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Supervisor: Eskil Vesterlund

Examiner: Marie Cronqvist

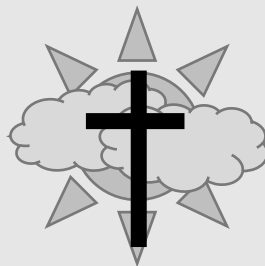
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The evolution of obituaries in

‘Dagens Nyheter’

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Malte Montelius

Table of contents:

1. Introduction:	p.2
1.1. Background:	p.2
1.2. Purpose:	p.2
1.3. Problem:	p.2
1.3.1. Research questions:	p.3
1.4. Limitations:	p.3
1.5. Method	p.4
1.6. Sources and literature:	p.4
1.6.1. Source material:	p.4
1.6.2. Literature:	p.6
2. Analysis:	p.7
2.1. Placement:	p.7
2.2. Content:	p.11
3. Conclusion:	p. 13
4. Sources and literature:	p. 16
4.1. Primary sources:	p. 16
4.2. Bibliography	p. 17

1. Introduction:

1.1. Background:

Newspapers have served an immensely important role in the mass media landscape ever since their conception. Never before did a medium possess the ability to mass produce and distribute texts on such scale. This eventually led to the societal and cultural importance that it possesses today. Societal importance because of the mediums ability to encourage discourse and cultural importance because of its now, well established services and traditions. An example of a cultural piece in newspapers is the obituary section. This section of the newspaper allows people to buy parts of a designated space to post their own notices, informing readers of a family members passing. It is this phenomenon that this thesis aims to explore. By analysing the archives of '*Dagens Nyheter*' (news of the day), this paper is set to follow the evolution of the obituary, from early examples in the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st. Exploring the space a topic like death is given and also the way it is handled throughout time.

1.2. Purpose:

The purpose of this paper is to employ a qualitative study on obituaries from the Stockholm based newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* (DN). This will entail observing the content as well as the appearance and layout of obituary sections and obituary pages in newspapers from different years. By accessing DN's digital archive, the study will look at 30 newspapers starting from 1865 and conclude with an example from 2010. This will ultimately lead to a conclusion about the newspaper's priorities in terms of the layout and appearance as the significance of the obituary becomes clear. Additionally, an observation of the contents of these obituaries will hopefully reveal the authors relation to death in this new medium.

1.3. Problem:

Obituaries are, as established earlier, a long-lasting tradition within newspapers. This is especially true in the context of *Dagens Nyheter*. At the beginning of this tradition, the obituaries served more of a practical role. Readers could keep themselves updated on the well-being of family and community members within their community. Additional information that accompanied these notices could also inform the same readers about eventual funerals or burials of the deceased. Fast-forwarding to today, with more ample ways of disclosing this information to the afflicted and a more diverse media field with competing mediums and a completely different outlook on death, what changes have been made to the obituaries as a

phenomenon, and what has led to them being made. To identify the possible changes of this practice, the paper aims to answer the following questions:

1.3.1. Research questions:

- 1) Is there a notable change in the placement of obituaries within the newspapers?
And if so, what has caused this change?
- 2) How has the content and design of the obituaries changed? What has caused this change?
- 3) What intention have people through time had with their notices, and what role has the obituaries served the readers of *Dagens Nyheter*?

1.4. Limitations & suggestions for further studies:

A few limitations have been made to conduct this study. Firstly, the choice of newspapers. This thesis will analyse *Dagens Nyheter*. The selection of this specific source was made because of the newspaper's longevity in the Swedish media landscape and the similarly consequential digital archive made available on the newspaper's website. This means that the analysis can cover a broader time period, ultimately making it more comprehensive. The research must however be limited to one publisher of newspapers as the scope of this thesis can't support any broader limitations. Further studies could however be made on the subject by including different publishers to reach conclusions regarding the culture of obituaries in the Swedish media landscape as a whole.

Furthermore, in the same vein as previously mentioned, excerpts in the established timeframe has been made with 5-year intervals starting from 1865 and ending in 2015. This is also made in the interest of making the research fit into the scope of this assignment. In the interest of eliminating potential biases the days in which newspapers were picked from have remained the same in all examples. The Friday issue, week 3 in January, has thus been selected in the study. A case could be made that obituaries fluctuate in content and relevance depending on which weekday one decides to analyse. Sundays for example, have a certain religious importance in Christian cultures whereas a weekday like Wednesday would lack a similar connotation for the publisher and readers. Because of different publishing schedules throughout the timeframe, Fridays were chosen because of their continuity as days like Sunday or Saturdays lacked issues of the paper in certain periods.

1.5. Method:

The main method that this thesis is going to utilize is a comparative method based on Thomas Denks (2002) book '*Komparativ metod: Förståelse genom jämförelse*'. With the large amount of source material gathered for this paper this method is necessary to confront and eventually establish a narrative from the data. Additional literature will be incorporated into the analysis to help contextualize certain findings and to arrive at a conclusion. Additionally, a discourse analysis will be conducted on the content of the obituaries, the same practice will apply here. The discourse analysis will follow the teachings of Kristina Boréus (2012) in the book '*Handbok i kvalitativa metoder*'.

1.6. Sources and literature:

To aid the implementation of literature in the analysis of the source material, the components of this thesis will briefly be described. The literature will be summarized to convey its core arguments. Source material will be described in groups based on portions of newspapers which share or reflect similar content or layout, this is done to make the analysis easier to comprehend.

1.6.1. Source material:

Infancy stage (1865 – 1905):

This stage covers the early beginning of DN. From the initial source which dates back to the year 1865, just weeks after the publishers first issue, to 1905. Apart from the first two newspapers in this category, the layout and structure of the obituary section remains similar to each other. Obituaries are posted on the front-page under the subcategory named '*DÖDE.*' (Dead) which lists each deceased individually. Obituaries mostly contain similar content. Content containing a description of how the person in question died, the time of death sometimes down to the minute, age down to the day and a commemorative text from the family mourning the deceased. The 1865 and 1870 issues do however stand out as unique. The obituaries are listed under '*Legala Nyheter m. m.*' (Legal news etc.) and list the names of the deceased in a continuous flowing text with sparsely added details. The deceased are split into two groups, those from the city of Stockholm and those from the countryside. Lastly, this information is put on the last and next to last page respectively. Some of the design choices made in this pair of newspapers carry out in to the rest of the examples, with subtractions and additions in content being made.

Teenage stage (1910 – 1950):

By this stage the resemblance that DN's newspapers had to their first editions is gone. This era of obituaries still follows the same design as the majority of the previous newspapers to a certain degree. There is an increase in the stylistic expressions of individual obituaries in the form of graphics and stylized fonts being added to the point where it becomes the norm, whereas the crass listing of deceased individuals in flowing text under the subcategory legal news is completely gone. Notably is the placement of the obituary section which is now on the second page (with the exception of the 1920 issue which places the obituaries on page 3) after a front-page that resembles something out of today's newspapers with pressing matters and eye-catching illustrations.

Adult stage (1955 – 1965):

Design wise, individual obituaries still adhere to the already established design although the section in which they are placed in has been moved to a significantly higher page number. They now reside in the 17 – 21 area and are down to the bottom-right corner of the page, opposed to the top-left like before. The page in which obituaries can be found is also titled family news making the distinction between obituaries and other topics more profound.

Segment stage (1970 – 1990):

The name of this stage refers to the fact that the newspaper now splits into separate parts. In the first 4 issues, the obituaries can be found in the second part of the issues in this stage and are accompanied by sporting, business and family related news. The obituaries increase in quantity and improve in quality as graphics accompanying individual obituaries start to shift away from the strict use of Christian crosses. From 1985 onwards the newspaper splits in to additional parts. Obituaries can now be found in a separate part which includes the previously mentioned subjects, but focuses on local Stockholm news. A shift in page numbers can once again be seen as this stage starts in the 30 to 35 range and ends in the 50 range, often covering entire pages.

Modern stage (1995-2010):

A much more established obituary section can now be seen. Taking up entire pages and covered with personal touches. Printed digital pictures of the deceased can now be seen replacing the Christian cross as well as other graphics, not directly related to religion like birds or instruments or pets. In general, though, the layout and overall design is largely the same as the previous stage.

1.6.2. Literature:

Ögonrörelsestudier och dagstidningsläsning:

This study conducted by Josefine Sternvik provides this thesis with valuable insight. By pooling together different research on eye-tracking and reading habits done by scholars in the field of journalism, an overview of this subject can be accessed. Sternvik's work can then aid in the interpretation of the issue's different placement of obituaries.

Döden i medierna:

This book, edited by Anja Hirdman, tackles the subject of how death is treated and handled in different genres of media, of how the culture surrounding death in the western world has shifted over the years. By utilizing Anette Forsberg's chapter about grief in journalism and consequent study of articles about death in Swedish newspapers, the study can conceptualize the chosen source material.

Obituary, gender, and posthumous fame: the New York Times Overlooked project:

This chapter is written by Charlotte Boyce and Danielle Mariann Dove and analyzes the 'Overlooked' project by the New York Times, which aims to provide retrospective obituaries for forgotten celebrities, particularly women and raises questions about the effectiveness of highlighting historically overlooked individuals in addressing social injustice and increasing representation diversity in the present. While the gender aspect of this paper is interesting, this thesis will focus on Boyce and Dove's difference of famous individuals in relation to the working class and their respective obituaries.

Att offentliggöra döden:

This bachelor's thesis is conducted by Per Olov Blom and supervised by Sandra Hillén, a Ph.D. ethnology. The thesis explores the historical and cultural changes in announcing death, particularly focusing on the transition from traditional oral messages to the use of newspapers for death announcements in Sweden. The study also examines the influence of modernity and post-modernity on these changing practices. His work will assist the analysis of the obituaries content.

2. Analysis:

2.1. Placement:

Placement of any text within media plays an important role across every medium. What program does a TV-station decide to put in its most viewed slot of the programming and at what time during the program should it be interrupted by ads to ensure that advertisers are interested in investing while simultaneously ensure that the audience sticks around? Where should illustrations in a schoolbook be placed to maintain interest while also for filling an educative purpose in relation to the text? These dilemmas all stem from the question of placement. In this study it is just as relevant. As Sternvik (2004) writes, the newspapers of today are highly aware of this dilemma and organize their layout accordingly.¹ An issue needs to stand out from competitors to capture and eventually maintain the reader's attention. Because of this reason, publisher from all over the world conduct studies on what makes them start and stop reading something, on what subjects that interest readers the most and on what purpose their newspapers serve the reader. This means that publishers partially base their design on what they themselves think they should convey and on the other hand on what the readers think the newspaper should convey.²

These studies can be executed in a number of ways, one of the ways which Sternvik (2004) has studied is the eye-tracking method and the reading habit research. When analysing the issues of DN picked for this thesis in this way, a notable piece of the obituary's evolution becomes clear. This struggle between the publishers perceived image and the interests of the reader is present in every rendition throughout the stages. As Sternvik (2004) states in her paper, we cannot however make conclusions about the readers takeaway from these obituaries or their motivation behind reading them.³ Nonetheless the observations made still tell a story.

Starting with the infancy stage we see a clear prioritization in favour of the obituaries in relation to the rest of the included subjects. The majority of issues in this stage place the obituaries in the upper-left side corner of the front-page. This allows us to get an understanding of how the reader would perceive the information that the publishers tried to convey. Firstly, Sternvik (2004) establishes that it traditionally is this part of any literature where people in the west start reading from. Publishers will commonly abide by this logic and prioritize accordingly by

¹ Sternvik, J. (2004). Ögonrörelsestudier och dagstidningsläsning. En forskningsöversikt. p. 3.

² Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 3.

³ Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 3.

placing the most important or relevant text in this area. Observing the readers of newspapers reveals that this way of thinking also carries through to the audience. People seem to understand that this area of the page is reserved for important texts.⁴ Sternvik (2004) does cite scholars in the field of journalism who challenge this notion on the account of their eye-tracking studies. The consensus amongst the opposition seems to be that large graphics or colours are more likely to grab the initial focus of the reader. However, the same scholars admit that the initial words read from any front-page, after any attention-grabbing objects in the field of view, would start from the upper-left corner. This would point to the fact that DN prioritized this information at this stage. Secondly, Sternvik (2004) recounts eye-tracking studies done on notices in newspapers by commission of different publishers in the aim of establishing a cost of space in their newspapers. These studies found that the size, graphical design and placement were the main factors.⁵ On one hand, obituaries in the infancy stage do lack any particular size or graphical design in relation to other notices in the same newspaper. Apart from the black frame surrounding obituaries which can be seen in the second issue, it takes DN till the year 1900 to incorporate a Christian cross in the design. But on the other hand, they are placed in the upper-left corner which is a good thing. Right? After reading the research that Sternvik (2004) has recounted, it would seem as if notices in this area of the page receives less attention than say, the bottom-right of any page. But after clarifying that these studies were made in the late 1980s through the 2000s when the majority of publishers favoured the top-left corner for editorial-content, the previous point about prioritization of these infancy stage issues becomes reinforced.

Researchers all around the world have sought out to document the history of death and its accompanying traditions. One of those is Charlotte Boyce and Danielle Mariann Dove (2022) who tackle the subject of fame and public mourning in newspapers through history. In their summary of its history, we can see that obituaries started out as church records which eventually seeped through into literature available for the public as books became increasingly easier to produce.⁶ These books however would mostly prioritize people with clout within their respective communities to help elevate their status. When the 18th century eventually became the 19th however, the deaths of the middle class became more and more prominent in

⁴ Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 19.

⁵ Sternvik, J. (2004). pp. 25-26.

⁶ Boyce, C. & Dove, D. M. (2022). Obituary, gender, and posthumous fame: the *New York Times* Overlooked project. University of Surrey. p. 509.

anglophone newspapers as the certainty of death became a reliable income for publisher.⁷ The practical past of the obituary, notifying a community of recent passing's can be seen in the first and second issues of the infancy stage as they shine with their dissimilarity. The 1865 issue for example, lists the names of the deceased in a continuous flowing text. Completely stripped of any empathy or character, the names listed were there for a practical reason. Readers of the Stockholm based newspaper DN could stay updated on those who passed. The following issue from 1870 still retain this way of listing deaths of people, but strikingly two names seem to stand out from the rest. The widow Mrs. Camitz, wife to the former owner of a manufacturing plant Mr. Camitz and nobleman, parliamentarian and wholesaler Frans Schartau are placed separate from the bunch in their respective frames accompanied by endearing words from friends and family. It would seem as if this layout would suggest that Boyce and Dove's (2022) accounts share a resemblance to DN's. This resemblance carries through into every issue of the infancy stage. Although an increased number of titles mentioned in this separate section weren't necessarily a part of the bourgeoisie, the section of continuous flowing names still named people in the same, crass way as before. A clear distinction can be made here while the interest of maintaining the practical nature of obituaries still shines through in its placement on the page.

As Boyce and Dove's (2022) also point out in their chapter, there seems to be a gradual change in the obituary section in relation to the separation of high standard individuals and the middle class.⁸ Moving on to the later stages of DN's evolution we can see a gradual change taking form. In the teenage stage starting in 1910, we see the publishers following the aforementioned logic in formatting of the front-pages. As a result of this the obituaries are moved back to the second page, indicating a drop in the prioritization of the section itself. Obituaries are placed together with notices containing commercials and public announcement that individually are bigger in size and contain more elaborate graphic design elements. Although obituaries gradually increase the number of graphic elements like Christian crosses or stylized fonts, they pale in comparison to other notices and does then, according to Sternvik's (2004) text, lose the battle for attention.

⁷ Boyce, C. & Dove, D. M. (2022). p. 510.

⁸ Boyce, C. & Dove, D. M. (2022). p. 510.

The obituaries do however make somewhat of a comeback in the adult stage of the newspaper's history. They can now be found much later in the paper but the eye-tracking research would suggest that its positioning is a more advantageous. In contrast to the previous stage, obituaries are placed alongside the gutter⁹ of the newspaper with family news on the far left and advertisements on the far right. As Sternvik (2004) recounts a number of researchers that have arrived at similar conclusions, it becomes clear that while turning the page, a majority of readers process a new pair of pages in the same manner. After quickly analysing the right page and registering advertisements, readers tend to shift focus to the top of the left page and read down middle towards the bottom-right corner of the page.¹⁰ This puts the obituary section in the readers field of view and garners attention. Additionally, Sternvik's (2004) text about eye-tracking research regarding notices seconds this. The placement of notices on the right page and especially on the left page favour the obituaries in how much they are seen and remembered.

While this layout centred around the gutter remains in the next stage of newspapers, it introduces another dimension to the perception of texts in these newspapers. The segment stage brings in the first issues of DN splitting the newspaper into two different parts. The main part contains the front-page and remains for the most part like its predecessor, adopting the majority of editorial-content while the second part separates itself by focusing on local news. Sternvik's (2004) text luckily includes research for these types of layouts too. Nobert Küpper's work is recited as one of the few who studies how different sections of a newspaper is prioritized by the reader. His findings would suggest that readers prefer the local over domestic or international news.¹¹ The obituaries then are once again placed in a favourable position.

Lastly, the relevance of Nobert Küpper's findings in the relation to the modern stage of DN's newspapers is questionable. The newspaper at this stage is split up into 5 or more parts and the obituaries are not consistently in the local part of the paper. The subcategory of family news is however much more fleshed out then before and the ability to consistently print in ink means the title of the section, pictures of the deceased or graphic design elements could stand out more. The same could off course be said for every other element in the newspapers, which

⁹ Gutter: The gutter in a printed or manuscript book is the channel running down the middle of the book, against the spine where the folds of all the quires meet, when opened at any point. *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved 19 May. 2023, from <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095913372>.

¹⁰ Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 21.

¹¹ Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 24.

would level the playing field. To add to that point, Sternvik's (2004) cites research done on notices in relation to black and white and colour, the results pointed towards the former being attention grabbing.¹² Obituaries maintaining their subtle design then becomes outshined by notices filled with colour to achieve just that, attention. The same could be said about the size of different elements of the newspaper. Sure, this stage introduces vastly different design choices and more importantly sizing of an individual obituary. But with up to two pages covered with obituaries at this point, these differences would just give an edge to different people in the obituary section. Something which certainly does not reflect on the publisher's views on the placement of obituaries in relation to the rest of the newspaper.

The obituaries outside the designated are of the later stages of DN's newspapers are however not included in this assumption. The famous members of the community and those of high status do not have to compete for attention by trumping other obituaries in size or colours. These deaths are reported on with big pictures and accompanying editorial-content, making the separation from the now included middle class obvious. This is also in line with Boyce and Dove's (2022) observations of how obituaries are conducted in the latter half of the 20th and early 21th century. As they put it, obituaries as entertainment are born and so the separation only seems natural.¹³

2.2. Content:

Analysing the actual contents of any given text says a lot about it and its time. Not only can it speak volumes about the author, but conclusions about the audience reception of said text can be very telling. By observing this relationship, signs of the general discourse's climate can be revealed too. Kristina Boréus (2012) explains the process of the discourse analysis as observing the authors choice of words because they reflect the way the world is categorized and understood. The audience of said text would then take part in that perception of the world and be affected by it, seeing things from a new perspective.¹⁴ Observing this process in a narrative like the evolution of the obituary would then reveal how either party, throughout its history, would perceive the world, and more importantly death.

¹² Sternvik, J. (2004). p. 35.

¹³ Boyce, C. & Dove, D. M. (2022). p. 510.

¹⁴ Ahrne, G. (2015). *Handbok i kvalitativa metoder*. 2. uppl. Liber. p.p. 176 – 177

By analyzing the infancy stage through this lens, we can start to see the discourse surrounding obituaries. As the beginning of this stage would suggest, the subject of death is somewhat stripped of the drama that is closely associated with it today. Deceased are listed in a flowing continuous text only offering minimal information like age, date of death and geographical location. This way of handling our inevitable fate seems to be the norm of the time according to Anette Forsberg (2012). In her chapter covering the topic of death in journalism, she describes western cultures as being familiar with our fate.¹⁵ In the century prior to the infancy stage however something changed. People started to somewhat dramatize death and defamiliarize themselves with the subject, holding on to that which commemorated the dead.¹⁶ Thus, the obituary in newspapers were born, solidifying members of people's lives.

The later, teenage and adult stages, keep this dramatic tone when compiling their obituaries. While adopting the black frames around individual obituaries and discontinuing the listing of deceased individuals, all obituaries have an included text, praising and remembering the deceased. These texts often have a religious meaning. If bible texts aren't cited, descriptive texts of how the deceased have left us with their fate intact commonly dominate these texts. Per Olov Blom (2011) also share this observation in his text. He explains this phenomenon by underlining the importance of religion in this time of Swedish culture. The fact is that death and whatever may happen in the afterlife was inseparable at this time.¹⁷ The fact that Christian religion thought its followers that Jesus Christ would return to earth and judge everyone, ever living or dead, would then seem like a just motivation behind these religious texts.

Furthermore, these stages implementation of crosses as the norm in obituaries continues this religious narrative. This trend would also be contributed to the heavy Christian influences of this time. However, we do see that obituaries in the segment and modern age seem to stray away from this tradition. This is a direct consequence of the secularization that Sweden gradually has developed.¹⁸ Just as religion made religious symbols the norm in obituaries, it seems to take the back seat in relevance as the norm redefines to accompanying symbols being a tradition of obituaries. A tradition that now leaves space for the authors own interpretation.

¹⁵ Forsberg, A. (2012). *Döden i medierna: våld, tröst och fascination*. Carlsson. p. 34.

¹⁶ Forsberg, A. (2012). p. 34.

¹⁷ Blom, P. O. *Att offentliggöra döden. Vad påverkar utformningen av dödsannonser?* Göteborgs universitet: Institut för kulturvetenskap. 2011. p.17-18.

¹⁸ Blom, P. O. (2011). *Att offentliggöra döden*. p. 33.

This has led to the segment and modern stage of newspapers to be completely dominated by symbols motivated by individualism and character. Pets, interests or community badges have broken the definite religious monopoly that symbols once had and had created a tabu around questioning it. The individualism does however not only shine through in the message that these secular symbols carry through about the individual's life. As Blom (2011) points out, it also makes the reader question the previously nonexciting question of who was behind the obituary. The homogenous usage of crosses would leave outsiders not only oblivious to the character of the deceased, but the people behind the selection of character motivated design choices.¹⁹ Sure, obituaries in the past would mention the grieving parties in the accompanying text, but the reader gets an insight in how those parties view and remember the deceased in the later examples.

Anette Forsberg (2012) seconds this individualistic change in handling death through media. She also claims that this change exists on both sides of the reader and author relationship. An individualistic approach to death, describing the deceased gives the reader a chance to join in to the grieving of said person. Secondly, by exposing the people behind the obituary, readers can now sympathize with the people responsible behind the obituary who just experienced a loss. And thirdly, the reader can now place themselves in the place of the deceased by imagining what their death.²⁰ What will they leave behind to help friends and family personalize their obituary?

3. Conclusion:

- 3.1. Is there a notable change in the placement of obituaries within the newspapers? And if so, what has caused this change?

There has certainly been a notable change in the placement of obituaries and layout throughout time. In DN's infancy, the obituaries occupied the most sought-after space, the upper-left side corner of the front page. This stems from traditions in oral communication and literature in documenting and informing people about deaths in their community, thus the obituaries get a prioritized slot. The implementation of black frames around certain individuals starts to become the norm in the teenage stage, this comes from the practices of families with high status that usually were reserved the privilege of being documented, when the middle class starts to

¹⁹ Blom, P. O. (2011). Att offentliggöra döden. p. 35.

²⁰ Forsberg, A. (2012). p. 54.

emulate their behaviour, the black boxes is intended to makes the line clear. While this stage receives less attention, according to the eye-tracking research, the adult stage halts this trend. By placing the obituaries in the gutter of the page, they once again receive an advantageous spot, still speaking for the practical importance of this section. In the segment stage the layout remains the same although the paper splits into two. By being included in the local section of the paper, research seem to point to an increase in attention. Lastly, the modern stage of DN's paper seem to undecisive. While aspects of this stage point towards advantageous aspects, they are shared by the rest of the paper making them cancel each other out. The obituaries of individuals of high status seem to have been completely separated from the obituary section however, in addition they also contain editorial content which ranks them in a league of their own in terms of attention. The obituaries then are left in their part of the paper in solitude

3.2. How has the content and design of the obituaries changed? What has caused this change?

The analysis of the content within these obituary reveals a dynamic relationship between the text, the authors, and the audience, shedding light on the evolving discourse surrounding death. The earliest issues are inspired by older traditions and are thus stripped of their drama but change can still be spotted in the emergence of the framed obituaries. The influence of religion and cultural beliefs played a significant role in shaping obituary practices from the beginning, with religious texts and symbols dominating the infancy, teenage and adult stages. However, as secularization took hold, obituaries shifted towards individualism, incorporating symbols and details that reflect the unique characteristics and interests of the deceased. This change allowed for a more diverse and personalized representation of individuals in obituaries. This individualism in obituaries not only provides insights into how society perceives and remembers death but also highlights the changing role of the reader. Readers are invited to engage emotionally with the obituaries, empathizing with the deceased and the grieving parties. Additionally, the individualistic approach allows readers to contemplate their own mortality and consider the obituaries they will leave behind.

3.3. What intention has people through time had with their notices, and what role has the obituaries served the readers of *Dagens Nyheter*?

From these findings, the conclusion points towards obituaries somewhat maintaining their role as communicating people who pass in communities. The positioning in the papers remain somewhat advantageous throughout this whole period which indicates that the DN, the

publisher also recognizes this fact. The content shows another side of these notices, they have had a huge societal, cultural and most of all religious meaning in a time where the word of the bible was second nature. Later issues also highlight the personalization of these obituaries which brings us to the role they have served the reader. In this case it seems as though the obituaries role hasn't changed, but the role as a reader has changed. Being more connected with the obituaries through their personalization makes us mourn, sympathize and consider our own legacy.

4. Sources and literature:

4.1. Source material:

Dagens Nyheter 1865-01-20

Dagens Nyheter 1870-01-21

Dagens Nyheter 1875-01-22

Dagens Nyheter 1880-01-23

Dagens Nyheter 1885-01-23

Dagens Nyheter 1890-01-24

Dagens Nyheter 1895-01-25

Dagens Nyheter 1900-01-26

Dagens Nyheter 1905-01-20

Dagens Nyheter 1910-01-21

Dagens Nyheter 1915-01-22

Dagens Nyheter 1920-01-23

Dagens Nyheter 1925-01-23

Dagens Nyheter 1930-01-24

Dagens Nyheter 1935-01-25

Dagens Nyheter 1940-01-19

Dagens Nyheter 1945-01-19

Dagens Nyheter 1950-01-20

Dagens Nyheter 1955-01-21

Dagens Nyheter 1960-01-22

Dagens Nyheter 1965-01-22

Dagens Nyheter 1970-01-23

Dagens Nyheter 1975-01-24

Dagens Nyheter 1980-01-25

Dagens Nyheter 1985-01-25

Dagens Nyheter 1990-01-26

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