# From orphans to offenders

Framing of unaccompanied minors in Swedish media 2014-2016

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# Abstract

This study tracks the use of the term "ensamkommande" (unaccompanied minors) in five major Swedish newspapers news/reportive articles over the months July 2014 to June 2016, using quantitative content analysis in order to detect shifts in the media frame preferences. The results are set in a context where examples of the recurring article frames are studied, using media framing theory, studying different categories of frames, traits, subject roles and indicators of changing sentiment.

The changes are defined in phases, using Robert Downs attention issue stage scheme (1972). Furthermore, changes in public opinion towards refugee reception provide a explanatory context to the media framing shifts of unaccompanied minors surrounding the refugee crisis in Sweden 2015.

The evidence gathered does not find show a general collapse in journalistic narratives supportive to unaccompanied minors, nor a drastic decrease in ethical/human righs oriented frames. What has appeared is a display of a new multi-frame narrative in Swedish media, where conflicting frames of unaccompanied minors have surfaced, with a growing number of articles where unaccompanied minors appear as threats, problems and abuse perpetrators.

*Key words*: ensamkommande, unaccompanied minors, newspapers, framing, refugee crisis. Words: 18 902

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# 1 Introduction and background

"With all my heart I hope you will remember where you came from, what your name is and who you are – you will need it! Those are the words of child psychologist Marie Hessle directed to the unaccompanied minors she tries to help at the Carlslund refugee reception facility." (Vinterhed, 1992-09-18, translation by myself, as hereafter)

The sencences above, from the article "Rädsla plågar flyktingbarn" in Dagens Nyheter 1992, was the first time the term "ensamkommande flyktingbarn" (unaccompanied minors, "UM") appeared in the Swedish press, according to the national Retriever media archives. It was the advent of an emotionally moving and almost eerie phenomenon: children who had left their families in foreign lands of war and poverty, crossing continents to arrive in Sweden.

The theme was to resurface increasingly in Swedish media over the years. The numbers of UM rose gradually, just as the general refugee streams. In 2013 the number of refugees to Sweden passed 60 000, and 2014 was another record year, with over 80 000 arrivals (Migrationssverket, 2017). In early August 2015 Migrationsverket, the Swedish migration authority, noted that the number of refugees travelling the Balkan route through Europe was far larger than their July forecast had estimated. In September a total of 24 307 asylants arrived. This was identified as a national challenge and met with a wave of national humanitarian mobilization. But from October the mood quickly shifted. During November, Sweden imposed border controls to stem the refugee influx, and a dramatic change of immigration policy was imposed, markedly more restrictive.

The year of 2015 would in total result 162 877 asylants to Sweden of which 35 369 unaccompanied minors (UM), the latter, mostly from Afghanistan. During 2015, Sweden recieved 1 799 asylants per 100 000 of the population, 691 per cent above the EU country average of 260. (Migrationsverket, 2016, Eurostat 2017)

In January 2016, this phase of change in policy was followed by a heated mediated debate on allegedly previously unreported or downplayed problems with UMs. These issues were sensitive, particularly when mentioning ethnic backgrounds in crime reporting. The Swedish press codex, sanctioned by common organs of the media industry, adheres to restrictive reporting of ethnic, religious, gender and professional backgrund if such is *"derogatory and lacks significance"*. (SJF, 2017) These regulations are in fact not particularly commanding (the word "significance" is fully open to interpretation), and in that sense the restrictive publishing policies are more a result of an established practice than adherence to direct commands.

The Swedish predicament of high refugee reception and a sudden change of both policy and sentiment echoed abroad too. James Traub, writer at US-based Foreign Policy media outlet, came to Sweden during November 2015 to write a story that in 2016 was to circulate in Swedish social media: "The death of the most generous nation on earth". Traub claimed that he had never been to any country before where the average citizen was more idealistic than him, but he concluded that the refugee crisis had torn the idealistic identity apart, writing

that "The refugee issue has split Sweden's genteel consensus as no other question has in recent memory." (Traub, 2016)

When the Swedish government initiated the 2015 overhaul of the immigration system, starting with the border controls of November 12, 2015, it was arguably a deeply formative event, confirming the challenges of migration and altering the traditionally generous reception stance. The process leading to this a changed position can be said to have taken its first tentative step with the summer speech in Agust 2014 by former conservative prime minister Fredrik Reinfeldt. He then remained true to his liberal views on immigration, but affirmed that the refugee reception would lead to economic strains on Sweden. Reinfeldt confirmed that a more limited scope for reforms was a likely result, but asked Swedes to "open your hearts" to the refugees. This was a break from a established public discourse across the political spectrum in which refugee reception was not only seen as an act of solidarity, but also economically benificial to both refugees and the destination country. With the November 2015 immigration policy changes, a long and big shift in stance was concluded.

This study is an attempt to view on how the crucial events during this period of change unfolded, by evaluating a small slice of public life, namely news reporting on unaccompanied minors in Swedish daily newspapers during 24 months from July 2014 to June 2016 – trying to distinguish phases compared to Downs attention cycle theory, and comparing the development to changes in public opinion on refugee reception during the period. The reporting is analyzed using media framing theory to map the changing patterns of media discourse. Quantitative content analysis is the method chosen, where classifications of frames in the media content concerning unaccompanied minors will be based on studies from earlier framing research on refugees (Caviedes 2015, Greussing and Boomgarden, 2017) and completed with inductively developed additions.

Our general research area is media framing of refugees, and unaccompanied minors the particular research aspect. The choice of unaccompanied minors as object of study is motivated by them being a vulnerable group and the conditions of their reception in a humane way is an sensitive and ethically charged issue for a recieving country, thereby bearing particularly symbolic weight in the general question of refugee reception. The topic of UM should also be seen as a case study of the issue of refugee reception and migration policy. In the world of high globalisation and migration, UM serves as a critical case for the overarching issue of how to view and handle global migration. (Flyvbjerg, 2006)

## 1.1 Question at issue

During 2015 and 2016 a shift of tone in ocurred Swedish public debate and media discourse regarding narratives on refugees and unaccompanied minors. This being the case in editorial opinionated texts and in columns is hardly contested, and has also gained scientific support (Dahlgren, 2016). I suspect this also applies to news and feature journalism, and if this belief holds to scrutiny, it would be of general interest to study this development over time and how the shift correlates to other developments in the public sphere, such as immigration streams, policy changes and crucial symbolic events.

The reseach question at issue:

A: How has concept of "ensamkommande" (referring to unaccompanied minor refugees) been framed in news articles, regarding traits, frames and roles, in four Swedish nespapers between July 2014-June 2016, particularly regarding displays of negatively and positively charged frames and roles?

*B*: How has these changes inferred over time on crucial policy change events and shifts in the public attitudes towards refugees?

# 1.2 Disposition

Chapter 2 gives a background on how public opinion on refugees has developed in the long and short term (surrounding the refugee crisis).

Chapter 3, the theoretical framework, overviews general media and framing theory in order to formulate a hypothesis and present the analytical tools.

Chapter 4 covers the methodology and overviews its tools.

Chapter 5 explains the operationalisation, with categories and classifications.

Chapter 6 presents the quantitative results in graphs, followed by an analysis of the material. Furthermore, the chapter distinguishes stages of frame change shown in the data using the schematic stages of framing developed by Downs (1972), and compares the frame changes with shifts in public opinion on refugee reception.

Chapter 7 gives a summary of the finds, followed by a general discussion on possible conclusions in a broader field, with suggestions for further research.

Reference list. The reference list is divided into three sections.

- Academic studies, books and articles.
- Statistical data and opinion polling sources.
- Newspaper articles.

#### Attachments

A: Operationalisation coding details for each category, with explanations of classificaton criteria and handling of ambiguous cases.

B: Data sheet with source of the articles studied, with each article classified.

# 2 Studies on public opinion and refugees

# 2.1 Marie Demker/SOM Institute long term assessments

As a backdrop to the development of framing changes of UM, a basic orientation of what the Swedish public opinion on refugees during the first decade of the 21st century is called for. Marie Demker at the SOM Institute at Gothenburg university, published an overview in "Svensk migrationspolitisk opinion 1991–2012" (Demker, 2013), showing that over time, the attitude to recieving refugees in Sweden has generally become more favourable. This general tendency continued during the first decade of the 21st century, in spite of a parallel surge in national mobilisation against refugees, primarily by the Sweden Democrats. Demker, basing her writings on the continious and comprehensive SOM-queries, notes a change in the falling trend of refugee skepticism between 2011 and 2012. That change was not without precedent, between 2000 and 2004 another rise of skepticism was noted, after which a jagged but falling trend continued (figure 1). She also writes that even though the long trend has been one of higher refugee acceptance, the polarization of views on this issue in Sweden has simultaneously increased. This suggest that the Swedish mainstream attitude of generosity has been challenged by increasing refugee arrivals during the first decade of the millennium, but that the effect has primarily been that people on the fringes of the mainstream rolled over to the overtly anti-establishment contingent of the populace, passing a taboo boundary, beyond which radical, suppressed attitudes are let out in full bloom. This would explain a development where the majority core of the people could continue to have a benevolent, even increasingly welcoming attitude. Those finds indicate that over time, Swedes have turned more used to, and favourable towards, immigrants as a natural part of life, but the minority who does not, tend to turn more sharply against the refugee reception.

The study "Svenska Trender 1986-2015" (SOM Institute, 2016) showed that between 2012 and 2015 the previous welcoming trend towards refugees continued. In "Ekvilibrium", SOM-undersökningen 2015, Marie Demker gives a long term overview on the opinion, posing the question "Is it a good idea to recieve less refugees in Sweden?". (Demker, 2016) The result show a steady decline of immigration resistance from 60 per cent in 1990 to 40 per cent as late as in 2015. Over time, Swedes seemed to at least not favour *scaling down* of refugee immigration.

"Altogether, the refugee resistance has continued declining according to the SOM- study of 2015. We see no signs of a more negative attitude towards refugees and immingration in opinion as a whole. At the same time, questions about immigration and integration remains

high on the popular agenda, at the same time as party polarization has increased on these issues." (Demker, 2016, p. 212)

## 2.2 Short term opinion changes 2015-2016

When the refugee crisis mounted in August 2015, changes were afoot in the opinion polls. The daily paper Svenska Dagbladet asked polling institute Sifo to measure Swedes attitudes to refugees twice during these weeks. The first one was in the end of August, a couple of days before the image of the stranded corpse of kurdish-syrian child Alan Kurdi, reached news media on September 2. A couple of days after the incident SvD again contracted Sifo to do a poll with the same question. The polls showed that the share of Swedes who supported law change to take more refugees had increased from 17 to 25 per cent between the polls. This marked the start of the compassion month of September 2015 (Brandel, 2015-09-07)

The finding was supported by Dagens Nyheter who contracted Ipsos to poll the opinion and found a remarkable change: 44 per cent of the persons polled in September wanted Sweden to take more refugees, a striking increase of 18 percentage units, compared to a similar poll that had been pursued in February 2015, then obtaining the figure of 26 percent. (Kärrman, 2015) Clearly, the September 2015 sentiment of benevolence was massive.

The Swedish openness and generosity seemed to have found a defining point, with moving expressions of humanitarianism that were widely shared in social media. According to SvD (Brandel, 2015-09-30) the most shared tweet during the first week of september came from the former handball player Ljubomir Vrjanjes:

"Child at daycare center interviewed and asked whether refugees had come to school. Answer was, no, only new children to play with!"

At the end of the month, after widespread voluntary help mobilization and a televised massive charity concert of Sept 29, things seemed to peter out. SvD commissioned monitoring agency Lissly to measure the prevalence of refugee issues in social media, and now the benevolence had cooled. (Brandel, 2015-09-30).

According to theories of mediatization, with foreign policy role change in focus (Brommesson and Ekengren, 2017), uncertainty is argued to be the primary and necessary scope condition for mediatization, and that condition would also be a likely theoretical point applicable for frame change during the refugee crisis, where unprecedented migration movements resulted precisely in insecurity. Mediatization of policy and narrative changes are or course different phenomena, but the state of unsecurity and crisis are likely to be prerequisites for general changes in the way events are understood, described and acted upon.

In October 2015, the crisis sentiment increased sharply. When Ipsos in a poll conducted in October asked the question if Sweden should admit more refugees, only 26 per cent now agreed. The share was back at their February levels, whilst the share wanted to *decrease* the refugees was up to 42, compared to 36 in February and the nadir of 30 per cent in September. (Ipsos Public Affairs, 2015).

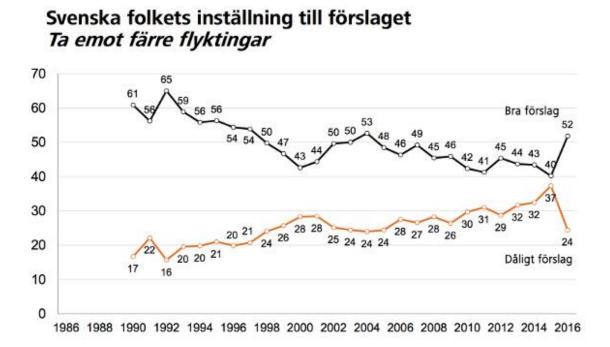
At November 24, both the new restrictive refugee policy had been introduced and the border controls come into effect. Public service TV outlet SVT commissioned Novus to make a new

poll on November 25th. The result was that a full 72 per cent of the people polled thought it was justified to decrease the number of asylants to Sweden. (Hambreus, 2015) The mood swing was remarkable. But so was the number of refugees.

# 2.3 SOM Institute polls of 2016

What would then be the effects on the more recent, robust data from SOM Institute? The 2016 figures was presented by the SOM-Institute on April 26, 2017. And things had changed in a dramatic fashion. The falling trend abruptly swung up from 40 to 52 percentage units of the respondents who now thought it was a good idea for Sweden "to recieve less refugees". The share of the population who thought it was a bad idea had fallen from 37 to 24 percentage units. Or, if you prefer to look at the relative number of people who changed their minds: over a third of the population who previously *opposed recieving less refugees* had changed their minds. (SOM Institute, 2017).

Figure 1. Swedish people reactions to the question: Recieve less refugees. Good suggestion (black). Bad suggestion (red), Source: SOM Institute, 2017



The results from 2016 was later, in April 2017, confirmed with more recent and almost identical figures from Dagens Nyheter/Ipsos: 51 per cent preferred less refugees. (DN 2017-04-10)

## 2.4 SD-support as a long term indicator

Can the rising SD support be seen as an indicator of changes in the popular views on immigration and refugees? According to Jens Rydgren and Patrick Ruth in the article "Voting for the Radical Right in Swedish Municipalities: Social Marginality and Ethnic Competition?" SD sympathies is indeed connected to immigration resistance. (Rydgren and Ruth, 2011) In more recent data, political scientist Anders Sannerstedt elaborates on the topic of SD voting causes in the last SOM Institute anthology "Ekvilibrium".

"It is still foremost the attitude in questions regarding immigration, refugees, multiculturalism, integration and begging that characterizes the SD supporters." (Sannerstedt, 2016, p. 174)

Bearing this in mind, the SD development could be interpreted as forming a shadow of opinion on refugees. The historically remarkable three election doubling streak of the SD indicates the existence of a rising anti-immigration sentiment, but note that this is in full accordance of the Marie Demker findings, claiming the change is primarily a result of increasing *polarization*, where the fringe voters tend to be more vociferous, while the bulk opinion of the electorate remain stable.

The SD party has limited popular credibility on general policy fields, but high credibility on immigration, where they had a markedly restrictive stance. (SOM Institute, 2017) The rising and broadening SD support can therefore be seen as an indication questioning the general validity of a continuously, *generally* increasing welcoming attitude in Sweden during the first decade of the 21 century, at least regarding the (widening) opinion fringes. The widening support of the Sweden Democrats (SD), serves as a kind of corrective to the previously stable and continuously more immigration friendly trend. Regarding SD-support, used as a additional indicator of refugee opinion, SD-support measured by SCB in the month of May between 2014 and 2016 went from 8,1 per cent (May 2014), to 14,4 (May 2015), 17,3 (May 2016) and to 18,4 (May 2017). (SCB, 2017-06-01).

The relevance of this section shows that the issue of immigration is more polarised than before, and therefore a more sensitive issue for media coverage. Framing of this issue of UM is an expression on how media deals with a divisive overarching immigration issue, and given the theory of scope conditions for shifts in mediatization (Brommesson & Ekegren, 2017), where insecurity is crucial, the scope conditions could be applicable in viewing changed framing practices of the UM issue.

# 3 Theoretical framework

### 3.1 Media theory

In this chapter we will define the area of research theory and the position for this study therein. Generally, the interaction between the public, media and politics is a complex affair, with limited possibilities of isolating clear causal effects. This study is situated in media framing theory, and some key concepts are explained, starting in general media theory.

In studies of media, the theory and function of "agenda setting" has been a constantly present concept in analysis of mechanisms connecting media and politics, and, as such, thoroughly researched during the last century, passing several phases in science fashion. In the seminal work by Paul Lazarsfeld & al. (1948), "The Peoples Choice. How the Voter Makes Up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign", the effects were divided into three categories: activation, reinforcement and conversion. They found that the direct effect, conversion, was small, less than 10 per cent of the effects resulted in actual conversion, while activation and reinforcement had far more impact. This finding of indirect influence connects to the numerous theories of framing that are now often applied in media studies, not least the role of *agenda setting* of mass media. More recent studies have also shown that the framing of issues are now increasingly affected by the dynamic interaction betweeen traditional and social media, particularly in the initial phase of a crisis or an issue (van der Meer & Verhoeven, 2012, Guggenheim & al., 2015).

The still widely quoted article "The Agenda Setting function of mass media" by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) elaborates on a concept of agenda setting function and power of mass media that could serve as a generic theoretical underpinning to my study. It stresses how mediated power mainly works through its ability to push certain issues and problems to the forefront, regardless of specific explicit or implicit suggestions on how to solve these problems. McCombs and Shaw also cite the early seminal saying of Bernhard Cohen:

# "It (press) may not be successful much of the time in telling people on what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers in what to think about" (Cohen, 1963)

To understand the relevance of of the central themes of these interpretative theories one should be aware that the agenda setting of a certain problem (and its urgency) in a newspaper article could actually be *directly opposed* to the explicitly stated suggestions in the article on how to solve and interpret the problem. This may sound abstract, so an example is called for: An article on sexual offences involving unacompanied minor refugees as suspects could explicitly claim, through quotes or statistics, that the problem is limited to one or few offenders, not being representative, and that the problem is at its core to be viewed as a

problem of men in general. The agenda function here works as one of framing, by raising suspicions of particularly focusing refugee minors as potential offenders, sensibilizing the public to this particular danger, in spite of its explicit quotes that offset guilt from the group. The agenda setting is central, the explicit claims are peripheral.

## 3.2 Framing theory

Agenda setting then, does not automatically lead to particular viewpoints on a topic. But the narrative powers in media work through more specific functions, namely through framing of issues. In his study book "Makt, medier och samhälle" (Strömbäck, 2014), Jesper Strömbäck presents the different strands of theories regarding relationships between media, politics and public opinion. Here, framing is held to be a central concept. While agenda setting deals with merely bringing up a particular issue through publishing, thereby stressing its importance, framing is more multi-faceted, and works by more subtle means. According to Strömbäck framing is about making data comprehensible, explaining and creating meaning, which is central to human communication needs. Strömbäck also points out the lack of scientific support to the heralded notion of objectivity in journalism. Every story is part of a process of selection of issues, attributes, sources and perspectives (Strömbäck, p. 113-114). The allure of this process is that it is normally automatic, instinctive and institutionalised. Strömbäck writes that many journalists often have difficulties explaining what a news story is, but they yet claim to recognise one instantly when it appears. Although this function is instinctive, the selection and framing process consists of choices. At the heart of the reasoning here is that news are facts that evoke emotions. Media does not primarily describe reality, but instead reconstructs and frames reality - making it meaningful. Facts without narratives and frames appear lifeless and pointless (perhaps they even are, and must be). To frame is however, also to guide towards certain reactions. In a study, framing scientists Shah, Domke and Wackman (2001), noted different reactions and views to an identical issue, depending whether it was framed as an material (economic) or an ethical value frame. These binary definitions are of use in the categorizations in my study.

I would argue that this framing function is actually the heart of modern media professionalism. It is through framing that the public is made to draw their own conclusions on the moral implications of the narrative. While explicit arguments on opinionated editorial pages argues on what to think and why, such pages also create resistance or reinforcement of the explicit viewpoint, and we tend to mistrust them if they not confirm our opinion bias. (Arpan, 2005) This contrasts with the subtle framing in the allegedly neutral news journalism that makes the public draw their own conclusion in accordance with the invisible mediated selection and framing process. As an example, a front page of Svenska Dagbladet with the headline writing "Flyktingar tar flyget till Sverige" (Refugees enter Sweden in airplanes) (SvD 2016-10-20), does not overtly claim this fact to be a problem, but the mere choice of the



story frame to be newsworthy on a front page is an argument in itself, presenting a problem and evoking a certain reaction. Framing is a powerful process through its invisibility.

As an extension on the theory of agenda setting, the concept of priming is also worth bringing to the fore. Priming, fundamentally a psychological effect, capture how we associate political issues with notions that we have been exposed to. Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder made a seminal 1982 study of president Jimmy Carters appearances on TV showing that the issues people are exposed to though media also affects their evaluation on particular politicians view on those subjects. (Iyengar, Peters and Kinder, 1982) This can result in effects where topics that otherwise would have had greater

importance – or topics that the politicians have a clear and detailed position on – are pushed to the back in favour of the "primed" issues. The links between agenda setting, priming and framing are strong, as shown by for instance Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007). In our case, the priming effect could be crucial as TV in repetitive portrayals of refugees as hordes of desolates approaching the land of plenty provide a *priming background* on how to interpret the "true" meaning of events that in text are explained in more neutral narratives.

James Druckman and Arthur Lupia (2000) has added another dimension when bringing up the topic of *preference formation*, stressing the importance to understand how change of preferences take place in the competitive environment of todays digitized information landscape. They stress the competition between messages and frames from different media outlets is crucial. The framing of issues in the public sphere is therefore not an effect of one-sided delivery to the people, but a two way process. In an era of overwhelming amounts of information and narratives, the public tend to *outsource* their beliefs to credible narrative providers. Thus: todays mediated dissemination of narratives are more of a demand-side than a hard, simple supply-side phenomenon. (Druckman & Lupia, 2000, p.1061)

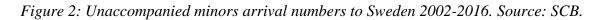
This competitive theory of framing is applicable of the market economy mechanisms of todays society. It also counters the notion of allegedly huge narrative powers of the elites. Even without support of a dominant media narrative, we can always resort to our instincts, and pick and endorse narrative providers of our own choice. It has also been shown that this effect is strenghened through the spread of social media use, who are increasingly connected to the organic life of traditional media. (Waters et al. 2010)

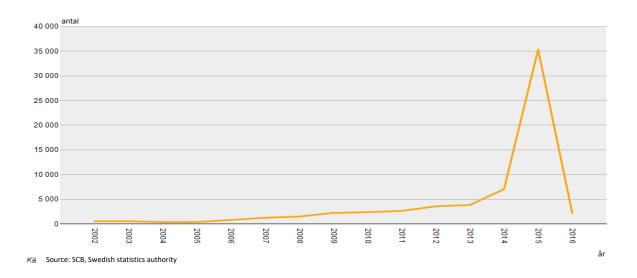
So, navigation in media content occur in a stride of competing values, and frames connect peoples opinions to values. Here media setts narratives, with which the public then subconciously draw the "right" conclusions (in accordance with the frames). Pivotal for the acceptance of the frame is the percieved legitimacy of the frame itself. A formerly contested legitimacy on for instance moslem immigrant threat can gradually gain acceptance through apt framing. I do not claim here that framing necessarily is always deceptive, malevolent and misleading. Framing is more to be likened to a "perspective" or "viewpoint". As the late media watchdog Anders R. Olsson clarified in his book "Lögn, förbannad lögn och journalistik", to view an issue from an angle isn't a problem in itself – every object always have to be viewed from some angle, hereby excluding others (Olsson, 2010). However,

problems with distortion arise when these frames and viewpoints are seen as results of an undisputed relevance judgement, and here the percieved objective reporting style of news media carry a considerable weight.

## 3.3 A crisis providing frame change

Returning to our topic of study, why then, should we expect a framing change regarding UM during the refugee crisis? The logical answer here is to first assess facts on the ground, the refugee arrival numbers. Unaccompanied minors (UM) has been a growing part of the asylants to Sweden during the last decade. During the first years of the millennium a couple of hundred UM came each year, steadily rising up to 2015, when totally 35 369 arrived. Over these years 51 per cent of the total UM came from Afghanistan, followed by Somalia: (11), Syria: (9), Eritrea (7), Iraq (6). Of the total: 86 per cent boys, 14 per cent girls. (source: SCB, Swedens national statistics board)





#### UM arrivals to Sweden

According to the theory of scope conditions for mediatization – uncertainty and crisis – (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 45, Brommesson & Ekengren p. 13) the rapid increase of UM refugees from 2014 to 2015 provides a situation of both percieved crisis and uncertainty. Furthermore, the notion that my period of study is one where changes in both media framing practices and government policy is highly likely is supported by the finds of Demker (2013, 2016) showing that public opinion has been increasingly polarized on the refugee issue.

# 3.4 Downs issue attention cycle theory as an analytical tool

When investigating patterns of frame change of UM in media, how can they be interpreted in a systematic manner? To answer this I turn to Anthony Downs, who in his seminal study of ecology issues coverage, provided a tool with the theory of issue attention cycles. (Downs, 1972) According to Downs, public attention on issues follow five stages:

- 1) pre-problem stage (issue simmering in the background),
- 2) alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm,
- 3) growing realization of the cost of significant progress,
- 4) gradual decline of intense public interest, and
- 5) the post-problem stage (where issues are at times handled by institutions).

The stages as defined by Downs originally drew conclusions on ecology/environmental issue, but have been used as a generic tool for understanding the (sometimes irrational) attention cycle of public issues. In the case of UM, where human beings are involved, the phase development are likely to turn out in a different way, but the theory provide a screen for schematic understanding of our issue, and possibly ways it has differed from the standard attention cycle stages.

The value of Downs typology is not only limited to its use as a tool for identifying the organic nature of an emergence and demise of issues in the public. Identifying the organic development of issues also shows the prerequisites to reach critical mass in the public sphere and the limited lifespan of public attention. This points to deeply problematic tendencies in the mediatized modern democracies, and their dependency of constant emotional "storytelling", to use a contemporary buzz-word.

"A problem must be dramatic and exciting to maintain public interest because news is 'consumed' by much of the American public (and by public everywhere) largely as a form of entertainment." (Downs, 1972, p 42)

Seen in a larger democratic context, I would argue that the findings of Downs challenges our complacency with the existing democratic institutions, which to a substantial extent rely on privately owned media outlets to guard the democratic mechanisms and decisions.

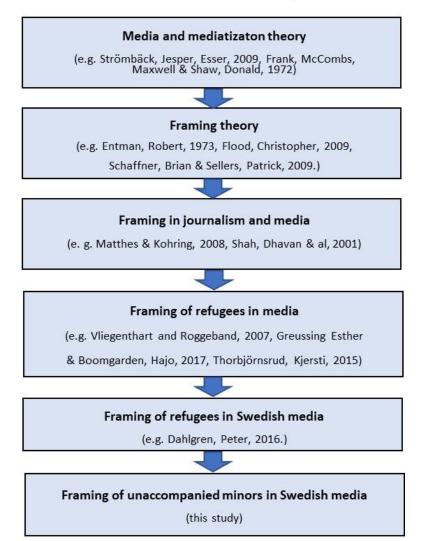
In the Downs case of ecology, disappearance of environmental concerns from the public consists a grave threat to human conditions in the long run. However, as years have passed, ecology has in fact far from disappeared from politics, but established itself as a major and recurring polical topic. This indicates that the attention cycle theory is best suited to describe the development of particular issues, and not broad topics. The latter make room for numerous issues that could be reintroduced and mediatized. This is somewhat comforting, and so is the case of UM in attention cycle theory: the frame of the large refugee influx of our decade may be percieved as an ominous, unprecedented challenge in Swedish society. But when the issue has been churned through the stages of the attention cycle, the distress may have evaporated.

# 3.5 Theoretical context

This study is positioned in a theoretical setting as illustrated below, where general media theory is the broad overarching field, subsequently narrowed down to the specific field of framing of unaccompanied minors being the specific aspect of study.

Figure 3: Theoretical context of the study

#### Theoretical context of the study



#### 3.6 Three meta-approaches to framing

Before going more concrete issues, I would like position this study in another theoretical dimension, by referring to Dietram and Bertram Scheufeles horizontal-vertical matrix of framing research, where the horizontal dimension deals with what arenas the frames appear (media system, political system or society in general), and the vertical dimension deals with frames as texts as cognitive expressions (appearing in media or political party platforms). With that foundation, frames according to Scheufele & Scheufele could be studied with one of three approaches. First, as expressions of public discourse, expressing general perceptions in society. Secondly, one can research frames as expressions of journalistic/media preferences. Third, one can study media effects on the public. (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010) I have not chosen between the three approaches in the operationalization of this study although that would probably yield more advanced theoretical knowledge. The core of this study is closer to the turf, tracking framing changes of a crucial current issue, where media plays a central part.

The three Scheufele & Scheufele meta-approaches could nevertheless be of use as reference points for how the results of the study could be interpreted.

The first approach, general discourse change, is hard to connect to causal inference when looking at framing changes in traditional media, even though public opinion swings regarding refugee reception could in themselves hint to existing discoursive shifts.

The second approach, media/journalistic preference changes, is where this study mainly resides.

The third approach, media effects, is tentatively operationalized here when asessing the timing of public opinion changes compared to measured media frame changes.

My emphasis on the second approach is due to its higher external relevance. The reason for that is that media narratives are supposed to adhere to stable ethic standards, and changes in media framing practices are in my view more worrying that a general discoursive changes, since the latter are more expressions of popular mood swings.

It should be borne in mind that it will largely remain an unresolved issue whether the frame changes showed in this study merely reflects changed journalistic/media practices or if it reflects a discoursive change on a broader societal level.

# 3.7 Previous research on media narratives and refugees

In order to understand the the discoursive changes surrounding refugees it is here called for an orientation of some previous research on media narratives covering refugees. In the article, "Moral Spectatorship and Its Discourses: The "Mediapolis" in the Swedish Refugee Crisis" (2016), Peter Dahlgren has studied the discoursive mobilisation to support the refugees during the crisis of 2015. Dahlgren points out that Swedish media discourse has traditionally been favourable towards refugee needs, but claims that a "counter-discourse" rapidly formed.

"Moreover, as the administrative problems began to mount, so did the negative commentary, which took a marked upswing in the latter part of September." (Dahlgren, 2016, p. 390)

At the center of Dahlgrens argument lies a phase distinction:

"First came the emergence of the crisis of the refugees; and this was followed by the phase where the crisis became defined as one for Sweden — we could not manage so many refugees and needed to alter the situation quickly. The final phase comes with the changes in the traditional policy and the closing of the borders — and a transformed collective identity for the nation." (Dahlgren, 2016, p. 393)

From an Austrian perspective Esther Greussing and Hajo B. Boomgaardens study (2017) of the media changes during the 2015 crisis was conducted in a vein rather akin to the one I will try to use, measuring the frame changes in article narratives used during the crisis. Their study is mainly descriptive, but has merits in its operationalization, where articles are divided into clear categories (see methodology chapter 4).

Dutch political scientists Rens Vliegenthart and Conny Roggeband have studied how media and parliamentary documents alter perceptions of immigration and integration over time (Vliegenthart and Roggeband, 2007). They claim to show that media does not act as the assumed area for civic space, in the sense of allowing for pluralistic views. Media rather resort to a few proven narratives, compared to the bigger variety shown in parliamentary documents. Their results indicate that the media coverage in Holland was dominated by the two frames of multiculturalism and islam-as-threat.

Returning to Strömbäck (2014), from his often repeated claim that "All politics are mediated", i.e. channelled through media, follows that politics also is increasingly mediatized (adapted to media dramaturgy). That is, the format for media stories is an ever present shadow over politicians, increasingly setting the rules and limits for politicians and how they pursue issues.

What then could my study add to this landscape of media and politics surrounding the refugee issue? First of all, a descriptive timeline of the development of how frames were used, and how they changed during the migration movement is in itself of value, and will probably add new knowledge of inflection points in a historically unique period in Swedish society and politics. Some new narratives may have been established, and others dropped during a news media discourse change.

Choosing unaccompanied minors as the variable instead of refugees in general could also result in new theory. A shift in framing following a dramatically increased refugee stream is in itself understandable, where the struggle between narratives of compassion and problemorientation, or between economic and humanitarian frames play out. However, such a shift may also spill over on other adjacent integration frames, where problems that formerly were considered not newsworthy are rapidly established as "staple narratives" and truths. Themes that used to be considered irrelevant, may all of a sudden be deemed of general interest. This is more revealing and even worrying if these problems, according to evidence, have not increased substantially or proportionally in real life.

In any case, this is one of few studies of the Swedish media framing changes during the refugee crisis that has been conducted so far, and I believe that its most unique value is its

open and mainly descriptive empiric core, where normative assumptions are meant to be as absent as possible.

Indeed, a lot changed dramatically during a short time in Sweden regarding refugee and UM matters in 2015. But did media abandon its percieved moral gatekeeper stance? And how did the crisis development affect the array of mediated narratives?

## 3.8 Theoretical approach

In order to find out how the media framing changed, if it did, we should study how the topic at issue have been treated in some media outlets that are reasonably representative of the Swedish traditional media field, and who adhere to traditional journalistic industry standards. I choose to remain in an empiristic epistemology and a positivistic onthology, to let the study be as free as possible from my personal preconcieved assumptions of the results. To try the empiric data we therefore need to formulate a hypothesis, based on the question at issue in chapter 1.1.

# 3.9 Hypothesis

The hypothesis, based on the question at issue in chapter 1.1, will be:

- The narratives in reportive and news framing unaccompanied minors (UM) changed character during the refugee crisis, to a more negative character, increasingly connecting this group with threat, criminality and violations.
- The share of news frames based on compassion, support and victim perspective regarding UM decreased to a significantly lower share of the news and reportive media narratives.

### 3.10 Analytical framework

Framing theorist De Vreese has described news framing identification practices along two strategies, either *inductively*, where the researcher let frames emerge as analysis proceed, or *deductively*, where the researcher predefines and then operationalizes frames. (de Vreese, 2005). I have chosen a hybrid approach, departing from a number of predefined frames, but adapting them to the conditions of this study, and adding additional frame categories in order to cover a broad range of aspects on the portrayals of UM, where I have found such potentially useful and clarifying.

The analytic tools consist of the following elements:

Figure 4: analytical tool: coding scheme

#### Coding tool

Analytical units: reportive and news stories.						
Frame definition	External methodological source or guidance	Content variables	Content value			
Frame traits	Caviedes, Carver Greussing & Boomgarden	Settlement,reception securitisation, criminality, economisation, humanitarianism, background/victim, labour market	non-exclusive			
Primary frame	Shah, Domke & Wackman	ethical/HR or economic/adm	exclusive, binary, 1 or			
Supportive frame	Kuypers, Cooper & Althouse	supportive/not supportive	exclusive, binary, 1 or			
Subject active		<ol> <li>quoted/unquoted</li> <li>Named/anonomous</li> </ol>	exclusive, binary, 1 or			
HR or SD activism		Human rights- or Sweden Democrat activist present	exclusive, binary, 1 or			
Role of UM	Kuypers,Cooper & Althouse	victim, offender/fraudulent, settler, unclear	exclusive, 1-4			

When the data has been collected, structured and presented in graphs, the results will be analysed through the following steps:

- Assessment of the changes of frame preference shifts shown in the graphs.

- Stage distinction. Identifying and defining phase patterns of framing shifts in the aggregated data by applying the attention cycle stages defined by Anthony Downs (1972).

- Comparisons in time with the public opinion shifts on refugee reception (as described in chapter 2) to measured shifts in frame and narratives on UM to find indications of inference.

– Comparison with the results in the Austrian refugee crisis framing study of Boomgaarden and Greussing.

# 4 Methodology

# 4.1 Methodological approach

To try the hypothesis, I need to gather and structure empirical data on the narratives of a news outlets in Sweden. The method applied is to be quantitative content analysis, based on a positivistic epistemology. The method relies on content analysis, defned as analysis that is systematically performed in a rule based way adapted to quantitative research. (Berelson, 1952, Östbye et al. 2004) This implies residing on general rules for content gathering and classification, exclusion of personal values as far as possible and a presentation of results in numerical values.

In order to collect and code data I will need to employ a level of interpretitive classification when coding the articles in respective categories. The identification of the particular frames is based on the three operational indicators provided in the International Encyclopedia of Media Effects (Rössler & al. 2017):

- 1. Presentation features (e.g. headlines, visual scenes, pull quotes).
- 2. Discourse structures (e.g. metaphors, keyword patterns, catchphrase patterns).
- 3. Narrative conventions (e.g. news values, human interest, policies, campaigns).

When assigning the articles to different classifications in the categories, the delivery of text content is an act that obviously is directed towards an audience, and the framing of issues is an act to present an issue in a specific way. To judge the ways the framing of issues to the audience, methodological guidance can be found in the chapter "Vad säger medierna och vad betyder de?" (Dahlgren, 2000), where Peter Dahlgren formulate questions that are of use when assessing the operational indicators above (1-3). For instance: Where and in what ways does the text invite to participation and commitment? Does the text promote intimacy or distance? What motives for identification are used?

As the process of data collection proceeds, unforeseen difficulties and ambiguities will surface, and those issues will be addressed i a systematic way that will add new rules to the classifications. These will be collected and presented in attachment A.

### 4.2 Data gathering

The quantitative analysis will be pursued by collecting all news stories containing the word "ensamkommande" (UM), that will be classified in a spreadsheet (included to the study as attachment B). The articles will be categorised according to code scheme attributions. Results

will be presented in separate graphs whith time lapse on the x-axis and quantitative prevalence on the y-axis. Separate schemes will be used for each variable, with presentation of the prevalence along month-to-month time frames.

# 4.3 Methodological strategy

The classification of the narratives or frames is the core of the study. In the framing, the headlines and preambles are of crucial importance – the headline wrapping could even be seen as a frame in itself (which sometimes does not even have support in the article content itself, where complex, conflicting or unsubstantiated facts mix). Media framing power to a large extent works through headlines, introductory paragraphs (preambles) and concluding sentences (Ecker et al., 2014).

The binary definitions ethical (human rights oriented) and materialistic (administrative) frame (Shah, 2001) will be employed in one category. The additional words in the brackets above are my own methodological addition, in order to to sharpen and clarify the tool of distinction.

The Austrian study of the media changes during the 2015 crisis of Esther Greussing and Hajo B. Boomgaarden (2017) is conducted in a vein rather akin to the one I will try to use in my study, measuring the changes between separate article narratives used during the crisis (Greussing and Boomgarden, 2015). Their method, developed by Alexander Caviedes and presented in his article "An emerging European news portrayal of immigration" (Caviedes, 2015). News articles are divided into eight categories: 1. Settlement, 2. Reception/distribution, 3. Securitisation, 4. Criminality, 5. Economisation, 6. Humanitarianism, 7. Background/Victimisation, 8. Labour Market integration.

However here one must also point out the guiding character of such categorisations. The identification and labelling of categories can itself considered to be an ideological action. What Caviedes selects as frames, is at heart an interpretation of the content as well, or at least, the significant interpretive values of the articles is. With this said, I still think that Caviedes array of categories offer a broad, workable ground that do not force the results in any clear direction on beforehand.

I will use a more interpretative approach than Greussing and Boomgardens data assisted factor analysis of principal components method. Their mechanic method has the advantage in the vast number of articles that could be included. The advantages of their approach is in my view overshadowed by the insensitiveness when words are taken out of context. This weakness is also pointed out by Stephen Reese, claiming:

"The collapsing of media texts and discourses into containers based on size or frequency might obscure embedded meanings, while a qualitative approach allows for analysis of ambiguity, historical contingency, and an emphasis on meaning making". (Reese, 2001, p. 8)

The mentally guiding importance of headlines, preambles and concluding paragraphs may also be undervalued by a data mining method. In fact (see Ecker et al. 2014), headlines and introductory setting could define the frame in itself. This may place my methodological approach less clearly in the quantitative content analysis orthodoxy. Perhaps a more apt description would be quantitative content analysis with qualitative categorisation operationalisation.

The categories of Caviedes (2015) does however, not assist sufficiently to answer my research questions and therefore I have to chosen to use them as supportive and adapted traits manifesting in the articles, thereby showing a more detailed view of the development of article topic coverage. This also counters the problem that Alan Bryman points out with content analysis risking to be *atheoretical* (Bryman, 2011, p. 297) where importance is only assigned to what is measurable, and not what is of *theoretical weight*. Many articles contain several traits, and forcing them into exclusive topical categories risk excluding the real weight of appearance. The trait-part of the coding scheme do not apply the criteria of discrete dimension or mutually exclusive categories, since mediated narratives can apply overlapping categories, several of relevance to the frame. Referring to Matthes and Kohring (2008), coding for just the dominant frame can ignore important nuances in the text.

A code scheme should provide discrete and mutually exclusive categories. (Bryman, 2011) In order to secure this I have employed four other categories. One of them is the dichotomic categorisation of Dhavan Shah mentioned above (Shah, 2001), of human rights versus materialistic. The other refers to the roles referred to the UMs, whether they are anonomous or named, and one whether the articles are supportive or not. The last category has been developed with loose influence from Kuypers, Cooper & Althouse (2015), who in a study of post 9/11 news theme and presidential rethoric, collected frames where normative "good versus bad" rethoric framing plays an crucial part.

So, in this study, predefined frames have been chosen in several categories from earlier academic studies, but additional frames have been added, chosen inductively in order to get a broader and deeper understanding. The additonal categories have been created with inspirational kinship to some of the recurring standard frames that Holli and Valkenburg (2000) presented as recurring in media production. The supportive/non supportive is related to the human interest frame, where the perspective of the individual, his/her situation function as supportive, inviting the reader to identify with the person, then functionally framing support for their case (Kuypers, Cooper & Althouse, 2015). To some extent this also goes for the frames the named/anonomous and cited/mute. My development of more detailed framing categories are motivated to reach more precision: Do the UM have names? Can they speak? Are they people to identify with? Or are they mere an anonymous mass, a challenging "issue". I believe changes in such frames over time help us grasp the case of the migration crisis, where the sheer number of immigrants could have increased dehumanising tendencies in media discourse.

In accordance with this, the operationalisation will be based on the guiding questions below.

# 4.4 Guiding questions during operationalisation

- What overarching **narrative** (traits 1-8) does article N<sup>1</sup> belong to (primarily as shown in headlines, and introductory and concluding sencences)?
- Are UM articles mainly classified in an **ethical/human** rights or **materialistic/adminstrative** frame? (mutually exclusive category)

- Is the article explicitly UM **supportive** or not? (mutually exclusive category)
- Are the UM **anonymous** or **named**? (mutually exclusive category)
- Are the UM **quoted** or not? (mutually exclusive category)
- What **role** of the following are the minors attibuted to in article N<sup>1</sup> (mutually exclusive categories 1-4)?

The selection of articles should be as mechanic as possible, using all articles where unaccompanied minors appear in at least three sentences, even if the UMs do not play a central part of the frame in general, hereby avoiding ambiguous selection.

#### 4.5 Reliability

Will the results be reliable? Using only one single key word "unaccompanied minors" (ensamkommande) will automatically define which articles that are selected for coding. This is a simple and unambiguous selection process. If framing appear unclear, headlines, preambles and concluding remarks are crucial to the categorisation, although perhaps not in an undisputable way. Regarding reliability it should be noted that content analysis is generally regarded to be an unobtrusive method, meaning that the issue of study is not affected by the presence of the scientist (Bryman, 2011, Webb, 1966).

#### 4.6 Internal validity

The internal validity hinges on to what extent the frame is clearly and unambigously defined, therefore, ambiguous cases need be handled systematically as they appear. The coding principles as described above are generic, and to handle the specific questions arising in our research data, several coding issues have been dealt with inductively during the research, and the systematization of these are described in the attached, coding details scheme, that will ensure intersubjectivity and replicability.

### 4.7 Possible indications of causality

When mass media selects news topics for publication, the selection is assumed to be based on external relevance. This is at heart a positivistic trait in the media practice and culture, reporting what is "true and relevant". If certain topics appear and increase in number, this signifies that they are of increasing relevance to the public. At face value this can also be the case in the case of UM, and the extent of reporting does not have to be proportional to the actual change in the number incidents or developments in the real world. A lack of consistent proportionality between for instance criminal offences and reports of this phenomena does not

itself constitute flawed publishing ethics. The media can report extensively on a topic, because it has appeared as a phenomena of percieved growing importance, for instance being new or urgent. However, drastic changes in the proportionality in frames used could indicate a lack of consistency of guiding values in the newsrooms, begging the question: "If this is so important now, why wasn't it before?"

Causal directions of influence on this matter are unlikely to be apparent, due to the multidimensional and complex influences between facts on the ground, public opinion, media practices and social media activism. Nevertheless, presenting the changes and also bringing dates of crucial events (e.g. the activation of the temporary border controls) can indicate the likelyhood of causal effects, but they are not proof of such.

#### 4.8 Sources

In order to cover a valid general image of changes in the media framing practices 2014–2016 several news sources of different character ought to be viewed. Hence, I intend to focus on five newspapers, representing both the "hot" tabloid journalism and the more restrained morning paper journalism. I also make a selection where there is a reasonable spread between political affiliations and regions:

- Sydsvenska Dagbladet (morning paper, independent liberal, Skåne/southern Sweden),
- Svenska Dagbladet (morning paper, independent conservative/Moderat, Stockholm)
- Expressen (taboid, independent liberal, Stockholm)
- Aftonbladet (tabloid, independent social democratic, Stockholm)
- Göteborgs-Posten, (morning paper, liberal, Gothenburg)

All newspaper sources are reachable through Retriever media archive.

### 4.9 Delimitations

Only news, reportive and feature journalism. Editorial and opinionated journalism excluded.
 Only the period of July 2014-June 2016.

#### 4.10 External relevance

A media frame change is likely to be found around the autumn of 2015, during the refugee crisis, fulfilling the scope conditions for frame changes and mediatization of issues (Ekengren & Brommesson, 2017). Of external relevance would be the timeline and character of such changes and if and how they correlate to changes in public opinion on the matter. The appearance and disappearance of particular frames, traits and roles would also have external relevance. Sudden appearance of previously unused depictions raises the issue of potential previous blind spots in earlier media coverage.

However, is this enough? Indeed, results may show either consistency or inconsistency in media framing practices and public opinion but then two objections surface:

- 1. Why are the changes interesting? The refugee influx was dramatic, challenging security and economy, of course such changes on the ground must drastically change the former media framing practices.
- 2. Peoples attitudes to migrant influx turned more skeptical, which was also a natural and expected result of changes on the ground. Reflections in both media narratives and public opionion is natural. Whats new?

These objection bear relevance. I give two defences:

- 1. The finds of the study may show correlations that may tell stories that we cannot know on beforehand, and they could display findings with external relevance. For instance, if UM were quoted and named in 40 per cent of the articles before the autumn of 2015, and only 10 per cent after, this ought to show how the UM have been medially muted, with likely following effects on public opinion, and possibly legitimising dehumanising policy practices.
- 2. The basic descriptive content has a general interest in itself. The mere description of a historic period like the events of 2015 has external relevance, since it is likely to have changed the public discourse and Swedish identity regarding refugee matters. It may not answer the question why things changed, but how and when and how the changes took form, a process that may have surprising results (or not).

# 4.11 Analysis of results

The analytical part of the study following the presentation of data should allow for some interpretative analysis, although not in a hermeneutic vain. Here, I will analyse and contextualize the results, with a particular focus on phenomena that appear to be divergent from an expected stable framing pattern (the zero hypothesis), including the development of public opinion towards refugees. The analysis will then identify different phases in the changes of frame development, and assign them to a relevant time period, using the stages provided by Anthony Downs in his attention cycle theory (2001).

A comparison with the results of the Austrian refugee framing study of Boomgaarden and Greussing will also be conducted.

In the analysis, the timing of general narrative changes will be evaluated with the timing of shifts in public opinion regarding refugee reception.

# 4.12 Significance analysis

As an additional tool I will use a t-test analysis to test the significance of the results. This will be employed for those variables that are particularly crucial to interpretation of the results, and the underlying algorithm will presented in the results/graphs section (6.2).

## 4.13 Theoretical implications

If my study find indications as hypothized they could also have theoretical bearings. Mediatization isn't about media ruling the world – but that media dramaturgy and media logic does. The crucial agent in the process of mediatization is not necessarily the media industry itself, but could well be politicians, public initiatives, alternative news sites or social sharing of statistical proof where particular interpretitive frames are disseminated. (see Strömbäck, 2008, 2014)

Changed media framing practices could either show shifts in what actually happens in the physical reality or shifts in what kinds of frames and narratives that are currently seen as relevant or fashionable, independent of changes in real life. Dramatic changes in selection of framing models in mass media could reflect a willingness to adapt to demands from the public/market or from the political establishment. Such a phenomena would stand as an indication of a corrective to the notion of media omnipotence. Changes in media framing and media narratives on refugees an UM are likely to be explained by changes of the reality at hand. Here I believe the results can give theoretical insights on the limits of the percieved powers of media narratives.

# 5 Operationalisation

# 5.1 Operationalisation categories

#### 5.1.1 Frame traits, 1-8

Each article is assigned to one or several of eight trait categories: Settlement, reception, securitisation, criminality, economisation, humanitarianism, background/victim, labour market. These serve to create a comprehensive background of the development of the portrayals over time and disappearance and appearance of themes.

#### 5.1.2 Primary frame

Oriented towards ethical/human rights or materialistic/administrative. Serves to show the primary frame in the article. The category will be presented in a graph with relative relations.

#### 5.1.3 Supportive

Is the article frame constructed in a way that comes across as supportive to the needs and the situation of the UM? Serves to show changes in support and interest in the UM, perspective. Presented in a relative graph.

#### 5.1.4 Subject active: Quoted and named?

Quoted/unquoted versus named/anonomous. Serves to show development of a pattern of movement between individualisation and abstraction/collectivisation, possibly showing a shift between the poles over time. Sampling delimitations.

#### 5.1.5 HR or SD activism.

Serves to show if changes ocur over time regarding external actors and sources involved, Human Rights or Sweden Democrat activists.

#### 5.1.6 Role of subject

Victim, settler, offender/fraudulent or abstract/unclear. Serves to show the role assigned to the UM. Presented in a relative graph.

#### 5.1.7 Delimitation of articles included and principles

- Articles must refer to UM (ensamkommande) in surrounding content, in a total of at least three sentences. Only a mere mention of UMs (ensamkommande) in a generally different context does not count.

– Limit is set to at least 50 words to count for as article.

- Pieces labelled as "fakta", (facts) or "bakgrund" (background) do not count, as they are adjacent written pieces and not articles motivated on their own merit.

- Articles that deals with issues in other countries are included. European experiences, but also global experiences are rare, but are included as they add fuel to the overarching sentiment regarding the issue in Sweden.

- The delimitation to news and reporting stories does not exclude articles in the culture section of the papers. However, text with labels with "krönika" (column) or "opinion" does not count. The distinction between news reporting and columns is blurred in tabloid press, who favour personalized articles. I have counted columns labelled as "news column" as news, as they have the reportive character, more news than views.

- The classifiation as "supportive" and "ethical/HR" only apply in cases where such traits are explicit. Note that the reception system and housing facilities could be seen as supportive in themselves, and arriving UMs could by definition be seen as victims in the real world, but such assessments are not qualifying – only the *explicit signifiers* of the article narratives are. Differentiating between system stories and human strife stories is crucial. Hence: a story about for instance citizens forming a refugee support chain holding hands outside the municipal office is counted as ethical, supportive and humanitarian, even though the role of the UMs are counted as abstract/unclear, and not as victims. (e.g. Sydsvenskan 2015-10-12)

# 6 Quantitative results

To put the results in a context that make them easy to relate to how events and discourse unfolded during the period of study I will provide a timeline with some dates that could be described as key events surrounding the refugee crisis.

#### 6.1 Key events during period of study.

Some events surrounding the crisis stand out as reference points, and have been used in the public sphere to interpret developments. During the research of this study, several themes and incidents have been identified in the display of articles, events that have been repeatedly reflected in the mediated discourse. After identifying those events in the material of study, I have made searches in the media archive during the period of study to assess their public prevalence.

In order to measure relevance of key events to the *general discourse*, the searches have not been limited to the "news and reportive articles" but also opinionated editorial material in all printed press in Sweden. The immigration policy changes of November 2015 (F and G) are key events in their own right, and do not need motivation through measured media prevalence. Regarding the others, the first 50 hits of each search string have been cross-checked and I have not found any irrelevant (off topic) hits being counted.

Below are the results, motivating their presence as key events, using the key search phrases annotated:

A. Open your hearts. Search terms: "öppna", "hjärtan", "Reinfeldt". Hits: 1 231

B: We are Stockholm. Search terms "We are Stockholm", "övergrepp". Hits: 134 (248)\*

C: Photo of Alan Kurdi. Search terms: "Alan", "Kurdi". Hits: 1 138.

D: No walls speech. Search terms: "Mitt Europa", "murar", "Löfvén". Hits: 184

E: Refugee charity concert. Search terms: "Hela Sverige skramlar". Hits: 945 (of which 727 in September-October 2015)

H: Cologne (Köln) offences aftermath. Search terms "Köln" "övergrepp". Hits: 852

\* The search term combination "We are Stockholm" and "övergrepp" yielded 134 hits, a relatively low number. However, numerous referrals to the incident are likely to be missed by this particular search string. Only using the search term "We are Stockholm" yields 248 results, and after checking the first 50 of these I found they all referred to the abuse incidents.

Apparently, the "We are Stockholm" and "No walls" strings have been significantly less circulated as references, but are still both over a hundred each. The timeline of events is presented below as a graphic figure. They do not directly infer with the results or the analysis, and their selection is not a crucial, organic part of the study, but meant to provide a reasonably relevant context when viewing the development of the quantitative data. As such, I would

argue that knowledge about this string of events would make a random alien visitor to Sweden well grounded in the divisive issue of refugee reception discourse in the country.

Below is a brief description of the events.

A: 2014-08-16. Open your hearts speech. ("Öppna era hjärtan").

The summer speech held by conservative prime minister Fredrik Reinfeldt (M) in August 2014. Reinfeldt openly confirmed that the short term costs of refugee reception would hamper possibility for reforms in Sweden, but appealed to the people to "Open your hearts" to the refugees in need. The phrase and speech was to recur as a quoted reference point in media discourse. (Sydsvenskan, 2015)

#### **B:** 2015-08-12. "We are Stockholm" music festival

The summer festival in Kungsträdgården, Stockholm, was claimed to have been place of several UM youngsters groping girls in the crowds. It was later reported (but not substantiated) that the offenders were mainly unaccompanied minors, and rumoured that media had witheld that background information. A social work coordinator was one source of the information, but Dagens Nyheter did not publish the claims after searching but not getting verification from police officials. DN later claimed that the police was responsible for not confirming background allegations. (Wierup & Bouvin, 2016)

#### C: 2015-09-02. The photo of Alan Kurdi.

The body of kurdish-syrian Alan Kurdi was found on a Turkish shore of Bodrum on September 2, 2015 after his family, residing in Turkey, had left the coast for Greece, in a small boat, capsizing on the journey. The photo of the dead child sparked strong emotional reactions, triggering a wave of humanitarianism in September. (Mattsson, 2015)

#### **D:** 2015-09-06: Swedish prime minister no walls-speech

On a manifestation in support of refugees on Medborgarplatsen square in Stockholm, prime minister Stefan Löfvén (S) spoke in support of refugee rights. Widely quoted was the prime ministers ethical stance, "My Europe does not build walls". Later, Löfvén was criticized for at the time having already recieved information that the July refugee arrival forecasts from Migrationsverket was obsolete, and that instead of acting on new information he let public opinion mood guide government policy inertia. (Arpi, 2017-03-17)

#### E: 2015-09-29. Refugee charity concert "Hela Sverige skramlar".

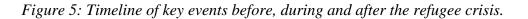
"Hela Sverige skramlar" was reported to be the biggest Swedish charity concert ever, gathering prominent figures from Swedish entertainment elite and collecting 40 million SEK (about 4 million Euro) to UNHCR and the Red Cross. Several times it was repeated from the stage that the charity manifestation must be more than a short-lived fad. (Haimi, 2015)

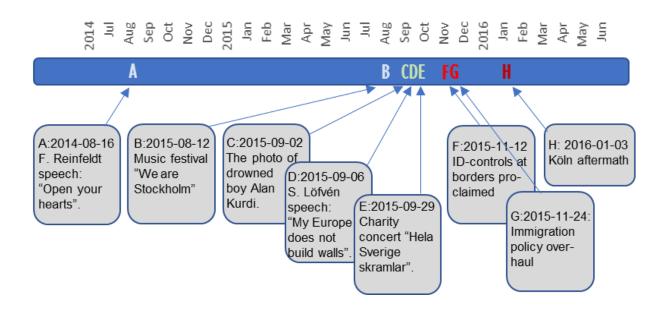
**F:** 2015-11-12. Swedish border controls proclaimed, coming into effect the following day.

**G:** 2015-11-24: Prime minister Stefan Löfvén (S) and vice prime minister Åsa Romson (Mp) proclaims new three year temporary legislation to curb refugee immigration, including limitations of family reunification rights, age assessment programmes, application of temporary permits, and rules of economic self support for refugees. All collective transports entering Sweden were to be subject to ID-controls.

#### H: 2016-01-03. Cologne (Köln) offences aftermath debate sparks debate

The New Years Eve celebrations in the German town of Cologne (Köln) plunged into numerous sexual violations and robberies of women, by what was claimed to be groups of men of middle eastern or/and arab origin. Half of the 1 218 victims were claimed to be exposed to sexual offences, and 153 perpetrators were identified. In a later report from the German police, two thirds of the suspected offenders (103 people) were from Morocco and Algeria. Four were unaccompanied minors. In Sweden a debate ensued that reconnected Köln to previous claims of UM offences at the "We are Stockholm" summer 2015 festival and more recent similar New Years Eve offences in the town of Kalmar. Needs to educate UMs in Swedish gender equality were voiced. (Bengtsson, 2016, Hudson, 2016)





### 6.2 Results in graphs

#### 6.2.1 Introduction to the results

In the Retriever media archives, 2 545 hits on the word ensamkommande appeared in Sydsvenskan, Göteborgs-Posten, Expressen, Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet from July 2014 to June 2016. Of these, 978 articles qualified for the selection according to the methodology definitions (see chapter 5 and attachment A for details).

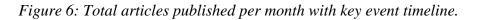
Comparisons of changes in the *absolute* number of articles is here of limited value, since it primarily reflects the increasing number of events ocurring. If large numbers of refugees arrive over a short time, a increasing media coverage primarily reflects changes in facts on the ground, not changed framing preferences. Appearances, disappearances and *relative* changes of particular frames and traits over time are more significative indicators, ceteris paribus. Regarding the graphs, generally, traits are suitable to compare to each other, while devepment of roles, primary frames and supportive are suitable to compare within the category itself.

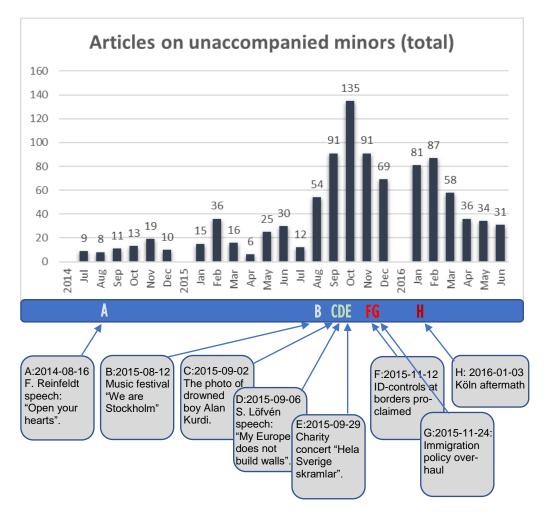
Total number of articles per paper elegible for coding:

Sydsvenskan (SDS): 346 Aftonbladet (AB): 92 Expressen (Exp): 124 Svenska Dagbladet (SvD): 166 Göteborgs-Posten (GP): 250

#### 6.2.2 Total count of articles, monthly distribution

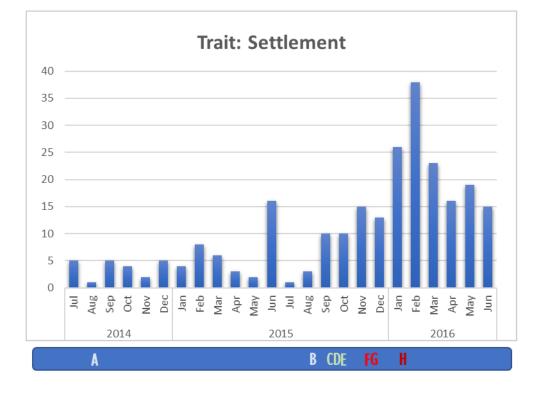
This graph shows the prevalence of the total number of articles in all five newspapers over the time studied, peaking in October 2015. Below the graph is the timeline of crucuial events, as presented above.



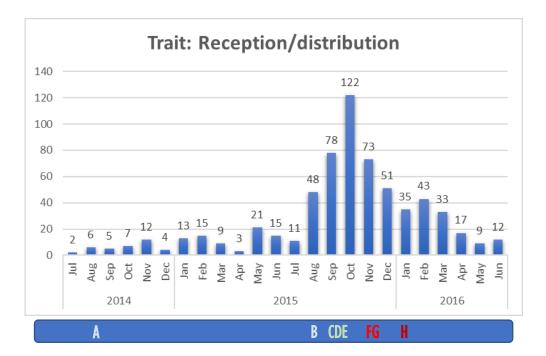


#### 6.2.3 Traits appearing in articles

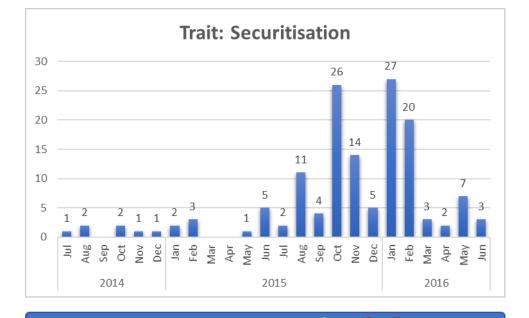
Below are the traits identified as present in the total number of articles in all the papers summarized, and shown in absolute number representations. Note that the traits here show prevalence, and are not mutually exclusive. This is a view of the traits appearing in all the papers, although some additional data is presented in text form below the graphs regarding cases where differences *between* different papers are considered noteworthy.



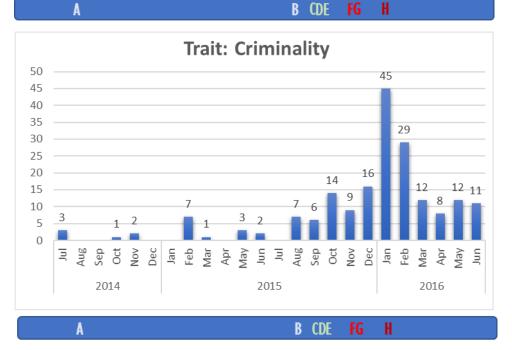
6.2.4 Settlement and distribution. Figures 7 and 8



The graphs in figures 7 and 8 follow a rather predictable pattern, with a lag in settlement issues compared to the total article count regarding distribution issues over time (distribution mainly deals with the urgent reception issues). Coverage of reception/distribution increased up to the refugeee crisis, reaching a crescendo in September, and settement issues peaked four months later. The settlement peak of June, is mainly due to a string of articles in Sydsvenskan on life and conditions in HVB-homes. However, the distinction between settlement and reception issues are often blurred.



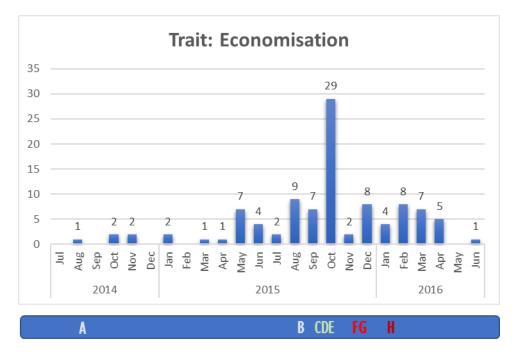
#### 6.2.5 Securitisation and criminality. Figures 9 and 10



Securitisation issues can be seen as the "panic button" of journalism. Securitisation issues peaked predictibly at two points, at the height of the crisis in October, and in January-February 2016, when a number of problematising issues appeared. Securitisation issues connecting terrorism and UMs have been virtually non-existent over the 24 months. The securitisation issues were particularly dominated by reports in Sydsvenskan around reception chaos in Nov 2015, and with law and order concerns in Jan/Feb 2016. Most refugees arrived over the Öresund bridge in Malmö, some by ferries to Trelleborg, both in Sydsvenskans area of coverage.

Violence and crime threats were repeatedly covered in January 2015, particularly surrounding the fatal UM stabbing of a female refugee housing employee in Alingsås, a town close to Gothenburg. Note that the securitisation themes was non-existent in Sept 2015, exept for four articles in Sydsvenskan.

Criminality issues clearly peaked in Jan/Feb 2016. Several issues with UMs as perpetrators in high profile cases were reported, particularly in GP (21) and Sydsvenskan (22) during those two months. Of the almost 200 articles in the category, only a total of six were reported in 2014. This was clearly a new, emerging theme. Hold in mind though that criminality frames were not only with UMs as offenders, but also as victims.

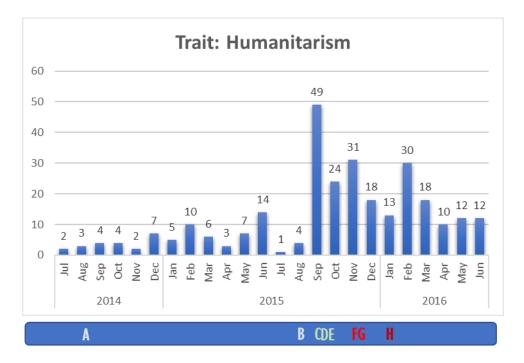


#### 6.2.6 Economisation (and Labour market) Figure 11

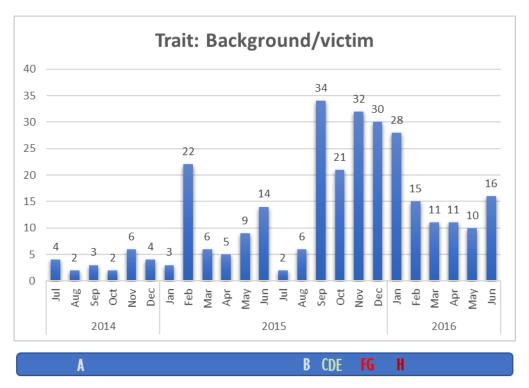
Very few articles on labour market issues were reported, only six in total, therefore no graph is of use. Minors with clear career plans are understandably rare as media narrative, particularly if the general frame is one of children in distress. The presence of the category itself is explained that the categorisation schedule was originally made for refugees in general, not children. (Caviedes, 2015).

Economisation issues mostly dealt with companies profiteering from the crisis providing housing, often to allegedly exhorbitant costs. Here the financial news orientation of SvD journalism made it stand out, with totally 33 articles. Expressen (25) and Sydsvenskan (24)

had similar themes. Aftonbladet had surprisingly few profiteering themes with only 4 articles, which may seem a little odd, given the scope for a narrative of criticism of profiteeringcapitalist ventures that ought to be suitable for a Social democratic paper. The theme was generally absent in the press over all during 2014, in spite of a historically large stream of UMs that year. Again, we here see another new emerging theme. Furthermore, the economisation themes in news and reportive journalism hardly contains any frames regarding long-term-costs/benefits regarding UM. It may have been considered inappropriate to value children in economic terms.

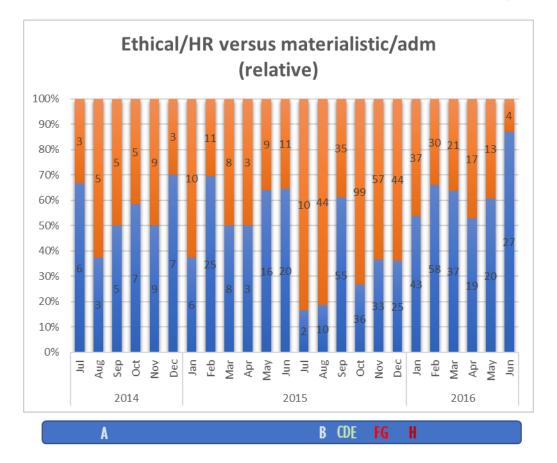


6.2.7 Humanitarianism and background/victim. Figure 12 and 13



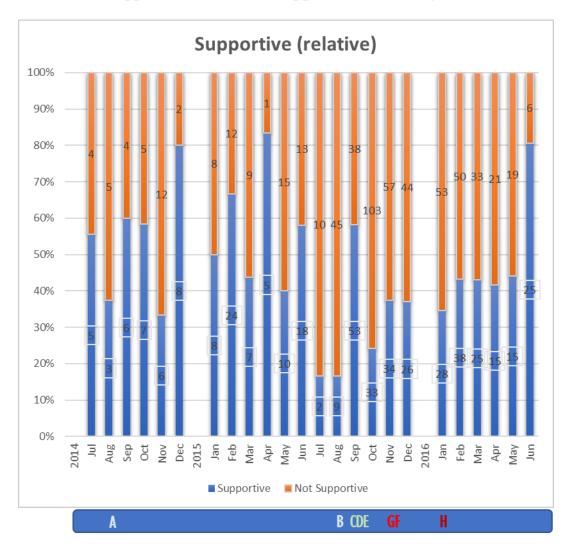
These are the themes that nationalists often criticize traditional media of overstressing. SDS stands out with 118 articles (a third of the total in this paper) containing humanitarianism traits. GP: 63, SvD: 42, AB: 35 and Exp: 31. The figures hovers around a third of the share of total articles for each paper. In total, the peak was in the compassion month of Sept 2015, with a total of 49 articles. What is striking is that the humanitarian frames stayed on a higher and consistent level after the November policy shift and the sobering criminal incidents in January 2016. If the collective humanitarian wave of Sept. 2015 quickly disappeared, the humanitarian frames remained.

The background/victim traits were mostly used by GP (88) and SDS (82), making GP the most staunch victim-perspective publisher in both absolute and relative terms. AB had the least humanitarian/victim frames of all, which may be explained by that this paper had more of such traits in columns and op-eds, not covered in this study. It could also be explained by a narrative practive where individual actor perspective-journalism has a weaker tradition in AB.



6.2.8 Ethical/HR . v. materialistic/administrative frame, Figure 14

The measurements of the (mutually exclusive) ethical (in blue) versus materialistic (in red) frames share development in figure 14 was another blow to the notion of a general "compassion collapse" in Swedish news media. As clearly shown the do not show any clear trend change over the months. The one tendency sticking out are the two months before the compassion month of Sept 2015. Here, the numbers of UMs and arriving refugees rose dramatically, and the share of materialistic/administrative themes rose in proportion. This reflects the rising number of practical issues and challenges being covered regarding housing facilities, municipal placement deals and fervent social authority activities. Entering September, the compassion wave altered the proportions, but in October, framing turns back to a lower level, in spite of the humanitarian mobilisation and the national identity challenge. Still, the *absolute numbers* of ethically primed articles in February actually surpasses the ethical articles of September. This is mainly due to a large number of articles about crime and abuse by UMs, that also count as ethical. Keep in mind that ethical frames does not equal supportive to UM, which is a reason for adding the supportive category to the coding scheme.



6.2.9 Supportive versus non supportive frame, Figure 15

The supportive versus non supportive frames (mutually exclusive) show a trend change. In September 2015 the *absolute* numbers of supportive frames (58) were at their peak (as predicted). Except for the odd month of June 2016, the proportion of overtly UM-supportive articles had fallen to a lower level than it generally was before Sept 2015. Note that the frame evaluates which articles were overtly supportive to UM in contrast to those who were abstract, unclear or negative. The frame "not supportive" does not equal critical/negative, it just shows lack of explicit supportive content character. To evaluate the share of articles directly suspicious or skeptical towards UMs, refer to the role frame (offender/fraudulent).

Unfortunately, since the period of study stops in June 2016, we do not know if the lower level persisted.

To verify the frame shift tendency over time, I here provide a significance test to the data. This t-test clarifies whether the difference in means between two groups of data is significant. This is conducted by subtracting the average values of two different periods of the total period of study, and here I have chosen the two periods of

A. July 2014–Sept 2015 (pre crisis period)

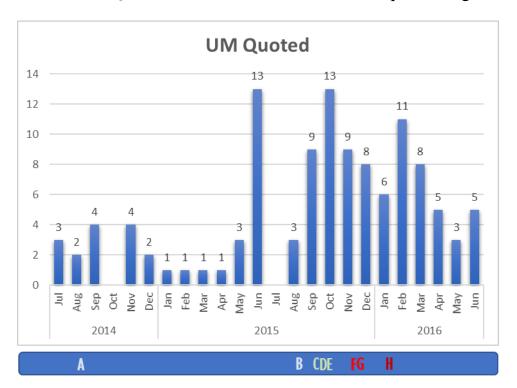
B. October 2015–June 2016 (crisis/post crisis period)

The statistical test employed is a standard double-sides t-test of the equality of means in two samples. The test statistic is calculated by the following equation:

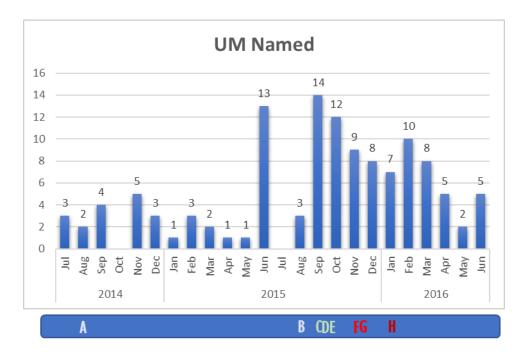
t=xA-xBsA2nA+sB2nB

where xA = mean of sample AxB = mean of sample BsA2 = variance of sample AsB2= variance of sample B nA=number of observations in sample A nB=number of observations in sample B The degrees of freedom of the test is calculated as: d.f. = (nA-1) + (nB-1) = (354-1) + (626-1) = 978The p-value of the test is calculated by the Excel function T.FÖRD.2T(t-ratio; d.f.). Regarding the changes in frame prevalence of "supportive" over time, comparing period A and B, gives the result of 0,101, when subtracting the average values between period A (=0,483) and B (=0,382), meaning that the mean is 10 percentage points higher in period A than in period B. That means that the share of published articles being supportive to UM has declined by 10 percentage points in the second period. The decline is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. The calculated p-value 0,015 which is remarkably low. Thus, the probability that the change over time is due to chance, is very low, and the share of openly supportive articles did go down.

Since this categorisation has a low grade of ambiguity (see methodology details in attachment A) and indeed measures the heart of the matter, the general shift over time to a lower level of share of supportive articles indicates a change in media sentiment.



#### 6.2.10 Quoted/named versus anonomous/unquoted, Figure 16 and 17

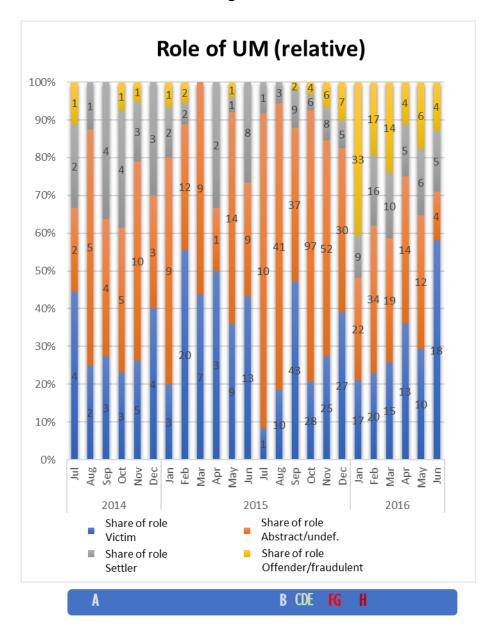


The categorisation of articles of quoted versus unquoted, and named versus unnamed refugees (both dichotomic) show a pattern in absolute numbers that counters my presumption that UMs were gradually muted after September 2015. Generally, in absolute numbers, they have actually been quoted more often after the crisis than before, but this is mainly a result of the increasing number of articles in total that were published from August 2015 and on. Since the number of articles in this category was low, I judge the quirky trend to be inconclusive, with low reliability due to the low numbers counted. The share of total articles with quoted and named UMs has generally resided in the range between 10 and 20 percent of the total. In sum: there are no signs of a general, let alone reliable, trend of disappearance of named and voiced UM individuals. But, then again, they were always a small share of the articles.

#### 6.2.11 HR-activism and/or SD activism.

I have not included a graph of the results of SD activism and HR activism present in the articles. The reason is that the SD-activism has been so small that a graph with trending indications over time would be statistically insignificant. It suffices to say that SD representatives and views have only been voiced in a total of 24 articles, amounting to 2,5 per cent, whereas 20 per cent of the articles have referred to HR activists. The peak of HR activist referrals was in September 2015 when 41 articles, amounting to a 30 per cent of the total of that month, referred to or voiced HR activists. Still, in spite of the low count and inconclusive data, one can note that HR activists have been voiced almost ten times more than SD activists in the total number of articles.

6.2.12 Role of UM: Figure 18



Graph 18 show the relative prevalence distribution of the four role options for UMs, abstract/unclear, victim, settler or offender/fraudulent. These mutually exclusive frames are presented in a relative graph to show the crucial tendency of frame change over the months. The blue staples over time indicates the victim frame development. Initializing the study I assumed that the media framing of UMs as victims would decrease radically after September 2015, or at least from January 2016. Clearly this was false. The victim frame show no striking relative volume change over time, and the month with most victim frames is actually in June 2016, when the UN criticized the treatment of UMs in Sweden and several articles about UM living conditions were published. However, in January 2016, the share of victim frames was small, perhaps because the general narrative was different due to the sexual offender discussions, but afterwards it actually gradually picked up again.

In absolute numbers, the victim frame unsurprisingly peaked in Sept 2015, with 43 cases.

The share of settler role is bigger in the first third of the total period, but then, this is also a bit of an optical illusion, since the total number of articles rose rapily in the autumn of 2015, and

the total of settler frames increased as well, but were at the time likely overshadowed by other urgent reception issues.

The offender frame to a large extent deals with crimes, violence and sexual abuse but also with issues where the articles deals with how to assess correct ages to the UMs, an issue that rose in the political discourse over time.

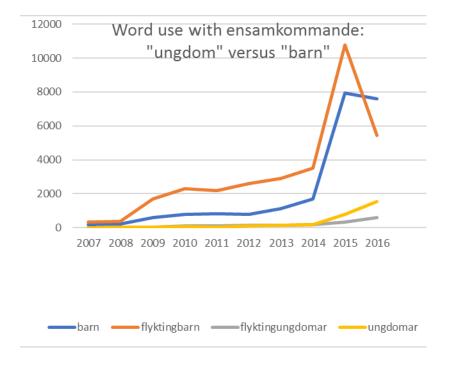
Note, however, that the offender/fraudulent frame was virtually non-existent before Sept 2015, and had a dramatic peak in January 2016, and then fell back to a lower relative presence, but never to the percentage levels of the first 15 months. This was another emerging theme in Swedish media. A significance test regarding the changes in prevalence of "offender/fraudulent" role over time, comparing periods A (July 2014–Sept 2015) and B (October 2015–June 2016) according to our previously defined method, gives the result of -0,127, when subtracting the average values between periods. That indicates an increase of almost 13 percentage points in the second period.

The test is calculated with 977 degrees of freedom. The difference is statistically significant even at the 0.1 percent level (p-value < 0.001), indicating an precise estimate. The graphs show an emerging theme appearing, but disproves the notion of a generally capsized compassion narrative in Swedish media.

### 6.3 Media change of word use for UM

Of relevance in this context is also an assessment of how the term UM has been used in media. In the Swedish public sphere, the terms "ensamkommande barn" (~ children) and "ensamkommande flyktingbarn" (~ refugee children) has been the standard words for unaccompanied minors. As more problem oriented frames emerged, Swedish media more frequently altered the terms to "ensamkommande ungdomar" (~ youth), alternatively "ensamkommande flyktingungdomar" (~ refugee youths), perhaps more apt to cases where the UM were either suspected offenders or assumed to have given false age claims. A search of all of the printed daily press, plus the public service radio/TV news text outlets (chosen to get broadest coverage of general media discourse) during the decade from 2007 to 2016 show that both "children" terms (UM) peaked in 2015 in absolute terms, and that their use thereafter declined, and that the "youth" terms peaked in 2016. The two "youth" terms rose both in 2015 and 2016, and by the remarkable rate of ten times between 2014 and 2016, from 168 to 1526 in total. Still, the two "child" terms by far remained dominant in absolute numbers, even though the proportions shifted. In a way this has natural causes, after all, children do have the tendency to grow into youth over time. But it also indicates a frame shift, when looking into details over a shorter period where natural aging infer much less on data. Between August 2015 and July 2016, we find that "~ barn" peaked in November 2015 and then declined, whereas "~ flyktingungdomar" peaked in January 2016, and "~ ungdomar" in February 2016. This supports a shifting preference in media towards the use of youth instead of children over the four months November 2015-February 2016.

Figure 19: Media preference for ensamkommande "barn" (children) versus "ungdomar" (youth).



An establishment of "~ refugee youth" and "~ youth" occured three months after the peak of the crisis, where the former peaked in January and the latter in February. The standard term "~ children" peaked in November 2015. The "~ children" term fell to a roughly a third of its peak in the spring months, while the "~ youth" term remained well over half of its peak figure, indicating that the youth term remained in the media discourse.

As a reference point, data retrieval (without graph) show that " $\sim$  youth" was mentioned a mere 87 times in Swedish printed press plus SVT and SR (public service) in 2012, while in 2016, it was 1526, an increase of 1654 per cent between 2012 and 2016.

Looking in detail, we can se that the use of "ensamkommande ungdomar" hovered below 50 monthly mentions (Swedish printed press + SR/SVT) during the first eight months of 2014, and during the crisis autumn, jumped up to around 100, a natural reaction to the crisis events. In January 2016, this term increased to 126 and in reached a peak in February with 201, which is explained by the UM month of crime exposure (both real and percieved, one should add). It is interesting to note that during the rest of 2016, the monthly figure for "ensamkommande ungdomar" stayed *well over 100* (except August). To sum up, the frame of youth established itself in the media narrative during the crisis and remained on a substantially higher level after the crisis than before.

Unaccompanied "minors" is an English language alternative to "children", the former term having more of technical character. The Swedish word for minors would be "minderåriga", a long, cumbersome word, somewhat unsuitable for media outlet language. It is also possible that "barn" (children) was chosen in line of an ethical stance, to stress that the young people arriving are vulnerable children.

# 6.4 Summary of the analysis

The display of frames show that the narratives and frames did change over time – but that the humanitarian ethical and UM supportive share of articles did not collapse. The share of ethical frames peaked in Sept. 2015, then decreased, but remained on a consistent level. The share of supportive frames decreased significantly over time, but remained as a recurring frame, steadily hovering around 40 percent of the articles from 2015 and on. The results show an unique wave of compassion narratives in September 2015, when the number of HR activist referrals appeared in 41 articles, amounting to a 30 per cent of the total of that month.

Humanitarianism frame traits not only survived the autumn 2015 and the crime months of Jan/Feb 2016, but remained on a higher level after November 2016 compared to before the crisis.

The most striking conclusion is the emergence of previously unseen or rare frames, starting from October 2015. Most notably is the appearance of "criminal or fraudulent UM" in a dramatic way in January 2016, with recurring themes regarding reception facilities problems, UMs as potential sexual offenders and a number of high-profile violence and death cases involving UM. The reason for its emergence in January-February 2016 may be due to actual changes in the number and character of actual incidents. It is also possible that the changes are a consequence of a shifted stance towards refugees in general, and sanctioned through the immigration policy changes of November 2015.

The issue of economisation has been another notable emerging frame during the period, that took off in August 2015. Specific emerging themes in this in this area mostly covered economic profiteering in the refugee reception business, but rarely cases evaluating financial costs connected to reception, settlement and integration of UM.

In conclusion, during and after the crisis of sept-nov 2015, a variation of new perspectives and frames has showed – establishing a *multi frame equilibrium*. In this new discourse, with differing narratives surrounding UM, none of the frames are clearly dominating.

# 6.5 Narrative development stage identification

Based on the quantitative results I will now to identify development of different stages of the narratives, using the issue attention cycles theory of Anthony Downs (1972). In order to do this I use three indicators, applied when divergences are found:

- Absolute volume shifts in categories over time.
- Relative changes within categories over time.
- Relative changes between categories over time.

1. Pre crisis-stage. Downs first phase is where a challenge exists, but as an undercurrent in a hegemonic media narrative. Looking at the graphs in our study the mere change in number of articles concerning UM (fig. 6) clearly indicate the pre crisis stage, namely from where we start tracking the frames, July 2014 to July 2015. Up to the end of that period the media coverage can be said to be in a low intensity level, with a reasonable stability in numbers, with a brief peak in February 2015. The trait prevalence seem mostly stable. Note that two

thirds of the total 36 articles in Feb 2015 showed background/victim traits in two thirds of the total. (fig. 13) This is an indication on how the slowly emerging issue of UM was generally framed. The relative role proportions during the pre crisis stage was also stable, with criminal/fraudulent frames extremely rare. (fig. 18)

2. Crisis stage. This "alarmed discovery stage" stage corresponds well with the months August–September 2016 when counting the rapid rise in absolute numbers of UM articles and their high media presence (fig. 6). In September 2015 both humanitarianism and background-victim frame traits peaked remarkably (fig, 12, 13). The share of supportive frames were high, but not extreme, which can be explained by the high number of practical challenges being covered and elaborated on during the month (fig. 14). Note that the Downs typology describes this stage as showing not only alarmed discovery, but also euphoric enthusiasm, and in spite of the human suffering reported during the refugee crisis, the humanitarian mobilisation, with widespread voluntary reception, makes this stage in this case fit neatly with the "enthusiasm" of the typology, not least manifested in the televised charity concert and its press coverage.

3. Growing realization of the cost of significant progress. The third stage is where realization of the magnitude of the challenges take the place of alarm and enthusiasm. Already in October the trait peak in humanitarianism from the previous month had given place to an extreme peak in economisation. (fig. 11) Between these two months the ethical/HR frames that in Sept had a 60 per cent compared to 40 per cent materialistic/adm. fell to a dramatically reversed 28 to 72 per cent share in October. (fig. 14) Even though the absolute number of UM articles were higher than ever in October, reaching 135, the background/victim frames fell with a third compared to previous month. The ethical frames fell to a low of 27 per cent compared to 73 per cent materialistic/adm. (fig. 14) The share of supportive frames fell to 24 per cent. (fig 15) I feel tempted to rephrase the stage label from "growing realization" to "imploding into realization". This change in media sentiment measured here was huge.

4) Gradual decline of intense public interest. Entry into the fourth stage was slow. In absolute numbers, during my period of study, the UM articles actually never returned to the low pre cris levels. In the end of March 2016 the level had sunk significantly, but the events in January–February had reinvigorated coverage and reshaped the framing practices. True, the absolute numbers of UM related articles fell smoothly in accordance with the Downs typology (fig. 6), but the frame shares shifted to the previously noted rapid increase of negative depictions in the first 2-3 months of 2016. (fig 9, 10, 18) In our case, perhaps the typology should be completed with an additional stage after stage 3, one that could be called the "Trojan horse stage", where previously suppressed frames are let out in full bloom, in the wake of an – at least challenging and possibly painful– transition from stage 2 to 3. In such a reactive stage, mediated narratives would call up alternative frames, opposing the former narrative hegemony. It should nevertheless be noted that even though these months consisted of a rapid rise of criminal/fraudulent UM frames, the UMs were now not less quoted and named than before and the supportive frames did decrease significantly but not dramatically and they did certainly not collapse. (fig. 16, 17, 15)

5) Post-problem stage (where issues are to a larger extent handled by institutions). Did media narratives reach a post problem stage where public interest ebbed out? Looking at the falling number of UM this could be argued happened in the spring of 2016. I cannot refer to evidence outside the period of my study, but the absolute levels of UM articles in April–June 2016 were consistantly at higher levels than the pre crisis average. (fig. 6) During our post-problem

stage, the share of ethical frames picked up gradually, and so did the background/victim frames. (fig. 14, 13)

Compared to the relative public invisibility of the ecology-environmental issue that Downs studied, the case of UM, with its continous public presence of humans in need of attention, may not be one that disappears from the public eye in the same way as ecology. Downs also stated that the mechanics of his attention cycle would not be as applicable when many are directly affected by the challenge of the issue at hand. (Downs, 1972, p. 319) As far as I have noted, but without scientific support, the UM issue still carries interest in Sweden, although that it may has morphed into more of an persistently simmering identity issue.

## 6.6 What made public opinion tilt?

When comparing the polled changes in public opinion (see chapter 2) regarding refugee reception to framing development, three things seem clear.

First, that the surge in humanitarianism of September 2015 was short-lived. The mood shifted as early as in the end of September.

Second, any alleged refugee supportive media influence over public opinion, if it existed, turned to be weak as public opinion swung back.

Third, the most dramatic opinion swing was recorded in November, after the government policy changes, which then apparently confirmed – and justified – public resistance to increased refugee reception.

Looking at the dates of the swings and changes in policy and media narratives finds indications that the trigger of public opinion change seem synchronized with the government policy changes, where these policy changes confirmed an overarching crisis interpretation of reality. The biggest change of public opinion was polled after the government immigration policy changes. (Hambreus, 2015) Still, this is not solid proof of a causal effect between policy changes and public opinion. Changes in real life, lagging reactions to conditions in reception housing and hospitals could also be at play.

I would nevertheless suggest that it is likely that the official policy change confirmed the validity of the anti-refugee sentiment in the population. The message from the ethically fuelled discourse dominating media in September quickly tapered off - a striking contrast to the public appeals from the charity concert stage, claiming aherence to the opposite.

The dramatic opinion changes during the early autumn of 2015 indicates a public sensitivity and receptivity to mediatized, sentimentally charged ethic narratives, but these are not of lasting quality. Moods can change quickly, and they did. The notion of massive media influence over public opinion is often overstated for the simple reason that in a society where all politics is mediated, it is tempting to confuse political developments with developments in media. (Strömbäck, 2014)

Then again, one must also be aware that politics is not only mediated, but also mediatized, meaning politics is subjected to the rules and logic of media discourse. In the latter, media plays a crucial role, but not as a almighty master, but as a platform for politics and policy, also providing rules of narrative exchange and interpretation of reality. This is in accordance with

the claims that media institutions do not have almighty power over discourse and politics, but they do nevertheless have substantial influental power. (Strömbäck, 2014)

When digesting the timing of these events, perhaps we should return to the famous quote by media scientist Bernhard Cohen:

"It (press) may not be successful much of the time in telling people on what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers in what to think about" (Cohen, 1963)

# 6.7 Media sensitization and conflicting positions

The results of this study has shown an emergence of a multiple frame narrative in Swedish media. Earlier studies have indicated that countries with a consensus-oriented political culture are more resistant to mediatized and polarised politics, a case which is likely to be applicable to Sweden. (Brommesson & Ekengren, 2017) In the Swedish media narrative, the understream of immigration skepticism has grown, resulting in a higher level of conflicting views on refugee matters that has emerged in the Swedish public sphere, where journalists cite scientific reports, either supporting the case for refugees bolstering the economy, or showing overwhelming huge costs levied. (VA 2015-09-24, Lauffs, 2015-05-24, Boström, 2015-07-07, Brors, 2013-06-13)

This process of media change increasingly displayed an state of multiple role of UM depiction. The problem oriented frames increased over time, bringing up problems concerning married UM abuse, reporting on female minors being forcefully married to older men (Fjällman, 2016). In January 2016 the theme of UM sexual offenders surfaced forcefully, with widely circulated key events on sexual offenders on music festivals and public swimming pools. (Bengtsson, 2016, Salihu, 2016) The first months of 2016 also reported on violence, theft and killings by UM. Furthermore, the issue of UM age fraud recurred over a longer period, coupled with views of the need for age assessment legislation in order to curb fraudulant age claims, and then the percieved long term problem of gender imbalance surfaced. (Hudson, 2016)

Some of these news narratives ignited problem oriented debates. While the case of criminal Moroccan UM tended to be discussed as a social challenge or a security threat (Tagesson, 2015), the gender oriented issues morphed into discussions of a national identity threat, with security, particularly for girls, in peril, as for instance argued by professor Valerie Hudson in an opionated piece in Göteborgs-Posten January 19, 2016. (Hudson, 2016)

The articles viewed in this study indicate that the criminal/abuse narratives of Jan/Feb 2016 could also have resulted in media sensitization effects. On the morning of January 15 a mobile robbery occured on a Gothenburg tram by four youngsters, reportedly UM, surrounding a woman and snatching her mobile phone. Three articles on the case was published in Göteborgs-Posten, where the background as UM was pointed out (GP 2016-01-16, 2016-01-17, 2016-02-05). Robberies targeted at individuals in Sweden normally reaches over 8 000 a year (BRÅ, 2016), and rarely gets major media coverage. In this case it was reported and followed up three times in GP. Such coverage could well be an example of media sensitization to incidents involving UMs during this period.

## 6.8 Frame change compared to the Austrian case

Compared to the Austrian study of the 2015 refugee crisis of Greussing & Boomgarden (2017), the Swedish experience of the media coverage of the crisis show different effects. Greussing and Boomgarden showed what could be called a brutalisation of Austrian media frames during the crisis of 2015, with a clear shift towards securitization and economisation issues. To the extent this differs from the results of this study, it is partly due to a result of different groups concerned: grown ups versus children. We do not view children as security risks, and refrain from from evaluating them in financial terms. I also have excluded opinionated journalism, and from my overview during the search, the alarmist views, securitisation issues and identity threat claims appeared mostly in opinionated journalism.

Greussing and Boomgarden found a multiple frame shift in August 2015 (earlier than in Sweden). But instead of a development resulting in dissemination of the contrasting frames I identified, they found increasing stereotypization. (Greussing and Boomgarden, 2017 p. 11) In the Austrian study *simplifications* due to a survival mode mindset was registered, whereas is Sweden: increased *complexity* emerged – and conflicting views broke out. This may be a result of different methodological tools used, but could also be a result of a Swedish collective departure from an established and hegemonic benevolent single frame-narrative.

Greussing and Boomgaarden also make a point in referring to vast amount of research pointing to refugee and asylum issues being generally dominated by problem orientation, however here one must take into account that first of all, problem orientation is actually a general practice of news journalism and second, seeking refuge abround according to the Geneva Convention is intrinsically connected to situations of oppression and distress, which is an issue problem oriented per se. Asylum seekers primarily escape from deplorable or bad conditions, they do not leave just to migrate in search of fortune and wealth, and in the extent the do so, the issue is labour migration with different media framing practices, not covered in studies of refugees.

Greussing and Boomgaarden has also applied the Downs issue cycle topology and placed the alarmed discovery phase between April 2015-September 2015. This clearly differs from my finds, and could have several reasons. First, that the refugees arrived earlier to Austria, but secondly and more likely, that the general resistance to accept and disseminate a crisis narrative was stronger in Sweden, at least if Austria is considered to be a less consensus oriented society with more established prevalence of conflicting media narratives and frames.

## 6.9 Answers to research questions and hypothesis

Hypothesis:

- The narratives in reportive and news framing unaccompanied minors (UM) changed character during the refugee crisis, to a more negative character, increasingly connecting this group with threat, criminality and violations.

- The share of news frames based on compassion, support and victim perspective regarding UM decreased to a significantly lower share of the news and reportive media narratives.

The study did show a ten per cent decrease in the share of supportive frames towards UM in in Swedish news and reportive journalism, confirming the first part of the hypothesis, although not in a dramatic way. The share of ethically primed, versus materialistic articles did not decrease in a substantial way, and the share of humanitarianism trait frames of the total did not decrease. Neither did the share of background/victim frames over time. However alternate offender/criminal frames rose significantly and stayed on a higher level after the crisis. Hence, data supports the first part of the hypothesis, but do not clearly the second part.

Research question A: How has concept of "ensamkommande" (referring to unaccompanied minor refugees) been framed in news articles, regarding traits, frames and roles, in four Swedish nespapers between July 2014-June 2016, particularly regarding displays of negatively and positively charged frames and roles?

The study showed a clear emergence of multiple frame news narratives in Swedish media during the period, with an increasing array of problematizing frames connected to unaccompanied minors. Media came to display conflicting frames on UM topics, with a widespread visibility of previously unseen frames, such as and economic profiteering housing themes in 2015 and the appearance of "criminal or fraudulent UM" in a dramatic way in January 2016. However, even if the supportive frames decreased, they far from disappeared in the media narratives, and different humanitarian and victim frames retained a prominent position in the mediated narratives.

# Research question B: How has these changes inferred over time on crucial policy change events and shifts in the public attitudes towards refugees?

Mobilizing UM supportive media narratives worked only temporarily and the effects of a unique, broad wave of compassion frames during the crisis were short-lived, when factual challenges amassed. Public opinion towards refugees swung rapidly during the crisis and long term support for refugee immigration has turned sharply downwards. The results indicate a limited influence of traditional media outlets over politics and framing dissemination.

# 7 Discussion and summary: Sweden – not so lagom anymore

When summarizing the study, it is fair to concede that in understanding the changes in media narratives of the UM phenomenon, the mere count of frame prevalence makes interpretation somewhat superficial. After all, some frames, particularly the ones dealing with administrative and practical issues, convey less emotional impact than frames of suffering and violence (like stories of dead children like Alan Kurdi, or of UMs as offenders in spectacular incidents). Emotionally strong cases are more likely to affect our perception of the values and perils of UM presence in society. Big stories can be small in measured numbers. Particularly emotionally formative are themes that could be interpreted as a threat to the identity and fundamental values of the society, like sexual offences and murder. In that sense, a notion that refugee unaccompanied minors have been generally demonized in media after the refugee crisis may bear higher relevance than shown in this study. Or alternatively, such a notion may just be a result of us being surprised by a narrative shift that was not necessarily generally evil, but has established a multi-frame coexistence that we are not accustomed to.

It should also be mentioned that the narrative shifts in Swedish printed press do not emerge in a vacuum. Here, the public service channels of SR and SVT play an important part in sanctioning of new narrative practices, and since this is outside the scope of this study we have not taken them into account when analyzing the narrative shifts. Still, when relating the results of this study to what happened in the mediated world, it is of relevance to mention their role, where single productions can have considerable impact, e.g. the radio production "De desillusionerade humanisterna" (The disillusioned humanitarians), in the public service outlet SR on December 16, 2015. The program voiced people who worked with UM, claiming to be muted from expressing alternate views on the background of UMs, since it risked condemnation and association to SD party views. (Huitfeldt and Thorén, 2015).

Public service outlets have over time polled by the SOM Institute as having very high credibility compared to other media outlets and their sanctioning role in the general discourse is therefore an important factor to hold in mind.

I noted during my research that some articles in January 2016 had loose support for claims that offences were UM, but such allegations were nevertheless published, for instance regarding the swimming pool offences, stating "Enligt uppgift handlar det om ensamkommande flyktingbarn" ("according to claims it concerns UM"). (Asplid, 2016-01-26) January 2016 was not a month displaying the the traditional Swedish media restraint from background reporting on suspected offenders, but rather one seemingly answering a need to make up for what could have been percieved by the news outlets as previously supressed frames. Its ouside the scope of this study to sample particular articles in order to assess deviations of journalistic practice compared to previous periods, but such a venture could well be a task for further research. What could have been at play then was a confusion of the distinction between truth and relevance. Since the frame of high overrepresentation of sexual abuse cases with UM perpertrators was formerly viewed as irrelevant and probably untrue, when the view of background relevance was reversed and background were judged to be

highly relevant – the claims may not have to be proven true either. High relevance of the case and alleged tendencies could have affected the media interpretation of traditional Swedish journalistic standards. It is however ethically perilous to reverse truth and relevance in tandem. And the inverted causality also applies: facts and frames that previously were assumed to be false and irrelevant are not necessarily highly relevant even if they are found to be completely correct. A study delving in to this matter on the base of comparison between appropriate news periods would have relevance for the media industry.

However, the coin has two sides. The other side is then: isn't it an obligation for media to report on recurring problems of crime and offences group connected to backgrounds of certain groups, if reasonably knowledeable staff and officials claim the problem to exist? And if so, did media unjustly neglect this matter before the rapid emergence of negative collective portrayals of UM that started taking off in January 2016?

This is a delicate topic, brimming with divisive ethical considerations.

Generally, the wrangling of public discourse hegemony and polarising viewpoints that surfaced after the refugee crisis of 2015 can be seen from different perspectives. One is the "human rights perspective" versus a economic (or/and cultural) "realist perspective" (these labels are likely uncontroversial to their proponents). Another perspective, in my view more interesting, is the individualist versus the collectivist perspective stresses the need to view the need to respect and prioritize human rights of all individuals. The collectivist or structuralist perspective instead point out the importance of individuals as part of migration patterns, possibly containing systematic abuse of asylum rights. The previously heralded individualism of the right-wing has to some extent been replaced with collectivist views ("We can't handle them"). The left wing collectivist are replaced by the individualist perspective ("Every single individual in need of help must be helped").

It is outside the scope of this study to go into more details here, but it suffices to say that the refugee issue has been a phenomenon adding to confusion in the Swedish political landscape. This basically reflects the rearrangement of political sympaties in Sweden towards the globalist versus nationalist (or GAL-TAN) dimension instead of the traditional left-right-dimension of the political spectrum. Its effects are in full play in Sweden in 2017, adding to popular confusion, not least because the identities in Swedish politics are still largely along the left-right dimension, whereas the preferred policies area are increasingly along GAL-TAN, opening for a challenging strategic positioning game in the party system, that should be a field for further academic research.

As mentioned, the changes of narratives regarding boths UM and refugees in Sweden has been regarded as a challenge to the Swedish national identity, and this is supported by recent SOM institute data, showing that general pessimism over the state of Sweden has risen, in spite of a remarkably strong economy, with Europes highest employment rate and a remarkable growth rate (Eurostat, 2017). The SOM research also showed that the share of convinced party supporters were at an all time low and that immigration and integration issues now ranks highest of what people think is important, which is a major shift from previous years (SOM Institute, 2017). This indicates that the refugee crisis indeed appears to have challenged national self-perception regarding refugee matters, arguably even initiating a new era in national identity and discourse. Such an impact on national identity may sound odd to people from other countries, particularly those with identity tied to family, tribe and religion. But Sweden is a nation that is placed in an extreme position in both of the dimensions of the famous graph by Ronald Ingleheart and Christian Welzel covering the values of the countries of the world, where Sweden is guided by both most secular-rational (after Japan) and most self expression values of a 100 countries. (World Values Survey, 2010/2017)

Since Swedes tend to resort less to religious beliefs for displays of piety and moral elevation, it is even possible that Swedish attitudes towards refugee reception have been substantially more guided by *identity* than in other countries. Swedens overarching self perception of "lagom" (inbetween/modest) is in any case not the least lagom in an international context. It could be another topic of further research if, in fact, the lack of space for religious identity in the Swedish public sphere, over the years actually shifted the expressions of timeless ethical, normative instincts to operate in the secular field of journalism and media, here finding a secular, institutional platform for ethical activism. A common critique from those hostile to the open Swedish immigration policy is that media acts as propagandists, trying to foster the public to a hegemonic world view of streteched humanitarianism. Media in Sweden may have taken over the institutional role of the church to a larger extent than in other, more traditional Europan countries.

In any case, as mentioned, the policy and public opinion shifts during the refugee crisis seem to have presented a challenge to how Swedes percieve its country's role in the world and its newly arrived inhabitants. The media framing process is a result of free speech and free media, and the establishment of the multi-frame narrative may in the long run not be as immigration/refugee/UM-negative catalyst at some think it has been, but more of a step into a world where several conflicting voices, frames – and people – live and brawl side by side. Sweden will most likely remain high ranked in terms of secular-rationalism and self-expression values. But it will hardly be percieved as lagom as before.

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#### Attachment A:

# Categorisation details/definitions and adaptations to the UM case

#### A.A: TRAITS

#### A.a.a Settlement.

Concerns issues on UM when establishing or forming subsistence and everyday life in Sweden, and/or relocation.

#### A.a.b Reception/distribution.

Organizational, technical and administrative issues mostly regarding initial housing. This category dominates the total number of articles. Articles in this category normally lacks normative or sentimental traits, and deals with organizational and technical aspects of municipal administration and politics. The distinction between settlement and reception is sometimes unclear, and, regarding HVB-home issues, the definition used to choose category resides on whether the issue deals with A) housing challenges (reception/distribution) or B) plans ahead and everyday life (settlement).

#### A.a.b Securitisation.

Dealing with threats against public order or general safety, regarding huge influx of refugees or threats against security of the country or municipal life, due to threats of disease, terrorism or violence. In my interpretation of this category I have included "threatening incidents" or incidents described with a threatening, arlarming language, with associations to chaos or grave unrest. Regarding fires, who do dot pose an undisputed security threat for Swedish society in general, but for the refugees, and only if UM already inhabit the housing. Such cases are not classified as securisation, but as criminality.

#### A.a.c Criminality.

Refers to criminality where the UM are either possible culprits or victims of crime. The category hence, does not show how many articles on criminal UMs that are published, but how many articles in which UMs are "connected to criminality" in some way. For indications of direct UM criminality, refer to the role category "offender/fraudulent". Arson cases against reception housing are clearly criminality, but here, if UMs had not yet moved in during the fire attempt, the article covering such attempt is not included in the article count.

#### A.a.c Economisation.

Issues where economy, budgets, costs and financial burdens appear in more than two sentences.

#### A.a.d Humanitarianism.

When including references to social needs, aspirations or suffering of the UM, or normative references to explicitly moral

obligations or voluntary supportive efforts in regards to the human conditions of the UM, including normal everyday life activities, e.g. arranging football events for UM. However, to qualify for categorisation, HR-activism from external actor is not a prerequisite.

#### A.a.e Background/victim

When references are made to challenging background and strife of subjects. Outside of the framing issue itself in this study, all UM could of course be seen as victims. In our classification, however, they only count as background/victim if explicitly portrayed as such.

#### A.a.f Labour Market

To qualify for the category concrete plans regarding professional work plans, or general references to the labour market at least three sentences is required.

#### A.B: HR- AND SD-ACTIVISM

When human rights advocates, from NGOs or authorities (as for instance children ombudsman, BO) or civil activists are active or given voice on fundamental rights issues. In contrast to the trait humanitarianism, HR-activism deals with actions advocating an overarching ethic case. Arranging for instance a picnic or theater event does not count. SD-activism is When SD representatives or their problematizations are given voice.

#### A.C: FRAME

Materialistic/administrative or ethical/HR. Dichotomic, with mutually exclusive categories. The frame category defines the main "reason for the publication of the story". What is the main motivation of publication? The frame definition refers primarily to the role of the UM. Compared to the original operationalisation design (Greussing and Boomgarden, 2015), I have added "/HR" (human rights) to the frame "ethical", to clarify that the ethic frame to be primarily measured regards the UMs, but not only. I have also added "/administrative" to materialistic, to clarify that formal, value free stories belong to that category, i.e. technical as opposed to sentimentally moving.

Materialistic/administrative frame refers to problems of organization, economy and (scarcity of) facilities. Ethical/human rights (HR) frame refers to frames where explicit or implicit suffering or needs of primarily UMs are stressed. To qualify for ethical/HR, the story need to contain overt references of compassion or ethics.

When UM appear as offenders, the piece can be labelled ethical, if the frame is predominantly of ethical nature, raising moral issues. Note that this limits what general conclusions can be made about the level of benevolence to UM from the aggregated results on this category. An ethical frame does not equal support for UM. Another way of understanding the basic function of this classification is to see it as "soft frames" (people oriented), with an ambition to understand, feel and sympathize as opposed to "hard frames", conveying facts. However that laver of interpretation (soft-hard) does not apply when it comes to crime, centered around presentation of facts but in a narrative revolving around sensitive human core questions of human virtue, guilt, innocence, suffering and ethics. Articles dealing with companies making huge financial gains on refugees would count as ethical if they are not explicitly about abuse of public finances. Then the categorisation is due to the underlying frame of public spending, i.e. materialistic. Articles dealing with ethical aspects of reception facilities and the shortcomings of these, are not considered an ethical, but materialistic/administrative frame, unless the story is one of ethical shortcomings explicitly affecting the UM. The reason for this is that facility centers are not the subjects of the study, and issues of their ethics are not considered significative for the UM case. For example, issues about setting up shacks in the Malmö harbour area to cater for needy is normally an organizational, materialistic/administrative narrative. If such a narrative conveys stories of suffering and moral duties, the classification would be ethical/HR.

#### A.D: ROLE OF UM SUBJECT

Mutually exclusive categories. Abstract/unclear, victim, settler or offender/fraudulent. The difference between settler and victim refers to subjects role: victims are passive, settlers are connected to plans, aspirations or everyday activities. Abstract/unclear signifies that the article does not clearly or explicitly focus on the role of the UM, and that they rather appear as abstract objects in a system, where the latter is the central matter in the article. Again, do not confuse the aims of the supportive system with the media narrative itself. All stories on medical age (re)assessment programs count UM as offenders/fraudulent. After all, it is all about system to detect fraud. Note also that a story about a merely accused or suspected sexual offender is nevertheless categorized in the role as "offender", unless the narrative gives unambigous support for his/her innocence. In the world of frame setting, one can paraphrase a Swedish saying by the rock star Ulf Lundell: "An innocent offender is also an offender."\*

#### A.E: ANONOMOUS AND/OR NAMED, QUOTED AND/OR UNQUOTED

Refers to the role of the UM in the narrative, either as parttaking subjects, voiced and/or named, or as objects unquoted and/or anonymous.

#### A.F: SUPPORTIVE

Does the general frame connect to overtly supportive references regarding UM or their needs, as opposed to a administrative, abstractly political or mainly problematizing issues? Stories of UM as subjects with constructive personal plans are considered supportive. The individual UM perspective is supportive. Support is shown as indications of support towards referred needs and rights of the UM, sometimes voiced by UM themselves. Personal, individual background histories are supportive. However, general calls for action to guarantee institutional stability and order are not considered supportive. Although the entire system of reception and housing is supportive in itself, articles on organization problems or new housing facilities are not automatically considered supportive of the UM, unless the needs of the latter are explicitly stressed. The strife and legitimacy of for instance HVB-homes for UM have an organic life on their own, narratives of these are not automatically considered supportive of the UM. This category has fitted well with the coding process, with rare cases of ambiguity, indicating high measurment validity.

#### A.G: CHALLENGES AND AMBIGUITIES

· Generally I have strived to be as mechanistic in my categorisation as possible, to try to strive for intersubjectivity and replicability. Still, in some cases, interpretative judgements have to be used, particularly deciding what is to be counted as an ethical/HR and materialistic/administrative frame. • Arson themes. Articles dealing with the numerous efforts to set fires to refugee housing or what is planned housing, does not automatically make UMs victims and the frame is not automatically ethical. To gualify for victim, there must be explicit wordings about individuals or groups suffering, i.e. victimization. Many cases of arson attempts are therefore materialistic/administrative, providing a generic frame of "problems at reception facilities", i.e. a challenge for society in general, not for UM. The line between these classifications is very fine. It is not always clear what function the news value rests upon, compassion or worry over general challenges in society.

• Planned refugee reception housing. At times popular protest against refugee and UM reception housing plans have been reported. Is this about UM at all? Activists regularly claim it is not, rather about practicalities, such as environmental protection, traffic or construction legislation, but suspicion can linger about the deeper, real motive for protests. I have decided to adhere to the general rule, if UM are mentioned in at least three sentences, the article concerns UM, otherwise not.

• Ethical/HR versus materialistic/administrive character are often difficult to assess. If clear thematic indications do not apply, the language used (neutral reporting or compassionate) will decide. Tabloid news pieces are mostly ethical, appealing to sentiments.

• When conflicting themes appear in the text, the frame set in headline/preamble defines dichomotic categorisation classes.

#### A.H: EXAMPLES OF AMBIGUOUS FRAME INTERPRETATION CASES

The categorisation scheme is made to show several dimensions of media portrayals of UM over time. However, at the heart of the categorisations – with their different and sometimes appearingly conflicting dimensions – are the core conflicting dimensions of frames that are either

A) positive/benevolent, or

B) negative/skeptical towards UM.

They fall back on two groups of generally traded recurring characteristics that in its extreme ideal types are either A) compassionate and percieving UM as children, victims of war, poverty and cruelty, and in need of our support, or B) hordes of fraudulant, grown men lying about their age in order to enter Sweden to abuse the welfare system, commit crime, bringing a misogynic culture, incompatible with Western values. These are the extreme poles of portrayal, and I hope that the categorisation scheme will show if there are signs of a general move from A to B in Swedish news journalism over time. Quite a number of articles fit in the compassionate A-frame, but none fits clearly in the B-frame, since such a portrayal would oppose the democratic and human rights values that professional news organizations adhere to. However, over time particularly opinion journalism has increasingly voiced "concerns" about the fears of financial strains on the welfare society, cultural challenges, fraudulent asylum applicants, then often referring to the need for a "middle" or "realistic" position" between compassion/open borders and refugee resistance. In news journalism, negative frames appear in a more implicit and neutral language.

Some frames are indeed hard to categorize: If one UM kills another, they are both offenders and victims. Classification decisions in mutually exclusive classes have then been made primarily according to which one of the stories, victim or perpertrator, that is dominating the piece (again: headline/preamble rules). If this is not clear, the subject role is categorized as "unclear/abstract".

When the police finds a lost nine-year old boy in Denmark (who was previously depicted as aggressive but also an alleged victim of police brutality in Sweden) is that considered supportive? In the case of SvD (2015-02-16), where mentions were made about childrens rights and suffering, the answer is yes. When SvD reported of the second boy, his friend, found in Denmark two days later (SvD 2015-02-16), but without mentions of suffering or strife, the answer is no. The classification of ethical/HR versus materialistic-administrative is subject to sometimes difficult judgement, particularly when it comes to crime or emotionally moving issues, as abuse or marriage with minors. Without doubt, whichever way you write about it, such issues are ethically moving, or "ethically primed", and they are then classified as ethical/HR. Cases of establishing HVB-homes for UM could certainly also be ethically

and sentimentally moving, particularly for local area residents, but unless written in a *sentimentally activating language*, such cases are considered materialistic-administrative.

Another caveat regards the difference in sentimental value and impact of different articles themes. An article about a knife attack certainly evokes more sentimental impact than an article about practicalities. The operationalization model does not take into account such differences. Few articles of highly sentimentally moving nature could have a degree of impact on perception of frames of UM presence that exceeds its limited prevalence. The stabbing of a young female HVB-home worker in Alingsås in Januari 2016 was such an incident. It appears huge when published, and in this case, it was thoroghly replayed in media. Other high profile incidents may only appear once, but still echo in the public sphere and in social media. The operationalization of my study does not reveal such difference in impact, but one should be aware that they do exist in the background.

Most of the time, the scheme works well, generally showing shifts between frames. Mainly the shifts are between focus on UMs needs versus needs/challenges of the reception system and how emphasis between these poles shifts over time. Ambiguities appear, sometimes because UM are both victims and perpetrators, sometimes because the frame is explicitly technical/administrative, whilst the underlying, motivating story could be one of threat or asylum system fraud.

\*Ulf Lundell, singer-songwriter/rock star, cancelled his concert at the Hultsfred festival 1991, and was later quoted to have said that "A cancelled concert is still a concert". This quote of seemingly warped logic was derived from a more elaborate actuall interview quote: "A cancelled concert also is a concert since it evokes feelings of regret, irritation and bitterness. And the cancelled concert is the only thing people talk about so they must mean something". (Amster, Harry, SvD Aug 28, 2015)

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Ja till flyplatser	5/3		3 Sydsvenskan		1						1				1		1	1	
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Sverige har blivit	20/8	2015	B Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
örvirring efter Arlövs	20/8	2015	B Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1		1		1
löte om nytt asylboende	23/8	2015			1									1				1		1		1
långa frågor om fly-bo	25/8		B Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
Situationen fortsatt ansträngd	25/8	2015			. 1	1		1						1				1		1		1
Ainistern: så här	25/8		B Sydsvenskan		1	1		'	1					-	1		1			1		1
						1			1						1		1					
Regeringen vill se	25/8	2015			1			1						1				1		1		1
SD avvisar S-krav	27/8	2015	.,		1								1	1				1		1		1
Desperat jakt	3/9	2015			1				1	1					1		1			1		1
In flykt över	4/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1				1		1		1
Bidra med pengar	4/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1			1		1			1		1
Carina Wutzler	8/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1	1			1						1		1			1		1
Boende utan lov	8/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
Id i asylboende	10/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
ler öppnar sina hem	10/9	2015			1				1			1			1		1			1		1
ommunen beredd att höja	11/9	2015	-		1			1						1				1		1		1
alet vid våra trösklar	12/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1		1			1		1			1	1	
															1			4		1	1	1
lisstänkt mordbrand	12/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1									1			-	1				
ns-fly okända	12/9		9 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1					1		1			1		1
e öppnade sin famn	13/9	2015	.,	1	1				1	1	1	1			1		1		1		1	
undapolisen	14/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1		1			1		1			1		1
nga fly får känna sig rädda	14/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1			1		1			1		1
et blir som en öppen dörr	14/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan	1	1				1			1			1		1			1		1
arnen tar alla våra	15/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1										1			1		1		1
kut jakt	18/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1				1					1			1			1		1
und förbereder	17/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
D:Bryt mot lagen	17/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1								1	1			1			1		1
Därför lockar Sverige	17/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1			1	1						1			1		1		1
Stadsdelsfest	21/9	2015		1	1				1			1			1		1			1		1
Kollo akutöppnar	22/9	2015			. 1	1								1	·					1		1
falmös insatser kritiseras	25/9	2015			1	1			1			1		1	1		1			1		1
			-,		1							1					1					
lyanlända slår rekord	25/9		9 Sydsvenskan	1				1							1			1		1		1
D vill stoppa			9 Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1		1		1
larn sova på golv	26/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1			1			1		1
arnärenden tar för lång tid	27/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
vårt för våldtagna män	29/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan	1			1		1	1		1			1		1			1		1
akläxa för Ekeroth	30/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1		1		1
ris på barnboenden	30/9	2015	9 Sydsvenskan		1			1						1				1		1		1
fter flera larm		2015 1	0 Sydsvenskan	1										1				1		1		1
kollokaler			0 Sydsvenskan	1				1						1				1		1		1
odar ska fånga upp			) Sydsvenskan	- ·	1			·						1				1		1		1
ängelset			) Sydsvenskan		1			1						1				1		1		1
					1			1						1						1		
yakrog			0 Sydsvenskan											1			-					
sylström			0 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1					1		1		1		1	
yktingvåg Vellinge			) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
yktingboende			0 Sydsvenskan		1			1	1			1		1				1		1		1
ndersökning brand	6/10	2015 1	0 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
igenheter stoppas	7/10	2015 1	0 Sydsvenskan		1													1		1		1
igenheter Sularpsfarmen	8/10	2015 1	O Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1		1		1
kten på 400 sovplatser			0 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		
akter vakar över fl			0 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1				1		1		1
mtanken värmer	9/10		) Sydsvenskan		1				1					-	1		1	- 1		1		1
									- 1					4	1		1	4				
und tar emot			) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
azzia Sularpsfarmen	9/10		3 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
arför mänsklig kedja?			0 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1			1		1			1		1
i har inga lösningar	10/10	2015 1	0 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
relleborg klarar helgen	10/10	2015 1	Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
länskligare Vellinge			0 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1		1			1			1		1
låste gå mkt fortare			0 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1
aoto gu mitt ionaic			) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1		1		1

	CATE Ar M	år källa	1 Settle	2Rece	3Secur 4	4Crimir	5Ecor	6.Huma	7.Back	8.Labou	HR-AC	SD AC	Abstra Victi	Settle Off	ender FRAM	E 1.Ethi	2. Mate	sUBJ.	1Quote	2Unqu	1Namec	2.Anony SUF
Sporthall blir fly-bo	13/10 <b>2015</b> 10	Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Övergiven skola	14/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Fler flyktingar på Pilgården	14/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Nära tusen barn försvunnit	15/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1				1					1				1			1		1
Flyktingbarn till Foteviken	16/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1				1					1				1			1		1
Boende vid skola	17/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Kryssningsfartyg	17/10 <b>2015</b> 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Dom river upp kom.	20/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Enklare process	21/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Kyrkans förskola	21/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Malmö, hemliga boenden	21/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Sporthall förvandlas	21/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Prognosen skrivs upp	21/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Malmö på knäna	22/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Folkparken blir hem	23/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Svårt få koll	24/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Nytt boende	24/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Ett dygn	25/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1		1			1			1		1	
Hösten 2015 historisk	25/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1				1					1			1				1		1
Trettiotalet går igen	27/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1				1	1				1			1				1		1
Vellinge bygger	28/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Djafar tog brandsläckaren		) Sydsvenskan		1					1				1			1			1		1	
Hätsk diskussion		) Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1			1		1
M vill återinföra	30/10 2015 10	) Sydsvenskan		1											1		1			1		1
Det finns inget hemligt		) Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1			1		1
Flyktingbarn folkparken	2/11 2015 1			1									1				1			1		1
Anmäler sig själv	3/11 2015 1			1				1					1				1			1		1
SD överklagar beslut		1 Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1			1		1
Tårarna flödade		Sydsvenskan	1					1	1				1			1				1		1
Fråga om flyktingar	4/11 2015 1			1									1				1			1		1
200 nya flyktingbostäder	4/11 2015 1	-	1										1				1			1		1
Aldersbedömning	6/11 <b>2015</b> 1			1		1			1						1	1				1		1
Vill ha paus	6/11 <b>2015</b> 1			1	1								1				1			1		1
Trelleborg begär stöd	6/11 <b>2015</b> 1			1	1								1				1			1		1
Alltfler afghaner begär asyl	6/11 <b>2015</b> 1			1					1		1			1		1				1		1
Här vill jag ha en framtid	7/11 2015 1	-	1					1	1					1		1			1		1	
Akut läge	8/11 2015 1			1	1								1									
Bara du kan påverka	8/11 2015 1		1					1						1		1			1		1	
Expertgrupp synar bränderna	9/11 2015 1			1	1							1	1				1			1		1
Flyktingbarnen vilar ut	10/11 2015 1			1				1	1		1		1			1				1		1
Fyra knivskurna	10/11 2015 1		1		1	1									1		1			1		1
Sverige inför gränskontroller	12/11 2015 1			1	1			1	1				1				1			1		1
Flyktingbarn i tält	13/11 2015 1	-		1	1								1				1			1		1
Polisen får rejäl förstärkning	13/11 2015 1			1	1	1							1				1			1		1
Minst 2000 barn försvunna	13/11 2015 1			1	1			1	1		1		1			1				1		1
Paviljong blir boende	14/11 2015 1 <sup>-</sup>			1									1				1			1		
Bygglov klart	14/11 2015 1			1									1				1			1		1
Starkt och effektfullt		Sydsvenskan						1	1				1			1				1		1
Femtio vände i gränskontrollen		Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Stort intresse för god man		Sydsvenskan		1				1	1				. 1			1				1		1
Malmö räknar med 82 milj	17/11 2015 1			1									1				1			. 1		1
Lomma behöver fler hem	18/11 2015 1			1	1								1				1			1		1
Flyktingström mattas inte	18/11 2015 1	-		1									1				1			1		1
Kommuner förbereder	19/11 2015 1			1									1				1			1		1
Barn får en lapp	19/11 2015 1	-		1				1			1		. 1			1				. 1		1
Kulturpengar till flyktingbarn	19/11 2015 1	-		1			1				1		1			1				1		1
Hon vill bussa till fler	19/11 2015 1			1									1				1			. 1		1
Gränskontroller dämpar		Sydsvenskan		1	1			1	1		1		. 1				1			. 1		1
Flyktingar får sova i kyrkan		Sydsvenskan		1				. 1	. 1		. 1		1			1				1		1
Barn möter barn		Sydsvenskan	1					. 1	. 1				1			1				. 1		1
Ventorskapet		Sydsvenskan	1					1						1		1			1	·	1	
Fusen platser		Sydsvenskan		1									1			· ·	1		·	1		1
så kan lommabor hjälpa		Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1		1			1	. · · ·			1		1
lårt tryck		Sydsvenskan		1									1			<u> </u>	1			1		1
ljälplinje	26/11 2015 1		1	1				1	1		1		1			1				1		1
lighanistan oroas		Sydsvenskan	· ·						- 1		'		1				1			1		1
Barn ska skickas		Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
				1							1		-							1		1
Barn får inte sjukvård		Sydsvenskan	4	1				1	1		1		1			1						
lyktingbarn i fokus		Sydsvenskan	1										1				1			1		1
En storm av hunger	29/11 2015 1	-						1	1				1			1			1		_	1
God man hjälp	29/11 2015 1	-	1					1	1		1			1		1			1		1	
Tomt i tomelilla	30/11 2015 1			1				1					1			1				1		1
		1 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1
Staffanstorp rustar	30/11 2015 1																					
	3/12 2015 12	2 Sydsvenskan 2 Sydsvenskan		1		1							1		1		1			1		1

Attachm. B, ARTICLES	DATE	Ar N	lår källa	1 Settle	2Rece	3Secur	4Crimin	5Ecor	6.Huma	7.Back	8.Labou	HR-AC	SD AC	Abstra Vio	tir Settle	Offender Fl	RAME 1.	Ethi 2	. Mate S	SUBJ.	1Quote	2Unau	1Name	2.Anony S	SUPPOR
Malmö stad anmäler			2 Sydsvenskan		1				-					1					1			1		1	
Samordningen funderar bättre i J.			2 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1			1			1				1		1	
Stor brist på boenden	14/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Tre unga män åtalas	16/12	<b>2015</b> 1	2 Sydsvenskan	1			1									1			1			1		1	
Asylboende förstört	17/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1	1	1			1					1			1				1		1	
Nya boenden	17/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
300 flyktingar	18/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Fler boenden	22/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Totalstopp	23/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Asylsökandens tvätt brändes	27/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan	1											1				1			1		1	
	27/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1		1			1			1			1		1		
Någon måste göra det	28/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1					1			1		1	
Under perioder	28/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1										1				1			1		1	
Sverige var vårt mål	28/12	2015 1	2 Sydsvenskan		1	1				1					1				1		1		1		
Rekordstor ökning	2/1 2	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1					1			1		1	
Misstänkt för våldtäkt	8/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan				1									1			1			1		1	
Stor osäkerhet	8/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Politiker får inte veta	9/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1	1							1		1				1			1		1	
Det finns en mening	10/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1						1					1			1			1		1		
Malmö kritiserar	10/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Gäng ofredade kvinnor	12/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan			1	1									1						1		1	
Kommunchef skeptisk	12/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan			1	1									1		1				1		1	
Över hälften nobbar	13/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1					1			1		1	
Akut brist	13/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Färre jobb	16/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Brister i omsorgen	16/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1		1			1			1				1		1	
Övergreppen som skakade Europa	17/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan			1	1									1		1				1		1	
Inga anmälningar om sexofredanden		2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1		1	1									1		1				1		1	
Ge ek sexualkurs	18/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1			. 1			1						1		1				. 1		1	
Malmö låter gifta barn	19/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1			1		1	1		1			1			1				1		1	
Liberaler vill	20/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1			1		1	1		1			1			1				1		1	
Malmö JO-anmäls	20/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1			. 1		. 1	. 1		1			1			1				. 1		1	
Gatubarn skickas tillbaka	20/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan				. 1									1			1			. 1		1	
Alhem	21/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1			. 1		1	1		1			1			1				. 1		1	
Pojke anhölls för mord	26/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	· ·			1									1			1			1		1	
Föräldrar krävde besked	27/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1										1					1			. 1		1	
Kraftig ökning av trafficking	28/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan				1			1					1			1				1		1	
Få nyanlända kom	28/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			. 1			1				1		1	
15-åringen häktades	29/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan				1					'				1			1			1		1	
Fler väktare utbildas	29/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan			1	1									1			1			1		1	
När unga möter unga	30/1	2016	1 Sydsvenskan	1					1						1			1			1		1		
Fler ska få sin ålder kontrollerad	1/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1		1									1			1			1		1	
Flyktinghem vid förskola	3/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1	1	1							1				1				1		1	
Flera tusen barn	3/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1				1				1		1	
Flickor larmar om kränkningar	3/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1	1									1		1				1		1	
Tomter kan bli flyktinghem	4/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1										1					1			1		1	
Flyktingkrisen kan ge nya gränsh	5/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Nyanlända får busskort	6/2	2016	2 Sydsvenskan	1				1						1					1			1		1	
Givmildheten	6/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1			1			1				1		1	
Inkallad pensionär	7/2	2016	2 Sydsvenskan	1					1		1	1			1				1			1		1	
Vill peka på	7/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Överskott av män våld	7/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1	1									1		1				1		1	
Vi måste skapa mer plats	8/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			1			1				1		1	
Liberala kvinnor	8/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1	1									1		1				1		1	
Flyktinglag basket	8/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			1			1				1		1	
Fastighetsägare tar strid	10/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1	1								1					1			1		1	
Politikerna förstår	10/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1								1					1			1		1	
Bjärredbor ger stöd	14/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1				1			1			1			1				1		1	
Den dåliga bilden uppblåst	15/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1				1						1		1				1		1	
Nyanlända jämställdhet	16/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1		1										1		1				1		1	
300 till Vellinge	17/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Tabu att tala om det	17/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Ny akutbudget	17/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1			1						1					1			1		1	
Hot mot boende	22/2		2 Sydsvenskan	1			1		1			1			1			1				1		1	
En död, en utvisad, en friad			2 Sydsvenskan			1	. 1									1		1				. 1		1	
Nytt boende vänta	24/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Nytt HVB	24/2		2 Sydsvenskan		. 1									1					1			. 1		1	
Fler ensamk vill hem	28/2		2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Kommuner skyldiga	29/2		2 Sydsvenskan 2 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Moduler ska ge	29/2		3 Sydsvenskan		1									1					1			1		1	
Två gripna	1/3		3 Sydsvenskan 3 Sydsvenskan		1		1								1			1				1		1	
	2/3			1	1		1								'	1		-	1			1		1	
Vi måste skapa mer plats			3 Sydsvenskan	1	1	1	1		1			1			1	1		1	1			1		1	
Starka reaktioner	313	2010	3 Sydsvenskan		1	1	1		1			1			1			1						1	
Starka reaktioner	10/2	2040													1										
Starka reaktioner Arlöv ett mini-sverige Fler tjejer	10/3 10/3		<ul><li>3 Sydsvenskan</li><li>3 Sydsvenskan</li></ul>	1					1			1			1			1			1	1	1	1	

Attachm. B, ARTICLE	_		lår källa		2Rece	3Secur	4Crimir	5Ecor		7.Back	< 8.Labou		SD AC			Offender FRAM		2. Mate	SUBJ.	1Quote		1Name		UPPOR
lon valde att lämna	17/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			1		1				1		1	
olkparken Lovisaskolan	19/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
Svårt få personal	21/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan	1										1				1			1		1	
Anhörighotellet	22/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
/åldtäkter mörkas inte	23/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan		1										1		1				1		1	
HVB-hem underkändes	26/3	2016	3 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
Nyanlända till Hvilan	26/3		3 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
Afghanska barn fastnar	28/3		3 Sydsvenskan						1	1					1		1				. 1		1	
Kommunen sprider boenden	30/3				1									1				1			1		1	
	-		-,		1																			
Debatten slog hål på rykte	1/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1						1			1	1			1				1		1	
Projektet ska ge flyt	4/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			1		1				1	1		
Kraftigt ökad oro	5/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1						1					1		1				1		1	
/Iva Johansson	10/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
Jtbildning på ett år	10/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
Ekeroth fick rätt	14/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan		1								1	1				1			1		1	
/ad ska du göra med	15/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan						1			1			1		1				1		1	
aktsäsongen	17/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan				1		1						1		1				1		1	
/i fick inget gehör	19/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1					1			1			1		1				1		1	
Så här ska de nyanlända	19/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1										1				1			1		1	
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ly metod Det här är mitt nya liv	21/4 23/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan	1	1	1			1	1					1	1	1			1		1	1	
,	-		4 Sydsvenskan	1						1										1		1		
Boende för barn	26/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan		1				1						1		1				1		1	
Boende för flyktingar	29/4	2016	4 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
Sv personal till Marocko	2/5		5 Sydsvenskan	1		1								1				1			1		1	
ler nya bostäder Svedala	4/5	2016	5 Sydsvenskan	1										1				1			1		1	
/arm mjölk	7/5	2016	5 Sydsvenskan	1		1									1			1			1		1	
Så ska staffanstorp	10/5	2016	5 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
Obefogad rädsla	11/5	2016	5 Sydsvenskan	1					1	1					1		1				1		1	
lyktingbarn loppispengar	15/4	2016	5 Sydsvenskan						1			1			1		1				1		1	
EKs journaler	21/5	2016	5 Sydsvenskan	1											1			1			1		1	
lon ska fixa snabbfil	29/5		5 Sydsvenskan	1							1				1		1				1		1	
IVB-hemmens säkerhet	2/6		6 Sydsvenskan		1	1	1									1	1				. 1		1	
De har hittat hem	5/6		6 Sydsvenskan	1		,			1			1			1		1				1		1	
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Ensamkommande triss	6/6		6 Sydsvenskan	1											1		1			1		1		
Rasistlapp	8/6		6 Sydsvenskan		1					1					1		1				1		1	
Dyster framtid	9/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan						1	1					1		1			1		1		
lur ser du på framtiden	10/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan	1											1		1			1		1		
und får straffavgift	14/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan		1									1				1			1		1	
lyktingbarn	17/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan						1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
lusentals ålderstestas	18/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan		1											1		1			1		1	
3O ska intervjua	22/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan		1				1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
IO -gifta barn	26/6	2016	6 Sydsvenskan	1			1			1					1		1				1		1	
ngen hörde varningarna	09/7	2014	7 Aftonbladet	1			1			1					1		1				1		1	
Så säger M-topparna	23/8	2014	8 Aftonbladet		1									1				1			1		1	
De kräver hjälp	-		8 Aftonbladet		1									1				1			1		1	
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olk här ute skriker	-			1							1		1								1			
ngen är förvånad			0 Aftonbladet	1					1		1				1		1				1		1	
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lag vill inte (Yara)	5/2 2	2015	2 Aftonbladet	1			1		1	1					1		1				1	1		
Spårlöst försvunna	12/2	2015	2 Aftonbladet				1									1		1			1		1	
Malmöolisens uttalande (nyhetskr)	12/2	2015	2 Aftonbladet				1			1				1			1				1		1	
Pojkarna letar	13/2	2015	2 Aftonbladet							1					1		1				1	1		
Såda försvunna hittats			2 Aftonbladet							1					1		1				1		1	
Samhället skulle ta hand om			2 Aftonbladet		1					1					1		1				. 1		1	
lan hotade att komma hem			3 Aftonbladet		1									1				1			1		1	
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De kom ensamma	-			1					1			1											1	
Dribblas barnen bort /nyh-krön)	22/5		5 Aftonbladet		1					1					1		1				1		1	
Aisstänkt mordbrand			8 Aftonbladet		1		1								1		1				1		1	
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ommunerna får vänta	21/8		8 Aftonbladet		1			1						1				1			1		1	
ar emot ett barn i timmen	21/8	2015	8 Aftonbladet		1	1								1				1			1		1	
rivata boenden finns	21/8	2015	8 Aftonbladet		1									1				1			1		1	
000 barn	22/8	2015	8 Aftonbladet		1									1				1			1		1	
arför kommer	22/8	2015	8 Aftonbladet		1	1				1				1				1			1		1	
Pkänd pojke död	29/8		8 Aftonbladet		1		1			1					1		1				1		1	
De vågar inte lita	3/9		9 Aftonbladet		1				1	1		1			1		1			1		1		
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lilden på treårige Aylan	4/9		9 Aftonbladet		1				1	1					1		1				1	1		
öretagsresa ställs in	5/9		9 Aftonbladet						1	1		1			1		1				1	1		
'i skulle till Sverige	5/9	2015	9 Aftonbladet						1	1					1		1				1	1		
Sår inte att värja sig	5/9	2015	9 Aftonbladet						1	1		1			1		1				1	1		
öfven talar	6/9	2015	9 Aftonbladet						1			1			1		1				1		1	
lela landet hjälper till	6/9		9 Aftonbladet		1				1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			9 Aftonbladet		1				1	1		1			1		1				1		1	

Attachm. B, ARTICLE	S DATE	Ar	Måi	r källa	1 Settle	2Rece	3Secur 4Crim	nir 5Ec	or 6.Huma	7.Back	8.Labou HR-AC SD	AC Abstra V	ictir Settle Offer	der FRAME	1.Ethi	2. Mate	SUBJ.	1Quote	2Unau	1Namec	2.Anony	SUPPORTI
11-åriga Agnes	7/9			Aftonbladet		1			1	1	1		1		1				1		1	
Vill öka kontrollen	2/10	2015	10	Aftonbladet		1						1				1			1		1	
Bor på gatan och begår brott	7/10	2015	10	Aftonbladet				1		1				1		1		1			1	
Hellre dör jag	8/10	2015	10	Aftonbladet			1	1	1				1		1			1		1		1
Krisplanen	10/10	2015	10	Aftonbladet		1						1				1			1		1	
Flyktingbarn utnyttjas	11/10	0 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1				1			1		1				1		1	1
Tokiga regler	12/10	0 2015	10	Aftonbladet	1				1				1		1				1		1	1
Märks att de är riktiga	12/10	0 2015	10	Aftonbladet	1				1				1		1				1		1	1
Tar 84000	14/1	2015	10	Aftonbladet		1	1		1			1				1			1		1	
Tävling i minst empati (nyhkrönik)	21/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1		1	1	1			1		1				1		1	1
Räknar med 30 000	22/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1				1	1		1		1				1		1	1
Vår kapacitet	22/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1	1					1				1			1		1	
Fotbollen är som ett gemensamt	23/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet	1				1		1		1		1			1		1		1
Vi hinner inte med	23/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1	1					1				1			1		1	
Ynkryggar	29/10	3 2015	10	Aftonbladet		1	1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
Särskild enhet	1/11	2015	11	Aftonbladet		1						1				1			1		1	
Här får Sara, 11	5/11		11	Aftonbladet	1	1		1				1			1				1	1		1
Vi kan inte	25/1			Aftonbladet		1								1		1			1		1	
Ger telefoner	26/1	1 2015	11	Aftonbladet		1			1	1	1		1		1				1		1	1
Mamma bara en röst	6/12			Aftonbladet		1				1			1		1			1		1		
EK blev placerad	9/12			Aftonbladet		1			1	1			1		1				1		1	
En man gripen				Aftonbladet	1			1						1	1				1		1	
17 klagomål				Aftonbladet		1	1	1		1			1		1				1		1	
Unga på flykt				Aftonbladet	1				1				1			1			1		1	1
Filmade offret				Aftonbladet				1	_					1	1				1		1	
Jag har själv kallat det		2 2015			1				1	1			1		1				1		1	1
Vill ha tuffare tag	17/1			Aftonbladet				1						1	1				1		1	
Kan ha legat döda	25/1		1	Aftonbladet				1						1	1				1		1	
Stor sorg o ilska	26/1		1	Aftonbladet		1		1						1	1				1		1	
Knivbråk	26/1		1	Aftonbladet		1		1						1	1				1		1	
Alexandra var underbar	27/1		1	Aftonbladet		1		1	1					1	1				1		1	
Operatioin integration	30/1		1	Aftonbladet	1				1				1		1			1		1		1
EK tog guld	2/2				1				1				1		1				1		1	
Jag gjorde vad jag kunde	4/2		2		1			1	1		1		1		1			1		1		1
Reportage Erik Niva	6/2		2		1			1	1				1		1				1		1	1
Sofia har ensamt	7/2		2	aftonbladet	1				1		1		1		1				1		1	
Driver eget asylföretag	10/2		2			1						1			1				1		1	
Experten: kan strida mot lagen	10/2					1		1							1				1		1	
Jag ber för den	10/2			aftonbladet	1				1	1	1		1		1			1		1		1
Vi kunde inte	13/2			aftonbladet	1	1	1		1			1	1		1	1			1		1	
Det brinner inga Klassen i tårar	13/2 14/2		2	aftonbladet aftonbladet	1				1		1		1		1			1	1	1	1	1
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Hon köpte ett hus	15/2				1	- 1			1	1	1		1		1				1		1	1
Så mår barnen I Norberg	17/2		2		1				1				1		1				1		1	
Jan Emanuel					1	1						1	1		- 1	1			1		1	1
Många som blir chockade	25/2 1/3		3		1	- '			1				1		1	1			1		1	1
Daily Mail (nyhetskrönika)	8/3			aftonbladet	1			1						1	1				1		1	1
Lockade ut pojke				aftonbladet	'									1	1				1		1	
TV4-profil: ålderstesta	18/3					1		1						1	1				1		1	
Kanske för välorganiserade	27/3			aftonbladet	1	1		•		1			1	•	1			1	1	1	1	1
snart ska de lämna	12/4			aftonbladet	1					1			1		1	1			1	,	1	
Stad med växtvärk	13/4				1					· ·		1				1			1		1	
Väljer Hells angels	12/5				<u> </u>	1	1	1				+ +		1	1				1		1	
Blev attackerad	12/5							1						1					1		. 1	
Larm: flyktingbarn utnyttjas	26/5			aftonbladet	1			1	1	1			1		1				1		. 1	
Chef utreds	17/6			aftonbladet		1		1		1			1		1				1		1	
Handlingsplanens	22/6			aftonbladet		1			1		1		1		1				1		. 1	
- 9-P - 11-11-						•																
Jakten på langarna	14/7	2014	7	Expressen			1	1						1	1				1		1	
Jag är rädd	1/8					1			1	1	1		1		1			1		1		1
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Är de här 167	11/9				1				1	1	1		. 1		1			1		1		1
Britta Svensson: Sista bilden				Expressen	1			1	1	1			1		1			•	1		1	
Flyktingbarnen miljardindustri	7/11			Expressen		1			1			1				1			1		. 1	
När spice kom till fagersta	8/11			Expressen		•		1		1		+ +	1		1			1		1		
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   | 1 Settle 2   | Rece   | 3Secu  | 4Crimin  | 5Ecor   
  | 6.Huma   | 7.Back  
  | 8.Labou HF  | -AC SD  | AC Abstra   | Victir Settle  
   | Offender FRAM   
   | E 1.Ethi 2. Mat   | e SUBJ. 1Quo   | te 2Un   
   | qu 1Name  | 2.Anony SUF  | IPPOR  |
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| 16/8        | 2015  | 8  | Expressen   
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	DATE		Aår källa	1 Settle	ZRece			5ECO	6.нита	7.васк	8.Labou HR-A	C SD AC	ADStra	VICtir	Settle Offender FRA		. Matel SUBJ	I. IQuote		iname		PPORI
Beslutet: misstänkte mördaren			2 Expressen			1	1								1	1			1		1	
De tjänar mest	17	2016	2 Expressen		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Kaos vid möte	18	2016	2 Expressen		1								1			1			1		1	
Två åtalas för barnvåldtäkt	19	2016	2 Expressen				1								1	1			1		1	
Löfvens krav	23	2016	2 Expressen		1		1								1	1			1		1	
Mördad på asylboende	5	2016	3 Expressen		1		1								1	1			1		1	
Hetsjakt på Sverige	9	2016	3 Expressen	1											1	1			1		1	
23.15 går lamnet			3 Expressen		1		1								1	1			1		1	
Då: lät asylbarn svälta			3 Expressen		1			1		1				1		1			1		1	
S pressas om åldersbed	19		3 Expressen		1		1								1		1		1		1	
Drömmen som dog				1						1						1	1		1		1	
		2016		1						1					1	1						
Mest jobbigt med födelsedagar		2016	3 Expressen		1				1						1		1		1		1	
Gamla skyttekungar	30	2016	3 Expressen		1				1						1	1			1		1	
I morgon ska de skickas tillbaka	3	2016	4 Expressen		1	1				1				1		1		1			1	
Elvaåriga fotbollskillar	10	2016	4 Expressen	1			1							1		1			1		1	
Högerextrema patrullen	11	2016	4 Expressen		1		1			1				1		1			1		1	
Översyn	20	2016	4 Expressen		1		1								1		1		1		1	
Nazisterna fick mothugg	2	2016	5 Expressen						1				1			1			1		1	
Boende: hellre hells angels	11	2016	5 Expressen		1	1							1			1			1		1	
Sol och bad			5 Expressen	1			1			1				1		1			1		1	
Ahmed kan hamna på gatan			5 Expressen	1						1				1		1		1		1		
Kommunalrådet i Nacka			5 Expressen	1	1	1							1	- 1		1		1	1	· ·	1	
					1	I				1			1	1		1					1	
Död flicka			6 Expressen				1							1					1			
Matcher ställdes in			6 Expressen	1			1			1				1		1			1		1	
Nytt hakkors			6 Expressen	1			1			1				1		1			1		1	
Expressen-reportage	7	2016	6 Expressen	1						1				1		1			1		1	
Sverige kritiseras	9	2016	6 Expressen		1				1	1				1		1			1		1	
Här är de som ska prata	10	2016	6 Expressen	1						1					1	1		1		1		
Två unga knivskurna	16	2016	6 Expressen		1	1	1								1	1			1		1	
Julia skars i ansiktet	22	2016	6 Expressen	1		1	1								1	1			1		1	
Ersättningar för EK sänks	23	2016	6 Expressen		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Skola och socialtjänst		2014	7 Svenska Dagbl	1			1			1				1			1		1		1	
Grannprotest			7 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		. 1		. 1	
			0										1				1		1		1	
Nej till Texas gränstrupper		2014	8 Svenska Dagbl		1	1																
Du kan vara individualistisk			8 Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Starkt flyktingreportage			10 Svenska Dagbl		1				1					1		1			1		1	
Kommuner kan tvingas	7	2014	11 Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1		1		1	1	1	1		
Gode män räcker inte till	17	2014	11 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Byskolan där världen möts	23	2014	11 Svenska Dagbl		1					1					1	1		1		1		
Asylsökande räddar Pajala	3	2015	2 Svenska Dagbl	1											1		1		1		1	
Barn i isolering oroar FN	5	2015	2 Svenska Dagbl		1				1					1		1			1		1	
POlisen backar	13	2015	2 Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1		1			1		1	
Försvunnen nioåring	14	2015	2 Svenska Dagbl							1				1		1			1		1	
M-kommuner tar emot fler flykting			2 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Båda pojkarna återfunna i DK			2 Svenska Dagbl	1						1			1				1		. 1		. 1	
Bo slår larm om flyktingbarn			2 Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1				1		1			1		1	
			_	-																		
Larm om självmord	-	2015	3 Svenska Dagbl	1					1	1				1		1			1		1	
Flyktingpojke omhändertogs			3 Svenska Dagbl	1									1				1		1		1	
64 milj till mångfald			4 Svenska Dagbl	1				1		1					1		1		1		1	
Läkare möter	23		4 Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1				1		1			1		1	
Barnen som inte finns	10	2015	5 Svenska Dagbl		1		1			1				1		1			1		1	
Akutplan	23	2015	5 Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Succen tvingade Ahman fly	23	2015	5 Svenska Dagbl	1						1					1	1			1		1	
Jag visste inte	10	2015	6 Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1		1			1		1	
Nya m-förslag			6 Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Ensamma flyktingbarn ökar			7 Svenska Dagbl		. 1								. 1				1		. 1		1	
Platserna för EK räcker inte			7 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
			_												4							
Vi måste tänka annorlunda			7 Svenska Dagbl	1						1			_		1	1	4		1		1	
Skenande belopp			7 Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Färre söker asyl			7 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
1400			8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Nödrop från M-verket	19	2015	8 Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Flyktingbarn akut	20	2015	8 Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Arbete under ständig press	20	2015	8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Regeringen krävs på	20	2015	8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Ny boendeform ska ge avlastn			8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Barn riskerar att fara illa	21		8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Ny elevström			8 Svenska Dagbl		1										1		1	1		1	· ·	
•			_		1								1		-		1	1	1		4	
Brist i stöd			8 Svenska Dagbl																		1	
Skolor under ökat tryck			8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Bristen akut på tolkar			8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Tolkning på distans	28	2015	8 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Desperation när flykten tar stopp	4	2015	9 Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1		1		1		1		
Så hjälper svenskar	6	2015	9 Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1				1		1			1		1	
Det är så fruktansvärt			9 Svenska Dagbl		1				1					1		1			1		1	
and a second second			9 Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1		1		1		1		

	DATE	A	Mar	källa	1 Settle	2Rece 3	Secur 4	Crimin	5Ecor 6	5.Huma	7.Back 8	S.Labou HR-	AC SD	AC ADSI	VICIII Sellie	Offender FRAME	. 1.2010 2.	Iviatel SOBJ		2011qui i	invanie i	Anony Sor	
Larm om ensamk flb.	12	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1					1		1		1		1			1		1	
Finland oftare målet	19	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1				1			1		1		1		1		1		
Org efterlyser mera hjälp	20	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1				1			1		1			1		1		1	
Täljer guld	28	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Brister vid boenden	28	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Hisnande pris för flb	30	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Företag måste gå med vinst	30	2015	9	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Aleris hyror väcker reaktioner	1	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Bättre samordning				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Attendo ökar lönsamheten				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Ministrar rasar mot vinsterna				Svenska Dagbl		. 1			. 1					1				1		1		1	
Aleris redo sänka pris				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
				_					1													1	
Kriggrupp tillsatt för flbarn				Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1			
Marocko ointresserat av flb				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Utan oss hade allt havererat				Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Regeringen öppnar för tältläger				Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Inlåsta leksaker				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Oro för oseriösa företag	14	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1				1		1		1		1	1	1	1	
Privata vårdjätttare rika	14	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Karlsson kritiserar vårdrullning	14	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Tusen barn avvek	15	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
SKL vill att boenden blir statliga	15	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Ojämn press på kommuner	16	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Bränder på asylboenden	20	2015	10	Svenska Dagbl		1	1	1						1				1		1		1	
Fler yngre barn flyr				Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1		1			1		1	
Vaktbolag ska börja skydda				Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Yngre barn har behov av mer st				Svenska Dagbl		1				1			1		1		1			1		1	
När polisen inte kan skydda				Svenska Dagbl		1	1	1		•				1			1			1		1	
Ännu en brand	30			Svenska Dagbl		1		1						1				1		1		1	
Kostnad: 5 krono perdag				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
M kräver att flb åldersbedöms				-		1										1		1		1		1	
				Svenska Dagbl																			
Unga afghaner flyr t Sv		2015		Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Undantag ska ge HVB				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Stödhem ny plan för ek		2015		Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Sveriges gräns är nådd				Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Sämre kontroll på EU-migranter				Svenska Dagbl			1							1				1		1		1	
Farofylld flykt	8	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1				1		1		1		1		
Lång kö för att bli god man	11	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl	1					1				1				1		1		1	
Attendo på väg till börsen	11	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Från öppna hjärtan till grkontrol	14	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Brister i arbetssätt möter kritik	17	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1					1				1			1		1		1	
Ideella krafter erbjuder	22	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1		1		1			1		1	
Kommuner kan få barn utk	18	2015	11	Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Brist i resurser för EF	1	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1		1		1			1		1	
Barn på flykt får det sämre	3	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1		1		1		1		1		
Vi har plats	4	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1									1			1		1		1	
Afghansk president	5	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Krav på HVB-hem				Svenska Dagbl		1							1	1				1		1		1	
Planerat norskt flybo i brand	7	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1		1						1				1		1		1	
Fly-barn får nej				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Malmö anmäler mottagande				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Ett trettiotal bränder				Svenska Dagbl		1		1						1				1		1		1	
Mottagandet av barn brister				Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1	- '	1		1	· ·		1		1	
En värktablett kan betyda				Svenska Dagbi Svenska Dagbi		1				1	1		1		1		1		1		1		
						1			1	1	1				1		1	1	1	1		1	
Asylmarknad				Svenska Dagbl					1		1												
Flyktingars boende stängs				Svenska Dagbl		1									1			1		1		1	
Shekarabi: vi har inte koll				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Granskningen i korthet				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Hård kritik av upphandlingarna				Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1	-	1		1	
Skollokalerna räcker inte				Svenska Dagbl	1										1			1	1		1		
Allt färre ensamkommande				Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Boendekris slår mot flyktingbarn				Svenska Dagbl	1										1			1		1		1	
Ansträngt läge för kommuner	22	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Flest barn från Afgh	22	2015	12	Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Asylgranskningen	1	2016	1	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Möten präglade av mörker o ljus	1	2016	1	Svenska Dagbl		1			1					1				1		1		1	
Oväntat stor ökning av asyl-b	2	2016	1	Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1		1		1	
Dansk oro för fb		2016		Svenska Dagbl		1									1		1			1		1	
Många kan inte söka asyl		2016		Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1		1		1			1		1	
Svensk kvinnosyn på schemat		2016		Svenska Dagbl	1			1		•	•		·   -		. 1		1		1		1		
15-åring anhållen, knivattack		2010			1	1		1							1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	
				Svenska Dagbl													4	-					
Personal HVB-hem otrygga		2016		Svenska Dagbl		1	1	1								1	1			1		1	
HVB-hem drivs utan tillstånd		2016		Svenska Dagbl		1	1							1				1		1		1	
Unga fl varnades		2016		Svenska Dagbl		1		1			1				1		1			1		1	
Ygeman vill kunna låsa in FB	3	2016	2	Svenska Dagbl		1	1	1							1		1			1		1	
Att sätta hårt mot hårt låser hatet	6	2016	2	Svenska Dagbl	1					1	1		1			1	1			1		1	

Attachm. B, ARTICLES	DATE	Ar	Mår källa	1 Settle	2Rece	3Secur	4Crimin	5Ecor	6.Huma	7.Back	8.Labou HR	AC SD	AC Abstr	Victir	r Settl∉ Offender	r FRAME	1.Ethi 2. M	atel SUBJ.	1Quote	2Unqu 1	Name	2.Anony SU	JPPORTI
Kinberg Batra mötte polis	11	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1		1	1						1				1			1		1	
De brydde sig inte om mig	12	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1			1		1	1				1			1		1			1	1
Barnministern oroad	14	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1			1		1			1		1			1		1		1		1
Skuldsatt fick ta emot fem barn	15	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl		1								1				1			1		1	
Ökade krav på skärpt kontroll	16	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl		1								1					1		1		1	
Cirkus utan gränser	17	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1					1			1		1			1			1		1	1
Företagen ljuger, fam sviker	17	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl		1				1					1			1		1		1		1
Famijehemsbarn blir handelsvara	17	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl		1			1				1		1			1			1		1	1
Här slår inte lärarna eleverna	19	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1						1					1		1		1		1		1
Tillsyn av familjehem	20	2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1				1	1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Tusen barn placerades		2016	2 Svenska Dagbl		1				1					1			1			1		1	1
Färre barn vågade vittna	21		2 Svenska Dagbl	1			1		1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Skärpt ton i flyktingdebatt		2016	2 Svenska Dagbl	1			. 1		1	. 1		1		1			1			1		1	. 1
Mer pengar behövs		2010	2 Svenska Dagbi 2 Svenska Dagbi		1			1					1				-	1		1		1	
		2010	3 Svenska Dagbi		1		1						1		1			1		1		1	
Tvivel kring SD-uppgift Alla nyanlända borde gå kurs		2010	3 Svenska Dagbi	1									1				1	1		1		1	
			_														1			1			
Mansöverskott		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1	1								1							1	4	1	
Barn värvas		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl					1					1				1		1		1		1
Regeringens förslag ogenomtänkt		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl		1				1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Nyanlända unga jämställdhet		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1											1		1			1		1	
Barnen utelämnade		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl		1				1			1		1			1			1		1	1
I mardrömmen börjar flykten om		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1						1				1			1		1		1		1
Ökad oro hos ek		2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1					1	1				1			1		1		1		1
Allt fler söker hjälp	16	2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1					1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Fotboll där seger inte är målet	16	2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1					1						1		1		1		1		1
Nya livet i Sverige	25	2016	3 Svenska Dagbl	1					1						1		1		1		1		1
Ny modell ska fördela	4	2016	4 Svenska Dagbl		1								1					1		1		1	
Flyktingbarn i flyttkarusell	4	2016	4 Svenska Dagbl		1								1					1		1		1	
Det börjar inte brinna på tre	10	2016	4 Svenska Dagbl		1		1						1					1		1		1	
Skolan är bra	14	2016	4 Svenska Dagbl	1				1							1			1	1		1		
Oro för vård	15	2016	4 Svenska Dagbl		1			1						1				1		1		1	1
M vill spara		2016	4 Svenska Dagbl	1				1					1					1		1		1	
Boxningssäcken hans räddning		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl	1					1	1					1		1		1		1		1
Flyktingbarnen sexutnyttjas		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl	1			1		1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Egnas barn andra ungar		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl	1			. 1		. 1	. 1		1		1			1			1		1	. 1
Över 300 flyktingbarn		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl	1			. 1		. 1	. 1		1		1			1			1		1	. 1
Utnyttjade barn		2016	5 Svenska Dagbi	1			1		1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
			_	1					- 1			1	1	1			1	1		1		1	
Trög start för ny utplacering		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl															1					
Flyktingbarns väntan får kritik		2016	5 Svenska Dagbl	1					1			1		1			1			1		1	1
Hakkors på fotbollsplan		2016	6 Svenska Dagbl	1									1				1			1		1	1
Prioritera ensamkommande		2016	6 Svenska Dagbl	1					1			1		1			1			1		1	1
Åsa R om kritiken		2016	6 Svenska Dagbl	1					1			1		1			1			1		1	1
Ökat andrum		2016	6 Svenska Dagbl	1									1					1	1		1		1
Nio av tio barn		2016	6 Svenska Dagbl		1		1		1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Sexanklagelse	17	2016	6 Svenska Dagbl	1			1			1				1			1			1		1	1
Succe för killarna	19	2014	7 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1						1					1		1		1		1		1
Från ogaden till onsala	27	2014	7 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1											1		1		1		1		1
Kritik mot asylboende	1	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1					1		1		1				1		1		1	1
Nu är asylboendet öppet	4	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	
Zozans resa mot	7	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1						1		1		1		1		1
Kungälv tar emot fler	14	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	
Barnen som blivit Obamas dilemm	21	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Protester mot boende för barn	25	2014	9 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	
Nytt boende för flb	16	2014	10 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	
Kraftig ökning		2014			1								1					1		1		1	
Oro bland personal			10 Göteborgs-Pos		1	1							1					1		1		1	
Fler platser behövs		2014			1								1					1		1		1	
Brist på gode män		2014			1								1				1			1		1	1
Jag är så glad			12 Göteborgs-Pos						1	1			<u> </u>		1		1		1		1		1
100 procent fler barn		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos		1					•			1					1		1		1	
Jag hade tur som kom till sv		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos						1	1			- '		1		1		1		1		1
Oro för planerat boende		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos		1	1							1				· ·	1		1		1	
Fler flyktingar till tjörn		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos		1								1 1					1		1		1	1
Hon gjorde ett lag av ensamma		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos						1	1		1	· ·		1		1			1		1	1
															1					1			
Därför behöver vår självbild		2015	1 Göteborgs-Pos						1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Fanta lyckades fly		2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos							1		1		1			1		1		1		1
Fler asylsökande väntas		2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos		1								1					1		1		1	
Stödjer regim som unga flyr		2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos		1								1				1						
Härryda satsar på ensamkom		2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos		1								1					1		1		1	
Integrationsprojekt nom till pris		2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos						1			1			1		1			1		1	1
Polis backar	13	2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t			1							1				1		1		1	
BO vill se nat. handlingsplan	20	2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1		1		1	1		1		1			1			1		1	1
Det var en fara för de ungas liv	22	2015	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1					1				1			1			1		1	1
Torrekulla blir nytt flb	8	2015	3 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	
Torrordina bili flytt lib																							
Fler platser	10	2015	3 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1					1		1		1	

Attachm. B, ARTICLES	DATE År	Mår källa 1 S	Settle 2Rece	3Secur 4	Crimir 5Ec	or 6.Huma	7.Back	8.Labou HR-AC SD AC	Abstra Victir S	ettle Offender FR	AME 1.Ethi 2. Mate SUB	J. 1Quote 2Unqu 11	Name: 2.Anony SUPPOR
Nytt flybo	20 2015	3 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Flybo överklagas	2 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Tegelhuset ändrar målgrupp	2 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
60-tal barn	6 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Delar sin erfarenhet med flb	10 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Öppnar ubo	20 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Flybo i Härskogen	21 2015	5 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Ahmad vågar inte drömma	9 2015	6 Göteborgs-Post	1				1			1	1	1	1
Maida blickar mot jämlikhet	13 2015	6 Göteborgs-Post	1				1			1	1	1	1
Kontaktfamilj lyft för Akbar	14 2015	6 Göteborgs-Post	1				1			1	1	1	1
Fozya ger hopp	16 2015	6 Göteborgs-Post	1 1			1	1			1	1	1	1
Fler barn tvångsplaceras	16 2015	6 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Asyllandet Sv inte lika attraktivt	24 2015	7 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Krisgrupp ska lösa det akuta asyll	25 2015	7 Göteborgs-Post	1	1					1		1	1	1
Pojke vårdas för livshotande	5 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post					1		1		1	1	1
Konkurrens om boenden	5 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Flest till småkommuner	5 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Boendebrist lockar nya aktörer	6 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Glesbygden får nytt liv	6 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Vill se nya regler för asylbarn	10 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Ordnar löpfest mot droger	15 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1			1		1		1	1	1	1
Brandattentat mot flybo	16 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post			1				1		1	1	1
Hungerstrejk mot ovissheten	22 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1				1	1	1		1	1	1
Svensson dömer	28 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1	1	1	1
Okänd tonåring dog	29 2015	8 Göteborgs-Post		1			1		1		1	1	1
AKut behov av platser	1 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Kyrkan i Mölndal	3 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Tänk om det var mitt barn	4 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Så kan du göra för att hjälpa	4 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
De älskar mig som sitt barn	5 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Drottningen berörd	5 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Skriande behov	7 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
EB utnyttjas	8 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1		1	1	1		1		1	1	1
Kunskapande fl-ber för barn	9 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1		1	1		1	1	1
Otroligt roligt att se hur	9 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Stort intresse för bli god man	10 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Flyktingbarn på barnkolonier	11 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Fler anställs för att ta emot	12 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
HVB-hem får inte längre driva	12 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Många vill hjälpa till	14 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	. 1			1		1	1		1	1	1
Qviding öppnar för unga fl	17 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Samsas om att hjälpa	17 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1		1	1		1	1	1
Nära 200 klubbar i möte	18 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1		1	1		1	1	1
Älvänen får nytt asyboende	18 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Gatubarnens brott	18 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	. 1		1				· ·	1	1	1	1
Skola görs om för flb	19 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Kungälv tar emot	19 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Lång ifrån alla stannar		9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Skolan fylls med liv		9 Göteborgs-Post	1							1	1	1	1
Göteborg rustar för fler		9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1	•	1	1	1
Fler unga har kommit till Gärdsåss	20 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Fortsatt ojämn fördelning	22 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post 9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Snabba lösningar saknas	23 2015	9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Kraven sänks		9 Göteborgs-Post 9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Undantag efterlyses		9 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Bjöds på bussresa		9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1		1	·	1	1	1	1
Musikal ska ge nyanlända	28 2015		1			1		1		1	1	1	1
Trygg famn för flyktingbarnen		9 Göteborgs-Post	1			1	1	1	1	•	1	1	1
Bolag utreds för flp död		9 Göteborgs-Post 9 Göteborgs-Post	1		1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Bolag utreas for tip dod Bättre samordning		10 Göteborgs-Post	1		1		1		1		1	1	1
-		10 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Akutboende öppnas Största vågenbar inte kommit än			1	4		4	1					1	
Största vågenhar inte kommit än		10 Göteborgs-Post	1	1		1	1		1		1	1	1
Elevernas lopp ger flhjälp Redan fullt på pva boendet		10 Göteborgs-Post				1		1	1		1		1
Redan fullt på nya boendet		10 Göteborgs-Post	1				1	1			1	1	1
Boendekaos		10 Göteborgs-Post	1	1		1			1		1	1	1
Kommunalråd: snuskig marknad		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1
De tjänar stort på barnen		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1
Från baren till barnen		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1
Så vill GR stoppa överpriser		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1
Många är inte förberedda		10 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Hotas av vite		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1
Akutboende öppnar	10 2015	10 Göteborgs-Post	1	1					1		1	1	1
Kungsbacka tar emot 170	14 2015	10 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Unik yrkesutbildning för boendeass	16 2015	10 Göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Flera nya boenden för EKFB	17 2015	10 göteborgs-Post	1						1		1	1	1
Inga nyanlända på friskolor		10 Göteborgs-Post	1			1			1		1	1	1

Malla - 1	S DATE			år källa			3Secur 4	4Crimin :	DECOL P.HI		CK 8.Labou	HR-AC SD A		Ir Settie Offender		2. Matel SU	BJ. 1Quote		Name: 2.Anony S	JUPPO
Motionslopp drog in 25000				0 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1			1		1			1	1	
21 maj. Nyanländ				0 Göteborgs-Pos						1	1			1	1		1		1	
Från klarhet till klarhet	18	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1	1			1	1		1		1	
Nobiliserar för att hjälpa	19	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1	1						1			1		1	1	
oppis för ensamkommande	19	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1			1		1			1	1	
lu vill stans fotboll hjälpa	21	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1				1	1			1	1	
Boenden patrulleras i Gbg	21	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1	1	1					1			1		1	1	
Akut brist på boende för EK	21	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1							1			1		1	1	
communer anmäler sig själva				0 Göteborgs-Pos		1							1			1		1	1	
De unga				0 Göteborgs-Pos						4	1		1			1				
Flyktingkostnader ökar stort				0 Göteborgs-Pos		1			1				1			1		1	1	
						1				1			1					1		
00 flyktingbarn bjuds				0 Göteborgs-Pos						1					1				1	
Irist på socionomer				0 Göteborgs-Pos		1							1			1		1	1	
Kungälv bygger nytt flybo	30	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1							1			1		1	1	
ictoria fick tuff start	30	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1	1			1	1		1		1	
er parallell till lasermannen	30	201	5 1	0 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1		1		1	1		1		1			1	1	
'ill du hjälpa	5	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1 1	1	1	1		1			1	1	
lya gode män	6	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1							1			1		1	1	
agopark öppnar för flyba		201				1				1		1	1		1			1	1	
				_		. 1				. 1	1		1		1			1	1	
'i kan inte låta barn bo		201		-				_			•		1	1	1			1	1	
yra unga skadade vid knivbråk				1 Göteborgs-Pos		1		1						1		1				
lytt används som propaganda				1 Göteborgs-Pos		1							1		1			1	1	
vå anhållna för knivbråket				1 Göteborgs-Pos				1						1		1		1	1	
lamma väntar på döden	11	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1							1		1			1	1	
)ärför flyr unga afghaner	13	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1								1		1		1	1	
larade sig genom nålsögat	13	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1 1	1		1		1		1		1	
var på transitboende	13	201	5 1			1				1 1	1		1		1		1		1	
långa barn utan ID		201		-		1							1			1		1	. 1	
ranskommuner öppnar d		201				1							1			1		1	1	
											1									
vårt leva upp till lagen		201		-		1				1			1			1		1	1	
lårt tryck på socialtjänsten				1 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1			1			1		1	1	
lya elever varje vecka	15	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
ppnar för nyanlända	15	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1	1				1 1	1			1	1		1		1	
Ger röst åt unga	18	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1				1	1			1	1	
artille öppnar nytt barnboende	19	201	5 1	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1			1			1		1	1	
lyktingbarn i fokus		201				1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
arn sänds till motsträviga kom		201				. 1							1			1		1	1	
				-		1		1			1		1	1				1	1	
Ibarn funna i ödehus				2 Göteborgs-Pos												1				
Boende för fl förstört i brand				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1		1		1			1			1		1	1	
örfärliga förhållanden i huset	4	201	5 12	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1			1		1	1	1	1		1			1	1	
Kraven för att driva HVB hem	5	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
Operasolister sjunger för hjälpa	5	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1			1		1			1	1	
Fransitplatser stått tomma	10	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
lundratals barn offer	11	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1		1		1 1	1	1	1		1			1	1	
.ex-Sarah anmäler				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
/åg av ensamkommande				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
amiljen med öppna famnen				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1 1								1	1	
				_							1									
nivskars i bråk				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1		1					1			1		1	1	
känker sina bandtröjor				2 Göteborgs-Pos						1 1			1		1			1	1	
lög avgift för missad id-koll	19	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
liklas strömstedt kan prisas	22	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t					1 1	1		1		1			1	1	
lär finns chans till jul för alla	23	201	5 13	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t					1 1	1		1		1			1	1	
atti brinner för att hjälpa	26	201	5 1:	2 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1					1 1	1		1		1			1	1	
egeringen halverar kontroller				2 Göteborgs-Pos								1	1			1		1	1	
lordisk skärpning				2 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
lekordstor ökning EK		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos		. 1				1			1			1		1	1	
oro inför id.kontroller		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos 1 Göteborgs-Pos		1				-		1		1	1		1		1	
N oroas av IDkrav						1							1				1			
		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos						1	•	1	1		1			1	1	
amratskap och glädje		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos						1				1	1			1	1	
ortsätt anhållna för våldtäkt		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos				1						1		1		1	1	
nga lever på gatan		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos			1	1		1 1	1	1	1		1			1	1	
ya utb för gode män	9	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1								1			1		1	1	
riminella ungdomar	9	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t		1	1						1		1		1	1	
a till två nya flybo	11	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
öker samarbete om gatubarn	12	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos			1	1		1	1	1	1		1			1	1	
ommun får inte vägra		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos		1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
viding har skött sig		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos		1			1		1		1			1		1	1	
						1			-				1			1			1	
ritisk till placering		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos		1					1		1					1		
vå anhållna för attack		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos			1	1						1		1		1	1	
ölj göteborgs exempel	19	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t 1		1	1					1		1			1	1	
egränsa nordstans öppettider	20	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t		1	1						1		1		1	1	
ransitboende åter fritidsgård	23	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos	t	1				1	1		1			1		1	1	
ärskilt boende behövs		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos			1	1		1	1		1			1		1	1	
i kallar dem gatubarn		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos			1	1		1		1	1		1			1	1	
Malmö fick 59 flickor		201		1 Göteborgs-Pos			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1		-		1	1		1			1	1	
Manno Her of IIICRUI	24	201	6	1 Göteborgs-Pos 1 Göteborgs-Pos				1			1	1	1		1			1	1	

Attachm. B, ARTICLES	DATE År N	får källa 1	Settle 2Rec	e 3Secu	r 4Crimir 5	Ecor 6.Hu	ima 7.Bacł	< 8.Labou H	R-AC SD	AC Abstra	Victir S	ettle Offender FRAM	IE 1.Ethi 2.	Mate SUB.	. 1Quote	2Unqu 1N	amec 2. Anony	SUPPOR
Sorg och ilska efter dådet	26 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post			1							1	1			1	1	
Många barn placeras utan utredn	26 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1	1	1							1		1		1	1	
Att arbeta själv är OK	27 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1	1	1							1		1		1	1	
Saknaden blandas med ilska	27 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1	1	1							1	1			1	1	
Ensamjobb kan vara brott	28 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1				1			1				1		1	1	
Utredning om flyktingar som försv	29 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1				1			1				1		1	1	
Inga platser för unga m behov	29 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1				1		1		1			1		1	1	
Varför var hon ensam	29 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1		1							1	1			1	1	
Ensamkommandes ålder kollas	1 2016	1 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1		1		1	1	
Mer än 10000 saknas		2 Göteborgs-Post	1	1						1				1		1	1	
Ohållbar situation		2 Göteborgs-Post		1	1							1	1			1	1	
Oro för säkerheten i fiskebäck		2 Göteborgs-Post	1		1							1		1		1	1	
Liseberg hjälper till		2 Göteborgs-Post	1				1	1				1	1			1	1	
Välkomnar flyktingar		2 Göteborgs-Post	. 1				1		1		1		1			1	1	
Åtalas för mobilstölden		2 Göteborgs-Post			1							1	1			1	. 1	
Taha ser ljust på framtiden		2 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1	1		1		1	
					1					1				1		1	1	
Pojkar som lever vind för våg		2 Göteborgs-Post			1					1		1	1	- 1		1	1	
Vännen: alexandra lämn spår		2 Göteborgs-Post			1											1		
Skapar konst efter flykten		2 Göteborgs-Post	1				1 1					1	1	_	1		1 1	
Kommun v bara ta emot flickor		2 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Kurs mot våld till Sverige		2 Göteborgs-Post	1		1					1			1		1		1	
Så valdes platserna		2 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
I grunden är det fel		2 Göteborgs-Post	1									1	1			1	1	
Fler EK vill tillbaka hem		2 Göteborgs-Post	1									1		1		1	1	
Kostnaden steg för flyktingar		2 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
Svårt finna passande familjehem		2 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Alla våra kommuner måste ta	29 2016	2 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
llska efter infomöte	2 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Ordkrig om tillfälliga flybo	3 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1							1 1				1		1	1	
Akelius skänker 100 miljoner	7 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1				1 1				1		1			1	1	
Oro men lugnare än tidigare	10 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1	1						1			1			1	1	
Vit makt hotet på landet	15 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1	1								1	1			1	1	
Lag för OK får bidrag	17 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1	1		1		1	
Påtagligt lugnare i Nordstan	18 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1		1							1		1		1	1	
Förening larmar om familjehem	19 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
Medicinska åldersbedömningar	19 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1									1		1		1	1	
Fick klara sig själva		3 Göteborgs-Post	1			1					1		1			1	1	
Fler anmälningar om oro	19 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1				1 1				1		1			1	1	
Personal för vård av unga efterl		3 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Här vill Göteborg bygga	22 2016	3 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Hem utreds för arbetsmiljöbrott		3 Göteborgs-Post	1		1							1	1			1	. 1	
Tjänar miljoner trots brister		3 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
Nu granskas upphandlingarna		3 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
			1			1				1				1		1	1	
Borde krävas tillstånd		3 Göteborgs-Post				1	4			1		1	4	1	1	1	1	
En väg in i det nya landet	3 2016	4 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1	1		1			
Vilka ska omfattas av välfärdsst		4 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
Går i åttan - avvisas från landet		4 Göteborgs-Post	1				1 1		1	1			1		1		1	
Uddesten under lupp		4 Göteborgs-Post	1			_	1				1		1	_		1	1	
Tomma sängar dyra		4 Göteborgs-Post	1			1				1				1		1	1	
Bandidos koppling		4 Göteborgs-Post	1		1					1			1			1	1	
Många EK röker heroin		4 Göteborgs-Post	1		1							1	1			1	1	
Räddningsmissionen över gr	22 2016	_	1							1				1		1	1	
Flyktingprognosen för 2016		4 Göteborgs-Post	1				1		1		1			1		1	1	
Narkotika säljs		4 Göteborgs-Post			1							1	1			1	1	
Stor ökning EK barn	3 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Öppnar för flybarn	6 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Kommuner lagbrytare i barnär.	7 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post	1							1				1		1	1	
Beredskap vid kusten	11 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post	1	1						1				1		1	1	
å blev vännerna dödsfiender	15 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post			1							1		1		1	1	
Skapar sluss till för. o fotboll	21 2016	5 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1	1			1	1	
Ensamkommande får upptäcka		5 Göteborgs-Post	1				1					1	1			1	1	
å kommuner åldersbestämmer		5 Göteborgs-Post	1									1		1		1	1	
Alexandra dog efter hugg		5 Göteborgs-Post	. 1		1							1	1			1	1	
all fyllt av många incidenter		5 Göteborgs-Post			1		1					1	1		1			
Ödehuset i Mölndal		5 Göteborgs-Post			1		-			1		· ·		1		1	1	
Med blicken bredvid bollen		6 Göteborgs-Post	1		1		1			- 1		1	1			1	1	
Gymnasieskola slår larm om HVB									1			1						
unvuulasieskola siar larm om HVR	6 2016	6 Göteborgs-Post	1				1 1		1		1		1			1	1	