



**JMG – INSTITUTIONEN FÖR
JOURNALISTIK, MEDIER OCH
KOMMUNIKATION**

ANALYZING THE MEDIA IMAGE OF ANGERED, A SWEDISH SUBURB

Combined quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

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Uppsats/Examensarbete:	Kandidatuppsats, 15 hp
Program och/eller kurs:	Medie- och kommunikationsvetenskap
Nivå:	Grundnivå
Termin/år:	Vårtermin 2017
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Abstract

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Nyckelord:	<i>media image, Angered, suburb, CDA, marginalization</i>

Purpose: The purpose of the research is to examine the media image of Angered, a suburb of Gothenburg, when it comes to the matters covered and the actors presented in the news reporting of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016.

Theory: Critical Discourse Analysis
Agenda Setting

Methods: Quantitative Content Analysis
Critical Discourse Analysis

Material: Total of 99 news articles collected from Göteborgs-Posten, GT and GöteborgDirekt

Resultat: The main result of the research shows that the media image of Angered is one-sided. Hard news, such as crime and social issues, are dominating. When it comes to representing different actors a police discourse is dominating, meaning the authorities have the power over others and over knowledge. Representation of any other actors in the news articles is relatively narrow.

Executive summary

The purpose of this research is to examine the media image of Angered, a suburb located in the northeast part of the city of Gothenburg, when it comes to the matters covered and the actors presented in the news reporting of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016. The research questions aim to find out what kind of subjects are covered in the news articles about Angered and how the news coverage can be understood in relation to marginalization of suburbs. Furthermore, a research question concerning representation of different actors is included in the study.

In this study the previous research about the media representations of suburbs is used as an important basis and starting-point for the analysis. Earlier research shows, among other things, that the media has a tendency to convey an undesirable image of suburbs and areas populated primarily by immigrants (Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi 2002). In other words, the media discourse of suburbs in Sweden is often negative. This research is commissioned by the District Council of Angered who have themselves said, that from time to time Angered receives a lot of negative attention in the media. For Angered this perception can result in a worse image as a brand and the general opinion about the city district.

A negative media image of particularly vulnerable neighborhoods tends to lead to a so-called “us-and-them –effect”, which can increase the difference between different segments in the society (van Dijk 2000). As people tend to try to make sense of the world by categorization they create continuously segregation between what is “us” and what is different, “the others”. Van Dijk (2000) states that this segregation is visible in the way the media writes about minorities. The way the news is structured often discriminates the out-group and describes it as a threat against the in-group. In this study the people living in Angered are initially considered to be the out-group while people living in the city center and other neighborhoods that are considered “better” in Gothenburg belong to the in-group.

While analyzing the media image of Angered the theories of agenda setting and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are applied. Agenda setting is described as the power that news organizations have when it comes to shaping public awareness and priorities. Since journalists and editors select which events to cover and exclude in the news reports they also have an impact on what the public knows, cares and talks about but even what passes under our collective radar (Hodkinson 2014).

In order to be able to answer the research questions as comprehensively as possible two methods are combined: a quantitative content analysis and thereafter a critical discourse analysis. It is important to note that these methods approach the material from two different perspectives and the aim is not to provide the same results but to emphasize and examine different aspects of the material. Combining the best sides of each different approach contributes to a broader knowledge and understanding of the media image of Angered.

The main results show that hard news especially crime is dominating the news coverage of Angered. The strongly dominating police discourse leaves a little place for other discourses which contributes to a one-sided media image. The narrow representation of Angered leaves the suburb and the people living there in periphery. The media image of Angered conforms with earlier studies which show that the news coverage of the Million Program areas in Sweden are often characterized by hard news (Ericsson et al. 2002). Crime and social issues are dominating the media image of Angered. The one-sided media image of Angered is stamped negatively and even the positive news are often seen in the light of underlying problems.

The dominating news about crime call after a police discourse, which can also be detected by analyzing the actors who are cited in the articles. Authorities, primarily police representatives get to speak and therefore also define the other actors. Thus, the actors represented in the articles are often not representing Angered. Tendencies towards creation of “others” can be seen, especially when it comes to youth criminals who in many cases get to be the only actors representing Angered. People of Angered do not get to define themselves or the place they live in. In general, the discourse order is not open since the hard news about crime and violence take a lot of space and leave a little space for representing other perspectives.

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1. Introduction

Angered is a suburb located in the northeast part of the city of Gothenburg, Sweden. Angered consists mainly of immigrants as many of the approximately 52 000 inhabitants come from a migration background and represent over a hundred different nationalities (Göteborgs Stad 2017). The housing landscape in Angered varies from Million Housing Programme –areas and detached houses to traditional rural areas and larger natural zones. The Million Housing Programme is a public housing programme that was implemented between 1965 and 1974 and neighborhoods, characterized by high-rise buildings, were constructed around the bigger cities in Sweden (Listerborn 2013). The average income in Angered is somewhat lower and unemployment rate somewhat higher than in many other parts of Gothenburg (Göteborgs Stad 2017).

Studies show that the media has a tendency to convey an undesirable image of suburbs and areas populated primarily by immigrants (Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi 2002). In other words, the media discourse of suburbs in Sweden is often negative. This research is commissioned by the District Council of Angered who have themselves said, that from time to time Angered receives a lot of negative attention in the media. On the other hand, the prevailing media discourse is constructed based on generally accepted knowledge in the society; while it at the same time feeds back into society and shapes or strengthens such knowledge (Fairclough 2003). For Angered this perception can result in a worse image as a brand and the general opinion about the city district. The purpose of this study is therefore to analyze the image that is conveyed of Angered in the media found especially through the news reporting of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016. Is the undesirable image of suburbs in general dominant when it comes to Angered or is the media image of Angered actually more varied than what many people seem to believe?

1.1 Why analyze news reporting?

The power that media has is mainly symbolic and discursive (van Dijk 2000). The discourse in media is the primary foundation for people, both elites and common citizens, when it comes to gaining knowledge and forming attitudes and ideologies. Not only the media is responsible for the discourse it spreads but also politicians, professionals and other elites. However, as there is freedom of the press in Sweden, the media elites can nevertheless be held ultimately accountable for the current discourses in the media as they play a large part in controlling it (ibid).

Regardless the rapid and continuous changes in the media landscape that have enabled people to find and receive information from multiple sources, newspapers are still considered as an

important source of information (Färdigh 2008). Sweden has been a leading country among newspaper reading and is still one of the countries with a high volume of newspapers (ibid). Therefore, the research material consisting of newspaper articles is considered to be relevant. Analyzing the media image conveyed of Angered is important since media can be considered as a source for peoples' knowledge and attitudes. A negative media image could hence lead to a worse attitude towards the whole of Angered as a place, which in turn would have an impact on Angered's attractiveness.

In this study news articles published on the webpages of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016 are analyzed. The press has quite a noticeable role in spreading images speedily, even though it is not the only language source that has an impact over the manner how people attach meaning to life (Elsrud 2008). Newspapers have for example an exceptionally strong and natural access to peoples' daily lives. Furthermore, there are not many comparable actors when it comes to affecting others or being convincing in communicating a message to a broader audience (Elsrud 2008). Especially the news articles published online have the ability to follow us anywhere. We are constantly up-to-date thanks to our smartphones and internet connections as we can read the news while we commute and then discuss them for instance at work or family dinner tables, which makes the chosen material relevant.

1.2 Societal contextualization

Researching the media image of Angered is relevant even from a larger societal perspective because most of the people say that they receive information about social issues and current affairs mainly from the media. Hence it is likely that the media contributes to shaping the picture of reality and even the values people have (Nord 2004).

According to ethnologist Per-Markku Ristilammi (1994) the discourse about suburbs in Sweden has in different ways circled around "otherness" already for decades. Earlier, during the 1960's, the suburbs were seen as a symbol of modern otherness thanks to the new living concepts and modern architecture. From those times the otherness has shifted into social otherness. This happened because people who were seen as underprivileged in social, cultural and economic terms moved to these areas because of good housing possibilities (ibid). In the 1980's the image of suburbs changed again making immigrants and a feeling of unknown threat the symbol of otherness. This meant that the suburbs were not anymore represented only as strange but also as threatening and dangerous, and the inhabitants became labeled as something to be afraid of or to keep distance to (Ristilammi 1994). The ethnic differentiation in the housing market is a consequence of the structural discrimination within Sweden, which has had a direct impact on the ways in which migrants who arrive to Sweden are being guided to certain housing areas (Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi 2002).

Today in Sweden the media and political discourse label the Million Program areas as both interesting multicultural places with diverse ethnic expressions and as segregated places with illegal and other social difficulties (Ericsson et al. 2002). However, since the social composition of the segregation is constantly changing in relation to national, global and other decision-making, the territorial stigmatization is primarily attached to the neighborhood itself rather than the individuals (Listerborn 2013). Therefore, it is interesting to analyze the media image of the whole of Angered rather than only analyzing the people living there or actors who are interviewed in the news articles.

Van Dijk (2000) says that a negative media image of particularly vulnerable neighborhoods tends to lead to a so called “us-and-them –effect”, which can increase the difference between different segments in the society. As people tend to try to make sense of the world by categorization they create continuously segregation between what is “us” and what is different, “the others”. Van Dijk (2000) states that this segregation is visible in the way the media writes about minorities. The way the news is structured often discriminates the out-group and describes it as a threat against the in-group. In this study the people living in Angered are initially considered to be the out-group while people living in the city center and other neighborhoods that are considered “better” in Gothenburg belong to the in-group. This type of “othering” is also done by the media in which a certain group is blamed of the negative issues in the society, leading to big differences between different groups in the society and discrimination against minorities (van Dijk 2000). The result of this study can therefore contribute to a greater awareness of the way suburbs tend to be represented in the media, and in the long term give people a reason to question the conveyed image.

1.3 Scientific contextualization

Research about suburbs and their image in media – even though often from a societal perspective – has been done both internationally and in Sweden. In *Miljonprogram och media: föreställningar om människor och förorter* Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi (2002) studied the media image of six different suburbs of Stockholm. Their research aimed to raise awareness about the areas and the factors that have an impact on peoples’ perceptions of the areas and to create better possibilities for a dialogue about the suburbs (ibid). The study showed that the stereotypic way in which the media portrays these suburbs creates contrasts between the different districts and inhabitants of the city, making these contrasts part of the mental segregation in Sweden (ibid).

In his dissertation *Rosengård och den svarta poesin: en studie av modern annorlundahet* Ristilammi (1994) researched how a negative media image of a suburb has an impact on how the inhabitants perceive themselves. Results of both these studies show that the negative media image affects how people living in the suburbs perceive their own identities. Even though there are studies about other suburbs in Sweden, there are not many studies specifically about Angered. The results of this research can therefore fill a gap in the

academic field. The fact that the Swedish society has gone through some major changes during the last years makes this study even more relevant. While the workforce and refugee migration has led to a big number of people moving to the largest cities, the debate about inhabitants' (mainly those with foreign backgrounds) living conditions has taken a bigger place in the media reporting (Ericsson et al. 2002). Therefore, it is relevant to do a new research about the representation of suburbs in the media nowadays.

2. Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this research is to examine the media image of Angered when it comes to the matters covered and the actors presented in the news reporting of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016.

In order to do this the following research questions will be answered:

1. What kind of matters are covered in the news reporting of Angered and how can the news coverage be understood in relation to marginalization of suburbs?

To see what kind of matters are covered in the news reporting and in which contexts the three local newspapers write about Angered. The articles are categorized based on different themes such as healthcare, crime and education and are later analyzed in the light of the earlier researches about marginalization of suburbs and chosen theories.

2. What kind of actors appear in the articles and how are they represented?

The people who are cited in the articles are categorized based on home district, role in the society, gender and age. Critical discourse analysis will be applied while analyzing the representations of the actors and the relations between them.

3. Previous research and theory

In this study the previous research about the media representations of suburbs is used as an important basis and starting-point for the analysis. Therefore, the earlier research is presented in this chapter together with the theories that will be applied.

When it comes to researching suburbs and their representation in media the focus is often on racism and ethnic discrimination (van Dijk 2000). A lot of research has been done on suburbs and discrimination from a societal perspective both internationally and in Sweden (Ristilammi 1994). In Sweden the word “suburb” has a negative connotation compared to that in English-speaking-countries. The word in Swedish implies relative poverty, low-class citizens and ethnic others (Elsrud 2008).

In the article *Suburban women and the ‘glocalisation’ of everyday lives: gender and glocalities in underprivileged areas in Sweden* Listerborn (2013) describes the everyday life in the western world as “glocal”, meaning that it contains dialectic relationships between local life and global influences. The representations of “glocal” are however not that straightforward but rather racialized, gendered and class-based. Being global is considered to be a privilege of the elites and it is associated with success and intelligence while things like poverty and narrow-mindedness are often used to characterize the locals. Even this image is, however, simplified and Listerborn (2013) challenges it in her article that is based on two research projects. Migrant woman in marginalized areas in Sweden, who are regularly labeled as isolated and local-bound, were used as a reference while glocality was analyzed. When it comes to local development the urban planning is unfortunately often more focused on the borders of housing areas, and the actual houses and their surrounding yards, rather than on the infrastructure and connectedness between the neighborhoods (Listerborn 2013). This contributes to the creation of “the others” and segregation in the society. According to Listerborn (2013), there are different discursive connotations connected to different concepts linked with transnationalism. For instance, life in a “multicultural” neighborhood is frequently associated with segregated and poor housing areas while international life is viewed as something achievable. Listerborn (2013) says that the ways of representing the women living in these neighborhoods as local and isolated risks subjecting the women to even further stigmatization and exclusion. Simultaneously with the increased globalization the interest in both the global and the local has been growing. As what sometimes is seen as a counteraction to globalization, the meaning of place and the local as a source for individuals’ identities has increased (ibid). Therefore, the media representation of Angered as a place matters.

Torun Elsrud (2008) has made a research about how the regional press constructs brutal others out of immigrants in rural Sweden. In the pictures and texts of the two local newspaper analyzed, the identities of minority ethnic groups were stereotyped and subverted, which contributes to a continuous construction of “otherness” (Elsrud 2008). In his research Elsrud

(2008) identified even themes like the brutalization of the masculinity of “others”, strengthened by a “traditionalization” and feminization of a weak and caring female other. Elsrud (2008) argues that the purpose of these gendered images is to maintain a positive image of a taken-for-granted Swedishness. According to Elsrund (2008) there is a constant construction process, of which newspaper articles can be viewed as an expression of, where the people of power (in Elsrud’s research the authorities with access to journalists and the journalists themselves) state what is right and wrong, the reality and non-reality to people of subordination.

3.1 Agenda Setting and Critical Discourse Analysis as theories

While analyzing the media image of Angered the theories of agenda setting and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are applied. Agenda setting is described as the power that news organizations have when it comes to shaping public awareness and priorities. Since journalists and editors select which events to cover and exclude in the news reports they also have an impact on what the public knows, cares and talks about but even what passes under our collective radar (Hodkinson 2014). In other words, there is a correlation between the matters covered in the media and the level of importance the public attributes to it (ibid). The process of agenda setting, i.e. how agenda setting works, to what extent it is a conscious process or whether it is effective just because it is unconscious, is however still unclear and therefore more studies on the subject are suggested to fully understand the process of agenda setting (Severin & Tankard 2014). A study about the response to President Clinton’s 1994 State of the Union Address showed that agenda setting was more likely to happen when firstly the respondents perceived the media as credible and secondly the respondents were convinced that Clinton did a good job as president (ibid). Hence, agenda setting would not be an automatic process but includes information processing by individuals (ibid). While choosing which matters to cover the journalists must agree on what is newsworthy. Lindgren (2009) states for example that crime is always newsworthy. What the people generally know and care about and which subjects are discussed in the society and which are left out can be mapped out by analyzing which matters are covered in the news articles about Angered.

Before explaining the Critical Discourse Analysis more thoroughly let us first define what is meant by discourse. In the *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts and Whatmore 2009:166) discourse is defined as follows: “A specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more possible”. When these series of representations are continuously repeated they become a norm in the society. Therefore, the news articles are a part of a discourse that creates structures in the society (Fairclough 1995).

In order to explain why the critical discourse analysis as a theory and also a method is important in this study we will first take a look back to philosopher Michel Foucault’s (1997) thoughts and the so-called focauldian discourse analysis. Focauldian discourse analysis

focuses on power relationships in society, which are expressed through language and practices. Foucault (1997) does not view power as only an instrument of coercion but rather as an element that is everywhere: diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and “regimes of truth”. According to Foucault (1997), power should always be seen in relation to resistance, which leads to power being in constant flux and negotiation. The discourse in which we act and think is affected by power.

Discourse is connected to power since it defines how we view the reality and thus determines how everything *should* be. Discourses are however not absolute truths but they can be created and recreated. Discourses can function in three different ways: they enable, they constrain and they constitute (Storey 2012). For example, language is a discourse since it enables us to speak, it constrains what we can say and it constitutes us as speaking subjects. In this way the discourses can even produce different social statuses for different people, in this case depending on what is said in the media regarding the question. Discourses work as social roles that we accept, both consciously and unconsciously. They influence how we view ourselves in relation to the other discourses we are a part of. These discourses are things that enable, constrain and constitute our daily life as well as our self-image and the way we view others (ibid).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), in turn, focuses on the role of discourse in representing and challenging these power positions that Foucauldian discourse analysis is interested about. The power positions in CDA mean the social power used by elites, institutes or groups, which leads to social inequality. This inequality appears among other things in political, cultural or ethnic contexts (van Dijk 2000). Critical Discourse Analysis has its origins in critical linguistics, which focuses on showing how grammar and language can be used as ideological instruments (Machin & Mayr 2012). The ways that texts categorize people, actions, places and events can be studied. The issues that are not communicated directly in the texts are identified by looking for absences (ibid). The underlying ideology can be revealed by analyzing the texts closely.

Critical Linguistics has, however, been criticized of not developing the nature of the link between power, ideology and language further (Machin & Mayr 2012). The point of CDA is to develop methods and theory that can better describe this interrelationship and the practices and conventions in texts, and behind texts, that expose ideological and political investments. Critical Discourse Analysts themselves say that there is no single, homogeneous version of CDA. But their view of language as a means of social construction is what they have in common. Language shapes but is also shaped by society (ibid). Thus, CDA is not particularly interested in language use itself, but in the linguistic features of cultural and social structures and processes. That the power relations are discursive is an assumption in CDA, i.e. power is transferred and applied through discourse (ibid). Compared to linguistics and discourse analysis, which both have more descriptive goals, CDA emphasizes the word ‘critical’ and aims therefore to analyze why and how the linguistic features are produced and what ideology they might serve rather than describing and detailing these features (ibid). The word “critical”

is relevant even since the point of CDA is to denaturalize the language that appears to be normal on the surface in for example news texts and to expose the ideas, taken-for-granted assumptions and absences in texts (ibid). In order to be able to change something in the society it is important to look into the existing discourse and define what is considered to be true at the moment. This will be explained further when describing the CDA as a method (see Chapter 4).

3.2 Critical discourse analysis and societal contexts

CDA is often used while addressing societal questions or analyzing media representations, and therefore is suitable to apply even in this research. In order to capture all dimensions of societal problems (for instance when it comes to the construction of suburbs and the related confrontation between centrum and periphery and we and the others) that are often complex by nature an interdisciplinary approach is needed. When addressing these complex issues, the abstraction between theory, description and application starts to lose its meaning. The theoretical analysis can nevertheless be completely disregarded, and therefore the aim of the CDAs theoretical side is to analyze the complex relation between the discourse and power positions (van Dijk 2000). The aim in this research is to analyze the newspaper articles from a structural and critical perspective. Newspaper articles can be seen as expressions of a constant construction process where those who have power define what is real and unreal, right and wrong, to their subordinates (Elsrud 2008). However, individual journalists or photographers are not to be blamed of the media representations manifesting the power relations. On the opposite, when the power practices are effective they often occur without actors being aware of them. These practices are mostly taken for granted by journalists and readers as they manifest themselves in everyday discourse (Elsrud 2008). Through examining what kind of matters are covered, which actors get to speak and how Angered is represented in the news reporting an idea of the prevailing discourse, the underlying power positions and consequent potential creation of otherness can be formed.

In his article *New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach* van Dijk (2000) critically studies the way news in the press contribute to something called the “new racism”, i.e. racism that wants to be democratic and acceptable, and thus initially denies that it is racism (ibid). The aim is to examine the structures and strategies used in news reports and their relations to the social context (ibid). In this case the social context is the activities in newsmaking and also readers’ interpretations in the societies of western Europe and North America. With the help of a systematic analysis of news discourse structures van Dijk’s (2000) purpose was to find out what role the media and news play in the reproduction of racial and ethnic inequality in these societies (ibid). In the New Racism minorities are not seen as biologically inferior, but different in terms of a different culture, and there are in many respects deficiencies, such as drug abuse or dependence on welfare, that must be fixed of course (ibid). Van Dijk (2000) points out that many forms of new racism are discursive particularly because of their subtle and symbolic nature. The many forms of the new racism are expressed in for example news

reports in the press, and even though they do not use open violence or force in the same way as old racism, they might be even more hurtful and just as effective to marginalize and exclude minorities (ibid). These ways of expressing new racism are a form of ethnic hegemony, based on apparently legitimate ideologies and attitudes that are often approved by most members of the dominant majority group (ibid). In the same article van Dijk even mentions that unless minorities are agents of negative actions, like crime, they are often represented in a passive role (ibid). The consequences of these forms of discursive racism can be huge for the members of minority groups (for example people living in a suburb like Angered) and affect their possibilities to for instance find an apartment or a job (ibid). In order to identify these subtle ways to express certain ideologies and attitudes behind the news articles about Angered critical discourse analysis will be applied as a method in this study.

Simon Lindgren (2009) analyzes racist news discourse in the Swedish Press 1998-2002 in his article *Representing otherness in youth crime discourse*. Lindgren focuses on analyzing the racist elements in so-called elite or institutional discourse. News articles being analyzed concern youth robberies in the Swedish press during the period 1998-2002. He even examined racist news discourse more generally from the perspective of continuity and change (ibid). Racism and the press is a subject that has been researched extensively within the field of critical discourse analysis (i.e. CDA). Lindgren (2009) states that so called “new” or “cultural racism” poses a threat to equality and democracy. The new racism involves rejecting that one’s self is “racist”. This includes even national parliaments, who often tend to view their own country as more equal or tolerant than any other. Even though cultural racism is denied by one’s self, it is expressed in discourse. It is a natural part of for example stereotypes, media reports, propaganda, political debates and advertising. The “racist discourse” are forms of representation that add to a binary construction of “us” and “them” in terms of “belongingness” and “otherness”; two categories that are divided by impassable symbolic boundaries (Lindgren 2009). Lindgren (2009) states even that those who are in positions of power or are considered having a high status are more likely to be used as informants than others. Hence, the media legitimizes the views of these primary sources, which control the field and are being used as references (ibid). Analyzing the actors who are cited in the news articles about Angered can expose what kinds of informants are being used.

4. Research method

4.1 Choice of method

In order to be able to answer the research questions as comprehensively as possible two methods have been combined in this research: a quantitative content analysis and thereafter a qualitative text analysis, more precisely a critical discourse analysis. It is important to note that these methods approach the material from two different perspectives and the aim is not to provide the same results but to emphasize and examine different aspects of the material. In this research the distinctive characteristics of both methods are rather seen as an opportunity to gain deeper understanding than a problem or paradox. I consider mixing these two methods a great benefit for this research. Combining the best sides of each different approach contributes to a broader knowledge and understanding of the media image of Angered.

4.1.1 Quantitative content analysis

According to Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998:2) quantitative content analysis as a method is “the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods”. Quantitative content analysis enables an analyze of large amount of material and is the best way to categorize content easily (ibid). A quantitative method can be applied in this research since it is based on equivalent, and therefore comparable data gained from so many different units of analysis that the data can be expressed and analyzed with digits (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson and Wängnerud 2012). Quantitative content analysis is especially suitable to apply when the aim is to see how often different types of contextual categories appear in a material. The method is about finding out partly how often or how frequently certain categories appear, and partly how big a room in time or space the different categories get.

Since the aim of this study is to research the media image of Angered in local newspaper articles, describing typical patterns and characteristics, and identifying how different things like subject and actors are connected to each other, is of importance. A quantitative content analysis can be used to measure these things and will therefore be applied. More precisely, with the help of quantitative content analysis I seek to reply the research questions concerning the matters that are covered and actors that are cited in the news articles. The purpose is thus to, with a quantitative content analysis, map out which matters are covered and lifted up frequently and what kind of actors are cited in the news articles about Angered.

4.1.2 Qualitative text analysis

There are multiple reasons to complete the quantitative content analysis with qualitative text analysis, which in this study is critical discourse analysis. With the help of a critical discourse analysis it is possible to capture the more implicit aspects of the news articles, i.e. read what is said between the lines and see what is beneath the surface (Esaiasson et al. 2012). Since the purpose of this research is to examine how Angered as a place is represented, the questions concerning whether the prevailing news discourse contributes to the marginalization of the suburb and the relationships between different actors are included in this research. Answers to these kinds of questions can only be found with intensive and close reading of the news articles. While a quantitative content analysis is effective in providing information about different patterns appearing in different parts of the articles, the qualitative text analysis views the articles as whole. For example, while only the actors who are cited (i.e. active actors) are chosen to be included in the quantitative content analysis, the qualitative text analysis will examine all the actors who appear in the news articles, even those who are represented as passive and are not cited. Beyond a “superficial” content analysis of isolated words, a detailed text analysis offers insight into the underlying mechanisms of how news discourse expresses attitudes and stereotypes (van Dijk 2000). Combination of these two approaches provides a greater understanding of the prevailing media image of Angered than neither of them would have provided alone. Since the aim of this research is also to critically examine the news articles in order to detect underlying ideologies a qualitative method is fitting and completes the quantitative approach (ibid).

4.2 Selection of material

The chosen material for this research consists of total 99 newspaper articles of three local newspapers: Göteborgs-Posten, GT and GöteborgDirekt. I chose to include only local newspapers in the analysis for two reasons: firstly, to make sure that the contents of the newspapers include as many news articles about Angered as possible and secondly it was a wish from the District Council of Angered who has commissioned this research. Reason behind limiting the sources of material in three newspapers is mainly practical since a larger amount of material would have been unmanageable in the time frame of ten weeks that this research had.

Göteborgs-Posten is a liberal daily newspaper that was founded in 1813 and is nowadays owned by Stampen Media Group. It was an obvious choice to include in the analysis since it is the biggest local newspaper in Gothenburg and it reaches 6 out of 10 people living in Gothenburg every day (GP 2017). Stampen Media Group is one of the biggest media corporations in Sweden. Göteborgs-Posten prioritizes local news and therefore Angered is more likely to appear than it maybe would be in some national newspaper.

GT is a tabloid newspaper founded in Gothenburg in 1902. It is a local edition of Expressen, that is one of two evening tabloid newspapers distributed nationwide in Sweden. GT is owned

by Bonnier AB and its political alignment is independent liberal (GT 2017). Including GT in the analysis creates variation in the material since it is a tabloid newspaper while Göteborgs Posten is a daily newspaper.

GöteborgDirekt is a free distribution newspaper that has a strong focus on local news and is distributed every weekend in different areas of Gothenburg. The articles analyzed in this research were published on GöteborgDirekt.se -website. GöteborgDirekt is part of DirektPress corporation that publishes totally over 40 local newspapers (GöteborgDirekt 2017). Including GöteborgDirekt came as an idea from the District Council of Angered.

When it comes to the genre of the articles the choice to only include news articles was made, because the aim is to examine the general media image of Angered and other genres are often characterized by implicit political or individual opinions. Another choice was to only include articles that were published online. All of the newspapers included in the analysis have adapted to the digitalization and have smoothly working websites and apps where almost all the articles that are published in the printed material are updated too. The layout that differs from the printed material is taken into consideration while analyzing the online articles.

The articles are collected from Retriever, a media archive, with the search word “Angered”. All the articles from the three chosen newspaper that included the word Angered were opened and hastily read through. The articles that mentioned Angered shortly, for example only as a final stop for a tram that had a technical problem and got delayed somewhere in the city, were left out and only relevant news articles that actually were connected to Angered were included. All the other genres except for news were also left out. The time frame from which the articles were taken was restricted to the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016. The time frame extends over two years in order to avoid biased results based on a certain event or occurrence, for instance the refugee crisis, that could have had an influence on the analyzed material.

While doing the quantitative content analysis I gained a good oversight of the whole material. Finally, from the whole material, ten articles were chosen for a closer qualitative analysis. The quantitative content analysis was used as a starting point for the qualitative text analysis. At the same time as the articles were coded certain articles that were considered important for a closer analysis were marked. The articles were chosen strategically with the aim of reflecting the realistic media image of Angered and with the search of discourses and meanings attached to different situations and topics on mind. After finalizing the quantitative categorizing of the articles I reflected over the results, and chose eight articles from the largest and overrepresented category of the variable “Matters covered”, one article from the second largest category and one article that was considered as good example of an exception from the dominant news discourse. The articles are strategically chosen to represent all the three newspapers and different periods of the chosen time frame. In the qualitative analysis I chose to analyze only the texts, i.e. leave out the analyze of images, simply because of the limited

time I had for the research. Including yet another comprehensive analysis in this study would have been too time-consuming.

4.3 Operationalization of the methods

4.3.1 Quantitative content analysis

To be able to categorize the material and ultimately answer the research questions a code book that consists of eight variables was designed. The research questions have been used as a source while designing the code book, which increases the validity of the research (Esaiasson et al. 2012). Both contextual variables and type variables are included in the code book. A draft of the code book was tested on a few of the news articles, and thereafter some minor changes were made before the code book was finalized.

In the code book that I used (see appendix 1) type variables, which cover Article ID (V1), Newspaper (medium) (V2) and Date (V3) aim to create structure in the analysis and to discern potential variation between the three chosen newspapers and/or temporal changes during years 2015-2016. Variables covering for example article type are not included since I have already earlier made a choice to only analyze news articles, and not for example editorials or letters-to-the-editor. The reason to why other type variables such as the size of the articles or their placement on the pages are not included, is that I have chosen to analyze merely articles that were published online on newspapers' webpages, where the placement or the size is not anymore similar to the original form of publishing and in general does not matter as much.

Variables V4-V8 are contextual because their purpose is to describe the substance of the contents, i.e. what kind of information and message the contents consists of (Nilsson 2010). V4 is labeled "Matter covered", has twelve different values and focuses on listing out the subjects that the news concern. Including this variable in the research is interesting since it maps out what kind of subjects become news in the first place. Furthermore, it provides partly an answer to the research question 1. Variables 5-8 aim to determine different factors related to actors in the articles. Only actors who are cited are taken into consideration in the analysis, because the purpose of the quantitative method is to analyze only the active actors while the qualitative analysis considers even the passive actors. V5 "Actor: Home district" aims to find out whether the actor's home district is mentioned and how many of the actors actually live in Angered. Variables from 6 to 8 intent to define the different actors based on their features such as role (i.e. whether the person is represented as for example public authority, police or private individual), gender and age.

In order to increase the reliability of the research I set up strict coding instructions that I followed while coding the articles. I also set up rules for choosing the articles from Retriever, although I know that coding instructions and rules do not completely exclude the possibility

that the results can be depended on me since I have collected the material. Furthermore, I am aware of the fact that too many special instructions can make the coding more difficult, and therefore I have from the start designed the variables and their values to be as logical and mutually exclusive as possible (Nilsson 2010). I have included the categories “other” and “not mentioned” in some of the variables in order to fulfil “the claim for completeness”, i.e. there is always only one possible value that each unit of analysis can take (Esaiasson et al. 2012).

Every quantitative analysis usually includes a so called reliability test (Esaiasson et al 2012). Reliability means the accuracy of the instrument used, i.e. whether the code book I have designed would be used the same way by some other researcher and the coding would consistently result to the same outcome, regardless the situation in which it is done or how many times it is repeated (ibid). The fact that I am the only researcher, and have therefore studied all the articles and done the coding process alone, could possibly be seen as a threat to the reliability of this research. Some mistakes could be made simply because of the human factor. In order to strengthen the reliability, and decrease the mistakes in the coding process, I have used a so-called intercoder reliability which means that the same person who coded the material codes it again after a while (Esaiasson et al 2012). I have during the research period coded the material twice by myself and can therefore claim that the reliability of this research is relatively high. When it comes to validity (the degree to which the chosen methods measure what they claim to measure) I consider the rules and categories theoretically and conceptually complete. These categories and rules have even been applied reliably which increases the chance of the results being valid (Riffe et al 1998).

4.3.2 Critical discourse analysis

When it comes to the qualitative text analysis I have chosen to apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA highlights the aspects in the society that are often taken for granted and can therefore be difficult to capture with systematical empiric research (Berglez 2010). In this research the focus is primarily on social aspects, which can be captured by applying CDA. With the critical discourse analysis it is possible to reach the socio-cultural context, which could not be done for example with a rhetorical analysis. Some scholars have pointed out certain problems with “text-only” analyses, among other things the impact of external factors like for example professional media practice on the way in which the discourses are represented or how the text actually is interpreted by different parts of the audience (Philo 2007). However, I have regardless certain criticism of the methodology chosen to do a “text-only” critical discourse analysis, since there are arguments stating that media texts show a unique discursive moment between encoding and decoding which needs distinct academic engagement (Fürsich 2009). The narrative appeal that the content in media often has is a likely site for ideological negotiation and its influence as mediated truth demands interpretation as such (ibid).

In order to avoid a personal interpretation or a simple review of the material the critical discourse analysis is made as systematically as possible. In conducting a good discourse analysis, it is important that the research question actually asks the right things that can be answered with CDA. Thus, the research questions are carefully considered and formulated, and then finalized with the chosen methods on mind.

The inequities and unequal relations that exist in our society are hidden in the words and sentences that we use on a daily basis, and the aim of the critical discourse analysis is to point out these circumstances (Berglez 2010). News articles are a discourse since they form a kind of a language. The social reality is packaged in a certain way, which can be seen in the language that is used in the news articles (ibid). CDA can reveal the way in which the prevailing news discourse interacts and negotiates with or countervails ideologies, i.e. the overriding ideas in the society and their more or less obvious hidden agendas, values and interests (ibid).

Critical discourse analysis starts from an assumption that texts often contain a dramatic story and they are a result of political, economic or cultural disagreements that someone has finally won (ibid). In critical discourse analysis discourses are considered to be something that construct the reality and therefore language and society form an internal and dialectical relationship (Fairclough 2003). Therefore, it is important to understand the relation between the language and the social practices and how they influence each other. In this research the focus is on construction of social identities and relations in which discourses are important (ibid). According to Fairclough's (2003) three-dimensional method CDA consists of a language text, a discourse practice (text production and interpretation) and sociocultural practice. In this research the main focus of CDA will be on the first dimension, i.e. a close analysis of the language in the news articles. Outcome of the analysis on a textual level helps to define how the prevailing news discourses are created (ibid). The second dimension, discourse practice, will not be examined thoroughly mainly because of the relatively strict limitations (considering for instance the genre of the articles) I have done while choosing the material. When it comes to the third dimension, the sociocultural practice, I will analyze the results of the two earlier dimensions in relation to the theoretical framework and earlier studies about suburbs and creation of "others" in media (see chapter 3).

On a textual level (the first dimension of Fairclough's model) the construction of the articles will be examined with the help of different linguistic features. The focus will be on metaphors, representational strategies of social actors (i.e. classification of social actors) and modality. These categories were chosen based on the research questions and the overview of all the news articles I gained while doing the quantitative content analysis.

Since the purpose of the research is to examine the media image of Angered and the first research question concerns the potential marginalization of Angered in the news articles I have chosen to analyze metaphors in the texts. Notwithstanding the common way to associate metaphor with poetry the linguists have proven that metaphor is a fundament in human

thinking, and all of our statements of the world are actually based on metaphorical thinking (Machin & Mayr 2012). Metaphor is an important way for us to understand reality and make sense of things, but they can also be ideologically significant. A broad normalization of a metaphor can influence the way we organize our society (ibid). Metaphors can hide underlying power relations and therefore the metaphors appearing in the news articles about Angered are interesting to examine closely in this research.

When it comes to representing different actors the journalist has always a variety of possible alternatives while choosing how to represent individuals or groups of people (who are often called social actors in CDA) (Machin & Mayr 2012). The representational strategies have the ability to imply certain ideas or values. The social actors can be classified in different ways, which often have ideological effects (ibid). The representational strategies are particularly interesting to examine with the second research question on mind. By different ways of representing the social actors the news articles can for example emphasize somebody's otherness. Analyzing individualization vs. collectivization the groups that are humanized can be revealed while by analyzing pronoun vs. noun for example the creation of collective "other" can be identified (ibid). Anonymization and aggregation are ways of anonymizing the social actors or treating them as "statistics" (ibid). Examination of these different linguistic features in the news articles about Angered can reveal a lot about the actors and the relations between them.

In the field of discourse theory, it is a common concern to find out how specific people, or groups of people, are able to shape the prevailing discourses. In the society certain people have stronger influence and position when it comes to defining what is true, while other people or groups might be closed out from the discussion. In this research for example when it comes to defining what kind of a place Angered is or the identities of the inhabitants there, the statements have different status depending on the actor who is speaking. People who read the newspaper articles do not have to know the actors cited in the texts personally but nevertheless peoples' views of their social status, experience and gender shape how they interpret their sayings (Lindgren 2009). Therefore, I have chosen to include modality as one of the linguistic categories in CDA. Modality means the level of people's commitment to what they say. The use of modals reveals something about the speaker's identity and importantly, hence, the amount of power they have over others and over knowledge (Machin & Mayr 2012). Examining the modals will contribute to understanding the relations and power structures between different social actors.

The coding process started from the headlines. The headlines as parts of the texts have many important functions; they are noticeable and placed highest up on the articles. The information they express awakes certain ways of thinking that will guide reader's interpretations throughout the rest of the text (Lindgren 2009). By giving the reader what is considered to be the most important information the headlines bias the continued process of understanding, and therefore have ideological consequences (ibid). The headlines are therefore not to be regarded as something random, but rather crucial to the very definition of "suburbs" as a social and

discursive phenomenon. Therefore, a closer reading of headlines aimed to assess how the chosen news articles were framed. Before the actual coding of the entire articles I set up analysis schemes where the information regarding the three different linguistic categories chosen could be categorized. Later all the examples were collected in categories under certain themes that aim to provide answers to the research questions and will be presented in Chapter 6.

4.4. A short method discussion

The methodological choices have been made in order to ensure that the research measures what it is designed to measure and fulfil the purpose of the research. While a preunderstanding and a certain level of subjectivity could have an influence on the qualitative part, the aim of the quantitative part is not to make any own interpretations. The fact that the material is collected from three different newspapers from two years' time increases the generalizability of the quantitative part of this study. The aim is to be able to analyze the media image of Angered based on the material from the three newspapers but also to be able to generalize the results to represent even a broader media image of Angered and possibly even identify a relation with news coverage of other similar suburbs in Sweden.

5. Results of the quantitative content analysis

In this chapter the results of the quantitative content analysis are presented. The analysis of these results is done in the next chapter together with presenting and analyzing the results of the critical discourse analysis. The presentation of the results is divided in this way because the findings of the critical discourse analysis are easier to understand in conjunction with a theory-based analysis while the quantitative results are partly presented in charts.

5.1 Matters covered

The quantitative content analysis of total 99 articles from Göteborgs Posten, GT and Göteborg Direkt during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016 shows that the news coverage of Angered revolves primarily around crime and social issues. In the table below the distribution of the matters covered in the news reporting can be seen. The numbers are actual amounts, not percentage.

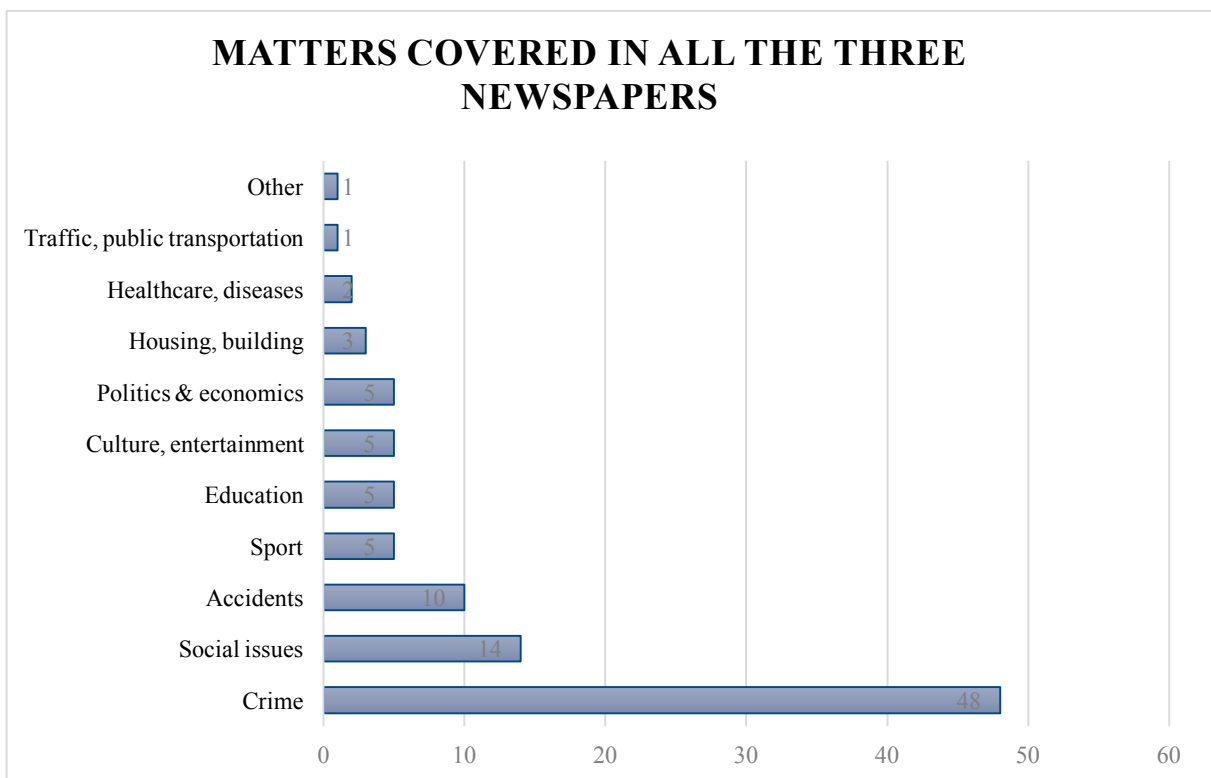


Figure 1

5.2 Differences between the three newspapers

In the table below the matters covered in the relation to the chosen newspapers is showed. Of all the articles analyzed totally 61 were published in Göteborgs Posten, 28 in GT 10 in GöteborgDirekt. Any remarkable temporal differences could not be seen in the material.

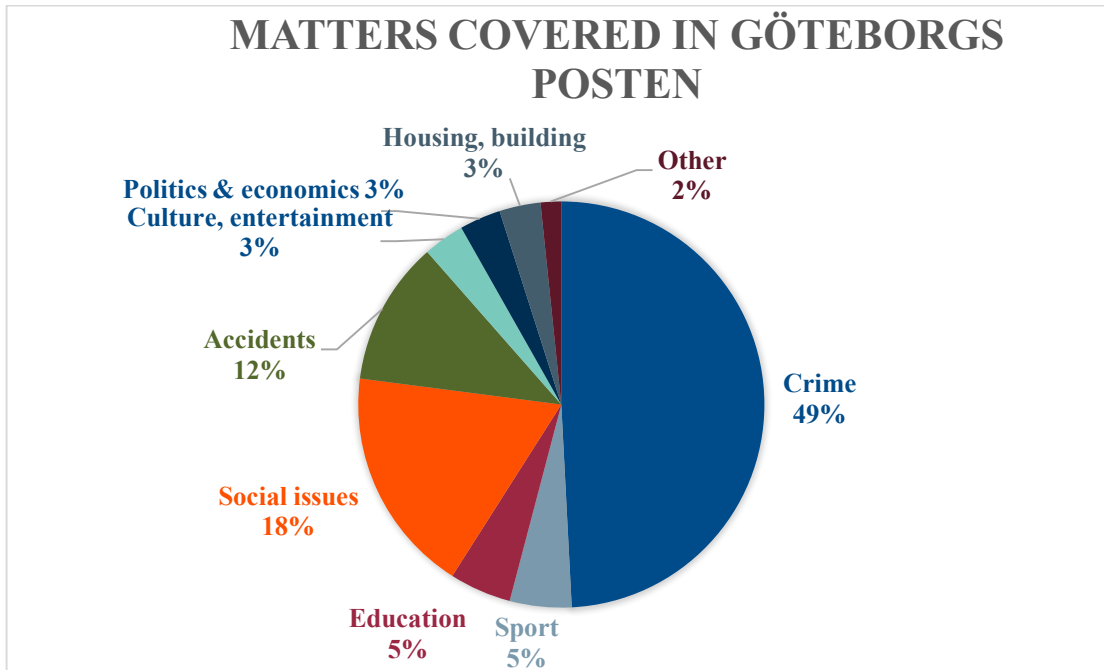


Figure 2

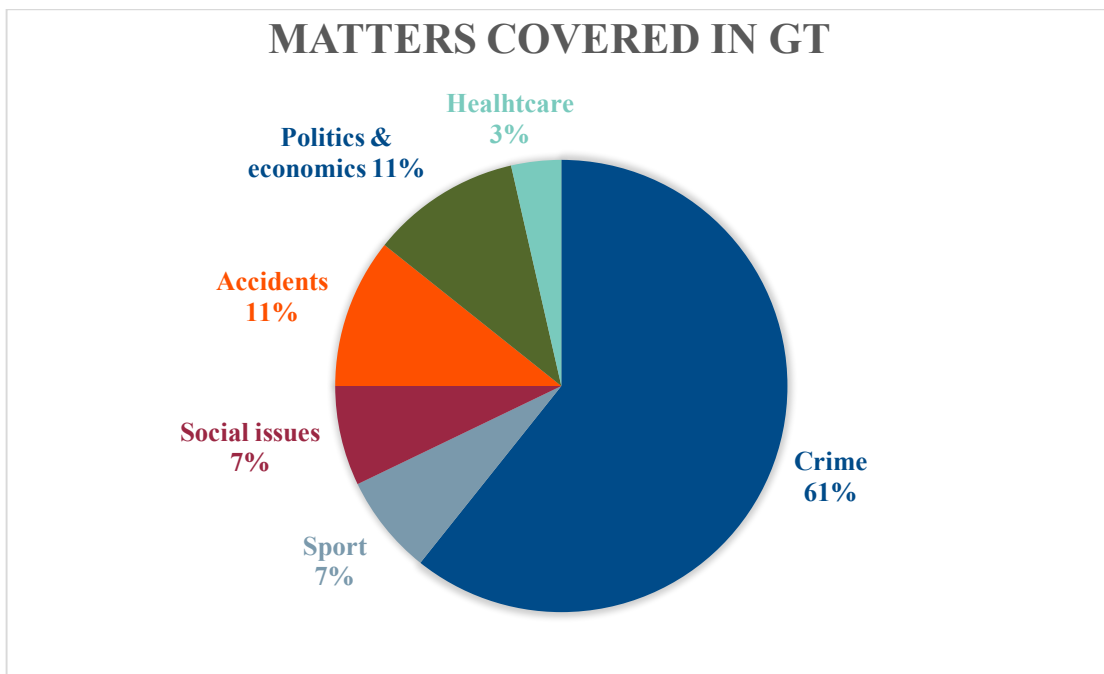


Figure 3

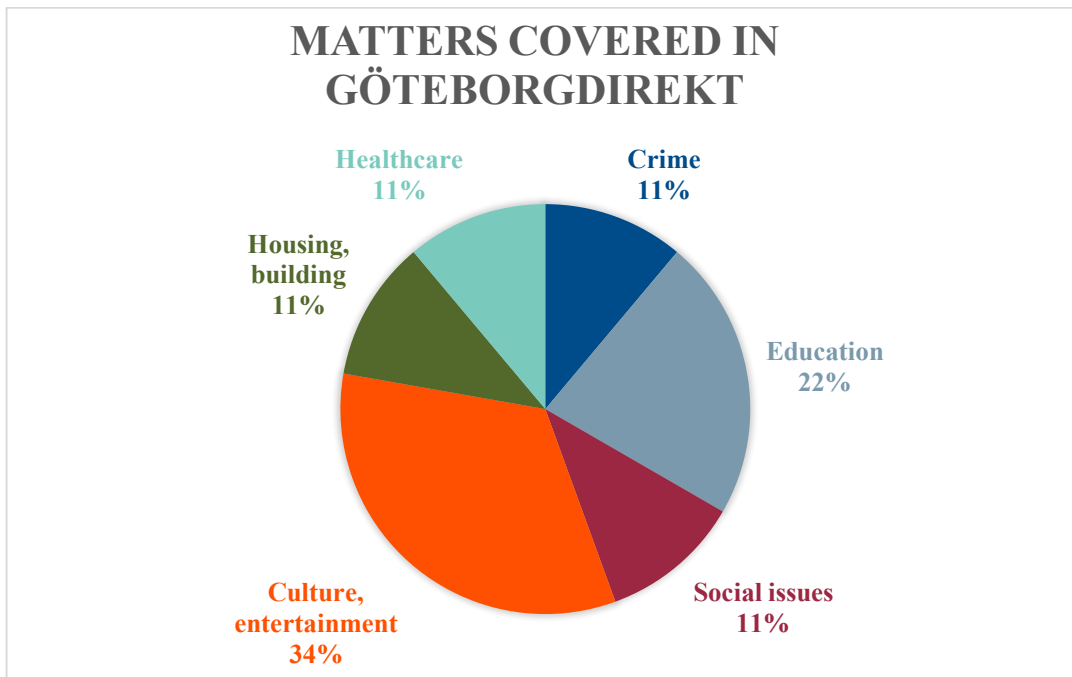


Figure 4

5.3 Actors in the articles

There were totally 146 cited in the articles and totally 12 articles with no cited actors at all. The majority of the cited actors were police or police representatives. The category “Other” includes for example actors such as imam, an expert and a broadcaster. The numbers in the chart below are percentage.

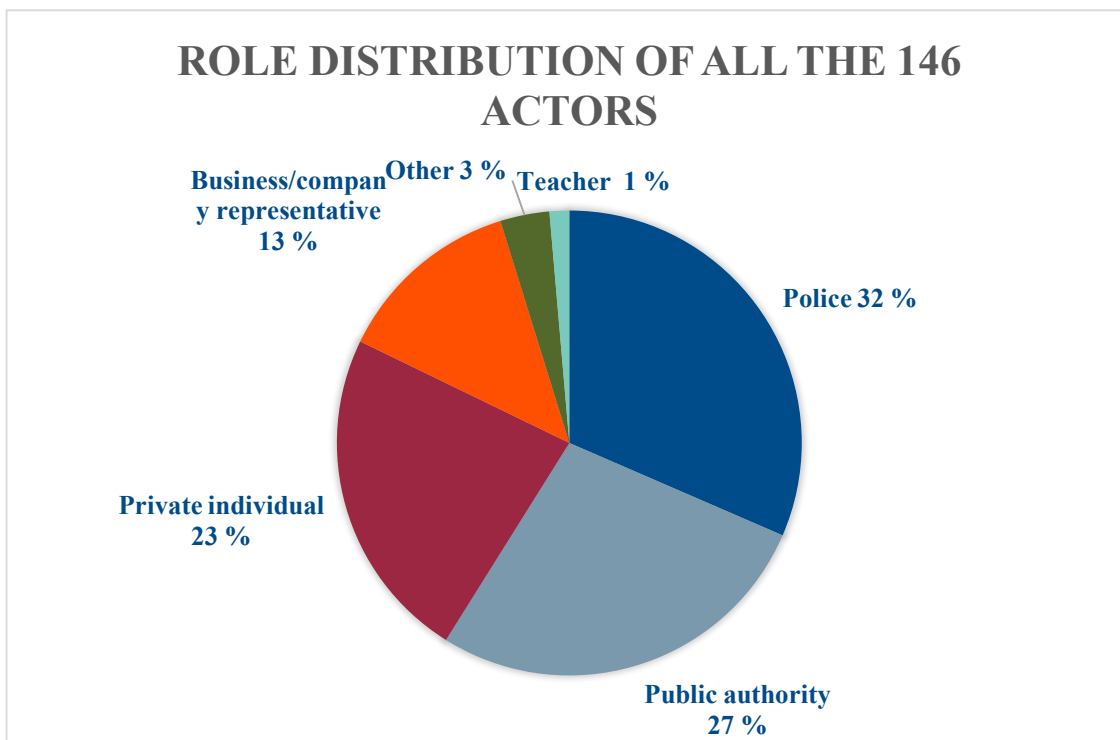


Figure 5

The articles that had no actor cited were covering subjects as presented below:

Matter covered	Number of articles with no actor
Crime	7
Social issues	1
Politics & economics	1
Culture, entertainment	1
Accidents	1
Other	1

Table 1

Of all the 146 actors 15 is mentioned to live in Angered and all of them are categorized as private individuals. The articles where private individuals who live in Angered are cited cover the categorized matters as follows:

Matter covered	Number of individuals living in Angered cited
Crime	6
Housing	3
Culture	2
Sport	2
Social issues	1
Education	1

Table 2

Since articles about crime are overrepresented in the material it is interesting to see which actors get the chance to be cited in this category. This distribution of the actors is shown in the chart below.

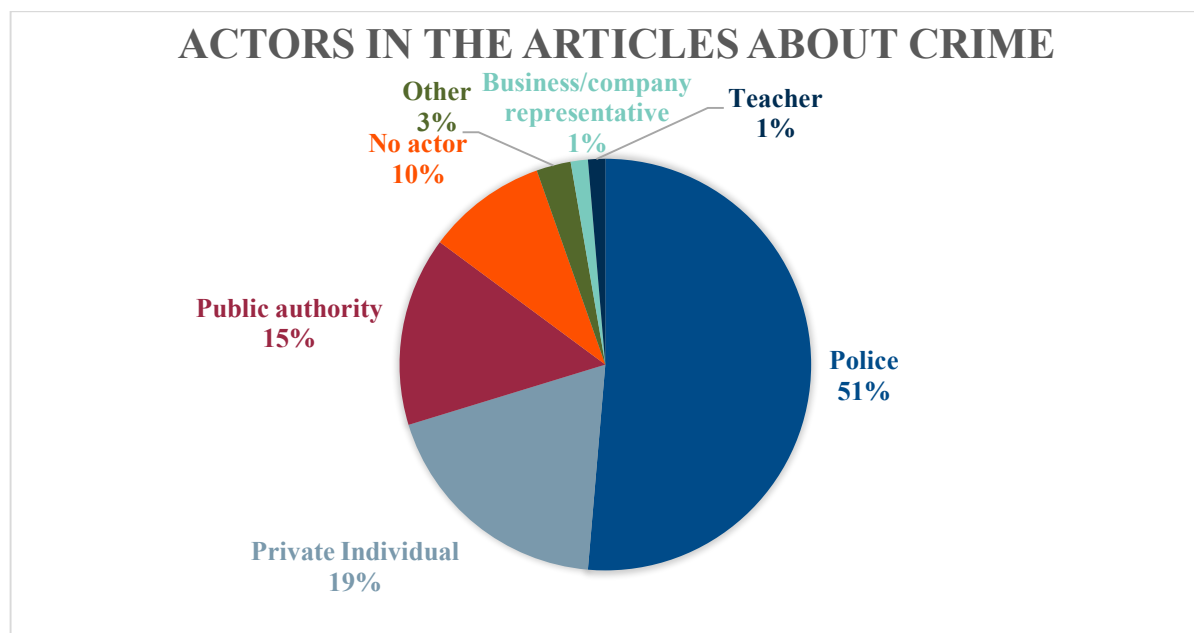


Figure 6

6. Discussion of the results

In this chapter analysis of the results of quantitative content analysis are presented first. Thereafter the results and analysis of the critical discourse analysis are presented.

6.1 Quantitative content analysis

6.1.1 Overrepresentation of crime

The results of the quantitative content analysis show that the articles that dominate the news reporting are about crime, social issues and accidents. There is always a choice for journalists and editors to make when it comes to deciding which reactions, occurrences and actions should or should not become news (Lindgren 2009). One theme that is always newsworthy is crime (ibid), which could partly explain the overrepresentation of crime in the news discourse about Angered. The overrepresentation of crime leads to the representation of other themes being quite narrow. Representing Angered with a one-sided media image risks to marginalize the suburb and treat it as peripheral.

There are some differences in terms of the matters covered between the different newspapers. Göteborgs-Posten and GT have quite similar distribution of the themes with news about crime representing approximately half of the whole news coverage. Other dominating themes besides crime are social issues and accidents. Some news cover lighter subjects, such as sports but nevertheless some lighter themes such as healthcare in Göteborgs-Posten or education and culture in GT are not covered at all during the chosen time period. The news coverage in GöteborgDirekt looks quite dramatically different compared to the two other newspapers. Unfortunately, there were only ten articles published in GöteborgDirekt that fitted the selection criteria. This could be caused the fact that all the articles from the printed material of GöteborgDirekt are not published online. However, analysis of these ten articles shows that the largest theme covered in the news is culture and entertainment, while crime receives approximately equal coverage with the other themes. This is an interesting difference compared to the matters covered in the two other newspapers. The reason behind the more comprehensive news coverage in GöteborgDirekt could be the strong local focus and free distribution to specific city districts. Nevertheless, since GöteborgDirekt is a local and relatively small free distribution newspaper it alone is not enough to challenge the dominating discourses.

6.1.2 Role distribution of all the actors

Of all the 146 actors only 15 are mentioned to live in Angered, which is a very small number while comparing it to the number of people who are cited in the articles in total. All of the people living in Angered are also categorized as private individuals. The small number could partly result from the fact that if people are presented in some other role than private individual, for example as a public authority or company representative, their home district is seldom mentioned.

A reason behind the relatively narrow news coverage of Angered could be the somewhat standardized practices in making the news, for example journalists are used to receive information from certain sources. Figure 5 shows the role distribution of all the 146 actors. The dominating groups are police, private individuals and public authorities, who seem to be cited almost equally many times. However, looking at the figure 6 “Actors in the articles about crime” reveals that the police is an active actor in over half of the articles that cover crime. Since the articles about crime are dominating the media image it means that police are often the actors who get to speak and therefore also define Angered. This will be discussed further while analyzing the results of CDA.

6.2 Critical discourse analysis

Below follows a review of the ten articles that were used as the empiric material in the critical discourse analysis. The aim is to describe and show with examples the different discursive elements that exist in the news articles about Angered. Thus, every article is not presented individually but parts of them are highlighted according to their relevance for each subheading. All the articles analyzed in this chapter are listed in Appendix 2.

6.2.1 Talking about crime

As the results of the quantitative content analysis showed crime is a subject that is overrepresented in the news reporting of Angered. Therefore, eight articles that are categorized as “crime” were analyzed more closely with critical discourse analysis.

The articles analyzed describe different types of crimes from blackmailing, shootings and gun violence to vandalism and robberies. In almost all the cases the only person that is interviewed is a police representative or other type of authority such as a prosecutor. When it comes to the news articles about crimes the police discourse is strongly dominant, and rarely leaves place for other discourses. Since a major part of the articles focus on crimes the police discourse can be seen as a normal and necessary reaction to this, and therefore become naturalized. Consequently, the police representatives are also the ones who get to define the

other actors and for example people who actually live in Angered are often not represented at all.

Regardless the fact that the articles that make up the empirical basis for this analysis are examples of one-way mediated communication they still have an interactive dimension (Lindgren 2009). The articles constitute social relations between those who interact (Fairclough 2003). The relations can be constituted on several levels but in this research the interest is in the relations between various actors. Associations of ideas, values and activities will always be brought up by making the representational choices (Machin & Mayr 2012). So-called functional honorifics are often used while the authorities are cited. Naming the speakers “prosecutor” or “chief of police” signals the authority and importance of the actor. The police representatives who often get to “summarize”, “state” and “say” their perspective of the happening also get to define the young people who are the ones committing the crimes. The use of these kinds of modals reveals the power the authorities have over others and over knowledge (Mayr & Machin 2012). The criminals are referred to as “the youths”, “youth gangs”, “group of younger boys” or even “little brats” or “these kids”. Pronouns like “us”, “we” and “them” are also often, which contribute to creation a collective “other” (ibid).

“It is about the witnesses who have seen that these boys have a weapon and we send a patrol to the location”, says the press officer of the police Stefan Gustafsson. (GT, 04.06.2015)¹

The youth criminals become “others” who oppose the shared ideas and are something different from “us”. They also become the symbol of crimes and other bad things happening in Angered. The concept of “we” is often ambiguous, which makes it easy to hide power relations behind it. “We” can mean for example the police or the people living in other parts of Gothenburg or maybe the whole nation. In the case of Angered, the criminals often seem to be young people, particularly young boys. The way of creating others of the youth criminals is problematic especially since other types of youths living in Angered are almost never represented in the news articles, which makes it easy to create stereotypes and assume that all the young people in Angered are criminals. Furthermore, by leaving all the other people living in Angered out of the news reports lets the criminals be the main actors representing the whole of Angered. This is problematic especially because the criminals are often understandably referred to in bad terms. The CDA-articles covering crimes include citations only from two persons who are categorized as private individuals and who also live in Angered. One of them is an older lady and the other one is anonymized just as “a neighbor”.

A neighbor tells that there had been a group of young people at the same place before the gun fire. (GT, 05.10.2016)

Yet again, the youths are referred to as a generic group and the neighbor only gets to confirm what is already said by the police and other authorities. The only actors who are cited besides the authorities get to speak within the prevailing police discourse. This leaves the

¹ Translated from Swedish by the author, see all the original phrases in Appendix 2

representation of the people living in Angered very narrow. The results of the quantitative analysis show that of all the actors cited in the articles about crime only six are actually said to be living in Angered. According to the theory of agenda setting the representational choices made by journalists influence what we know, care and talk about (Hodkinson 2014) and therefore the narrow representation of the people living in Angered also influences what the public knows about the people living in the suburb.

The young people who commit the crimes are often subjects of collectivization in the articles (Machin & Mayr 2012). They are not mentioned by names and are mainly described through the things they do, for example: “one of the young people who ran away”. The readers are kept further away from these youths by representing them simply as a generic group that is never humanized. This is particularly problematic in relation to Ristilammi’s research about how a negative media image of a suburb has an impact on how the inhabitants perceive themselves. In this particular case the young people living in Angered can be seen as especially vulnerable group when it comes to identity building. The young people living in Angered who are not criminals are marginalized and therefore never get to define themselves. The bad media image of the youth criminals can contribute negatively to the self-image of all the young people living in Angered.

By not representing the people who commit crimes as specific individuals but as a generic type the story can be placed into a news frame, where the youth crimes are an emerging problem in Sweden. The youth criminals have earlier been constructed by the media as immigrant youth reacting angrily at the society (Lindgren 2009). Lindgren (2009) who analyzed youth robberies and racism in the Swedish Press, states that so called “Folk Devils”, scapegoats that the youth robbers came to represent, were needed to reflect the fears and anxieties caused by a series of social transformations in among other things neighborhood, housing and law and order. This could partly explain the prevailing police discourse and the genericisation of the young people in the news reporting of Angered. The simple otherness of the young criminals seems to matter more than race or color, because the aim is to construct a scapegoat who can act as a symbolic tool to get by the periodic crises which typify any capitalist society (ibid).

6.2.2 A dominating discourse

The reasons that have led to committing crimes in Angered are not analyzed in the news articles. Social problems behind these occurrences and the opinions of the people who live in Angered are rarely mentioned. The absence of political or social discourse leaves any deeper analysis of the problems out and the whole media discourse of Angered is stamped by violence. Since many of the crimes that are in the news are of violent character a reaction from the police is necessary and expected. It is more obvious to interview a police than a politician if a crime has been committed. Therefore, it is natural that police representatives have a big role in the articles. The naturalization of police’s presence in Angered and the

dominating police discourse however contribute to leaving out a lot of different perspectives. The response from the people living in Angered is mostly criticism towards violence but any kind of criticism towards the police, other authorities or the prevailing social structures is not presented.

One good example of this is an article that talks about acts of vandalism against schools. The actors who get to speak about the incidence are a police, the headmaster of a school and Angered's education sector leader. A police officer analyses the situation as follows:

Judging by the course of actions it feels like this is about some little brats who simply seem to have had a good time when they have been breaking down and destroying the school, and they wanted to see the reactions afterwards. (Göteborgs-Posten, 07.12.2015)

Even though the article is about a crime the reasons behind the crime are not discussed. The criminals are defined as "little brats", which represents them as a "necessary evil", something that is disturbing the normal order and should rather be treated with despise than try to find the reasons behind this kind of behavior. Any of the students who actually attend the school and will face the direct consequences of the vandalism are not interviewed. This is a pattern that can be seen in almost all of the articles. In many of the articles the criminals are described as badly behaving youngsters who cause troubles in the society. The criminals being young is something that is mentioned often as a side notion and not even once addressed as something abnormal. In the following example a prosecutor refers to the criminals as "kids":

"I have had a couple of these kids arrested for preparing a robbery before. So they are known by us", Helena Treiberg Claesson summarizes. (Göteborgs-Posten, 04.02.2016)

The youth criminals are described as something that the authorities are already familiar with but not as a continuous or emerging problem that would require some specific actions from the families of the youths or the society. The social or political discourse that could address the reasons behind the crimes are missing from the articles.

6.2.3 Comparison between GT and GöteborgDirekt

The different discourses have an influence over how different happenings in Angered should be understood. As it can be seen from the results of the quantitative analysis the news coverage of Angered is more comprehensive in GöteborgDirekt than it is in GT or Göteborgs-Posten. Among the material there were two articles published about the same occurrence, a police mission in Angered, one of them in GT and the other one in GöteborgDirekt. Based on the results on the quantitative content analysis it is interesting to compare these two articles more closely. By comparing the contents some subtle differences in the ways of representing the same occurrence can be detected between the two newspapers. The title of the article in GöteborgDirekt (06.10.2016) is *Firing blanks caused a large police mission* while GT (05.10.2016) titles the piece of news as *A large police action after a suspected shooting*. Already by comparing the titles it can be seen that GöteborgDirekt has a more neutral way of

presenting the event and showing already in the title that the large police mission would not have been required since the suspected shooting turned out to be a false alarm. GT in turn does not reveal in the title that suspicion was not correct. This could be explained by the fact that GT is an evening tabloid newspaper, which tend to use dramatic titles more often (Ghersetti 2004). The only actor interviewed in GöteborgDirekt is a communal police of Angered while GT interviews the spokesperson of the police of West Sweden and an anonymous witness who is simply called “a neighbor”. The communal police in GöteborgDirekt talks about the happening in relation to similar occurrences in other parts of the city:

Right now we are in a situation where there have been similar things happening lately in many places all around the city, which have led to people being alarmed. That is the reason why so many people called the police. (GöteborgDirekt, 06.10.2016)

Any relation to similar occurrences is not mentioned in GT. The focus of the same happening in GT is on the blockage of the area that is said to be next to a school yard and on the neighbor’s description of the youth gang that had been hanging nearby just before the suspected shooting. Both newspapers have a police discourse but the other police works locally in Angered while the police interviewed by GT is a police spokesperson of the whole West Sweden. This example confirms what could already partly be seen from the quantitative analysis: GöteborgDirekt has a more comprehensive way of representing Angered than the two other newspapers have. It is quite obvious that there are some established relations between the journalists and certain police representatives. It is easy for journalists to get the information from these sources and therefore the representation of the actors tends to be similar over and over again. This can partly explain why it is often the same persons who get to describe the happenings in Angered and why the police discourse is dominant.

6.2.4 Us and them, but who has the power?

In the two articles analyzed, that are about culture and a social issue and not crime, the police discourse is not visible and the social and political discourses appear. In a rare example of Göteborgs Posten (04.11.2016) *Youths get a chance to try out a painter’s profession* is about a project that gives the youths from Angered an opportunity to try out professional painting and the aim of the project is to get 150 young people to work or study until year 2021. In this article the young people from Angered are presented as something else than criminals, but the use of “us” and “them” still exists. The young people from Angered, “they”, get the chance to try something provided by “us”, the people who have the resources to help “the others”. The media image of Angered is stamped by negative news and therefore if something positive is said it is often in the light of a problem that lies beneath. The article that describes the difficulties to hire people to work as social service workers in Angered highlights the issue as a political problem and a politician is interviewed. Overall the representation of actors in all the articles analyzed is quite limited and they often get to speak within the prevailing discourses. News about harder subjects, like crime, are dominating the media image of

Angered and a lot of space is given to authorities and police. The people living in Angered do not get a fair chance to define their own problems or even represent themselves. They are either objects that the authors have the power to rule over or not even mentioned at all.

6.2.5 Representing Angered as a place

The news coverage of the Million Program areas is often characterized by hard news, which is the case also in Angered. There is an underlying assumption that the crimes and problems reflect the normal state in the suburb (Ericsson et al 2002). The one-sided media image presents Angered often as something that is a bit further away, a periphery. When something happens the people call the police who send patrols to Angered. Angered is often represented as a restless place where youth gangs and criminals rampage as they please and the police arrives there from time to time in order to stabilize the situation. This setting contributes to the creation of “others” and the marginalization of Angered.

From now on a security work including more presence out in the field and leading a dialog with youths in the city district will be launched. (Göteborgs-Posten 07.12.2015)

Any kind of critic against the police or their actions as the first and only alternative towards disorder in a suburb is not mentioned in any of the articles. Angered and the people living there are overall described as something that needs to be helped or supported somehow. van Dijk (2000) states that news articles can both construct and fortify prejudices which makes the one-sided media image problematic. After a shooting incident a journalist asked a person, who is anonymously named as “a neighbor” how it feels when something like a shooting happens in the area where one lives, the answer was as follows:

“It feels like I am in the war again. I am afraid”. (GT 04.09.2016)

By comparing Angered to a warzone the suburb is presented as something dangerous and very different to other parts of the city and Sweden. The violence happening in Angered is one of the main reasons why these kind of matters receive large news coverage. By repeating the same subject over and over again with almost the same formula a discourse is created. Attention to only certain kind of news could also be explained by the fact that they are being talked about all the time and therefore become a norm. It is easy to follow the prevailing discourse with established practices but harder to break the norm.

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine the media image of Angered when it comes to the matters covered and the actors presented in the news reporting of three local newspapers during the first week of each month from January 2015 to December 2016.

The main results show that hard news especially crime is dominating the news coverage of Angered. The strongly dominating police discourse leaves a little place for other discourses which contributes to a one-sided media image. The narrow representation of Angered leaves the suburb and the people living there in periphery. The media image of Angered conforms with earlier studies which show that the news coverage of the Million Program areas in Sweden are often characterized by hard news (Ericsson et al. 2002). Crime and social issues are dominating the media image of Angered. The one-sided media image of Angered is stamped negatively and even the positive news are often seen in the light of underlying problems.

The dominating news about crime call after a police discourse, which can also be detected by analyzing the actors who are cited in the articles. Authorities, primarily police representatives get to speak and therefore also define the other actors. Thus, the actors represented in the articles are often not representing Angered. Tendencies towards creation of “others” can be seen, especially when it comes to youth criminals who in many cases get to be the only actors representing Angered. People of Angered do not get to define themselves or the place they live in. In general, the discourse order is not open since the hard news about crime and violence take a lot of space and leave a little space for representing other perspectives. The one-sided media image can be hurtful for the people living in Angered. The media should aim to represent different perspectives and avoid following the routines and established structures. Even though the hard news are dominating they do not have to be framed in a negative way. The comparison between the two articles of GT and GöteborgDirekt provides a good example of how the same piece of news can be presented in two different ways, GöteborgDirekt being the more neutral example.

The quantitative research of the news articles was done in the aim of finding out what kind of matters are covered and what kind of actors are cited in the news reporting of Angered. I think the method was adequate and the research question was answered. The results resemble the results of earlier studies about the news coverage of suburbs in Sweden which partly reinforces the possibility to generalize the results of this study. In order to understand the news coverage in relation to marginalization of suburbs and to analyze the relations between different actors CDA was applied. The more thorough critical discourse analysis of the texts revealed interesting information that would have been missed if the quantitative content analysis would have been the only method. Especially the representation of young people

living in Angered and even the differences in reporting about the same subject in different newspapers were findings that would be interesting to research even further in the future.

Overall, combining the two methods was a good choice that resulted in answering the research questions comprehensively. Choosing only one method could have possibly left more time for even deeper analysis but on the other hand many important aspects would have been lost. The benefits of combining these two methods are more valuable than for example choosing the quantitative analysis as the only method and including more articles in the material. As for the future research suggestions, it would be interesting to analyze the media image of Angered in different medias such as the news in television. Furthermore, interviewing the people living in Angered and gaining their perspective of the media image would be an interesting addition to the research.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Code book

V1 Article-ID

Text, two first words

V2 Newspaper

1 – GP

2 – GT

3 – Göteborg Direkt

V3 Date

e.g. 2016-01-01, 2016-12-07

V4 Matter covered

1 – Crime

2 – Social issues

3 – Culture, entertainment

4 – Sport

5 – Education

6 – Accidents, nature catastrophes

7 – Politics, economics

8 – Environment

9 – Housing, building

10 – Healthcare, diseases

11 – Traffic, public transport

12 – Other

V5 Actor: home district

0 – no actor

1 – lives in Angered

2 – does not live in Angered

3 – not mentioned

V6 Actor: role

0 – no actor

1 – public authority

2 – police

3 – teacher

4 – business/company representative

5 – private individual

6 – other

V7 Actor: gender

0 – no actor

1 – man

2 – woman

3 – not mentioned

V8 Actor: age

0 – no actor

1 – Under 30

2 – Over 30

3 – not mentioned

Appendix 2: Articles in CDA and original phrases before translating

- Andersson, E. (2016). Angered vill ge sina socialsekreterare sextimmarsdag. GöteborgDirekt, 6 september.
- Andersson, E. (2016). Lösa skott orsakade stort polispådrag. GöteborgDirekt, 06 oktober.
- Andersson, J., Malmgren K. & Sandström, G. (2016). Anita, 67: "Det lät som ett automatvapen". GT 04 september.
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- Karlsson, U. (2016). Här får ungdomar testa målaryrket. Göteborgs-Posten, 04 november.
- Kennedy, M. (2015). Skola totalt sönderslagen – filmer ska granskas. Göteborgs-Posten, 07 december.
- Linné, P. (2016). 16-åring skulle få naglar utdragna med tång. Göteborgs-Posten, 04 februari.
- Linné, P. & Larsson, A. (2016). Tre personer anhållna efter utpressning. Göteborgs-Posten, 04 januari.
- Magnå, J. (2016). Man rånades – på sina helt nyinköpta kläder. GT, 03 mars.
- Wikström, S. & Lindsten, B. (2016). Stor polisinsats efter misstänkt skjutning. GT, 05 oktober.

Original phrases before translating, in order of appearance:

- GT, 04.06.2015: *"Det handlar om vittnen som sett att de här killarna har ett vapen och vi skickar en patrull till platsen", säger polisens presstalesman Stefan Gustafsson.*
- GT, 05.10.2016: *En granne berättar att det hade uppehållit sig ungdomar på platsen innan skottlossningen.*
- Göteborgs-Posten, 07.12.2015: *Av tillvägagångssättet att döma så känns det som det handlar om skitningar, helt enkelt, som verkar ha haft roligt när de gått in för att slå sönder och förstöra skolan, och av att se reaktionerna efteråt.*
- Göteborgs-Posten, 04.02.2016: *"Jag har tidigare haft ett par av de här grabbarna anhållna för förberedelser till rån. Dom är alltså kända av oss", summerar Helena Treiberg Claesson.*
- GöteborgDirekt, 06.10.2016: *Lösa skott orsakade stort polispådrag*
- GT, 05.10.2016: *Stor polisinsats efter misstänkt skjutning*
- GöteborgDirekt, 06.10.2016: *Just nu är vi i ett läge när det har hänt saker och det redan finns en oro på flera ställen runt om staden. Det är det som gör att påringningar blir så många.*
- Göteborgs-Posten, 04.11.2016: *Här får ungdomar testa målaryrket*
- Göteborgs-Posten, 07.12.2015: *I stadsdelen kommer man nu att dra igång ett trygghetsarbete och vara ute på fältet och ha dialog med ungdomar.*
- GT, 04.09.2016: *Det känns som jag är i kriget igen. Jag är rädd.*