a better and easy life by escaping their home country to a developed country such as Sweden. Through this piece in the article, it could be vaguely interpreted or understood that Sweden as a country has failed to integrate the refugees properly into their society, considering the same issue was still around after more than a decade.

Another article from SvD also showed a lack of news-making elements. In the article about Sweden going to increase their budget for UN led missions for refugees (Hultin, 2017), the author highlighted that the increase of immigrants into Sweden would increase the state budget to accommodate them. The article contained direct answers from the person in charge of this case and emphasizing on how much funding was needed and how big the difference was between current funding amount, in relation to the increase of immigrants. However, in the end of the article, the funding decision and the method to do so was still unclear. This showed a lack of ‘how’ within the news-making explanation in the article. Moreover, through showing the gaps between available funding and increasing number of immigrants/refugees, the article brought up a negative notion to put immigrants/refugees as economic burdens. The depiction of immigrants/refugees in that position in the article separated them from the same ground as Swedish society. This gives a portrayal of a ‘Us vs Them’ perspective, and moreover lessen their power in the society.

The negativity that was shown in the two articles from SvD might classify the newspaper to be more right-wing conservative. However, in the third article by SvD, some positive notion about immigrants were written. In the article about HBTQ refugees (Trejs, 2017), the author told stories about two asylum seekers who are transsexual and live in Sweden with their preferred sexual identities. The interviewees were able to express their sexual preferences with
real name, talk about their life, and also called as ‘she’ instead of ‘he’ (in accordance to their sexual identities). This was in-line with the Press Ombudsman ethics code in Sweden that protects individuals’ rights, integrity and security within the news, as well as being respectful by the author (Allmänhetens Pressombudsman, 2019). Through such a manner, it could be seen that SvD was quite liberal to some extent. The article showed their openness, respect and value of individuals’ choices in news reporting, compared to other newspaper media in more restrictive countries.

In contrast to SvD, DN has more liberal articles with more positive notions toward immigrants and refugees. The two articles from DN (al-Qaisi and Bergman, 2017; Bouvin and Delin, 2018), were using the word ‘nyanlända’ meaning ‘newcomers’ instead of ‘flykting’ (refugee) or ‘migrant’ (immigrant), when referring to people who has granted residency for living in a new country with a basis of refuge, or other protective reasons (Bouvin and Delin, 2018). Through using the word ‘nyanlända’, the article put immigrants and refugees in a more positive and inclusive situation, since it was a new term and therefore will be less likely to be related to negative association about immigrants or refugees. In the article about a former Syrian refugee (Imad Elabdala) who has created a job for helping academics in Sweden (al-Qaisi and Bergman, 2017), they used the word ‘Han’ (He) in the title referring to Imad. Although the article mentioned his past as a Syrian former refugee, in most of the writing they refer to him as ‘he’ and also using the word ‘vi’ (we) which gave more inclusive and indifferent feeling between him and the Swedish society.

The second studied article from DN also used the word ‘nyanlända’ in its reporting about wealthy Swedes who cheated the queuing system and school quota for newcomers (‘nyanlända’) at Campus Manilla in Stockholm. In the article, the author told a story about injustice within the private school system in Stockholm. The school has recently become famous and in demand, due to the daughter of the Swedish princess who was also enrolled at Campus Manilla. Not only being unjust to the common Swedish people queuing in line for school enrollment, the wealthy also took the quota intended for ‘nyanlända’ through ‘paying some money for school donation’ (Bouvin and Delin, ¶ 1, 2018). This article pursued to risen the reader's awareness of the injustice of education for ‘nyanlända’ children who wanted to study at Campus Manilla. In the article, the
definition of ‘nyanlända’ was explained, and it also mentioned direct complaints from parents who were upset at the injustice in the school queue. However, in this article the mentality of ‘Us vs Them’ was still implied, even though the article content sided with the ‘nyanlända’. This article revolved around injustice to ‘nyanlända’ but no direct statements from the ‘nyanlända’ themselves were found.

5.3 The ‘Us vs Them’ mentality within the Swedish media and its implications

Inequality in the news and the ‘Us vs. Them’ mentality in Swedish newspapers were still exist. Only two of the five studied articles showed direct statements from immigrant and refugee sources, namely article on a successful Syrian former immigrant who helped other newcomers, and article on HBTQ immigrants from Kurdistan Iraq who can live peacefully in Sweden. The other three articles did not mention direct statement or comment from the immigrants or refugees themselves, and the three articles were reporting negative and dismal occurrences. This indicated that in a negative or dismal occurrence, immigrants or refugees could not express their opinions openly and directly. The fact that the majority of journalists and reporters in Swedish newspapers have Swedish perspectives could still create bias, despite of their effort to provide objective reporting. Therefore, it could be stated that immigrants and refugees were still placed in lower or weaker positions in the Swedish society. In other words, within the Swedish media, the journalists have more power over news content and news creation than their subjects and interviewees responses.

The topic of immigrants and refugees within the Swedish media was also depicting the current political situation and its changes from time to time. Through both positive and negative notions in the news reporting during the campaign period of 2018 Swedish election, the topic became an important issue to be discussed and debated. A poll by SvD/Sifo showed how S-party voters view of permanent residency for refugees and their family members in the future (Reuterskiöld, 13 June 2018). The poll was held from 4-7 June 2018 with 1,247 web-interviewees. According to the poll result, in June 2018, 55% of S-party voters wanted to have less refugees granted with permanent residency compared to 29% in 2015. The argument was also justified through another article from DN in July 2018. The result of that poll showed that
respondents were more satisfied with SD-party answers on the topic of immigrants and refugees’ issues, compared to other parties (DN/Ipsos: Rosén, 5 July 2018). The polls results suggested that the media has a strong role in forming public opinion. This could be done through the selection of issues, discussion topics and writing methods. The shifts in public opinions toward Swedish political situation might be seen as reflection of the society, or as a result of issues that was brought up by the media. Therefore, it is very important for the media to deliver news reporting which are clear, objective reasonable.

Comparatively, Swedish media had more tendency of positive coverage of refugees and immigrants in comparison to other Scandinavian countries, such as Denmark and Norway. This was in line with a previous study by Hovden et al. in 2018. The research studied newspaper articles of Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet from 1970-2016. However, another research by Strömbäck et al. (2017) concluded that negative portrayal of immigrants and refugees were more likely to happen in the Swedish media. Strömbäck’s research has more extensive sources, since he sourced his data from four main Swedish national newspapers; Aftonbladet, SvD, DN, and Expressen. The authors argued the theme that migration led to weaken social cohesion, and therefore led to increase in criminality and other social and economic problems. This finding was in-line with Nindorera’s result (2017) which considered refugees as economic burdens, and later caused social and economic issues due to their difficulty to adapt and integrate to the Swedish society.

In regards to Strömbäck et al. 2017, the main research questions were essentially, ‘to understand which type of migration dominated the media reporting, what degree was the portrayal (was it positive or negative?), how did it compare between the newspapers and how did the media portrayal compare to other empirical data?’ (Strömbäck et al. p.viii, 2017). The findings of the paper argued that, ‘the main type of migration was of refugee oriented’, and the media formulated a larger negative portrayal of migration, compared to a positive portrayal (Strömbäck et al. p.55, 2017). This was on the basis of that themes such as immigration weakens, “social cohesion, leads to criminality, and weakens Sweden economically” occurred more frequently, than the themes of, “increasing Sweden’s job market competency” and other positive themes where infrequent (Strömbäck et al. p.viii & 56, 2017). However, it was important to be
noted that in his findings (Strömbäck et al. p.41, 2017), it was recorded that DN has more positive news reports about refugees and immigrants than SvD and other Swedish newspapers. Through his study, it can be concluded that some Swedish media with liberal or left-wing political view (such as DN), showed more support to the immigrants and refugees by reporting positive news about them more often. On another hand, it can also be possible that when the general views of the Swedish media were leaning toward negativity, it was because of series of bad or misfortunate events happened during Strömbäck’s or Nindorera’s research period. Yet more so the negative portrayal of immigrants and refugees might be more common than positive reporting in general. On the basis of more provocative dysfunctional media content compared to reports on articles of normality in society as it provides for more newsworthy reporting (Strömbäck et al. 2017; Potter, 2006).

Through the perspective of humanity, it was important to treat others as equal and fair despite of their race, belief, and socio-economic backgrounds. Refugees and immigrants who had to leave their homeland due to a war or crisis, and wanted to start a new better life should be given a chance. In the case of Sweden, the portrayal of refugees and immigrants in the Swedish media could give great impact to their lives. Biased reporting and tendency to be cynical or negative towards refugees and immigrants in the Swedish media could complicate their integration into the community. The failure of the integration process due to the negative stigma established or reinforced by the media, could make it difficult for refugees and immigrants to get decent jobs and livelihoods. Hence, might turn them to criminality, violence and unlawful jobs. Here the media has a significant role not only in reflecting public opinion on refugees and immigrants, but also in shaping an honest image of refugees and immigrants. This could be done through providing more space for refugees and immigrants in the media to voice their opinions directly and openly for a clear, objective and balanced reporting.
6. Conclusion

Migration, immigration and particularly integration, have become hot social topics within the western world. Immigration is a topic that is not an uncommon occurrence within Sweden, especially in regards to the long history of wars and crisis occurred since the beginning of the 21st century. Migration will always be a relevant topic, within consideration of the changes in the political situation of countries and other socio-economic issues of individuals. It could take form of individuals fleeing for their lives as refugees from conflict, or as economic migrants seeking a higher quality of life in a new country. Social integration between native and immigrating peoples is an aspect which should be considered in society, and it is a crucial aspect to avoid socio-economic conflict such as crime, violence, poverty, racism or mental health. Some of the problems were visible and many more of them were still hidden. Regarding this matter, the news media has a very important role as a medium to interpret, understand and follow the events surrounding immigration and integration. The discourse surrounding immigration and refugees within media was relevant in today’s society. As the discourse surrounding migrants and refugees in media has a large outreach and legitimacy within Swedish society, it is imperative to study the portrayal of immigrants, respectively refugees, to avoid social conflicts in the integration between ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ Swedish groups.

The aim of the study was to analyze the critical discourse of how the Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees, in line with Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework. The purpose was to focus on gaining a snapshot on how Swedish media portrays immigrants and refugees in Swedish newspapers leading up to the election. The studied newspapers were Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD), which are two of the largest newspapers in Sweden. The data collection was done from March 2017 until September 2018 and through selection of articles which contains specific keywords; ‘flykting’ (refugee) and ‘migrant’ (immigrant). Articles which include both keywords were prioritized as ‘refugee and immigration’ during the observation period.

Through this qualitative research, it can be concluded that the Swedish newspaper media has both upsides and downsides in reporting news about refugees and immigrants. The upsides of
refugees and immigrants portrayal by the Swedish media were the use of word ‘nyanlända’ (newcomer) and other inclusive terms to address refugees and immigrants, and freedom to express personal choices such as preferred sexual identities in the newspaper media. The use of inclusive and neutral terms such as ‘vi’ (us), ‘han’ (he), and ‘nyanlända’ (newcomer) could give positive impression of refugees and immigrants in public. Freedom to express personal choices and personal identity such as about race, gender and belief without fears of persecution, was possible to do in the Swedish media. The Swedish media has a courage to do this and therefore showed their openness and respect of individuals’ choices in news reporting compared to other restrictive countries.

On the downsides, two out of five studied news articles from SvD and DN have direct answers and comments from the refugees or the immigrants, while the rest of the articles did not have this feature. Both of the articles with direct answers from refugees or immigrants were about positive or successful stories. It implied that the refugee voice was still not as prominent compared to reporters or journalists with Swedish perspective, especially within news reporting of bad or negative events involving refugees and immigrants. The ‘Us vs Them’ perspective/portrayal was still evident in the Swedish media, especially in terms of news telling crime and violence done by immigrants. This could be seen in the article about Moroccan youth that fell to criminality. Similar perspective was also used in another article about the cost of refugees. In both articles, refugees were portrayed as social and economic burden to the country. Therefore, the refugees were still seen as a separate group from the Swedish society that has lesser power as how it was shaped and reinforced by the media.

In the case of Sweden, the portrayal of refugees and immigrants in the Swedish media could give great impact to their lives. The negative stigma established or reinforced by the media in forms of biased reporting could make it difficult for refugees and immigrants to get decent jobs and livelihoods. Hence, it might turn them to criminality, violence and unlawful jobs. Here, the media has a significant role not only in reflecting public opinion on refugees and immigrants, but also in shaping an honest image of refugees and immigrants. The media were required to provide more chance for refugees and immigrants to voice their opinions directly and openly in the media for a clear, objective and balanced reporting.
7. References


Master e-book ISBN


Umeå Kommun. “Förklaring Av Begrepp Vid Flyktingmottagning.” _Umeå Kommun_, Umeå Kommun, 7 Oct. 2015,

www.umea.se/umeakommun/omsorgochhjalp/invandringochintegration/flyktingmottagande/forklaringavbegrepp.4.6e56e1f514f42fbeb6741f29.html.


Hbtq-flykting: ”I mitt hemland blir man mördad om man är som jag”


Eerta Trejo
eerta@svd.se


Daryna Majed och Zana Gagal är flyktingar som har flyttat till Sverige.

För Daryna Majed kom att uppmärksammas på grund av sin könsidentitet. Hon är lesbisk och har genom ett brev inflytande på flyktingvårdens område. Daryna Majed har också jobbat som socialtjänst i Sverige.

Daryna Majed är en av de få flyktingar som har lyckats flytta till Sverige.

För Zana Gagal blir det inte enkel. Hon är en av de få flyktingar som har lyckats flytta till Sverige.

Situationen är enligt Zana Gagal svår. Hon står inför en utmaning som inte alltid är enkelt att hantera. Hon har erfarenhet av livet på flyktingvårdens område och har genom en kort tid även jobbat som socialtjänst.

For Zana Gagal är det inte enkel att leva som en flykting.

Jag vill finna någon som vill hjälpa mig. Men också hitta ett jobb och börja leva fullt ut.

Daryna Majed och Zana Gagal är flyktingar som har flyttat till Sverige för att flytta till en annan plats.

I dag tvingas Zana leva som man i sitt hemland, medan Daryna äntiden kommit ut ur sitt könsföngselg.

I dag tvingas Zana leva som man i sitt hemland, medan Daryna äntiden kommit ut ur sitt könsföngselg.
**Sverige på väg att öka sitt bidrag till FN:s insatser för flyktingar**


**Therese Larsson Hultin**

Det blir en något annorlunda start på intervjun om gynnsam konstatering av Isabella Lövin (MP) kommun på utrikesdepartementet i Stockholm. SvD har redan innan tidigare bland annat publicerat artiklar på detta ämne i tidningen. Den aktuella intervjun visar dock att det inte är det normale skick att de flesta statsministrar behandlas på så sätt.

Det är ett positivt nyhetsrum för flyktingkommissarie, säger hon samtidigt som Grandi med ett brett leende släger "surprise". 

Vi röstade den in som det först jag förvånade mig och det är ett stort tillfälle att se att den här regeringen vill öka det budskapet till FN:s flyktingorgan UNHCR och att jag ser att att det berättar om att jag strävar för ett bättre framtid för alla människor, inte bara medlemslanden.

Här mycket pengar det blir vill Isabella Lövin inte misstänka. Det skulle dock var ett bra väg för att förbättra vilket samarbetet med FN:s flyktingorgan UNHCR. 

Filippo Grandi uppmanar oss att se till att vi blir "vårdade" av UNCHR, men att vi också fördjupa sina förhållanden med organisationen.

Filippo Grandi uppmanar oss att se till att vi blir "vårdade" av UNCHR, men att vi också fördjupa sina förhållanden med organisationen.
Svenska Dagbladet söndag 2 juli 2007 17

Världen Nyheter

Sveriges nye kardinal
Ett nytt Frankrike?
Klimatmässigt återkomst
Den katolska kulturhistorien
www.signum.se

Rea upp till
50%

Villkommen till
Norgepinne 39, Drasenstr.
Redan öppettider julaften:
söndagen till, fredagen tills
www.luca.se

LUCCA
FASHION FOR KIDS

MEST KÄNDA ANGLÄSNING
sed.sj
underdraket

REAPÅ FREDRIKSLUND
Under samma öppet
min 12.14, tills 11.16, 11.14
Tele 606-10881
Visa, prover
v. Uppsalan
Ovan ber 8.30
Undre 11-14

Fakta

Över 65 miljoner människor på flykt

UNHCR:s skilsmässet som flyttar

198 000 personer att
flytta ur ett
flyktningsläge

55 procent av flyktningarna
kommer från de tre
Landet: Syrien, Afghanistan
och Somalia.

Över 5 500 000
flyktingar

2 300 000
refugiados

1 400 000
och ungar

under 18 år är

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 år

under 18 å
Han lär nyanslända att söka jobb på rätt sätt

Imad Elabdala, 32, flydde från Syrien till Sverige för fyra år sedan. I dag hjälper han andra nyanslända att söka jobb och integrera sig i det svenska samhället.

---

**Du har redan bättre chanser att få jobb om du får dig sociala koder, kroppsspråk, rätt terminologi, tonfall och hur du talar på olika ställen.**

---

Imad Elabdala, 32, flydde från Syrien till Sverige för fyra år sedan. I dag hjälper han andra nyanslända att söka jobb och integrera sig i det svenska samhället.

---

**Abdel al-Qass, lördagstid, Tobias Bergman, text**

---

**Fakta. Arbetssökandet och jobbet**

**Arbetssökningsprogramet**

- Bild: *Infografik.*

---

**Han lär nyanslända att söka jobb på rätt sätt.**

---

*Imad Elabdala använder sina kunskaper om svenska samhället för att hjälpa nyanslända att få jobb.*

---

*FOTO: Roger Tamm*
Fler och yngre barn från Marocco kommer till Sverige

Polisen Christian Fröden i Stockholms city under morgons månads tidningarna. Han menar att det finns brister i mottagningen. Foto: Thomas Ornsborg

Fler och yngre barn från Marocco kommer till Sverige


Per Kudo
produktionschef

Australiska flyktingar och migranter som tar sig till Sverige har utökat 3,9 procent sedan 2019. Sex av tio ansökande är under trender av att ta sig till Sverige via flera platser i Europeiska unionen. Detta gör att sju av tio ansökande som tar sig till Sverige via flera platser i unionen är yngre än tidigare.

Att fler marockanska barn söker sig till Sverige kan vara merknad. Sverige och EU har sedan 2016 vidtagit fler lagstiftningar som stärker flersambandet med den europeiska politiken. Som exempel på detta kan nämnas "enhetlig säkerhet" och "ett europeiskt kriminalitetssamhälle".

"Vi har nu en särskilt hög attraktivitet för denna gruppen", säger Fröden. "Att det finns fler marockanska barn som söker sig till Sverige kan vara merknad.

Under det senaste året har en större del av de som söker sig till Sverige för att evakuera sig via flera platser i unionen. Dessa barn är vanligtvis under trender av att ta sig till Sverige via flera platser i unionen.

En av de frågorna som ställs är vad som orsakar att fler marockanska barn söker sig till Sverige. Det finns flera möjliga orsaker, men en av dem kan vara att de söker sig till Sverige för att undvika kriminalitet.

Christian Fröden på gränspolisen står i centrum av debatten om att fler marockanska barn söker sig till Sverige. Han menar att det finns brister i mottagningen och att det är viktigt att ta sig till Sverige via flera platser i unionen.


Vi måste säga samlingen till dem att det är svårt här, du får ingen Mercedes efter tio år och du kan hamna på gatan.

Abdel fattah Maghti som kom som flykting till Sverige från Marocco 2006.
Appendix 5

NYHETER

DN granskar.

Lås mest
Utbildningsministern Gustaf Frisklin
från skolans ägar

Fakta.

DN i påg.

Barn till förmögen fick gå före skolkö
via kvot för nyfödda


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Faktiskt finsk skolans ansvar


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Lås mest
Utbildningsministern Gustaf Frisklin
från skolans ägar

Fakta.

DN i påg.

Barn till förmögen fick gå före skolkö
via kvot för nyfödda


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Faktiskt finsk skolans ansvar


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Lås mest
Utbildningsministern Gustaf Frisklin
från skolans ägar

Fakta.

DN i påg.

Barn till förmögen fick gå före skolkö
via kvot för nyfödda


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Faktiskt finsk skolans ansvar


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Lås mest
Utbildningsministern Gustaf Frisklin
från skolans ägar

Fakta.

DN i påg.

Barn till förmögen fick gå före skolkö
via kvot för nyfödda


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.

DN granskar.

Faktiskt finsk skolans ansvar


Campus Manilla ligger på Djurgården i Stockholm.