

Sweden – the threatened state?

*A comparative study of underwater intrusions and media's
portrait of Sweden in terms of securitization*

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Abstract

Vessels have on numerous occasions entered Swedish territorial waters. Two incident of this sort occurred in October 1982 and October 2014. In this thesis I will conduct a comparative study of how these events reflects on how Sweden are portrayed in terms of securitization from a media perspective.

This study have been conducted by a content analysis of articles form three Swedish newspapers from the years 1982 and 2014. By analysing the frequency as well as the context of certain attributes I have been able to conclude that there has been a shift in language in terms of securitization in 2014, compared to 1982.

Keywords: media, framing, securitization, anti-submarine warfare, Sweden, threat

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I. Introduction and context

Vessels have illegally entered Swedish waters on numerous occasions. Two of the most attentive ones was perhaps the incidents of 1982 and 2014 in the archipelago of Stockholm. The incident in 1982 was followed by more of its sort, whilst the one in 2014 was like a bolt from the blue.

When mines and depth charges were fired in 1982 towards the foreign submarine, around 600 journalist worldwide reported about the event. Evidence of the underwater intrusion took the form of numerous detections by submarine equipment like passive and active sonar, signal intelligence, magnet mines and visual observations of periscopes and other phenomena related to submarines. (Bynander. 2003:1) It started on September 1st when an indication of a submarine not attributable to a Swedish vessel was discover far inside the archipelago of Stockholm. Submarine defence forces were deployed to pursue the submarine as it kept appearing on sonar. On the 2nd of October a positive location of the Submarine inside the bay Hårsfjärden, perhaps the most sensitive body of water in the country, were made. On 24th of April the following year, the Submarine Defence Commission stated that the intrusion in Hårsfjärden was a *“possible act of intrusion”*.(Bynander. 2003:6-8)

The submarine crisis during the 1980s started with the stranding of U137, a Soviet submarine, at Tornskär. The next big event happened in October 1982, right in the middle of a governmental shift. Both the military agencies as well as the media were affected by the event with U137 merely a year earlier, due to the attention it attracted and a broad media coverage. The discovery of extensive and systematic submarine violations occurred in Sweden during a time that was considered to be very peaceful. Therefore these events hit Sweden hard in terms of security. (Agrell. 1986:8-17) An interesting fact is that 2587 observations of objects were reported during the years 1981-1994. (Jansson. 2014:11)

In October 2014 another report of this sort remerged. On the 17th of October an underwater intrusion was confirmed. At first it was referred to as a foreign vessel and an intelligence operation rather than anti-submarine warfare. However, later on it has been confirmed that it was indeed a submarine who entered Swedish territorial waters. (Regeringskansliet. 2015)

II. Purpose and research question

The purpose of this bachelor thesis is to examine two cases where underwater intrusions by foreign submarines have occurred in Swedish territorial waters. (Regeringskansliet. 2015) (SOU. 1983:13, 3) The events that I have selected for this thesis occurred in October 1982 and 2014 respectively and took place in the Archipelago of Stockholm.

I aim to compare the two events from a media perspective in terms of securitization. By securitization I mean if and how the issue is presented and perceived as an existential threat.

The purpose of using articles from three Swedish newspapers is to see how Sweden are portrayed in terms of securitization. By comparing articles from both cases, this study will show that there is a differentiation by the media between 1982 and 2014 when portraying these events in terms of securitization and how that reflects on Sweden.

Questions like how are Sweden portrayed as a military nation in terms of securitization? How are media portraying these events? How are these events portrayed in matters of securitization and how does that reflect on Sweden?, will characterize the scope of this paper. These are questions in general, which will be researched with a focus on how these two events of underwater intrusions are portrayed from a media perspective. Even though I have overall questions for my thesis, a more concise one is needed in order to narrow the subject in terms of volume and scope for this thesis. This leads me to my research question, which is:

- *How has the language changed in regards to how Sweden are portrayed in terms of securitization?*

III. Theoretical framework

a. Media and framing theory

For this paper - and in order to answer my research question - I needed a suitable theory for my analysis. I have chosen to base my analysis on media theory as well as securitization.

Media theory deals with the content, history and effects of different kinds of media, mass media in particular. Media theory is a version of political theory, a theory that basically is a body of trying to sort out how the world works and how it ought to work. Since politics is the study of the public sphere, this is the common ground where politics and media come together. The main core of media theory comes from mass communication and its body is the bond between theory and practice, thought and action as well as virtue and knowledge.

Media, or medium as it's also called, is any sort of instrument that serves in a communicating way – telephone, radio, and television are all correspondent to media, along with print. Prints are considered to be pure media, since its form of black marks on white paper makes it easy to see and read. (Inglis. 1990:18-22) Media is considered to be an important actor that brings significant contributions when it comes to defining situations. Considering its attraction to simple stories, media will often do the distinction of “us” and “them” when telling the news. (Buzan, Wæver and Jaap de. 1998:124)

News media frame its newsworthy items by highlighting certain words, values and or facts by promoting particular interpretations as well as definitions and thereby, making them more salient - i.e more noteworthy. (Entman. 1993:51) Within the field of political communication, the concept of *framing* has to be both characterised and operationalized on the foundation of social constructivism. Mass media has actively set the frame of references used by readers and/or viewers to interpret and discuss public events. To sum it up, in accordance with the media effects model, audiences are relying on a version of reality which is built on personal experience, interaction with equals as well as interpreted selections from mass media. This particular interaction model of reality construction has important meaning for conceptualising framing with regards to as a theory of media effects. (Scheufele. 2005:105-106)

Framing substantially involves *selection* and *saliences*. To frame is to choose certain aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicative text in such a way as to promote a certain problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluations as well as treatment recommendation for the described item.

Entman has referred to framing as “a scattered conceptualisation” where previous studies lack of clear conceptual definitions and instead relies on context specific operationalisations rather

than generally applicable ones. (Entman 1993:51) He writes that Brosius and Eps took it even further by postulating that the concept of framing is not a clearly explicated and applicable one, but rather a metaphor that cannot be translated into research questions. At the same time, studies have operationalised framing together with other concepts such as priming and agenda setting. More recently, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) proposed that agenda setting and framing effects are not only related, but framing is in fact the mere extension of agenda setting. (Scheufele 2005:103)

As a concept, framing is planted within the larger context of media effects research combined with two dimensions: audience and media frames on the one hand, and frames as independent and dependent variables, on the other. A differential between framing and other closely related concepts within mass media is necessary and it requires an examination of framing analysis in the larger historical context of research within media effects. McQuail (1994) stated that: "*the entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects*". (Scheufele 2005:104) This statement must be understood in the context of the scholarly discussions that has (Scheufele 2005:105) been defined by particular changes in paradigm that have occurred over the past decades. According to McQuail, the history of research on media effects can be divided into four stages, whereas the fourth – and present stage- started in the 1980's and is defined by social constructivism. At this stage, the description of media and recipients combines components of both strong and more limited effects of media. Mass media, on the one hand, has had a strong impact by a construction of social reality by "*framing images of reality in a predictable and patterned way.*" (Scheufele 2005:105) On the other hand, the effects of media are limited to interaction between mass media and recipients - "*Media discourse is part of the process by which journalists develop and crystalize meaning in public discourse.*" (Scheufele 2005:105)

It is suggested that frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. *Communicators*, make aware as well as unaware framing judgements with regards to what to say and guided by frames – often called schemata – that coordinate their belief system. The *text* consist of frames, which are embodied by either the absence or presence of certain key words. The frames that is guiding the *receivers* thinking as well as conclusion may or may not be a reflection of the frames set out in the text and the intentional framing by the communicator. The *culture* is the stock of frames most commonly used. Frames highlights certain pieces of information regarding an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience. Salience means making a piece of information more noticeable, memorable to audiences. An increase in salience enhances the chance of receivers perceive the information as meaningful. Texts can make parts of information more salient by repetition, placement or association with familiar cultural symbols. (Entman 1993:52)

b. Securitization

Security is the special move that takes politics further along than rules by framing the issue either as a special version of politics or as above it. Securitization can therefore be recognized as a more intense version of politicization (to engage in or discuss politics). Theoretically, any public problem can range from non-politicized (meaning the state does not deal with it and in no other way regarded as an issue), to politicized (meaning that the issue itself is part of public policy, requiring governmental decisions), to securitized (meaning the issue is presented as an existential threat). A more clear definition as well as criteria of securitization, is integrated by an intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a salience sufficient enough, to have vast political effect. The way to study this matter is to study discourse. However, a discourse that appears as presenting something as a threat to a referent object does not automatically create securitization – this is called a *securitizing move*. The issue is only securitized if, and when, the audience perceive it as a threat. (Buzan, Wæver and Jaap de 1998:23-25)

Securitization and framing is closely related to the Copenhagen school, which accentuates the social aspects of security. Securitization within international relations, also named as the Copenhagen school, deals with the process of actors of the state that transforms subjects into certain matters of security, a more extreme version of politicization that approves the usage of extraordinary means in the name of security. (Buzan, Wæver and Jaap de 1998:25) Security studies strive for an understanding of who securitizes, i.e securitizing agents, for whom and on what issues, i.e threat, with what results and finally, under what conditions. (Buzan, Wæver and Jaap de 1998:32)

IV. Previous research

Considering that the most prior event of this sort of violation took place in October last year, the extent of previous research considering that particular event is rather limited. However, quite a lot of research has been made with regards to the events in Hårsfjärden 1982. Therefore, the main part of this chapter will cover that event.

Bynander writes in his dissertation *The rise and fall of the Submarine Threat* about the protract and repeated underwater intrusions during the 1980s and early 90s. His study investigates the political implications of these event that turned into national crises, how the people in charge dealt with these crises, or failed to do so. It sees the underlying process as belonging to security and the politics regarding framing or defining, what is perceives as a threat towards national security. His study analyses the interaction between bureaucratic organisation, media and party politics and how that combines into public concerns as well as fears, thereby creating pressure for change within the policy-making agenda. (Bynander. 2003:1-2) By the study of the many complex issues linked to the Cold War, Bynander believes that those issues, once more can add to our historical understanding, as well as tell us something about security policy today, and possibly in the future. (Bynander. 2003:8-9)

Jansson has written a book about underwater intrusions called *Omöjlig Ubåt* where he writes about stories from battles during anti-submarine warfare's and security policy during the 1980s. He writes that despite of numerous books, countless of articles and three governmental submarine commission, there is a lot more to say about foreign submarine activity and that the purpose of his book is to show that foreign underwater activity mainly has been pursued towards Sweden during the 1980s. (Jansson. 2014:11)

V. Method and research design

a. Research design

In this thesis I have selected a comparative research design complemented with a content analysis. A qualitative method with an explanatory approach and comparative analysis for my case study, where the usage of language and themes are analysed with focus on how these two events are portrayed.

A content analysis is conducted by analysing the content of the material and making the distinction of selecting what parts that will be analysed - in my case that would be the articles. More on, an analytical tool could be helpful in order to perceive what in the material that needs to be noted, such a specific tool is a so called code schema. In this context, code means the occurrence of something in a text, for example certain words and concept. The occurrence that are being noted and thereafter accounted for are called recording units, in my case my recording units will constitute of words, certain attributes, that are of relevance for my theoretical angle. When speaking in terms of content analysis the conception of analytical units is also an important part. The analytical unit (Bergström, Boréus, 2012:54-55) being the material that is being analysed, will be my articles.

For my comparative study I will focus on two particular events where submarine violations have occurred in Swedish territorial waters, in the years are 1982 and 2014. The main material for my research, and also the material that I will conduct my comparison of the two cases from, are articles from three Swedish newspapers. The first two, Svenska Dagbladet (Svd) and Dagens Nyheter(DN) have a rather different journalistic profile than Expressen, which could lead to interesting result. More specifics regarding the newspapers will be under the section below, *selection of media*. The events in 1982 lasted from 1st till 13th of October, whilst in 2014 it was from 15th till 24th of October. Naturally, with such a specific timeframe these are the dates that I will focus on when collecting my material.

My comparative research has been done through three different stages. First, I compared the usage of certain words and thereafter selected the attributes. These attributes will help me with the analysis of my paper by making a so called code schema where “code” stands for how often something occurs in a text, i. e certain words or attributes, as it is in my case. The occurrences that are being noted and then calculated are called recording units and are the main core for my analysis, as well as result. The attributes that I have chosen from my analytical units when viewing the material are the following: Foreign(*främmande*), Submarine (*ubåt*), Hunt (*jakt*), Intelligence operation (*underrättelseoperation*), Threat (*hot*), Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) (*Försvarsmakten*), Violation (*kränkning*), Underwater activity (*undervattensverksamhet*) and anti-submarine Warfare (ASW) (*ubåtsjakt*). Since the material

is in Swedish but this thesis is conducted in English, I felt the need to include both the original attribute as well as the translation.

Secondly, after choosing these attributes I have conducted my recording units for my analysis. Thirdly, I will use this analytical tool when comparing my two cases.

Since my material is rather extensive, in order to keep my analysis cohesive I will not discuss every example of the occurrence of an attribute, rather I will bring up the examples where the attributes correlates with framing as well security. The potential lack of attributes throughout the articles will be described as a no-result. Since all the media I've been studying is in Swedish whilst my writing language is in English, I'm going to name the attributes in English stated with the original language next to it.

There has been more than two indecent of this sorts, where a submarine illegally entered Swedish territorial waters, but I've decided to focus on two of these events. The incident in 1982 was perhaps the one with the largest media coverage and was a great national, as well as an international news. The one last fall, in October 2014, also turned into a major international news as well as a highly discussed topic on a national level. I thought these two were suitable to compare since they both got great news coverage and since the latter was very recently.

b. Selection of media

I'm going to use Swedish, the newspapers I am collecting my material from is SvD, DN and Expressen. The two first one have a very different journalistic input than the latter, which may lead to a very interesting result. In total I have 122 articles, 45 of them from 2014 and 77 from 1982. The time period from the first case, 1982, is 1st-13th of October, whilst the second, 2014, is from 15th-24th of October. With such a specific timeframe, it made for a natural limitation with regards to material, therefor these are the dates I will focus on when collecting my material. More specifically about the articles will be presented under the section *Articles* below.

SvD is Sweden's third largest daily morning paper published in Stockholm. Its political profile is stated to be independently moderate, however it is also considered to be conservative. From this paper I have collected 32 articles.

DN is a daily Swedish newspaper published in Stockholm. Its profile is stated to be independent liberal and it's the largest morning paper in Sweden. I have collected 42 articles in total from DN.

Expressen is one out of two nationwide evening tabloids and its political profile is stated to be independent liberal. From this newspaper I have 48 articles in total.

I choose these three newspapers due to the fact that SvD and DN are the two of the biggest daily newspapers nationwide. Since Expressen is an evening tabloid I thought it interesting and suitable to include a paper that differentiates from the two others in order to get a more general and valid analysis. Since the majority of the articles are concentrated to specific dates, the number of articles from every newspaper - and case- varies. Each papers volume regarding the amount of articles written also affect the number of available articles.

i. Validity and Reliability

Since the material is in Swedish but I am writing in English, there might be a language barrier. Due to the fact that I am not a native English speaker, the translations might not always be 100% accurate. Also, media is not an unbiased party, quite the contrary, (Entman 1993, p.51) which is something I need to consider when analysing the material. The main question when analysing the media is in fact, how do they portray each event?

The articles from 1982 have been printed from microfilm. To begin with, I had more articles but due to poor quality on some, I had to exclude them since they were too difficult to read.

ii. Challenges within media

The very core of making sense of the media is the development of theory, concepts and perspectives. Therefore, there are some challenges that needs to be taken into account when studying media. Media studies, as a field of research, is inadequately speculative with regards to its scope and nature. When studying this particular field, an overview of the main issues, as well as the debate, is necessary in order to make sense of media and mass communication. Another factor which has brought significant trouble within media is the rapid change of technology. The arising of new media, such as satellite, cable, internet etc. provides a challenge for old media in terms of what we understand by mass communication and the media. These particular changes poses new challenges for those, such as myself, who wish to study the media. These changes involve new theories as well as new ways of conceptualising and explaining media's role, and the changes that occur for the society and the individual. (Williams 2003:1)

VI. Articles

I have collected 122 articles from the years 1982 and 2014 from the three newspapers. I have 45 articles from 2014 and 77 from 1982. The time period for each year is 1-13th of October in 1982, and 15-24th in 2014.

When collecting my material I noticed that articles were unevenly spread over different dates, i.e. the earliest article I could find in 2014 was from the 17th of October, and the dates 18th, 19th and the 20th were the ones with the most media coverage, resulting in a lot of articles from those days. This was evident from the articles of 1982 as well. Around 6th, 8th till 10th of October the number of articles increased, creating a peaking point. 11 of my articles proved to be irrelevant when searching for the attributes which equals a no result and exclusion from the comparison and analysis.

a. 1982

i. DN

I have collected 25 articles from DN. The number of articles from each date are: October 4th, 5th (1), 6th, 7th (5), 8th (7), 11th, 12th (1), 13th (2), 14th, 15th (1).

ii. SvD

I have collected 19 articles from SvD. The number of articles from each date are: October 3rd, 4th, 5th (1) each, 6th (3), 7th (3), 8th (2), 9th, 10th (1), 11th (2), 12th till 15th (1) each.

iii. Expressen

I have collected 33 articles from Expressen. The number of articles from each date in chronological order are: 3rd, 4th of October (1), 5th (6), 6th (4), 7th (5), 8th (4), 9th (2), 10th (3), 11th (2), 12th (1), 13th (2), 14th (2).

b. 2014

i. DN

I have collected 17 articles from DN. The number of articles from each date in chronological order are: 18th of October (3), 19th (4), 20th (5), 21st, 22nd, 23rd (1) each and 24th (2).

ii. Expressen

I have collected 15 articles from Expressen. The number of articles from each date are: 17th of October (1), 18th (4), 19th (1), 20th, 22nd (3) each, 23rd (1) and 24th (2).

iii. SvD

I have collected 13 articles from SvD. The number of articles from each date are: 18th, 19th (2) each, 20th (3), 21st (2), 22nd and 24th (2) each.

VII. Comparison

When comparing these two cases, certain aspects are easy to establish. Besides the comparison of the frequency of the attributes, if they occurred at all and in what context, I noticed four certain characteristics that are permeated through the articles from both cases. The extent of the media coverage, the lack in handling the extensive coverage from media, differences in terms of terminology when defining both events and Sweden's ability to pursue anti-submarine warfare.

One, the media coverage from 1982 were more extensive, both international and nationally. As previously stated, I have collected 45 articles from 2014 and 75 from 1982, exceeding the articles from 2014 by almost the double. On October 7th, around 330 journalists, whereas 70 of them foreigners, were in place to report from Stockholm with regards to the event in October 1982. (Toppnyhet i västpress. 1982). On October 15th, that number had increased to around 900 journalists. (Lidén. 1982). Even though the events in 2014 did not entice quite as many journalist to travel to the place of origin, modern day technology allows the world to keep track of the news coverage from afar. Despite not gaining such a large media coverage as in 1982, the event in 2014 was a major news worldwide nonetheless. (Carp. 2014a, Lapidus. 2014b)

Two, during both events, articles reported that the coverage of mass media should be reduced and that the Swedish Armed Forces lacked in managing the media. In an interview with peace researcher Wilhelm Agrell in Expressen he stated that “[...] *We should reduce the coverage of the mass media when it comes to incidents of this sort*”. (Hedlund. 1982b). In an article in SvD Commander Sven Carlsson believes that “*the information from mass media with regards to the reconnaissance in Hårsfjärden have in some cases seriously affected the prospects of an efficient search of the submarine.*” (Jakten hindrad av massmedia, 1982.) Stefan Ring, military strategist, stated in an interview with DN that “*I believe that the Swedish Armed Forces could not cope with the large media coverage. To some extent this intelligence operation almost turned into anti-submarine warfare due to that media and the Swedish Armed Forces triggered each other into that situation.*” (Carp. 2014b). Supreme Commander Lennart Ljung explained in an article by DN that a lot of information published by the media has been “*directly troublesome for the ongoing reconnaissance.*” (Ubåten finns ännu kvar. 1982) Another article with researcher Peter Mattson at the Swedish Defence College states that “*today the media publicise information very fast without valuing that certain information. Something that creates great possibility to affect that certain information and create an image that doesn't correlates with reality*”. (Ennart. 2014)

Three, the differentiation in terms of terminology when defining the events. In 1982, a clear majority of the articles states that anti-submarine warfare is in progress (Bergström. 1982a, bMagnergård. 1982, Jakten hindrad av massmedia. 1982, Spärrarna förstärkta, ubåten ännu

kvar. 1982, Svår tid väntar. 1982, Ubåten försökte smita ut. 1982, Toppnyhet i västpress. 1982, Lidén. 1982, Brännström. 1982a, b, c, d, f, g, Liljequist. 1982, Kadhammar. 1982a, c, d, Wirén. 1982, Brohman. 1982, Persson. 1982a, Stocksélius. 1982a, c, Johansson. 1982, Schönstedt. 1982, Schön. 1982, Aschberg. 1982a, c, d, Persson. 1982b, c, Öhman. 1982a, b, c, Rolfer. 1982a, Lindström. 1982, Öste. 1982, Trupper besätter öarna. 1982, Hamrin. 1982b, Löfgren. 1982, Westmar. 1982, Samec. 1982, Minor sprängdes mot ubåten. 1982, Ubåten finns ännu kvar. 1982, Nödboj från ubåten funnen. 1982, Vi måste använda oss av våld. 1982, ÖB dementerar nödboj. 1982, Nästa gång skjuter marinen för att skada. 1982), or otherwise stating that the SAF is indeed, on the hunt after a submarine. This terminology, however, is not only used by the media but the SAF as well. Lieutenant colonel Jan-Åke Berg (Magnergård. 1982, Samec. 1982) as well as Supreme Commander Ljung (Bergström. 1982b, Aschberg. 1982d, ÖB dementerar nödboj. 1982) both uses the terminology anti-submarine warfare when describing the events in the archipelago of Stockholm and they are certain that the underwater intrusion by a vessel, is in fact a submarine. However, in the articles from 2014, in contrast to 1982, the media frequently uses the terminology ASW (Carp. 2014a, Stenberg. 2014, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Martikainen. 2014a, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014a, Nilsson. 2014, Larsson. 2014, Cardell. 2014b, Lapidus. 2014b, Nilsson. 2014, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014) whilst the SAF and the Supreme Commander, emphasizes that it is not an anti-submarine warfare, but rather an intelligence operation. Here, they also rather refer to the vessel as a submersible rather than submarine, hence the terminology intelligence operation. (Sundberg. 2014a, b, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Försvaret fortsatt tyst om insats. 2014, Carp. 2014b, Drevfjäll. 2014, Cardell. 2014a, Reuterskiöld. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Mächs. 2014, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Majlard. 2014c).

The fourth and last characteristic that permeated through all articles are Sweden's ability to pursue ASW. In an article from 2014 by DN it is stated that the reason why the events is not referred to as ASW, might be due to the fact that the Swedish Armed Forces lacks the resources to pursue such warfare. Compared to in the 1980s, our ability has decreased. (Löfgren. 2014b) Another article by Expressen supports that statement: *"We no longer have the ability to pursue anti-submarine warfare from the air."* (Jakobson. 2014) In another article published by the same paper, they write that Sweden's ability to pursue ASW is lower today than it was in the 80s, and the main reasons for that is that we are missing helicopters with ASW-ability. To pursue ASW without helicopters has been described by many marines as incredibly difficult. That, together with the fact that the number of ships that can pursue ASW have decreased radically, is one of the reason for why pursuing ASW today is much harder than during the 80s. (Martikainen. 2014a) In addition, another article reflects on the fact that the Sweden have reduced its national defence and how this is a reason why Sweden can't fully pursue ASW. (Nilsson. 2014.) Despite the fact that our military resources were larger in the 1980s, some articles states that even back then, our abilities to pursue ASW were not optimal. In an interview with Commander Berg, he states that, *"from a foreign direction, it has been implied that we lack the ability to defend our territorial waters."* In another article, Bror Stefenson with the defence staff, even goes as far as describing Sweden's equipment for ASW as *"lousy."* (Brännström. 1982g)

a. Foreign (*främmande*)

This attribute was mentioned in 79 out of the 122 articles, thus making it one of the most frequent ones. In 25 of those, it was in articles from 2014 with the remaining from 1982 and ranging from being mentioned once, to seven times in one article. In the majority of the articles that contained the attribute, it was seen along with another attribute, *submarine* - "*foreign submarine*". (Oklart om nya ubåtar. 1982, Bergström. 1982a, b, Magnergård. 1982, Antalet säkra kränkningar har fördubblats. 1982, Lokaliserad ubåt skall tvingas upp. 1982, Porne. 1982a, Svår tid väntar. 1982, Ubåten försökte smita ut. 1982, Toppnyhet i västpress. 1982, Alla rörelser kan följas. 1982, Lidén. 1982, Brännström. 1982a, b, c, d, e, f, i, Hedlund. 1982a, c, d, Liljequist. 1982, Kadhammar. 1982a, b, c, Wirén. 1982, Brohman. 1982, Persson. 1982a, b, Schönstedt. 1982, Stocksélius. 1982b, Aschberg. 1982a, d, Öhman. 1982a, b, c, Rolfer. 1982a, Hamrin. 1982a, c, Lindström. 1982, Trupper besätter öarna. 1982, Westmar. 1982, Minor sprängdes mot ubåten. 1982, Falkkloo. 1982, Mina sprängdes mot möjlig ubåt. 1982, Nästa gång skjuter marinen för att skada. 1982, Sköld. 2014, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014a, Ekström. 2014)

In two articles it was seen as "*foreign submersible*" (Magnergård. 1982, Holmström. 2014a), in two other it was "*foreign country*" (Hamrin. 1982b, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014) and a third "*foreign troops*" (Samec. 1982). In articles from 2014, it was often mentioned as "*foreign submersible*" (Nödsamtal från rysk ubåt bakom larmet. 2014), as well as "*foreign underwater activity*" (Törnmalm. 2014a, b, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Carp. 2014b, Cardell. 2014a, b, Lapidus. 2014a, Reuterskiöld. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Mellgren. 2014, Delade meningar om svenska insatsen. 2014, Majlard. 2014a, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Nilsson. 2014, Holmström. 2014a, Ekström. 2014, Mächs. 2014) and "*foreign intelligence operation.*" (Drevfjäll. 2014)

b. Submarine (*ubåt*)

This attribute was mentioned in 115 out of the 122 articles, thus making it the most frequent one. Ranging from being mentioned 1 to as much as 29 times in one article. (Hamrin. 1982c) 40 of those was in articles from 2014 and remaining from 1982.

In some of the articles, it was used to only describe the events or reporting about it in general. Considering that in these cases the attribute did not occur directly with another - or was in

another way relevant for my analytical framework - it is not relevant for neither framing nor securitization, thus making these articles a no result. There was 21 articles that were a no result with regards to this particular attribute, leaving 101 articles of relevance. As stated above, *submarine* often occurred with *foreign*, 52 times to be exact. This attribute also occurred in the context as "*hunt after a submarine.*" (Bergström.1982a, Svår tid väntar. 1982, Brännström. 1982a, g, Stockselius. 1982a, Johansson. 1982, Kadhammar. 1982d, Samec. 1982, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Jakobson. 2014, Cardell. 2014b, Majlard. 2014b) Another context was that of "*depth charges has been fired towards the submarine*" (Lokaliserad ubåt skall tvingas upp. 1982, Brännström. 1982c), as well as "*Soviet submarine*" (En sovjetisk ubåt kan förstöra allt. 1982, Bomber fälls allt närmre. 1982, Ny hydrofonkontakt och intensiv spaning. 1982, Johansson. 1982, Brännström. 1982f, Aschberg. 1982b) and "*Russian submarine*" (Hedlund. 1982b, Nödsamtal från rysk ubåt bakom larmet. 2014, Sundberg. 2014a, Törnmalm. 2014a, Löfgren. 2014b, Drevfjäll. 2014, Nilsson. 2014, Holmström. 2014a, b, Mellgren. 2014, Ekström. 2014, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Majlard. 2014c). A fourth context was "*submarine violations*" (Antalet säkra kränkningar har fördubblats. 1982, Rolfer. 1982, Hamrin, Harald. 1982b, Löfgren. 2014a, Kihlström. 2014, Eriksson. 2014) and the last one was "*if we don't get the submarine to the surface, the Swedish population will doubt that there ever was one,*" stated by the Supreme Commander. (Magnergård. 1982)

c. Hunt (*jakt*)

This attribute was mentioned in 31 out of the 122 articles. It appeared in the context as "*the hunt for underwater activity*" (Löfgren. 2014a), as well as "*the hunt by the Swedish Armed Forces*" (Sköld. 2014) and "*hunt for a submarine*" (Löfgren. 2014b) (Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Jakobson. 2014, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014, Bergström. 1982a, b, f, g, Toppnyhet i västpress. 1982, Svår tid väntar. 1982, Jakten hindrad av massmedia. 1982, Wirén. 1982, Stockselius. 1982a, Johansson. 1982, Kadhammar. 1982b, c, Aschberg. 1982d, Lindström. 1982, Öste. 1982, Samec. 1982), "*hunt for a submersible*" (Cardell. 2014b, Majlard. 2014b, Brännström. 1982d) and "*hunt for a wounded Russian submarine.*" (Drevfjäll. 2014) Another context was "*as long as we don't now what we are after we can't call it anti-submarine warfare.*" (Försvaret fortsatt tyst om insats. 2014)

d. Intelligence operation (*underättelseoperation*)

This attribute was mentioned 20 times out of 122. 19 of those are in articles from 2014, where the events was not called anti-submarine warfare, but rather intelligence operation. (Sundberg. 2014a, b, Sköld. 2014, Löfgren. 2014b, Svahn. 2014, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Försvaret fortsatt tyst om insats. 2014, Carp. 2014b, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Drevfjäll. 2014, Cardell. 2014a, Lennander. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Nilsson. 2014, Holmström. 2014a, Mellgren. 2014, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Majlard. 2014c, Mächs. 2014) In the article from 1982, it was seen as “*systematic intelligence operation*” in terms of what foreign submarines might pursue when entering Swedish territorial waters. (Hamrin. 1982a)

e. Threat (*hot*)

This attribute was only mentioned 7 times out of 122. Making it one of the least frequent attributes. It occurred as “*there’s no direct threat against Sweden*” (Eriksson. 2014, Reuterskiöld. 2014) as well as “*anti-submarine warfare broken off after Russian threat*”, to be noted is that this is stated in the articles to come from a German newspaper. (Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014). Another context is “*our national defence has been reduced to the point that our archipelago is wide-open for a threat of invasion.*” (Nilsson. 2014) One article emphasizes that an Austrian magazine wrote “*anti-submarine warfare in Sweden: an actual threat or hysteria?*” (Lapidus. 2014b) and “*a threat against our security*” (Samec, 1982). Another occurrence was “*they feel the threat lingering over them*”, speaking of how the men in the submarine probably feel after depth charges had been fired. (Lindström. 1982)

f. Swedish Armed Forces (SAF) (*Försvarmakten*)

This attribute occurred in 25 articles out of 122. Its usage was limited to articles from 2014 only. It occurred as “*the Swedish Armed Forces are lacking important equipment as well as crew for anti-submarine warfare*” (Stenberg. 2014), as well as - which was the most occurring one - “*the SAF is conducting an intelligence operation*” (Carp. 2014a, Försvaret fortsatt tyst om insats. 2014, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Drevfjäll. 2014, Cardell. 2014a, Reuterskiöld. 2014, Majlard. 2014c, Sundberg. 2014a, Sköld. 2014) Another context

was “*the SAF are increasing their intelligence operation*” (Sundberg. 2014b) as well as “*after the Cold war, it became evident to the SAF that Sweden was in need to strengthen their ability to discover and fight intruders*” (Löfgren. 2014a). Another one was “*the SAF says that it’s probably that a foreign underwater activity is in progress*” (Törnmalm. 2014 a, b, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Carp. 2014b, Lapidus. 2014a, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Mellgren. 2014, Majlard. 2014a, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014) as well as “*today the SFA lack that ability*”, as a response to whether Sweden have the ability to pursue anti-submarine warfare. (Svahn. 2014). Another one was “*Sonars is the SAF’s weapon in the search for the foreign submersible.*” (Cardell. 2014b)

g. Violation (*kränkning*)

This attribute occurred in 19 articles out of 122. It occurred as “*violations underwater,*” (Stenberg. 2014, Löfgren, Emma. 2014a, Mellgren. 2014) or as, “*violation by submarine*” (Kihlström. 2014, Eriksson. 2014, Lapidus. 2014a, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Aschberg. 1982d) as well as “*Russian violation*” (Lapidus. 2014b) and “*violated Sweden’s territorial integrity.*” (Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014, Mächs. 2014, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Majlard. 2014c, Rolfer. 1982, Vi måste använda oss av våld. 1982) It also appeared as “*the number of violatons has doubled*” (Antalet säkra kränkningar har fördubblats. 1982) as well as “*its unsettling that a foreign power can violate us in this way*” (Bergström. 1982b) and “*this is a severe violation.*” (Hamrin. 1982b)

h. Underwater activity (*undervattensverksamhet*)

This attribute was mentioned 19 times out of 122 and was limited to usage in articles from 2014 only. In the majority of the times it appeared together with the attribute *foreign - “foreign underwater activity*” (Carp. 2014a, b, Sundberg. 2014b, Törnmalm. 2014a, b, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Nilsson. 2014, Holmström. 2014a, Mellgren. 2014, Ekström. 2014, Delade meningar om svenska insatsen. 2014, Majlard. 2014a, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Cardell. 2014a, b, Lapidus. 2014a, Reuterskiöld. 2014) as well as “*suspected underwater activity.*” (Sköld. 2104, Löfgren. 2014b, Eriksson. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014, Mächs. 2014)

i. Anti-submarine Warfare (ASW) (*ubåtsjakt*)

This attribute occurred 63 times out of 122. Together with *submarine*, and *foreign* it's among the third most used attributes. In articles from 2014 it appeared 22 times and the remaining in 1982. ASW often occurred together *intelligence operation*, since given the explanation in numerous articles that the events in 2014 was not an ASW, but rather an intelligence operation. (Sundberg. 2014a, b, Sköld. 2014, Löfgren. 2014b, Svahn. 2014, Detta har hänt: Ubåtsjakten i Stockholms skärgård. 2014, Försvaret fortsatt tyst om insats. 2014, Carp. 2014b, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Drevfjäll. 2014, Cardell. 2014a, Lennander. 2014, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014b, Nilsson. 2014, Holmström. 2014a, Mellgren. 2014, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014, Sverige jämförs med Karlsson på taket. 2014, Majlard. 2014c, Törnmalm. 2014b, Mächs. 2014)

It was also seen as referring back to the 1980s (Lapidus. 2014a) – “*it was difficult back then, even when we had a larger national defence and helicopters suited for ASW,*” (Stenberg. 2014, Jakobson. 2014) or in general speaking that Sweden is less equip today, than in the 1980s to pursue ASW (Martikainen. 2014a, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014a, Nilsson. 2014, Cardell. 2014b) as well as “*multiple medias immediately draws the connection to the ASW of the Cold War*” (Carp. 2014a, Lapidus. 2014b) and “*in order for it to be ASW you need a special force for it, which we lack certain aspects of today*” (Löfgren. 2014b.) Another one was “*anti-submarine warfare broken off after Russian threat*”, to be noted is that this is stated in the articles to come from a German newspaper. (Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014). It also occurred as “*the ASW continues with continued intensity*” (Magnergård. 1982) as well as clear majority of the articles from 1982 states that anti-submarine warfare is in progress (Bergström. 1982a, Magnergård. 1982, Jakten hindrad av massmedia. 1982, Spärrarna förstärkta, ubåten ännu kvar. 1982, Svår tid väntar. 1982, Ubåten försökte smita ut. 1982, Toppnyhet i västpress. 1982, Lidén. 1982, Bergström. 1982b, Brännström. 1982a, b, c, d, f, g, Liljequist. 1982, Kadhammar. 1982a, c, d, Wirén. 1982, Brohman. 1982, Persson. 1982a, Stockselius. 1982a, Johansson. 1982, Schönstedt. 1982, Schön. 1982, Stockselius. 1982c, Aschberg. 1982a, c, d, Persson. 1982b, c, Öhman. 1982a, b, c, Rolfer. 1982, Lindström. 1982, Öste. 1982, Trupper besätter öarna. 1982, Hamrin. 1982b, Löfgren. 1982, Westmar. 1982, Samec. 1982, Minor sprängdes mot ubåten. 1982, Ubåten finns ännu kvar. 1982, Nödboj från ubåten funnen. 1982, Vi måste använda oss av våld. 1982, ÖB dementerar nödboj. 1982, Nästa gång skjuter marinen för att skada. 1982) A terminology that is also frequently used by but the Swedish Armed Forces - Lieutenant colonel Berg (Magnergård. 1982) (Samec. 1982) as well as Supreme Commander Ljung (Bergström. 1982b, Aschberg. 1982d, ÖB dementerar nödboj. 1982) both uses this specific terminology when describing the events in the archipelago of Stockholm. They also emphasize their certainty with regards to that the underwater intrusion by a vessel, is in fact a submarine. However, in the articles from 2014, in contrast to 1982, the media frequently uses the terminology anti-submarine warfare (Carp. 2014a, Stenberg. 2014, Ubåtsjakt avbryts efter ryska hot. 2014, Martikainen. 2014a, Sohl Stjernberg. 2014a, Nilsson. 2014, Larsson. 2014, Cardell. 2014b, Lapidus. 2014b, Nya tips undersöks i ubåtsjakten. 2014)

VIII. Analysis and result

With regards to a medial comparison, SvD and DN more or less keep the same profile, reporting about the events without portraying it as to dramatic, but still containing attributes that could be connected to Sweden's security as well as securitization. Expressen however, differentiates from the other two in the matter of media coverage and a more dramatically display of the events. For example, even though its attributes in the articles are relevant, especially considered that they portray the events as more dramatic, they currently refer to the intelligence operation as anti-submarine warfare, thus blowing it a bit out of proportion. Even though the term *ASW* occurs in articles by DN and SvD as well, it is not nearly as frequent as it is in Expressen. For example, in DN and SvD it occurs 66 times in total, in Expressen only, it occurs 73 times. Expressen was also the magazine with the most attribute occurrence, in total 664 from both cases, which supports my theory of that Expressen is more dramatic with their articles – the frequent usage of *ASW* being one - thus framing the event, in accordance with my attributes. Therefore, that newspaper is definitely of interest when it comes to framing and securitization. DN had 598 which is still quite many occurrences and SvD had 419, which also is interesting with regards to framing and securitization.

It is clear that both events are characterized as underwater intrusion, in 1982 it is directly talked about as anti-submarine warfare. In 2014 however, the Swedish Armed Forces states that it is not in fact *ASW*, but rather an intelligence operation, since they can't with certainty say that the vessel is in fact a submarine. Despite this, numerous of the articles from this case still refers to the event as anti-submarine warfare. Media provides with a different image of the events than the official sources, in this case the Swedish Armed Forces. From the perspective of the media, this can be interpreted in two ways. One, it might not be the case of a foreign submarine, hence calling it a submersible and intelligence operation instead of anti-submarine warfare, therefore it might not be perceived as a threat. Two, the fact that it is called an intelligent operation is due to the lack of resources from the SAF to pursue *ASW*. Which could appear as threatening since in the case of a foreign submarine, Sweden obviously isn't able to localise and pursue it, and this in turn could be perceived as a threat. In any case, the media definitely preferred the terminology *ASW* instead, which constitutes as framing the events in a particular way.

Another clear framing by the media is the emphasizing of that Sweden's national defines has decreased over the years, and Sweden does not have the ability nor the capacity to pursue *ASW* today. In articles from 2014, references are made back to the 1980s where the ability by then was considered insufficient, even when we had the helicopters equip with sonar, which is a great asset when it comes to *ASW*. If our ability in 1982 was portrayed by the media as imperfect, it is now described as even worse and perhaps even incapable. The absent of ability to pursue *ASW* could be interpreted as a weakness when it comes to protecting our territorial waters and therefore being considered as threat toward Sweden's security. The word anti-

submarine warfare is not exactly a comforting term that includes security, more like the opposite, it could be regarded as a threat. This could be considered as a securitizing move and becomes evident when, in the articles from 2014, it's from the perspective of the media that the intelligence operation is called anti-submarine warfare instead. They portray an event in a different light, if perceived as a threat it sets a frame for securitization.

Another interesting aspect, about the media is that in numerous articles they are mentioned as an obstacle with regards to the underwater intrusions. With the events in 2014, the Swedish Armed Forces are considered incapable with handling the great media interest. One article even makes the connection of that the SAF says intelligence operation, but the media made it into an anti-submarine, making the SAF appear as incapable of dealing with media.

One interesting security aspect from 1982 is that SAF were very quick to establish that it was in fact a submarine and dropped depth charge bombs towards it, making a marking of that this intrusion was by no means allowed. By this move, Sweden made the effort to defend its territorial boundaries. The events might not feel as threatening when Sweden have an ability to defend itself. On the other hand, they never made the submarine touch the surface, which could be interpreted as the opposite of ability to defend itself.

The events in 1982 gained a global interest with 900 journalists at its peaking point, traveling to Sweden in order to report directly from the place of origin. However, this specific underwater intrusion in 1982 was not the first one during that decade. During the Cold War many similar events were reported. The events in 2014 were very sudden and more of a bolt from the blue, much unexpected and therefore got a lot of media interest over the world. Both cases also contain articles that reflect on the negative role of the media in the case of event likes these. For example, in 1982, Supreme Commander Carlsson believed that in some cases the media had affected the reconnaissance after the submarine and the information made public by them, had been directly troublesome for the search. Peace researcher Agrell states in an interview that he believes that mass media's coverage should be reduced when it comes to the events of this sort. In 2014 similar reflections regarding the media was published. Military strategist Ring, believes that the SAF could not cope with the media coverage, to some extent that led to that the intelligence operation almost turned into an anti-submarine warfare. Researcher Mattson stated that today, the media publishes information very fast without valuing it, which creates a great possibility to affect it and create an image that does not correlate with reality.

An increase in salience enhances the chance of receivers perceive the information as meaningful. Texts can make parts of information more salient by repetition, placement or association with familiar cultural symbols. By doing so, they have the tools to create a story and make it a securitizing move by portraying the events in accordance with framing.

IX. Conclusion

I can conclude that media has had a great influence regarding these two cases and how Sweden are portrayed in matters of securitization.

Media often shed a different light over the situation and since they have the opportunity to create an image of that event how they see fit, they could create a securitizing move. If the information they published is obtain as threat it is a case of securitization. Regarding these two cases I can conclude that media coverage from 1982 is more accurate according to information from the SAF and the Supreme Commander. In 2014 however, media creates and portrays a situation that does not correlates with the information given by the SAF, which makes a greater case of securitization than in 1982.

An increase in salience enhances the chance of receivers to perceive the information as meaningful. Texts can make parts of information more salient by repetition, placement or association with familiar cultural symbols. The best example perhaps being that even though the SAF called the events an intelligence operation, media still referred to it as ASW repeatedly. The fact that our military resources were larger in 1982 than it is today, also sets the frame for how the events in 2014 might appear as more threatening than in 1982. The fact that even intentional media also portrays the underwater intrusion as an existential threat towards Sweden strengthens that conclusion. I believe that the biggest shift in language with regards to how Sweden is perceived in matters of securitization, is that in 1982 they appear to have more control of the situation. In 2014 the potential threat feels more real from the media perspective, which makes a greater case of securitization than in 1982.

It's difficult to say with certainty that Sweden is a threatened state, since there is no immediate threat. But underwater intrusions by foreign vessels are a pretty serious violation and the fact that the Swedish Armed Forces don't have the resources, ability nor staff to pursue such vessels is concerning. Whether or not this event has become an eye opener with regards to that a national defence is indeed necessary, a train of thought that the Swedish state more or less have abandoned due to the continuing decreeing of our national military defence. The newly awaken interest in a NATO membership among Sweden's population is most possibly a bi-effect of the events in 2014. The questions is of this concern actually will lead to a change with regards to Sweden's military resources. But something I am certain of, that is that events of this sort will happen again. The intrusion in 2014 won't be the last. If this event did not make Sweden feel threatened, portrayed as a weak state, and incapable of defending itself, perhaps the next one will.

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