Perpetrators, victims, burdens or resources?

- An ambivalent media picture of children and youths categorised as unaccompanied

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1. Introduction

The tone of the public debate around asylum seekers and refugee immigration has changed rapidly and drastically the last couple of years (Barker, 2018; Georgiou & Zabrowski, 2017; Gripsrud, Hovden & Mjelde, 2018). It seems to have adapted to the clearly xenophobic actors present in the society of today where a more dehumanised and nationalistic agenda is prominent. The shifted tone of the public debate is according to my perception a result of many different factors that interact. In order to explore this shift, I want to focus on one area where it is prominent, namely media.

So why media? Media have a significant role in reflecting and portraying processes of change in the society and media texts are sensitive barometers of this change according to Norman Fairclough (1995). Media is one of the keystones in a democracy and have an important mission to deliver correct, relevant and fair information. This will enable the members of a society to build their own opinion on fair grounds. With that said, this does not mean that the news media reporting can reflect the reality exactly as it is, since the reality is unlimited and the media coverage is limited. It is a selection process, to choose or not to choose. In this process it is important that the media coverage is comprehensive and proportionate to offer a fair ground for the democratic opinion forming (Strömbäck, Andersson & Nedlund, 2017). In fact, for many people, news reporting is the most important basis for information about politics and society (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2014). In addition, many people use media to form an opinion on the topic of immigration and immigrants, as many have no direct contact with people who have immigrated to Sweden (De Coninck, Vandenberghe & Matthijs, 2019). Media reporting is affecting both the actuality of a topic but also people's knowledge in a specific topic. For that reason, how immigration or immigrants are depicted will affect the public debate and people's attitudes (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart 2009; De Coninck 2019; Schemer 2012; Strömbäck, Andersson & Nedlund, 2017; UNHCR 2016).

Myria Georgiou and Rafal Zabrowski (2017) identify a dual discourse when it comes to media and how they report about refugees. The first is more positive, with a humanitarian and moral incentive. The other is more negative with a militaristic and securitised perspective with suspicion and hostility towards refugees. The later became more salient during the late autumn 2015, after the Paris November attacks (Georgiou & Zabrowski, 2017). How this identified shift has affected the media reporting and depictions about youths and children categorised as unaccompanied in Sweden has caught my attention.

I have previously worked as a social worker at the municipality with the responsibility to investigate and meet children's needs for support. During this work I met children and youths that came alone to Sweden in order to seek asylum. After 2015, I could see a shift in how it was spoken about these children and youths at my work. The conversation became more negative and the focus was more on costs and how to get rid of responsibility than on actually meeting the needs of the children. Also, the children themselves reflected over how it was spoken about them as a group in the society and media. This often made them anxious and sad. This experience, together with the prominent role of the media and its effect on our understanding of a matter, has captured my interest.

Magnus Dahlstedt and Anders Neergaard (2019) argue that it is crucial *not* to view immigrants, asylum seekers or refugees as neutral words but as a part of a larger picture that highlights and draws our attention in a specific direction. In relation to this I deem it interesting to explore how the media reporting is constructing children and youths categorised as unaccompanied as one group of asylum seekers and what the specific direction might be in this case. Additionally, I am interested in how the constructed picture of these youths in media can be made upon assumptions of differences, where processes of otherness can be present as a tool for creating borders. Borders that can have huge consequences for the person herself but also for the society as such.

1.1 Aim and research questions

This study have a twofold aim. First it aims to scrutinise, from a critical perspective, how Swedish mainstream news media depict children and youths categorised as unaccompanied after the identified discursive shift in the late autumn of 2015, where a more hostile and negative reporting on refugees became even more prominent. Secondly, it aims to explore what different power structures that are made visible in the news reporting. In order to do this I organise my work through the following research questions:

- What discourses are made visible, weighed and negotiated in the news reporting about children and youths categorised as unaccompanied, between 2016 and 2019?
- How are the children and youths portrayed in the news media and what subject positions, possible formations of identities and relations, are available to them?
- What implicit assumptions about the children and youths are present?
- What power structures are activated and how are they reproduced and/or challenged in the news reporting about the concerned children and youths?

1.2 Background

Sweden has for a long time been known to stand up for human rights and multiculturalism through its comparably generous reception of refugees. Together with well-developed welfare institutions and policies this is the so called Swedish exceptionalism. After World War II, many war refugees sought refuge in Sweden. Also, labour migration have been a crucial part of the immigration to Sweden and took place when the labour demand was strong in Sweden. However, the economic crisis in the 1970s brought this to a halt and thereafter focus shifted towards a reception of mainly refugees and family reunifications. Generally, in the Swedish society, attitudes and policies regarding immigrant reception have been quite non-restrictive, at least in a European context. However, the Swedish exceptionalism has been increasingly debated (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019). The transformation and possible end of the Swedish exceptionalism is due to decades of neoliberal policy that have adopted a model that emphasises individual autonomy and freedom of choice over governmental control and redistribution of societal resources (Scarpa & Schierup, 2017). The welfare of the citizens have been guaranteed by social insurances but is nowadays more and more determined of the market value of work. In this shift from a previously inclusive society into something different the exclusion of the immigrant "other" plays an increasingly important role (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019).

A shift towards an exclusion of immigrants have also been identified of criminologist Vanessa Barker (2018) who deems that there was a dramatic shift in how the Swedish media and government approached the situation in the autumn 2015 when an increasing number of persons sought asylum in Sweden. It included several restrictions in the legal migration policy (see Lundberg, 2017). This shift can be exemplified through two events during the autumn of 2015. In September 2015, the Prime Minister Stefan Löfven was holding a speech during a manifestation for asylum seekers in Stockholm. Löfven talked with confidence about the importance of coming together, about solidarity and the responsibility of welcoming refugees. He emphasised the importance of a Europe and Sweden who do not build walls or exclude people fleeing for their lives (Regeringen, 2015). Suddenly, a couple of months later, the 24th of November 2015, Löfven together with the vice Prime Minister Åsa Romson held a press conference with a totally different message. Sweden should adapt their laws to the minimum requirements according to international conventions and EU law. This meant for example time-limited residence permits, limited entitlement to family reunification and ID checks on all collective modes of transport into the country. The politicians emphasised repeatedly that this

was done in order to put pressure on other member states within the EU to take their responsibilities for welcoming refugees (SVT, 2015).

During this time period, the autumn 2015, migration was a well-debated topic and the rhetoric changed from having a focus on solidarity in providing protection for people fleeing war and oppression, to increasingly report about the immigrants as burdens and threats of the Swedish welfare state (Dahlgren, 2016; Gripsrud, Hovden and Mjelde, 2018). With this background, I want to show that the situation and social conditions for refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers in Sweden have changed over a long period of time but more dramatically from 2015 and onwards.

1.3 Children and youths categorised as unaccompanied

Sweden has been one of the countries that have received the most unaccompanied children and youths within the EU (Wernesjö, 2019). Already during and after the World War II when many refugees were seeking protection in Sweden, 70 000 children and youths unaccompanied of their parents or other caregivers arrived from Finland to Sweden (Herz, 2019). In 2013, 3852 children and youths categorised as unaccompanied applied for asylum in Sweden and in 2015, 35 369 children and youths sought asylum as unaccompanied. After restrictions in migration policies in Sweden, it was 2199 children and youths categorised as unaccompanied who applied for asylum in 2016. It had steadily declined since then, for example in 2019 it was 902 children applying for asylum as unaccompanied in Sweden. Unaccompanied children are, according to the Migration Agency, children and adolescents without accompanying parents or other guardians who come to Sweden to apply for asylum. In Sweden municipalities are responsible for the reception of these children and youths and should ensure that their needs are met in an appropriate manner (Migrationsverket, 2020).

What words I use will have consequences, because words are constructing realities. But of course, I need to use words writing this thesis and therefore I want to reason and explain what notions about unaccompanied children I use and why. To label children and youths as unaccompanied is a form of categorisation. Categorisations are about naming and dividing people into groups due to certain aspects. Categorisations often come with ascribed attributes and connotations which is made possible by a hierarchical power structure (Molina, 2000). These children are thus ascribed different characteristics that from my perception, often are negative and suspicious. This is also confirmed of Live Stretmo's (2014) previous research on unaccompanied children but also of David De Coninck, Hanne Vandenberghe and Koen Matthijs (2019) and UNHCR's (2016) researches on immigrants in general. Thus,

unaccompanied children have become an established and loaded term and come with different connotations, which is highly politicized. It is precisely this I am interested to investigate, how media are portraying children and youths categorised as unaccompanied and what "truths" are taken for granted and expressed more or less explicit in the articles. To avoid reproducing the notion of unaccompanied children and its connotations it comes with I have chosen to use different notions to describe the very diverse group of children and youths that have been categorised as unaccompanied. This is also made in order to not try to contribute to the picture of unaccompanied children as a homogeneous group of people. I use the following notions interchangeably; children or youths categorised as unaccompanied, unaccompanied children and youths, children and youths unaccompanied by guardians, young people who have come alone to Sweden in order to seek asylum, the concerned children and youths or just youths, young people or children.

2. Previous research

Media coverage of immigration and immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, is a well-researched area with different approaches and the angles and contexts are many. Both quantitative and qualitative research has been done with different theoretical perspectives and different methods such as content analysis, discourse analysis, interviews and questionnaires in different contexts. While it is beyond my reach to cover all these areas in depth, my intention here is to make an overview of previous research that is relevant for the aim of this study. By doing this overview I put my subject, unaccompanied children in the Swedish media, in a wider context. Further, I show the importance of how media reports about immigration and immigrants and how this affects not just us as individuals but also the whole society. This chapter is divided into three sections. First I discuss research related to *the power of media*, what effect media have on our formation of opinions. This is followed by a broader perspective on *media discourses on immigrants and refugees* and how the picture of immigrants and refugees are constructed in media as a distinct tool of power. Thereafter it is a section about *discourses on unaccompanied children* and how the discourses around these youths have looked like and been negotiated.

2.1 The power of media

Researchers agree that media affect the society and people's attitudes and perceptions in different ways. Christian Schemer (2012) shows in his research that news about immigrants have an impact on stereotypical attitudes in society. His study is based on both a panel survey and content analysis of media coverage of a political campaign which dealt with the naturalisation of immigrants in Switzerland. Especially frequent negative news on immigrants increase negative and stereotypical attitudes towards this group over time. On the other hand, what this study also shows is that positive news can weaken negative stereotypical attitudes. This emphasises the importance of having a balanced and fair media reporting. Similar results can be found in a report by UNHCR (2016) that shows that excessive negative and biased media reporting on foreigners strengthen stereotypical attitudes. It also shows that extensive media coverage about refugees drowning in the Mediterranean reduces xenophobic attitudes. This study not only demonstrates the power of the media to influence the negative attitudes of society towards immigrants, but also their power to actually reduce negative attitudes depending on whether immigrants are portrayed as victims or threats.

Media can exercise power, by choosing what is relevant and urgent to report about and

by labelling and categorise people. Another power tool for media is to determine what is considered normal or not and what is considered as given truths about reality. Media can also exercise power by giving access and space to different kind of sources. Both the underrepresentation of immigrants and refugees in the media and the use of a fixed set of sources within for example companies, authorities and political organisations contributes to distorted power relationships. How immigrants are depicted is also a power factor. Stereotypes are powerful tools for symbolic power in order to include or to exclude. Also wherein the media immigrants or refugees are represented becomes crucial. A misrepresented reality and power structure is created and can be maintained when immigrants are more or less excluded from the economic parts of the paper but overrepresented when it comes to crimes committed by immigrants (Brune, 2004; Hultén, 2006; SOU 2005; SOU 2006).

Gunilla Hultén, (2006) shows in her study how the media discourse has changed over time. First, immigrants have been seen as resources and later they are described as a burden for society. This shift has occurred not only in media reporting but also in migration policy. During the time Sweden needed migrant labour, immigrants were portrayed as a resource. When migration policy changed and migrant labour were not needed any longer, the media discourse also changed. Therefore, it can be said that journalists and political institutions seem to have lived in symbiosis with each other but during recent decades it has been stated that media have gotten an increased influence on politics (Hultén, 2006). The fact that how media portrays and reports about immigrants and refugees will affect our attitudes and perceptions shows the power of the media. Therefore, continuing to explore this area feels important and necessary and will act as a driving force in my work with this thesis.

2.2 Media discourses on immigrants and refugees

As shown in the previous section, media have an enormous power when it comes to affecting our attitudes towards immigrants and refugees, which depend on how and if the media choose to depict a certain event or group of people. Media reporting on refugees and immigrants seem to have been dual, they have been depicted both as resources and burdens of society. This seems to have changed over a long period of time and in relation to the social and political contexts. This duality has also been researched lately. Georgiou and Zabrowski (2017) have done a study on the media coverage of the "refugee crisis" in eight European countries. They state that the media discourse of refugees are dual. One is more positive with a humanitarian and moral incentive; this discourse is most common during the summer and early autumn 2015. According

to the research, this perspective gradually changed, which became even clearer after the Paris November attacks, when the more securitised and militaristic perspective became clearer. The positive picture are replaced by suspicion and even hostility towards refugees. The refugees are in the study seen as essentially different from the Europeans and are categorised as outsiders, either vulnerable outsiders or dangerous outsiders (Georgiou & Zabrowski, 2017). This duality in reporting, the more negative and securitised and the more positive with a humanitarian incentive, appears to have been present for a long time but seems to have received an extra push in connection with the large number of refugees who applied for asylum in Europe in 2015.

Even if the media reporting on immigrants and refugees have been dual, several studies identify in their results a distinctive negative focus on news linked to immigration or immigrants. In David De Coninck, Hanne Vandenberghe and Koen Matthijs (2019) comparing study between Belgium and Sweden, they use data from an online questionnaire distributed among the population in both countries. The pattern of negative media coverage of immigrants is clearly visible in the study. More than 70 per cent of the researched news are negative and describe that immigrants are a cause of problem and the news shows a distinct focus on negative consequences of immigration. In the report by UNHCR (2016) about press coverage of the "refugee and migrant crisis" in five of the member states in EU (UK, Germany, Spain, Italy and Sweden) a number of quality and tabloid newspapers from different political spectrum are surveyed in order to examine differences in reporting. Similarly, this study confirms the negative focus in the news and add that very few news are about the benefits that asylum seekers and migrants could bring to the new country. These two studies state that Swedish news are comparatively positive compared to the other countries in the studies. The researched Swedish media rarely frame refugees and migrants as threats and strongly advocate a more humane EU immigration and asylum policies. These results are confirmed in a study by Jostein Gripsrud, Jan Fredrik Hovden and Hilmar Mjelde (2018). They analyse how Scandinavian press covered the crisis in spring, summer and autumn 2015. Importantly, they identify a rhetorical shift, at the end of 2015. The humanitarian perspectives became less common, also in Sweden and a more securitised and negative perspective became visible. Another study that confirms the fact that negative framings about immigration are overrepresented compared to the positive ones is Jesper Strömbäck, Felicia Andersson and Evelina Nedlund's (2017) research that are made exclusively in the context of Sweden. They bring up what kind of negative news that are reported about. The most common form of negative framings on this topic is that immigration contributes to weakening social cohesion. The second most common forms are that immigration

contributes to crime and to weakening Sweden financially. The negative framings in form of cultural and economic costs for the society is also acknowledged by others and are identified to have increased over time (Hovden & Mjelde, 2019).

Several studies explore how immigrants are portrayed in media and many of these studies show results where immigrants are clearly categorised and often portrayed very stereotypical. Ylva Brune (2004) identifies two approaches to refugees. The first starts from a perspective of a national "we" with the opinion that refugees appear as a problem or threat. The other approach starts from a human perspective that wants to protect the individual's right from the bureaucratic superiority, where the refugee threatened by deportation is portrayed as a victim. A victim that arouses sympathy and is given a human face. In these cases, the media often takes the party of the individual. This is in contrast to the more common authority perspective in the Swedish news media, where the focus is on the authorities and the challenges the refugee reception causes them. The authority discourse has made the arriving refugees faceless. They have become objects, when vocabularies derived from war and natural disasters may describe the situation such as floods, invasion and chaotic.

In the Swedish news media the refugees and immigrants have become a "them" without the power to define themselves. They are described as essentially different from the host society which forms an "us". This division is built on stereotypical ideas where certain roles and attributes are ascribed to different groups in order to maintain differences between these and to build and maintain borders. These imagined differences are later often translated to personal characteristics and they become symbols for different, often negative, attributes. They become different, inferior and at the same time threatening. To ascribe these clear epithets is a way to make people powerless (Brune 1998, 2004; SOU 2006). This categorisation has a long history according to Brune (2000) who connects this to Europe's colonial and imperial past. Europe defined themselves as the opposite to non-European cultures, in their endeavor to classify and rule the world. This resulted in the imagination of themselves as a superior western culture, in contrast to the fundamentally different "orient" culture.

The reporting on immigrants and refugees in heavily negative and stereotypical terms has, in addition to the huge power the media has on affecting our way of forming opinions, raised my concerns. Especially since the duality of the reporting on immigrants and refugees has a clear imbalance. An imbalance which has got an extra push in connection with the large number of refugees who applied for asylum in Europe in 2015 according to the identified

discursive shift that Barker (2018), Dahlgren (2016), Georgiou and Zabrowski (2017) and Gripsrud, Hovden and Mjelde (2018) describe.

2.3 Discourses on unaccompanied children and youths

This theme is specifically about unaccompanied children and youths and how the discourses around these youths have been constructed and negotiated. Stretmo's (2014) aim in her dissertation is to explore how the picture of unaccompanied children is constructed but also governed as a specific group of refugees in Norway and Sweden. This is achieved by three case studies. The first is analysing the media debate about unaccompanied children between the years 2000 and 2008. The second analyses how unaccompanied children are framed in official policy in Norway and Sweden. The third analyses how caregivers talk about their work with unaccompanied children. The third case study also includes interviews with ten unaccompanied children and how they talk and give meaning to their experiences of coming to Sweden. The discursive perspective is used as a theoretical framework, where meaning is created through linguistic acts.

Stretmo shows in her study that the media picture of unaccompanied children in Sweden consist of narratives with a clear victim focus. The youths are framed as passive and innocent subjects in the hands of smugglers or traffickers. However, they are also framed as active agents in articles where they are suspected of being economic migrants searching for a better life in Sweden. They are also depicted as untrustworthy young people in articles where they are assumed to holding their real intentions hidden. The picture is thus ambivalent, portraying unaccompanied children both as vulnerable and in need of care and parental supervision and as undecidable and untrustworthy in need of tougher and more disciplining measures. The study shows that media's reporting on unaccompanied children is stuck to stereotypical descriptions and dichotomies that risk making a heterogeneous group homogeneous. Stretmo is scrutinising many different contexts of the discourse of unaccompanied children; media, official policies, caregivers and unaccompanied children's own voices. I have chosen one of those contexts, the media. Stretmo's research is closest to mine in topic, method and context. It is very important in relation to my research, since her work contributes with how media's reporting on unaccompanied children looked like before 2015, more particularly 2000-2008. However, much has happened politically and juridically within this topic since then, which could possibly have had an effect also on the media reporting according to previous research. In addition, a discursive shift have been identified during the late autumn of 2015 in how media reports about immigrants and refugees. This, I deem, contributes to the importance to scrutinise how

unaccompanied children have been portrayed and depicted the last years, from 2016 and onwards.

3. Methodology

This chapter is about the methods and tools used to collect and analyse the material but also a reflection on critical factors on this study. The chapter is divided into four main sections; *Methods for collecting material, Critical discourse analysis as method and theory, Conducting the analysis* and *Limitations and challenges.*

3.1 Methods for collecting the material

This section describe how the material was collected and provide an overview of the process to determine which empirical media material that I chose to analyse. It will address the question of what material that I deemed to be best suited to highlight how Swedish news media depict children and youths categorised as unaccompanied after the year 2015.

3.1.1 Selection of the material

The aim of this study is to explore how pictures of unaccompanied children and youths are constructed in media after the year 2015. Therefore, I use already produced and consumed media materials. Given my time limitations, I have chosen to limit the media material to newspaper articles. Since I intend to include material from different years, newspaper articles are suitable because of their accessibility in different databases (Stretmo, 2014, for similar argumentations).

The printed Scandinavian press has declined in size over the past twenty years, as in other European countries but the Scandinavian region has relatively large numbers of people having paid-for newspapers (Allern, 2017). Most of the newspapers are nowadays, in the new media landscape, also accessible through web-based versions and mobile apps. Even if the newspapers have lost in reach during the last decades, it is still 55% of the Swedish population who on a daily basis read a newspaper either printed or on the internet. Seen on a monthly basis, newspapers reaches 82% of the Swedish population (Nordicom, 2018). Therefore, I regard newspapers as important actors that still have the power to set the agenda. Based on this I think it is reasonable to use newspapers as my empirical material in order to explore how the picture of children and youths categorised as unaccompanied is constructed in media. More specifically, I have chosen the major national newspapers in Sweden that have daily releases, the so called mainstream media. These newspapers were chosen because of their outreach, they reach out to a large part of the Swedish population. By the time of data gathering, the largest newspapers in Sweden were *Dagens Nyheter (DN), Svenska Dagbladet (SvD), Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* (Kantar Sifo, 2019).

Two morning newspapers have been selected for this study, DN and SvD. DN can be described as an independent liberal daily newspaper and was founded in 1862. SvD, described as independent moderate, was founded in 1884. The two evening newspapers are Aftonbladet and Expressen. Aftonbladet is described as independent social democratic and founded in 1830 and Expressen is independent liberal, founded in 1944. DN and Expressen is owned by Bonnier AB. Schibsted Sverige AB is the majority owner of SvD and Aftonbladet (DN; SvD; Aftonbladet & Expressen, 2020).

3.1.2 Gathering of the material

The aim of this study is to explore how children and youths that have come alone to Sweden to seek asylum have been depicted and portrayed in news reporting in the wake of the identified discursive shift in the late autumn 2015, when a more hostile and negative reporting on refugees became even more prominent. Therefore, I have chosen to collect articles after this period, more particularly I have collected articles from the years 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019. One possibility could have been to collect articles from both before and after the identified shift but since my aim is not to explore or confirm the shift or to compare what the reporting looked like before and after this shift, I have chosen not to. Instead, I have chosen to use this identified discursive shift as a starting point and, in the wake of this, explore what the reporting and depictions of children and youths that have come to Sweden unaccompanied by guardians have looked like in mainstream news media. To be able to capture the reporting over a longer period of time I have chosen to collect articles from different years.

The number of articles on this specific topic varies widely for each year and was the largest in 2016 and 2017. To get a relevant selection and to avoid that a specific event should get too much space, I have chosen to collect articles for a three month period - from January through March - each year. Based on that, I made a selection of articles. The reason why I chose this period of time was because January was the month that over this time period was the most stable in numbers of articles on these children and youths, and then I added the two following months to get a relevant selection of articles.

The articles were collected through Mediearkivet Retriever. In the searches I have used the keyword ensamkommande* (unaccompanied*) together with the timespan to find the articles. In addition to this, I also used the function to search for articles in a specific section of the newspapers, the news section. Therefore, articles published in other sections as opinion or editor were excluded from this study. My selection of articles published under the news section is based on the fact that the news category is the most read content in the newspapers

(Nordicom, 2018). Another reason is the news articles supposed more balanced character, news articles of course always also have a certain aim but it is often more implicitly expressed compared to for example opinion pieces. Therefore, I deem it interesting to explore specifically news articles and the way they portray children and youths categorised as unaccompanied. Also, in relation to the previous research made by Stretmo (2014) where all kind of articles, news, opinion and debates have been analysed, I think the news section can be interesting to explore more in detail.

My first criteria for selecting articles was that the article should have a focus on unaccompanied children and youths. It was not enough to just briefly mention them or include them in the picture texts or statistics. Articles with less than 50 words were not selected. When a specific event was generating many articles with the same message the article with the most focus on unaccompanied children and youths was selected followed by a selection of the longest article. This selection generated 82 articles for 2016, 57 articles for 2017, 33 articles for 2018 and 10 articles for 2019. Ten articles per year have been selected, forty articles in total. For the years 2016, 2017 and 2018 when the number of articles was a lot more than ten a selection of articles throughout the whole period of time were randomly selected by taking every eighth, sixth and third article. This resulted in an uneven number of articles from the various newspapers but seen to morning and evenings newspapers the distribution were 23 articles from the morning newspapers and 17 from the evening newspapers. This distribution, I find acceptable since I have no intention to compare the different newspapers in this thesis. The overall themes that were identified in all the articles from the specific time period are represented in the final selection of articles.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis as method and theory

In this section, I describe the method and tools which I make use of when analysing the material. In this thesis, I intend to understand the possible effects of texts and discourses on society as well as the opposite, the effects of social practices on texts and discourses. Thus, I intend to link the development of discourses with our social surroundings and explore how the discourses around children and youths categorised as unaccompanied in media contributes to reproduce or challenge current power structures in society. With this background, I find critical discourse analysis suitable with its focus on how discourses are constituting the society and helps to clarify power structures and power relationships through the discourses. By exploring how discursive practices reproduce and challenge unequal power structures I make use of the critical perspective.

The notion discourse can have both a quite widespread and comprehensive content. According to Marianne Winther Jörgensen and Louise Phillips (2000), a discourse can be understood as a discursive or semiotic practice where for example speech, text, body language or pictures are produced or consumed within a specific context with a specific theme. Discourse in its broadest sense is thus a way of expressing and understanding the world, or at least a part of it, with an inherent idea that the language is structured according to different patterns that we follow when we speak, write or act in different ways within a certain area. Fairclough have defined discourse as; *"...a particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice"* (1995:76).

Norman Fairclough is one of those who has inspired and formulated the critical discourse analysis. His approaches and perspectives inspire the method of this study. The critical discourse analysis is critical in the sense that it tries to connect and map out the role of the discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world and its social relations including unequal power relations. Following Fairclough's approach, it is important that discourse is one form of social practice that actually reproduce and transform knowledge, social identities and relations including power relations. At the same time the discourses are affected by other social practices and structures. For example, these could be certain forms of social actions that have been institutionalised or economic structures. The critical discourse analysis thus makes a distinction between discursive and other social practices. So the notion of discourse is in critical discourse analysis exclusively for speech, text and other semiotic practices as gestures or pictures. The discursive practice and other social practices are in a dialectic interplay, they are therefore constituted mutually and all together they are constituting our world. Therefore, the aim of the critical discourse analysis is to scrutinise how different discourses can lead to different social consequences and how different statements are just accepted as true and others are not (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000).

By analysing the language in media it becomes possible to gain a closer understanding of how the media discourse constitute and reproduce the *ideational function of discourses,* how the society is perceived, *the relational function*, how relations between groups are affected of the current discourses and *identity function,* how identities are constructed and affected by the discourses (Fairclough, 1992). Those functions of discourses that Fairclough brings up are very interesting in relation to my work since my aim is to explore how media, in their reporting, actually construct the picture of children and youths categorised as unaccompanied. In particular, I explore how they are attributed with different identities or roles and how different

relationships are made possible in the articles. Further, the ideational function is important since I intend to scrutinise what truths and facts that are delivered in relation to these children. These three functions represent different power factors which I also intend to investigate in order to see how this can have an effect on the discourse and society. The notion of power is important in this study since my aim is to scrutinise what power structures that are present in the process of constructing the picture of the children and youths. Power is also an important notion of the critical discourse analysis since one of its aim is to actually explore how discursive practices are reproducing or challenging unequal power relations between social groups (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). Power is discussed more in relation to the notions of ideology and hegemony under the section of *discursive practice.*

I connect the language used in media and its effect on the social world by using Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional model on critical discourse analysis. The three dimensions that all need to be included in a critical discourse analysis are *text, discursive practice* and *social practice*. In the following sections I explain these dimensions and how I apply these in my study.

3.2.1 Fairclough's three dimensional model - Text

This dimension focus on texts (spoken or written language) themselves and how patterns of linguistic features of the text actually constitute a discourse. Different tools can be used in the text analysis to recognise different linguistic patterns that form the discourse. More generally I look at the text in its entirety and then reflect on the topics and themes they bring up. What is said? Who is saying? How is it said? What is not said but taken for granted? In order to recognise how media are framing an event as true, I use the notion *modality*. Modality is about how the author of the text agrees and is linked to what is written. Basically it is about what is said as an accepted truth and what is said as a personal opinion. Depending on how the modality is expressed, there will be consequences for how the recipients perceive what is written. This can have effects on social relations and the knowledge and meaning systems that we are surrounded by (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). According to Fairclough (1992), different types of modalities are used in different discourses. He claims that media often present interpretations as facts through the way they use categorical modalities or objective modalities, instead of subjective ones. Objective modality could for example be "That is a threat" and the subjective modality would be "I regard this as a threat". The way the producer of the text is expressing a specific event will affect what the consumer of the text thinks is true. *"The media's*

use of categorical modalities both reflects and promotes their authority" (Winter Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000:88).

I also scrutinize *transitivity that* is how media connects or not connects events with different subjects. By leaving out a subject, the agent is absent and the act in question appears as something that just happened, as a natural phenomenon. Then, the person who bears responsibility remains hidden. Transitivity thus shows how someone can be exempt from responsibility by focusing on the consequences and hiding the agent. The focus is on the effects and not on the actions that caused them. This tool of recognising agency is important in my study in relation to how the discursive practice is constructing the picture of children and youths categorised as unaccompanied with different identities and relationships, if they are portrayed as carriers of agency or not, which is an important factor of power (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000).

3.2.2 Fairclough's three dimensional model - Discursive practice
Discursive practice is one form of social practice, more specifically a linguistic one. It refers to how a text is produced and consumed. Texts are produced in different ways in different contexts. For instance, a newspaper article is produced according to different routines and adopted rules and it is also consumed in a specific way according to the context. Different texts are read with different focus and thus gets different meanings. But discursive practice is also about how different texts and discourses affect and relate to each other. A text is always more or less based on earlier texts or discourses. (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). For example, the use of vocabularies derived from a disaster discourse, such as invasion, floods and chaos can have consequences when these are used in other discourses, such as the discourse on immigrants. Or when mainstream media adapt their texts to immigration critical alternative media. To explore connections between different texts and discourses I make use of *intertextuality*. More specifically, I mainly use one form of intertextuality that is called *interdiscursivity,* which is about how different discourses are present in and between orders of discourse. Orders of discourse can be explained as the notion that includes all the competing discourses that are in the same social field (Fairclough, 1992 & 1995).

Thus, the discourses in mainstream media are not existing without connection to other discourses. Texts builds upon other texts. This is so called interdiscursivity. However, even if I do not deem to analyse immigration critical alternative media I want make it clear that just their presence in the media landscape do have effect on the mainstream media's discourses. According to Holt (2016) mainstream media have felt compelled to respond and act on the

presence of alternative media and their criticism that mainstream media withholds facts in order not to favour an anti-immigrant attitude. A clear example of this is the debate about publishing information about perpetrators ethnicity. This debate was made visible in connection with the knife murder at Ikea in Västerås on August 10, 2015. Aftonbladet was publishing the ethnicity of the perpetrators, with the reason to precede the criticism from immigration critical alternative media. Thus, the criticism and existence of these voices affected de facto mainstream media's actions (Holt, 2016). With that said, the mainstream media discourses that I aim to study is influenced by other media platforms, for example, the alternative media such as *Nya Tider, Samhällsnytt* and *Fria Tider*.

As stated earlier, unaccompanied children have become a loaded politicised term which come with different connotations and these builds upon earlier events and texts. Therefore it is interesting to explore what assumptions - what is taken for granted - about these youths that are expressed and visible in the articles, more or less explicit. This is important since what is taken for granted often hides ideologies and builds on something that is already known and expressed and is, therefore, part of how I analyse intertextuality. Ideologies, according to Fairclough, are meaning constructions that supports the production, reproduction and restructuring of dominance relationships based on for example class, ethnicity and gender. By looking on interdiscursivity I can make visible how discourses are reproduced or transformed. The discourses are reproduced when no new elements are included and transformed when new creative compositions and connections of discourses are implemented. Thus, a transformation can be possible by connecting different discourses and by adapting to a specific language use or other patterns used in other discourses. (Fairclough, 1992 & 1995).

However, the opportunity to actually change the discourses by using new creative compositions and connections of discourses is limited due to different power relations. For example, whether an actor has access to different discourses or not. One aspect of the power relations is the role the elites, powerful social groups and institutions, are playing in the discourses of the society. According to van Dijk (2005) it is the elite in the society - such as politicians, journalists and researchers - that most of all have access and power to set the agenda and to form and structure the public discourse through for example political debates, news articles and scientific reports. This will then permeate the society and has an effect on opinion formations and it enable learned behaviours like discrimination and prejudices. The elite also have the power to decide whose voices are present in the public discourse. It is often people in a distinct power position, so called "experts" that are interviewed and cited. This means that the

space for minority groups to present their perspectives are often very limited in the public discourse. van Dijk (2001) argues that groups may more or less have control over other groups in specific situations and domains, which the elite discourse is showing. Dominated groups will more or less resist, accept or legitimate such power. The power of dominant groups, such as the elite, can be integrated into laws, norms and habits and thus be seen as natural and a form of hegemony. According to the notion of hegemony the power is restrained by the dominance pattern in the society. Fairclough suggest that discursive practices may be seen as part of a hegemonic struggle that contributes to reproduce or transform the orders of discourse that it is a part of as well as existing power relations. For example, a text with a high degree of intertextuality, could indicate that it is part of a hegemonic struggle going on in the society (Fairclough 1992 & 1995; Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000).

3.2.3 Fairclough's three dimensional model - Social practice
This dimension is about contextualising the discursive practice and relating it to social practices of various sorts. This helps the researcher to explain why the discursive practice looks the way it does and what effects the discursive practice has on the social practice. There are two stages to reach this. First, should the relation between the discursive practice and the relevant orders of discourse that it is a part of be analysed. Secondly, non-discursive social and cultural practices that contribute to the creation of the discursive practice should be analysed. The second stage requires a social theory that concentrates on the social dimensions of a specific practice (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). Social theories and concepts within the field of postcolonial theory and different perspectives on otherness are used to analyse the relationship between the discursive practice and the broader social practices. These theoretical perspectives can be read more about in chapter 4 - *Theoretical perspectives and concepts.*

3.3 Conducting the analysis
The three dimensions of Fairclough's model have guided me through the analysis. There are several steps to take into account in a critical discourse analysis. Therefore, I read the articles several times with different focuses to ensure that all of these steps were taken into account in order to answer my research questions. The discourses were made visible through all these readings where keywords and patterns were identified and categorised. When the four different discourses were identified, I went through the articles and categorised them in the different discourses. This was done at different times. Each review resulted in basically the same

division. Important to clarify is that each article can contain multiple discourses, which is not uncommon.

Different citations from the articles are included in the analysis. Those citations can include a descriptive image or show how different people are allowed to make their voices heard. These citations are included in order to be able to exemplify and substantiate my reasoning in a clear and transparent way. For space reasons I have shortened the quotes, but in order to still be able to include various interesting aspects from an article, I have chosen to put them together. Three points are used to mark when a citation is not cited in its entirety. In order to make the citations clearer and more relevant I contextualize the majority of the selected citations. Taking short citations out of context or excluding parts of the citation can be problematic as it can be done to reinforce an argument in a certain direction and leave out other important information that nuances the image. At the same time, I think that the citations are important in order to be transparent and to make the analysis more understandable. Thus, citations are included and I have tried to be as gentle as possible when doing this and also questioning my intentions when choosing the citations. In order to detect variations over time I have analysed the articles in a chronological order but they are not presented in this order. Because of the time and page limitations of this thesis I have decided to not analyse the pictures in the articles.

3.4 Limitations and challenges

Social research is productive and is a part of creating social realities. It does not just describe the world we live in; it also forms it by producing certain realities (Law and Urry, 2004). With this in mind, it becomes important to think of potential outcomes of my thesis. To scrutinise media's depiction of unaccompanied children and its power structures, without reinforcing unequal structures and discriminating categorisations of a heterogeneous group. This ethical concern has been present throughout my work since research can reproduce power structures because of, for example, homogeneous choices of themes and research materials. This can contribute to confirm certain discourses and, in the worst case, to reproduce racist patterns (Boréus & Seiler Brylla, 2018). In my work with this thesis, I have weighed this against the importance of actually exploring media's reporting on children and youths that have sought asylum in Sweden without guardians. By using the critical discourse analysis that aims to actually identify and investigate unequal power structures, it is my conviction that I can find a focus that is critical and questioning towards existing power structures without reproducing them.

It is indeed difficult to fully understand or estimate my role in this study. The interests I have in exploring unequal power structures and processes of otherness in media inspires me through the work but also influences it. By selecting specific methods and theories I understand and present my chosen area in a certain way. Also I, my knowledge and my way of doing interpretations will affect the work, since it is impossible to take a completely distanced perspective and see things completely objectively. In the critical discourse analysis, it is not desirable to be completely objective. On the contrary, the person conducting the study should use both their knowledge and their privileged positions to understand different power relations and discourses and the relationship between them. It is a research method and theory that takes a stand against oppression and abuse of power. However, in order to make the study trustworthy and available, it is important to make the methods of the study clearly specified. This is done by transparently communicating sequences of the empirical material for increased transparency. Also, I try to carefully and distinctly express my arguments and interpretations since all interpretations are subjective. Furthermore I intend to be reflective of the choices I make and the conclusions I reach. This is to enable the reader to follow the process of the study and assess the reasonableness of this (Bryman, 2018; Boréus & Seiler Brylla, 2018; van Dijk, 2001; Winther, Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000).

My aim is to explore how media, by using texts and discourses in different ways, construct the picture of the children and youths in their reporting. My aim is also to scrutinise what different power structures that are made visible in the articles. Therefore, the choice of a qualitative approach seems most reasonable and adequate in order to be able to grasp and describe nuances in the selected articles. Given the disposable time frame I have and because of the detailed text analysis the critical discourse analysis requires the number of articles I can analyse are limited, I have selected 40 articles to analyse.

4. Theoretical perspectives and concepts

In this chapter, theoretical perspectives and concepts that I apply in the thesis are discussed in relation to my topic. This thesis is about how mainstream news media are depicting and portraying children and youths, categorised as unaccompanied, and how these discursive practices are reproducing or challenging power structures in society. In order to explore the power structures of media in its depiction of the concerned children and youths, I focus on established "truths" of the youths that are present in the news reporting. Additionally, I also focus on how borders and differences are created between certain groups of people by using theoretical perspectives on otherness and postcolonial theory. Critical discourse analysis which I use as a method for analysing the material is also a theory and I discuss it in its entirety in chapter 3 - *Methodology*.

4.1 Social constructionism

This thesis has a social constructivist approach, which means that representations of reality is constructed through the language and the way we communicate. This means that a certain discourse constitutes a particular object in a particular way by creating a standard for it (Winther Jörgensen & Philips, 2000). According to social constructionism knowledge can never be seen as an objective truth; our perceptions of the world is not a mirroring of the reality but a result of how we perceive and categorise it. Our knowledge, identities and relations are constructed socially and are characterised of the particular time and culture we live in. With that said, our social world is not predetermined. This means that our worldviews, relations and identities could have looked different and can change over time, even if they in concrete situations are relatively solid. The alternatives for what identities a person can assume are thus relatively limited and depends on available narratives and discourses for this specific person and the surrounding hegemonic power structures. This becomes interesting in relation to how media, as an actor of power, depict youths, categorised as unaccompanied. What "truths", relations and identities are constructed and available for these youths and for the surrounding society to build their worldview and opinion on? Depending on the available worldview and identity and relational formations that are accessible in relation to the youths, different social actions become possible or impossible. This shows the crucial role media have as an actor who is involved in making claims of truths by constructing the discourse (Burr, 1995; Winther Jörgensen & Philips, 2000).

4.2 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial is an ambiguous concept with many nuances and expressions. It should not just be understood as what came after the colonialism but instead, it must be understood as a questioning of colonial dominance and its aftermath including the effects on the society of today (Loomba, 2008). According to the postcolonial theory, colonialism have still effects on the worldview and the societies. Certain nations are allowed by the new global order to economically, culturally and politically dominate others, even if they are not in direct control of a territory. Colonialism is an expression of power in many ways. It is a way of gaining economic power but also of intellectual power by exploiting others. The intellectual power has had an effect on the knowledge and discourse production and how we understand the world through different worldviews. This has an effect on how we identify ourselves and others and is something that still affects the society of today, our identities and relations (Eriksson, Eriksson Baaz & Thörn, 2011; Landström, 2001; Loomba, 2008). Postcolonial theory criticises dominant knowledge systems and means that "The one that controls how people's lives and experiences can be described also controls whose experiences are described and how they are described" (Landström, 2001:12). Since media is one actor that makes claims of truths and actually have the opportunity to participate in reproducing or challenging hegemonic power I consider it as a knowledge system in need of scrutiny. Postcolonialism is thus questioning the established description of the reality and links this to geopolitical factors and how power relations are constructed (Landström, 2001). So in order to explore the discourses in media around youths that have sought asylum in Sweden unaccompanied by guardians in a critical manner and scrutinise how different power structures are present in the depiction of these youths the postcolonial theory and the history of dominance are guiding me. It also helps me to explore how certain truths are being accepted and others not and how the depiction of unaccompanied youths can be understood in a greater historical context where these youths are defined from a pattern that are based on the host society's own cultural superiority.

4.2.1 The West and the Rest

Stuart Hall (1992) describes a postcolonial discourse based on what he calls the West and the Rest. The West and The Rest should not be seen in a geographical perspective. Western societies are discussed in terms of industrialised, developed, secular and modern. Any society of today, no matter where it is located which shares these attributes can be said to belong to the West. The West is more or less identical to the notion of modernity. The division into the West

and the Rest is a concept, an idea that has different functions. Functions to characterise, compare and classify societies and evaluate how they are connected with different feelings.

According to Hall (1992) the discourse of the West and the Rest has real effects and outcomes, it has become productive since it encourages a certain way of talking and experiencing the world. This have been an important part of the knowledge production, which in turn affects our actions. The discourse of the West and the Rest cannot be seen as innocent since it is built on dominant power relations where the West have dominated and had the power to construct knowledge and truths. The West and the Rest are constructed in opposition to each other and different opposites are thus attributed to each of them. Because of the unequal power relations, these opposites are more or less divided into positive and negative attributes. The West have thus constructed itself as the superior and the Rest as the subordinated (Hall, 1992).

Hall are using Edward Said's Orientalism (1978/2016) as an example of this hierarchical division. Said analysis European texts and argues that those have constructed the Orient as a structure for knowledge production about the other. This discourse is according to Said built on a dichotomy between Europeans and the others. This dichotomy was essential both for the construction of the European culture but also as a tool for maintaining the power of the colonies. Said deems, just as Hall, that Europe or the West have been constructed in opposition to the others, the Orient. The Orient got attributes as irrationality, reactionary, unequal and oppressive and the West rational, progressive, equal and democratic, a distinct hierarchical structure is thus made clear.

The discourse of the West and the Rest have thus had an effect on how the West has constructed its self-image and how the Rest and its people are perceived. To explore the news articles on children, categorised as unaccompanied from this perspective can be relevant in order to detect assumptions based on this categorisation and how the youths are depicted in opposition to the West or in this case the Swedish culture.

4.3 Otherness

According to Hall (1997) representations of otherness draws on representations of differences. Otherness is thus constructed in relation to what is assumed to be the norm, often it is made in opposition to the majority of the society. So why are differences so important? Differences can be assumed to be essential for the construction of meaning. Knowledge is constructed through contrasting realities as in for example women and men and black and white. Black is just known through its contrast to white, or women through its contrast to men. For example de Beauvoir

(1949/2002) argues, that women are set up as the other of men, she means that women are socially constructed, defined and differentiated in contrast to the man.

Hall (1997) argues that a focus on difference between opposites can be seen as one way of capturing the diversity of the world but it is also very reductionistic and simplified, the nuances of the world are reduced to its extreme positions. Hence, it is important to highlight the aspect of power in using opposite binaries since there are very few neutral binaries, there is not a balanced and equal harmony between those binaries but a strong and clear hierarchy (Hall, 1997). This could be exemplified through the binaries of a western or non-western culture where the non-western culture are constituted as inferior to the western culture where people are dehumanised or devalued. This can result in a denial of the agency of certain groups of people and the voice of these groups can be paid little or no attention and the perspective of the majority can proceed to be ruling (Said, 1978/2016). To fortify a specific worldview and ideology on the society is an important mission for the ruling group of society. By doing this they can maintain their power through controlling the production of knowledge, imaginaries and representations. This is an aspect of what Gramsci calls the struggle for hegemony (Hall, 1997).

One way of practicing representation and exercise discursive and hegemonic power is according to Hall (1997) to use stereotypes. Stereotyping reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics which are described as fixed by nature. Everything about a person is reduced to those traits which are exaggerated, and the picture of the specific group becomes very simplified and fixed. Stereotyping is a way of implement splitting, by setting up a system of what is normal and acceptable symbolic boundaries are created of who belongs or not. Boundaries between insiders and outsiders, between "us" and "them". Stereotyping is thus a way of maintaining the social and symbolic order, the hegemony of the ruling class. The representation of otherness through stereotyping is closely linked to categorisations. Irene Molina (2000) argues that categorisations are about naming and dividing people into groups, which are always based on a given power position. Someone that has the power of naming have also the power to add attributes to the named category, this often occurs through the use of opposing binaries put into one hierarchical order, as exemplified above.

So basically, the representation of otherness is how our knowledge, identity, sense of belonging, relations or social status is constructed by creating distance to other groups of people by highlighting differences to the other. By highlighting differences, boundaries of inequality can be manifested and boundaries of who is considered to belong or not can be made visible.

How these boundaries are made clear around children and youths categorised as unaccompanied in news media I find interesting in relation to how different aspects of power are given space and create important conditions for our society, for identity creation and relationship building. This is an important societal issue when it comes to building inclusive societies, I believe.

Ways of creating distance to other groups of people through the representation of otherness can be highlighted through various aspects and I discuss some of them that I consider relevant more in detail below. These particular aspects of representation of otherness have been chosen after I have collected my articles and thus had an overall view of the content of the articles. However, the choice has also been based on the outcomes of previous relevant research and what I consider interesting to focus on and analyse when it comes to these youths.

4.3.1 Representation of otherness through ethnicity and national belonging

To highlight differences by using ethnicity is making up representations of otherness and constructs clear categorisations of "us" and "them". Ethnicity can be understood as a social organisation based on cultural differences (Åhlund, 2005). Ethnicity is not a cultural trait but an aspect of a relation, ethnicity is thus constructed in relation to cultural differences of the other (Hylland Eriksen, 1998). Ethnicity involves an idea of a common origin, which can be historical, cultural or territorial for example being born in a particular place, consistent cultural or symbolic practices as language, religion or gender relations and is thus constructed relationally to the other. This construction can be made by the group itself or it can be made externally, or it can be an interplay (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

Another way of representing otherness and highlight differences is to focus on national belonging. The nation-state can be perceived as a defined territory where a specific group of people constitute a cultural and linguistic unit. The national discourse consist of a certain idea of how the world is structured and should be understood (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). According to Benedict Anderson (1992), nation-states are imagined communities where people who not know each other and very often never will, feel connection and solidarity with each other with the common nation-state as a ground for solidarity. This people, as members of one nation-state, identify themselves through differences of people of other nation-states, the others. This means that the national discourse can both define who belongs and who do not, it is thus a tool for exclusion (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000).

4.3.2 Representation of otherness by using the dichotomy deserving and undeserving

Bridget Anderson (2015) argues that international borders have been constructed in order to sort out the desirable from the undesirable, the deserving from the undeserving and the legal from the illegal. But borders are not just territorial, borders also create perceptions of who is considered as belonging and who is not. The states of today are connected by a community of value according to Anderson and consists of people who share the same values, ideals and behaviour patterns. The community of values resides of good citizens that are law-abiding, hardworking, tax-paying, independent and rational. This community of values seems to need protection from outsiders, both non-citizens and failed citizens. Non-citizens are often migrants and failed citizens are those individuals that have failed to live up to the shared ideal of the state for example criminals and benefit dependents. To be an outsider means not sharing the same values, which often becomes not having the right values. Those who are not firmly established in the community of values must prove really hard that they actually have the right values for being members of the society. For example, the migrant must distance herself from the illegal immigrant by being a hardworking legal taxpayer which can distance her from the approach of the benefit dependent. Even so, people continue to be denoted as migrant outsiders even when they have attained formal citizenship. They are often just contingently accepted as members of the community of values and must continue to prove that they deserve their conditional membership of the community (Anderson, 2015). The division of migrants as deserving or undeserving, legitimate or illegitimate is thus also a way to differentiate groups of people from others and create distance and borders between people.

4.3.3 Representation of otherness through masculinity and sexuality

Another manner to initiate a process of othering towards a group of people, can be done by highlighting alleged differences in masculinity and sexuality. This process of othering can be traced back to the era of explorers where "the very language of exploration, conquest and domination was strongly marked by gender distinctions and drew much of its subconscious force from sexual imagery" (Hall, 1992:302). Narratives from this time depicted women and men living in the explored areas as primitive and they often contained sexualised descriptions of these women's and men's bodies. These narratives was a powerful tool in order to subordinate "the others" and was thus part of the construction of the discourse of the civilised West and the primitive Rest (Hall, 1992).

This subordination and division can also be seen in the societies of today, in Western politics and policies it is a common perspective that the refugee man have to be educated and informed in order to change his view on sexuality and gender (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013;

Olivius, 2016). The view on gender and sexuality that the refugee man brings with him is thus seen as different and problematic in relation to the view of the host society. Refugee men are often labelled as perpetrators of violence and discrimination and their masculinity is described as abnormal and primitive. They are thus constructed as agents of inequality (Olivius, 2016). Elisabeth Olivius describes the subordination of the refugee man in her study on emerging discourses on men and masculinities:

> "This naming relies on a construction of refugee societies as traditional and backwarded; refugee men are thus not agents of inequality because they are men, but because they are primitive. Refugee men's masculinities are thereby pathologised and they are constructed as subjects in need of modernisation and reform." (Olivius, 2016:64)

This builds upon an essentialist world view of ethnicity and culture and contributes to the division of an "us" and "them". When these assumptions are taken into action and assumed violent masculinities are educated, the distinction of the developed West and the undeveloped Rest have thus been implemented (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013; Hall, 1997).

4.4 Theory of news valuation and news selection

The reality is unlimited but the space for news reporting is limited, this means that *not* all news can be included, a valuation and selection of the news must be done. News valuation refers to how possible news is valued in the journalistic work while news selection refers to what is actually published. Of course, it is a connection between what is valued and what is selected, but other factors than the value can affect what will be selected. It is also a difference in what journalists believe *should have*, respectively, *actually have* a bearing on what becomes news. The factors that journalists believe should have bearing are the following; that the event makes people aware of misconducts in the society, that the event have consequences for people's everyday life and that the event increase people's insights and knowledges. That can be compared to the factors that journalists consider to actually have significance for what becomes news, which is the following; that the event is sensational and unexpected, that the event is dramatic and exciting and that it is an exclusive news. These assumptions will have an effect on how news is valued and selected in an increasing competitive market (Strömbäck, Andersson & Nedlund, 2017).

To understand why some events become news and others not, it is important to be aware of the fact that news media is in a tension between democracy and the market. To maintain democracy is news media expected to deliver information that people *needs* in order to form

their opinion independently. However, at the same time is the news media commercial companies in a tough competition for readers and advertisers and therefore it has become important to deliver news that people *wants*. In order to construct a story that is competitive different techniques of telling a story can be used, for example simplification, polarisation, personification and stereotyping. This will thus have effect on how a certain event is framed and portrayed and also how the news are perceived of the reader, which can have effect on how this person will form her opinions (Strömbäck, Andersson & Nedlund, 2017). How news is valued and selected and how media, in order to get readers are constructing news and stories to be attractive and interesting through different methods, is interesting in relation to the analysis of the discursive practice which refers to how a text is produced. Texts are produced in different ways in specific contexts. For example, a newspaper article is produced according to different routines and adopted rules as the text above tries to explain. This will have an effect on the discourse production and how the children and youths are depicted.

5. Analysis and findings

During my analysis, four different distinctive discourses emerged which all portray children and youths categorised as unaccompanied according to a certain pattern. The discourses have been identified through several readings of the articles where keywords and patterns have been highlighted and categorised. They are the following; *an authority discourse, a perpetrator discourse, an untrustworthy discourse* and lastly *an innocence discourse*. These discourses portray the youths from various perspectives and also make them more or less different in relation to the host society through various forms of othering processes. In this chapter, I describe each of the identified discourses and what subject positions that are made possible, what assumptions about the youths are present and what power structures that are activated and how they are reproduced or challenged in the news reporting. This chapter is ended with a *Concluding discussion,* where I present a discussion of my findings and summarise the answers to my research questions.

5.1 Authority discourse

In the authority discourse, focus was on how children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were depicted from the perspective of various authorities; the Government, municipalities, social services, the Migration Agency but also from the perspectives of various political parties. This discourse is presented on the basis of three themes that was clearly present in my material, namely: How these youths were depicted as burdens in the form of economic costs, how they were depicted as organisational burdens and how a form of resistance of this discourse was made visible through highlighting the authorities own responsibility. The authority discourse had high presence in the reporting, but its presence fluctuated a bit over the research period. Its high presence was a bit unexpected because of the focus on the authorities and not on the youths themselves. However, even more unexpected was the division of responsibilities that it made visible. The latter was sometimes expressed very implicit, but with the tool of the critical discourse analysis I was able to detect that the responsibility for the authorities' lack of resources was almost exclusively placed on the youths themselves.

5.1.1 Economic costs

Children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were often depicted as burdens for the Swedish society. This burden was described differently and more or less explicit. In this section I discuss how the burden is portrayed specifically in the light of economic costs which the following citations are examples of.

"The economic compensation to the municipalities for receiving unaccompanied children and youths is not enough." (SvD 17/3-19)

"Since August 1st 2015, 29672 unaccompanied children and youths have sought asylum in Sweden. As DN has previously reported, this means such high pressure on the country's municipalities that almost half of them state that they do not have the resources to follow up the quality of the care… Halmstad paid 2500 kronor per child and day to the company. Helsingborg reportedly paid between 1900 and 2500 kronor per child per day. In total, the cost to the municipalities has amounted to millions of kronor." (DN 17/2-16)

The first citation is from an article raising the issue of lacking money in the reception of unaccompanied children and youths that the municipalities have to pay for. The second citation is from an article which bring up how criminal networks are making money on unaccompanied youths and exploits the difficult situation for the authorities. According to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000), it can be made clear who is made responsible for an act by looking at the transitivity of an article, in other words; how an agent are connected with a certain event. It was made clear in the first citation above that the agent, the state that has the responsibility to pay the government grants, was absent and thus its responsibility is hidden. By making the youths clearly visible in the text and leaving out the agent and hide its responsibility, I argue, enables the guilt for the situation to be placed on the youths themselves instead and they can implicitly be seen to cause Sweden a costly burden. In the second citation, I deem that it is the youths that are positioned as the agents. By giving the number of how many unaccompanied children and youths that have sought asylum in Sweden lately and connect this directly to the high pressure and the lack of resources, they become guilty of the situation. The quote makes clear that the responsibility for the situation, where a lot of pressure was put on municipalities, was placed on the youths themselves. This unfair division of responsibilities makes an unequal power structure visible where the government and other authorities can remain unchallenged and thus their power as well and the youths are instead ascribed a heavy burden causing this difficult situation for the authorities. A burden that I suggest should be carried by the authorities and not of the individuals themselves. Further, this shows how media can allocate responsibility by formulating news in a certain way and thus construct a picture of the youths as guilty actors causing problems for the Swedish society.

The citations also showed a high degree of modality, which according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000) is to what degree a producer of a text agrees in what is described. More specifically, this is about what is said as an accepted truth. Where no discussion about

alternative scenarios are present which will influence what the reader perceives as true. In the first citation, the claim that financial compensation to the municipalities was not enough becomes something fixed and true. It does not become a matter of priorities or politics. A picture is constructed that mediates that this is just how it is. In the second citation it was made clear that the youths that arrived to seek protection in Sweden in 2015 have caused a lot of pressure on the Swedish municipalities. Half of the municipalities did not have resources to follow up the quality of their placements. Similarly to the first citation, a high degree of modality was used which results in a view that the children and youths actually cost a lot of money and require much resources that are scarce. Implicitly, this also means that resources have to be taken from somewhere else and the youths are thus put in contrast to Anderson's (2015) good citizens of the community of values. Since they are consequently portrayed as costly for society instead of hardworking, tax-paying and independent youths, they are positioned as outsiders of society. Implicitly, the youths also become a contrast to a "we", a national "we" to whom the youths may be a threat. The high degree of modality and how transitivity is used to place the responsibility on the youths themselves are showing how media as an institution is making claims to depict reality which can be seen as a way of exercising power. The youths are thus portrayed as costly burdens for the society and that becomes an accepted truth due to the high modality. The pattern that refugees and asylum seekers are constructed around negative news on them being costly burdens for the society are also confirmed by previous researcher as Strömbäck, Andersson and Nedlund (2017) and Hovden and Mjelde (2019).

By using numbers and costs, that was exemplified in the above quotes and which also was highly present in other articles is, from my point of view, part of a process which creates distance and makes the youths into others, by dehumanising them. This is in line with what Brune (2004) argues, the authority discourse make the arriving refugees and asylum seekers faceless. This is done when numbers and words derived from war and natural disasters are used such as waves and chaos, which was also present in these articles. By using these terms and numbers, the youths' position as right-holders according to international obligations, is overshadowed and positions where they are constructed as costs, burdens or problems are made possible. This, in turn, can result in a stereotypical picture that according to Hall (1997) maintain boundaries between those who belong and those who do not. Further, the agency of the youths can be denied, and their voices paid little attention. So to portray the youths as faceless numbers with a limited chance to raise their voices in order to contradict the stereotypical picture is a clear way of dehumanising them I argue. The perspective of the

majority can then proceed to be ruling and the unequal hegemonic power structure can thus be maintained. To frequently use numbers and terms with negative connotations, can, as Schemer's (2012) study shows, results in increasing negative and stereotypical attitudes towards these youths over time. It can also further increase what some of these youths are testifying about in the articles, namely the difficulty to connect and make relations to native Swedes, which I discuss more closely in the *innocence discourse*.

5.1.2 Overloaded

Children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were also depicted as burdens in relation to authorities' organisational situation. The situation of different authorities were explained to be strained because of the large number of unaccompanied children that sought asylum 2015, which the following citations show.

> "Daniel Salehi, process manager at the Migration Agency's quality department, responsible for unaccompanied children in the asylum process, writes in an email to DN that the processing times have never been this long for unaccompanied children and that it is mainly due to the large number of unaccompanied children who sought asylum in Sweden 2015." (DN 2/3-17)

> "In 2017, the County Administrative Board in Blekinge compiled a report on the reception of the recent waves' of asylum seekers. Among other things, it was highlighted how a large number of unaccompanied gave the social service a heavy burden. Many unaccompanied lived in a large facility for unaccompanied boys in Ronneby, half an hour from Karlskrona, which in recent years has been written about in the news because of its large reception of young asylum seekers in combination with a reduced police force. Which has caused havoc among lightly criminal guys who have got free space on the location." (Expressen 31/3-19)

The first citation is from an article describing the long queues for specifically children waiting for getting their asylum application reviewed. The second citation is from an article describing the situation for some unaccompanied youths in the society of Karlskrona. The large number of asylum applications from youths categorised as unaccompanied during the last year were clearly connected to a difficult resource-demanding situation for welfare institutions. These children and youths were thus explicitly given the position of causing this overloaded situation when examining the transitivity, how an agent is connected to an event (Winter Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). This is a responsibility that seldom is challenged but is framed as a fact. This is made by framing the news with a high degree of modality with few alternative discussions on how it could be seen differently or viewed from a perspective where the authorities actually bear the responsibility they are given.

The presented picture in the articles is, from my critical perspective, based on the assumption that the number of children who have come alone to Sweden in order to seek asylum is unreasonably large. Assumptions, that anything is taken for granted, builds on something that is already known and expressed. It is, therefore, a form of intertextuality that is important to scrutinise since it often hides ideologies (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). This assumption about unreasonableness, I argue, leads in most cases to exempt the authorities from responsibility and instead places it on the children and youths themselves. They, by their large number, become guilty for the unmanageable and congested situation for the authorities according to the news reporting. The responsibility of the authorities is thus diminished or even hidden. This skewed distribution of responsibilities leads to an unfair picture and burden for these young people and it also contributes to reproduce an unequal power structure. The authorities are as described in previous sections, not held accountable and do not need to reformulate their positions or perspectives and the power structure can be maintained unchallenged. This assumption on unreasonableness is, I suggest, hiding an ideology of migration hostility where large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers are assumed to be threatening the national order because of their otherness, which I discuss below. Discourses in mainstream media are influenced more or less willingly of other discourses (Holt, 2016) therefore can this ideology of migration hostility be assumed to have been given more space with the increased influence of Sweden democrats and alternative media's xenophobic politics in the Swedish political media landscape.

The children and youths categorised as unaccompanied are also positioned to cause an overloaded system because of the assumptions that they are problematic in themselves, as the citation above illustrates. When the police were not there, these "criminal boys" could do whatever they wanted. The interview with Stockholm's regional police chief in the citation below also confirms this picture. The quote is made in a context of a massive reporting about sexual assaults during New Year celebrations in several European cities. Suspicious and hostility were raised against immigrant boys who were claimed to be the perpetrators.

> "It is also written that neither the police nor the community, in general, have the tools necessary to prevent these youths from falling back into crime... - We have hundreds of unaccompanied refugee children in Stockholm city. And the efforts of society are completely insufficient, I can say… - Our Swedish system is not built for the numbers that comes in the form of young guys who would need care, support and everything possible... Is it relevant to talk about criminal unaccompanied? - Yes, I think it is. Absolutely. Still, it is a group that comes with similar conditions and needs a support package in some form to get out of this." (DN 15/1-16)

Here, the youths were depicted as both criminal, which I describes more in detail in the perpetrator discourse, and as different. This way, Hall's (1997) process of otherness is made clearly visible. The youths were made different, as they were depicted as burden for the Swedish system that was expressed as not being structured for these numbers of youths that were in need of large support and care. Support and care to be what? To come out of what? To be one of us? The article has according to me, an essentialist view of these young people and position them as different from the host society. This was especially clear when it came to masculinity and sexuality where they were supposed to need support and information to be changed, to be conformed to the host society. This is in line with what Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2013) and Olivius (2016) suggest, that it is a common perspective in western politics and policies that the refugee man brings with him a view on gender and sexuality that is different and problematic and must be educated and reformed in order to change. The article were constructing a picture where the authorities were being overloaded by the big numbers of unaccompanied youths that was so essentially different that they needed so much support to be changed that it was outside the capacity of the Swedish system. Here, the assumption about the unreasonableness becomes clear again. Now, in relation to both the amount of the youths but also in relation to the assumption that these youths are so essentially different and problematic that they drain the authorities' resources. The citation also made another assumption clear, that they all came with similar conditions and were in need of a substantial support package. They are made into a clearly homogeneous and stereotypical group. According to Hall (1997), can this, to construct a clear stereotypical group, be a way of reproducing power positions by establishing boundaries between "us" and "them", who belongs and who does not.

By looking at the transitivity it can be revealed how the responsibility is allocated, (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). Authorities' absent responsibility has been a clear phenomenon which also the citation below represents. In this citation, it became clear that the agent was absent, and the focus instead was on the effects and not the causes. That it was fewer unaccompanied children and youths coming to Sweden seems to be something natural, something that just happens to be. The ones responsible for this new situation were totally absent. No one can be hold accountable and the power structures, the tightened migration policy and the closed walls around Europe, and now also Sweden, can be kept intact without being questioned. The citation below is made in the wake of the migration agreement with Turkey and after border and identity controls have been implemented at the Swedish border.

"The number of unaccompanied children and youths from Afghanistan who reach Sweden is drastically decreasing." (SvD 28/3-16)

The youths were not made directly responsible but they were positioned as passive objects for events that just seem to happen naturally outside of anyone's and everyone's responsibility. This position, as passive objects, was also mirrored in relation to how these youths were debated among political parties in Sweden and became a contentious issue. Many articles raised the topic of the new upper secondary school act in which these youths could be given a chance to stay in Sweden if they proceeded with their studies. What was striking was the total focus on how different issues and options in relation to this topic, of the new upper secondary school act, would affect the party itself. Put differently; focus was on the consequences for the political parties and not on the consequences for the youths. The children and youths become pawns in a political game and not real actors attributed with agency. This is similar to the use of numbers. It is a way of creating distance to the youths by dehumanising them and turning them into objects where their rights are clearly overshadowed, which must be seen as a clear power factor of media. By constructing these youths as pawns in a political game, an important part of the picture is left aside, namely the consequences and the perspective of the youths themselves. To be aware of what is not written is also an important part of the critical discourse analysis since this will also have consequences for how people will make up their opinions (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000; Strömbäck, Andersson & Nedlund, 2017).

5.1.3 Resistance - responsibility of authorities

Critical discourse analysis takes interest in how different statements are just accepted as true and others are not (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). From the articles, I interpret that one statement which is accepted as true and natural, is that the cause for the overloaded and resource drained authorities are the children and youths themselves. The causes are the large numbers of youths and that these youths are assumed to be so essentially different and problematic in themselves that they are in need of so much support that it drains the authorities. This truth have been constructed both in relation to transitivity, how the responsibility is unfairly placed on the youths themselves and not on the authorities. It is also constructed by the high degree of modality that the articles mediates, which mirrors the authority of the media institution itself (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). However, in this section, I describe how the authority discourse, where children and youths categorised as unaccompanied have been portrayed as burdens, is negotiated. Resistance to the negative depictions presented above have thus been shown in the articles, but to a limited extent. The responsibility of the authorities has been very

absent, which has surprised me a bit since the authority discourse has been so present. It have thus been present without ascribing responsibility to the authorities themselves and without being especially critical to how the authorities have handled the situation after 2015. Instead the youths themselves have been ascribed this guilt. However some exceptions from this can be found as in the following citation which is from an article describing how the Government are going to tighten the rules for family homes in order to stop criminal networks to exploit and make money from a demanding situation with many unaccompanied youths in need of accommodation.

> "The social services in Sweden's municipalities were pressed long before the refugee reception reached last year's levels. What happened was that an already weak link in the welfare chain broke. The lack of social secretaries is an important reason why the control of family home placements has not worked. Åsa Regnér points out that money has been allocated." (DN 4/3-16)

When looking on the transitivity in this citation it was made clear that it had the focus on both the causes and the effects. Also, the agents, namely the social services and the Government, were present and could shoulder the responsibility. When this happens, the position for the youths shifts. Instead of being responsible for a system in chaos, they are now victims of a pressured authority, which also the citation below is showing which is made in the context of implementing the new upper secondary school act.

> "But the Government thinks that we in Sweden have a responsibility for the young people who have actually waited a long time and who are still in Sweden. We have had very long processing times." (DN 20/2-18)

Here, the responsibility of the Government was explicitly expressed. The Government clearly shoulder the responsibility and shows that these children and youths have been exposed to a system that failed to fulfil its mission, which led to a long wait and now is it time to compensate to those. A more humanistic approach was made visible.

5.2 Perpetrator discourse

It was a clear pattern in the articles that children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were depicted in negative news reporting where they were depicted as perpetrators of different kinds. This discourse was most common in the beginning of the research period and then decreased slightly. The perpetrator discourse is presented through the three clearest positions through which the youths were portrayed, namely; the violator, the drug abuser and the sexual offender.

5.2.1 Violator

In the articles, there was a clear focus present that connected children and youths categorised as unaccompanied with negative news on crimes committed by themselves. This focus has also Brune (2004) and Hultén (2006) described when it comes to immigrants in general. Media have an evident power to affect how immigrants and immigration are perceived and how opinions are formed on the subject (De Coninck, Vandenberghe & Matthijs, 2019). Therefore, I assert, it is important to highlight the present pattern of reporting on these youths as violators. The children and youths were portrayed as aggressive criminals, using a disproportionate use of violence, as the citation below illustrates.

> "Massoud Massoudi, 24, stabbed his friend in the head, neck, body, and arms and then fled to the forest. Left on the basketball court lay the friend who died from his injuries. Now the 24-year-old is sentenced to 15 years in prison and deportation to Afghanistan... Massoud Massoudi, a citizen of Afghanistan, came to Sweden in 2010 as an unaccompanied refugee child." (Expressen 21/3-19)

From my perspective this depiction constructs a stereotypical picture of the youths and reduces them to a few and simple negative characteristics which according to Hall (1997) enables a splitting of who belongs or not in the society. According to social constructionism, an object, in this case children and youths categorised as unaccompanied, are constructed through the language and how we communicate about them (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). This means that the youths are constructed from this negative picture and it becomes an available subject position, possible formations of identities and relations. These positions, and only these, are available for the youths to form their identity and build their relations around but also for the surrounding society to form their opinions on. This shows the incredible power that media has when it comes to identity formations in the mass media, as these adopted images become something these young people must relate to. Another quote that demonstrates the construction of a stereotypical negative picture about the youths is the following, describing the situation in the shopping center Nordstan in Gothenburg.

> "In the middle of the morning rush… 18-year-old Samir takes up a white mora knife. He stabs his victim, a boy in the same age, in the throat. Bleeding, the victim, the suspected perpetrator and another group of unaccompanied youths from Morocco run through the mall… Everything happens at eight o'clock in the morning in the middle of the rush hour, among morning commuters on the way to work, a Tuesday in the Nordstan shopping center in Gothenburg... Expressen told last week about the police's alarm about increased problems with unaccompanied

refuge youths and increasingly aggressive youth gangs in the shopping center." (Expressen 21/1-17)

Transitivity is according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000) a way of scrutinising how someone can be exempt of responsibility or how responsibility can be made even clearer in relation to an agent. Depending on the topic the transitivity have ascribed responsibility more or less clear to the youths. Both citations above illustrate how the youths themselves were clearly visible and active agents and the responsibility is thus made very clear. Since the event is connected with an agent, this is not seen as something that just happened but as a conscious action by an active agent. These active agents were clearly described with their nationality which can be interpreted as an explanation of the criminal act. When this very stereotypical and negative picture is ascribed to these youths in combination with their nationality they become carriers of assumed behaviours and characteristics from their home countries. Which in itself builds on a very essentialist assumption of "the other" who is reduced to these attributes and considered to be like that by nature. As Brune (1998; 2004) argues they become different, inferior and at the same time threatening when they are ascribed stereotypical attributes. This is a way to make these youths powerless and in the control of others. In control of the elite in the society who have the power to ascribe these attributes which thus can be seen as a way to reproduce the unequal power structure between the youths and the elite in society. The colonial past can, according to me, be seen to have made this depiction possible since it have enabled a certain way of thinking and view the world (Landström, 2001). A very hierarchical worldview where the Swedish society are ascribed a supposed superiority over the primitive Rest (Hall, 1992). The presence of nationality also makes me think of the influence that alternative media has on mainstream media. They have regularly criticised mainstream media for leaving this information out (Holt, 2016). To mention nationality or ethnicity was a very present pattern in the scrutinised articles and can thus be seen as a clear adaption to the alternative media's will of portraying immigrants as perpetrators. Thus, this shows the power the alternative media have in affecting how mainstream media formulate their news. By using Fairclough's (1992) notion of interdiscursivity this can be seen as an example of how the order of discourse are transformed since new elements are included from different discourses. Transformed to be even more hostile and stereotypical.

5.2.2 The drug abuser

An othering process against these youths can also be viewed in how they were portrayed as drug abusers. This abuse was portrayed both as an effect of the exposed situation in which the youths were living under but also as part of a criminal lifestyle. The criminal lifestyle was depicted in very powerful words that caught the attention of the reader. The citation below from an article about the so called war of drugs in the northwest suburbs of Stockholm witnesses about this, where words as bloody conflicts, weapons, grenades and drugs can be caught in one sentence.

> "Bloody conflicts with automatic weapons and hand grenades, where schoolchildren are recruited as errand boys to carry weapons and sell drugs... Rinkeby subway station is identified as a place where the police have lost control and it is said that heroin is present there. - Since it came out, we have not seen as much, but on the platform it is still present and then it has been mostly unaccompanied who smoked heroin, says Erik Ahnlund, group manager for a street peddle group in Rinkeby." (Expressen 11/2-17)

Media have a distinct power when it comes to defining what a problem is in society. This is made by valuing, selecting and framing news differently. As Strömbäck, Andersson and Nedlund (2017) argue it is a tension between democracy and market in news reporting, to deliver news that people *need* or deliver news that people *want* in order to be competitive. Different techniques can be used to attract readers. Polarisation and stereotyping are two examples of making sensational stories. This kind of sensational journalism can, from my point of view, cause a stereotypical picture that reduces the youths to these negative characteristics, and they become different, threatening and framed as problems. Using stereotypes is thus part of an othering process and a way of exercising discursive and hegemonic power. When stereotypes are used in the media reporting, a splitting can be implemented between different groups of people in society by setting up a system for what is normal and acceptable. This can result in symbolic boundaries of who belongs or not (Hall, 1997). These symbolic boundaries can be related to Anderson's (2015) community of values, where the society is assumed to be resided by good citizens that are law-abiding and hardworking and must be protected from outsiders that are not sharing the same values. The youths have, according to me, recurrently been constructed as the undeserving outsiders who do not belong due to the stereotypical picture that highlights negative characteristics and differences. This, can thus be seen as a way of reproducing a power structure of those who are assumed to belong and those who are not. When this stereotypical picture is presented with a high degree of modality, which is often the case in

these news articles, this also signals, according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000), to the reader that this claim is a fact, this is how they are, these youths.

The abuse was also portrayed as an effect of the exposed situation under which these youths were living under. Christian Frödén, who works outreaching to unaccompanied youths, argues in the citation below that the addiction was increasing when much concerns about deportations was present.

> "The police have for a long time been alerting about abuse among unaccompanied refugee youths. Among other things, it has been noticed that the smoking heroin is spreading among young people from Afghanistan… - We have seen that the addiction is increasing in line with the risk of deportation." (SvD 3/2-17)

When the focus shifts to highlight the exposed situation under which these youths are living, their position as perpetrators shifts into a position of being a victim. This is one example of resistance of this discourse and how it is negotiated. This will be further discussed later in the thesis under the *innocence discourse*.

5.2.3 The sexual offender

Youths categorised as unaccompanied were recurrently depicted as perpetrators of sexual assaults. They were portrayed as active brutal criminals that for example "pulled out" their victim and raped their victim several times as the citations illustrate.

> "On September 9th last year, a 23-year-old woman was raped six times at the viewpoint Fåfängan on Södermalm in Stockholm by three unaccompanied North African youths." (Expressen 28/1-16)

> "Five are deported for group rape. The five youths who pulled out an underage boy and raped him last autumn will be deported to Afghanistan." (Expressen 9/3-17)

The depictions were detailed, often with the ethnicity of the offenders present and written in a sensational way that may have caught the interest of the reader. It is important to attract readers in the media landscape of today where the competition is hard (Strömbäck, Nedlund & Andersson, 2017). This, is thus one example of how the discourse is possibly affected by the social practice, the economic structures of the society. To attract readers with negative and stereotypical news, I suggest will have an effect on how we form our opinions and can result in a strengthening of stereotypic and negative attitudes towards this group of youths as previous research have shown (Schemer, 2012; UNHCR, 2016).

A process of otherness is made very clear in this discourse. The depiction is formed on the assumption that these youths are essentially different from the host society, which the citation below can exemplify. This division can according to Brune (1998; 2004) be built on stereotypical assumptions where certain attributes are ascribed to different groups, which often is made into personal characteristics. The youths become positioned as different and threatening since they are assumed to be carriers of deviant sexuality and masculinity arising from their home countries. Thus, the youths are on the base of their ethnicity made culturally different, positioned in contrast to the native Swedes. They are positioned as outsiders in Andersons (2015) community of values which is connected through shared values and same behaviour patterns. This, since they are assumed to act different and have different values because of their background. They are thus constructed as a threat to the Swedish society and its values. The youths are depicted in line with Hall's (1992) argument of a division of the society in a West and the Rest. The youths as a primitive Rest in contrast to the civilised West, in demand of what Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2013) and Olivius (2016) have identified as a need for refugee men to be educated and informed in order to be changed and adapted. The division in a subordinated "them" and a superior "us", must be seen as clear power factor which reproduce an unequal power structure. This division, I deem, can be possible through the colonial past since it has had an effect on the knowledge and discourse production and how we understand the world through different worldviews according to Landström (2001) and Loomba (2008). The present picture of the unaccompanied youth as a sexual offender is based on the assumption of the host society's superiority and its power to actually ascribe different characteristics to other groups of people. The following citations illustrate the described othering process.

> "In two of the above rapes, both the plaintiffs and suspects come from Afghanistan... According to a report by the UN agency Unicef, Afghanistan is one of the countries where homosexual abuse of young boys occurs in an organised form, despite prohibitions in the law." (DN 4/2-16)

> "Describes a group of about fifty unaccompanied refugee children who return every night and make themselves guilty of sexual harassment and assault... - Many of them are already impenitent when they come here and they are very young." (DN 15/1 2016)

What strikes me about the second citation above is the fact that it is the regional police chief for Stockholm, for a big authority, that says this. This shows the power that the elite has in constructing the public discourse and how the elite is given space to make their voice and perspectives visible and clear. From my perspective, the quote by the police chief, also demonstrates how the police and media can exercise power and have control over this group of

youths by framing them according to a specific pattern which shows how the hegemonic power of the elite, which van Dijk (2001) describes, can be unchallenged. Also, the high degree of modality which the chief is making use of, can result in a picture where his personal assumption is claimed to be a truth of how these youths actually are impenitent and different "others".

5.3 Untrustworthy discourse

The untrustworthy discourse, where children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were portrayed from a pattern that takes its point of departure from an assumption that the youths were unreliable have been clearly visible. This was especially made clear in relation to their age but also in relation to their intentions and statements. This discourse was quite stable throughout the whole research period.

5.3.1 Age

There were many examples where the age of the youths were questioned or at least not accepted as true. This was made visible both through the language and the use of words that expresses suspicions but also through the content and the topic that were raised. The language that showed suspicions towards the youths can be shown in the citations below.

> "...believed to be 12 years… boy stated to be 11 years..." (DN 4/2-16)

> "...stated age between 9 and 16 years..." (DN 17/2-16)

> "The, according to his own information, 15-year-old boy..." (Expressen 12/2-16)

> "...enrolled as a 17-years old." (Expressen 30/3-18)

I also want to give a couple of examples to contrast the suspicious language use, where these suspicions were absent and it was instead written with a high degree of modality. This means that the producer of the text agree in what is said and it is thus made as a claim of truth (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000) and hence it mediates something totally different than suspicion.

> "He is 19 years… and has fled throughout his whole life." (Aftonbladet 2/1-19)

> "...and was 16 when he came to Sweden alone..." (Expressen 6/3-19)

The suspicious expressions above that were very common in the articles, were based, as I see it, on an assumption that these youths are untrustworthy and lie about their age. It is important to scrutinise what is taken for granted in discourses since it builds upon earlier events and texts

and can hide ideologies, which can support the dominance relationships in society (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). This assumption, that the youths are lying about their age, I argue, builds on an ideology of the subordinated ethnic other where difference is fortified by ethnicity. Ethnicity builds on an idea of a common origin and is seen as an aspect of a relationship and is thus constructed in relation to cultural differences (Hylland Eriksen, 1998). This assumption constructs a discourse of untrustworthiness in relation to these youths and they become subjects for suspicion. A possible explanation of this assumption, I suggest, can be derived from how the knowledge production about the other has been affected by the division of the world into the West and the Rest. This division is made in a hierarchical manner where the West has constructed itself as the superior and the Rest as the subordinated "other" (Hall, 1992). This knowledge production comes with power since it has real effects and outcomes. Which this is an example of, where the elite of the Swedish society have the power to ascribe certain, in this case, negative characteristics to these youths as being untrustworthy liars. This in turn can have an effect on how we form our opinions and attitudes towards these youths. This also has the effect of a reproduced power structure where the majority of the society can maintain their power and control over this constructed group of people.

Furthermore, the youths were also very explicitly depicted as untrustworthy when I investigated the content of the articles. This was commonly made with a high degree of modality which means that the journalist agrees in what is written and thus frame this view as an accepted truth (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). The citations below are two examples of such high degree of modality.

> "The boys' identity and age could never be determined. Then they have stated different
> identities at other times." (Expressen 28/1-16)

> "The age of thousands of asylum seekers is uncertain." (Expressen 19/2-17)

The first citation is in the context of the difficulties to determine the youth's identity in connection to a criminal act and the second citation is from an article about how a large number of youths may need to undergo an age determination. The citations, I suggest are based on the assumption that these youths are lying about their age. What is interesting, is that the assumption that the youths are liars is so accepted that it was never questioned in the articles. The methods of age assessment were sometimes questioned but not the assumption that they do lie about their age, it seems to have been adopted as a fact. The reality is complex, and I am aware that there are circumstances that can affect the untrustworthy discourse. There are youths

who come to Sweden categorised as unaccompanied that for various reasons are unsure of their exact age. However, this is not a reason to construct them as a homogeneous group that lies about their age even if it can contributes the uncertainty and strengthen the untrustworthy discourse.

The suspicious view of the youths as untrustworthy was further confirmed by how the common topic of age assessments as a tool to determine an age was framed, which the following citations illustrate.

> "Criminal suspects should be able to be age determined against their will... Minister of the Interior Anders Ygeman wants to use the tests on unaccompanied... Anders Ygeman hopes that this will solve problems where, for example, unaccompanied are engaged in crime and claim that they are under the age of 18." (Aftonbladet 22/3-17)

> "In 2015, more than 30,000 unaccompanied children sought asylum in Sweden, the majority of whom were Afghans. In February 2016, Prime Minister Stefan Löfven (S) demanded that the Migration Agency should increase the number of age assessments." (SvD 12/1-18)

These citations are examples of how the youths were depicted as so untrustworthy that assessments to control their age must be implemented. My conclusion is that the untrustworthiness is enabled by the established assumption that the youths are a homogeneous group of lying unreliable young people. This established assumption was confirmed and unchallenged by the acts of two political authorities in the citations above, who can give further legitimacy to the dominant assumption. A consequence of this legitimation is that the perspective of the elite can proceed to be ruling. As noted by Brune (2004) and Hultén (2006), to use a fixed set of sources, for example an elite in the society, contributes to distorted power relationships in society. The youths are clearly constructed as different through an othering process where they are strongly reduced to this essential characteristic of being untrustworthy. This is done by constructing a stereotypical image with a high degree of modality which makes this characteristic appear as something natural. To use this stereotype and depict it as natural manifests this othering process (Hall, 1997) and makes the youths even more distant. This way of constructing the youths as essentially different is a way to make them not belong according to Anderson's (2015) community of value, where the states of today are connected through people that shares the same values, ideals and behaviour patterns which these youths are depicted not to share. By constructing these borders of whom is belonging or not, the youths are also sorted out as undeserving according to me.

An assumed need for age assessments can be a visible consequence of an assumption that strongly have been adopted as a fact in the discourse and will thus have real outcomes for these youths' subject positions, both how they are perceived by the surrounding society and how they can build relations and form their identity but also what possibilities they actually have in the asylum process. This is an example of Winther Jörgensen and Phillip's (2000) assertion that the discursive practice have effect on the social practice.

5.3.2 Intention and statements

The youths were not just made untrustworthy in relation to their age but also in relation to their statements and intentions. This untrustworthiness in relation to statements and intentions is also present in Stretmo's (2014) research about children and youths categorised as unaccompanied where the youths were depicted as untrustworthy when they were suspected of being economic migrants searching for a better life in Sweden and when holding their real intentions hidden. Untrustworthiness in relation to the youths' intentions and their authenticity is the following citation an example of.

> "With him he had a smartphone, some clothes and one of his mother's floral shawls." (DN 4/2-16)

This citation must be contextualised to make my argumentation reasonable. In the wake of 2015, when many people came to Sweden in order to seek asylum, a discussion about the authenticity and intention of these youths and immigrants was present in media and on different internet forums. One topic that was discussed was specifically the fact that migrants had smartphones and were therefore questioned whether they were "real" migrants or not, since smartphones are expensive and "real" migrants are not expected to afford that. This discussion was, according to me, built on a very stereotypical picture of how a refugee is supposed to be. Therefore, this citation made me interested since it plays on different feelings. First, by bringing up the smartphone card, suspicions about these youths' intentions and causes are raised; they are made into subjects of suspicion. According to my perception is the questioning of the youths' intentions and causes a way to differentiate groups of people from others and create borders and distance between people. This is in line with Anderson's (2015) discussion on borders, that borders are not just territorial but also creates a perception of whom is deserving or undeserving, legitimate or illegitimate. Secondly, in contrast, a more emotional expression about his mother's shawls is made clear that raises totally different emotions of sensitivity and vulnerability. The reporting here is very ambivalent.

The citation below illustrates how untrustworthiness can be expressed by using a low degree of modality.

> "In this strained situation, Fahim Hussaini was sent from Malmö to Stockholm by train the following day. In total, it took ten days on Swedish soil before he had the opportunity to seek asylum, he claims himself… - I asked to seek asylum, but they did not receive me until there was a vacant time in Stockholm. Fahim claims that he gave his name, age and where he came from at Malmö Central Station. Where these notes are today he does not know. He wants them to be found, it would show that he came to Sweden a couple of days before November 24, 2015. - And you totally sure of this?" (Aftonbladet 2/1-19)

This last citation made the suspicions visible by using the expression, "he claims himself" reiterative, this was said with a low degree of modality, which is the degree to which the author of the text agrees with what is said (Winther Jörgensen and Phillips, 2000). By this low degree of modality, a space for interpretation is made possible, that it might not be as he says, and a space for suspicion is thus made visible. Also, the question where the author explicitly asks if it really was like that, is based on the assumption that this youth might lie about this statement. How these youths are framed as untrustworthy both in relation to age and in relation to statements and intentions can be related to previous research where it is stated that suspicion towards refugees became even more present after the autumn 2015 (Georgiou & Zabrowski, 2017).

5.4 Innocence discourse

This discourse can be seen as a way of challenging the previous discourses where children and youths categorised as unaccompanied in different ways have been portrayed as problems who burden the society, are perpetrators and untrustworthy young people. In this discourse the youths were portrayed from a pattern that were based on their vulnerability as young people who had previous traumatic experiences and who had experiences of a difficult life situation in Sweden. It also made a pattern visible where the youths were portrayed as innocent and deserving young people. However, this vulnerability and deservingness did not exclusively construct a picture of innocent deserving victims, it was also a process of otherness where the youths were made different from the majority of the society. A pattern was identified that showed how this discourse has increased throughout the research period.

5.4.1 Vulnerability in relation to previous experiences

The youths were portrayed as vulnerable victims due to previous experiences of traumatic events in their home countries and on their flight to Sweden but also due to their traumatic experiencing of leaving their families, friends and societies behind. Just by labelling the youths as unaccompanied, I deem that different subject positions are made possible. A subject position of being vulnerable is enabled since being unaccompanied means that they are separated from their guardians and they are thus portrayed as lonely. Also a position of being different is enabled because they are an exception of not being accompanied by their guardians, it is thus a process of otherness. To be categorised as unaccompanied youths rather than just youths will indeed have consequences. Since the different subject positions that this labelling comes with are making different possibilities for identity and relation formations possible (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). It will thus have real outcomes for the youths and how they position themselves and are positioned by others.

The citations below exemplify a high degree of modality. That is, the degree to which the journalist agrees to what is written and frames it as a truth. The articles showed more generally a pattern of high modality. The way a producer of a text is expressing a specific event will affect what the consumer of the text thinks is true and thus have an effect on social relations and the knowledge and meaning system we are surrounded of (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). So, the way in which the youths are framed, with a high degree of modality, as both victims but also different "others" affect what the reader of the text perceives as true. The fact that the articles in question are using a high degree of modality can be related to what kind of text they are. Since I have chosen to analyse news articles, the high degree of modality should be seen in the light that these articles are assumed to deliver facts of reality. The use of a high degree of modality in the articles, can be seen as a tool for media for constructing knowledge and meaning systems which according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000) both reflects and promotes the authority of news media reporting. This is thus an important power structure to be aware of where the journalists as a part of the elite can maintain their power. But in order to make the reporting more trustworthy and balanced the voice of the children and youths themselves is also, to a limited extent, included which the citations below illustrate.

> "It is when the lights are turned off in the evening and when the sound from the TV goes silent that the memories of the flight are brought into mind. It is then, that the concern for the future is as strongest. Samir, Mostafa and Alireza all carry traumas they want help with. Because sometimes it hurts so much in the heart that you can't even talk... The loneliness, the anxiety, the fear of failure, not reaching all the way, making the parents disappointed are experiences that many of the youths in the accommodation share." (SvD 16/3-16)

"For ten years, Fahim Hussaini lived illegally in Tehran. He worked as a street vendor and later as a tailor and cobbler apprentice. He was arrested twice by the police and deported to Afghanistan. - They drove me and a couple of other boys to the border and left us on the other side. When I looked around, there were armed Iranian soldiers on one side and armed Afghan soldiers on the other. Neither side wanted us Hazaras, says Fahim." (Aftonbladet 2/1-19)

In the innocence discourse were personal stories common and even the voices of the youths themselves were not rare. They got the power to show their own perspective and contrast the picture that is given from experts and authorities. The faceless authority discourse which Brune (2004) have described and which also was clearly present in this study, is challenged by a more humanistic and personal perspective. The present stereotypical picture with a clear negative focus that have been presented in the previous discourses and which is confirmed by De Coninck, Vandenberghe and Matthijs (2019) and UNHCR (2016) got challenged by this discourse. Because the picture becomes widened with more perspectives that can create sympathies for these youths. From my perspective this is one way in which the power of the dominated elite may be challenged. This contrasted picture is in line with Georgiou and Zabrowski's (2017) argument that the reporting on refugees are dual, one more positive with humanitarian incentive and one more negative and suspicious. But additionally, I deem that the depiction of the youths as victims, with different traumatic experiences from their home countries or the flight is also a process of otherness. They are, as Hall (1997) describes it but in another context, made different from the majority of the society when their vulnerability is highlighted in relation to their background and previous experiences. This is important in relation to the fact that discursive practices have an effect on the social practice and thus becomes productive (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). The process of otherness can thus have negative consequences for possible subject positions of these youths, how they are perceived and how they can build new relations and form their identities since they are portrayed as different and in contrast to the native Swedes.

5.4.2 Vulnerability in relation to a difficult life situation in Sweden

Children and youths categorised as unaccompanied were also depicted as victims in relation to their life situation in Sweden. They were portrayed in the articles as exposed to burglary, violence, sexual assaults and different exploitations as the citation below gives an example of.

"The S-politician sexually exploited a refugee boy at an accommodation for unaccompanied youths. The middle-aged woman was an active S-politician at the local level. At the same time,

she worked at a refugee accommodation. At the accommodation, she began a sexual relationship with a 16-year-old boy." (Expressen 12/1-19, S-politician means Social Democratic politician)

This citation is an example of how the youths could be depicted with a clear victim focus. When looking at transitivity, which means if the event is clearly linked to an agent (Winter Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000) it became visible that it was the middle-aged woman that was the agent and thus the one responsible for the situation. Also how it was expressed made the boy clearly framed as a victim, a sexually exploited victim. To depict these youths as vulnerable is also present in Stretmo's (2014) research where she identify a pattern where they are framed as passive and innocent subjects in need of care which also this discourse makes visible. The following citation is another example of how the youths were portrayed as victims because of the circumstances here in Sweden, here is it more specifically in the context of Karlskrona where this youth lived.

"- In four months I became homeless, had no income, I dropped out of school, everything. In Karlskrona he went to elementary school for adults and would become an assistant nurse and above all he had his own apartment." (Expressen 31/3-19)

This citation where the boy left Karlskrona due to his concern for more assaults showed a very exposed living situation. The article showed that he was a victim of violence and a hard life situation, but he was not passive. His own voice and story were given space and when scrutinising transitivity he was framed as an active subject competent to solve his own situation by being connected with different events and choices. This was also present in other articles, where these youths were depicted to be victims for different tough situations but also as active determined agents that were striving for a decent and safe living situation. This depiction, I argue, is a way of challenging van Dijk's (2005) notion of the power of the elite, since the perspective of this minority group is given space and voice. When the youths are clearly connected to events and choices, this makes them into active and competent agents in charge of their own lives and is thus a clear power factor of media. This was made clear when scrutinising the transitivity of the texts.

An interesting phenomenon that surprised me was how the youths in some articles were depicted as victims of the news reporting itself. It was thus in some way a kind of questioning of medias' own role and how it had an effect on the social practice in the society. It can also be viewed as an example of how a dominated group, who is controlled by others by being clearly

attributed with different characteristics and roles are resisting this power and control as van Dijk (2001) makes an argument about. The following citation clearly represents this.

> "...they continue to discuss relationships. More precisely, the Swedes' relations to them. - Why is it so difficult to make contact with Swedes? Asks Abdullah. The question is repeated by the others. Yes why is it so difficult. Amir joins from the control room. He wonders if there can be a connection between the Swedes' distancing from them and the news reporting. - There is a lot written about unaccompanied youths committing crimes and many seem to believe that they represent us all." (SvD 27/3-17)

In another article, youths were discussing the reporting on Afghanistan and the situation for women there. The patriarchal structure, rapes, forced marriage and assaults and the picture of the boys themselves as carriers of these structures and values. This depiction positions the youths as victims of discriminative acts but also as qualified active opponents who are given space to express their perspectives, they resist the unequal power structure where they are simultaneously ascribed negative attributes.

> "- I am ashamed at this moment to tell Swedes that I come from this Afghanistan... Rashid states that he lost a close friend when people in his surroundings have read the reportages. He says the texts have created the picture that all Afghan men want to rape and buy women." (Expressen 6/1-19)

The discursive practice and other social practices are in a dialectic interplay and are thus affecting each other (Winter Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). These two citations in this section highlight possible effects that the discursive practice in media might have had on the social practice which results in real outcomes for these youths, for their forming of relations and identities. The youths themselves also made a distancing clear to those youths that are committing crimes or having oppressive approaches toward women. This can, from my perspective, be seen as a way for those who are not firmly established in Anderson's (2015) community of values to prove really hard that they actually have the right values for being members of society, of being deserving by distance themselves from the undeserving.

5.4.3 Deservingness

The importance of having a balanced and fair media reporting is made clear by Schemer's (2012) research which reveals that frequent negative news on immigrants increase stereotypic and negative attitudes towards this group. However, his report also shows that positive news can weaken negative and stereotypical attitudes. Whether the youths are portrayed as innocent

active agents or untrustworthy perpetrator will have effect on public attitudes and is thus a clear power factor of media. The discourse of innocence, I suggest, was one way where the news reporting was made more balanced since the youths were portrayed more positively. The youths were especially portrayed as innocent when it came to school and to learn Swedish. They were often portrayed as very engaged students that prioritised the school and to learn Swedish. By depicting the youths in this way they are portrayed as deserving young people, deserving of being in the new country and who deserves to belong. The following citations are clear examples of how the youths were portrayed as innocent in relation to how they performed in school.

> "Samir, who lives in the room with the cherry blossoms, is 18 years old and has been granted asylum in Sweden and thinks the school is important. Beside the bed is a dictionary placed and his Swedish is getting better every day." (SvD 16/3-16)

> "Fahim takes great responsibility for his studies and shows in a very good way that he wants to develop in the chef profession. He is a great asset in the class with his kindness and willingness to conduct his studies. As a mentor and teacher in the practical subjects, I see great opportunities that Fahim will become a valued and talented chef in an industry that now has a demand for competent staff… Fahim has acclimated himself well in Sweden, he has an organised accommodation, many friends and enjoys school." (Aftonbladet 2/1-19)

The citations above are examples of how the youths also were portrayed as an asset for the society by being talented students who educate themselves in for example professions where workers are needed. So, from being portrayed as burdens of the society in previous discourses they were here presented as an asset. This makes different subject positions available, I argue, and thus constructs different possibilities for these youths to be included in society and form their identities and relations.

To speak Swedish and be engaged students, are a clear indicator of being deserving. The states of today are connected by a community of value according to Anderson (2015) and consists of people who share the same values, ideals and behaviour patterns. Those subjects who are not firmly established in the community of values must prove really hard that they actually have the right values for being members of the society. This is made very clear in the articles where the youths were depicted as well-behaved and striving students who were successful in their learning process. This deserving approach was expressed from different perspectives, the journalists, the surrounding society and from the youths themselves. The citation below is an example of how both the journalist and the surrounding society, through a

priest in the Swedish church in Paris, are framing these youths in the light of being deserving by speaking Swedish and by adopting the "Swedish manner".

> "He is reserved and speaks fluent Swedish, quietly and in slightly Gothenburg dialect. He came to Sweden from Afghanistan in 2015 ... - It has been a very busy autumn. There have been a lot of tears and feelings of powerlessness. Well, says the priest Tua Sällström. She has tears in her eyes. It is merciless, she says. Young guys who have lived in Sweden for many years, learned the language, the manner, the humor. Suddenly they are forced to move and are on the street of Paris." (DN 16/2-18)

It was made clear in the article that these young people had adapted to the "Swedish manner". This must be understood to be done in contrast to how these youths were before. Being Swedish was portrayed as something solid and clear that these young people have been forced to learn since they are assumed to be different and thus have a different behaviour. They are in one way belonging, even if it is conditional, since they have succeeded to adapt. At the same time, Hall's (1997) process of otherness is present through assumptions of "them" having a different behaviour that they have to relearn. From my perspective it is the adaptation that makes them deserving. The discursive practice has effects on the social practice which Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000) states. This can possibly be shown by the phenomenon that these youths do frame themselves with potential expressions of deservingness and by distancing themselves to those young people who are not considered deserving. This is in line with Anderson's (2015) argument that those who are not firmly established in the community must prove really hard that they actually have the right values for being members of the society. So, how the youths frame themselves as being deserving can be a possible adaptation to the discursive practice. But even if they are considered as deserving, their belonging is conditional as the citation below is an example of.

> "The government proposes that well-behaved unaccompanied who attend upper secondary school should not be deported." (DN 3/3-17)

The youths should not be deported as long as they are deserving, which means being well-behaved and conducting their studies. They really have to deserve their chance to a residence permit. This need, to prove themselves deserving and hardworking, must in some sense be seen as a process of otherness, since it builds on the assumption that they are not, they are assumed to be different and not belonging.

5.5 Concluding discussion

In this section I discuss my findings and summarise the answers to my research questions. I have – as stated in the aim - scrutinised, from a critical perspective, how Swedish mainstream news media depict children and youths categorised as unaccompanied. The aim is also to explore what different power structures that are made visible in the news reporting, about the concerned children and youths, between the years 2016 and 2019. Distinct patterns are revealed in the scrutinised articles and I identify four discourses from these patterns, *the authority, the perpetrator, the untrustworthy* and *the innocence discourse*. A clear negative focus are identified through the authority, perpetrator and untrustworthy discourse. This confirms De Coninck, Vandenberghe and Matthij's (2019) and UNHCR's (2016) research which also demonstrate a distinct negative focus. These identified negative discourses are negotiated with the innocence discourse where the youths are framed more positively and with a more humanistic and moral incentive. The ambivalence that this represents is present also in Georgiou and Zabrowski's (2017) research where they identify a dual discourse when it comes to media and how they report about refugees. One more positive, with a humanitarian and moral incentive, and one more negative with a militaristic and securitised perspective with suspicion and hostility towards refugees. Also in Stretmo's (2014) research this ambivalence is present where the youths are portrayed both as vulnerable and in need of care and as undecidable and untrustworthy in need of tougher and more disciplining measures.

The negative discourses are also negotiated by the presence of the voices of the youths themselves. It is not possible to identify any changes of this over time, but the youths' voices are present in 11 of the 40 articles and can be seen as a way to challenge the power of the "experts" who usually are allowed to put their perspective on a certain event. By being allowed to raise their voices and perspectives they become active and competent agents. However, it is still important to note that it is so called "experts" that are cited or interviewed in a large majority of the articles which is in line with van Dijk's (2005) argument that it is mainly "experts" that are interviewed and cited in the public discourse. The "experts" in these articles are represented by chiefs at different authorities such as the Police, Social Services and the Migration Agency but also many legal experts and politicians. They are invited to talk *about* the youths from their perspective which often come with a clear aim depending on their position. To ascribe, to such an extent, the experts to give their opinions and perspectives is a huge power factor which reproduce an unequal power structure. A power factor of media, by being a part of the elite they can set the agenda and highlight the voices of the elite and thus

also makes the elite in control over the depiction of this group of young people (van Dijk, 2005; 2001).

According to interdiscursivity, discourses are reproduced when no new elements are included and transformed when new creative compositions and connections of discourses are implemented (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). Considering that previous research also indicates similar ambivalent reporting, this ambivalence in itself cannot be said to be a new creative composition that transforms the discourse, but it is a way to negotiate and challenge the negative focus on the youths. One way to find out if this reporting has been transformed is to examine if the positive reporting has been given more or less space. Although my material is limited, it clearly shows that the innocence discourse increased throughout the period, the perpetrator discourse decreased, while the authority discourse fluctuated a bit and the untrustworthy discourse has been quite stable. This means that at the end of the research period, the reporting is in more balance between the negative discourses and the more positive innocence discourse. This development I consider as noteworthy, since previous research have identified a discursive shift in the autumn 2015, a shift towards a more securitised and negative picture in the media reporting (Gripsrud, Hovden & Mjelde, 2018; Georgiou & Zabrowski, 2017). The result of my study does not contradict this shift. With these articles as a basis, it is shown that this reporting has a clearly negative focus, however at the end of my research period, a clearer balance between these negative discourses and the more positive innocence discourse with a humanistic incentive became clear. A possible explanation of this can be that the previous researchers, have focused on the specific time of 2015 and 2016, when a large number of refugees came to Europe and not the time period after this.

The innocence discourse has a more positive approach than the other identified discourses. However, the discourse is not exclusively positive since it also makes processes of otherness visible and thus constructs differences between this group of youths and the host society. The subject position where the youths are made different through various othering processes is made clear through all of the discourses and is the strongest position they are ascribed. The processes of otherness are a power factor in itself since it have consequences. One possible consequence of the focus on differences is that it enables and reproduce a distance between these groups which in turn can provide a space and a breeding ground for xenophobia. By depicting the youths in processes of otherness, the reporting reproduce a very hierarchical power structure. They are ascribed a subject position as different and as carriers of deviant behaviours and values. Accordingly, they become a subordinated "them", constructed in

contrast to the host society. On the other side are the superior "us" that have the power to name, label, and set the agenda - to produce knowledge and truths - in relation to the subordinated "them". One explanation of how these processes are enabled is the world's history of colonisation, where the discourse of the West and the Rest has real effects and outcomes since it encourages a certain hierarchical way of talking and experiencing the world (Hall, 1992). By choosing the specific theoretical framework of otherness the analysis is made with this focus. This focus have enabled tools to actually detect these processes of otherness, processes made through ethnicity and national belonging, masculinity and sexuality and of being deserving and undeserving. Having this focus do of course contributes to make these processes visible, but it is unfortunately not hard to detect these processes which is highly present. Additionally, the constructed picture of the youths makes other subject positions available such as being burdens of the Swedish society who are draining the system's resources, as perpetrators and carriers of obsolete values and untrustworthy young people hiding their real age and intentions for the authorities. But the youths are also positioned and described in terms of being passive victims with traumatic experiences both from their past, their flight and their new life situation in Sweden and by being innocent, active and competent youths deserving to be a part of the Swedish society. The deserved belonging is thus conditional, they are seen to deserve a belonging when being good students who learn Swedish well and adapt to the "Swedish manner".

This constructed picture will of course also have consequences for future formations of identities and relations for the youths, subject positions, since the discursive practice and the social practices are in a dialectic interplay and are thus affecting each other (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). Thus, to categorise and ascribe this clear attributes to the youths is a huge power factor since it will have real outcomes. These consequences are expressed to some extent also in these articles, the youths themselves are witnessing about a difficulty to make contact with native Swedes which of course can be a consequence of the present picture which have a clear othering focus. Also, when it comes to their own identity formations this is a picture that they have to relate to and take a stand on which is made visible by the phenomena that these youths do frame themselves with potential expressions of deservingness and by distancing themselves to those young people who are not considered deserving. This phenomenon where the youths depict themselves in terms of being responsible, well-behaved and capable makes me think of the initiative of #jag är 2015. This initiative started in March 2020 as a call on Facebook in order to highlight the people that sought asylum in Sweden during 2015 and give

the numbers a face and content. These persons deliver personal stories of their experiencing of fleeing a country and coming to Sweden. Most of these stories are also about being capable, active and responsible which I suggest is done in order to be deserving. From my perspective, this reveals a lot about the Swedish society, that these people feel compelled to present themselves as deserving in order to be accepted and legitimate of the surrounding society.

The clear pattern of expressing the youths' ethnicity in the articles, I suggests, can be an adaptation to the purpose of the immigration critical alternative media's discourse of spreading xenophobic attitudes. This is an example of how different discourses are present between orders of discourses that is all the competing discourses that are in the same social field (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). This clear pattern, I suggest can be seen as a new included element that transforms mainstream media's discourses on these youths to be even more negative and hostile. Additionally, it makes the power of the alternative media visible, the power to actually affect mainstream media. This adaptation of the mainstream media discourse that includes the youths' ethnicity can reproduce an unequal power structure of a subordinated "them" and superior "us". This is enabled since it is a part of a process of otherness where differences are highlighted in connection to ethnicity. Discursive practices do have power to affect social practices. So to frame the youths as problems, as burdens of the society and untrustworthy perpetrators, is a clear power factor which also can have consequences when it comes to the surrounding society to form their opinions and attitudes. This negative depiction risk to give migration critical parties and other xenophobic powers in society a further push forward since media have got an increased influence on the politics according to Hultén (2006).

Another identified power factor that makes an unequal power structure visible is how the news reporting connects certain events with an agent. This can be identified by looking on transitivity. By leaving out an agent or connect the agent with certain events, responsibility can be hidden or clarified which can have consequences (Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). This is illustrated in the authority discourse where the authoritys' responsibility are hidden and the youths are made guilty for a difficult situation for the municipalities. This unfair division of responsibility activates an unequal power structure where the government and the authorities can remain unchallenged and thus their power as well and the youths are instead ascribed a huge guilt which must be seen as a heavy burden to carry. Similarly, this is also done in connection to the implemented stricter migration policies, also described in the authority discourse, which have resulted in a drastic decrease in children and youths categorised as unaccompanied that reach Sweden. This event is just expressed as a fact as something natural

that just happens since the agent is absent and no one can thus be held responsible. Also here can an unequal power structure, between authorities and the youths be reproduced and the tightened migration policy and the closed walls around Europe and Sweden can be unchallenged.

Moreover, according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000) different texts are produced and consumed in different ways. Further, Fairclough (1992) asserts that media often present interpretations as facts by using a high degree of modality. In my analysis I have identified a general high degree of modality in the articles. Interpretations are constructed as facts, or accepted truths. This have made assumptions about the youths visible. Assumptions about them being unreasonable many, being problematic in themselves, being different from the host society, being potential liars and being carriers of different behaviours and oppressive structures. News media's use of a general high degree of modality both reflects and promotes their authority, according to Winther Jörgensen and Phillips (2000). So expressing news with a high degree of modality, must be seen as way of exercising power, I argue. A high degree of modality can result in a stereotypical picture that reduces people to a few and simple characteristics (Hall, 1997). The reporting I investigated, strongly tend to do exactly this, especially in relation to negative characteristics. The youths have according to me recurrently been constructed as undeserving outsiders who do not belong due to the stereotypical picture that highlights negative attributes and differences. This can be seen as a way to reproduce a power structure between those who are assumed to belong and those who are not. At the same time, the increasingly present innocence discourse can nevertheless be seen as a way to challenge this stereotypical picture and broaden the constructed depiction and thus challenge the unequal power structure of society. From my perspective, can the identified ambivalence, be reinforced by the fact that it is specifically news articles that I have analysed. News articles are supposed to be of a more balanced character and one possible way to achieve a better balance according to me should be to include more perspectives, to be more ambivalent. So, a more balanced and ambivalent reporting with different perspectives can be seen as a part of medias' democratic mission to actually deliver information that people need in order to be capable to make well-considered decisions and not just adapt their reporting to be competitive and selling.

6. Final reflections

In this section I conclude with some final remarks and take a more general approach to the power of the media and its consequences. In this thesis I show how the view on children and youths categorised as unaccompanied is presented in mainstream media. I have analysed 40 articles between 2016 and 2019 in the largest newspapers in Sweden. How immigrants are depicted in media will have consequences for the society and how people form their opinions and attitudes towards this group of people (De Coninck, Vandenberghe & Matthijs, 2019) therefore I deem it important to conduct this analysis.

It is important to be aware of the fact that different texts are produced and consumed differently. In this thesis, I have scrutinised news articles which can be assumed to deliver a more trustworthy and balanced picture of these youths than for example debates or opinion pieces. News articles do for example often present interpretations as facts by using a high degree of modality which in turn will affect what the consumer of the text perceive as true (Fairclough, 1992; Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000). This makes me think of the importance to actually be critical to what is written as accepted truths in news reporting and also to be critical to what is not written, for example those assumptions that have been taken for granted. Many are the assumptions that the depictions of these youths are formed upon, assumptions that are more or less visible.

When accepted truths and assumptions are made very subtle through different techniques, then the critical part becomes far trickier. One example of this, from my own material, is in the authority discourse where the responsibility for causing the authorities a difficult situation was ascribed to the youths instead of the authorities. This was sometimes made very subtle but could be detected through analysing the transitivity of the texts. This cannot be a responsibility for the reader only. It must also be a responsibility for the journalists, to be aware of the assumptions and accepted truths on which they form the news. To take their democratic responsibility to deliver news that are *needed* for the readers to be able to form well considered opinions independently and not just deliver sensational stories that sells or reach out widely on internet. In parallel, the academia should take their responsibility to make available research in accessible forms. This should be done in order to underpin the importance of being critical to the news reporting, which I suggest also can put pressure on media to actually deliver a more balanced reporting. Moreover, the academia should also continue to repeatedly deconstruct reporting which builds, or even draws, on a very hierarchical power structure which makes these youths into different "others" through various othering processes.

The processes of otherness that is clearly present in the reporting of these young people feels worrying. To construct people as different has of course consequences for a society. One possible effect is that a division between groups of people are deepened which increase the distance between people. An example is the distance that the youths themselves are describing in my scrutinized articles in terms of difficulties to develop relationships with native Swedes. This is also described in previous research; many people have no direct contact with people who have immigrated and are thus using media to form their opinion about immigrated people (De Coninck, Vandenberghe & Matthijs, 2019). This fact, that many people use media to form their opinions on immigrated people, ascribes tremendous power and responsibility to the media. This means that the constructed picture in mainstream media about the children and youths categorised as unaccompanied will have real effects which are affected of how the reporting is constructed. The negative reporting and how these youths are made into strangers will, according to me, most likely have an effect on how they can make contact and build relations with new people. Because the discursive practice is productive and thus have effects on the social practice, how we act in the society. With limited contact between groups of people in the society, I argue, that assumptions and stereotypes are not challenged and can proceed to further strengthen the distance. It is a vicious circle. When media, in addition to this, is affected by migration critical alternative media and adapt their reporting to their agendas I argue that we are out in real deep water. Xenophobic and other unthinkable formulations become legitimate and the tone of the public debate shifts which can create an ideological space for the xenophobic parties in society.

To make the youths into different others and make a division between groups of people is a clear categorisation. It is interesting to think of categorisations and what it brings with it. To be categorised as unaccompanied youths rather than just youths will have consequences. The often negative and suspicious characteristics and connotations that the loaded term unaccompanied children comes with puts the youths in an exposed position. Because the ascribed attributes will have real effects of how the surrounding society form their opinions and attitudes towards these youths but also for the youth themselves, when forming their identities and relations. The discursive practice will thus affect the social practice.

However, as Schemer's (2012) research shows, media do not just have the power to strengthen negative attitudes towards immigrants, they also have the power to weaken negative attitudes with positive news on this group of young people. What could bring a glimmer of hope, is the growing ambivalence in the reporting over time. To draw any conclusions from this

is hard but it is a noteworthy result. Society has, through various initiatives greatly reduced the possibilities for people on flight to reach Europe and Sweden by strengthening borders. When this is done these youths might not be considered as so threatening anymore - threatening to a Swedish social cohesion and strong economy which Strömbäck, Andersson and Nedlund (2017) describes. This is one possible explanation of the growing ambivalence over time. But as highlighted above, to draw any conclusions of my limited material is not possible but I suggest it can be a potential topic for further research to scrutinise the development on a larger material.

To proceed on the theme of further research, I decided to scrutinise mainstream media, because of its outreach, both so called morning and evening newspapers. From my own perspective, I think it is assumed to be a difference between those and how they are ranked as balanced and trustworthy. This would be interesting to scrutinise more in detail, if there are any differences in the reporting between these two groups of newspapers but also between all the four newspapers and if their political colour shows any clear pattern. In my thesis, I do not include an analysis of pictures but to make a more visual analysis where pictures and layout are analysed I think might be an interesting contribution to the field. Further, I think it would be interesting to make a research on broadcasted news, radio and TV, which have a big outreach, and which seems to be a quite unexplored area. Also, to scrutinise news on social media, whose outreach has increased largely, should be interesting, especially because of the possibility to scrutinise direct reactions from the readers, through the comments. Something this thesis gained a very small insight into, is what the young people themselves think about the reporting and its consequences. To explore this in depth and make the voices of the youths themselves heard would, of course, be both very interesting and utterly important in order to balance the elite's control over the constructed picture of these youths.

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