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The changing emotion discourse in Sweden about Ukrainians  
fleeing the war to Sweden

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## Abstract

The thesis aims to investigate the changing discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden within the time frame of 24th February 2022 to 31 st December 2022. Where the aim is to analyze how the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden has changed. This is being done by doing a critical discourse analysis looking at the two traditional media sources Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD). The analysis is conducted by using the theories 'Cultural Emotional Regime' (Wettergren, 2012) 'Discursive Social Psychology' (Potter, 2021) as well as 'Emotional Energy' (Collins, 2004). In addition to the theories, previous research related to emotions, refugees, migration and discourse analysis is used in the analysis as well. Further, some key findings within the study are that the discourse in the two traditional media sources Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) that a strong sense of solidarity could be observed in the first couple of months, but with time the solidarity slightly started to diminish. A tension between authorities/ government and the civic society decreased with time. Emotions commonly expressed within the discourse were emotions and feelings such as discontent, frustration against authorities and the government. But the discourse that highlighted the relation between volunteers/the civic society with the Ukrainians were feelings and emotions of emotional intimacy, kindness. The two media sources Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet, (SvD) expressed rather similar emotions within the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden.

**Key Words:** Changing discourse, emotions, Ukrainians fleeing the war, Swedish traditional media

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## 1. Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to investigate the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden has changed in Swedish traditional media focusing on the *emotional* response expressed in Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. Since the full-scale Russian war against Ukraine began on February 24th 2022 there hasn't been much previous research done regarding the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war to the EU or in particular to *Sweden*. What we know from the previous research is how other refugees have been portrayed in the traditional media discourse in previous years, such as how they were portrayed during the so-called 'refugee crisis' back in 2015. The importance of studying the media discourse surrounding 'refugees' is that a large number of individuals count on traditional media as their information sources. The traditional media in this sense can have a large impact on individuals' opinions and perspectives, which further can impact how they shape their opinions on Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden and their opinions on other actors involved in the discourse surrounding Ukrainians. The little what we *do* know about the phenomenon is the statistics on how many Ukrainians there are in Sweden and the directives that apply to Ukrainians coming to Sweden such as "Temporary Protection Directive". In 2022 as of December 2022 the total number of Ukrainians under the 'Temporary Protection Directive in Sweden' was 34 142 (Migrationsverket, 2023) The focus of my study is on the discourse surrounding Ukrainians seeking Temporary protection in Sweden and detecting some changes in this discourse since February 24th to December 31st in 2022 . Two traditional Swedish media sources are analyzed in this thesis: Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) by retrieving articles from "Mediearkivet" The specific time frame I have chosen is from 24th of February 2022 which marks the official start of Russia's full scale war against Ukraine until December 31st 2022. The reason for choosing this specific time is to insure the do-ability of this thesis. The sociological relevancy of studying this topic can contribute with new knowledge about how the discourse expressed within the traditional media can reflect upon societal views, on a rather new topic where there hasn't been much coverage on. Other reasons for why I choose to conduct this study is to stress about the importance of emotion related discourse in traditional media, and how different social actors within these media sources may express various views regarding the topic which in turn can impact the general view of the phenomena and the actors involved within the phenomena.

This specific topic is also relevant for the field of sociology since it is still going on war and not much research has been done within this topic which I as a sociologist aim to contribute with. Other reasons for why this is relevant is that it can highlight some major shifts in the discourse and possibly show a change in the emotional discourse surrounding Ukrainians coming to Sweden. This in turn can further contribute to how changing events can affect the societal view on Ukrainians coming to Sweden through the traditional media sources which potentially can generate changing attitudes towards Ukrainians and other actors involved within this discourse. As previously mentioned, I plan to conduct a discourse analysis on the *emotional* response, as I, as a sociologist, am interested in the emotional discourse. Namely that emotions are culturally produced and may vary depending on various cultures and linguistic practices. (Flam & Kleres, 2015, pp 58-66) In my study, I will limit myself to the traditional media discourse in Sweden and *if* the traditional media representations surrounding Ukrainians coming to Sweden has changed in a matter of months and in that case *how* has it changed. The importance of emotions and their cultural ties is argued by Flam & Kleres (2015) where they stress about how emotions not merely are “somatic responses” (Flam & Kleres, pp 58-66). Is another reason why I chose focusing on the emotional type of discourse as I think this may create a deeper understanding for why and how certain emotional terminology is used in media discourses on Ukrainians.

## 2. Research aim

In this chapter I discuss my research aims leading up to my research questions.

My aim is to analyze how the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden has changed within the two traditional media sources Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and Dagens Nyheter (DN). To see how they can be representative of Sweden's standpoint and reflect their views regarding the Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden. To achieve this, I am using theories related to emotions and discourse to analyze the media discourses surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden.

### **My two research questions are:**

*What kind of emotions were commonly expressed in traditional Swedish media about the Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden?*

*Were there any differences in how the two media sources expressed their emotions surrounding Ukrainians coming to Sweden?*

### 3. Background and previous research

In this chapter I present the background, starting with general information about Ukrainians that have fled the war to Sweden and information about ‘The temporary Protection Directive’. The importance of this information is to highlight how the current situation looks and the rights that applies to Ukrainians in Sweden since it may reflect upon the discourse surrounding Ukrainians. Lastly, I present the study’s previous research followed by a discussion of the relevancy of earlier research to my thesis.

#### 3.1 Background

In this chapter I highlight how the current situation of receiving Ukrainians fleeing the war looks in Sweden and how it may compare to other receiving countries against the directives concerning the Ukrainians coming to Sweden.

From a recent report from “The Swedish Migration Agency” retrieved in April 2023, there are currently 3387 Ukrainians under the ‘Temporary Protection Directive in Sweden. In 2022 as of December 2022 the total number of Ukrainians under the ‘Temporary Protection Directive in Sweden’ was 34 142. (Migrationsverket, 2023) According to Parusel and Varfolomieieva (2022) the major difference from other “refugee crises' ' in the past is the *Temporary Protection Directive* (TPD) which recently was activated in connection with the Ukrainian war situation. They state that:

*“The TPD sets minimum standards for the reception of people in need of temporary protection, which means that EU Member States can offer more generous, but not stricter, conditions and rights than those provided for by the Directive.”* - Parusel and Varfolomieieva (2022, p.4)

The rights and the beneficiaries for Ukrainians should include, social welfare, access to education and medical assistance among many other sets of rights. *But* one could detect that there are differences in various countries in how they implement the TPD. In this report from (SIPES, 2022) the rights for Ukrainians in Sweden do not include access to education or “SFI” which is a course in Swedish for immigrants, and this is one major difference compared to the previous ‘refugee crisis’. Further, the financial support for Ukrainians in Sweden is 247

euros per month (June 2022) compared to the highest financial support in Germany, comprised of 449 euros, and the lowest is in Poland 15 euros (SIEPS, 2022, pp 1-15.) Currently “The temporary Protection Directive” in Sweden is extended to 4th of March 2025. (Migrationsverket, 2023) Further, the Ukrainians do only have access to emergency health care (except for children) compared to the majority of other countries where the Ukrainians have full access to health resources. (OECD, 2022) In the aliens act (utlänningslagen) 21 chapter 5 § a granted residence permit should not hinder individuals to seek an application for a residence permit as a *refugee*. (Delmi, 2022) But this only applies to Ukrainians that arrived before 24th of February 2023 (Migrationsverket, 2023)

### 3.2 Previous research

In this chapter I present the previous research will mainly be focusing *on emotions, refugees, migration and discourse analysis*. Followed by a discussion for why they are relevant to my thesis but also some research gaps within the previous research.

Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh (2017) have analyzed how the media in the UK portrayed refugees seeking to reach Europe during “the refugee crisis” in 2015. By doing a discourse analysis on how the language surrounding both the affected people and the crisis itself constantly was changing, the authors argue that initially within the terminology the wordings used to describe the crisis was “a mediterranean migrant crisis” The reason it was called “The Mediterranean” was that it was seen as something occurring outside the UK hence not an issue on a national level. Furthermore, the authors underline how the notion of “Migrant” is generally seen as a negative categorization of someone that is constantly moving from one country to another. At the same time “Crisis” is an indication for something serious, suggesting that the event was seen as a serious matter. The next re-categorisation in the UK media was the “Calais migrant crisis” indicating that the event was moving closer to the UK border due to it now taking place by the France -UK border. The meanings of the notions “migrant” and “crisis” remained the same. “Europe’s migrant crisis” was the next wording in the UK media, the crisis was now displayed as extensive across all of Europe. The authors also emphasize how it was a crisis for *Europe* but not a crisis for the refugees. A defining moment which led to a shift in the discourse happened when a child named Alan Kurdi was photographed on a beach after drowning in a boat accident. The photograph was then published in



the media worldwide and had a significant impact on the debate. This led to a shift for using the notion of refugee instead of migrant meaning that the former was seen as a more moral and worthy categorisation. Finally, the last shift in the terminology happened when the terrorist attack happened in Paris on November the 13th 2015, and further another terrorist attack that was attempted by a man that deceitfully claimed to be a refugee in Paris, January 2016. These events have reversed descriptions, once again calling the incoming people to the EU it a “Migrant Crisis”. The authors state that:

*“Once again, “migrant” refers to an immoral and problematic category of people that needs to be prevented from reaching” - (Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh, p.111, 2017)*

Another study by Phillimore, et.al (2022) the authors argue that Community Sponsorship (CS) in the UK permits groups of volunteers to help refugees in their communities and the importance of emotions in this matter. Further, findings in the paper showed that by the act of helping refugees among volunteers there was a change in emotions from negative to positive. The negative emotions were expressed when the participants, the volunteers in the study explained how they saw pictures of Alan Kurdi. This caused emotions of both empathy but also rage, especially among the volunteers that had children or grandchildren. Blame was one other commonly expressed emotion among the participants. A more positive shift in emotions among the participants were expressed when they saw the crisis as an opportunity to help. The common expressed emotions among the volunteers from various groups within the Community Sponsorship (CS) also brought them together in a way by creating a collective identity. (Phillimore et al. 2022, pp. 386-396)

In a study on refugee reception in Turkey, N.Iscan (2021) argues there has been a discourse shift surrounding the refugees during the years 2014 to 2020, when the political statements and open speeches were examined. Some of the study’s findings were that there had been a notable change in the discourse in how refugees and migrants first were described as “honorable guests” to later on shift to being burdensome for Turkey. This did also result in an intensified militarization in bordering countries to Turkey such as Bulgaria and Greece. Furthermore, these debates in the media have created a complicated security landscape, which in some cases have generated brutal, unfortunate and traumatic experiences for the refugees. The discursive productions that the Turkish Government and its bordering countries have created

has led to dangerous consequences for the refugees. Some additional damage that the changing discourse has resulted in is what the authors call “open wounds” or in other words, it has led to a destructive and traumatic environment such as a strengthened military surveillance around borders. (N.Iscan 2021, pp 1-19)

In an article by Monforte, Maestri and d’Haullin (2021) the authors carried out a study with volunteers and their role in refugee movements within the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015, including participants from countries such Italy, Britain and France. Motives and encounters were explored by people that practice private hospitality through hosting refugees at their homes. Some findings in the study include that private hospitality creates family-like interactions but also feelings based in love, which further generates the anticipation of an emotional connection between the guest and the host. Some other findings include that participants that were engaged in these refugee movements did it as a response to defy the restrictive politics of the governments. The authors did also particularly examine the ‘responsibility’ that surfaced from private hospitality. (Monforte, Maestri, d’Haullin, 2021, pp. 674-689)

In the context of Sweden Peter Dahlgren (2016) in his study stressed on the importance of the civic reaction during the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ during fall 2015 when it comes to the response to the large numbers of refugees coming to Sweden and to the ways the engagement among the civic was organized. The author highlighted that the empirical initiation were the political opinions and the changing events among the swift evolution of the conventional and counter discourses that were influential on the aspect and the extent of the Swedish so-called “mediated moral” surveying and how this manifested in practical terms. The two main media sources, Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and Dagens Nyheter (DN) had the biggest influence on the events while on the other hand social media had their perceptions, both countering the main media and supporting the prevailing narrative. The various discursive angles were examined by the author where he claims that conventional media act as a form of baseline and social media appeared as well in the course of events. (Dahlgren, pp, 382-397)

### 3.3 Discussion of the previous research

In this chapter I briefly discuss the importance of my earlier research but also some research gaps within the previous research. Starting off with the article by Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh (2017) This article highlights how the discourse surrounding refugees can change in a matter of time and how different terminology is used to describe refugees. This article is relevant to my study since I aim to look at the changing discourse surrounding Ukrainians coming to Sweden. Some of the research gaps related to my study is that this article stresses about the so-called 'refugee crisis' back in 2015 and that the study was conducted in other countries rather than Sweden. Whereas my study will look at another so called 'refugee situation' which further, is presented until this day and these two situations may differ each other.

The second article by Phillimore, et.al (2022) relates to my study since *emotions* are central here but also how these emotions could shift. This relates to my study since I also aim to look at emotions about refugees and how this could change in individuals. In a media discourse, emotions can also change and therefore are relevant to look at. Further, in my study I will be looking at various articles surrounding Ukrainians both political statements but also articles where individual Swedes practice private hospitality. Some research gaps in this article are that it merely focuses on the emotions of *volunteers* rather than other actors involved in so-called 'refugee crises', whereas in my study I aim to look at all the actors involved in the discourse. The article by N.Iscan (2021) is related to my study since it also highlights how the discourse surrounding refugees can change in a matter of time which I as a researcher also aim to look at in my study like I mentioned in the first article. Some of the research gaps in this study are that the study was conducted in another country than Sweden and this may create differences in how 'refugees' are described in the respective discourses, and likewise in the study by Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh (2017) this study analyzed another so called 'refugee crisis' rather than the one I plan to analyze.

The study conducted by Monforte, Maestri and d'Hauillin (2021) is relevant to my study since it discusses what type of relations and emotions that can be generated between a host and a 'refugee' guest. But also, how these hosts do it in a way to oppose their country's gov-

ernment. This is particularly interesting to my study since I plan to look at the emotions expressed within the discourse but also articles concerning the relationship between volunteers/hosts and Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden. The article by Peter Dahlgren (2016) is the last article and it's relevant to my study since it highlights the discourse surrounding refugees and the role of the traditional media sources such as Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet in these events, alongside social media. The two traditional media sources used in this study are the same two media sources that are used in my study which makes this study particularly relevant to mine. Further, this is the only previous research that was conducted in Sweden which makes it relevant to my mine.

## 4. Theoretical framework

In this chapter I present the theories within my theoretical framework, that will be applied during my discourse analysis. Starting with off with discursive social psychology followed by the theory of emotional energy and lastly the theory of cultural emotion regimes.

### 4.1 Discursive social psychology

Gibson (2009) and his interpretation of the *discursive social psychology* is based on Edwards & Potter's (1992) insights. *Discursive social psychology* deals with how certain subjects and concerns are handled by social actors within discourses. Psychological notions within the discursive social psychology are seen as something that is created in discourse in an effort to pay attention to context-specific business. Compared to viewing these psychological notions as mental actions that are unobservable, which is common within linguistics, psychological notions are essential to a majority of discursive works. Instead of simply viewing them as mental states they act more as expressions that perform as substantial interactional transactions. Other features of discursive social psychology are *accountability* which acts as a prevalent aspect of a discourse. Within the management of responsibility social actors are commonly involved in both the responsibility of institutions and of other people, as well as in writing and talking. Within the research on discourse there has been identification of how social actor's direct issues of a psychological nature and use psychological notions to associate and deny responsibility within circumstances where accountability is implicated. McMullen's (2021) interpretation of the discursive social psychology is based on "three strands" which are originally based on Potter's theory on discursive social psychology. One of these so-called strands are targeting what both writers and speakers are accomplishing with the language or in other words their *use* of the language. Are the writers and speakers for example, sympathizing, blaming, disagreeing (McMullen, 2021, pp 5-6) Interpretative repertoires is another aspect of the discursive social psychology and it is described as: "*recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena*" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p 149) It is one of the fundamental analytical notions within the social psychological DA. One of the key features of interpretive repertoires within the discursive work

is to address issues of a social psychological nature. (Gibson, 2009, pp. 396 – 398.) McMullen (2021) also stresses on how these interpretative repertoires are practiced to construct social action and, in many cases, to sustain current compositions of inequality and power. (McMullen, p.5, 2021) This theory by Gibson (2009) will help me to get a deeper understanding of discourses and how social actors that are responsible within the media may actively chose to portray individuals and institutions in a specific way within the discourse. But also, how social actors within the discourse may actively chose to use re current terms to create so- called *interpretative repertoires*.

#### **4.2 Emotional energy**

If the previous theory will help me to get a deeper understanding of how social actors may chose to portray individuals and institutions within the discourse in a specific way, but also chose to use recurrent terms of characterizing a phenomenon. The following theory will instead help me to get a deeper understanding of *emotions*. Collin's theory of *emotional energy* can be found within his theory of 'Interaction rituals' (2004) Emotional energy can have different outcomes and can generate both 'high' and 'low' emotional energy. The 'high emotional energy' can be described as a successful interaction ritual and gives the individuals *high* emotional energy, and on the other hand if the 'interaction ritual' is less successful it can generate feelings of *low* emotional energy within the individual. 'High emotional energy' can generate feelings of satisfaction but also emotions of solidarity, belonging and trust towards other members of the interaction. 'Low emotional energy' can generate feelings of dissatisfaction and hopelessness. Collins (2004) also argues about the role of emotional energy and the crucial role of situations and states that:

*'Emotional energy is what individuals seek; situations are attractive or unattractive to them to the extent that the interaction ritual is successful in providing emotional energy.'* (Collins, 2004, p. 44)

Situations in this case can be seen as something that forms individuals and creates or restricts symbolism and emotions. (Collins, 2004, pp) This theory will help me to get a deeper understanding of how the emotions expressed by various individuals within discourse may vary and, how the situation of the Ukrainians in Sweden may create or restrict symbolism and

emotions. Further, this theory may help me get a deeper understanding of emotions of volunteers within the discourse and how the interaction between volunteers may generate either a 'high emotional energy' or 'low emotional energy'.

### **4.3 Cultural emotional regimes**

If the previous theory will help me to get a deeper understanding of how specific situations may generate various emotions, but also how interactions may generate various 'emotional energies.' But the following article will help me to get a deeper understanding the typical emotions of *Swedes* and the culture around their emotions, since I plan to look at the Swedish discourse. *Cultural emotional regimes* is a theory promoted by Wettergren (2012) who means that emotional regimes are usually either engrained or embedded within tangible institutions and can be found in speeches and texts. Emotional regimes in Sweden usually take shape in emotional expressions that are dampened and controlled. These emotional regimes can be found within various contexts such as in political debates or within friend groups. "Konsensuskulturen" or a "consensus culture" is a term within the sociology of emotions which means that Swedes feel safe within a conflict-free social gathering. If there are any disagreements, they can at least agree upon that they are disagreeing with each other. Further, Wettergren argues about cultural emotional regime differences and similarities between Swedes and Greeks based on Sideridou's master thesis (2011) One of the findings within the study is that Swedes and Greeks are similar in that they both feel that they need to control their emotions. But one clear difference was that Greeks felt that they could act more spontaneously with their emotions which contrasts with the Swedes that felt that they needed to act more emotionally "careful". Both these emotion regimes are products of habituated emotion management. Within the same study the author observes that the participants within the study expressed how you have to learn to read Swedes subtle emotional expressions if you live in Sweden. Wettergren suggests the language constitutes an interesting structural condition for the formation of emotion regimes. (Wettergren, 2012, pp. 32-34) To conclude this chapter, I have discussed the three specific theories that will be used in my study and the importance of them but also how these three theories complement each other, and thus will help me create a deeper understanding my phenomena.

## 5. Method

In this part of the paper, I discuss the study's method and how the method will be implemented in my paper. Starting off by first presenting the two traditional media sources, the discourse analysis, ethical considerations.

### 5.1 Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD)

As previously mentioned, the two media sources that I am using in my discourse analysis are Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and Dagens Nyheter (DN). Svenska Dagbladet is a Swedish Morning paper with around 740 000 daily readers in 2020 including both the website, the mobile site and the printed paper. (NE, n.d.) Dagens Nyheter have around 1,2 million daily readers on both the website, the mobile site and the printed paper as well. (DN, 2021) The political stance of Svenska Dagbladet is 'independently moderate' (oberoende moderat) and the political stance of Dagens Nyheter is 'independently liberal' (oberoende liberal) (NE, n.d.)

### 5.2 Discourse Analysis

There are several types of discourse methods and each of these have their own characteristics, but one thing they have in common is that the language has a crucial role. In other words language and the use of language should not be seen as a neutral tool for communication. Further, the language's constituting and shaping side is emphasized in a discourse analysis where the language provides a worldwide perspective. (Boréus & Bergström, 2018, pp. 253-255) Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) argues that all discourse methods share the common thing that the way we talk don't mirror our identities, world and relation but instead serves as a functioning role in how we change and produce them. Discourse analyses can be applicable in various social domains and they all stem from *social constructivism*. (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, pp. 9-13)



### 5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In the analysis, I will use the critical discourse analysis that can be seen as an umbrella term, including multiple approaches which have its roots in linguistics which further distinguishes it from other discourse analyses. Some examples of what is analyzed in a critical discourse analysis includes: argumentation, grammatics, metaphors, various words and categories.

(Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 305)

The purpose with a discourse analysis is to find patterns within the discourse that mirror the discourse and that are intriguing for the research questions. (Boréus & Bergström, 2018, p. 313) The total number of articles in this study are 35 articles which includes articles such as news articles, editorials and opinions. All of these articles have been carefully selected where key words such as ‘Ukrainians in Sweden’ within the time frame of 24th February 2022 to December 31st 2022 were used to search for the relevant articles. A variation in the articles including news reports, editorials and feature articles was another criterion when choosing the discourse articles. The purpose of doing this was to get vast variety of opinions.

Other criterions included that discourse article should be sufficient to retrieve data from or in other words that article shouldn't be *too* short. Emotional expressions were another aspect I looked at when choosing the discourse articles, including statements and citations that were emotionally charged. Further, I choose to mainly use the article's citations as I see these as these as particularly important since the author chose to highlight them even though I mainly choose to use the citations, other parts of the article were used as well in my discourse analysis. All the articles were retrieved from “Mediearkivet” When reading and choosing these articles I was looking for characteristic notions of CDA which are presented down below.

*Word choices (lexical aspects)* are an important part of a discourse analysis in the sense that words can describe circumstances and the world around us which both affects us and others to a larger extent. Words can also help us categorize words in our surroundings which further lays the foundation for a specific outlook. One example of the impact of word choices are how we choose specific words and how frequent these words are used in a specific text.

Words are central aspects in a discourse analysis since they are the core of many texts.

(Boréus & Bergström, 320-321, 2018) In my case I will be looking at the emotional discourse

surrounding Ukrainians and the frequency of specific words related to emotions and *if* they have changed during my specific chosen time frame.

*Keywords* are one other aspect in a discourse analysis which usually express beliefs and ideals within a group or even within an epoch or in a specific time period. Further, keywords play a central role in communication because they are perceived as the most central. Some characteristics of keywords are that they are used frequently, they can act as “carriers” of programs and ideas, they are strictly dependent on the context and lastly, they are thematic and are frequently emphasized in the discourse which gives them a metalinguistic character. The *keywords* in my analysis will be emotion related occurring words within the two traditional chosen media sources, where I will be looking at how these were expressed in my specific time frame and *if* they changed throughout the specific time frame.

*Oppositions and discourse semantic figures* are other aspects in a discourse analysis which highlights oppositions such as “we versus them”. Teun Van Dijk (2006) calls these oppositions “positive self-presentation” and “negative other-presentation” when aim is to emphasize your own group and on the other hand undermine “the others.” In my analysis I will be looking at *if* the authors in articles are using a “we versus them” terminology in their discourse and if there is a distinction between “Ukrainians“(them) and the “Swedes” (us) in my discourse analysis. But also, if there is any opposition between different actors and individuals such as civilians (us) and politicians and authorities (them.)

#### **5.4 Ethical considerations**

The study will be following the recommendations by the Swedish Research council, “The researchers’ conduct” four principles: Reliability, honesty, respect and accountability. (Swedish research council, 2021) Some other ethical considerations that I as a researcher are taking into consideration is how the media sources publicly choose to display and provide names and information about the Ukrainians being interviewed in some news reports. Even though it’s public and available for everyone my intention is still to handle this cautiously and to not provide with more information than needed and to avoid the risk of spreading misinformation about the people in the articles. I started off this chapter by introducing the study’s method discourse analysis followed by how I plan to conduct the study with the help of the method, in the following chapter I present my result and the articles that I’ve gathered.

## 6. Result

In this part of the study, I'm presenting my material (the articles) that I've retrieved through "Mediearkivet." The result will be sorted into themes and consist of two main chapters, the articles will be chronologically sorted. The reason for dividing the articles in two main chapters are for practical reasons as well as for an observed shift in the discourse hence the breaking point and new main chapter in July, which marks the first month of the second time period and. Further, the number of articles of each newspaper are initially presented in table below:

Articles in total:	Svenska Dagbladet:	Dagens Nyheter:
Articles in total: 35 articles	11 articles	24 articles
February – June 2022: 22 articles	7 articles	15 articles
July- December 2022: 13 articles	4 articles	9 articles

## 6.1 A big willingness to help

In this chapter I present the first articles that have been sorted by the first theme and is within the first weeks of the war, where we within the discourse can begin to sense a large support both from volunteers and the Swedish population overall.

In the first article from Svenska Dagbladet that was published on February the 26th 2022 and is called *“Divided opinions about a flag in social media”* can sense the solidarity, where interviewees early in the article the interviewees state that: *“We want to show solidarity with something that feels very, very close”* - (Svenska Dagbladet, 26th February 2022)

Which relates to the fact that many people choose to show their support by having an Ukrainian flag as a profile photo in their personal social media accounts or by hanging the Ukrainian flag outside town halls. Further, in the article we can see that these opinions surrounding the flag were divided and another interviewee state that: *“We will always support those who are exposed to war and conflicts, but we will not bind us to flags, the asylum right is universal”* - (Svenska Dagbladet, 26th February 2022) This particularly interesting since it suggest how the interviewee thinks that asylum right is universal and how there's always should be a support for individuals fleeing wars.

*“The government should listen to the refugee opinion”* (Svenska Dagbladet, March 1st 2022) a journalist one of the editors of SvD stresses how 81 % of the Swedish population were willing to receive Ukrainians fleeing the war which was way higher than in previous opinion polls about migration. She also states that:

*“We are used to seeing that it is usually the other way around: Migration politics that is more supported by the government than by the public opinion. But the government seems to think that Sweden mainly did their thing during the first migration wave”* (Svenska Dagbladet, March 1st 2022)

This quote is particularly interesting since it highlights the support from the Swedish population and how migration politics usually are more supported by the government then by the population.

In the news report *“Immediately felt that I wanted to help”* from Dagens Nyheter (March 3th 2022) the journalist is reporting how many volunteers in Södertälje, Sweden want to show

their support by things such as donating clothes and supplies where one of interviewee a volunteer state that:

*“It’s a horrible situation that is being played out. It’s heartbreaking to see how people suffer. We want to help as best as we can and to ensure that the things we send down will reach the right people”* (Dagens Nyheter, March 3th 2022)

Within the same article the author, a journalist also states that: *“Many Swedes want to show their support for the Ukrainians citizens that flee the Russian invasion”* (Dagens Nyheter, March 3th 2022) In the article *“A big willingness to help”* (Dagens Nyheter) a news report, where the main theme in the article was the role of volunteers and “Volontärbyrån” (the volunteer office) where one of interviewees states that:

*“Generally, “volontärbyrån” have seen a duplication of visits on our site since the war broke out, suggesting that there’s a big willingness to help”* - (Dagens Nyheter, March 6th, 2022)

*“Many want to help Ukrainians”* (Svenska Dagbladet, March 6th 2022) is another article suggesting the willingness to help and the “enormous engagement” among Swedes, where the interviewees the general director of UNICEF Sweden state that: *“The engagement is huge and we have never seen anything like this.*

In the article *“I will never ask them to move”* (Dagens Nyheter, 25th March 2022) The interviewee is describing how she hosted an Ukrainian family. Where she reasons about both the opportunity to help is fantastic but also that she has a sense of fear and a distrust of Swedish authorities where she states that:

*“It’s fantastic to help, but there’s a limit in how long Swedish authorities can rely on non-profit forces”* and *“All actions that are being taken now, it’s fantastic and show a great deal of strength from the civil society. But how long will it last?”* (Dagens Nyheter, 25th March 2022)

What we can gather from these previous articles are that the interviewees as well as the journalists stress about the big willingness to help among Swedes, the strength from the civil society and an engagement that ‘never been seen before.’

### **6.1.1 No money that is invested in people are wasteful**

The theme of this chapter is the stance expressed by politicians and authorities such as “Migrationsverket” (The Swedish Migration Agency) and how there’s both a sense of solidarity between politicians as well a sense of division. But also, the importance of not repeating the same mistakes that have been done in previous so-called ‘refugee crises.’ The importance of

In the article *“Alex Schulman: If the war brings something good, it is that Sweden now stands more united”* (Dagens Nyheter, March 14th 2022) In this article the author states how the Swedish population typically act in crises such as the war in Ukraine and Ukrainians coming to Sweden and the unity among the Swedish population where the author states that: *“In Sweden the unity is so compact that you almost feel moved”* and *“It’s an awful time. A crisis that can develop into something terrifying. But there is something very hopeful in that we act unified in it.”* (Dagens Nyheter, March 14th, 2022) Further, Schulman states the relation between the two political parties The Sweden Democrats and The social Democratic Party:

*“Never in history have The Sweden Democrats and The Social Democratic party shared the same stance on refugees”* In the article *“Anders Ygeman: It’s easier to feel sympathy from a distance”* (Svenska Dagbladet, March 16th 2022) Anders Ygeman the ex-minister of foreign affairs, says that solidarity among Swedes is larger than ever and compare it the so-called refugee crisis in 2015, where he also warns Swedes about the implications of hosting refugees. He also states that: *“It’s easier to express sympathy and support on a distance”*

We can further see that there is a divided opinion among the politicians regarding Ukrainians coming to Sweden where in the article : *“Lööf and Stenevi: The government must do more for Ukrainian refugees”* where politicians such as Annie Lööf from the “Centre Party” suggest that: *“No money that is invested in people are wasteful but that it rather is an investment for people that potentially are going to stay “* - (Dagens Nyheter, March 26th 2022)

When being asked about why the state already from the beginning should invest in people whose biggest wish in many cases is to return to their native country. Anders Ygeman is once

again interviewed in the article where he instead suggests that he can't promise any new actions in the near future regarding Ukrainians coming to Sweden and that the current regulations such as the ones from The temporary protection Directive are the ones that should be currently followed (Dagens Nyheter, March 26th 2022) Some critique against the "Swedish Migration Agency" (Migrationsverket) is raised by Anna Köning a politician from the "Moderate party" that claims that their task of handling errands regarding Ukrainians coming to Sweden is "shameful" and states that :

*"It's a shame in this case and people get a very bad start in Sweden. The staffing must be strengthened, and the capacity must be raised"* (Dagens Nyheter, March 26th 2022)

In the article "Ribbenvik: The key to avoid a crisis like back in 2015 is an even distribution" (Dagens Nyheter, 4th april, 2022) The interviewee and the Director- General of The Swedish Migration Agency (Migrationsverket) Mikael Ribbenvik argues how to handle the Ukrainians coming to Sweden differently in order to avoid the mistakes of the so-called "refugee crisis" back in 2015. He means that an even distribution of the Ukrainians could be a solution. And when being asked if he felt a difference between how refugees were received back in 2015 during the so-called refugee crisis versus how Ukrainians are being received he states that :

*"I've been in contact with many local authority chairmens and there is considerable difference compared to the last time with the willingness to help"* (Dagens Nyheter, 4th April, 2022)

### **6.1.2 We should receive refugees but not pay with the aid**

In this subchapter we can start to detect some slight shifts in the discourse for example more stringent restrictions but also how parts of the civil society begin to question the government's actions towards Ukrainians for doing *too much* and on the other hand, other parts of the civil society critique the government and the authorities for their *insufficient* actions. However, the strong solidarity, responsibility and the importance of helping Ukrainians remains.



In the debate article “Don’t repeat the mistakes with the unaccompanied” (Dagens Nyheter, April 10th, 2022) the author stress about the importance of not repeating the mistakes of previous so-called refugee crises, Further, he stresses about the importance of responsibility and states that:

*“It’s not enough that we only open our hearts. We must also open our wallets, our schools, our social care and healthcare. And most importantly, we must open our willingness to really let these people into our society.”* (Dagens Nyheter, April 10th 2022)

He also states that there's a big civic engagement and engagement from the “NGO’s” or “non-governmental organizations” but he questions the rest of the readiness in other parts of the society. (Dagens Nyheter, April 10th 2022)

Within the article “*Västtrafik toughens the rules for Ukrainian refugees*” Dagens Nyheter (15th april, 2022) ) The CEO of Västtrafik is being interviewed about the decision that Ukrainians no longer could use the public transport for free in Gothenburg, and compares it to other region/ cities in Sweden such as “Skåne” and Stockholm. The interviewee and the CEO of “Västtrafik” or the public transport in Gothenburg states that:

*“The decision of letting Ukrainian refugees travel for free were taken in haste and that they are now trying to find a more long-term solution”* (Dagens Nyheter, April 15th 2022)

This article is particularly interesting since it’s the first article where restrictions against Ukrainians are highlighted and which further can be seen as a shift within the discourse.

In the article “*Give all Ukrainian refugees tuition in Swedish*” (Dagens Nyheter, April 19th 2022) the author argues how every Ukrainian fleeing the war and coming to Sweden and not only the kids should have access to learning Swedish. Once again, the role of the civil society is brought up again where the author argues how the civil society takes on the role to help Ukrainians to learn Swedish. The author states that:

*“We should receive them in the best way and immediately offer qualified tuition in Swedish. Experience shows that language is the key to successful integration.”* (Dagens Nyheter, April 19th 2022)

*“We should receive refugees but not pay with the aid”* (Dagens Nyheter, 1st of May 2022) is an debate article from nine Swedish church leaders where they argue how the government is cutting the “spring budget” to instead finance the necessary receiving of Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden. They argue how this could lead to devastating consequences in other parts of the world. And state that:

*“The war in Ukraine has led to a big solidarity with Ukrainian people. It’s an engagement that is fully in line with the christian love message and that we support wholeheartedly. We are all the same part of humanity and live under the same sky. But still, many on our planet wake up without knowing if there is going to be food for the day.”*

In the article *“Host families for Ukrainian refugees feel tricked”* (Dagens Nyheter, May 7th 2022) the authors argue how since the beginning of the war the host families have helped and supported the Ukrainians coming to Sweden and state that:

*“Since then, we host families have sat hour after hour with them, listened to their stories, cried with them and felt amazed over their fantastic strength and over the terrible evilness that have had an outlet through the Russian forces”* - (Dagens Nyheter, May 7th 2022)

Further, they argue how there is a lack of effort from the government and from “The Swedish Migration agency” (Migrationsverket) and how they feel tricked and state that:

*“Was it a mistake from our side to listen to the government and to open up our homes for people in need of help?”* - (Dagens Nyheter, May 7th 2022)

In this article we can see how some parts of civil society begin to question the government’s actions towards Ukrainians and how they feel tricked by them.

In the next article *“Leaders: Think through before you open your hearts, greeting S”* (Dagens Nyheter, May 19th 2022) the author, a journalist, criticizes the government and The Swedish Migration Agency (Migrationsverket) approach of handling the situation of receiving Ukrainians. The authors states that most of responsibility have been on the hosting families and states that:

*“The hosting families have shown that the Swedish society’s initiative is reaching far beyond the initiative of the state. Not only housing but jobs, friends, leisure activities and other entrance tickets to the society was arranged by the Swedish network” - (Dagens Nyheter, May 19th 2022)*

And some other arguments from the author are that:

*“And the government does not seem to be interested in handling the situation at all. Open your hearts, said the alliance. Think it through before you open your hearts, said the s-government. Still it is Fredrik Reinfeldt (from the moderate party) that gets to be the scapegoat. “ - (Dagens Nyheter, May 19th 2022)*

In the article *“The government want to help refugees to return”* (Svenska Dagbladet, 20th May 2022) the authors suggest that there is a rising number of Ukrainians that want to return to Ukraine and that the government wants to give the people that are leaving the best opportunities to do so. The author also states that: *“Recently the amount of Ukrainians that are fleeing to Sweden has heavily decreased, something that multiple aid agencies has reported to SvD” - (Svenska Dagbladet, 20th May 2022)*

### **6.1.3 Fewer want to decrease the refugee migration**

In this last subchapter we can begin to see the Swedish population stance on the “refugee” migration overall, as well as how Ukrainians begin to integrate into Swedish society by getting jobs.

In the article *“Fewer want to decrease the refugee migration”* (Dagens Nyheter, May 30th 2022)

The author argues how resistance against the refugee reception has decreased according to a poll from DN/Ipsos. Especially generous is the attitude for those fleeing the war in Ukraine. The interviewee in the article states that: *“The general discussion of the refugee reception is almost gone and the media attention devotes a big part to the Ukrainian refugees, that the public opinion is generally positively inclined to.” - (Dagens Nyheter, May 30th 2022)*

And where the same interviewee also states that:

*“The war in Ukraine has likely influenced the general view of the refugee matter.”* - (Dagens Nyheter, May 30th 2022)

In the article “Many companies wants to hire Ukrainian refugees” (June 5th 2022, Dagens Nyheter) The author argues how there is a demand from companies to hire Ukrainians and that these companies are reaching out to “The Swedish Public Employment Service” and “Stockholm’s establishment center” to help them accomplish that. One of the interviewees in the article a Ukrainian woman that have been working in company talks about how she has been met by the people at her job where she states that:

*“Everyone is very nice and asks if I need help. It’s nice to work, to be busy and to not think very much.”* (June 5th 2022, Dagens Nyheter)

## **6.2 The rising tension between the civic society and the authorities**

In this first subchapter we can begin to see shifts within the discourse, where more critique is brought up again both the government and the authorities for their insufficient actions towards Ukrainians. The critique is both brought up by volunteers, hosting families, as well as journalists.

Within the article *“The municipalities are now responsible for Ukrainian refugees”* (Dagens Nyheter, 2nd July 2022) The author a journalist, states that every municipality has indicated the exact number of people they were willing to receive. The author mentions how many of the Ukrainians now have access to things such as clothes and “The Swedish public employment service”.

One interviewee state how other actors such as volunteers are willing to help and state that: *-Then we also have another perseverance. In the first urgent stage there was a lot of engagement, but it has declined with the time.* (Dagens Nyheter, 2nd July 2022)

This quote is particularly interesting since it highlights how the engagement has begun to decline with the time, which is mentioned for the first time in the discourse.

In the next article *“The law forces them to move - despite that the accommodation is arranged”* (Dagens Nyheter, 5th of July 2022) The author states that during the last fourth months a Ukrainian woman and her kids have lived with a private individual but that they now according to the law were forced to live in accommodation facility before moving to the arranged accommodation by the Municipality. One of interviewees states that:

*“Me and many others opened our homes for refugees from Ukraine when the crisis was at its greatest, Sweden managed the reception thanks to us. Now they hit back strongly against the families that we have helped during several months that have not cost the state a penny”*

This quote highlights the tension building up between volunteers, hosting families and the authorities and the role of the regulations.

*“Inhumane and bureaucratic to uproot Ukrainian refugees”* (Dagens Nyheter, July 18th 2022) Is another article where the author within article a journalist, argues how many Ukrainians that currently are living with hosting families in Huddinge Stockholm now are at the risk of moving out to other accommodations. And that many of the Ukrainian families already have started to feel at home and have got jobs and children at the place and that is “inhumane” to move them out. One of the interviewees a woman that is hosting a Ukrainian family state her relationship with the family and says that:

*–“ We have laughed and cried together, we have shared our life experiences and getting along in the kitchen which has worked out very well.”* - Dagens Nyheter, July 18th 2022

Further, we can also see a response from a representative from the local municipality where she states that:

*“From a local perspective it’s important that we get an even distribution of refugees in the country. Then of course it’s sad that it has taken such a long time and that many already have started to feel rooted here.”* - (Dagens Nyheter, July 18th 2022)

### **6.2.1 Swedes opinions**

In this next subchapter we can see the discourse regarding the Swedish population and how they have been affected by the war in Ukraine as well as differences in the treatment between previous ‘refugees’ and Ukrainians.

*“The pandemic and the war in Ukraine have given us an existential dizziness”* (Dagens Nyheter, 8th of July 2022)

In this article the journalist of the article includes three researchers that mentions the massive consequences for the Swedish society as result of both the pandemic and the war in Ukraine has caused. One of the interviewees mentions the disadvantages of this and states that:

*“I think that we collectively, as a society, suffered from an existential dizziness that got even more amplified by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. We don't really know how it will affect our trust of each other and the society in the long run, but we can already now see that it has diluted some inequalities.”*

Another interviewee states the advantages of both the pandemic and the invasion and states that: - *“Both during the pandemic and invasion we have seen new solidarity actions between individuals. Maybe it will be a way to relate to each other and re-establish a closer community”* (Dagens Nyheter, 8th of July 2022)

In the article: *“This is why Sweden (and EU) treats Syrians differently than Ukrainians”* (Dagens Nyheter, August 27th 2022) The authors, the journalists of the newspaper stress the differences between the reception of Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden in 2022 and Syrians fleeing the war in Syria back in 2015. One other difference that the author highlights is that the “The temporary protection directive” also was activated for Ukrainians fleeing the war but that was not the case back in 2015. One of interviewees in the article include a Syrian family that fled the war in Syria and came to Sweden in 2015 where one of the family members stated that: - *“We have ourselves experienced how it is to be new refugees. We think that all support and all good treatment towards Ukrainians was needed.”*

One other interviewee a Ukrainian woman that came to Sweden in 2022 states that:

*“I'm really surprised over the treatment from the people, Swedes are really nice to us. But the government's actions are not so good”* (Dagens Nyheter, August 27th 2022)

### 6.2.2 The continuation of the rising tension

Within this next subchapter we can see the continuation of the critique brought up against both the government and the authorities and how this critique is even more amplified.

In the article *“Has jobs to refugees - But the regulations hinders it”* (Dagens Nyheter, 29 September 2022) Here the journalist of the article argues how Ukrainian seamstresses could solve a staffing problem in a clothing company but are instead faced with regulations from the “Swedish Migration Agency” concerning the relocations of the Ukrainians in Sweden and that it hinders them to move to the location of the workplace. One interview from “The Swedish Migration Agency” states that -

*“I can understand how the company thinks. But it’s really hard for us to meet their demands because of the regulations and from the laws that exists”* (Dagens Nyheter, 29th September 2022)

“Here the refugees get to live in their own apartment - or on a camping” (Dagens Nyheter October the 5th, 2022) Is one other article where the author stresses about the how there is an uneven distribution of Ukrainians in the municipalities and that some are forced to live together in small spaces meanwhile there are some municipalities that have empty fully equipped accommodations. One of the interviewees an Ukrainian woman states that:

*“I’m battling two conflicting emotions. I am thankful for the roof over my head, but at the same time I’m disappointed. Where we live now we barely have space to live.”*

Further, one of the interviewees an municipality official states that:

*“We have also met people with high expectations, who have thought that as soon as they have been directed to a municipality that they will get a good and permanent own accommodation. Then it’s clear that you get disappointed that you are squeezed with others.”*

*“Messy to adapt the migration to EUs minimum level according to an expert”* (Dagens Nyheter October 19th 2022) Is one article regarding how the new government wants migration policy to be brought into line with the minimum level of the EU law. One of interviewees, the migration minister and a politician from the “Moderate Party” also states that the four political parties all agree on to keep the responsibility over humans fleeing from neighboring

countries. Issues regarding the rights of Ukrainian “refugees” such as the amount of daily allowance and the right to learn Swedish was still an ongoing topic. (Dagens Nyheter, October 19th 2022)

In the article *“SVT and UR closes the language service for the newly arrived”* (Dagens Nyheter, November the 4th 2022) The author argues how language service that was established back in 2015 during the so-called “refugee crisis” is planning to close and according to a spokesperson from “SIOS” a non-profit association states that:

*“There is a risk that people because of this will get further away from Swedish and the Society. It’s a type of betrayal from SVT’s and UR’s side.”*

This quote is particularly interesting since now the critique is aimed at Public service companies such as ‘SVT’ and their actions towards ‘refugees’ especially Ukrainians in this case.

Another interviewee and the creator of the language service “Språkkraft” states that:

*“But we are amidst a refugee crisis and because of the Temporary Protection Directive the Ukrainians that are coming do not have access to SFI (adult education in Swedish for immigrants). In such case I think that it very strange to close this service while at the same time public service companies in rest of Europe sees it as an example”* (Dagens Nyheter, 4th of November 2022)

Within the next article *“The inflation can enhance the risk for exploitation of Ukrainian refugees”* (Svenska Dagbladet, 18 November 2022)

The author argues how the worsen economic situation can enhance the pressure on Ukrainian “refugees” in Sweden. That is there’s a risk for exposure to things such as prostitution, human trafficking and labor exploitation according to the “Swedish Gender Equality Agency” and that there is a large unrecorded number of Ukrainians that were involved in this during fall 2022. One interviewee and an investigator from the “Swedish Gender Equality Agency” states that:

*“The Temporary Protection Directive focuses on offering legal and safe escape routes, that’s important. But we see effects and risks with it and then the rest of the society must be even*



*better at helping each other at how we can detect these individuals.*” (Svenska Dagbladet, 18 November 2022)

In the article “Continued no to SFI for Ukrainians” the author argues how Ukrainians still haven’t got access to SFI, where one of the interviewees the minister of education Mats Perssons states that: *“The government will instead bet money on Swedish from day one as a voluntary education that is held by “Folk high schools” and study associations”* (Svenska Dagbladet, November 25th)

The last article from this period is called *“Peter Wennerblad: We keep doing the same mistakes with the Ukrainians”* (Svenska Dagbladet, December 21st, 2022) Here the author argues about the insufficient actions for Ukrainians and that the government are not particularly concrete in how they should take action. The author states that :

*“Unfortunately, the lack of concreteness illustrates that Sweden is about to make the same mistake with the refugees from Ukraine who in the past Migration waves – people are relegated to passivity and alienation.”*

The importance of language knowledge is also brought up where the author states that: The social democratic government didn’t do anything, and in November the minister of education Mats Persson announced that the new government says no. And that *“The Swedish Public Employment Service”* instead should map out skills and strengthen the information (Svenska Dagbladet, December 21st, 2022)

To conclude this chapter, I presented my result that I’ve gathered from the articles where certain themes were detected and divided into subchapters and themes. Within the next chapter I will analyze my articles more thoroughly with the help of thesis theories as well as the thesis’s previous research.

## 7. Analysis

In this part of the study an analysis of the articles is being made with the help of the study's earlier research, theories, and additionally aspects of the critical discourse analysis will be used. The analysis will be separated into two time periods which also was done in the result.

### 7.1 Analysis of the time period of February- June 2022

In this chapter I am analyzing the first time period between February to June where I apply my theories, my previous research as well aspects of the critical discourse analysis.

What we can gather from the first time period of February to June is that the articles reflect the big solidarity, and the big willingness to help among Swedes and solidarity actions that never been observed before. Volunteers and host families play a crucial role here which many of these articles reflect. Which can be related to the previous research by Monforte, Maestri and d'Hauillin (2021) since it discusses what type of relations and emotions that can be generated between a host and a 'refugee' guest. But also, how these hosts do it in a way to oppose their country's government, which can be observed in several articles surrounding volunteers and how they find the government's actions towards Ukrainians insufficient. Collins theory of "emotional energy" (2004) can also relate to the role of volunteers and how for example 'high emotional energy' may generate feelings of solidarity, in this case the 'high emotional energy' is generated between the volunteers and their solidarity actions towards the Ukrainians. The role of the volunteers can also be related to the earlier research by Phillimore, et.al (2022) where negative emotions were expressed by volunteers when "refugees" (or Ukrainians in my case) were faced by actions that negatively impacted them. A shift towards more positively inclined emotions were expressed when the volunteers had the chance to help, were the theory of 'emotional energy' by Collins (2004) once again can be applied here suggesting that the volunteers' emotions shifted from 'low emotional energy' to 'high emotional energy.'

Some *word choices* within this time frame that were used to compare previous so-called 'refugee crises' were words such as 'significantly' and 'overwhelming majority' to highlight how the public opinion were more positively inclined to Ukrainians compared to previous "refugees". This could also be related to the accountability part of the theory: *the discursive social*

*psychology* where the social actors bear the responsibility of other people and institutions in their talks and writings. (Potter, 2021) Emotion related words such as “heartbreaking” could also be found within this time period suggesting that there were a strong emotional response within the discourse. The use of certain words could also be related to ‘word choices’ as previously mentioned could help us categorize words in our surroundings which further lays the foundation for a specific outlook. (Boréus & Bergström, pp. 322- 329, 2018) Further, a sense of division among some politicians and authorities such as “The Swedish Migration agency” and division among authorities and volunteers. It's clear to see that two traditional media platforms try to portray the importance of the volunteers and civic society and the insufficiency from the authorities and some politicians. Theories that can be applied here include “discursive social psychology” (McMullen, 2021) and the *accountability* part of the theory in the sense that the social actors bear a responsibility of institutions and other people in writing and portraying them. Previous research by Dahlgren (2016) can likewise be applied here since the author stresses about how the major media “*defined the overall contours of the events*” (Dahlgren, 2016) during the so-called “refugee crisis” back in 2015, which also can be applied here. The theory of “cultural emotional regimes” (Wettergren, 2012) can be applied here since it's used to describe the typical emotions of Swedes in this case which usually is described as *emotional expressions that are dampened and controlled emotional expressions*. But it's clear to see that emotions expressed in these articles differ from emotions that are *dampened and controlled*, we can instead observe emotions that express frustration, anger, and despair. Further, a slight shift in the discourse can be observed in the later part of the time period where the government for once are criticized by taking *too much* action towards Ukrainians in Sweden, where they in previous articles instead were criticized for their insufficient actions. In this case the media first chose to portray the government for not doing *enough* to suddenly taking too much action for helping Ukrainians. Shifts in the discourse can be related to previous studies by both Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh (2017) and N.Iskan (2021) but instead of shifts in how Ukrainians are portrayed the shift is instead on how the government is being portrayed. Within the last parts of the time period the responsibility of volunteers is once again brought up and can be found within some of the articles suggesting that “*The hosting families have shown that the Swedish society's initiative is reaching far beyond the initiative of the state*”- (DN, May 19th 2022) The responsibility of volunteers and that “*society's ini-*

*tiative is reaching far beyond the initiative of the state*” can be related to the previous research by Monforte, Maestri and d'Halluin (2021) in the sense that volunteers oppose their country's government.

## **7.2 Analysis of the time period July-December 2022**

In this chapter I analyze the second time period with the help of my theories previous research and some aspects of the critical discourse analysis.

What we can gather from the time period of July to December is how the two respective media sources are trying to portray Sweden's outlook and that there is still an ongoing discourse about the big willingness to help and the role of volunteers and hosting families even though that the solidarity that were observed during the first time period has slightly began to diminish, On the other hand the tensions portrayed between the civic society and volunteers were *increased*.. Further, these tensions that arose also manifested in that volunteers and the civic society started to be portrayed as “enemies” to authorities and the government. Which can be related to the “discursive social psychology” (McMullen, 2021) theory in how the two traditional media sources are accountable in how they choose to portray the people involved in the news articles. The rising tension could be seen as a shift in the discourse and therefore be related to the previous research by Goodman, McMahon and Sirriyeh (2017) and Iscan (2021) where the authors stress about how the terminology regarding ‘refugees can changes in a matter of months or years. But in this case, it's a shift regarding those involved in the situation rather than a shift of terminology concerning ‘refugees’ or Ukrainians in my case, where the terminology of calling them ‘refugees’ remains throughout the whole time period.

The continuation of the willingness to help among volunteers can be related to Collin's theory ‘Emotional energy’ (2004) where the ‘high emotional energy’ between the volunteers that were observed within the first time period continues. The engagement of the volunteers can be related to the study by Monforte, Maestri and d'Halluin (2021) were the volunteers decide to engage in ‘refugee’ movements “*as a way to oppose governments' exclusionary border politics* “ - (Monforte, Maestri and d'Halluin, p. 688, 2021) This can be related to the fact that the volunteers are starting to be portrayed as the enemies of what the state and politicians initially wanted to do as previously mentioned. The tensions between the volunteers and the authorities can also be related to the ‘opposition’ part of CDA, where the media portrays the volunteers and the authorities as ‘we versus them.

A common theme in the beginning of the second time period is the relation between the volunteers and the authorities and more specifically that many Ukrainians that had been living with hosting families now were forced to move. The consequences that the war had on the Swedish society is being brought up for the first time and how it has affected the Swedish population by bringing “*new solidarity actions between individuals*” Which further can be related to theory of “Cultural emotion regime” (Wettergren, 2012) in a sense that new emotions/behavior is being observed in Swedes that isn’t really common hence the “new solidarity.” The laws, authorities and municipalities have a big impact on Ukrainians in Sweden and in most cases, it’s portrayed negatively. Emotions and behavior such as a larger sense of solidarity and overall emotions that express frustration, despair and anger can still be observed in this time period. Interviewees expressing their direct emotions can be found in articles such as the one from DN, July 18th 2022 where the interviewee a volunteer states how she felt with the Ukrainians that she hosted and states that: “*We have laughed and cried together*” and emotionally laden words towards the state could be found within the beginning of the time period one interviewee in one of articles state that “*have not cost the state a penny*” - (DN, 5th of July.) This could be related to both the theory of “discursive social psychology” (Potter, 2021) and the accountability part of the of theory where social actors are being held responsible for how they choose to portray individuals and institutions, and in this case how the media sources choose to use citations of an interviewee expressing their negative feelings towards the government. *Word choices* could also be applied here since the authors actively choose words to create an negative outlook on the government and the authorities.

Further, these emotions that are expressed by interviews within the discourse aren’t the stereotypical for Sweden hence the application of the theory of cultural emotion regime” (Wettergren, 2012) where common emotions are described as “dampened and controlled”. Further, the discourse surrounding the living conditions of Ukrainians, the regulations, and the government’s action towards Ukrainians are still brought up and are generally in a negative way. Further, differences and comparisons could also be found through the discourse, where authors and interviewees stressed about not making the mistakes like in previous so-called “refugee crises” And comparisons were also made in how Syrians were treated during the so-called “refugee crisis” and now how Ukrainians were treated. Further, the Ukrainian interviewees that were mentioned in these articles usually express the good treatment from volunteers and Swedes but more conflicting feelings towards the authorities and the regulations.

This particular example can be found in the in the article (DN August 27th, 2022) where the interviewee a Ukrainian women that fled the war state that:

*“I’m really surprised over the treatment from the people, Swedes are really nice to us. But the government’s actions are not so good”* - (DN August 27th, 2022.)

The emotional response of another Ukrainian woman (DN October the 5th, 2022) can be found within this article when being asked about her current living situation in Sweden where she both expresses her gratitude and her disappointment stating that: *“I’m battling two conflicting emotions”* (DN October the 5th, 2022) Here the theory of “discursive social psychology” can be applied since the social actors (the media) bear the responsibility in how they portray the emotions of not only the civic society or volunteers but also *Ukrainians* themselves. Further, other actors could be observed within the discourse such as public service companies as SVT (Sweden's Television Stock Company) where they were critiqued for closing a language amidst an important time when this language service tool could be for very good use for Ukrainians and other ‘refugees.’ This could also be seen as an even more rising tension between the civic society and the authorities/the government, and therefore be related to Potter’s theory (2021) ‘Discursive social psychology’ in the sense that the social actors (the media) bear the responsibility in how they portray the words of other actors involved, which in this case are the public service company, SVT. The last article a debate article from one of the deputy chiefs from SvD’s editorial staff (DN, 21 December 2022) ends on a rather pessimistic note where the author is critiquing that Sweden keeps making the same mistakes as in previous “refugee crises.” Further, he sums up the failures and the insufficient actions of the government and that the government aren’t particularly concrete in what actions they should take, even after the change of the government in September 2022.

The interpretative repertoires aspect of the ‘discursive social psychology’ (Potter, 2021) can be applied here since it stresses about *“recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena”* (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p 149.) And the discourse that we can gather from early within the time period is the critique raised against the governments and the authorities’ insufficient actions which continues and is even more amplified until this very last article. The recurrent use of terminology against the authorities and the governments insufficient actions are usually expressed in negative terminology, where common and recurrent emotions were discontent, frustration and anger.

## 8. Discussion & Conclusion

In this part of the thesis, I am summarizing my key findings, answering my research questions discussing things that I would have made differently leading up to my conclusion.

To answer the study's aim

*How has the discourse in traditional Swedish media surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden changed in a matter of months?*

The discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden has changed in a matter of months in ways such as that in the beginning a strong sense of solidarity could be observed in the first couple of months, but with time the solidarity slightly started to *diminish*. The tension between the civic society and the authorities/government started to *increase* with the time.

The Government and authorities such as “The Swedish Migration Agency” were blamed for their insufficient actions towards Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden. Even though there was a change of government in September 2022, the government was still blamed for their insufficient actions to the last. The civic society were also portrayed as those took all the responsibility for the Ukrainians and on the other hand the government and authorities were critiqued for their *lack* of action towards Ukrainians.

To answer the thesis research question : *What kind of emotions were commonly expressed in traditional Swedish media about the Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden?*

Some emotions that were commonly expressed within the discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden were emotions such as discontent, frustration, anger against the government and ‘The Swedish Migration Agency’. Further, a strong sense of solidarity could also be observed which also were expressed in meanings as “something that has never been observed before” At the same time divided opinions could be observed as well, which mainly were between authorities, politicians and the government versus the civic society and volunteers. The observed emotions between volunteers and Ukrainians were that volunteers usually expressed emotions that reflected their content when helping Ukrainians, emotional intimacy, feelings of trust and kindness could also be observed between individuals that hosted Ukrainians.

To answer the second question: *Were there any differences in how the two media sources expressed their emotions surrounding Ukrainians coming to Sweden?*

The differences were rather vague between the two media sources so in that sense there weren't any stark differences in how these two media sources expressed their emotions. The two media sources expressed rather similar emotions towards Ukrainians such as feelings of solidarity, and the big willingness to help among the civic society and the volunteers. Feelings towards the government and the 'The Swedish Migration Agency' were more contrasting where the emotions observed were more of a negative nature. Which further suggests that the outlook represented in these two traditional media sources are rather similar, where both media sources blame the government and the authorities for their insufficient actions. Which brings me to my next point in things I would have done differently such as in this case choosing two media sources that have more contrasting political views since both media sources are quite similar in their political views. (NE,n.d.) But also choosing a larger number of traditional media sources to get an even bigger representation of Sweden's standpoints regarding the topic. A comparative study by looking at the changing discourse surrounding the so-called 'refugee crisis' back in 2015 would have been interesting to.

To conclude this thesis, the most prevalent theme within the changing discourse surrounding Ukrainians fleeing the war and coming to Sweden was the tension that kept building up between the authorities/the government versus the civic society. This was clear to see in both traditional media that shared similar opinions and that was reflected through their articles. On the other hand, a solidarity that 'never been' observed before was also reflected in the two traditional media sources as well as an immense support from the civic society and volunteers. Even though the diminishing solidarity with time, the solidarity by the 'remaining' was still strong which can reflect how much of an impact Ukrainians fleeing the war to Sweden had on the Swedish society.



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