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Speaking in new ways -
media representations of the Asylum Relay

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*In loving memory of my dear mother-in-law
You were always my greatest supporter*

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Ida Granath

Abstract

In the summer 2013 a group of people walked from Malmö to Stockholm with the purpose to raise awareness about the refugee policies in Sweden. The initiative is called the Asylum Relay, Asylstafetten in Swedish, and was initiated by refugees themselves and was undertaken a second time in the summer 2014. The Relay attained a far-reaching extent of media attention. This thesis aims at analysing the media representations of the participants in the Relay by applying Critical Discourse Analysis, postcolonial aspects and citizenship studies. As a part of the study I have as well conducted participant observation by walking with the Relay in 2014. The study finds that the media reproduce as well as challenge dominant discourses in the way they report on the Relay. The media build on existing discourses in the way “the refugee” is presented. Further the study finds that the media build on and reconstruct the idea of the nation-state and relations of power of authorities over refugees. However, the study also finds that through an act of citizenship refugees are presented as active rather than passive, and they get a prominent voice in the media representation.

Key words: media discourse, critical discourse analysis, refugee policies, the Asylum Relay

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1. Introduction

1.1 Opening remarks

“There is no difference between people, refugees are humans as well and have to get their rights. We see people, not numbers.”¹ (Participant in the Asylum Relay, *Smålandsposten* 2014c, author’s translation).

This is a quotation from a local Swedish newspaper reporting on the Asylum Relay in the summer of 2014. The remark illustrates something that might be considered obvious but is not in practice: the equality of the value of human beings. The quotation also reflects how, in practice, people in the world are divided according to their legal status. The speaker contests the dehumanisation of refugees through such divisions, and through references to them in terms of quantities, and thus makes a claim to equality.

The meaning of citizenship as a legal status has been questioned and changed throughout history (Castles and Davidson 2000: 27-53). Processes of change have been driven for example by the women’s rights movement and the labour movement (Dahlstedt et al. 2013: 115). The struggles of these movements have resulted in a continuous expansion of who is included in the concept of citizenship – namely women and working class people respectively. These changes in the past show that the meaning of citizenship is not fixed, and thus it can be changed again as other movement’s push for new and different understandings of citizenship and the citizen.

The Asylum Relay, known as Asylstafetten in Swedish, is a social movement wherein refugees are organising in a protest to raise awareness of their situation and to strive for a change in the current refugee policies. For the most part the message of the Relay reaches a wider public audience through the mass media reporting on the event. Thus, mass media have a major impact on how refugees and the asylum rights movement are represented and perceived by members of the public – and thus by voters and policymakers. I will argue in this thesis that media do not merely mirror “reality” but also help to reproduce and reinforce

¹ “Det är ingen skillnad på människor, flyktingar är också människor och måste få sina rättigheter. Vi ser människor, inte siffror” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

certain ways of understanding the social world (Fairclough 1995: 103) - in other words media can serve to strengthen dominant discourses. Discourse in this thesis is understood as a certain way of talking about and understanding the world (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 7). The increasing reach of media that has come with globalisation, here understood as increasing transplanetary connections between people, such as communication networks with the assistance of Internet and increased movement of people (Scholte 2005: 59, 67-68), also has an impact on the language use and therefore media are an important actor in the change of meanings and understandings of the world. In order to understand what influence the media may have on the possibility of social change, I will analyse media discourses on immigration and refugees in Sweden using critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) as my principal method. In this thesis I take mass media to mean communications through newspapers, the term mass media and media will be used interchangeably in the thesis, the latter not to be mistaken with for example social media. In combination with the discourse analysis I have conducted participant observation, my methodology will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

In this thesis I will use the term *refugee* to refer to people who are seeking refuge because as Bogusia Temple and Rhett Moran state, the individual's experience of being a refugee - and not their assessment as such by the authorities – is the most important factor in identifying refugees (2006: 1). Other terms like *asylum seeker* and *undocumented migrant* arise from my empirical material, consisting of newspaper articles and other media reporting, and these will be discussed in relation to the impact of such categorisations for individuals and groups. In my own writing, however, I will exclusively use the term *refugee* for the reason stated above, and for other reasons that will become clear as I elaborate on the significance of the use of language throughout the thesis. Whenever possible I will also avoid the labelling of groups and people according to their legal status and instead use other words to describe them. However, for legibility this is not always feasible, and I will therefore make use of the term *refugee* to some extent.

1.2 Background – migration, globalisation and the Asylum Relay

Migration is a key feature of contemporary globalisation and frequently a controversial political issue. In fact as Martin Qvist, Birgitte Suter and Sara Ahlstedt claim migration is

taking on a more global nature in that people increasingly move across borders (2013: 56) and as Stephen Castle and Alastair Davidson argues, globalisation is regarded as one major factor leading to increased move of people across borders (2000: 8). At the same time however, an increased impetus to control of migration has developed as border controls mechanisms have multiplied (Qvist et. al. 2013: 55; Nyers and Rygiel 2012: 2; Mezzadra and Neilson 2012: 64). Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel maintain that regulation of mobility is closely connected to the construction of citizenship (2012: 3-7) – even as the close relationship between citizenship and the nation-state is currently being transformed by globalisation and the increase in migration that comes along with it, as argued by Castles and Davidson (2000: 24; see also Rigo 2010: 201-202; Grove-White 2012: 41; McNevin 2011: 2). Migrants, as non-citizens, have in the past largely been excluded from political participation, and thereby from the opportunity to express themselves as political subjects (Castles and Davidson 2000: 10; Nyers 2008: 162). Recent years, however, have seen non-status migrants and refugees begin to challenge the norms of citizenship and belonging. There are examples from Australia, Canada, Egypt and the United State that show how refugees have engaged politically to claim their rights (Nyers 2008: 160-161; McNevin 2012: 166).

Sweden has for a long time been regarded as having “generous” refugee policies and, consequently, hosting many refugees (see for example *Svenska Dagbladet* 2013). However, in light of increased border controls and regulation of migration at both European and global levels, the refugee rights movements contests this image of Sweden as a generous country. Traditionally these movements in Sweden have to a large extent consisted of citizens of Sweden acting on behalf of refugees, but more recently examples of how refugees themselves are raising their voices to speak for themselves have emerged. During the summer 2013 a group of activist that included refugees carried out the Asylum Relay by walking from Malmö to Stockholm – a distance of approximately 700 kilometres - over a period of one month. The Relay received ample media attention with reporting from national and regional newspapers from across Sweden. In 2014 a second march was undertaken, this time from Malmö to Almedalen, a yearly Swedish event in Gotland that gathers political parties and various interest groups to discuss current political issues in Sweden. In both instances the aim of the Asylum Relay has been to raise awareness about Swedish migration and asylum policies and their consequences for refugees. The Relay is distinct in that its founders and main organisers are themselves refugees, telling their own stories and sharing their experiences of refugee migration (Asylstafetten 2014). The media attention attracted by the Relay has helped in

raising awareness, but as I will elaborate later, these media outputs are not neutral reflections of an objective reality (Fairclough 1995).

1.3 Problem and relevance

With the increase of communication networks as one feature of globalisation, mass media have become increasingly consolidated and powerful, even as the use of mass media assists in overcoming distances in communication and enabling communication between “distant others” (Fairclough 2006: 98). Today media messages can reach an even greater audience, over a larger area, in a shorter period of time than ever before. Given the effectiveness of the use of the media in spreading a message to a large number of people, beyond those with whom one could meet in person, it is important to be aware of and analyse the power held by mass media. As Norman Fairclough concludes, it is important for effective citizenship that people are critically conscious of media discourses and language, including that of media (1995: 201). In this, my approach to media discourse is informed by Fairclough’s influential work on CDA. He argues that media hold a large amount of power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations and social identities. This power is mainly exercised by the use of language to represent issues, events, groups or individuals to construct discourses and establishing common definitions (Fairclough 1995: 2; Brune 2004: 23). The purpose of the Asylum Relay is to communicate the views of those affected by the current asylum policies and take their stories seriously (Asylstafetten 2014). Functioning in the realm of communications, mass media play an important part in this, raising attention for the movement to an extent that would otherwise be difficult to obtain, but the media coverage is coloured by a variety of external and internal factors - and this has an important impact on how social issues like refugee rights are perceived by the public. For these reasons it is useful to analyse the media coverage about the Asylum Relay.

1.4 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse how refugees participating in the Asylum Relay are being represented in Swedish print media, and through this lens to investigate what role the media play in the construction of social categories and the delineation of what can and cannot be said within public political discourses. Further the thesis aims to analyse which actors has

the opportunity to speak in public spaces and under what circumstances, in order to explore the power relations at play in the media output. Thus, the research questions that this thesis seeks to address are:

- How are the Asylum Relay, and its organisers being represented in media coverage of the event and its ideas?
- How do these representations of the Asylum Relay shape what can and cannot be said about migration, refugees and citizenship? How do they help control who has the possibility to speak?
- What is the role of the mass media in reproducing or challenging dominant discourses on migration, refugees, citizenship and the Asylum Relay itself?

1.5 Delimitations

This study deals with the Swedish print media output on the social movement known as the Asylum Relay, or Asylstafetten in Swedish, in 2013 and 2014. While this means an analysis of the general image of the refugee in Swedish print media is beyond the scope of this thesis. The material includes print media and will not involve audio or video material reporting on the Relay; neither does this study include images published in connection to the texts. I am analysing written material published in Sweden in 2013 and 2014 and while the result may not be directly generalizable to other contexts, it will offer useful insights of relevance to broader debates on migration, refugee rights, and citizenship and identity.

2. Theoretical perspectives

As I will analyse media discourses arising from material published about the Asylum Relay, I am inspired by discourse theory and in particular CDA. I will give a short presentation of CDA here to be further developed in the chapter on methodology. I am also inspired by postcolonial theory, which complements the discursive approach as it elucidates how power relation's impact on the production of knowledge and how certain understandings come to be regarded as the truth.

2.1 Postcolonialism

Postcolonial theory consists of a critique of the understanding of colonialism as having come to an end. That is, even if the structure of actual occupation has come to a near-total and formal end with de-colonisation and a wave of national independences, there is still an on-going economic and cultural dependence, as well as a system of power that privileges the West over the colonised. In fact academics like Ania Loomba criticise the use of the prefix *post* in postcolonialism as it might contribute to hide persisting social, political and cultural schisms (2005: 12). Postcolonialism may thus be seen as a critique of the Western way of looking at the world and the idea that colonialism and its power relations belong to the past. Instead, as Catharina Eriksson, Maria Eriksson Baaz and Håkan Thörn argue, colonialism's effects is still very much affecting contemporary society (2002: 14).

2.2 Identities and binary oppositions

Postcolonialism, as Eriksson et al. point out, is strongly influenced by poststructuralism and linguistic theories that examine the use of language, to create identities, institutions and politics. Language is understood here as structured around binary oppositions like man/woman or black/white, that construct meaning through opposition (2002: 18). For example Engin F. Isin holds that citizenship throughout the history has been defined in opposition to different "immanent others" (2002: 4). It is only through the construction of the other that the constitution of citizenship itself is possible, and Isin identifies three categories of this otherness: strangers, outsiders and aliens (ibid 5). In contemporary society, argues Isin, strangers or outsiders are immigrants, homeless people, beggars and criminals (ibid 267). He

further concludes that refugees are seen as aliens, or the worst kind of beggars and quasi-permanent outsiders and that they are subjected to alienating strategies like deportations, control of their movement and surveillance to deny them political visibility (ibid 272). The purpose of postcolonialism is to analyse how meanings are created through language and thereby try to destabilise binary oppositions to create possibilities for social change (Eriksson et al. 2002: 18).

Identities thus are created in relation to others and through creation of borders between the self and others. This means that the creation of an identity that includes certain traits or attributes, at the same time entails other identities. Postcolonial thought holds that European identity constructs its other in the colonial subject, and that these identities are defined, reproduced, modified and changed in relation to each other. Following this line of thought we can conclude that identities are not constant but changing. These identities operate at individual but also collective levels like the nation or the culture (Eriksson et al. 2002: 33-34). Importantly postcolonial theory critic academic understandings of identity for being too closely bound to the nation and presupposing a necessary connection to a certain place (ibid 44). This builds on a critique of social evolutionism, or the idea that nations and nationalities are a natural part of the human evolution that result in the creation of the modern nation state (ibid 39). In this thesis I will develop this thinking of the world divided in nation-states as being created.

2.3 Discourse and identities

An analysis of how identities are constructed and maintained helps us to see how discourse and knowledge creation are functions of power (Eriksson et al. 2002: 19). As Sara Mills explains, the concept of *discourse* is used in a variety of disciplines to mean different things (1997: 1) but for my purposes I take it to mean speaking about the world in a certain way, as discussed in my introduction. A discursive lens is useful for examining identity formation because it provides an analysis of how knowledge and truth – including knowledge about identities - are produced as exercises of power (Danaher et al. 2000: 64). Further, discourse analysis is suitable as a method for questioning Eurocentric and racist notions as it sets out to investigate what make certain discourses imaginable, and where possible, their effects (Eriksson et al. 2002: 19-22).

Michel Foucault has been hugely influential in the field of discourse analysis and he is possibly best known for his statement that power and knowledge are intimately related and mutually constitutive (1991: 175). Discourse creates knowledge, or a truth that we take for granted and incorporate as our own, and this is itself an exercise of power that excludes other possible truths and knowledge's (Eriksson et al. 2002: 19). This discourse is something that produces something else rather than simply existing in itself (Mills 1997: 17). In other words, discourse is constitutive of the social world, which means that it produces the social world (Bryman 2012: 528).

Foucault argues that power is not something that is held or possessed but something that is exercised; further, it is not the exclusive domain of the dominant classes, as traditional understanding would have it (1991: 172). Power moves in society and through different groups, events, institutions and individuals and each exercise of power may be met with resistance from those it seeks to control or oppress (Foucault 1991: 172; Danaher et al. 2000: 73). Foucault famously declare, "where there is power, there is resistance" meaning that power is not merely repressive but also productive – of knowledge, identities and relationships (2002: 120; see also Mills 1997: 37-39, 42). The move away from a purely repressive understanding of politics becomes possible because discourses are always open to interpretations that differ from the dominant one (Mills 1997: 128). Discourse is not stable over time but is rather discontinuous; discursive structures can undergo change, as all knowledge is the result of power struggles over whose knowledge is to be accepted as valid (ibid 26-27). This means that the dominant discourses can be challenged through resistance.

Both Foucault and Fairclough are mainly concerned with language as a source of power related to the opportunity of social change, in changing the dominant discourse towards more equal relations of power (Bryman 2012: 536-537). In his book *The Order of Things*, Foucault presents three different processes of exclusion that are at work in the discursive formations in society, and that limit what can and cannot be said and what can be considered as knowledge: "taboos, division and disapproval, divergence of truth and falsity". These processes define what topics can be discussed, what can be said about them, by whom, and under what circumstances within a given discourse (1971: 7-10). Fairclough has primarily been dealing with how specific ways of speaking and writing are controlled by power relations (Mills 1997: 10).

Alan Bryman elaborates on these exclusionary processes by arguing that saying something in a certain way is, at the same time, a way of *not* saying something else, or not saying it in another way (2012: 531). Why and how certain ways of talking about a topic becomes dominant is related to the power relations in our social world that produce as well as restrict behaviour (Mills 1997: 20). CDA is about exploring why some meanings or discourses are taken for granted and thus dominant while others are not, by asking questions like “who uses language, how, why and when” (van Dijk 1997 cited in Bryman 2012: 538).

2.4 Identity politics and discursive change through social struggle

For marginalised groups much of contemporary politics is about demanding recognition and attempting to tell one’s own story on one’s own terms. This kind of identity politics represents an effort to produce a different image of the self - not an unproblematic claim, as it entails a push for recognition of difference and at the same time demands equality (Eriksson et al. 2002: 41). Since the other is constructed for the European questioning the binary oppositions will be contested as this poses a threat to the colonial order (ibid 34).

This leads back to Isin and his notion of citizenship as constructed in opposition to the other and, at the same time, as a concept that changes over time, which I discussed in my introduction. Isin further introduces the concept *acts of citizenship*, which he defines as acts that changes the available ways of being political by rupturing the expected (2008: 27). By creating new sites of struggles acts of citizenship bring new actors into being as activist citizens, who create something new and take part in the scene of being political. Here Isin focuses on the moments when subjects constitute themselves as citizens - as those to whom the right to have rights is due. This constitution of citizenship is done through activist citizens claiming rights and responsibilities (2008: 18-38). In this thesis the concept of acts of citizenship will be helpful in analysing the Relay as a social movement mediated through media.

3. Previous research

In the following I will divide the research on media representations of refugees according to Swedish, Nordic and international research although it is clear that these literatures share a depiction on the representation of refugees as threats to national security, as criminals or as helpless victims.

3.1 Swedish research

Ylva Brune has conducted extensive work on media representations of immigrants in Sweden. In her doctoral dissertation *Nyheter från gränsen – tre studier i journalistik om “invandrare”, flyktingar och rasistiskt våld* (News from the Border: Three Studies in Journalism on Immigrants, Refugees and Racism Violence) Brune analyses newspapers from two different periods - 1976 and 1993, comparing papers from the major cities as well as local papers and the evening press. She examines the newspapers' representations of refugees, immigrants in general, and racist violence. Brune identifies three different ways of representing refugees: the first is discourses associated with security aspects and refugees as “asylum tides”, the second is individual personal stories where refugees are represented as what she calls “victimised heroes” and the third is reporting on crimes associated with immigrants and refugees (2004: 57, author's translation).

In a report for the Swedish Commission for Immigration Research called *Flyktingfrågorna i pressen 1985-1988* (Refugee Issues in the Press 1985-1988) Brune finds that a similar vocabulary is used, during this period. Words like “refugee tide”, “uncontrolled tide” and “illegal refugees” are common in a frame that positions refugee immigration as a threat towards Sweden. However, Brune identifies a turn in the media reporting in the fall 1985 when the news coverage about refugees changed and became more critical towards the authorities and immigration policies. Brune analyses this shift as following a change in what sources newspapers quoted. In the first part of the period studied, the main sources in the media were the police, politicians and debaters who are generally critical towards immigration. After autumn 1985 more people who were involved in the refugee movement were interviewed and thus a more positive stance towards refugee immigration is the result (1990: 96, author's translation).

More recently, Gunilla Hultén, studied four Swedish newspapers over a more extensive time period, from 1945 to 2005 in her doctoral dissertation *Främmande sidor – Främlingskap och nationell gemenskap I fyra svenska dagstidningar efter 1945* (On the Strange Side: Estrangement (sic) and National Community in Four Swedish Daily Newspapers after 1945). The study shows changes and continuities in the media presentations of refugees and immigrants over the period studied, concluding that the ways refugees stories are portrayed follows a certain pattern of suffering in the home country, the travel to Sweden, gratitude towards Sweden as a receiving country and commitment to learn Swedish and work hard (2006: 181). That said, Hultén also identifies a major change in the discourses surrounding refugee policies in the 1980s. Before that time the reporting had been regarding labour migration in the 1970s. In the 1980s newspapers started to report more on worries about the costs of refugee migration for Swedish society rather than any ethical and ideological considerations (2006: 105).

Britt Hultén has also examined Swedish newspapers on refugees, immigrants and racism but focusing on one week in 1991. Her results show two contrasting pictures of Sweden: one is what she calls “the new, bad and racist Sweden”, which contrasts against the picture of “the good Sweden” represented by the church and civil society organisations. Hultén also identifies a depiction of the refugee as nice and willing to work (1992: 68, 87, author’s translation).

The year following Hulténs analysis, Britt-Marie Leivik Knowles, Stig Arne Nohrstedt, Conny Pettersson and Per Skoglund conducted a study of newspapers, radio and TV covering the arrival of refugees from Iraq to Gotland in 1992-93. They found that media described refugee migration as chaotic and as a threat to Sweden. They found three main themes framed by the media reporting: compassion for the suffering of refugees, criminal acts committed by refugees and the arrival of the refugees as a threat to Swedish national security (1995: 75). Another observation in the report from Novemus², entitled *Möta eller mota – Båtflyktmottagning på Gotland 1992/93* (To receive or to stem – reception of boat refugees in Gotland 1992/93, author’s translation) is that of the interviewees four out of five people interviewed by the news outlets studied were Swedish people in positions of authorities, whereas only one of five were refugees themselves (1995: 78).

² Novemus is a Swedish forum for research and education of public affairs at Örebro University.

3.2 Research in other Nordic countries

In *Bosniske Krigsflyktinger i mediebildet* (Comparing the media coverage of Bosnian refugees in Denmark, Norway and Sweden) media representation of refugees from Bosnia in Denmark, Sweden and Norway are explored. In the Swedish context Sverker Björk finds an emphasis on refugees as threat, the cost of refugees for the state and strict enforcement of the law, or *paragrafrytteri*. Refugees are described in terms like “uncontrolled refugee tides”, “floods” and “refugee invasion” although Björk argues that there does not seem to be an aversion against refugees themselves but towards the way authorities are handling the situation (1999: 29, 42, author’s translation). The Norwegian and Danish media representations both points to a desire to help refugees, but only “real” refugees. Katherine Goodnow looks at Norwegian newspapers and concludes that “real” refugees are those who are suffering and have no other place to go than to Norway (1999: 77-78). Similarly John Aggergaard Larsen finds that in Danish media “real” refugees are refugees coming from war or “wounded refugees”. The “real” refugee further is grateful and satisfied by their reception in Denmark. The Danish media further report on worries for criminal acts committed by refugees and consequently around the placement of refugee centres (1999: 115, 119-122, author’s translation).

Further, in a Finnish context Karina Horsti finds in her research on media frames of Roma asylum seekers in Finland that the asylum seekers are being presented as a threat to the society and to law and order (Horsti 2003: 41).

3.3 International research

A review of studies on mainstream media discourses on refugees at the international level includes studies from Australia, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, New Zealand, Ireland and the Netherlands. There is a vast amount of literature on media representation of refugees and asylum seekers, of which I will present an overview of focusing on common themes found in them. This overview aims to serve as a background to my own analysis of the empirical material collected rather than a comprehensive review of the global literature, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Refugees are predominantly depicted in negative terms through the use of words like “illegality” (Gale 2004: 330; Baker et. al. 2008: 289; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 23-25; O’Doherty and Lecoutuer 2007: 6-10) and through painting the presence of refugees as posing problems to the receiving society (Pickering 2001: 169; Baker et. al. 2008: 286; Khosravi Nik 2010: 11; Greenberg and Hier 2010: 579; Sulaiman-Hill et. al 2011: 359; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 25, 27). Refugees are also often constructed through terms like being a harm, danger or threat in different ways, as presenting an economic, moral and physical threat to the security of the nation-state as well as its citizens (Greenberg 2000: 531; Gale 2004: 329; Bleiker et al. 2013: 398; Bauder 2008: 299-301). This idea is manifested in a variety of ways – for example through portrayals of refugees being constituted as carriers of diseases (Worth 2002: 69; Greenberg and Hier 2010: 573) or potential criminals (Rasinger 2010: 1027; Pickering 2001: 181; Greenberg 2000: 530). In this way, refugees are depicted as the other in the creation of national identity (Worth 2002: 72-73). They are also frequently represented in terms of their removability, as evidenced by arguments that they should return home, or be otherwise detained, deported, or controlled (Nickels 2007: 52-53; Sulaiman-Hill et al. 2011: 354).

Commonly refugees are dehumanised by the references to numbers and statistics instead of the use of nouns (Khosravi Nik 2010: 13; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 25) and the use of metaphors like flooding and pouring into would-be host countries and derogatory terms like “boat people” (Khosravi Nik 2009: 485; Greenberg and Hier 2010: 574; Rasinger 2010: 1026). Another way in which refugees are dehumanised in media coverage is the characterisation of all refugees as a uniform group with similar backgrounds and motivations on arrival in the receiving country (Khosravi Nik 2010: 13). The motives of refugees are often questioned, with many assumed to be economic migrants and therefore not “genuine” refugees, or political refugees, in need of real protection (Nickels 2007: 52; Greenberg 2000: 531). They are often associated with costs of the host state and the notion that refugees are taking advantage of a generous system (Greenberg 2000: 531).

As an alternative to this picture refugees are also sometimes constructed as victims in need of sympathy (Steimel 2010: 219; Khosravi Nik 2009: 485). They may be described as victims of smugglers (Greenberg and Hier 2010: 574). Only rarely are refugees referred to in truly positive terms like being an opportunity for the society (Finney and Robinson 2008: 409; Sulaiman-Hill et. al 2011: 360). Attempts are made by the media to individualise and

humanise refugees by identifying them with more individualistic features such as their age or their looks (Khosravi Nik 2009: 484). As Pickering notes, refugees are seldom represented themselves (Pickering 2001: 183). However, Cheryl M. R. Sulaiman-Hill, Sandra C. Thompson, Rita Afsar and Toshi L. Hodliffe found an increase in reports giving a refugee perspective (2011: 360).

The body of literature shows a polarisation of media representation towards anti-migrant and dehumanising perspectives that constructs refugees as a uniform group of faceless threatening figures or alternatively as helpless victims. By contrast, my study focuses on media discourses on asylum rights activism in Sweden and on the representation of refugees involved in this social movement, focusing in particular on the Asylum Relay.

4. Method and analytical approach

4.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is used for studying a variety of texts like political speeches, transcriptions of interviews, media and policy documents amongst others (Wodak 2008: 2). In this thesis the source of material on which I have focused is mass media, using a methodological approach informed by CDA. Mass media includes amongst other things newspapers, magazines, television programmes and films. The material included in my study consists of a total of 151 items published in Sweden in the period from May 2013 to July 2014. The sample of material studied will be presented in more detail below.

4.1.1 Discourse as theory and method

As was introduced above, discourse in this thesis is understood as a specific way of talking about and understanding the social world, which helps to create, maintain and change that very social world, as well as our identities and our social relations. Given that the world is framed in a certain way some forms of actions are natural while others are unimaginable (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 7, 12). In discourse analysis, theory and method are closely related and a partial overlap with the theoretical framework will therefore occur in this chapter as the concepts of power and discourse that also appeared earlier as well inform my methodological choices. My approach in this study is *discourse analysis*, or CDA, a Foucauldian understanding of discursive power and a method for content analysis. These methods will be explored in further detail later in this chapter. First I will briefly discuss CDA and discourse in media and then I will turn to a more detailed explanation of my selection of material and the methods applied.

4.2 Critical discourse analysis

Using the method of CDA means taking an interest in the relation between power and language (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 12). In CDA, discourse is understood as both constitutive of and constituted by social reality including knowledge, identities and relationships between people and groups of people in society. Discourses further both help to sustain and reproduce

the current situation but also contribute to transforming it, thus also giving rise to questions of power and discourse's role in producing and reproducing unequal relations of power (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258; Fairclough 2010: 4). This means that the language used to describe the world and different groups of people in that world matters, in the sense that it has real consequences. The way identities are constructed through the use of language will have an effect on social reality and how people within it are perceived. In my study this will be helpful to understand how the use of language in media influences and is influenced by policies concerning refugee migration. Power in this thesis is understood in the Foucauldian and discursive sense presented above – that is, as determining what can be expressed and what cannot. The purpose of CDA then is to identify the role of discourse in building and upholding a social world of unequal power relations in order to contribute to changing those very relations of power. This means that applying CDA is not politically neutral but involves political engagement in social change (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 69). For my purposes using CDA will help identifying and analysing what power relations appear in media output about the Asylum Relay, what language is used, and how what can be said and not in the context of refugee policies is determined.

4.3 Discourse in media

The media, like other texts, not only mirror realities but also constitute versions of reality and these versions depend on the social positions, interests, and objectives of those who produce them (Fairclough 1995: 103-104). Media draw upon social reality and the shared ways of expressing this reality, thus helping to reproduce already known framings and vocabularies, and to make certain positions dominant and others difficult to articulate (Matheson 2005: 16, 23). Media texts like news articles and television broadcasts do not simply use language to reproduce power; they also create new meanings by drawing on existing expressions but altering them slightly. In this way, media can add to or change the meanings embedded in texts and analysing media products helps us to see their role in reproducing (or, potentially, challenging) the existing power structures (Matheson 2005: 28-30). Previous research for example by Brune and Hultén, as noted above, has identified changes in media discourse on refugees in terms of which actors the media relied on as sources and how the media reported on refugee migration (1990: 96 and 2006: 105 respectively).

4.4 The Asylum Relay in the Swedish print media

The main purpose of the Asylum Relay, according to its organisers, is “to listen to the ones affected by the current asylum policies and to take their stories seriously”, and “to talk to people about the world we want to live in” (Asylstafetten 2014, author’s translation). My main focus will be on how of the media presents these aspects prioritised by the organisers. Building on previous research presented above, I will investigate what image of “the refugee” is presented, how often individuals identified as refugees get to speak and what topics they are given space to address. My purpose here is not to assess whether or not the media coverage presents “the truth” about the Asylum Relay and the participants therein, but to analyse what is possible to say and what is not, and how this is limited by the discourses evident in the texts.

4.4.1 Selection of material

In this study I have looked at written text in the form of newspaper articles from Swedish print media. My empirical material consists of 151 items from 68 newspapers published from May 2013 to September 2013 and from June 2014 to July 2014 (see full list in bibliography). The selection of the material has been conducted through searches of the word *Asylstafetten* (Asylum Relay) on *Mediearkivet*, a search engine on Swedish media resources. Articles were sourced from local as well as national newspapers in order to get as a comprehensive view of output on the topic. This also included a category I defined as special newspapers, containing of religious and political papers. I have divided the material into news articles, short news items, items from the wire service TT News Agency, captions in relation to printed images and first page articles.

The time periods covered include the run-up to the Relay, the event itself and reporting on its aftermath in both years. This is thus the time when the media attention was the most intense. In 2013 a limited number of articles were published after the Relay took place with the majority of these mentioning it only in passing, and thus these articles have not been included. These parameters leave me with 89 items from 2013, and 62 items from 2014, which will allow for a comprehensive analysis of several aspects of the public discourse on the Relay and refugees more broadly.

4.4.2 Implementation of the method

In large part I follow Fairclough's model of analysing discourse in media output, adapting his three questions (see 1995: 5) to my case study:

1. How are the Asylum Relay and the policies concerning the regulation of refugee migration represented in the chosen articles?
2. What characteristics are set up for those involved in the Asylum Relay whether they are constructed as refugees, participants of the Relay, or Swedish citizens?
3. What relationships are set up between participants in the Relay and other actors referenced in the media output, such as local citizens and the authorities?

Fairclough's understanding of CDA includes three dimensions of analysing the use of language in discourse analysis; the text, the discursive practice, and the social practice. The first dimension, text, is a linguistic approach that can include speech, written text and images, while discursive practice refers to the way the text is produced and consumed and social practice involves the society at large (Fairclough 1992: 73). I assessed linguistic patterns in the selected articles through close reading and continuously going back to the texts, an approach that I will explain in more detail below (Taylor 2001: 39). Alongside this I have analysed the broader context in which the material is produced.

In analysing the linguistic features of a text there are a number of possible aspects to explore such as words and grammar on one hand, and broader framings and attitudes on the other. I am drawing on the ideas of John E. Richardson as he builds on CDA and has developed the thinking of Fairclough in analysing newspapers. To address these different levels, I conducted part of my textual analysis using coding for characteristics such as words, naming or categorisation, transitivity, modality and metaphor (2007). Alongside this, I undertook a close and systematic reading of the texts in order to identify different themes and mapping them to investigate the discourses drawn upon in the texts. Throughout I employed a Foucauldian lens and asked how often different actors have the space to speak and about which topics.

The first stage of linguistic analysis usually addresses the smallest units of the texts: words. The choice of words is illustrative as it has an effect on the communication of a meaning about individuals, a group of people or an event (Richardson 2007: 47-48). I have applied this

to the set of questions presented above to examine what words are used about both the Relay and the participants and other people involved in the texts. As I read the articles I found that the use of words is closely linked to another feature of the analysis that I have applied, categorisations of groups, or as Richardson calls it, *naming* (2007: 49). Richardson argues that journalists have to provide names for the people involved in the texts, but that this always includes a choice, as everyone possesses a multiple number of identities by which they could be named or described. The way people are named has an impact on the way they are viewed (Richardson: 2007: 49) or as Matheson puts it, this act of labelling people or groups has an effect on how others may judge them and make generalisations about them (2005: 23).

Content analysis can be used for identifying, organising, indexing and retrieving data - that is for finding patterns in a large quantity of data and to sort the data (Berg 2004: 268-269; Bergström and Boréus 2012: 49). To do this I developed a coding schedule (Appendix 1) following Bryman (see Bryman 2012: 298-304) and counted categorisations of individuals and groups by the use of labels like *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *undocumented* or *hidden*, *afghan*, *Swedish* or local citizens or according to occupation. I also included compound terms such as *undocumented refugee*, *asylum-seeking refugee* and *hidden refugee*. The coding included mentions of those involved as participants in the Relay or otherwise directly referenced in the texts as well as general categorisations of, for example *refugees* or *Swedes*, even when not active as participants in the Relay. This involved counting the number of newspaper items each category was used in rather than every time a category appeared. In a similar way, I also noted choice of words used about the Relay itself including five different choices for naming the Relay: a walk, a march, a protest, a demonstration, a manifestation or as a protest march.

In the next step of this process I returned to the choice of words used about these categories to analyse what identities were set up by those words and characteristics in immediate association to the categories. As naming or categorisations can be individualised or collectivised depending on what choice of category is used (Richardson 2007: 49-50) I included a coding option called *no categorisation* to include the cases where a person was not referred to as belonging to a certain category but only referred to by their name, and thus more individualised. The choice of categorisation or naming not only gives meaning and social value to the referent but also establishes relations to other social actors (Richardson 2007: 50). As Fairclough argues the question of identity is in practice not possible to separate

from relations as the construction of identity depends on how the individual is related to others, although, it can be analytically useful to differentiate questions of identity from questions of relations (1995: 126). This part of my study therefore also involves looking at how the texts relate different groups to each other by studying what connections between identities appear in the text.

The notions *transitivity* and *modality*, deal with entire sentences rather than individual words. Transitivity concerns the way in which actions are represented and how these actions are connected to the subject and object of a sentence (Richardson 2007: 54; Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 87). In other words it means studying the way something is done to someone by someone else in a sentence (Richardson 2007: 54). Gerlinde Mautner demonstrates this as follows: “the immigrant left, the immigrant was deported” and “immigration officials deported the immigrant” (2008: 41). In the first case the immigrant is constructed as active while in the second part of the same sentence no actor is present and thus the construction is a passive one. In the third case both a subject and an object are present, as immigration officials are constructed as actively conducting the deportation of the immigrant who in turn is the passive object of the action. Fairclough notes that this choice of words and grammar determines whether a person is constructed as an *Actor* or as a *Patient*, which might be interpreted as a difference based on reality, but as Fairclough states this is not necessarily the case. Rather, it is a matter of choice of words and grammar (1995: 112). In my study I examined the construction of sentences by coding them according to whether participants of the Relay were constructed as active (Actor) or passive (Patient). For example through wording like *participants will inform people about their situation* signals an Actor while *he will be deported* signals a Patient. The same has been done for the general framing of refugees beyond the Relay itself. The other aspect of the structure of the sentence that I have explored is *modality*, which is another way of looking at the choice of words, but through the mode, or the way, the sentence is formulated. This reveals the degree of agreement of the writer (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 87; Richardson 2007: 59), in the case of mass media, the degree of agreement of the journalist as writer of the article. This is done by the use of words like must, will, may, could or should and providing a judgement of the issue within the sentence (Richardson 2007: 59-60). After an initial analysis, I grouped sentences according to their content and returned to them for a more exhaustive analysis.

Fairclough further argues that another important aspect of representations in media discourse is that of voices and how some are given prominence while others are marginalised (1995: 112). In order to assess this I added another dimension to the content analysis so as to account for which actors had the opportunity to speak. I counted each person interviewed and cited in every item studied according to the categorisation used about him or her. It is worth nothing, however, that merely getting to speak in the media does not necessarily mean that you will have an impact on the content and the meaning imbedded in that of the media or the discursive construction of the issue at hand, as Brune holds (2004: 18-19). Several studies also shows that it is not obvious that refugees get a prominent voice in the media coverage even on matters that concern them (see Brune 1990; 105; Leivik et al. 1995; Pickering 2001). For this reason I also counted the ideas and themes about which various actors spoke rather than just their ability to speak. I coded these ideas according to six different categories: refugee and asylum politics, the purpose of the Relay, difficulties with the Relay, benefits with the Relay, the speaker's own background and the speaker's own current situation. As it is not the purpose of this thesis to assess how *much* space each topic is given but rather *what* different actors speak about, I have only been counting the appearance of a topic uttered in an item. If the same person speaks about one topic more than once in an item I have counted this as one appearance of that topic. This means that more than one category can appear in each item and each topic can appear more than once, but only when expressed by different people. The different categorisations presented above have in turn been divided in three different groups; participants in the Relay categorised somehow as a refugee, asylum seeker or undocumented, other participants in the Relay including people where no categorisations were used but where they could be identified as participants by the context and the last category, others, including other people primarily identified as Swedish or local citizens not taking part in the Relay.

As I have outlined in my chapter on previous research metaphors like “tide” are commonly used when refugees are discussed in the media. Richardson describes *metaphor* as perceiving one thing in terms of another (2007: 66). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson ascribe the use of metaphor great significance in our everyday lives in that it has an influence on how we think, what we experience and what we do (1980: 3). Thus, I investigated whether the use of metaphors is as common in my material as it has proven to be in previous research on media coverage.

In analysing what is present in a text it is also useful to explore what is not, or as Fairclough says, analysing “absences of utterances” which might have been there but are not, or features that are present in some texts but not in others (1995: 106). In my case this will be done through comparing the chosen material to what has been said in previous research and from the results of my participant observation, which will be elaborated in a later section of this chapter.

As Bryman concludes conducting coding always involves a subjective assessment of the content on the part of the researcher (2012: 306). Since I have undertaken a manual coding this means that some errors may have occurred but I have mitigated this problem by doing a random check of the sampled material throughout the process. I will discuss the results of my analysis of words, sentence structures, and categorisations in media on the Asylum Relay below in my fifth chapter.

4.4.3 Discursive and social practices

One part of the discursive practice concerns aspects of how the text is produced and how the author draws upon already existing discourses in the production of the text (Richardson 2007: 75). The other part is about the consumption and how the audience reads the text. Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips show that the way in which a text is consumed can be assessed by investigating how recipients perceive the text (2000: 86). While assessing the extent to which media representations affect public opinion is beyond the scope of this thesis, I argue – using insights from Fairclough and Brune, amongst others – that media have the power to shape and reproduce certain discourses. I am investigating the discursive practice of the text in terms of its production by exploring the circumstances surrounding the interviews the articles are based on. My results in this area are complemented by the use of participant observation, discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Analysing social practices involves not just evaluating discourse but also non-discursive social and cultural practices. This includes assessing whether or not the discursive practice reproduces the dominant order, or if it transforms it and enables social change, using questions of whether the discursive practice is strengthening and hiding unequal power relations or challenging them by constituting the reality and the social relations in a new and creative way (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 90). Discourse analysis is not enough on

its own to reveal the consequences of discursive practice for wider social practice, so other tools are necessary (ibid 76). My analysis has benefitted from the theoretical perspectives of postcolonialism and citizenship studies introduced in chapter two, to provide an understanding of the wider social context of the Asylum Relay, media coverage of the Relay and the use of language and binary categories. A central aim of my CDA research is to draw attention to discourse as a form of social practice that limits the use of language available - but also, as Fairclough notes, to increase the awareness of the opportunities for resistance at hand (Fairclough 1992: 239).

4.5 Participant observation

After reading several of the articles published about the Asylum Relay in 2013, I was convinced I needed a more comprehensive understanding of the movement. This would be helpful in the analyses of the media discourse and to better understand the circumstances of the production of the texts. At that point, the Relay organisers were planning a new march for the summer of 2014 and I contacted them as a part of my study. Participant observation, as a method that would allow me close access to my subject matter, was ideal for this purpose and allowed me to make use of my observational and interpersonal skills. I observed the planning for the 2014 Asylum Relay for one month leading up to the start of the walking from Malmö to Almedalen on June 8th 2014. This included participating in between one and two meetings or other activities per week. I also joined a group performing a theatre during the Relay and attended their rehearsals. Finally, I participated in the Relay itself for its entire duration between June 8 to July 6 2014, with one short four-days break. During the planning phase my level of participation started out as moderate as described by Kathleen M. De Walt and Billie R. De Walt (2011: 23; see also Spradley 1980: 60) as I attended meetings but did not have an active part in the activities undertaken by members. After participating in meetings for one or two weeks I found that I could make use of observing actual interview situations because that would provide me with a better understanding of the production of the texts. Therefore I decided to join the walk and observe during interviews. Towards the end of the planning and during the walk the level of my participation increased to active (see De Walt and De Walt 2011: 23-24, Spradley 1980: 60) as I was taking part in the everyday activities of the movement, like cooking, walking or participating in seminars and lectures.

While it could be argued that my involvement in all of these activities means that I am not objective, De Walt and De Walt argue – and I concur – that in research the question is not whether one is biased but how (2011: 95). De Walt and De Walt discusses the benefits of active participation and becoming an insider as it makes it possible to develop relationships with members that open up for deeper levels of understanding of the community studied (2011: 24-25). Bice Maiguashca asserts the insider/outsider perspective further and maintains the insider perspective is about investigating social movements from the participants’ own perspective and taking them seriously on their own conditions, while the outsider perspective allows the researcher to view the movement from distance and analysing it in its political, spatial and historical context, although both result in valid interpretations (2006: 124-125). De Walt and De Walt as well discuss the limits of the observation as a research method in that it only takes place from the standpoint of the observers themselves and only in certain moments (2011: 92-93). Surely this has be taken into consideration in analysing my material as my observation of the Asylum Relay is limited by time and my own interpretation, but attending the Relay has provided me with an insight in the movement that I would not otherwise get.

4.5.1 Ethical considerations

My first contact with the Relay was through mutual contacts with the group who has been planning the walk and I informed them of my research interest in the Relay. Later I informed the entire group about the project with the help of a person interpreting between Swedish and Dari, making my approach what Jorgensen calls “overt participation” (Jorgensen 1989: 21). Indeed, as De Walt and De Walt conclude covert participant observation raises prohibitive ethical problems (2011: 26). The time spent as an observer in the planning phase of the Relay mainly focused on establishing rapport with the participants. I received positive responses to my project and I did not sense that anyone found my presence in the Relay unwelcome. On the contrary, one participant expressed that he found my presence there of great importance.

I found actually *walking* with the Relay was especially beneficial for building rapport with participants. The walk itself was physically challenging and saw me spending a lot of time with my research subjects for several weeks at a time. This way, I was able to demonstrate commitment to their political cause, and it gave me a good opportunity to get to know the participants, and for them to get to know me. Many of the participants was similar to myself

in terms of being white, female and about the same age, and I believe this to my presence being perceived as that of an insider almost instantly.

One of the benefits of participant observation is on sharing goals and being able to contribute to the community studied (De Walt and De Walt 2011: 51). Whyte also discusses reciprocity with the community on an organisational level by sharing research results with the community or organisation studied (1979: 62). This fit in well with CDA as a methodology as it also has an emancipatory purpose (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 259). To give something back to the movement I will offer the participants to share my results with participants at completion of the thesis project, as it might be helpful to them in future interactions with the media. Eileen Pittaway, Linda Bartolomei and Richard Hugman elaborate on the matter of reciprocity when conducting research with vulnerable groups like refugees. They argue the ethics of research with refugees cannot be limited to the formal requirements of “do no harm” (2010: 242), but rather should be extended to promoting the interest and well being of the group. Seeing research participants not only as sources of data but also as subjects, the researcher should strive to add value to the participants’ lives in way desired by participants themselves (ibid 234). In addition, the performance of the play during the Relay allowed me to help express and spread the message of the movement. My participation and personal engagement in the theatre was another way for me to return value to the community and the participants on a level that did not just involve an exchange of information.

4.5.2 Observations in the field

During the Relay I participated in the group’s daily activities and took field notes. I found it most beneficial to take notes on my phone during the day rather than scribbling them down in a notebook as my phone was easier to carry and I always had it at hand even while walking. Most of the time, I merely experienced the event, focusing on certain events and situations during each day that were of special importance to my study, as suggested by De Walt and De Walt (2011: 91). As my interest is with media output on the Relay, I observed three separate interviews conducted by journalists from newspapers, involving a total of six Relay participants who mostly spoke to journalists through interpreters.

De Walt and De Walt argue it is not impossible to avoid having an impact on the object observed (2011: 92-93) but I tried to minimize my impact by actively abstaining from taking

part in interviews with journalists myself as I felt this would compromise the outcome of the study of the media representation. I took a purely observational role in these moments, as described by De Walt and De Walt (2011: 21, 215). During the interviews I paid attention to what kinds of questions were being asked and in what ways questions were asked to the interviewee, how the interviewees were chosen and the circumstances of the interview setting. The interviews were recorded with the consent of all participants and the recordings were transcribed and analysed subsequently.

4.5.3 Analysis of the observations

My daily participation in activities has informed my understanding and knowledge of the Relay in itself and this naturally will have an affect on my analysis of the material collected. I have used the information and data collected during observations to explore what is actually printed and what is left out in media coverage. Whyte discusses the benefits of involving community members as what he calls “active collaborators” when conducting participant observations. This is beneficial both because it recognises research subjects as active rather than passive participants and also because it gives the researcher benefits of insights from full members of the community (Whyte 1979: 60). The importance of considering refugees as active subjects rather than as passive is supported by Pittaway et al. (2010: 247) as well as by Temple and Rhetta (2006: 6). As a part of the participant observation phase of my research, I consulted the founder of the Relay, Ali, about my textual analysis of media output. Our conversations covered the results of my research but also aspects of his experience of the interview setting and interactions with reporters. With the consent from Ali I am using his first name. For the protection of the anonymity of the other participants I will not write the names or articles of the interviews observed. Together with the emancipatory purpose of CDA I found this approach helpful.

5. Result

This chapter presents the result of my study, which will then be further discussed and analysed in the following chapter. As I noted in the previous chapter, the material studied consists of 89 items from 2013 and 62 items from 2014. This material is complemented with field notes from my participant observation and transcriptions from the interviews conducted by journalists that I observed during my participation. In this chapter I will present the result of the items studied from 2013 and 2014, and I will point to some major differences and commonalities. The results presented in this chapter consist of patterns I have identified in the selected sample of newspaper articles, and examples and quotations to illustrate these trends. All translations of quotations from Swedish to English in this chapter and the next are my own as the author of the thesis.

5.1 The material

As is presented in the table below, the share of news articles was larger in 2013 as compared to 2014, when the number of shorter news items was higher but the overall reporting was lower. For example, in 2014 no opinion articles were found in the studied material as compared to 11 % in 2013.

Genre	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
News articles	45	51%	19	31%
Opinion articles	10	11%	0	0%
TT	4	4%	4	6%
News item	17	19%	34	55%
Captions in relation to image	11	12%	4	6%
Front page	2	2%	1	2%
Total	89	100%	62	100%

Figure 1. Type of articles according to number of articles and percentage of total number

The type of newspapers is more or less equal across the two years, with the caveat that a higher share of articles appeared in national newspapers in 2014. The number of items in city papers was also somewhat higher in 2014 and the share of provincial papers was lower. This

might indicate that a higher number of readers were reached in 2014 as compared to the previous year. I have not identified any significant difference in the content according to type of newspaper.

Newspaper	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Local provincial	58	65%	33	53%
Local city	9	10%	10	16%
Special	15	17%	6	10%
National coverage	7	8%	13	21%
Total	89	100%	62	100%

Figure 2. Type of newspaper according to number of articles and percentage of total number

5.2 Discourses

The texts that are framing the Asylum Relay and its participants also establish a discourse on Swedish and European asylum policies, which in turn is related to discourses on human rights and the idea of the nation-state. From this, I have identified some major differences between 2013 and 2014. The time period studied is not sufficient to make any general conclusions about changes in the discourse but these differences will be pointed out in the presentation of the result. In the material studied there is not a clear distinction between the different discourses but in the following presentation I will separate them for analytical reasons. I will first give an overview of the discourses and then I will turn to how different identities and social relations are constructed in the material, and what voices are given prominence.

5.2.1 Swedish and European asylum policies

A number of aspects of the asylum policies in Sweden are presented as problematic in the material studied and these are the same both years: detentions centres, forced deportations and Reva.³ In 2014 the export of arms is also mentioned in a couple of items, an issue that will be developed further when I discuss the result from my participant observations. Several different authorities at different levels are connected to these policies. In 2013 Swedish

³ Reva was a collaboration between the Swedish Police, the Swedish Prison and Probation Service and the Migration Board with the purpose of increasing the efficiency and the rule of law in deportations. The cooperation started in 2009 and was officially ended in June 2014.

authorities and the Swedish state are often related to at a more general level. The Migration Board, the police and the courts are mentioned alongside the minister of migration or the government as a whole when more specific actors are mentioned. In 2014 the focus is more on those in power in general, the ones associated with power are politicians, the Migration Board and the government. This will be discussed in more detail below.

As a member of the European Union, Sweden is also implicated in European asylum policies; this as well is more prominent in 2013 than in 2014. In 2013 articles often describe how people come to the EU from their home countries and live as refugees in Europe. With regard to EU-policies, the Dublin Convention⁴ is mentioned frequently and severe critiques are directed towards this system. The problems presented with the Dublin Convention are that different countries have different systems for the asylum process and that the countries closest to the Mediterranean Sea cannot accommodate all refugees that arrive there, such that refugees live in terrible conditions in these countries. In 2014 the European policies are covered less frequently and mainly mentioned indirectly through critique directed at the Dublin Convention. In 2014 the focus is much more on Swedish policies and reaching the politicians in Almedalen as the goal of the Relay. In 2014 elections for the Swedish parliament were upcoming and the fact that the immediate purpose of the Relay was therefore to put asylum policies on the agenda was emphasised in the media studied.

5.2.2 Human rights

The selected articles tend to portray the prevailing Swedish system as disrespectful to individuals and incapable of ensuring the human rights of refugees. The asylum policies are connected to the idea of human rights mainly through describing violations of human rights in Sweden as a result of the current asylum policies.

In 2013 the idea of human rights is prominent with references to how refugees live under conditions where their human rights are denied. Parallels are drawn between the situations for Afghan refugees in Iran and in Sweden in terms of the denial of what has to be considered basic human rights. The Swedish system is discussed both empirically (as it is) and normatively (as it should be). Where today Swedish authorities are described as violating

⁴ The Dublin Convention is a regulation in the European Union that establishes that a refugee should seek refuge in the first EU-country he or she arrives at.

human rights and denying refugees medical treatment, access to school after the age of 18, and the right to asylum, on the other side is a discussion on how Sweden ought to be a sanctuary that offers safety and freedom from oppression. Participants express a hope to stay in the country and become legal residents and there are claims for “papers for all”⁵ (*Jönköpings-Posten* 2013d), and that “no human is illegal”⁶ (*Sydsvenskan* 2013c). This is strengthened by the argument that the problem is only bad rules or laws, and that people cannot be illegal.

In the articles from 2014 the idea of human rights is not as evident. Human rights are mentioned in the context of the Relay’s purpose being to communicate to the public that there are people living in Sweden completely without human or democratic rights. That these individuals are not being counted when it comes to human rights is also criticised. As was illustrated by the quotation in my introduction, demands for these people to be seen as humans and not only as numbers are raised, and at the same time hope is expressed due to the fact that there are people fighting for human rights in society.

5.2.3 *The idea of the nation-state*

Closely related to the questions of migration and asylum policies are the matters of borders and the nation-state. The articles build upon and reproduce a certain discourse of nation-states and citizenship, through the relations and identities created - this will be developed further in my analysis in the next chapter. Another way this is done is through the division of the world in terms of nation-states and understanding of these states as central units of analysis. The nation-states that appear are Sweden, Afghanistan, Iran, Italy, France, Denmark, Turkey and the Netherlands. The idea and importance of nation-states is also reproduced through the use of terms like *home country* and refugees being *sent back*.

Participants in the Relay who were interviewed in media output sometimes contest this understanding of the nation-state, and there is a minor shift in this between 2013 and 2014. In 2013 one participant is asked whether the purpose of the Relay is to demand open borders, to which she answers, and the answer is “No, that is not our focus”⁷ (*Dagen* 2013b). However, a

⁵ “Papper åt alla” (*Jönköpings-Posten* 2013d)

⁶ “Det finns inga illegala människor” (*Sydsvenskan* 2013c)

⁷ “Nej vårt fokus ligger inte på det” (*Dagen* 2013b)

speaker in another article exclaims, “We need a world without borders”⁸ (*Jönköpings-Posten* 2013g). In 2014 the contestation of borders gets somewhat more prominence and is mainly expressed in referring to the setting up of a theatre performance in the different cities through which the Relay passes a long the way.

5.3 Presentation of the Relay

The Relay itself was in most items described using neutral words both years. The most common expression is *the walk*, used in 38% of the items 2013 and in 50% 2014. Apart from this words like *manifestation* and *march* were the most common. More loaded words like *demonstration* or *protest* were used a lot less frequently. The word *demonstration* was not used at all in 2014 and *protest* only occurred twice. Once in each respective year a combination, *protest march*, was used.

The activity of the walk itself is presented through modal words like *will walk* or *are walking*, indicating a strong level of agreement on behalf of the writer. When the purpose of the Relay and the aims of the participants are presented, on the other hand there is more ambivalence in the words used. Vocabulary signalling a low level of agreement like *want to* or *hope to* is commonly used. This is not consistent though as also words like *will* are used in this context as well. Another way of describing the purpose of the Relay is through the use of words like *the aim*, *the goal* or *the idea* is to raise awareness and to change the current asylum policies. Words that are all more vague than for instance *will* or *are walking*, thus signalling a lower level of agreement on the part of journalist as the writer of the texts. Which indicates that the potential for these changes to actually occur are considered minor.

5.4 Categorisations used about actors in the media output

In general, when counting the categorisations used, *asylum seeker* and *refugee* are occurring in most items both 2013 and 2014 although a bit more frequently in 2013. The categorisations seem to be used interchangeably and regularly without distinction, which I will discuss in further detail in my analysis. Categorisations like *undocumented* or *hidden* are used in a fewer amount of items, nevertheless, more frequently when used in general as compared to when

⁸ “Vi behöver en gränslös värld” (*Jönköpings-Posten* 2013g)

participants in the Relay are referred to. The categorisation *undocumented* increased in 2014 compared to 2013.

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Swedish citizen/swedes	6	7%	17	27%
Occupation	21	24%	23	37%
Asylum seekers	33	37%	16	26%
Refugees	34	38%	7	11%
Undocumented	26	29%	2	3%
Hidden	2	2%	2	3%
Undocumented refugees	3	3%	2	3%

Figure 3. Categorisations in general according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014).

The categorisations used for participants in the Relay differ somewhat between the different years. The most common categorisation in both years was *asylum seeker* although this categorisation was used to a much higher degree in 2013. In 2013 the third most common categorisation referred to the affiliation to the ethnic group *Hazara* in Afghanistan, a categorisation not appearing at all in 2014. Another widespread category was *refugee*, which similarly to *asylum seeker* was more frequent in 2013. A number of variations of these categorisations like *undocumented refugee*, *asylum seeking refugee* and *hidden refugee* were used to a lesser extent. In 2014 the share of references to a person without using a categorisation was significantly higher than in 2013. In the cases without categorisation, the individual's origin, how long he or she had been in Sweden, and in some cases his or her age, was described. These are attributions that make the reader understand that the person has arrived in Sweden seeking refuge without the use of categorisations. The higher number of TT items might partly explain the higher occurrence of this in 2014 since the same text and categorisations was published in a number of papers.

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Afghan	2	2%	0	0%
Hazara	21	24%	0	0%
Refugee	13	15%	9	14,52%
Asylum seeker	40	45%	12	19%
Hidden	1	1%	0	0%
Undocumented	6	7%	11	18%
Have been undocumented	24	27%	1	2%
Undocumented refugee	2	2%	0	0%
Asylum seeking refugee	2	2%	0	0%
Hidden refugee	1	1%	1	2%
No categorisation	17	19%	23	37%

Figure 4. Categorisations about participants identified as refugees according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014)

Categorisations about non-refugees are used much less frequently across the samples studied, as the focus is on asylum seekers or refugees. In a few cases non-refugees are identified as *Swedish citizens*, as *local citizens*, or according to their occupation when referring to a specific person. The reference to *Swede* or *Swedish citizen* has increased in 2014 (see figure 3 and 5). Participants in the Relay other than refugees are often constructed as *sympathisers*, *engaged* and *driving spirits* or *supporting* (author's translation). Participants are also described as being *solidary* with refugees.

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Swedish citizen or swede	1	1%	2	3%
Occupation	4	4%	2	3%
Local citizen	4	4%	2	3%

Figure 5. Categorisations about participants not identified as refugees according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014).

5.5 Construction of identities

The categorisation *undocumented* or *hidden* is mainly constructed as someone who is constantly frightened and in a difficult situation in Sweden. For this reasons they cannot go to

school and they are *forced* to live as *hidden*. *Undocumented-ness* is also constructed as being “without democratic rights”⁹ (Norra Skåne 2014) or as “people who does not really count when you talk about democracy and human rights”¹⁰ (Skånska Dagbladet 2014c). *Asylum seekers* are also constructed as being in a difficult situation and as being *struck* or *hit* by the asylum policies. They are also presented as *waiting* for decisions and *living in uncertainty*. *Refugees* are described as being in pain and longing for their families: they are *affected by* or *suffer* due to current asylum policies, by reference to: “It is about listening to the ones who are suffering because of the current asylum policies”¹¹ (Östran 2014a).

The participants in the Relay itself are to a greater extent constructed as Actors much more so than *asylum seekers*, *refugees* and *undocumented people* in general. Some of the participants are constructed as *asylum seekers* or *refugees* and at the same time as *organisers* of the Relay or as someone who has *taken* the initiative to plan the event, both of which indicate action and subject hood. Words like *organiser*, however, are restricted to a limited number of participants. Their participation in the Relay also signals action and an intention to *tell* people about their experiences, and *raise* awareness and direct criticism to the Dublin Convention, detention centres and forced deportations - they want to *change* the asylum policies. In some cases this critique is posed as *demands*, which further constructs participants as Actors able to raise these demands. One effective metaphor that signalled the participants as Actors appeared on the first page of the local newspaper *Smålandsposten*, where the subtitle read, “They want to awake the politicians”.¹² Alongside this subtitle was a picture of a scene from the theatre performance published (*Smålandsposten* 2014b).

The participants are constructed as Patients mainly in relation to authorities like the Migration Board, whose decision they await, and the Dublin Convention. Power is ascribed to the Migration Board and other authorities, like the Swedish state or the Swedish government in these instances. The relations of power evident in the material will be developed further in the analysis.

⁹ “Utan några demokratiska rättigheter” (Norra Skåne 2014)

¹⁰ “Folk som inte riktigt räknas när man pratar om demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter” (Skånska Dagbladet 2014c)

¹¹ “Det handlar om att lyssna på dem som drabbas av den nuvarande flyktingpolitiken” (Östran 2014a)

¹² “De vill väcka politikerna” (Smålandsposten 2014b)

Participants	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Actor	289	72%	211	86%
Patient	111	28%	35	14%
Total	400	100%	246	100%

Figure 6. Number of sentences signalling Actor/Patient about participants in the Relay and percentage of the total number

Refugees in general	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Actor	15	11%	3	7%
Patient	119	89%	39	93%
Total	134	100%	42	100%

Figure 7. Number of sentences signalling Actor/Patient about refugees in general and percentage of the total number

5.6 The image of “the refugee”

Several of the participants speak about what it is like being a refugee in their interviews with newspaper journalists. Being a refugee is constructed as entailing real problems in the country they have left, without which they would not have left their family and friends behind, and they are describing the reasons for leaving one’s country as to get an ordinary life like everyone else. In the articles participants highlight that many die along the way, and coming as a refugee to Europe is described as follows: “People who come to Europe are playing a game with their own life”¹³ (*City Malmö* 2013a). It is often expressed that many Swedes do not know what it is like to be a refugee and sometimes believe that refugees come to Sweden to make money or for fun. The participants in the Relay frequently explain that they are not here on vacation; rather being a refugee in Europe or undocumented in Sweden is a catastrophe. One participant states: “All those who comes here want to fight for a better life in Sweden and work and pay taxes”¹⁴ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c). Another participant expresses “I hope to get to stay and become legal”¹⁵ (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013c). Still others say, “We

¹³ “Folk som kommer till Europa spelar ett spel med sina liv (City Malmö 2013a)

¹⁴ “Alla som kommer hit vill kämpa för ett bättre liv här i Sverige och jobba och betala skatt” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

¹⁵ “Jag hoppas på att få stanna och bli laglig” (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013c)

only want to live and not to die”¹⁶ (*Sydsvenskan* 2014b) and that they "cannot go back”¹⁷ (*Smälänningen* 2013b). One even questions the media presentations of refugees in one case: “Not as many refugees as is said in the media comes”¹⁸ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c).

Part of the framing of refugees is also through their own stories. Participants’ own stories got more prominence in 2013 than in 2014. Their backgrounds in Afghanistan and Iran and the problems experienced there were described. Further experiences of being a refugee in Europe, such as going back and forth between different countries were presented alongside the situation of homelessness in Greece and experiences of undocumented life in Sweden. In 2014 the stories told are more similar but more fragmented and brief. In the Swedish context, the detention centres and the arbitrariness of the asylum policies are framed as problematic in both years, through refugee’s stories and experiences. Comparisons between the walking in the Relay and the participants’ journey’s to Sweden are also frequent, especially in 2013.

As earlier research show, metaphors are often used about refugees in media output previously studied. In the material I have studied metaphors also occur but most often they refer to the system regulating asylum policies. For example the Dublin Convention is described as “a bump in the road”¹⁹ (*Linköpings tidning/Kinda-posten* 2013). In another instance a participant in the Relay is quoted as saying: “we want to show the real face of the asylum policies”²⁰ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c).

5.7 Social relations set up in the media representation

Different categorisations or identities are related to each other, creating social relations, in this there is a differentiation between the categorisations presented above. This is done both amongst participants in the Relay, and between the Relay group and other people in Sweden, and especially between *asylum seekers* and *Swedish citizens*. For example, the purpose of the Relay is described as “to make the Swedes aware of the situation for asylum seekers and

¹⁶ “Vi vill bara leva, inte dö” (*Sydsvenskan* 2014b)

¹⁷ “Kan inte åka tillbaka” (*Smälänningen* 2013b)

¹⁸ “Det kommer inte så många flyktingar som det sägs i media” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

¹⁹ “En bula på vägen” (*Linköpings tidning/Kinda-posten* 2013)

²⁰ “Vi vill visa asylpolitikens riktiga ansikte” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

undocumented people”²¹ (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013b). This divide is created by the words of the reporters but also through the voices of participants: “We believe many Swedes do not know how bad it is, there are many prejudice and lies about us”²² (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2013c). Another differentiation is between participants in the Relay and local inhabitants; for example one article discusses “a group of asylum seekers from Afghanistan and a number of people from Nyköping”²³ (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013e).

Differentiations are also made between refugees and other participants in the Relay, saying things like: “The idea is that people who sympathise with the cause of the Relay can join”²⁴ (*Dagen* 2013b). This also becomes clear when the group is divided into *asylum seekers* and *driving spirits* or *supportive driving spirits*. Another way this is done is through describing the participants as “Swedish and asylum seeking youth”²⁵ (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2014a). The divisions often depend on legal status; for example one participant is summarised as expressing a “hope to change the system so that undocumented children will not be chased by the police and will have as good conditions as Swedish children and that he and his friends will be as well of as Swedes are”²⁶ (*Värnamo Nyheter* 2013b).

5.8 Prominent voices

When I counted who get to speak the results from the two years differ to a great extent. In 2013 I counted 97 interviewees, where any of the categorisations described above were cited, while in 2014 this number was 60. What is of particular interest here is that in 2014 no one was cited who was not identified as not being participating in the Relay.

²¹ “För att uppmärksamma svenska folket på asylsökandes och papperslösas situation i Sverige” (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013b)

²² “Vi tror att många svenskar inte förstår hur illa det är, det finns många fördomar och lögnen om oss” (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2013c)

²³ “en grupp asylsökande från Afghanistan och ett antal personer från Nyköping” (*Södermanlands Nyheter* 2013c)

²⁴ “Tanken är att de som sympatiserar med stafetten kan ansluta” (*Dagen*-2013b)

²⁵ “Svenska och asylsökande ungdomar” (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2014a)

²⁶ “Han hoppas kunna ändra systemet så att papperslösa barn inte jagas av polis utan får ha det lika bra som svenska barn. Och att han och hans kompisar får det lika bra som svenskar har det” (*Värnamo Nyheter* 2013b)

Who can speak?	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee	27	28%	18	30%
Other participant in the Relay	12	12%	7	12%
Other Swedish or local citizen	25	26%	0	0%
No categorisation	28	29%	31	52%
Organiser of the relay	5	5%	4	7%
Total	97	100%	60	100%

Figure 8. Number of people speaking and percentage of total number

In 2013 participants identified as refugees speak about politics less often than other participants of the Relay, whereas other Swedish and local citizens tend to speak about politics when they are cited. Those categorised as refugees talk about a variety of topics, often their current situation and background as refugees.

What do refugees speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum politics	15	23%	7	29%
The purpose of the Relay	14	22%	11	46%
Difficulties with the Relay	4	6%	0	0%
Benefits with the Relay	7	11%	2	8%
Their situation	10	16%	2	8%
Their background	14	22%	2	8%
Total	64	100%	24	100%

Figure 9. Number of times when a person identified as a refugee participant speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

What do other participants speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum policies	13	23%	14	25%
The purpose of the Relay	16	28%	32	58%
Difficulties with the Relay	3	5%	2	4%
Benefits with the Relay	16	28%	7	13%
Their situation	7	12%	0	0%
Their background	2	4%	0	0%
Total	57	100%	55	100%

Figure 10. Number of times when a person identified as non-refugee participant speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

What do others speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum policies	13	37%	0	
The purpose of the Relay	9	26%	0	
Difficulties with the Relay	0	0%	0	
Benefits with the Relay	11	31%	0	
Their situation	2	6%	0	
Their background	0	0%	0	
Total	35	100%	0	

Figure 11. Number of times when a person not identified as participant in the Relay speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

The numbers are quite different in 2014, when participants identified as refugees mostly talked about the purpose of the Relay. This number is comparatively higher for those identified as other participants as well. Since no one identified as other Swedish or local citizen were cited at all in 2014 accordingly there are no numbers on what they talked about to be presented here.

5.9 Results from observing interviews

To assess who gets to speak, from what position and about what topics, I studied the conditions of the text production using participant observations during the 2014 Asylum

Relay. A comparison between the articles and the transcriptions of the interviews shows that participant's most severe critiques of the asylum policies are not present in the published articles. In the articles criticisms for example the Migration Board or the export of arms by the Swedish state are mentioned but the content of the critique is not revealed. In one of the interviews I observed the interviewee talks extensively about the Swedish government's export of arms, arguing that the government should take responsibility for the consequences when people are forced to leave their countries because of war and come to Sweden seeking refuge. In the published article this is only mentioned as one of the issues the Relay wants to raise with politicians in Almedalen. In another interview that I observed one of the interviewees is critical towards the Migration Board's country reports on which it bases its assessments of refugee claims. The critique stems from the way these reports are researched and written, but this is not present at all in the resulting article.

6. Analysis and discussion

6.1 The construction of “the refugee”

As was presented in the chapter on previous research, earlier studies demonstrate how refugees are often depicted in negative terms and through the use of metaphors. In the material I have studied about the Asylum Relay, I have perhaps surprisingly found this not to be the case as the use of metaphors about refugees is absent. Another difference compared to the earlier research is also that refugees are constructed as both Actor and Patient in the material I have studied. The Actor/Patient distinction depends on a refugee's relation to other actors in a given description. I found that the construction of refugees as Actors is mainly limited to participants of the Relay and it is in the context of the Relay that they are to the largest extent constructed as Actor. In relation to authorities, nevertheless, participants are generally constructed as Patient.

Also, the participants do describe themselves and others as refugees in a way that actively challenges the common picture of the refugee in their media interviews. For example, one participant exclaims that everyone who comes to Sweden wants to work and pay taxes, as I noted earlier. This challenges the picture broadly held of refugees as taking advantage of a generous system, as was described in the previous research. A postcolonial lens on the refugees of the Asylum Relay shows that they are challenging the binary of citizens/refugees and creating a new image of themselves in the public eye. This struggle is mediated through the print media and therefore it takes place within certain frameworks and is limited by discourses drawn upon by the media. The image put forward by refugees themselves in the material studied affirms that they have “real problems” in their countries of origin, thus challenging the idea of refugees as “economic refugees” and the tendency to question their presence in the receiving country (see Nickels 2007, Greenberg 2000).

At the same time this draws upon a discourse of the “real” refugee as presented in the context of Danish and Norwegian media (Goodnow and Aggergaard Larsen 1999). The assertion that refugees coming to Sweden want to work and pay taxes could be seen as an aspiration to citizenship, as it refers to duties traditionally associated with citizens. In this way the participants in the Relay are seeking recognition as citizens through a request for

regularisation, as Anne Mc Nevin discusses (2011: 26). At the same time they contest the basis of citizenship as the key to political belonging through their protest. Thus their claim to seek protection is aspiring to the very regime of control, through which migration is controlled in the first place (McNevin 2011: 26). The statement of the participants thus helps to reproduce the power of legal status and this implies problems for the possibility of identity politics and the contestation of binary oppositions. The way claims are made means, as McNevin further argues, accepting the terms of neoliberal rationality that governs the reproduction of borders. In turn this leads to closure of borders for those who cannot demonstrate their value as labourers - for example the old, the sick and children who cannot work and pay taxes (2011: 111-112). It is understandable though for individuals to plead they are “real” refugees in order to be recognised as such and to be able to attain protection from the state in the receiving country. As McNevin concludes it would place far too high a burden on the individual migrant to abandon the gains that they would achieve by invoking the language of citizenship and rights (2011: 97). This is an example though of how the dominant discourses constrain what can be said, and I will problematize this further below.

6.2 How the use of categorisations have an impact on reality

As the results show, the material studied makes extensive use of categorisations and, through the choice of words connected to these categorisations, the media contribute to the construction of different identities. The wide use of categories based on legal status like *asylum seeker*, *refugee* and *Swede* as the most significant aspect of identity demonstrates how media discourses are built on binary oppositions - in this context, the binary of citizens and refugees (as non-citizens) - and the drive to construct an other to one's own identity. This follows Isin maintenance that the constitution of citizenship is made possible through the creation of the other (2002: 4). As Paulina de los Reyes, Irene Molina and Diana Mulinari argue, the reproduction of dichotomies like citizen (Swedish) and non-citizen (immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker and undocumented person) in media without problematizing their origin leads to a perception of these dichotomies as essential and fundamental identities (2002: 22). This makes other ways of understanding identities – for example, outside the framework of legal status – difficult to articulate and communicate to others. The creation and change of identities can as discussed previously be individual as well as collective. Notions of citizenship in the media are also linked to the idea of a world consisting of nation-states, to which I will return later in my analysis.

The categorisations *refugee* and *asylum seeker* are used simultaneously and not always with distinction in the Swedish print media studied. Brune underlines the difference between these two as an important aspect of the power of authorities, as one does not legally become a refugee until the authorities have decided their status (2004: 81). As I outlined in my introduction the use of the term *refugee* is important, as the focus ought to be on self-identification and the experience of being a refugee rather than on legal assessment. The use of different categories further indicates a division between “real” refugees and those not having attained legal status as a refugee, thus categorised as asylum seeker. As Brune further claims, the use of the term asylum seeker as opposed to refugee enables a discourse where Sweden can be regarded as having generous refugee policies in receiving those who actually are refugees. At the same time, it is still possible for Sweden to implement a policy that is restrictive in the receiving of refugees (2004: 81-82).

In my discussions with Ali (personal conversation, March 29 2015), one of the Relay’s organisers, he interprets the use of categories such as those in the media reporting as a lack of knowledge on the part of the journalists. In his experience, journalists from local newspapers are especially unaware of the asylum process, but it also affects reporters from the TT News Agency, given that they report on a variety of issues and are not experts on the asylum process (see also Leivik et al. 1995: 106). As I noted in my results above, in some cases combinations of the different categorisations occurred like *undocumented refugee*, *asylum seeking refugee* and *hidden refugee*. This could be another demonstration of a result of lack of knowledge as the journalist’s use the terms in an unclear way. Nevertheless, this could also be understood as a way of using language in new and creative ways (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000: 90) as it draws upon existing expressions but is altering them slightly (Matheson 2005: 28-30). Whether this is done deliberately or unconsciously is not clear but it has the potential to lead to a change in language as all of these categorisations recognise the people referred to as refugees in different stages of the process.

The importance of how categories are used and differentiated becomes particularly evident in an article published by *Norrköpings Tidningar* (2013d) where Relay participants met the head of press of the Migration Board, Fredrik Bengtsson. A statement from the Migration Board claiming that Sweden does not deport refugees to Afghanistan had preceded the meeting, and the head of the press maintained this stance during the meeting, by saying “I stand by my

statement that Sweden does not send back any refugees to Afghanistan”²⁷ (*Norrköpings Tidningar*, 2013d). As Ali and I discussed this denotes the importance of the use of different categories because, as Ali told me the Migration Board was not wrong in this statement: no refugees who have been assessed as such by the Migration Board will be deported to Afghanistan (personal conversation, March 29 2015). This understanding of who is a refugee does not take into account the experience of being a refugee. Ali again attributed that to the level of knowledge of the involved actors – that is the head of press for the Migration Board knew the difference between these categories, but the attendant reporters may have not, and even the participants in the Relay partaking in the meeting did not reflect on this until later. Ali lamented that this would have an effect on coverage of the meeting, which would portray the Migration Board as acting compassionately, which would in turn question the purpose of the Relay (personal conversation, March 29 2015).

This demonstrates not only how it matters what words and categories are used but also how the Migration Board as an authority holds power over the decision-making on who is assessed as being a refugee and also over the use of language. The Migration Board thus can be interpreted as an actor holding a great amount of power over the discourse as well as of the discourse. The power relations between different actors involved in the media output will be discussed later. First I will develop how the idea of nation-states is drawn upon in the media and how it constrains what can be said.

6.3 The idea of the nation-state: Dominant discourses

As has been argued elsewhere the mass media in different ways contribute to the creation and maintenance of the idea of the nation-state (see Brune 2004:9; Hultén 2006; Hussain 2003: 124; Löfgren 1997:36). Brune claims that this occurs through formation of boundaries between “us” and “them”. In the news these categorisations are established and reinforced through, stories, and pictures, but they are also challenged and sometimes changed (Brune 2004: 10). The study undertaken in this thesis follows this thinking, arguing that the media in its reporting of the Asylum Relay builds upon nationalistic discourses. As I mentioned above, the media build on differentiation between Swedes or local citizens on one hand and people identified as asylum seekers or refugees on the other. This also follows the postcolonial idea

²⁷ “Jag står fast vid mitt uttalande om att Sverige inte skickar tillbaks några flyktingar till Afghanistan” (*Norrköpings Tidningar* 2013d)

that the European self is created through binary oppositions to the other - and as Isin outlines, the refugee is emblematic of this status as other.

In media reporting on the Asylum Relay, this division between refugees and citizens is evident in how categories are connected and set up in relation to each other. Participants of the Relay were often described as “asylum seekers and Swedes”, with the Swedes described as supporters and thus removed from the refugees and their struggles. The media are in this way both building on as well as reproducing the idea of nation-states as sites of identification, which runs counter to the Relay’s purpose of creating a world without borders. As one participant expressed: “We believe borders are sketched and made up”²⁸ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c). This statement challenges the centrality of nation-states, but in other places this idea is constructed as a “dream about freedom and a world without borders”²⁹ and that they wish the world would be a better place (*Oskarshamns-Tidningen* 2014e). The prevalence of nation-states in this discourse affirms Nyers’ belief that modern states have not been eroded by globalisation, as others have argued (2004: 204).

My results also show that media output about the Asylum Relay supports the legitimacy and necessity of asylum policies themselves. This is for example done by reference to the purpose of the Relay as advocating for “more humane asylum policies”³⁰ (see for example *Sydsvenskan* 2013c) or to “create awareness for asylum –and refugee policies”³¹ (see for example *Smålandsposten* 2014c). This presupposes that policies regulating refugee migration are necessary, and no arguments that asylum policies should not be required appear in the articles. In light of the ideas of the nation-states and borders, a world without regulation of migration exists as a silence: it is unimaginable and not possible to express.

Despite what has been said so far, the use of categories of legal status is not unavoidable or essential to discussing the Relay. At times, the media describe participants in the Asylum Relay by using words like *participants*, *people* or simply *humans* and thereby – intentionally or not - contributing to developing another discourse. By referring to them as participants, the focus is moved to what they do, or their actions, in a similar way to how non-refugees are often described by their occupations. This signals a different choice of identity that does not

²⁸ “Gränser är ritade och påhittade anser vi” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

²⁹ “De drömmer om frihet och en värld utan gränser” (*Oskarshamns-Tidningen* 2014e)

³⁰ “en mer human asylpolitik” (*Sydsvenskan* 2013c)

³¹ “Uppmärksamma asyl- och flyktingpolitik” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

focus on the legal status as the important signifier (Richardson 2007: 49). Next I will turn to further ways in which the dominant discourses are being challenged.

6.4 Challenging dominant discourses

The previous research concludes that refugees rarely gets a voice in the media output, this could from a Foucauldian perspective be understood as processes of exclusion, in that the dominant discourse excludes them from speaking. When they do get a voice it is nevertheless someone identified as a Swede who also speaks that talk about things of importance (Brune 1990: 105). Brune also shows how the media coverage in her study of media output in 1993 excludes main actors that are politically active male (2004: 104). In coverage of the Asylum Relay, these dominant processes of exclusion are challenged with a focus on refugees who get a prominent voice as the result from the claim by the participant's own efforts to make their own voices heard and to tell their own stories.

By demanding to take up space in media output, the Relay participants not only challenge the picture of the refugee but also challenge the processes of exclusion. This is especially so since the voices featured speak not only about the Relay and their own situation, but also about asylum and refugee policies. The participants regularly talk about politics, for example in saying "The Asylum Relay is a demonstration where I want to tell Sweden to stop sending people back to Italy. But also to Afghanistan"³² (*City Malmö* 2013a). Another example is the quotation presented in the introduction: "There is no difference between people, refugees are humans as well and have to get their rights. We see people, not numbers."³³ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c). The role of the media is as a mediator between the Relay and the public, and as such it has the potential to help them reach wider audiences. As Brune states, media also control and direct other discourses (2004: 23). The opportunity for participants to claim a space in and through the media could then result in refugees being able to raise their voices also in other settings. This is a clear example of how the existing power relations and dominant discourses can be challenged and changed through resistance and struggle.

³² "Asylstafetten är en demonstration där jag vill säga åt Sverige att sluta skicka folk tillbaka till Italien. Men också till Afghanistan" (*City Malmö* 2013a)

³³ "Det är ingen skillnad på människor, flyktingar är också människor och måste få sina rättigheter. Vi ser människor, inte siffror" (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

The demands and statements that are made by the participants in the Relay further challenge the dominant discourses in what is possible to say. For instance, when talking about the theatrical performance one participant expresses a will “-...to show it is possible there would be no borders in the world”³⁴ (*Smålandsposten* 2014c). This challenges the dominant discourse of nation-states that the media draws upon and contests a world organised around borders.

When the participants in the Relay speak about politics they are raising critiques of Swedish asylum policies and advancing demands for changes, like stopping deportations, abolition of the Dublin Convention and closing detention centres. Their critique is mainly expressed in news articles by quotations from the participants and not through the words of the reporter. Nevertheless, these utterances are made within the very specific context of the Asylum Relay and as such, similar statements may not be possible in another situation and under different circumstances. Likewise, the construction of refugees as Actors appears in the setting of the Relay and might not be replicable for refugees more generally. Even in the context of the Relay, where dominant discourses are being challenged, what can be said is restrained and power relations are apparent, as I will elaborate below.

6.5 Relations of power

There are three important relations of power in the media output about the Asylum Relay that I will discuss here. The first two are power relations constructed in the texts, between refugees and authorities and between refugees and other participants as supporters of the Relay. The third occurs between the participants in the Relay and the reporters. This final relation of power concerns the production of the texts more than the texts in themselves, and thus it will be analysed as part of the discursive practice.

As I have discussed before, the participants in the Relay are frequently constructed in the media as Actors – especially when compared to the refugee population in general – but in relation to authorities they are presented as Patients. The authorities, like the Migration Board and the Swedish government, are depicted as having power over the refugees, including those who participate in the Relay and those who do not. The Dublin Convention “that determines

³⁴ “...och att visa att det är möjligt att det inte finns några gränser i världen” (*Smålandsposten* 2014c)

that asylum seekers are to be sent back to the first EU-country to which they arrived”³⁵ (*Dagen* 2013b; see also *Skånska Dagbladet* 2013a and *City Malmö* 2014d). In this phrase the asylum seeker is constructed as Patient, someone who is to be *sent back* by the authorities that have the power to do so. Here the power lies with an abstract institution like the Dublin Convention, but as a law regulating asylum policies in Europe its power is derived from the state.

Relay participants who are in other circumstances constructed as Actors through words like *organisera* are in relation to the authorities framed as Patients. These authorities can be framed more generally, as in, “he was afraid the authorities would find and deport him”³⁶ (*Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå* 2013a) or clearly specified as follows: “the Migration Board decided to send him there”³⁷ (*Sydsvenskan* 2013a). Such authorities, including government institutions like the Migration Board, can *decide* to *send* the refugee away, or as in the first sentence, *find* and *deport* him or her.

All of these sentences are in the past tense, relating back to the time before the person attained legal status as a refugee, but there is also a distinct relation of power evident in discussion of those still without status: “For his part, he is still waiting for a decision for residence permit and he feels a great uncertainty about what will happen and what he will do if he does not get to stay in Sweden”³⁸ (*Oskarshamns-Tidningen* 2014d). The refugee is someone *waiting* for a decision and to *get to stay*, the power over which lies with someone else – implicitly the Migration Board.

The authorities are associated with power both by the reporters’ voices and by quotations from participants. In one quotation the participant “ask the Swedish state to stop deportations”³⁹ (*Östran* 2014c), while another exclaims, “The government does not hear us”⁴⁰ (*Östran* 2014c). This relation of power is also framed as a broader problem when one participant says, “The government does not listen to the people”⁴¹ (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2014b).

³⁵ “som slår fast att asylsökande ska skickas tillbaka till det första EU-land som de kom till” (*City Malmö* 2014-07-04)

³⁶ “Han var rädd att myndigheterna skulle hitta och deportera honom” (*Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå* 2013a)

³⁷ “Migrationsverket beslöt att skicka honom dit” (*Sydsvenskan* 2013a)

³⁸ “För egen del väntar han på besked om uppehållstillstånd och han känner stor osäkerhet kring vad som ska hända och vad han ska ta sig till om han inte får stanna i Sverige” (*Oskarshamns-Tidningen* 2014d)

³⁹ “vill jag be svenska staten att stoppa alla utvisningar” (*Östran* 2014c)

⁴⁰ “Regeringen hör oss inte!” (*Östran* 2014c)

⁴¹ “Regeringen lyssnar inte på människorna” (*Kyrkans Tidning* 2014b)

Frustration at a perceived lack of listening on the part of the authorities is expressed after a meeting with a Migration Board representative, as one of the participants says, “It felt like it was going in through one ear and out the other”⁴² (*Norrköpings Tidningar* 2013d).

The power of the authorities is also explicitly expressed both in relation to the Migration Board with participants quoted in saying: “Today the Migration Board has the power to define who is a refugee”⁴³ (*Kvällsposten* 2014c) or, “The ones who have the power over us, have our lives in their hands, they get to see who we are”⁴⁴ (*City Malmö* 2014c). The voices of the reporters ascribe power to the authorities by posing the claims of the participants as *hoping* or *wishing* as follows: “He hopes that the Relay will change the migration process, which he experiences as inhumane”⁴⁵ (*Östran* 2014b). Here the power lies with the state and the participant is constructed as someone hoping for change. This relation of power between authorities and refugees as framed in the media output not only mirrors the existing order where refugees are subordinate to the Migration Board and other state authorities, but also reproduces this order, establishes it as the knowable truth and in so doing, helps to legitimise it. This in turn makes other ways of understanding the world where refugees are not subjected to the power of the authorities more difficult to articulate.

The second relation of power that I will discuss here is among participants of the Relay. The focus of the reporting on the Relay is on refugees, as mentioned in this study’s results, but in some articles the emphasis falls on local inhabitants instead of refugees (see *Värnamo Nyheter* 2014b; *Östgöta Correspondenten* 2013d). This echoes what Fairclough calls “newsworthiness”, meaning that the lives of some are considered to be worth more than others in terms of media attention (2003: 113). This becomes evident in the valuation of Swedish voices in media, even where it seems counterintuitive like reporting on the Asylum Relay where the voices of those not having legal Swedish citizenship are the purpose. During my observations I also noticed that some reporters seemed to misunderstand that the purpose of the Relay was to raise the voices of refugees such that their interest was in the event in itself.

⁴² “Det kändes som att det gick in genom det ena örat och ut genom det andra” (*Norrköpings Tidningar* 2013d)

⁴³ “Idag har Migrationsverket makten att definiera vem som är flykting” (*Kvällsposten* 2014c)

⁴⁴ “Dom som har makten över oss, som har våra liv i våra händer, dom får se vilka vi är” (*City Malmö* 2014c)

⁴⁵ “Han hoppas att stafetten ska förändra migrationsprocessen som han upplever som omänsklig” (*Östran* 2014b)

The third relation of power, between the journalists and the participants concerns the discursive practice in that it deals with the circumstances of the construction of the texts. The following reflections are based on the result of my participant observation. As I explained earlier, I found that the most severe critiques offered by Relay participants were left out in the articles that resulted from the interviews I observed. This could be the result of a number of factors like limited space in the newspaper, which restrain the scope of the article and does not allow the journalist to elaborate on all that was said in the interview. It could also be the result of lack of planning in writing the article or a lack of understanding on the part of the reporters, what Hultén calls editorial conditions (1992: 69). It could also be a matter of the time the journalist have at hand to write the article, as Leivik et al. estimates that a journalist spends between two to four hours collecting material and writing the article (1995: 106). Nevertheless, this problem displays the power of the reporter over what is being published. Ali explained to me that the reporters send drafts for the participants to read in before publishing and that journalists usually make any requested changes, but this is done within a very limited timeframe (personal conversation, March 29 2015). Given that journalists already control the interviews by deciding what questions are asked, this does not really give the participant a genuine chance to have an impact on what is being published.

The experience and language skills of the participant being interviewed also affect the power balance between reporters and Relay participants. The use of translators allows for journalists, to speak to more participants, as many do not speak Swedish. During my observations I found this more beneficial for print media compared to television or radio, where someone who spoke Swedish was demanded. This limits who can speak, which is not the case in print media as it is possible to use an interpreter, which Ali also confirmed (personal conversation, March 29 2015). Frantz Fanon argues that the proficiency in a language provides a great degree of power because it allows access to the world expressed and implied by that language (1952: 9). Thus language is relevant in understanding power in the interview situation in two ways: language as discourse and language as tongue. Mikela Lundahl asserts that through the learning, using and mastering the language of the dominant, the other leaves their position as other and is able to see that language is nothing but a means of power (2005: 106). Those participants in the Relay, who have learned Swedish and are currently acting as interpreters have thus overcome language as a tool of power and altering their position as other. This in turn is part of a form of resistance to power, as it opens up for access to the discourse, which is a prerequisite for making change to that discourse.

6.6 Acts of citizenship and changing the meaning of citizenship

Through the Asylum Relay, participants are engaging in a social movement and are protesting in a public arena. Public engagement and political involvement are rights normally associated with formal citizenship (Grove-White 2012: 49). Nyers states that the enactment of citizenship practices has a close relationship with space for mobilisation and performance of politics - traditionally spaces like parliaments, guildhalls and community centres (2004: 210). As non-citizens the refugees participating in the Asylum Relay do not have access to these traditional spaces of political engagement. Instead they are creating new sites of politics, and the media is one such space that is available to them and enables their political participation. As McNevin argues, appearance in public space and demands for visibility both resist and renew the spatial frames for citizenship (2011: 150-151).

The claim of the participants in the Relay to be heard and have their rights fulfilled is doing something unexpected, in that they as non-citizens are carrying out a political protest, something usually connected to citizenship rights. In this they are creating a rupture. By persisting in a political protest they constitute themselves as activist citizens, in Isin's terms, they undertake an Act of Citizenship. The Act is also reported on in the media and as a result reaches a larger audience. It is through the Act of the Relay that they are constructed as Actors in Fairclough's terms. The Relay is a site of struggle that challenges existing media and public discourses on migration and refugees – and challenges the accepted and formal ways of being citizens, as McNevin notes, possibly changing citizenship itself as new kinds of Actors undertake new kinds of Acts (2012: 166; see also Isin 2002: 265). The purpose of the Relay is filtered to the public through mass media. Nevertheless, as Isin further argues, becoming political involves questioning essential categories such as “woman” or “immigrant” and constituting new images of individuals and groups other than the dominant ones given to them (2002: 4, 33). This is no easy task, as dominant discourses exercise a great degree of control over what can be expressed and binary oppositions often characterise reporting on refugees and the Relay. Even in challenging the current order, the language used by participants themselves builds on these binary oppositions in using terms signifying the citizen/non-citizen dichotomy, like *Swedes* and *undocumented*. A greater awareness of the use of language, like the one provided by this study, is clearly essential.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that mass media in their coverage of the Asylum Relay both reproduce existing discourses on refugee policies and, at the same time, challenge them to some extent. Compared to previous research, I found that a somewhat different picture of the refugee is presented, and my contribution in this thesis is new perspective on the media discourse about refugees. I have identified a shift in the representation, mainly on who has the opportunity to speak that challenges the concept of citizenship through claims to rights and space made by new members. This shift occurs under the specific frame of the Asylum Relay and is still shaped by relations of power. However, through the act of citizenship the participants of the Relay has constituted themselves as active, which has lead to a change in the way they are represented. With this act they are presented as actors, and agents, rather than passive objects.

The role of the media in this is twofold in that it reproduces as well as helps to challenge dominant discourses. This case demonstrates that it is not as easy as analysing whether certain texts build on or reproduce dominant discourses, as I indicated in my methodological discussion. Change is not something that happens over night but rather takes time. In the material studied participants in the Asylum Relay pose critiques of the current order, through the mouthpiece of mass media, which is neither neutral nor necessarily amenable to those participants' own needs or intentions.

In future research it would be valuable to examine whether this small but significant change has had an effect on the surrounding refugees in a more general sense, and in what other circumstances refugees might be able to achieve similar political agency. In a more distant future it would be of interest to investigate whether the demands of the refugees in the context of the Relay have had an impact on asylum and refugee policies, helped refugees to be seen as humans and access rights, or continue the push to widen and change our understanding of citizenship.

Appendix 1: Coding schedule

Text

- A. Newspaper
- B. Date and time
- C. Genre/type of article
 - 1. News article
 - 2. Debate
 - 3. TT
 - 4. News item
 - 5. Picture + text
- D. Kind of newspaper
 - 1. Local provincial
 - 2. Local city
 - 3. Special
 - 4. National coverage

Categorisations

- E. Categorisations used about participants
 - 1. Afghan
 - 2. Hazara
 - 3. Refugee
 - 4. Asylum seeker
 - 5. Hidden
 - 6. Undocumented
 - 7. Have been undocumented
 - 8. Undocumented refugee
 - 9. Asylum seeking refugee
 - 10. Hidden refugee
 - 11. No categorisation
- F. Categorisations used about other participants
 - 1. Swedish citizen/swedes
 - 2. Occupation
 - 3. Local citizen
- G. Categorisations in general
 - 1. Swedish citizen/swedes
 - 2. Occupation
 - 3. Asylum seekers
 - 4. Refugees
 - 5. Undocumented
 - 6. Hidden
 - 7. Undocumented refugees

- H. The Relay
 - 1. Demonstration
 - 2. Manifestation
 - 3. Protest
 - 4. Marsch
 - 5. Walk
 - 6. Protestmarsch

Actor/Patient

- I. Words used about participants refugees
 - 1. Actor
 - 2. Patient
 - 3. Scared/afraid
 - 4. Difficulties
 - 5. Organiser
 - 6. Hit/stroke
 - 7. Waiting
- J. Words used about participants other than refugees
 - 1. Actor
 - 2. Patient
 - 3. Driving spirits
 - 4. Solidarity
 - 5. Supporting
 - 6. Engaged
 - 7. Sympathiser
- K. Words used about refugees
 - 1. Actor
 - 2. Patient
 - 3. Scared/afraid
 - 4. Difficulties
 - 5. Organiser
 - 6. Hit/stroke
 - 7. Waiting
- L. Words used about asylum seekers
 - 1. Actor
 - 2. Patient
 - 3. Scared/afraid
 - 4. Difficulties
 - 5. Organiser
 - 6. Hit/stroke
 - 7. Waiting
- M. Words used about undocumented or hidden
 - 1. Actor
 - 2. Patient

3. Scared/afraid
4. Difficulties
5. Organiser
6. Hit/stroke
7. Waiting

Voices

N. Voices – who can speak?

1. Refugee
2. Asylum seeker
3. Hidden undocumented
4. Person with residence permit
5. Participant in the relay
6. Other swedish or local citizen
7. Have been undocumented
8. Undocumented refugee
9. Asylum seeking refugee
10. No categorisation
11. Organiser of the relay

O. Voices of participants (asylum seekers and refugees)

1. Speak about politics
2. Speak about the purpose of the relay
3. Speak about difficulties with the relay
4. Speak about benefits of the relay
5. Speak about their situation
6. Speak about their background

P. Voices of other participants

1. Speak about politics
2. Speak about the purpose of the relay
3. Speak about difficulties with the relay
4. Speak about benefits of the relay
5. Speak about their situation
6. Speak about their background

Q. Voices of others

1. Speak about politics
2. Speak about the purpose of the relay
3. Speak about difficulties with the relay
4. Speak about benefits of the relay
5. Speak about their situation
6. Speak about their background

Appendix 2. Figures

Genre	2013		2014	
	Number	Procent	Number	Procent
News articles	45	51%	19	31%
Debate	10	11%	0	0%
TT	4	4%	4	6%
News item	17	19%	34	55%
Captions in relation to image	11	12%	4	6%
Front page	2	2%	1	2%
Total	89	100%	62	100%

Figure 1. Type of articles according to number of articles and percentage of total number

Newspaper	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Local provincial	58	65%	33	53%
Local city	9	10%	10	16%
Special	15	17%	6	10%
National coverage	7	8%	13	21%
Total	89	100%	62	100%

Figure 2. Type of newspaper according to number of articles and percentage of total number

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Swedish citizen/swedes	6	7%	17	27%
Occupation	21	24%	23	37%
Asylum seekers	33	37%	16	26%
Refugees	34	38%	7	11%
Undocumented	26	29%	2	3%
Hidden	2	2%	2	3%
Undocumented refugees	3	3%	2	3%

Figure 3. Categorisations in general according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014).

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Afghan	2	2%	0	0%
Hazara	21	24%	0	0%
Refugee	13	15%	9	14,52%
Asylum seeker	40	45%	12	19%
Hidden	1	1%	0	0%
Undocumented	6	7%	11	18%
Have been undocumented	24	27%	1	2%
Undocumented refugee	2	2%	0	0%
Asylum seeking refugee	2	2%	0	0%
Hidden refugee	1	1%	1	2%
No categorisation	17	19%	23	37%

Figure 4. Categorisations about participants identified as refugees according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014)

Categorisation	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Swedish citizen or swede	1	1%	2	3%
Occupation	4	4%	2	3%
Local citizen	4	4%	2	3%

Figure 5. Categorisations about participants not identified as refugees according to number of articles and percentage of the total number of items (89 items 2013 and 62 items 2014).

Participants	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Actor	289	72%	211	86%
Patient	111	28%	35	14%
Total	400	100%	246	100%

Figure 6. Number of sentences signalling Actor/Patient about participants in the Relay and percentage of the total number

Refugees in general	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Actor	15	11%	3	7%
Patient	119	89%	39	93%
Total	134	100%	42	100%

Figure 7. Number of sentences signalling Actor/Patient about refugees in general and percentage of the total number

Who can speak?	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee	27	28%	18	30%
Other participant in the Relay	12	12%	7	12%
Other Swedish or local citizen	25	26%	0	0%
No categorisation	28	29%	31	52%
Organiser of the relay	5	5%	4	7%
Total	97	100%	60	100%

Figure 8. Number of persons speaking and percentage of total number

What do refugees speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum politics	15	23%	7	29%
The purpose of the Relay	14	22%	11	46%
Difficulties with the Relay	4	6%	0	0%
Benefits with the Relay	7	11%	2	8%
Their situation	10	16%	2	8%
Their background	14	22%	2	8%
Total	64	100%	24	100%

Figure 9. Number of times when a person identified as a refugee participant speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

What do other participants speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum policies	13	23%	14	25%
The purpose of the Relay	16	28%	32	58%
Difficulties with the Relay	3	5%	2	4%
Benefits with the Relay	16	28%	7	13%
Their situation	7	12%	0	0%
Their background	2	4%	0	0%
Total	57	100%	55	100%

Figure 10. Number of times when a person identified as non-refugee participant speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

What do others speak about	2013		2014	
	Number	%	Number	%
Refugee and asylum policies	13	37%	0	
The purpose of the Relay	9	26%	0	
Difficulties with the Relay	0	0%	0	
Benefits with the Relay	11	31%	0	
Their situation	2	6%	0	
Their background	0	0%	0	
Total	35	100%	0	

Figure 11. Number of times when a person not identified as participant in the Relay speaks about different topics, and percentage of total number

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