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Elder Abuse as Constructed by *Dagens Nyheter*:

A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

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Abstract:

In order to analyze how the concept of elder abuse was constructed within the narrative of a newspaper article series, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) was applied to 175 newspaper articles following the Carema Care elder abuse case. The articles used for the study were published by DN.se, the online version of the Swedish morning newspaper Dagens Nyheter, between 2011-10-11 and 2012-10-11.

Throughout the entirety of the article series, the concept of elder abuse was consistently found to be constructed as something shocking and unacceptable. The FDA furthermore revealed how five different discourses - science and medicine, power relationships, economy, morals and ethics and finally the discourse of responsibility - constituted almost all of the synergistic discursive concept combinations that formed the discursive construct of elder abuse within the article series. These five discourses were therefore further analyzed for action orientations, positionings, practices and subjectivity in order to open up the discursive worlds inhabited by the participants of the narrative and to show how the particular subject matter construct was constituted and presented to the recipients of the narrative.

Finally, a discussion of the analysis focused on the processes of depersonalization and dehumanization with particular regard to the Foucauldian concept of exclusiveness. The article-constituted passive voicelessness of the victims of elder abuse was given special attention, since being constructed as a non-active subject, as a thing rather than as a human being, has been shown to be an enabling factor in abuse cases.

Keywords:

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, newspaper articles, elder abuse, Dagens Nyheter, Carema Care

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1 - Introduction

1.1 – The problem

On October 11, 2011, the Swedish morning paper Dagens Nyheter publishes the first of what is going to be a very great number of articles describing the tragic and repulsive ways in which the patients at Koppargården, a privately-owned elder-care institution in Vällingby, Stockholm, are being mistreated. The article - written by Mia Tottmar, journalist at Dagens Nyheter – describes a shortage of personnel, a lack of necessary competences in the resident staff, medical supplies running out, a large number of falling accidents, unnecessary amputations, several cases of severe malnourishment and one patient death caused by blood poisoning from a badly treated wound. (Tottmar, 2011-10-11, “*Oacceptabla förhållanden*” på äldreboende i Vällingby)

The name of the company responsible for running Koppargården is Carema Care and in the next four weeks that first article in Dagens Nyheter is followed by thirty-seven more. Soon, all other Swedish media join in, resulting in more reports of abuse, economical corner-cutting and cover-ups; new alarming reports from other Carema Care institutions for the elderly; denials, excuses and promises of improvements from Carema representatives; denials, excuses and promises of improvements from responsible local politicians and, of course, demands for investigations, policy-changes and legal consequences from national-level politicians, especially from the opposition parties. The Carema Care elder abuse scandal is a news-media fact.

Since that first article in October 2011 there has been almost five hundred articles about the scandalous state of affairs within the privatized Swedish elder care published in just the four largest Swedish daily newspapers. The problem has been given an immense amount of airtime on national radio and TV. Other elder-care companies besides Carema Care have been scrutinized, the concept of elder-care as profit-generating privatized business have been debated, the treatment of the elderly and/or disabled have been opened up for public discussion. If one assumes that the public news media is a powerful discourse-generating institution (Blackledge, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1988), it follows that during this process a number of distinctive discursive constructs regarding the phenomenon of the elderly as victims of abuse have been shaped and disseminated among the general population of Sweden. To a behavioral researcher with an interest in discourse analysis,

those constructs and the processes they represent are, of course, of very great interest.

This was the actual starting point of this study: an interest in the general discursive processes and practices of society, with particular focus on a very big media-driven newly-exposed topic. From this point followed a problem-formulation, methodological choices and an actual analysis.

1.2 – Theoretical background and definitions

1.2.1 – Discourse analysis

From a purely methodological point of view, discourse analysis is hard to define. Rather than being a precisely-defined single-approach kind of research method, discourse analysis offers a diverse selection of ways to approach a problem. Rather than being a specific quantitative or qualitative method, it questions the basic assumptions that define what most researchers would call 'quantitative' or 'qualitative'. It does not provide unambiguous answers to research questions nor does it confirm or disprove a null-hypothesis. What it does is to give access to the hidden motivations, the epistemological and ontological assumptions, within any kind of narrative. (van Dijk, 1983; Foucault, 1989; Parker, 1992)

In his book *Qualitative Psychology: Introducing Radical Research* (2005) Ian Parker defines some important differences between three distinct analytical approaches, namely 'content analysis', 'thematic analysis' and 'discourse analysis'. He first points out differences in how the material is sorted and linked: where content analysis is simply grouping certain words together, thematic analysis puts together batches of terminology that according to the analyst have similar meaning; discourse analysis does both, tying together how these words, phrases and/or concepts are used to construct the subject matter while also showing how they can be compared to each other on a discursive level. Next, Parker points out that while content analysis is not used to imply any kind of meaning in the words that are sorted, thematic analysis actually does make a phenomenologically meaningful analysis. It does not, however, extend this analysis outside its direct theoretical grouping of meanings. Discourse analysis does: it gives meaning to concepts, connecting these structures on a discursive level. The final difference pointed out by Parker lies within the different approaches to the effects of the language used, where once again the content analysis in general does not go into any kind of effect-analysis, the thematic analysis involves itself with language effects only if they are an obvious theme in the material while discourse analysis sets language effects in the center, defining them as concepts of meaning that exists independently of the speaker.

(Parker, 2005)

The word 'discourse' is in itself an ambiguous term: as noted above discourse analysis as a method includes a diverse selection of ways to approach a problem. Consequently, there are a number of different discourse-analytical schools, with a number of different points-of-view on what a 'discourse' actually is. For instance, the form of discourse analysis developed by Potter and Wetherell in the 1980s emerged out of ethnomethodology and semiology and attempts to explain how language is used to construct various versions of a social world. In *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour* (1987) they point out that

[...] the study of language is particularly vital to social psychology because it simply is the most basic and pervasive form of interaction between people. We spend a lot of our social lives talking to each other, reading the papers, watching movies and writing shopping lists. Most forms of social interaction involve people talking together or reading each other's scribblings. Furthermore, when raising issues of the nature of culture on the one hand, and the nature of the self, on the other, it is virtually impossible to clearly disentangle them from questions about language and its role in human affairs. As we will see shortly, it is clear that a large part of our activities are performed *through* language; our talk and writing do not live in some purely conceptual realm, but are mediums for action.

(Potter & Wetherell (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. p.9)

From this, Potter and Wetherell go on to define discourse as something that the researcher is supposed to approach as a distinct and separate phenomenon: something to be studied as it is, not as some kind of pathway that leads to attitudes or cognitive processes further down the road. Here, discourse is spoken of as "...a potent, action-oriented medium, not a transparent information channel" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 160), emphasizing the performative qualities of discourse, with a prioritization of action orientations focusing on the various stakeholders within the discursive practice. In this definition, the speaker is an active agent using discourse as a tool to manage stakes in social interaction. (Willig, 2008)

As opposed to this, there is the form of definition in which a discourse is seen as a social process of understanding and self-definition. Here, the speaker is positioned in and by discourses: the main areas of interest to this particular school of thought are the discursive resources available to a social

group, the relationship between discourse and power in social groupings, the relations of and linkages between discourses, institutions and social actions and how discourses actually construct both subjects and objects within their respective fields. (Willig, 2008)

A good example of this point of view can be found in Ian Parker's *Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology* (1992), where discourses are defined as something that "... do not simply describe the social world, but categorise it... bring phenomena into sight." (Parker, 1992, p. 4) Parker goes on to state that "... a strong form of the argument would be that discourses allow us to see things that are not 'really' there, and that once an object has been elaborated in a discourse it is difficult *not* to refer to it as if it were real. Discourses provide frameworks for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways." (Parker, 1992, p. 4)

Parker then gives a more precise definition of a discourse as a 'system of statements' that under certain conditions will construct an object. (Parker, 1992) One of the more distinct of these conditions is that part of the systematic nature of a discourse is its interdiscursivity: the idea that a discourse will reach its full potential in relation to other discourses, not as a stand-alone phenomenon. The argument here is that reflexivity in itself is language and therefore also makes use of, and is limited to, the discourses available to the narrator of the reflection:

... the *articulation* of our reflections on discourse must require the use of discourses. A critical reflection on a discourse will often involve the use of other discourses. Talking about the inability to use certain discourses in terms of 'repression', for example, could be seen as the use of psycho-analytic discourse rather than the discovery of a profound truth.

(Parker, 1992, *Discourse Dynamics: Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology*, p. 10)

One of the most influential theorists within this form of discourse definition was Michel Foucault (1926–1984). Foucault was a French historian and philosopher, well recognized for his contributions to the structuralist and post-structuralist movements. He also contributed extensively to the particular form of discourse analysis that will be used in this paper, so extensively that it carries his name as a title and definition: Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

Foucault published his first major work, *The History of Madness in the Classical Age*, in 1961. Foucault argued that the modern interpretation of madness as 'mental illness', a medical condition to be treated just like any other illness, was no enlightened liberation of the mad from the ignorance and brutality of preceding ages but rather a form of moral hypocrisy produced by certain

questionable social and ethical commitments of modern society: a cover for power used to control challenges to conventional bourgeois morality. This critical reinterpretation of modern enlightenment as repressive power structure is something that will form a very important basis for later Foucauldian works. (Gutting, 2012)

Foucault continues his social criticism in *Discipline and Punish*, first published in 1969. Here, Foucault shows how techniques and institutions developed for various, often 'non-disciplinary', purposes, are combined in order to create the modern system of disciplinary power, with factories, hospitals, and schools all modeled on the modern prison. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault defines the three main techniques of modern social control as 'hierarchical observation', 'normalizing judgment', and 'the examination'. The concept of hierarchical observation stems from Foucault's use of Bentham's Panopticon as a symbol for how control can be projected by observation of a population: in the Panopticon prison the inmates are separated from one another by opaque walls, but one transparent cell wall allows a centrally situated monitor to observe them at all times. The inmates do not know which particular cell the monitor observes at any given moment: the very point of the Panopticon is that an inmate theoretically could be observed at any time and therefore must behave as if he or she was being watched all the time. Thus, control is being created and maintained by the internal monitoring of those controlled rather than by the actual external monitoring done by those in power. When this idea is extended to a large-scale society it is of course impossible to make the 'inmates' of this society think that a single person could watch everyone all the time: the surveillance society therefore creates a chain of observers, hierarchically ordered, through which data can flow from lower to higher echelons of power. This allows the Panopticon effect of internal monitoring to be transferred onto a larger population. (Foucault, 1991)

Next, the concept of normalizing judgment is the very foundation of the modern 'correctional facility'-style of prisons and, indeed, of the entire modern idea of discipline: doing wrong is not primarily something illegal that must be punished – it is something abnormal that must be reformed. This is a very important distinction: earlier judicial systems judged people on following the law or not, and did not make any kind of judgment upon the 'normality' or 'abnormality' of a lawbreaker once he or she had been found mentally capable of understanding the rules. Conversely, in the eyes of the modern judiciary all those who break the rules are to be considered ill and in need of being cured, i.e. taught how to live in accordance with the standard norms of society. (Foucault, 1991)

The examination, finally, is the representation of Foucault's ideas of power and knowledge as something inseparable. Foucault's argument is that power always is constituted through current

local definitions of knowledge, understanding and 'truth', a definition which differs sharply from the Baconian argument in which knowledge is an instrument of power and the two concepts co-exist independent of one another. An examination, consequently, combines the deployment of force with the establishment of truth: it is normalizing judgment and hierarchical observation in one. Subjecting, for instance, a school student to an examination controls his or her behavior, by forcing him or her to study, measures his or her conformity to the systemic rules by judging the results of the examination and establishes the 'truth' of his or her state of knowledge by comparing this result with the expected national standards for educational programs. It should also be noted that by keeping the various documents created by examinations vast 'fields of documentation' can be created: depositories of detailed knowledge about an individual. This is knowledge that can be used by a predominant power structure in order to exert control and which also forms the basis of the categories, averages, and norms used by societal power institutions to structure, stratify and legitimize the knowledge used for further normalizing judgment. (Foucault, 1991)

The definition of the techniques used to create and maintain societal control put forth in *Discipline and Punish* of course means that the Foucauldian school of discourse analysis is particularly interested in the relationship between discourses and institutions. When certain discourses legitimize and reinforce existing institutional structures in a society, these structures in turn support and validate those discourses in a dyadic relationship, creating an inevitable interconnectivity between power, education, discipline and access to discourses. (Foucault, 1991) This makes the concept of inclusion or exclusion absolutely central to this definition: according to Foucault, discourses govern what can be said about something, by whom it can be said, and when, where and how something can be given expression. This idea is exceptionally well summarized by Teun van Dijk in *Discourse and Power*:

One important condition for the exercise of social control through discourse is the control of discourse and discourse production itself. Therefore, the central questions are: Who can say or write what to whom in what situations? Who has access to the various forms or genres of discourse or to the means of its reproduction? The less powerful people are, the less they have access to various forms of text or talk. Ultimately, the powerless have literally "nothing to say," nobody to talk to, or must remain silent when more powerful people are speaking, as is the case for children, prisoners, defendants, and (in some cultures, including sometimes our own) women. In everyday life, most people have active access as speakers only to conversation with family members, friends, or colleagues on the job. Occasionally, in more

formal dialogues, they may speak to institutional representatives, or with job superiors, but in that case they have a more passive and reactive role. At the police station, in the courtroom, at the welfare agency, in the classroom, or in other institutions of the social bureaucracy, they are expected to speak, or to give information, only when requested or ordered to do so. For most formal, public, or printed discourse types (including those of the mass media) the less powerful are usually only recipients.

(van Dijk, 2008, p 21)

This in turn means that the Foucauldian discourse analyst always searches for larger social processes linked to the discourses that are being studied: processes that legitimize, processes that empower, processes that stratify. Dominant discourses emphasize the versions of social reality that gives legitimacy to already existing power relations and social structures and these are consequently the discourses made available to the powerless by the dominant strata of society. (van Dijk, 1988)

All of the above - in particular the focus on the discursive resources available to a social group, the relationship between discourse and power in social groupings, the relations of and linkages between discourses, institutions and social actions and how discourses actually construct both subjects and objects in their respective fields - quite naturally led to the choice of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as the preferred method for this study. The Foucauldian approach delivers both the width and the depth needed for an analysis of how the concept of elder abuse was constructed by the writers and editors at Dagens Nyheter in the article-series following the Carema Care case; it makes it possible for an observer to reach a more detailed understanding of the various processes involved in the actual elder abuse by opening up the discursive worlds inhabited by the participants in the narrative, enabling a further comprehension of the positions and actions made available by and for these participants, and it also establishes the theoretical framework for the discussion concerning an ongoing dehumanization process within the media narrative that follows the analysis in this study.

1.2.2 - Media power

There can be little doubt that the so-called 'mass media' generally is considered to be a societal power institution. The perceived power of the media has led to the expression 'the fourth estate', defining media as a sociopolitical actor on par with government in generating public opinion: the power of the press to make or break a career is undisputed in most of the western world of today.

(Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010) In the world of politics, the Watergate affair would possibly be the most famous example of how a newspaper investigation changed the political landscape of a nation. (Woodward & Bernstein, 1994) More recent Swedish examples would be how media exposure of unpaid TV-licences, unreported domestic workers and various other financial irregularities forced the newly appointed Ministers of Commerce, Maria Borelius, and Culture, Cecilia Stegö Chilò, to resign in 2006, or how the reports of Minister of Employment Sven Otto Littorin allegedly buying sex from a prostitute led to his very quick resignation in 2010. (Youcefi & Bek, 2012)

The ability of the press to make or break a public figure has of course not gone unnoticed by other power institutions: it is no coincidence that the expression 'power without responsibility' was coined by the 1920s and -30s British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, criticizing, as he saw it, the societally irresponsible behavior of the growing news-barons of his day. Politicians have long demanded both internal and external control of the sociopolitical actions of media, usually preferring self-regulation to actual censorship but not hesitating to demand the latter in cases of direct and vicious conflict between government and public press. (Curran & Seaton, 2003) At the same time, no modern politician can avoid using mass media as the main channel for quick and efficient dissemination of his or her political message to as large an audience as possible: the size and speed of the 'breaking news around the clock' media machine is a necessary component of any political campaign. (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010) However, it must be noted that any attempts to examine the full complexity of the dyadic relationship between the press and the politicians lie well beyond the scope of this study: these paragraphs are by necessity a very simplified and abbreviated description of the subject matter.

Another societal institution that took a keen early interest in the actions and consequences of the rising power of the press was academia. Already back in the 1920s, practitioners within the fields of psychology and sociology were pointing out the various processes by which the mass media interacted with the public psyche. In 1922, for instance, Robert E. Park noted how “out of all of the events that happen and are recorded every day... the editor chooses certain items for publication which he regards as more important or more interesting than others. The remainder he condemns to oblivion and the wastebasket. There is an enormous amount of news ‘killed’ every day” (Park, 1922, p. 328), thereby laying the groundwork on which Kurt Lewin would base his theory of media 'gatekeeping' in 1943. (Lewin, 1943)

A contemporary of Park, Edward Bernays was applying Sigmund Freud's psychodynamic group-theories within the fledgeling profession of Public Relations as early as 1928. In his book

Propaganda, Bernays states that “the growth of newspapers and magazines having a circulation of millions of copies, and the art of the modern advertising expert in making the printed message attractive and persuasive, have placed [the business] man in a personal relation with a vast and diversified public” (Bernays, 2005, p. 84), pointing out that anyone active in the modern public field ignored the power of the printed press at their own peril. Later, in the early 1950s, Bernays would further prove the persuasiveness of a professionally designed media campaign as he helped engineer American public consent for the CIA-orchestrated *coup d'état* that deposed the elected President of Guatemala, Jacobo Guzmán. (Bernays, 2005)

Since the late 1900s and early 2000s, the number of studies focusing on the societal role of media have grown significantly. (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010) One particular concept dealt with by some of these studies is that of ideology as constructed by the news media and the processes by which media reproduces and propagates the dominant elite ideologies of the time and place in which the particular media outlet operates. Some of the more obvious examples of this practice can be seen in how mainstream Western media continuously propagates prejudiced and stereotypical descriptions of the primitive and violent non-western other, thus generating the popular consensus needed to 'democratically' implement harsher immigration laws, legal marginalization of minorities or aggressive expansionist policies in, for instance, Afghanistan or Iraq. (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1995; van Dijk, 1991)

1.3 – The study

1.3.1 - Abuse of the elderly

The idea that the elderly might become victims of physical or psychological violence is hardly a modern phenomenon: as far back as there is written history one can find evidence that society has demanded respect and care for the elderly. At the same time one will also find quite a respectable number of written lamentations concerning the perceived lack of respect and care for their elders manifested by the youth of the age in question: this particular pattern – demand for respect and complaints about the lack thereof - can be found in ancient middle-eastern texts, in Hellenistic writings and in medieval European manuscripts. (Fuller, Agel & Fiore, 1970)

In more modern times, it takes quite a while before the subject starts generating scientific material. The term 'granny battering' is first used by A. A. Baker in 1975 (Baker, 1975) and that particular expression is then repeated by some of the witnesses at congressional hearings in the

United States in 1978 and 1979. (Committee on National Statistics, 2003) Small studies of the phenomenon are conducted in Norway in 1984 and 1986 (Stang & Evesen, 1985; Johnsen & Aschjem, 1986), but the earliest large-scale random sample survey studies seems to have been *Abuse of elderly in Sweden and Denmark*, a Swedish-Danish co-operation led by Professor Lars Tornstam at Uppsala University in 1987, followed in 1988 by a similar study carried out by Karl Pillemer and David Finkelhor in the Boston metropolitan area. Both studies defined abuse of the elderly as physical violence, verbal abuse and neglect, with Tornstam's study adding economic exploitation as a fourth variable. Both studies concluded that abuse of the elderly was a real, existing problem within their respective modern western societies; both also concluded that the most likely perpetrators were close family members but that home helpers and other kinds of elder-care staff could not be statistically excluded as a source of abuse. (Tornstam, 1987; Pillemer & Finkelhor, 1988)

In 1992 the Council of Europe published a report called *Violence against elderly people*. This comparative study, conducted by an international expert group, concluded that violence against the elderly did take place in the 22 EU member states, that it was expected to grow in magnitude and that it was extremely difficult to generate any kind of exact statistics on the topic since definitions and research methodologies differed widely between the European countries involved in the study. In this report violence against the elderly was defined as an act or omission of action, committed by a family member, threatening or harming the victim's physical or mental integrity or personal freedom, leading to severe damage to his or her personal development and/or threatening or harming his or her financial security. As must be noted, this particular study did not include home helpers or care-institution staff as perpetrators in its research: it dealt with abuse of the elderly as an internal family problem only. (Europeiska ministerrådet, 1992)

In 1994 another interdisciplinary expert group, this time convened by the Nordic Council of Ministers, compiled a number of different studies (amongst those Tornstam's from 1987) into a report called *Overgrep mot äldre*. This report came to approximately the same conclusions as the earlier one from the Council of Europe, with the added caveat that the subject matter itself appeared to be highly taboo: nobody really wanted to talk about it, it was very hard to find research grants if one wanted to study it and in some cases the researchers were met by absolute denial of the very existence of the problem from both colleagues and governmental representatives. In this report, violence against the elderly was defined as a social interaction with at least two actors, where one violates the other's personal boundaries. This social interaction should, according to this definition, be considered as abuse if perceived and valued as morally illegitimate by a third party. (Nordiska

Ministerrådet, 1994)

Finally, also in 1994, the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare published a report on violence against the elderly called *Övergrepp mot äldre: Ser vi toppen på ett isberg?* This report was the result of a three-year-long government-ordered study focusing on older people still living at home and it found – just like the earlier studies mentioned above – that there was a distinct lack of valid data available to the researchers. It also noted that generating new data was complicated because of a lack of common definitions. In the report five different subgroupings of violence were defined by the researchers in order to categorize the gathered data: they, just like Tornstam back in 1987, divided their findings into physical violence, psychological violence, economical abuse and neglect, adding sexual abuse as a fifth definition. That they actually once again had to create their own subgroupings deserves to be pointed out with distinction: there was no exact definition of what might constitute violence against the elderly to be found within the Swedish governmental bureaucracy in 1994, so the National Board of Health and Welfare researchers were forced to design their own model. Also, the study was focused on abuse of the elderly as a family problem, once again making the choice to ignore the problem pointed out by both Tornstam's and Pillemer and Finkelhor's earlier studies: that home helpers and other kinds of elder-care personnel cannot be excluded as a possible source of abuse. (Socialstyrelsen, 1994)

In 2001 the Swedish Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority published the report *Ofrid? Våld mot äldre kvinnor och män – en omfångsundersökning i Umeå kommun*. This report was based on questionnaire-answers from 1091 citizens aged 65-80 in the municipality of Umeå in northern Sweden and it also, just like all the reports described above, concluded that violence against the elderly does occur, and to such an extent and with such consequences that the phenomenon should be considered a public health problem requiring governmental intervention. (Eriksson, 2001)

In *Ofrid?* it is also pointed out that there is an extensive amount of recommendations made in the three reports from the Council of Europe, the Nordic Council of Ministers and the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare mentioned above, but that all these recommendations does not seem to have generated any kind of substantial follow-up investigations. According to the Swedish Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority the two most noteworthy governmental actions in the seven years between *Övergrepp mot äldre* och *Ofrid?* would be a national action-plan for elder-policy, mostly based on the UN resolution No. 46/91 about the rights of the elderly, and the so-called Lex Sarah: a piece of legislation making it mandatory for nursing

and care staff to report any kind of neglect or maltreatment of patients to their municipal Social Health and Welfare Board. (Eriksson, 2001)

In 2002 the Ontario Government sponsored an expert meeting on elder abuse in Toronto, Canada. One of the outcomes of this meeting was a definition of the concept of elder abuse which has gone on to become the definition advocated by both the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Network on Prevention of Elder Abuse (INPEA) The so-called Toronto Declaration defines elder abuse as "...a single, or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person." (WHO, 2002, p. 3) With this definition, provided that 'expectation of trust' is considered to be part of any kind of caretaker-patient relationship, elder abuse is no longer just a family and/or at-home problem: it becomes something that could take place in a nursing situation at, for instance, an elder-care institution.

In Sweden the definition presented in the Toronto Declaration, together with the five subgroupings of elder abuse put together in *Övergrepp mot äldre* from 1994, can be found cited in the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare-report *Säkerhetsfrämjande arbete för äldre* ('safety-promotional work on behalf of the elderly') from 2011. In this report, all the Swedish statistics referred to in the chapter on violence against the elderly originates in either the latest National Safety Survey, an annual survey on public safety and crime victims done by the Swedish Council for Crime Prevention, or from the aforementioned *Ofrid?*-report from 2001. In the same chapter the National Board of Health and Welfare once again repeats a fact that was pointed out in 2001 by the Swedish Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority in *Ofrid?*, by the National Board of Health and Welfare themselves in *Övergrepp mot äldre* from 1994 and by Tornstam and his colleagues in *Abuse of elderly in Sweden and Denmark back in 1987*: abuse of the elderly is still a public health threat and governmental action is still needed in order to deal with the problem. (Socialstyrelsen, 2011)

1.3.2 - The Carema Care scandal

Before the latter half of 2011 most people in Sweden were probably quite unaware of the existence of two companies called Carema Healthcare and Carema Care. At this time, the former operated private healthcare facilities, dealing with primary-, specialist- and psychiatric care; the latter provided private support, service and health care for elderly people, for people with physical and

psychological disabilities and for people having issues with substance abuse. (Carema Healthcare, 2012; Carema Care, 2012) Both the Carema-companies, together with the Finnish healthcare company Mehiläinen, were owned by Nordic healthcare provider Ambea, a company active in Sweden, Finland and Norway. Ambea in turn was co-owned by the Swedish investment-company Triton and the American venture capital-company KKR. (Ambea, 2012)

It is quite likely that Ambea, Triton and KKR were even less known to the average Swedish citizen than the two Carema-companies and that this corporate anonymity was intentional. For instance, if one had tried to take a closer look at the Triton investment company during this time it would have emerged as positively secretive: on their official website one would have found the addresses of the company's five European offices and nothing more. (Lundell, 2011) During the fall of 2011 this comfortably quiet state of anonymity was about to come to a rather sudden end.

The first notion of something not being quite as it should at Carema's care facilities is a news report from the Swedish television channel TV4 on August 26, 2011, saying that Carema Care has been issued a fine for not giving the nursing staff at Koppargården elder-care institution enough training. This piece of news comes and goes, mostly unnoticed by the general public. (van den Brink, 2012) The real campaign begins on the eleventh of October with an article in Dagens Nyheter written by Mia Tottmar. The headline is "*Unacceptable conditions*" at elder-care institution in Vällingby, and the opening paragraph reads as follows:

One patient dead as a result of blood poisoning caused by a badly managed wound. Several severely malnourished patients. Unnecessary amputations. Medical supplies running out. A large number of fall accidents. A lack of both staff expertise and staff personnel. That is how the physician in charge describes the situation at Koppargården nursing and care home in Vällingby. She considers herself no longer able to guarantee medical safety for the patients.

Tottmar, 2011-10-11, "*Oacceptabla förhållanden*" på äldreboende i Vällingby

In the following weeks, up until the sixth of November, this initial article is followed by 26 more, most of them written by Tottmar or her colleague Josefine Hökerberg. (DN.se) Among the rest of Swedish mainstream media, Aftonbladet, an evening newspaper politically associated with the current social-democratic political opposition, is the first to follow up on Tottmar's opening article, publishing its own first article the day after DN begins its series (Aftonbladet.se), while other news-media adopt a more cautious approach. This more careful attitude changes quite drastically on November sixth, with the broadcast of freelance journalist Erik Palm's documentary

We gave them our father on Swedish television. This documentary, which is pretty much just a televised version of DN's article series, gets so much attention from the public that it becomes basically impossible for any kind of news-media to ignore the emerging scandal, and more or less every Swedish newspaper, television news-channel and radio news-program join in. (van den Brink, 2012)

One year later, there has been almost five hundred articles written about Carema in just the four biggest of Sweden's newspapers and the radio- and TV-coverage has been massive. The area of interest in the campaign quickly expanded from the actual cases of abuse to the possible causes of abuse and from there, quite naturally, on to the cutbacks and the downsizing, the idea of care as profit-driven business, the shady networks of investment- and venture capital-companies owning the privatized Swedish care-facilities and the much wider political and economical agendas involved in the subject matter. The business-end consequences for Carema have also been palpable: three different managers have been forced to leave the company during the article-series period of time (Palm, 2012), a number of municipal contracts have been prematurely terminated (DN.se, 2012-10-11, *Äldrevårdsskandalen – ett år senare*) and Carema Care is right now under yet another ongoing investigation by the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare. (Rehn, 2012)

1.4 - Previous and related work

Applying discourse analysis to newspaper articles is not a new concept: it has been part of the mainstream research corpus since the late 1980s (van Dijk, 1988) and a quick Google search using the Swedish keywords 'diskursanalys' and 'tidningsartiklar' ('discourse analysis' and 'newspaper articles') gives about 21000 hits. Published discourse analyses concerning the particular Carema Care article series in Dagens Nyheter is quite a bit more scarce: there does not seem to be any studies utilizing Foucauldian discourse analysis while focusing on how this particular newspaper article series constructs the concept of elder abuse.

If one were to disregard differences in purpose, scope and method and instead focus solely on the Carema Care case, newspaper articles as data sources and the presence of similar conclusions, the closest related work appears to be a candidate-essay called *Vårdkris i skatteparadis: En ideologikritisk analys av vårdskandalen hösten 2011*, in which the author applies ideology critique to four debate-articles from DN.se and SvD.se concerning the Carema scandal, using the Toulmin model of argumentation analysis together with framing theory. Amongst the thematic conclusions drawn from the rhetoric analysis in *Vårdkris i skatteparadis* were the

definition of Triton and KKR as something doing something immoral and unethical but not necessarily illegal, that economy and the idea of paying tax as taking societal responsibility was an important part of the newspaper debate and that the same could be concluded concerning the fact that it was quite problematic to actually point out who was ultimately responsible for the abuse that had taken place. (Höög, 2012)

Looking at the particular discourses emerging from the Carema Care article series, another study that could be seen as related would be *Socialtjänsten i media – en diskursanalys* from the University of Gothenburg, in which the authors apply Faircloughian critical discourse analysis to a number of newspaper editorials from 2002 to 2011 in order to examine how these might affect the public opinion concerning the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare. A few of these editorials concern the Carema Care case; two of the discourses found and defined in that particular text analysis were the economical discourse and the responsibility discourse. (Norberg & Petrusson, 2012)

Finally, there is also *Kriskommunikation och Maktrelationer: En retorisk analys och kritisk diskursanalys av pressmeddelanden*, a paper dealing with press releases in which one of the analyzed texts is a press release from Carema Care, responding to the allegations made in one of the articles referred to in this study. In this paper the author, amongst other things, discuss the various discourses involved in the rhetoric of the text and also (briefly) the concept of inclusion and exclusion, from a Critical Discourse Analysis point of view. (Frost, 2012)

2 – Purpose

The purpose of this study is to analyze how the concept of elder abuse was constructed within the narrative of the writers and editors at Dagens Nyheter in the series of articles following the Carema Care case. The study is based on the assumption that achieving a broader and deeper knowledge and understanding of the effects and processes involved in constituting the subject matter of the articles could be found interesting and useful on at least three different levels of focus, defined below as primary, secondary and tertiary.

First, the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis performed in this study opens up the discursive worlds inhabited by the participants of the narrative. In doing this, it enables a further comprehension of the positions and actions made available by and for these participants, thereby making it possible for an observer to reach a more detailed understanding of the various participant processes that might be involved in the particular construct that is being studied. This kind of understanding could be an important part of any further research into the particular subject matter but, even more importantly, it focuses on how discourses are implicated in experience and how discourses per definition makes available and imposes various ways of being within the different life-worlds of participants of any kind of narrative.

Second, if one operates under the assumption that news media is capable of generating and disseminating powerful discursive constructs, it becomes a necessity to understand how this happens. The actual function of both generation and dissemination must be thoroughly analyzed since they are, in fact, quite central to the organization and function of our contemporary Western society. The Foucauldian Discourse Analysis applied to the article-series will, parallel with the primary purpose of the study, show how the particular subject matter construct is constituted and presented to the recipient of the narrative.

Third, the discussion of the analysis will focus on the processes of depersonalization and dehumanization with particular regard to the Foucauldian concept of exclusiveness. In this discussion the article-constituted passive voicelessness of the victims themselves will be given special attention, since being constructed as a non-active subject, as a thing rather than as a human being, is part of the process of dehumanization, a phenomenon that has been shown to be an enabling factor in abuse cases. This means that a newspaper article in which a person is spoken about but not with, thereby turning that person into something passive rather than something active, actually might end up being part of a dehumanization process. Studying the process of how mass media constructs elder abuse therefore becomes a vital part of any program designed to minimize

the risk of further abuse cases in care settings.

Finally, it should also be noted that while this particular analysis uses data gathered from a newspaper article-series dealing with elder abuse, the subject matter itself is not the most important part of the study. The analysis, focusing on effects and processes, carries a great deal of analogical transfer power and the results of this particular study could therefore be found useful for other research projects involving, for instance, discursive studies focusing on any kind of extensive media campaign or cases of dehumanization and abuse involving other kinds of victims than the elderly.

3 - Method

3.1 - Data

The material chosen for the study was 175 articles mentioning Carema Care taken from DN.se, the online edition of Dagens Nyheter. At the time of the study, Dagens Nyheter was the largest of the Swedish morning newspapers. (Tidningsutgivarna, 2012) Dagens Nyheter was primarily chosen as the provider of data for the analysis based on the fact that it was the paper that initiated this particular media-exposé of abuse of the elderly at care institutions. It was also the paper that published the largest amount of articles in the year of media attention to follow the initial exposure: 175 articles mentioning Carema, as compared to 150 in Aftonbladet, 110 in Expressen and only 56 in Svenska Dagbladet.

Another reason for choosing Dagens Nyheter was that it describes its political position as 'independently liberal', as opposed to the social-democratic Aftonbladet with its strong ties to the current opposition parties in Swedish politics. In practice, this means that DN should be quite a bit more positive in its attitude towards the idea of privately owned healthcare companies than Aftonbladet: DN's articles were therefore picked over those in Aftonbladet in order to try to avoid the most obvious and self-evident political angles.

All of the articles mentioned above were found by a single search with the keyword 'Carema' in the article-archive search-engine on the websites of the newspapers. The time-frame chosen was a twelve-month period, beginning with the date of the first article about abuse at Carema Care facilities published by Dagens Nyheter, 2011-10-11, and ending a year later. All in all, as already mentioned, this generated 175 articles, a number that was considered a quite sufficient amount of data for this particular Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

The online edition of the newspaper was chosen because more and more people use the Internet as their main news provider. A survey conducted in the United States in 2008 showed that half of the respondents considered the Internet to be their main source of news: an increase of 40 percent when compared to the same survey done the previous year. Less than one third of the respondents used television as a news source, eleven percent used the radio and only ten percent turned to a traditional paper newspaper when looking for information on current national and/or international events. In the age category 18-29 the numbers were even more biased to the advantage of the Internet and nearly 70 percent of the respondents in this age bracket felt that the traditional paper-edition newspaper more and more could be considered obsolete. (MacLean, 2008)

3.2 - Method of analysis

As already noted above, the choice of a single keyword and a one-year time-frame resulted in 175 articles on the subject matter. These articles gave the study quite an extensive amount of data to analyze: enough text to generate a both broad and deep Foucauldian Discourse Analysis focusing on exactly how the phenomenon of institutional abuse of the elderly was constructed within the article series in *Dagens Nyheter*.

The analysis used in this study is a six-stage procedure including a definition of the discursive construction(s) of the subject matter, a definition of the discourses and their interdiscursivity within the construct, an action orientation, a definition of positionings, a definition of action practices and an analysis of subjectivity within the construct. It should be noted that this analytical approach does not include certain well-known Foucauldian concepts, such as genealogy and governmentality: there are longer, more detailed, procedural designs, such as for instance Parker's quite meticulous 20-step description of a discourse analysis (Parker, 1992), but given the purpose and size of this particular study the aforementioned six stages, each defined in more detail below, were considered to be sufficient.

The first stage of the analysis attempts to identify the particular discursive construction(s) of the subject matter: in this case how the phenomenon of institutional abuse of the elderly is narrated within the article series in *Dagens Nyheter*. Of particular interest here is whether the subject matter is constructed in more than one way and if these (if any) different ways appear to be conflicting or confluent.

It should be noted that this process is not simply a matter of keyword search-and-compilation: the process of identifying the construct(s) includes both explicit and implicit references, cataloged by shared meaning rather than by lexical comparability. In many ways representations of implicit data might be considered even more interesting than explicit references since avoidance or symbolization of a subject in itself could be interpreted as a distinct way of constructing the subject as something unspeakable or unknowable. (Willig, 2008)

The second stage of the analysis looks at discourses and interdiscursivity within the construction(s) of the subject matter. Here, the various wider discourses used to construct the subject matter are identified and their relations - the differences and similarities ranging across the various discursive

formations – are mapped out as descriptions of the various ways in which the studied phenomenon is constructed. (Foucault, 1989)

At this stage the “theoretically limitless” (Parker, 1992, p. 10) possibilities for a narrator to use analogues or metaphors brought in from any kind of discourse – even one that on the surface appears to contravene the one being promoted in the narrative – should be brought into the analytical process. Any and all techniques used to narrate the examined way of constructing abuse of the elderly within the chosen data should be defined; the various ways these discourses interact, contradict and/or synergize should be made visible. As Foucault writes:

The... purpose of such a description of the facts of discourse is that by freeing them of all the groupings that purport to be natural, immediate, universal unities, one is able to describe other unities, but this time by means of a group of controlled decisions. Providing one defines the conditions clearly, it might be legitimate to constitute, on the basis of correctly described relations, discursive groups that are not arbitrary, and yet remain invisible. Of course, these relations would never be formulated for themselves in the statements in question (unlike, for example, those explicit relations that are posed and spoken in discourse itself, as in the form of the novel, or a series of mathematical theorems). But in no way would they constitute a sort of secret discourse, animating the manifest discourse from within; it is not therefore an interpretation of the facts of the statement that might reveal them, but the analysis of their coexistence, their succession, their mutual functioning, their reciprocal determination, and their independent or correlative transformation.

(Foucault, 1989, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 32)

The third stage of analysis is an action orientation. At this point, the objective of the study is to try to discern what could be gained by constructing a phenomenon in a particular way and what the various discursive contexts within a narrative could allow the different actors to do. Once again, the analysis is also subject to interdiscursivity: the discursive constructs reviewed in the action orientation must also be considered in relation to one another. (Willig, 2008)

Here, the analyst must try to define how the various discursive constructs can be used by the different actors within the narrative and also, as with the discourses themselves, how these action orientations might interact, contradict and/or synergize. (Parker, 1992) In this study the main protagonist will, of course, be the newspaper as represented by its writers and editors but the fact that other subjects also are given (or denied) action possibilities by the narrative discourses must not be overlooked: special interest will be given to the action possibilities opened up (or closed down)

for the actual victims of elder abuse within the discursive construct.

The fourth stage of the analysis concerns itself with positionings. Discourses construct subjects just as they construct objects: this particular concept, the so-called subject position, represents locations within a discursive structure that a narrator either can claim for him/herself or put someone else in. As in the third step of the analytic process, described above, the protagonist presenting a majority of the subject positionings in the narrative will be the newspaper itself, even though, once again, certain individuals might be given an opportunity to make personal statements about themselves or others. Even so, it must of course be noted that these statements then are subjected to the discursive practices connected to the reproduction and recontextualization of them as news material. (Parker, 2005; Foucault, 1989)

Subject positions should not be confused with roles: they do not prescribe a particular part to play - they offer a discursive position from which to speak. Thus, "... a subject, a sense of self, is a location constructed within the expressive sphere which finds its voice through the cluster of attributes and responsibilities assigned to it as a variety of object." (Parker, 1992, p. 7) Also, as opposed to a role, a subject position has direct implications for the possibilities of subjectivity by making available distinct discursive spaces from which to interact with other characters of a narrative. (Parker, 1992)

The fifth stage of the analysis focuses on the actual practices made possible or impossible by the discourses, action orientations and subject positions of the narrative. At this stage, the analyst tries to discern what can be said and done by whom within the particular discursive construct under scrutiny: what verbal and non-verbal practices this particular version of the world opens up or closes down. (Willig, 2008)

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault gives a number of practice references, taken from the lives of soldiers, industry workers and school students. He defines the body-object articulation, the correlation of the body and the gesture and the temporal elaboration of the act, exemplifying how disciplined action creates a world in which deviation from the norm is made more or less impossible by the discursive constructs emanating from extremely narrow action orientations and subject positions within these particular institutions. With one very precise form of practice made a legit mode of behavior, this practice in turn reproduces the discourse from which it originated. (Foucault, 1991)

The final stage of analysis explores the relationship between discourse and subjectivity in order to discern in what way the specific discursive constructions and subject positionings affect the narrated participants' subjective experiences. Discourses construct social realities and while doing so they also inevitably construct psychological realities: in explicating the concept of subjectivity, the analysis will therefore attempt to describe something of that which could possibly be felt, thought and experienced from within these various discursive lifeworlds. (Parker, 1992)

This step is of course the most speculative part of a Foucauldian discourse analysis: it connects the discursive structures inhabited by the participants of a narrative with what these discourses may imply regarding the participants' subjective experiences. What can be defined in this part of the analysis is therefore, as noted above, that which could possibly be felt, thought and experienced by the participants within a particular discursive construct - if the participants actually feel, think and/or experience any of that which is defined in the analysis is an entirely different question. (Willig, 2008)

4 - Analysis

4.1 - The discursive construct

The narrative presented by the series of articles in Dagens Nyheter comes with a very clear and single-minded discursive direction. The incidents being described are constructed as something that cannot under any moral or ethical circumstances be considered acceptable: they are incidents of such shockingly unacceptable indignity that they are almost beyond belief.

The opening paragraphs of the very first article in the series set the stage for what is to come:

One patient dead as a result of blood poisoning caused by a badly managed wound. Several severely malnourished patients. Unnecessary amputations. Medical supplies running out. A large number of fall accidents. A lack of both staff expertise and staff personnel. That is how the physician in charge describes the situation at Koppargården nursing and care home in Vällingby. She considers herself no longer able to guarantee medical safety for the patients.

Her report, which DN Stockholm has taken part of, is a frightening thing to read: “In other cases, patients have been found lying on the floor and no one can say how long the patient has been lying there, sometimes naked and without the ability to call for help.”

Group leaders in Hässelby-Vällingby municipal district committee have read the report. - I get very upset. This is completely off the wall, completely unacceptable. We want to see what possibilities are available to terminate the agreement with Carema; this is all about the elderly, says Helen Jäderlund Eckardt (FP).

(Tottmar, 2011-10-11, “*Oacceptabla förhållanden*” på äldreboende i Vällingby)

As can be clearly read from those paragraphs, the situation at Koppargården is obviously out of control: something has gone very, very wrong. The resident physician is no longer able to guarantee the medical safety of her patients, and people - living human beings - have actually died. The first paragraph gives a brutally straightforward and extremely graphic description of care home conditions that are so alien to what the expression 'care' usually implies that they almost beggars belief: it is being put forward as very shocking and frightening that something like this could happen in our country in this day and age.

Just in case the first paragraph does not make it clear enough to the reader that the subject matter is profoundly shocking and frightening, the second paragraph literally spells it out: the

physician's report is a "...frightening thing to read." The particular quotation chosen from that report then depicts a scene that would, to most human beings, be something very scary and also something very humiliating: to be left naked on the floor, unable to fend for oneself, unable to even cry out for help, surrounded by people who would not help you even if you could cry out. The picture evoked by this narrative is not one of 'care': it leads the mind's eye of the reader towards images of pictures from Romanian orphanages, from Abu Ghraib in Iraq and from WWII concentration camps in Poland.

Finally, the last paragraph makes sure to, through the words of a local politician, state that this kind of situation is unacceptable. Human beings cannot be treated this way, something must be done, and it is "... all about the elderly", who must be defended against the indignities inflicted upon them by Carema Care. Helen Jäderlund Eckardt, group leader from Hässelby-Vällingby municipal district committee, wants to, if possible, terminate the contract with the company because she thinks that the report she has been given to read is so shocking that it is almost bizarre and that it describes things that cannot under any circumstances be accepted.

The construction of the Carema Care-situation as something that must be considered shocking and unacceptable by anyone confronted with it is the one construction seen over and over again in the subsequent one hundred and seventy-four articles that follow Tottmar's first. It does not matter whether the specific article makes use of a medical discourse, a sociopolitical discourse or an economic discourse: they all come together to shape a construct defining the abuse of the elderly as shocking and unacceptable. The narrative is very straightforward, very unambiguous and leaves very little room for any alternative readings. This is of course easily achieved, since the newspaper, represented by its writers and editors, gets to decide who can say what and also when, where and how they can say it.

In this way, the narrative is deliberately driven and directed in one specific direction. The newspaper has chosen to stay with one particular construct and does indeed quite successfully avoid having any kind of superficially conflicting messages appear in the article series. This means that the next five steps of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis to be carried out in this study will focus on the construction of abuse of the elderly as something shocking and unacceptable.

4.2 - Discourses

While looking at the particular construction of elder abuse as constituted within the Carema Care

series of articles in Dagens Nyheter - the situation presented as something shocking and unacceptable - within the ramifications of the wider discourses surrounding it, five particular discourses stand out above and beyond other discursive components of the narrative. Even at the most cursory glance at the text material, the concept of ethics and morals almost immediately becomes very visible; the same can be said for the discourse of responsibility. There is also a very prominent use of the discourses of economy, power relationships and the language of medical science in the narrative. These five discourses are found in more or less every single one of the 175 articles scrutinized in this study and together they constitute almost all of the synergistic discursive concept combinations that form the discursive construct of elder abuse within the article series; science and medicine, power relationships, economy, morals and ethics and finally responsibility will therefore be the particular discourses presented and analyzed in subsequently greater detail as the analysis progresses below.

4.2.1 - Science and medicine: how to describe the indescribable

When describing the maltreatments taking place at the Carema Care institutions, the journalists draw heavily upon a medically-scientific discourse. Expressions such as 'kaxeki', 'autopsy' or 'pressure ulcer' are probably not used by the general population of Sweden as part of their daily vocabulary: they are part of a professional jargon mostly used by doctors and their use implies serious and professional medical circumstances. As such, it should be very clear to the recipients of the information given in these articles that this is not a matter to be taken lightly: very serious things have happened, are happening and might yet come to happen if nothing is done to change the circumstances of the subject matter. Examples of how this discourse is used within the article series would for instance be:

“One patient dead as a result of blood poisoning caused by a badly managed wound.”

“Several severely malnourished patients.”

“Unnecessary amputations.”

“...no longer able to guarantee medical safety for the patients.”

(Tottmar, 2011-10-11, “*Oacceptabla förhållanden*” på äldreboende i Vällingby)

“...neither a special mattress nor an alarm, both of which had been prescribed by his doctor.”

“...pressure ulcers on his back.”

“... father died after eleven days. By then he had been given the wrong medication, been denied proper care and left neglected. Nothing of this was documented by the nursing staff.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-10-12, “*Carema försökte köpa min tystnad*”)

“...an account of individual patients where there is a risk to patient safety.”

“The doctors report patient-cases with national identification numbers and medical file copies of 27 fall incidents resulting in fractures.”

“Doctors report approximately 45 patients with rapid weight loss and lack of nutrition plan, or lack of adherence to the nutrition plan.”

(DN.se, 2011-11-04, *Varningen: stor risk för nya skador*)

“90-year-old Anneli Möller starved to death in a Carema accommodation outside Vänersborg. When she died she weighed only 35 kilos.”

“DN.se have read the autopsy report which states that Anneli Möller... had no other underlying diseases other than dementia. The cause of death is, according to the doctor kaxeki, i.e. severe malnutrition.”

(Örstadius, 2011-11-30, *90-åriga Anneli svalt ihjäl på Caremaboende*)

It should be noted that the medical language is intentionally unemotional: it is designed to give practitioners of medicine a possibility to distance themselves from the pain and suffering of their patients. Here, putting forth something that is intended to be interpreted as something quite horrible in a deliberately unemotional manner act as an amplifier. When the doctor deliberately acts very calm and professional, and starts to use a great deal of very scientific-sounding terminology, the patient knows that he or she is in serious trouble: the terminal illness-setting is immediately recognizable. When applied in this way, the detached professional medical discourse can evoke unease and maybe even fear.

All in all, this means that the medical and scientific discourse carries within itself the potential of great shock value – it speaks the unspeakable, its abstract expressions and deliberate lack of emotions is the very thing that evokes negative emotional responses in the recipient and it leads the reader towards remembering the times in history when science and medicine have been tools of evil. In this way it lays the very foundation of the narrative: the other four discourses discussed below come together on top of the descriptions of negligence and maltreatment presented by the medical discourse in order to constitute the discursive construct of elder abuse as something

shocking and unacceptable.

4.2.2 - Power relationships: staff vs. management

Another discourse repeatedly put to use in the construction of the Carema Care case is that of power relationships, focused on those situated in the care-facility workplace environment. It is made very clear by the narrative that there is management and there is staff and that management have power while staff do not. Staff cries out for help, staff is desperate, staff appeals for things and are told things. Management gives orders, stops reports, refuses to listen and fires people who displease them. This discourse can be seen in quotations such as:

“At the end of September the District Administration received an anonymous e-mail from a number of nurses and assistant nurses at Koppargården. “We cry out for your help. Please listen! We feel that our executive manager does neither listen to us nor respect our opinions on how to make work operations safe and good.” they wrote.”

(Tottmar, 2011-10-11, *“Oacceptabla förhållanden” på äldreboende i Vällingby*)

“The notifier stated that the manager did not listen to the nurses’ appeal to make operations more safe for the elderly - “We are afraid of X. We have a very tough situation at the department where X is not listening to us at all. We can not go to any other manager since we have been told by X's supervisor that if the situation does not suit us we can just quit...””

(Hökerberg, 2011-10-11, *Företaget skyller på läkaren*)

“When assistant nurse Kerstin Jonasson raised the alarm about the misery during the fall of 2007, the municipality reacted by summoning her to a 'clarifying dialogue' concerning her behavior, attitudes and responsibilities.”

(DN.se, 2011-10-14, *Hon larmade om vanvården 2007*)

“... the nursing staff must have the courage to stand up to the employers (...) how this was supposed to happen when managers stop discrepancy reports and staff risk losing their jobs, she could not say...”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-04, *“De måste våga visa civilkurage”*)

“The management ordered that deficiencies were not to be documented (...) desperate staff began to take copies of their incident reports to have proof in case something happened.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-01, "*Allt som kostar ifrågasätts*")

“All employees are indeed duty-bound to report on abuses in the workplace. But the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare received less than ten notifications under lex Sarah throughout 2010. Which is not hard to understand. These notifications cannot be anonymous and must be submitted directly to management. Management are then to decide if this is a case of serious wrongdoing. If so, the person responsible is supposed to contact the National Board of Health and Welfare. But in most cases, of course, the notification is indirect criticism of the responsible manager. This is most likely why so few of the employees, and even fewer of the substitute nurses and fill-ins actually dare to report anything.”

(DN.se, 2011-11-06, *Skärp lex Sarah*)

The most extremely explicit example of the power relationship discourse would probably be the last quotation, in which it is shown how lex Sarah, the law supposed to make sure that wrongdoings get reported, is fundamentally flawed since it actually forbids anonymous notifications, thereby making sure that management always knows who is daring to speak out. With management apparently more often than not reacting with a 'shoot-the-messenger'-attitude to attempts of dialogue, the result is frightened employees, fearing to lose their jobs, not daring to report neglect and abuse: quite the opposite of what the letter of the law intended and, as noted above, a very explicit example of how the discourse of power relationships appears within the narrative.

This discourse is, as opposed to the science/medicine-discourse described earlier, quite emotional. It includes symbolic representations signaling right and wrong, justice and injustice: the explicit language of the narrative makes those distinctions very clear. Implicitly, the discourse of hierarchical relationships in the workplace ties into powerful Marxist and post-Marxist discourses: the right and wrong being discussed here are in many ways social rights and wrongs; the injustices described in the text are social injustices. It is very easy to interpret the narrative as the struggling working class nurses quite obviously being oppressed by their faceless management masters. As we shall see below, this kind of implicit construction becomes even more tangible when the discourse of power differences is combined with the discourse of economy.

4.2.3 - Economy: money vs dignity

Downsizing, cutbacks, net gain, tax planning, secret bonus programs: this is the language constructing the discourse of money. Here, the recipient of the narrative is explicitly confronted with the concept of money as something being taken from some and given to others, money as a counterpoint and an opposite to the concept of dignity and money as the actual cause of abuse at Carema's elder care institutions. In 50 of the 175 articles scrutinized in this study, the language of economy is immediately and explicitly visible. In more or less every single one of the rest, the concept of money is implicitly present: the threat of losing your job is actually a threat of taking away your ability to make money, the political concept of 'privatization' is about who gets to make money and who does not, all the 'unacceptable conditions' at elder care institutions are caused by economical cutbacks used as a means to maximize profit. Typical article-quotes emerging from this discourse would for instance be:

“Anything with a cost is questioned.”

“According to staff, management at Tallbohov elder care have moved focus to economic cutbacks to such an extent that it is no longer possible to conduct safe care at the institution.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-01, *"Allt som kostar ifrågasätts"*)

“... Carema staff are forced to weigh... used diapers in order to reduce consumption and thus save money.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-11, *Kissblöjorna vägs – för att spara pengar*)

“Carema owners increased their net gain between four and five times in three years. At the same time they reduced the number of medically trained staff at criticized Koppargården in favor of low-skilled - and therefore less expensive – labor.

(Lucas & Tottmar, 2011-11-09, *Caremas ökande vinster hamnar i skatteparadis*)

“The scandalous care company Carema has secret bonus programs for its management while harsh economic cutbacks have led to alleged negligence...”

(Bolling, 2011-11-06, *Caremachefer styrs av hemliga bonusprogram*)

“The owners of the scandalized care company Carema have maxed out their tax planning. The little-

known Swedish private equity firm Triton has, according to Dagens Industri, used inflated internal interest rates to create a tax credit worth 495 million annually. This erases Carema's profits and the Swedish government loses tax revenue. This loophole in the tax legislation is criticized by the Minister of Finance..."

(DN.se, 2011-11-11, *Carema-ägare undviker skatt*)

This discourse, just like the staff-vs-management discourse above, ties into wider social, ethical and political discourses: the article series quite obviously implies that multinational corporations making lots and lots of money from maltreating elderly Swedish people while not paying any tax whatsoever in Sweden should be considered doing something very wrong. It may not be legally wrong – yet – but it is most certainly ethically and morally wrong. Here, the discourse of money comes together with the discourse of ethics and morals that will be described in more detail below, in order to create a powerful construct of something that should most certainly be seen as shocking and unacceptable by everyone: elder abuse caused by corporate profit hunger.

That construct becomes even more powerful when the money-discourse and the ethics-discourse are combined with the power hierarchy-discourse described earlier and the responsibility discourse that will be described later. Article text such as "According to staff, management at Tallbohov elder care have moved focus to economic cutbacks so much that it is no longer possible to conduct safe care at the institution" (DN.se, 2011-11-02, "*Allt som kostar ifrågasätts*") puts all four of these discourses together, constructing the management as so shockingly irresponsible and greedy that they are willing to sacrifice lives for a profit while at the same time depicting staff as good responsible people raising the alarm about an unacceptable and downright dangerous work situation.

4.2.4 - Morals and ethics: shocking and unacceptable

The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines 'moral' as

a : of or relating to principles of right and wrong in behavior : ethical <*moral* judgments>

b : expressing or teaching a conception of right behavior <a *moral* poem>

c : conforming to a standard of right behavior

d : sanctioned by or operative on one's conscience or ethical judgment <a *moral* obligation>

e : capable of right and wrong action <a *moral* agent>

(Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, *Moral*)

and 'ethics' as “the discipline dealing with what is good and bad and with moral duty and obligation.” (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, *Ethics*) Looking at the article series, the discourse of morals and ethics emerges as the one most directly used to define what is to be considered shocking and unacceptable. Examples would be:

“It is not allowed to be done that way. A person should not have to die alone with a TV as last company...”

(Nilsson, 2011-11-13, *Döende lämnades framför tv:n*)

“Workers told of shortages of everything from soap to staff, about dirt and how management scolded those who dared to complain. It also emerged that a patient had to sleep on the floor for several months after the management decided to lend his bed to another patient whose bed had collapsed.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-03, *”Patienten ville sova på golvet”*)

“Bertil Stolt found his senile and paralyzed mother undressed on a mattress, with feces all over her body. Her gaze was terrified and her hands clasped in silent prayer. The nurses on duty... had just closed the door.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-14, *Räddade sin mor från vanvård på Vintertullen*)

“...elderly forced to sit for hours in wet diapers.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-11, *Kissblöjorna vägs – för att spara pengar*)

“... elderly forced to sleep on mattresses on the floor...”

(DN.se, 2011-11-06, *Skärp lex Sarah*)

This is, as can be easily seen in both the dictionary definition and in the quotations above, the language of right and wrong, of good and evil, of acceptable and unacceptable: it defines a baseline of behavior that our society is not ever supposed to sink below, and it is a discourse that is explicitly or implicitly present in every article of the series studied in this paper.

Whenever the writers and editors at Dagens Nyheter act within the discourse of money, describing cutbacks and downsizing and the consequences of these economic decisions, there is the implicit message that this is wrong, that these are unacceptable decisions with unacceptable

consequences. Whenever the writers and editors at Dagens Nyheter act within the discourse of workplace power relationships there is the implicit condemnation of the repressive and vindictive behavior of management as something that should not be happening in our civilized world. Whenever there is a clinically detached medical description of the physical and psychological abuse patients at Carema Care-facilities have been subjected to, the moral and ethical discourse is there, defining that which is being described as wrong. In this way, even though it is most often used implicitly, the discourse of ethics and morals is probably the one discourse most directly responsible for constructing Carema Care's abuse of the elderly as something shocking and unacceptable.

4.2.5 - Responsibility: who is really to blame and who accepts responsibility?

Refusing to take responsibility for our actions or, even worse, blaming someone else for them, is wrong: this is something most parents of most cultures teach their children at a very early age. Thus presented, the discourse of responsibility could be seen as a sub-genre of the ethics/morale-discourse, but since it is technically possible to act in opposition to the generally accepted rules and still be prepared to take responsibility for one's actions the concept of responsibility will be treated as a separate discourse in this analysis.

The discourse of responsibility is, just like the discourse of ethics and morals, very important to the narrative, showing up repeatedly in the article series. Typical examples of how this discourse appears would be:

“Leif Spjuth, director of Hässelby-Vällingby municipal district committee, says that he does not want to cover anything up.”

(Tottmar, 2011-10-08, *”Det hör inte hemma i sammanhanget”*)

“... two questions for Maria Larsson: “What does the minister intend to do in order to make it possible to quickly break a contract if it is shown that neglect is going on?” And “What does the minister intend to do in order to increase the transparency in how private providers do business?””

(Tottmar, 2011-10-12, *Borgarrådet: Det är under all kritik*)

“Carema have sent an 82-page written response to Hässelby-Vällingby district administration. In the letter Carema puts the blame on physicians organization Trygg Hälsa, claiming major deficiencies in the physicians' co-operation with Koppargården, that operations manager Anders

Hellström has acted in a threatening manner and that the doctors working with Koppargården have failed in availability.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-10-11, *Företaget skyller på läkaren*)

“It is unclear who is responsible for the scandals within the elder-care, but it is obvious that the political leadership is unable handle the situation...”

(Räihä-Järvinen *et al.*, 2011-10-25, *Alliansen står maktlös inför skandalerna i äldreomsorgen*)

“The company's regional manager Gertrud Öjetoft says... that she cannot comment on details in individual cases.”

(DN.se, 2011-12-02, *Carema medger brister vid svältdöd*)

“DN.se have unsuccessfully tried to contact the former operations manager.”

(Bondesson, 2011-11-10, *Carema polisanmälde aldrig sexbrott på boende*)

“Yesterday, DN once again tried to contact the operations manager of Tallbohov, but was turned down.”

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-03, *”Patienten ville sova på golvet”*)

As can be seen in the quotations, responsibility is repeatedly constructed as something that must be taken in the narrative of the article series: trying to avoid or divert responsibility is represented as wrong. Also, the construct of responsibility is presented as something very simple and uncomplicated: it is black or white, something either taken or not. At the stage of positionings, the fourth step of this analysis, this binary division of subjects as 'good' or 'evil' depending on their perceived choices regarding responsibility has a very important part to play: those who cringe from responsibility – people that avoid, deny and make up excuses - are positioned as villains while those who choose to take responsibility, especially those who might be putting their own personal welfare at risk by doing so, are positioned as heroes.

The discourse of responsibility is almost always combined with the discourse of ethics and morals. These two discourses together, often with responsibility expressed explicitly and morals alluded to implicitly, is the most often seen basis for the binary 'good/bad'-division of narrated subjects. In a number of articles, the discourses of economy and power relationships are added to

this mixture, such as when staff tries to point out dangerous shortcomings at their workplace only to have management attempt to silence them, running cover-up operations rather than accepting responsibility.

4.3 - Action orientation

The scientific and medical discourse comes across as distanced and unemotional, detached from the subject matter it deals with: this allows the reporting writer to appear professional and objective, which in turn implies credibility and truthfulness. This then allows the reporter to speak from a position of strength that makes protests, denials and/or explanations from the target of investigation appear weak, contrived and evasive in comparison.

The detached professional discourse can also be used in a different manner: it allows the speaker to make someone else appear insensitive, indifferent or unfeeling when answering questions or offering excuses or explanations. For instance, when asked about a case in which an elderly woman starved to death at a Carema care facility, company regional manager Gertrud Öjetoft replies “...we have followed our routines and we have done most things right. But I still think we [the company and the patient] could have had a better dialogue” (Örstadius, 2011-11-30, *90-åriga Anneli svalt ihjäl på Caremaboende*) To be described as saying 'we followed the handbook to the letter' when the patient in question just died from malnutrition does not come across as someone expressing a professional reaction: it comes across as callousness bordering on the psychopathological.

Also, as noted earlier, the medical discourse is a discourse with an inherent shock value: the contrast between the detached medical jargon and the very real horrors it describes gives the reporters involved the possibility to shake their readers up, to disturb them and make them react emotionally. The ability to evoke emotional reaction is, just as appearing credible, something the investigative reporter actively seeks (Sanes, 1996) and in this particular narrative acting within the medical discourse is a powerful way of achieving both of those goals.

The discourse of power relationships allows the newspaper a safe position from which to out the villains and support the heroes in the narrative – we all like to root for the underdog and we all like to see the rich and privileged miscreant get his well-deserved comeuppance. For the newspaper it is never risky to give praise to the little guy and it is never risky to at least appear as someone who is prepared to stand up to the big guy. In allowing this particular kind of action, the power

relationship-discourse synergizes very well with both the morals/ethics-discourse and the responsibility-discourse. Acting within these discourses gives the reporters the possibility to present themselves as protectors of the downtrodden and they go to great lengths to describe just how downtrodden the underdogs of this narrative are:

Nurses call, whispering during their breaks. Those who make contact are terrified and hardly dare to present themselves. Tentatively they tell their stories, each more horrible than the next. Relatives of patients fear that family members will face retaliation if it becomes known that they talked. Employees fear getting fired.

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-16, *De som ringar är livrädda för repressalier*)

It is very easy to make oneself appear as one of the 'good guys' when speaking for the oppressed and mortified. It is, of course, just as easy to construct the people in power, those who would reduce another human being to this state of terror, as the 'bad guys'.

The discourse of ethics and morals is absolutely central to the discursive construct: this is the discourse that allows the journalist to make the distinction between what is right and what is wrong. As mentioned earlier, it combines most effectively with the economic discourse but within the Dagens Nyheter-construct of elder abuse it can be found together with all the other discourses focused on in this chapter, defining what is good and what is bad.

What can be gained from engaging the discourse of ethics and morals should be rather self-evident: it gives the narrator the possibility to speak as one of the 'good guys', as someone who has taken a stand for what is right against what is wrong. It also makes it possible to denounce others, declaring them to be the 'bad guys' of the narrative: the speaker can be part of a morally and ethically superior 'we' opposing a morally and ethically inferior 'them'.

As already noted above, the language of good and evil opens up a number of binary definitions by which to stratify the world as it is presented within a particular structure – a situation that will be discussed in greater detail under both the heading of positionings and the heading of practice below – and it also closes down a number of linguistic pathways: those most often used to make excuses. The results of economic cutbacks are bad, therefore those responsible for the cutbacks are bad: simple binary definitions of good and evil are used over and over again within the article series to make sure that the narrative does not become vague or ambiguous.

The responsibility discourse, like that of morals and ethics above, also synergizes with the four other discourses in order to give the newspaper an excellent position from which to narrate its

construct. The responsibility-discourse is an important part of both the ethics-discourse and the power-discourse; at the same time the ethics-discourse plays a very important part in the definition of the responsibility-discourse. In this particular narrative, taking responsibility is one of the ways in which a villain might attempt to mend his or her ways: facing and accepting responsibility is a possible path to redemption. Choosing to avoid responsibility is, on the other hand, a sure-fire way of becoming a villain: it is constructed as a deeply unethical and immoral position to take.

The advantages to be found in the language of this particular discourse are in many ways the same as already seen as results of the ethics-discourse above: responsibility can be claimed or demanded by the speaker, thereby granting him or her an empowered positioning. The demand for acceptable explanations and the active taking of responsibility is in many ways a marker for the investigative journalist: as a group they are defined by and operate within the discourses of right and wrong, of taking or avoiding responsibility. As a group they also of course define themselves as taking responsibility and doing the right thing, positioning themselves solidly on the 'good' side of the narrative as defenders of that which is right and proper. (Sanes, 1996) As managing editor Åsa Tillberg puts it:

It is the mission of DN to point out deficiencies in the welfare system. Dagens Nyheter's important exposure (...) of elder abuse, especially at the Carema elder-care facility Koppargården, challenges powerful economic and ideological interests...

(Tillberg, 2012-05-15, *Det är DN:s uppdrag att påtala brister i välfärden.*)

It is the responsibility of the newspaper to take a stand, to take its responsibility, even though, and maybe even especially because, this challenges powerful economic and ideological interests. This is, as will be seen below, exactly what a hero is supposed to do according to the particular construct this narrative operates within.

Looking at the action orientation of the discourse of economy it is quite apparent that it combines very easily with the discourse of ethics and moral, allowing the narrator to declare that it is clearly shocking and unacceptable to starve old people to death in order to make a monetary profit. This can be seen quite explicitly in the article *90-åriga Anneli svalt ihjäl på Caremaboende (Anneli, 90, starved to death at Carema care facility)*, with quotes such as “Another scandal hits care company Carema. An older woman at the company's accommodation Brålanda in Vänersborg died of malnutrition.”, “When she died, she weighed just 35 kilos.” and “One can enrich food with butter and cream – it is easy. But it costs money, of course.” (Örstadius, 2011-11-30, *90-åriga Anneli svalt ihjäl på Caremaboende*) making it very clear to anyone confronted by this story that corporate

money hunger just cost an innocent elderly woman her life.

The economic discourse also synergizes very efficiently with the responsibility-discourse in allowing the speaker to point out that those who profit from the abuse are also the ones refusing to take responsibility for it. It gives the possibility to repeatedly show the tragic consequences of cutbacks and downsizing, while also repeatedly highlighting how the investigation again and again comes up against a wall of 'no comments', 'I cannot comment on a specific case', 'not my area of responsibility' and 'there will be a press release...'

In addition to the refusal to take verbal responsibility for their actions, there is also the question of taking greater socio-economic responsibility by paying proper taxes on the profits squeezed out of the downsized care:

Regarding the tax issue, venture capitalists have taken a wrong step when jumping into the publicly financed health care, social care and education. Most taxpayers do not like that our joint money is lost to tax havens. On the contrary, we find it terribly outrageous and immoral, whether it is legal or not.

(Gripenberg, 2011-11-21, *Nu har verkligheten sprungit ikapp riskkapitalisterna*)

Here, the economic discourse, combined with both the ethics-discourse and the responsibility-discourse, allows the reporter to refer to herself and all other honest Swedish taxpayers as 'we', while construing the venture capitalists as the immoral 'they' who evade their societal responsibility by taking our money and moving it to tax havens abroad.

4.4 - Positionings

Within the discursive construct, the discourses and action orientations present three distinct positionings to those involved. These positionings are highly stylized, very monochromatic, and based upon easily recognized stereotypes from classical storytelling tropes.

The first positioning is that of the Hero: someone who when confronted with the shocking, undignified and unacceptable chooses to take responsibility and acts, maybe even at great personal risk. This is first of all the positioning given by DN to the whistle-blowers within the elder-care industry, anonymous or not. It is also the place from which DN speaks in the narrative: the fearless investigative reporter outing the villains, giving a voice to the 'true' heroes while speaking for the voiceless victims.

In the construction of elder abuse presented by DN, heroes are active agents, included and given a voice because they choose to do right and take responsibility. This is the positioning that

generates quotes such as “-You know, this is the best I’ve ever done. I’m so incredibly proud of myself for telling, says one of the persons behind the publication of the article about Tallbohov.” (Hökerberg, 2011-11-16, *De som ringer är livrädda för repressalier*)

The second positioning offered by the narrative is that of the Villain: someone who creates the shocking, undignified and unacceptable situations being described by the whistle-blowers and the journalists and/or someone who refuses to take responsibility for these situations. This is the position the narrative gives to Carema Care as a company, to the individuals profiting from Carema Care and to anyone with power and/or positions of responsibility who try to avoid taking proper responsibility. Villains are, like the heroes, active agents, included and given a voice but they are also thoroughly condemned by the narrative because of their active choice to do the wrong thing and then not taking responsibility for what they have done.

The positioning of villain is probably not one chosen by any participant of a narrative: it is most likely a positioning in which one is put by someone else. In the Carema Care article series that someone is most often the newspaper itself and since the narrative is constructed by the journalists and editors of the newspaper positionings defined within its construct is very hard to influence by someone excluded from that process: it is almost impossible for anyone pointed out as a villain by DN to successfully defend him- or herself.

It should also be noted that the villains of the narrative quite often are named and titled in the article series. Kerstin Stålskog, Chief of Elder-care for Carema, Elisabeth Frostell, Chief of Information at Carema, Peder Pråhl, owner of the Swedish investment-company Triton: the bad guys of the construct do not get the protection of anonymity that may be extended to heroes and victims. This removal of anonymity is of course deliberate. The message being sent by the investigating journalist is that the hidden villains are being exposed, dragged into the light they so desperately wish to avoid, and that justice is being served, if not legally then at least morally and ethically so.

Finally, there is the positioning of Victim: this particular discursive space is opened up for the individuals who are subjected to the shocking, undignified and unacceptable situations being described by the whistle-blowers and the journalists, while at the same time being unable, passive and powerless and therefore incapable of taking any kind of direct action. This is the only position given to the elderly by the article series and it must be noted that this means that they are not being empowered by the narrative – quite the opposite as a matter of fact. Victims are passive subjects,

incapable of choice and therefore completely excluded. Some of their relatives might be given a little voice, otherwise the newspaper speaks for the victims.

The positioning of victim is also available to nurses and other elder-care staff who do not choose to take action: they are constructed as helplessly caught in a defective system that reduces them to little more than automatons, going through the motions decided for them by management. Being powerless, they can be pitied, as when Stina Clara Hjulström, president of the Swedish Dementia Association claims to “...feel sorry for the staff at Carema homes” (Hökerberg, 2011-12-23, *”Jag förstår inte hur personalen orkar”*), but they cannot be blamed for the abuse happening at their workplace.

4.5 - Practice

As part of something shocking, undignified and unacceptable you can choose to either see it or not. You can accept responsibility or not. If you have power, you can choose to act or not. The prevalent discourses, action orientations and positionings of the newspaper construct make most choices within the narrative binary.

This very black or white approach to action choices is central to the practices opened up or shut down by the construction of elder abuse within the article series. Who has the power to act and who does not is an extremely important part of the construct, as is of course making the 'right' or 'wrong' choice. It must also be noted that only villains and heroes have power enough to act and make choices – victims do not.

The hero-positioning is mostly constituted out of the discourses of ethics and responsibility within the construct and the actions made possible from this positioning are those of taking responsibility and those of 'proper' ethics and morals: the 'right thing to do' according to the perceived standards of society. This means blowing the whistle on unacceptable or even illegal abuse, even if personal consequences could be drastic; this means taking the responsibility defined by your position even if you might not have been personally involved in an incident. This is what doctors and nurses, anonymous or not, do when they report abuse and it is also what the reporters and editors at DN are doing when they 'dig', 'scrutinize' and 'expose' things that some people would prefer to keep hidden.

This also means that when the heroes of the narrative take moral and responsible action, there can be tangible results: their actions may incite change for the better. For instance “Stockholm City Council stopped two reports from its own responsible nurse. Her criticism of Koppargården

was re-written and mitigated. Data on increasing numbers of dying patients and decreasing numbers of staff was removed [...] What really went on at Koppargården was not revealed until DN wrote about it last week, six months later...” (Tottmar, 2011-10-18, *Sköterskans larmrapport stoppades*) or “...this Tuesday, following DN’s scrutiny of Koppargården, the politicians of Hässelby-Vällingby decided to try to revoke Carema’s contract on elder care.” (Tottmar & Hökerberg, 2011-10-27, *Vårdskandalen: Nu ska vården ses över*) or “[the creation of] new tax rules that will stop the cash drain from venture capital companies to tax havens is urgent, according to Minister of Finance Anders Borg, who says that he wants to make it clear that today’s rules will not apply in the future.” (DN.se, 2011-11-11, *Carema-ägare undviker skatt*)

The villain-positioning also comes out of the ethics discourse, modified by the discourses of responsibility, economics and hierarchies. The actions made possible by this positioning are all the 'wrong' things: the absolute opposite of the action-possibilities opened up by the hero-positioning. These are the actions resulting in “...elderly forced to sit for hours in wet diapers” (Hökerberg, 2011-11-11, *Kissblöjorna vägs – för att spara pengar*), “... elderly forced to sleep on mattresses on the floor” (DN.se, 2011-11-06, *Skärp lex Sarah*) and Carema staff being “...forced to weigh... used diapers in order to reduce consumption and thus save money” (Hökerberg, 2011-11-11, *Kissblöjorna vägs – för att spara pengar*); this is claiming that “...the patient wanted to sleep on the floor” (Hökerberg, 2011-11-03, *”Patienten ville sova på golvet”*), using “...inflated internal interest rates to create a tax credit worth 495 million annually” (DN.se, 2011-11-11, *Carema-ägare undviker skatt*) or having “...secret bonus programs for its management while harsh economic cutbacks have led to alleged negligence.” (Bolling, 2011-11-06, *Caremachefer styrs av hemliga bonusprogram*) The villains are those who do that which is supposed to be morally reprehensible to the rest of society: they are the ones doing the things that must be exposed and, if possible, changed for the better by the heroes of the narrative.

It is important to note that the discourses, action orientations and positionings in the narrative completely close down the possibility of villains doing 'right' things: if they did, they would no longer be villains. According to the discursive construct, forcing someone to sit for hours after having soiled themselves is wrong, if not downright evil. Attempts to give some sort of medical or economic explanation for this particular action are excuses, a refusal to take responsibility: one more wrong piled on top of the first one. Tax planning is wrong, if not legally then at least morally so, especially when done by a healthcare company that simultaneously orders massive economical cutbacks, minimizing supplies and downsizing staff. To point out that this is

legal, to point out that quite a lot of other companies – amongst those more than one newspaper company - do the same, to answer 'no comment' or to give no answer at all when sought by journalists is once again a refusal to take responsibility: once again another wrong piled on top of the first one.

The victim-positioning closes down all possible actions: it is utterly passive. This is the position of Bertil Stolt's mother, whom he found "undressed on a mattress with feces all over her body... terrified... her hands clasped in silent prayer" (Hökerberg, 2011-11-14, *Räddade sin mor från vanvård på Vintertullen*); this is the position of Anneli starving to death in her bed at a Carema care-facility (Örstadius, 2011-11-30, *90-åriga Anneli svalt ihjäl på Caremaboende*); this is the position of all those who are passively fed instead of actively eating, have their diapers changed instead of visiting the bathroom and who gets put to bed at five in the afternoon whether they are sleepy or not. (DN.se, 2011-11-22, *Kritik mot Attendo-boende*) The non-actions open to this group are to be infantilized, depersonalized, dehumanized and finally victimized.

As already noted under the heading of positionings above, this range of practice options is hardly something that empowers the practitioner: the total passivization of the victims threaten to reduce them to the status of inanimate objects. This is in itself a very dangerous thing to do: inanimate objects are per definition not human and therefore not protected by the usual cultural taboos regarding what can or cannot be done to them. This reduction in status, this act of putting the victim below the threshold of humanness, is part of a dehumanization process, a phenomenon that will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter of the study.

4.6 – Subjectivity

The final stage of analysis that will be performed within this study will explore the relationship between discourse and subjectivity and attempt to discern in what way the specific discursive constructions and subject positionings affect the narrated participants' subjective experiences. Discourses construct social realities and while doing so they also inevitably construct psychological realities: in explicating the concept of subjectivity, the analysis will therefore attempt to describe something of that which could possibly be felt, thought and experienced from within these various discursive lifeworlds. (Parker, 1992)

As has already been mentioned, this stage of analysis is of course quite speculative. It connects the discursive structures inhabited by the participants of a narrative with what these

discourses may imply regarding the participants' subjective experiences within the narrative: that which can be defined is that which could possibly be felt, thought and experienced by the participants within a particular discursive construct. If the participants actually feel, think and/or experience any of that which is defined in the analysis is an entirely different question that will not be answered by this study.

Quite obvious subjective experiences opened up within the narrative would be, for instance, feelings of guilt and regret, as seen in quotes such as "...feeling guilty because of the father", "- I bitterly regret putting him there. We thought he would be helped..." (Hökerberg, 2011-10-12, "*Carema försökte köpa min tystnad*") and "A person should not have to die alone with a TV as last company..." (Nilsson, 2011-11-13, *Döende lämnades framför tv:n*) or feelings of helplessness and/or frustration, as expressed in quotes such as "We cry out for your help. Please listen!" (Tottmar, 2011-10-11, "*Oacceptabla förhållanden*" på äldreboende i Vällingby) and "We are afraid of X. We have a very tough situation at the department where X is not listening to us at all. We can not go to any other manager since we have been told by X's manager that if the situation does not suit us we can just quit..." (Hökerberg, 2011-10-11, *Företaget skyller på läkaren*)

Opposed to these negative emotional states, there are feelings of satisfaction and content opened up by, for instance, actions that bring about positive change, such as "...this Tuesday, following DN's scrutiny of Koppargården, the politicians of Hässelby-Vällingby decided to (...) revoke Carema's contract on elder care." (Tottmar & Hökerberg, 2011-10-27, *Vårdskandalen: Nu ska vården ses över*) and "Minister of Finance Anders Borg (...) says that he wants to make clear that today's rules will not apply in the future." (DN.se, 2011-11-11, *Carema-ägare undviker skatt*); positive emotions that can be expressed in quotes such as as "-You know, this is the best I've ever done. I'm so incredibly proud of myself for telling..." (Hökerberg, 2011-11-16, *De som ringer är livrädda för repressalier*)

There are also feelings of righteous anger, a powerful emotion that is implicitly present in almost every single article of the series and that can be more explicitly found in situations such as for instance:

The response of the management was to accuse the student of breaking the rules of confidentiality. - I demanded that they report me if I had done something wrong. I believe that they were trying to scare me into silence..."

(Nilsson, 2011-11-13, *Döende lämnades framför tv:n*)

or

- I get very upset. This is completely off the wall, completely unacceptable. We want to see what possibilities are available to terminate the agreement with Carema, this is all about the elderly, says Helen Jäderlund Eckardt (FP).

(Tottmar, 2011-10-11, "*Oacceptabla förhållanden*" på äldreboende i Vällingby)

or

– You give subsidiaries to venture capital companies in the welfare sector. In 2009 those companies, according to Statistics Sweden, made 12 billion in profits. 8.1 billion of those were subsidiaries, i.e. tax money, said Ohly. - We see neglect at Koppargården in Vällingby, [a facility] run by the venture capital company Carema. They have cut so much staff that people are suffering from, in fact, lousy care. Why are you reducing health and social care for the elderly?

(Tottmar, 2011-10-13, *Koppargården debatterades i Riksdagen*)

In these particular quotes righteous anger can be seen quite openly: in many other articles it is not as immediately visible but rather alluded to as a driving force behind the dedicated purposefulness of the investigative reporter.

Finally, it must be noted that as the possibility of experiencing these various emotions is made available to the participants of the discursive construct, the narrative also makes it very clear that all of these emotional expressions are not available to everyone: the narrative simultaneously opens up and closes down a number of subjective options. Within the lifeworlds constituted by this narrative villains are not allowed to feel helpless or frustrated, victims should not feel guilt or regret and heroes have earned the right to feel satisfaction as a rightful reward for a good deed: the discursive construct constitutes as well as imposes the various ways of being available to the participants.

5 - Discussion

5.1 - An excluded concept: dehumanization

“It is not as if we sit around and plan this evil act, that there should be no diapers.” says Elizabeth Frostell, Chief of Information at Carema Care, when she is confronted with new allegations of severe abuse of patients at a Carema Care institution for the elderly. (Hökerberg, 2011-11-03, *”Patienten ville sova på golvet”*) Nevertheless, fundamental supplies such as diapers and medicine apparently did run out at Carema Care facilities and malnourishment, unnecessary amputations and death from negligence apparently did happen, despite the presence of nurses and doctors. Basic human needs – dignity, care, even food – seem to have been deliberately and callously denied. But according to Elizabeth Frostell this was under no circumstances intentional: none of the abuse that actually took place was in any way planned by anyone.

This kind of behavior, unplanned but with tragic consequences, unthinking and apparently without any real consideration of the actual effects of what is being done, is directly or indirectly described in most of the articles dealing with the alleged abuse at various care institutions. In those articles, one particular word is used repeatedly in connection with this kind of behavior: 'undignified'. This word is almost always used to describe how a person – usually as a result of severe economic cutbacks - has been treated in ways the author of the article considers morally and/or ethically unacceptable: a treatment somehow beneath or beyond the threshold of what can be done to something defined as a human being. Here 'undignified' connotes 'not human-worthy', indicating that the individual in question has been 'de-humanized'. His or her basic human dignity has been taken away, making him or her something not-human.

One definition of dehumanization is as the process by which “... people or collectives of them, are depicted as less than human, as non comparable in humanity or personal dignity to those who do the labeling.” (Zimbardo, 2006) Written or verbal abuse, demeaning or degrading depictions based on negative stereotyping and direct or indirect incitements to discriminate are all parts of this process. The dehumanization process denies a person all that which signifies him or her as an individual, as someone capable of making independent choices, and it also denies the individual his or her rightful place in the main body of societal community, marking him or her as a non-person, a not-part vis-à-vis the collective. (Haslam, 2006)

In his 1996 briefing paper *The 8 stages of genocide*, Gregory H. Stanton defines the concept

of dehumanization as the step that allows “...killing with impunity.” (Stanton, 1996, p. 3) By considering the victims of planned or ongoing violence as non-human, the 'normal' social inhibitions against harming or killing other human beings are neutralized, allowing for actions that would otherwise be unthinkable. Consequently, as “... people are divested of [their] agentic and communal aspects of humanness they are deindividuated, lose the capacity to evoke compassion and moral emotions, and may be treated as means toward vicious ends.” (Haslam, 2006, p. 254)

In the definition given by Stanton in *The 8 stages of genocide*, dehumanization is the third step in a genocidal process, preceded by classification and symbolization. Classification is, quite simply, the cognitive process by which human beings divide the natural as well as the social world into groups of us and them. Symbolization is the application of the different ways in which these various groups of us and them are named and signified. It must be noted that the acts of classification and symbolization seem to be indispensable social tools in all kinds of human cultures: they are cognitive shortcuts, designed to make everyday interaction with social reality possible. It is when classification and symbolization are combined with the concept of dehumanization that actively causing or passively accepting the inhuman treatment of an individual or a group of individuals becomes a viable option. (Stanton, 1996)

In a more specific institutionalized elder-care setting, Jeanie Schmit Keyser-Jones describes the concepts of infantilization, depersonalization and dehumanization as three steps on the way to victimization. Infantilization is, according to Schmit Keyser-Jones, that which happens when adult individuals are treated as small children. Infantilizing treatment includes behavior such as care staff addressing their elderly patients in casual or familiar terms, subjecting them to authoritarian scoldings, caused by for instance incontinence or a refusal to eat when fed, and/or dressing them in childish attire. Within the article series in *Dagens Nyheter* there are many references by care facility staff to 'feeding' elderly patients, 'changing their diapers' and 'putting them to bed', the latter sometimes as early as five o'clock in the afternoon. (DN.se, 2011-11-22, *Kritik mot Attendo-boende*) Feeding, changing and putting to bed are all something you do to someone: they are actions someone, voluntarily or not, are subjected to by someone else. They are, of course, also actions most often associated with taking care of children. Repeatedly being treated in this manner, for instance at a care-facility, “... offends [the patient's] self-esteem, tends to promote regressive traits such as incontinence, increases dependency, and undermines any remaining sense of dignity and self-worth...” while at the same time fulfilling the function of a “... socialization process whereby the aged, who are seen by society as roleless and without status, are cast into the role of children.”

(Schmit Keyser-Jones, 1990, p. 40)

Next, the concept of depersonalization is described as denying a person his or her individuality, personality and sense of identity, thereby detaching them from the communal network of communication and other social interaction. This is done by, for instance, addressing people improperly, obviously ignoring them when they try to communicate or by actually acting as if someone is not present, not acknowledging their existence at all. This absence of human interaction is described more than once in the article series, most often explained by staff being under a great deal of stress, as not having enough time for actual communication, caused by too few staff members and too tight schedules. The effects of depersonalization are comparable to those of infantilization, with the added risks of actual loss of individuality, personality and sense of identity in the victim as well as the possibility that the care staff might begin considering the patient to be a non-person, no longer attached to the collective of society. (Schmit Keyser-Jones, 1990)

Finally, dehumanization is defined as "... what follows when a person is treated insensitively, callously, and when he is subjected to experiences that are an affront to his dignity and sense of self-worth. To dehumanize another is to deprive him of human attributes such as compassion, understanding, and kindness." (Schmit Keyser-Jones, 1990, p. 46) Dehumanizing activities may include all those listed under the definition of depersonalization above – the line between the two concepts is a fine one – and also, even more detrimental to the victim, various kinds of actions that degrade an individual to the status of an animal or an inanimate object. Actions such as forced feeding, forced public nudity for cleaning, showering or bathing and refusal to help with passing feces or urine resulting in public soiling are all examples of dehumanizing treatments: public nudity, soiling and exposure of sexual organs are all violations of very strongly conditioned Western cultural taboos and when "... such actions are permitted and accepted as a matter of course, they degrade and dehumanize those who violate the taboo as well as those who must observe such behavior, for the person violating the taboo obviously is no longer considered (...) a significant member of the human race." (Schmit Keyser-Jones, 1990, p. 47-48) This, as noted above, consequently means that situations such as

Bertil Stolt found his senile and paralyzed mother undressed on a mattress with feces all over her body. Her gaze was terrified and her hands clasped in silent prayer. The nurses on duty... had just closed the door.

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-14, *Räddade sin mor från vanvård på Vintertullen*)

or:

- We are not allowed to change a diaper until it reached its full capacity. The aim is simply to

keep consumption down and save money, says a person in the company. The consequence is that the elderly are forced to sit for hours in soiled diapers.

(Hökerberg, 2011-11-11, *Kissblöjorna vägs – för att spara pengar*)

or:

- Those responsible are forgetting that we work with human beings. My question to Minister of the Elderly Maria Larsson is: how do we get old people to poop on schedule? That may sound like a stupid question, but the staff's schedule is often so tight that the elderly are forced to make it through their toilet-visits as fast as possible.

(Lerner, 2011-12-16, *“Vårdskandalerna är inga isolerade företeelser*)

becomes possible to actively cause or passively accept, even though they by all modern human standards should not. Human standards no longer apply because the elderly victims of this abuse is no longer human: they are seen as vermin or even as inanimate objects.

The effects of the dehumanization process is obviously absolutely central to the article series: the terrible things that might happen to a person who is no longer considered to be a significant member of the human race is the very foundation of the narrative. Even so, the word 'dehumanization' is actually not mentioned in any of the 175 articles analyzed in this study. The direct cause of the atrocities is most often described as stress, lack of time, lack of resources or lack of staff: cutbacks, profit maximization and/or structural level management decisions cause the suffering of the victims. The fact that the actual physical or psychological elder abuse is done by care-facility staff is curiously missing from the narrative.

This lack of focus on the persons actually responsible for treating elder-care patients badly is the result of the black-or-white positionings within the article series: nurses are heroes or possibly victims – management, owners and economic policies are villains. Casting nurses as perpetrators of atrocities, as a direct cause of the abuse described, would complicate the discursive construct and lead the attribution of cause, guilt and responsibility in unwanted directions; the personal responsibility of the nurses is therefore exchanged for the institutional responsibility of the healthcare company and the local and national level politicians. This means that the step in the process in which the physical or psychological abuse actually takes place more or less disappears within DN's construct. There is cause - cutbacks, profit maximization and structural level management decisions – and then there is effect: a large number of falling accidents, unnecessary amputations, several cases of severe malnourishment and one patient death caused by blood poisoning from a badly treated wound. In the 175 articles read for this study, there is a single case in

which nurses are mentioned as actual perpetrators and this particular case of abuse does actually not take place at a Carema facility, but at one of Attendo's nursing homes for the elderly. (Hökerberg, 2011-11-14, *Räddade sin mor från vanvård på Vintertullen*) Otherwise, the aforementioned pattern of described causes and described effects is unbroken: the very act of physical or psychological abuse carried out between cause and effect is not mentioned.

5.2 – An excluded discourse: legality and illegality according to Swedish law

The fact that the narrative lacks any actual mention of the concept of dehumanization must be seen in conjunction with another discursive construct that has been more or less excluded from DN's writings, namely that of law and legal responsibility for the abuse being described in the article series. Now, first of all it could easily be said that the legal discussion is absent since the article series has access to the morals/ethics-discourse, a discourse that is much bigger (most illegal things are also immoral, but not all immoral things are actually illegal), much stronger (some illegal things are quite acceptable to public ethics, but all immoral things are unacceptable to the general community) and also synergizes better with all the other discourses in the construct when compared to the legal discourse. The use of easily understood ethical concepts makes the use of more complicated legal concepts unnecessary.

While all of the reasons for excluding the legal discourse mentioned above are undoubtedly true, they do not represent the only truth. It is an unfortunate and sometimes uncomfortable legal fact that it is very, very hard to pin any kind of responsibility on a national or municipal politician or civil servant and it is equally hard to hold CEO's of transnational corporations legally responsible for what happens at local facilities within their business-structures. It is however quite possible to charge, try and convict a single solitary nurse for the crime of negligence, assault and battery or involuntary manslaughter. In Great Britain, where elder-care scandals of more or less exactly the same kind as the Swedish Carema Care scandal have been exposed during 2011 and 2012, this has already happened: six former care workers at Winterbourne View, a nursing home where secret filming revealed routine physical abuse of patients by staff, were sentenced to between six months and two years in jail while five of their former colleagues were given similar but suspended sentences. (Brindle, 2012) In the United States, a home health care worker in Ridgewood, New Jersey was sentenced to 270 days in jail and five years probation for feeding sleeping pills to an Alzheimer's patient to make caring for her easier. (Pries, 2012)

Holding nursing staff personally responsible for elder abuse is a situation that the writers and

editors at Dagens Nyheter seem to very much wish to avoid: in their construct, nurses are heroes or possibly victims but not villains. That position is reserved for management, civil servants and politicians. Therefore it also becomes more or less impossible for DN to push legal responsibility as a major discursive building block within its construct of elder abuse: to do so might quite possibly result in unwanted consequences. Using the discourse of morals and ethics quite efficiently directs the narrative away from uncomfortable and unintended legal responsibilities and places guilt where the construct intends it to be: at the root of the problem as seen by the newspaper reporters and editors. This does however have another side effect: it means that the victims of abuse must remain voiceless within the narrative.

5.3 - An excluded group: the voiceless victims

Out of 175 articles in the studied series, not a single one contains an actual interview with a victim of elder abuse. Two of the articles give the victim a name. Three out of the 175 contain direct communication with a relative of a victim: two of these happen to be the aforementioned articles that give a name to a victim. The elderly are spoken of but never spoken with.

Applying Occam's razor, the most immediate explanation for the lack of articles where victims actually speak about their own experiences might be that many of the victims simply cannot communicate: they may suffer from severe dementia or from Alzheimer's disease, making any kind of meaningful interviewing impossible, or they might actually be dead at the time the article is written. As a matter of fact, one of the named victims is indeed dead and in both of the articles where victims are given a name and relatives are interviewed, dementia is mentioned. In the third article containing an interview with a relative however, the victim of the abuse is also deceased but in this case it is succinctly pointed out that he was fully *compos mentis* when he arrived at the Carema Care facility. Also, in several other articles someone's actions are described as being done in accordance with or against the expressed wishes of the patient, implying that the person in question is capable of having and expressing an opinion. There can be little doubt that out of all the patients at all the troubled elder-care facilities featured in the article series, some could, at least in theory, have been given a chance to speak. But even so, in 175 articles, there is not a single interview with a victim.

Now, making a choice about how to compose an ongoing newspaper article series is of course the privilege of the writers and editors in charge of the campaign. If they choose to focus on describing

the physical and psychological damage inflicted by abuse together with the more abstract systemic economical and political roots of this abuse rather than the localized act of abuse in itself, that is their choice to make. As shown above, the motivation to do so might be found in the action orientation, positioning and practices of the construct: nurses are supposed to be heroes or possibly victims but not villains. Focusing on the localized act itself might put the blame squarely on the ones acting it out – the staff – rather than on the higher levels of command, where the writers and editors at DN appear to think it should be placed. This in turn, as the British and American examples above have shown, might result in legal actions likewise focusing on staff rather than management, civil servants and politicians. This risk is minimized by avoiding the victims and their relatives, and instead putting the journalistic focus on owners, economics and those politically responsible at a municipal and national level.

Unfortunately, this choice of approach in effect means that the newspaper article series, while speaking in great volume of and about them, largely refuses to recognize the elderly abuse-victims as human beings, capable of independent thought and action. They are ignored, not acknowledged and quite frankly completely excluded from their own narrative. By positioning itself as a speaker for the victims the newspaper takes away their possibility to express themselves as active agents, thereby implicitly and explicitly locking them down in the position of passive, immobile, non-communicative and dependent victim-objects: possibly one of the worst kind of stereotypical, degrading depiction of old age that can be found. As defined by Schmit Keyser-Jones, this treatment amounts to depersonalization or even dehumanization and this is not a good thing since it has already been shown that when “... people are divested of [their] agentic and communal aspects of humanness they are deindividuated, lose the capacity to evoke compassion and moral emotions, and may be treated as means toward vicious ends.” (Haslam, 2006, p. 254) Paradoxically, even counter-productively, the construct of elder abuse opened up by the article series might, discursively speaking, be a part of the very problem it attacks: by excluding the elderly from the narrative, Dagens Nyheter further dehumanizes the victims.

6 - Recommendations

The primary purpose of this study was to open up the discursive worlds inhabited by the participants in the narrative and, in doing so, enabling a further comprehension of the positions and actions made available by and for these participants, thereby making it possible for an observer to reach a more detailed understanding of the various participant processes that might be involved in the particular construct that is being studied, focusing on how discourses is implicated in experience and how discourses makes various ways of being available within the different lifeworlds of the narrative. This was done to the extent made possible by the framework of this study, but could, of course, be taken further: deeper and wider strata of analysis could still be obtained from the data used for this particular paper by applying, for instance, a more extensive Foucauldian analysis, a phenomenological approach such as Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) or alternative discursive approaches such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) or Discursive psychology (DP).

Similarly, the analysis of how mass media generates and disseminates discursive constructs could be further explicated: once again, the data already analyzed could be subjected to more detailed scrutiny by phenomenological and/or discursive methods. Further studies of how the particular subject matter construct was constituted and presented to the recipient of the narrative could yield further understanding of the processes involved.

Finally, the choice of an article series dealing with the concept of elder-abuse quite naturally opens up possibilities for further studies of this particular subject. This paper might then serve as a basis for further studies looking into, for instance, the processes of infantilization, depersonalization and dehumanization as steps on the way to victimization or the effects of mass medial or governmental constructs of elder-abuse within the discursive worlds inhabited by victims or perpetrators of abuse.

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