

Horrific images in East and West

-A qualitative and comparative analysis of the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in three Swedish news outlets

Linda Agurell Swedmark

Institutionen för mediestudier

Examensarbete 30 hp

Journalistik

Masterprogrammet i journalistikstudier
(120hp)

Vårterminen 23

Handledare: Maria Nilsson



Stockholms
universitet

Horrific images in East and West

-A qualitative and comparative analysis of the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in three Swedish news outlets

Abstract

This thesis compares the visual representation of Syrian refugees during the 2015 refugee crisis and Ukrainian refugees during the Russian invasion 2022 in news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dabladet* and *Aftonbladet*. The aim of the study is thus to investigate how ethnic groups are framed in a photojournalistic setting. The theoretical concept otherness is used to analyze the selected visual images and the concept of visualities highlight how photographs published in the media communicate political messages and how images reflect immigration discourse. Additionally, photojournalistic regimes of visibility and responsibility are used to illuminate similarities and dissimilarities in the material. In total, 200 images made up the sample for the performed qualitative visual analysis.

The findings reveal that empathetic portrayals dominate the Swedish narrative. Syrian refugees were overrepresented in imagery alluding to otherness painting a picture of Syrians as ethnic, cultural and dangerous others. Photography triggering social and political engagement were crucial in the forming of visualities, relating visual images to the political and public arena. The sampled images did reflect immigration discourses of intimidation and humanity.

Key words: Photojournalism, qualitative visual analysis, otherness, visibility, visualities, immigration discourse, Syria, Ukraine, Sweden

Acknowledgements

I have learned a lot these past six months and I would like to thank everyone who has supported me on my way to this master's degree in journalism.

First of all, I will thank my supervisor Maria. You planted the seed during a seminar a year ago, and it grew into this thesis on photojournalism. Your comments and suggestions have guided me on this journey and I am very thankful for your support!

A big thank you to all my fellow master students at JMK! We have shared ideas, doubts and anxiety. We've done our very best and we should be proud of how far we've come these past two years.

To my friends, thank you for occasionally asking about how my thesis is going and for distracting me with fika, dinners and concerts. You're the best!

For my big small family, thank you for all the love and support you have showered me with. We're few, but we're close and that is what truly matters. Thank you to my fluffy besties who have comforted me all this time. For my queen of cuddles Mimmi, and for my champion Ted, who I miss very much but forever will live on in my heart.

And as always, for Sebastian, the person putting all my pieces together. Without you I would be stuck on pagination and trying to make the front page presentable. Thank you for sitting up with me during long nights of writing and for always showing me your love. You mean everything to me.

Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Purpose and research questions	2
1.2 Limitations	3
1.3 Structure of the thesis	3
2. Background	5
2.1 The civil war in Syria	5
2.2 The Russian invasion of Ukraine	6
3. Literature review	8
3.1 Journalism, visual images and political strategies	8
3.1.1 Journalism and politics	8
3.1.2 Influence and political strategies	9
3.1.3 Viewer's positions	9
3.2 Western visual portrayals of refugees	10
3.2.1 Visual framing of refugees in the 1990's and early 2000's	10
3.2.2 The 2015 refugee crisis: Victim or a threat?	11
3.2.2.1 The image of the Syrian refugee	12
3.2.3 The image of the Ukrainian refugee	13
3.2.4 Nordic research on visual depictions of refugees	13
3.3 Conclusions	14
4. Theory	16
4.1 Orientalism and otherness	16
4.2 Visuality	18
4.3 Visibility and responsibility	19
4.3.1 Agency	20
5. Methodology and material	22
5.1 Qualitative visual analysis	22
5.2 Theoretical application and motivation	23
5.3 Data collection and selection	24
5.3.1 The first category: images of Syrian refugees	26
5.3.2 The second category: images of Ukrainian refugees	26
5.4 Operationalization	26
5.4.1 Pilot study	30
5.5 Reliability and validity	31
5.6 Ethics	31
6. Results of analysis	33
6.1 Articulations of otherness	33
6.2 Regimes of visibility	36
6.2.1 Visibility as empathy	37
6.2.2 Visibility as biological life	40
6.2.3 Visibility as hospitality	42
6.2.3.1 Visibility as hospitality and integration	43
6.2.4 Visibility as threat	45
6.2.5 Visibility as self-reflexivity	47
6.3 Visualities and immigration discourse	47

6.4 Summary of results	49
7. Discussion	51
7.1 Answering the research questions	51
7.1.1 How do articulations of otherness appear in the visual representation of Syrian in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in news media outlets Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet?	51
7.1.2 How is the visual representation of Syrian in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet manifested through photojournalistic regimes of visibility and responsibility, as presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017)?	54
7.1.3 How do the visualization of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in the three news outlets Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet reflect immigration discourse?	55
7.2 Societal implications	57
7.3 Methodological and ethical reflections	58
7.4 Future research and final remarks	59
References	61
List of figures	71
List of tables	72
List of links of analyzed images	72
Dagens Nyheter	72
Svenska Dagbladet	73
Aftonbladet	75
Appendices	76
Appendix A: Manual for qualitative visual analysis and interpretation	76
Appendix B: Example of analysis	77

1. Introduction

Photography remains a crucial part of the journalistic framing and visualization of war and people in flight (Griffin 2010). Visual images capturing conflict in a matter of life and death tend to draw public attention. This can be illustrated through iconic images such as *Warsaw Ghetto Boy* from 1943 where a Jewish young boy and his family surrender to Nazis in a ghetto in Poland and *Napalm Girl* from 1972 when terrified Vietnamese children and forces fled the aerial napalm attack near Trang Bang (Konrad 1943; Ut 1972).

Visual war images remain equally relevant in the 21st century. This in relation to current events around the world such as the civil war in Syria and the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Images from these intense conflicts have circled in news stories and on social media platforms, revealing injured soldiers, deadly explosions and families fleeing their homes. Similarities between these two wars can be recognized, the most striking parallel being that millions of Syrians and Ukrainians have sought refuge in neighboring countries (UNHCR 2023a; UNHCR 2023b). Additionally, countries located further away from the directly affected regional areas such as Sweden, have granted over 50,000 Syrians and just above 50,000 Ukrainians residence permits (Migrationsverket 2022).

The generous immigration policy in Sweden during the 2015 refugee crisis has sparked political debate, resulting in broken alliances and division where right-wing and conservative parties have prompted for a stricter policy (Kristdemokraterna 2023; Moderaterna 2023; Sverigedemokraterna 2023). In other words, immigration policy remains a topic of high priority in the Swedish political climate since 2015. The year 2015 was marked by a generous immigration strategy where many Syrian asylum seekers arrived in Sweden. The political debate that followed illustrates the relevance of investigating how groups of various ethnicities are visually represented in mainstream media, and if journalistic visualization reflects current immigration discourse. The invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 is a present event, yet to be the subject of extensive research in the field of journalism, resulting in few studies examining the visual representation of Ukrainian refugees post-full scale invasion (Schmidt 2022; Zawadzka-Palucka 2022). Furthermore, the present study is introducing comparative elements to the subfield of photojournalism where the comparison of groups of various ethnic identities remains a central focus for analysis.

It is established that photography plays an essential role in forming journalistic imagery (Midberry 2017; Newton 2009). In contrast to this, photojournalism remains an understudied subfield (Bengtsson Lundin 2021). By analyzing visual imagery from *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*, the Swedish visual narrative will be tested.

Research focusing on media visualization of refugees and migration has shown that victimizing and dehumanizing portrayals are dominating news reporting (Kozol 2004; Rettberg and Gajjala 2016; Wilmott 2017). This is the case for Syrian refugees who are stereotypically portrayed and framed to pose a threat to Western culture, values and borders (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Pruitt 2019). However, Nordic research reveals a potential shift in visual framing where empathic portrayals are recognized in news narratives (Bengtsson Lundin 2021; Jovičić 2020; Nilsson 2022). The present study aims to further investigate this variation and provide indications of how Syrians and Ukrainians are visually framed in a Swedish setting. Furthermore, theoretical frameworks such as otherness will be used to analyze and compare the visual representation of the two national groups. Otherness emphasizes how ethnic, cultural and social identities are artificially constructed to oppose. Previous research has explored various articulations of otherness, such as skin color and sexuality (Bhabha 2012; Lutz & Collins 1993; Trivundza 2004). In addition, visual portrayals of refugees highlight the role played by visibility in journalistic framing. The *five regimes of visibility and responsibility* presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) will be applied to analyze and compare the selected images. To connect otherness and visibility to the political and public sphere, the theory of visibility illuminates how journalistic imagery may generate political and social engagement and how this reflects discourse and attitudes (Bleiker & Key 2007; Mirzoeff 2006).

1.1 Purpose and research questions

The present study aims to investigate and compare the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in Swedish elite news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. Articulations of otherness remain a central focus of investigation and comparison in terms of determining how various ethnic groups are visually represented in a photojournalistic setting. Furthermore, the present study aims to discover how photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility* such as visibility as biological life, as empathy, as threat, as hospitality and as self-reflexivity, introduced by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) exist in the selected images. To connect the visualization of Syrian and Ukrainian

refugees to immigration discourse I explore the role visual images play in forming visualities in the political and public arena. The research questions are the following:

Q1. How do articulations of otherness appear in the visual representation of Syrian refugees in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in news media outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*?

Q2. How is the visual representation of Syrian refugees in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* manifested through photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility*, as presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017)?

Q3. How do the visualization of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in the three news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* reflect immigration discourse?

1.2 Limitations

This study aims to solely compare Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, a decision grounded in the light of the political debate regarding immigration in Sweden. Swedish elite media include news sources *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. Elite referring to the popularity, influence and spread of the above selected mediums (Nordicom 2022). The empirical material consists of visual images of Syrian respectively Ukrainian refugees along with belonging captions. Video and other live formats will not be included in the analysis. I will emphasize that the focus of the present study centers around the comparison of the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, and not the selected news outlets listed above. Data will be collected from the critical and relevant time period for each of these events and when the majority of asylum seekers from Syria and Ukraine applied for residence permits in Sweden, namely the second half of 2015 and first half of 2016 for Syrian refugees and the start of the year 2022 for Ukrainian refugees (Migrationsverket 2022).

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Following the introductory chapter, a background chapter touching upon the roots and consequences of the two conflicts is presented. In chapter three, previous research related to visual images capability to influence the public and political debate is introduced. The

literature review also provides an overview of Western visual portrayals. In the fourth chapter, the selected theoretical frameworks including orientalism and otherness, visibility and responsibility and visuality are explained and reflected upon. In chapter five the methodological approach qualitative visual analysis is discussed. In the sixth chapter, I present the results of the analysis along with examples. The final chapter consists of a finishing discussion where I answer the research questions and discuss the implications of the findings.

2. Background

The civil war in Syria and the Russian invasion of Ukraine remain two intensive conflicts, respectively resulting in humanitarian crisis where millions have sought refuge or required emergency humanitarian aid (UNHCRa 2023; UNHCRc 2023). In this chapter I will provide a summary of the two wars, focusing on conflict development and EU migration policy. The first section addresses the civil war in Syria and the second section centers around the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

2.1 The civil war in Syria

The outbreak of the civil war in Syria traces back to the anti-regime demonstrations in 2011 and the roots of the conflict have regularly been referred to as sectarian (Phillips 2015). Sectarian meaning that the heterogeneous Syrian population is divided into politicized ethnic groups. According to this narrative, 12% of the population are Alawi who support president Bashar al-Assad's regime while the 64% who are Sunni-Arab generally support the opposition being marginalized under Assad. However, the causes of the conflict are multi-layered and complex and cannot be fully explained by the above presented sectarian identities (Berti & Paris 2014). Other explanations have suggested that growing frustration over social injustice and inadequate leadership induced the demonstrations in 2011. Furthermore, living standards for the middle- and working classes decreased the years prior to the 2011 escalation. The unequal development, corruption and center periphery inequality provide explanation to the outbreak in Syria (ibid). By the end of 2011 armed warfare between government-led forces and rebels started and Western countries have interfered in backing the rebel forces (Khan & Khan 2017).

The civil war has had severe consequences for Syria with hundreds of thousands fatalities, damaged infrastructure, and many having to seek refuge (ibid). Over the 12-year old crisis, it is estimated that nearly 7 million Syrians have fled their homes (UNHCRc 2023). Syrian refugees mainly cross borders to neighboring regions, Turkey being the major transit country (Saatçioğlu 2021). The year 2015, when many Syrians arrived in Europe is described to be the startpoint of the "refugee crisis", considered to be the most severe humanitarian crisis in Europe since World War Two (ibid). EU-policy-makers' initial attempt to present a "European solution" putting emphasis on solidarity and responsibility-sharing did not last as the crisis deepened resulting in member states buck-passing in the form of border controls and closers

in the Schengen area. During the 2015 crisis it is estimated that Sweden, Germany, Austria and Hungary in combination received two thirds of the EU's asylum seekers, many being Syrians (Ambrosini et al. 2019). Sweden alone has reportedly granted around 50,000 Syrians residence permits (Migrationsverket 2022). Furthermore, Sweden contributed 169 million USD in humanitarian assistance from 2011 to 2014 (Ostrand 2015). Arrangements to resettle Syrian refugees have been executed and Sweden has provided resettlement spots.

2.2 The Russian invasion of Ukraine

The advances of the Russian conquest of Ukraine are suggested to have started in 2014, following the collapse of president Viktor Yanukovich's government and the Russian occupation of the Crimean peninsula (Mykhnenko 2020). The military actions, as well as The Kremlin's "hybrid warfare" using propaganda technologies and distribution of desinformation causing concern and disruption. These concerns were confirmed when Russia on the 24th of February in 2022 started a full-scale military invasion of Ukraine (Hanappi 2022). Current Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky's request to join NATO in 2021 resulted in growing tension between Russia, Ukraine and Western countries and is described to be one of the causes leading to the military conquest of Ukraine in 2022 (Mbah & Wasum 2022). The attack has prompted many world leaders to announce heavy sanctions against Russia such as restrictions on the Russian central bank and the decision to expel banks off the main global payment system. Economic implications following the invasion greatly jeopardized the global energy market and food scrutiny resulting in rising inflation (Korosteleva 2022).

The war in Ukraine has left over eight millions of Ukrainians with no choice but to seek refuge in neighboring countries, over one and half millions Ukrainian crossing the border to Poland (UNHCRa 2023). Of the eight million, four of those have registered for temporary protection or similar national protection schemes in Europe. Many EU states significantly simplified the rules of entry for refugees post Russian invasion (Jaroszewicz et al. 2022). Ukrainian refugees also made up the third-largest group of third-country nationals to hold residence permits in the EU, already in 2020. It is further described that the current and urgent mobility of Ukrainian refugees is being managed by the EU with less control and more solidarity in comparison to other forced migrations in the Schengen area. As of the start of 2023, Sweden has granted just above 50,000 Ukrainians residence permit (Migrationsverket 2023), and the accommodation in Sweden have been arranged to cover basic needs with

monthly financial support of 207 EUR for an individual Ukrainian refugee by June 2022 (Parusel & Varfolomieieva 2022). Ukrainians do not currently have free access to the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) course which is usually available and provided by the state. Refugees from Ukraine fall under the EU's Temporary Protection directive and thus lack the right to receive municipal adult education, such as SFI (Nilsson 2023). However, 39 Swedish municipalities have taken their own initiative to offer SFI to Ukrainians.

3. Literature review

This chapter presents and discusses research touching upon various aspects of photojournalistic framing. The focus is centered around visualization of refugees and migration and political strategies for this. The chapter is divided into two major sections, where the first section presents research regarding visual images' ability to influence and spark public and political debate. In this section I draw connections between journalism and politics, visual strategies, identity construction and viewer's positions. In the second section of the chapter I present and discuss Western visual portrayals of refugees. Initially introducing research focusing on Balkan since this event marks the crucial starting point for visual refugee portrayals in modern Europe. This section is followed by studies centering around refugee visual framing during the US invasion of Iraq. Thereafter, studies on the 2015 refugee crisis are presented and so is research capturing the image of the Ukrainian refugee. Then I refer to Swedish and Nordic contributions to research surrounding pictorial representations of refugees. Lastly, conclusions about the previously mentioned research is presented and I discuss the present study in relation to these.

3.1 Journalism, visual images and political strategies

3.1.1 Journalism and politics

The relationship between politics and journalism is, as described by Van Aelst et al. (2008), a central theme in journalism studies and political science. To illustrate the clear connection between journalism and politics, political actors adjust their work to the media time schedule and incorporate media logic when selecting political personnel (Strömbäck & Nord 2006). Along the same lines, the histories of journalism and democracy are closely linked (McNair 2009). However, journalism does not solely act as an arena for politics or a pillar for democracy, but has the ability to construct and deconstruct identities (Davis & Gandy 1999; Ebim 2017; Zhang & Haller 2013). Understanding identity constructing processes in the power-exercising media system, draws attention to the conclusions by Herman and Chomsky (1988) who specifically discuss the creation of worthy victims. The journalistic process of victimizing is illustrated and explained in terms of worthy and unworthy victims. This, in the light of propaganda where US media is described as a propaganda system that portray people abused in enemy states as worthy victims, whereas actors who are treated with greater severity by its government will be framed as unworthy victims. This process enables

portrayals in the media to label potential refugees as worthy victims, and manipulated representations may appear.

3.1.2 Influence and political strategies

Moreover, several studies have specifically investigated how visual images influence public debate and opinion (Bengtsson Lundin 2021; Griffin 2010; Lyford & Payne 2005; Midberry 2017). Additionally, refugee representations published in the media play a large role in forming public policy and discourse about refugees and asylum seekers (Esses et al. 2013). To illustrate this, Bleiker et al. (2013) describe how visual framing of refugees can be used in government-led strategies to specifically dehumanize asylum seekers. This was highlighted in Australia where parties and leaders aimed to strengthen borders. The underlying motivation for this was to ensure that Australia would be protected from the uncontrolled influx of refugees whose cultural values and practices were incompatible with current social norms (ibid). This theme is also explored by Lenette (2017), who recognizes how dominant visual narratives pervading everyday life, construct and shape public opinion and government policy. Providing an understanding of the process of forming visual strategies, Martikainen and Sakki (2021) and Edwards (2012) outline a detailed overview of the connections between photographs, visual rhetorical strategies and discourse. Visual images framing groups of refugees in transit has a massifying and separating rhetoric strategy, falling under a dehumanizing and threatening discourse. Martikainen and Sakki (2021) argue that visual images of individual refugees, families and depictions linked to integration such as schools or interaction with locals contribute to a humanizing discourse where personhood is emphasized. Direct eye gaze, as discussed by Edwards (2012), may also serve a purpose to attract attention and camera angle is described to establish authority, subservience or identification where emphasis lies at the orientation between camera and viewer. By examining visually constructed identities, Martikainen and Sakki (2021) concluded that the outgroups of refugees were a threat to Western culture.

3.1.3 Viewer's positions

Studies further exploring the strengthening of in- and outgroup identities and the dehumanization have focused on public appeal where some members of the public may feel satisfaction with the dehumanization since it may serve the purpose to justify status quo (Esses et al. 2013). Esses et al. (2013) conclusions suggest that negative news framing of refugees can lead to extreme negative public reactions to asylum seekers. The

dehumanization process may reduce uncertainty regarding how refugees should be treated, especially for individuals who have had little direct contact with refugees. Esses et al. (2013) declare that the media does not only promote dehumanizing perceptions, but provide justification for the negative outcomes.

To further look into viewer's positions, Lyford and Payne (2005) and Barroso (2020) highlight the discussion surrounding the concept of the photojournalistic spectacle. Spectacles in this sense tend to strike fear, concern or disgust in those observing it (Chouliaraki 2013). Barroso (2020) adds that visual images may be aestheticized to create spectacle. This is highlighted by Azoulay (2008: 17), who argues that this serves a purpose "to anchor spectatorship in civic duty towards the photographed persons who haven't stopped being 'there,'"". This process is not isolated to public and photojournalistic ethics and moral judgements, and to photographer's own creativity when producing visual images. Although objectivity is considered a journalistic virtue, the spectacle of war emerges within specific spaces, namely institutionalized sites of spectatorship, where visual images are crucial to produce the unified moral imagination (Chouliaraki 2013).

3.2 Western visual portrayals of refugees

3.2.1 Visual framing of refugees in the 1990's and early 2000's

A few decades prior to the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, intense conflict, ethnic cleansing and genocide during The Balkans War horrified 1990's Europe (Hoare 2013). Kozol's (2004) study reveals how photographs communicate ethnic misrepresentations and an inclination to accentuate geographical and cultural distance between the experienced "West" and "non-West", where Balkan states were portrayed as "non-West" in contrast to Europe and the US. The visual reporting of Balkan refugees was victimized, presenting a narrative where the depicted lacked agency. Kozol's (2004) investigation highlights how race, gender and sexuality can structure narratives of enemies, allies and victims in ethnic and political conflicts. Furthermore, Kozol's study is one of few to focus solely on pictorial coverage during The Balkans War and illuminate how photojournalistic portrayals sustain hegemonic structure when depicting refugees. This is further elaborated by Wright (2002) who argues that visual images regularly objectify refugees and tend to dismiss any historical, political and cultural circumstances relevant to the particular case.

The US invasion of Iraq became another war event to pique interest regarding visual news coverage, this time shifting focus from Balkan to depictions of Middle-Easterners, specifically Iraqis (Fahmy & Kim 2008; Parry 2011; Schwalbe et al. 2008; Trivundža 2004; Wells 2007). Research specifically investigating visual representation of the invasion of Iraq reveals two split positions. As concluded by Fahmy and Kim (2008), British and US press remained focussed on reporting of human cost and Iraqi civilians. On the contrary, Parry (2011) examining British press, concluded that repetitive portrayals of Iraqi refugees dominated the investigated news coverage. As argued by Schwalbe et al. (2008) US mainstream media had a political agenda when framing the invasion of Iraq, establishing positions of reporting and additionally, a shift in focus. Schwalbe et al. (2008) concludes that patriotic perspectives dominating US war reporting greatly influenced the frames detected, meaning that nations who are actively taking part in warfare turn to government led media strategies to spread propaganda. Wells (2007) found that images of Iraqi children served to justify the military actions against Iraq, albeit the children's injuries were caused by the US forces. Trivundža (2004) discovered that orientalist representations of Iraqis during the invasion in 2003 pervaded visual images published in a newspaper in southeast Europe. Trivundža's (2004) conclusions reveal that orientalist imagery served a purpose to construct national identities in the Balkan geopolitical environment, suggesting that orientalist misrepresentations and stereotypical visual images of Eastern identities help form the European identity.

3.2.2 The 2015 refugee crisis: Victim or a threat?

Twelve years after the US invasion of Iraq, the 2015 refugee crisis hit Europe like no other humanitarian crisis since World War Two (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2019). The crisis in 2015 became a major journalistic event with front-page coverage in global news outlets. The visual framing of refugees during the critical time period in 2015 remains a well-researched event. European and international studies have focused on visual presentation and visualization of the refugee crisis (Amores et al. 2019; Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Saric 2019; Zhang & Hellmueller 2017). Conclusions from these analyses signal that a humanitarian approach and human interest frames have been used to visually present refugees from the critical time period in 2015. Moreover, Chouliaraki and Stolic's (2017) inductive analysis of visual representation of refugees resulted in five *regimes of visibility and responsibility*, looking beyond the two common positions of portrayals: victimization or threat. Focus for studies capturing the scene of the 2015 refugee crisis have also centered around gender (Amores et

al. 2020; Rettberg & Gajjala 2016), revealing that refugee women were likely to be depicted as victims and refugee men tend to be visually framed as a threat. The visual representation, activity and engagement on social media platforms became another interest of research as investigated by Prøitz (2020), Radojevic et al. (2020) and Ekman (2018). Refugees are, to a large extent, excluded from the digital discourse (Radjovec et al. 2020) and social media can provide a platform suitable for amplification of racist ideologies directed at refugees as investigated by Ekman (2018). Reception of visual images on social media have been tested by Prøitz (2020), suggesting that young users may actively involve themselves on social media when encountering photographs of children falling victim to unstable escape routes.

3.2.2.1 The image of the Syrian refugee

Studies focusing on the refugee crisis in 2015 have also concluded that Syrians tend to be stereotypically visualized and framed (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Rettberg and Gajjala 2016; Wilmott 2017). The threat of dark and dangerous men and other portrayed threats to European people, borders and identities can be recognized in European and North American news coverage (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Pruitt 2019). This is also recognizable when refugees and asylum seekers are visually framed in large groups, reinforcing perceptions that refugees are uncontrollable and pose a threat to state sovereignty (Lanette & Mikovic 2018). Refugees crossing borders has a criminalizing effect, especially for those who seek refuge by sea and arrive by boat. By not entering a country through appropriate channels, threatening and illegal associations are added to the portrayals. In contrast to the dehumanization found in visual portrayals alluding to threat, Pandir (2019) discovered that visual themes of Syrian refugees in Turkish press tended to highlight poverty. However, themes of displacement were also recognized which underlined Syrians arriving and crossing the border to Turkey, signaling a well-documented trope of “flooding”.

Syrians remain a well-researched group, and a significant amount of visual journalistic research has addressed the photograph of drowned 3-year old Alan Kurdi washed up on a beach in Turkey in 2015 (Fehrenbach & Rodogno 2015; Lulu et al. 2022; Mortenson & Trezn 2016). These studies have focused on media ethics and depictions of children. Depictions of children seeking refuge appeal to viewers' visual sensitivity, thus why photographs of children frequently appear on social media (Kędra & Sommer 2018). The video and visual images of 5-year old Omran Daqneesh covered in blood, rescued from the airstrikes in Aleppo in 2015 remain another striking example of refugee portrayals of children. Photographs of children

are usually seen through a humanitarian lens, provoking emotions and evoking empathy (Fehrenbach & Rodogno 2015). Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) add that depictions of refugee children can be related to a dimension of infantilization, also affecting adult refugees. The pictorial image of a child in need echoes colonial paternalism where the adult Northerner offers assistance to the greatly infantilized South. This allows a narrative where the observer experiences emotions such as empathy as in the role of a parent (Fehrenbach & Rodogno 2015). Zarzycka (2016) argues that children's facial expressions work on affective and ethical levels, appealing to compassion advocating for human rights.

3.2.3 The image of the Ukrainian refugee

Pictorial portrayals of Syrian and Middle-Eastern refugees may be a well-researched topic, but relatively few studies have touched upon the visualization of Ukrainian refugees. One of the studies to have a visual analytical approach is Ojala and Pantti (2017) who found that Ukrainian actors received positive framing when being identified with a "pro-European" agenda, leading to a narrative alienating Russia. Another study presented by Khatua & Nejdil (2022) emphasizes social media deliberations exploring public opinion surrounding Ukrainian refugees and stages in their journey from Ukraine. The investigation concludes that the route of entering a host country remains traumatic regardless of identity.

Recently published studies have also probed the case of cultural significance in the case of the Ukrainian refugee. Schmidt (2022) argues that Ukrainians seeking refuge in neighboring countries, and in Central Europe, ask for cultural passes, unlike other groups of refugees. For example, Ukrainians are able to attend cultural events for free. This indicates that shared cultural values may serve a purpose to humanize and bring local hosts and Ukrainian refugees closer in terms of cultural practices. This is further investigated by Zawadzka-Palucktau (2022) distinguishing that Ukrainian refugees were not represented within the dominating negative frames, usually found in European media reporting. Zawadzka-Palucktau's (2022) study does not specifically investigate visual portrayals, but provides an indication pointing towards a humanizing discourse in favor of Ukrainian refugees.

3.2.4 Nordic research on visual depictions of refugees

Research regarding visual representation of refugees and migration probing Swedish positions and narratives include Bengtsson Lundin's (2021) analysis of how spaces of forced migration appeared in Swedish newspapers in 2015. It is concluded that journalism practices

facilitate the appearance of people in flight, where the individuals captured in the photographs are able to present themselves. Along similar lines, visual strategies in photojournalistic imagery of migration, as examined by Nilsson (2022), recognized the prevalent position as empathy in the collected material (empathy as a regime of visibility introduced by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017)). Additionally, Nilsson (2020) also explored how photojournalists addressed the image of migration in Sweden, specifically in relation to the 2015 refugee crisis. As previously demonstrated, children remain a key target for visual portrayals and it is argued that there is a lingering tension between the urge to show trauma and the ambition to shield and protect those who have experienced it. Another case explicitly focusing on the visual framing of the 2015 refugee crisis in Sweden is Jovičić's (2020) visual framing analysis revealing key frames pervading Swedish newspapers. Victimization, securitization, reception and humanization of refugees, being the central four. Jovičić's (2020) argues solid efforts were made to humanize refugees, personalizing their experiences and visually depicting families.

In terms of other Nordic contributions to research on visual depictions of refugees Prøitz (2020) compared young viewer's response to the image of Alan Kurdi. Prøitz (2020) concluded that the iconic and tragic image functioned to help young viewers in Oslo and Sheffield to concretize the refugee crisis as well as it triggered engagement and political involvement amongst the informants. Further investigating iconic images of the 2015 refugee crisis, Mortensen (2016) explores the role performed by iconic images in modern connective media in a Danish context. The investigated case led to an understanding of how meaning-making is involved in the emergence of iconic images. Moreover, Burrell and Hörschelmann (2019) centered their study around story-telling and the visualization of Syrian men in Scandinavia. Affective engagements such as progressive story-telling is reportedly a key element to narratives provoking encounter and empathy. This is a suggested strategy of avoiding the dehumanizing catalyst in mainstream media.

3.3 Conclusions

As a number of studies mentioned in this chapter reveals, dehumanizing or stereotypical visual portrayals of refugees are known to dominate Western reporting (Amores et al. 2020; Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Parry 2011, Pruitt 2019; Rettberg & Gajjala 2016; Trivundza 2004). On the other hand, Nordic research indicates there might be a shift towards empathetic

or nuanced visual representation (Bengtsson Lundin 2021; Burell & Hörschelmann 2019; Jovičić 2020; Nilsson 2022; Prøitz 2020). The present study, which is a Nordic contribution to be added to the list, aims to investigate and compare two ethnicities and how these are visually represented. Little research has touched upon Ukrainian refugees, thus why this investigation has the ambition to provide knowledge on how Ukrainians are portrayed in times of war. To further explore how political and public discourse is detected in imagery of refugees, I present and discuss theoretical frameworks touching upon these elements in the following chapter.

4. Theory

In this chapter I present and discuss the theoretical approach of the present study, firstly introducing orientalism and otherness. The second section is dedicated to the understanding of visibility. The final section of the chapter highlights and discusses visibility and responsibility, along with the concept of agency.

4.1 Orientalism and otherness

As introduced and discussed by Said (1978) orientalism derives from post-colonialism and imperialism. Said (1978) specifies that the relationship between Europe and Asia is a relationship of power, domination and varying degrees of hegemony. The relationship between West and East is further described by contrasting and opposing features, where Western views are considered to be the norm. The idea of orientalism relies on the premise that West identifies East and this identification process is based on manipulations where Middle-Eastern countries are notably misrepresented (*ibid*).

The themes explored by Said in the 70's have been documented to exist in journalistic framing in terms of otherness or othering, a process where ethnicity plays a key role in how non-Westerners are perceived (Bhabha 2012; Fürsich 2010; Lutz & Collins 1993; Trivundza 2004). Otherness may be defined as “an ethnic difference compared to oneself and one’s proximate social group” (Lehtela 2007: 2). The basis for otherness may be skin color, other physical features, different manners, different mentalities, history, religion and other cultural features or political distinctions. West versus East being one typical example where otherness is accentuated and is further related to the constructed “us” and “them” identities (*ibid*: 2-3). Otherness captures the distribution of power, as mentioned earlier by Said (1978), where the other party is being repressed (Creutz-Kämppi 2008). Whereas scholars have focused on otherness as an indicator of negative portrayals, Bhabha (2012) challenges the recognition of images as solely positive or negative and suggests that the process of subjectification is made possible through stereotypical discourse. Bhabha (2012) argues that judging a stereotyped image on the basis of political normativity is not fruitful when attempting to understand the process of otherness in relation to stereotypical discourse and discrimination. Furthermore, the construction of the colonial subject in discourse demands articulations in forms of difference, namely racial and sexual. Skin color is labeled as one key attribute in the racial articulation of discourse (*ibid*). Additionally, the link between knowledge and political control

is crucial. By “knowing” people of color and the native population in terms that allow discrimination of these groups, discriminatory and authoritative forms of political control are recognized as appropriate. Western forms of organization provide and manifest justification for otherness. This is recognized in Scandinavian media outlets, especially targeting Muslims (Creutz-Kämpfi 2008). Moreover there are expressed shifts in the attributes of the other. These have political and economic foundations and influence media coverage, as discussed by Lutz and Collins (1993). This was suggested in the investigation of US-based magazine *National Geographic* where countries and regions who were believed to have a friendly and positive approach toward the United States, received extensively more coverage than countries who reportedly did not have a sympathetic approach to America. The image of the Middle-East in the United States claims Islamic religion explains all cultural, political and social differences between the Middle-East and West (ibid). A simplification of the diverse and differing cultural, political and social lifeworld in Middle-Eastern countries.

As an example of otherness in a photojournalistic context, I turn to Thomas (2016), who investigated othering in the case of Mamma Sessay who died giving birth in a rural clinic in Sierra Leone in 2010. Mamma Sessay was photographed and fixed as an other since her birthing practice was unacceptable and not regarded as “normal” to Western values, but inhumane and something to be repelled by. By the definition presented by Lethala (2007) and the discussion by Bhabha (2012), it is argued Mamma Sessay is a victim of several dimensions of othering. Firstly, she is an ethnic other since emphasis is put on her displayed body and the surrounding which is seen as non-Western. Second, she is a cultural other since the birth practice is labeled as unacceptable, even repulsing in Western eyes. When the image of the other is marked by pain or suffering it is dehumanizing since it deprives the individual of autonomously addressing themselves (Thomas 2016). It is argued that the process of othering includes elements related to work routines where Western photographers and journalists may reduce othering by not rushing through stories and allowing the story to develop and emerge. As articulated by Mortenson (2014), “One of the professional roles is verifying and uncovering facts, discrediting untruths and ensuring that the truth rises.”, but it is valuable to add that this ought to be in balance with shielding victims from trauma as discovered by Nilsson (2020).

Otherness is a useful term to explain ethnic and cultural differences in media coverage, but also has the capacity to relate media representation to political shifts. Furthermore, the present

study aims to examine type of otherness, thus also investigating the quality of Swedish visual media work practices in elite news outlets. Additionally, otherness is an element of stereotypical discourse as illustrated by Bhabha (2012), and is related to perception, knowledge, and political power. Therefore, otherness holds an influential position on how groups are viewed in the public eye. As a result of this, visibility is another useful framework to describe how political strategies are embedded in visual journalism.

4.2 Visibility

Visibility implies an “engagement with the politics of representation in transnational and transcultural form” (Mirzoeff 2006: 76). Politics of representation is referring to aspects of skin color, gender and sexuality among others. In other words, visibility refers to what is made visible, what is seen by who (Parry 2015). Visibility is therefore a political struggle concerning the right to see and be seen as a citizen. Furthermore, visibility is described to be a crucial concept when understanding photography and photojournalism as a technology of visibility establishing the conditions for geopolitics (Kirkpatrick 2015). This is illustrated by Bleiker and Key’s (2007) investigation of how photographic representations of the AIDS epidemic in Africa lead to international engagement. Bleiker and Key (2007) argue that photographs are political. These photographs, being catalysts for social change, are labeled as pluralist photographs. Pluralist photography seeks to validate local photographic practices in an attempt to create multiple sites for representing and understanding the psychological, social, and political issues at stake (ibid).

Regarding visibilities, methods of photography using standardized representational strategies tend to reinforce stereotypical colonial imagery (Bhabha 2012; Bleiker & Key 2007; Lutz & Collins 1993). Therefore, visibilities are not only constructed during photographic practices, but rather sustained in visual images published in the media. Visibilities reproducing stereotypes reportedly prevail Western public discourse. Stereotypical visibilities may increase fear and stigmatization, as concluded by Bleiker and Key (2007). Visibilities detected in the media play a central role in the unveiling of collective attitudes of society (Kirkpatrick 2015). It is suggested that the collective consciousness of a society is made visible by the photographs it produces and consumes. Moreover they cover the well-researched in- and out-groups identities (Stocchetti 2017). This was exemplified during 9/11 and the attack on the Twin Towers where the visual imagery presented in the news depicted the violated,

burning and collapsing towers and was associated with the images of Arabs celebrating the attack, regarding it as a victory. The trauma of the event was not solely the destruction of the Twin Towers, but also the portrayed cheering of Arabs in the eyes of the Western world. A crisis, traumatic event or a war may be examples of events triggering collective representational need, where visualities in the media serve a purpose to construct social and political identities (Parry 2011; Stocchetti 2017).

With political and representational significance, visibility remains highly relevant for the present study since the purpose is to investigate how Syrians and Ukrainians are visually represented. By stressing the importance of representation, visibility is useful to determine how visual images may address and potentially reflect stereotypes and highlight who has the political right to be seen and recognized as someone with an in-group identity. The commonly referred to politics of representation, including a range of aspects, color being one of them, will be crucial when discussing the representational differences of the groups the present study aims to examine. Additionally, visualities revealing in- and out-group identities may be thoroughly compared, adding valuable knowledge to the representational strategies influencing the portrayals of refugees.

4.3 Visibility and responsibility

If visibility refers to the politics of an image, visibility refers to the “public horizon of what we see and relate to in the media” (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017: 1166). Visibility is described as a crucial part of how groups are visualized and visually framed in a journalistic setting. Azoulay (2008) draws parallels between visibility and politics of photography, where a civil contract connects photographers, those photographed and the public together. Azoulay’s (2008) framework puts emphasis on all parts, creating and shaping a photograph, suggesting visibility is not solely what we see, but what is produced and how we justify and observe it. Furthermore, visibility combined with voice, may grant individuals in photographs to become active agents (Horsti 2016). Visibility is a well-researched concept, and further elaborated by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) who provide a useful, empirically and methodologically open approach to refugees’ visibility in European news. As presented research indicates, visual portrayals of refugees mainly fall into two categories, or positions. The shift between helpless victim to evil-doing terrorist is described to lie at the heart of critical scholarship on refugee representation, the refugee being trapped between these two appearingly contrasting

positions. Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) argue that the moralizing power of public imagery influences the constitution of refugee portrayals and discourses of de/humanization. To further investigate responsibility in relation to refugee imagery, moral frames are described to be linked to visual tropes of dehumanization, ultimately serving a purpose to protect audiences from emotional trauma by simplifying the representations (Silverstone 2002). Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) intend to reach beyond the suppositions regarding responsibility and treat refugee imagery with the practice of meaning-making.

The framework of Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017), challenges the suppositions usually referred to in research and literature within the field. It provides a theoretical understanding which nuance visual portrayals of refugees and exemplify depictions for each listed regime. This is useful for the present study since the purpose and research questions specifically focus on the visual representation of refugees, a similar approach to that of Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). The categorization of the five *regimes of visibility and responsibility* will provide methodological tools for a visual analysis of images collected in news media outlets. The presented framework therefore has theoretical and methodological significance for the present study.

4.3.1 Agency

Agency refers to the attribution of sovereignty which frames refugees as active actors as opposed to passive bystanders lacking voice (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). The concept of agency in visual representation is linked to power, and especially the potential power and agency of those who are being photographed (Bengtsson Lundin 2021). As argued by Azoulay (2008), by seeing the photographed as an active part who is participating in an event, power dynamics and politics are recognized. In some cases such as in media witnessing, individuals receive both visibility and voice, where they are both seen and heard (Horsti 2016). Agency is also described to be a key element regarding how refugees direct and represent their own experiences (Martikainen & Sakki 2021). On one hand, as earlier indicated, depictions of refugees tend to provide the framed individuals with no agency (Kozol 2004; Martikainen & Sakki 2021). On the other hand, refugees are assigned agency in portrayals where they are described as a threat to Western culture, people or borders. The added attribute of malevolence contributes to an assigned agency which is received so that viewers feel that the depicted refugees may do harm. Agency framing refugees in a positive light, allowing them to tell their story is rarely detected. This highlights a two-way problem,

where a lack of agency leads to victimization and notable agency may lead to dehumanization (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). In addition, Infantilization, particularly affecting children, but also adult refugees, is another process having a great impact on refugee agency in visual framing (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Martikainen & Sakki 2021). By depicting refugees as powerless and clueless an infantilized image may be created. Even though visual portrayals of infantilized refugees may evoke empathy in viewers, they do not provide refugees' experiences, context for these experiences or an opportunity for those who have sought refuge to be in power or control of their own representation.

Agency is crucial to discuss when investigating visual representation. Even though it is argued that refugees who possess agency usually are made out to be a threat, agency can be described as an indicator of humanization in contrast to dehumanization (Horsti 2016). This in combination with if and how refugees' experiences are visually addressed. This seems to be a central element in terms of agency, the power to have personal experiences and circumstances presented. This remains relevant for the present study since agency, or lack thereof, greatly shapes and determines visual representations. Furthermore, when comparing various ethnic groups, agency may reveal differences in visual representation where some ethnic groups tend to receive dehumanizing framing to a larger extent than others.

5. Methodology and material

In this chapter I present the chosen methodological approach, qualitative visual analysis. In the second section the theoretical application and motivation of the chosen analytical framework is discussed, followed by a presentation of the data selection and collection. The fourth section includes the operationalization of qualitative visual analysis. Validity and reliability and qualitative approaches to these terms are reflected upon and the chapter ends with a section discussing ethics relevant to the study.

5.1 Qualitative visual analysis

Qualitative visual analysis is the method of analysis of the present study (Hansen & Machin 2019; Rose 2016). The qualitative approach refers to an understanding of the complexity of visual images and how they make visible social differences (Bengtsson Lundin 2021). This derives from the notion that images offer specific visions of social categories such as ethnicity to appear in the frame (Rose 2016). The qualitative approach allows a detailed investigation of the images compositionality. Compositionality refers to the specific qualities and fragments that make up a visual image, in other words, what is framed. This may include individuals and objects, the number of individuals portrayed, visible facial expressions, skin color, gender, dress style, distance, environment etc. (Hansen & Machin 2019; Kędra & Sommer 2018; Rose 2016). Focus lies on interpretation where the contents and details of the visual image provide the viewer with a certain perspective of the scene within the frame. In addition, individuals and objects evoke emotions. There is therefore an emotional dimension to news photography, where depictions may trigger and expose emotions people rather ignore and suppress (Brennen 2010). This will be highlighted in my analysis. Viewer's interpretations of photographs are, however, based on individual experiences. Social identities therefore remain a crucial explanation to why viewers perceive and interpret differently (Rose 2016).

Visual images are practiced in particular ways and associated with certain kinds of spaces, suggesting context plays a key role in how visual images are to be understood (Becker 1995). In summary, context gives photographs meaning. Context may be of political, social or cultural nature. An image portraying an empty classroom during the Covid-19 pandemic says very little if the viewer is not familiar with the global health politics during the pandemic

years. Visual images carry a symbolic meaning to be recognized beyond the frame (Rose 2016). As a result of this, photojournalistic imagery is understood by those included in the culture where the photograph is produced, clearly linking visual reception with social and cultural identity (Lucaites & Hariman 2001). Context of the event depicted and identities of those to consume the depiction remain two critical dimensions of qualitative image analysis.

Since the purpose of the present study is to investigate visual representations, it is also useful to look to Rose's (2016) discussion regarding the site of production. The technologies used in the making of a visual representation are argued to greatly influence the visual outcome. Strictly technical aspects such as stylistic effects and angling, shape the nature of the visual image. Lines and colors, lighting and camera focus, and several other factors remain highly relevant for how an image is perceived and interpreted by viewers (Kędra & Sommer 2018; Rose 2016). The above mentioned methodological approach aims to reveal how visual representations are constructed are influenced by the political and social environment and how they influence public opinion and attitudes (Rose 2016). The section below further explains theoretical application and how the methodological approach is motivated by the purpose and research questions of the present study.

5.2 Theoretical application and motivation

This methodological approach, as above described, is motivated by the clear focus on visual representation as mentioned in the research questions. The first and third research question connect visual representation of various ethnicities to otherness and current immigration discourse. This illustrates the crucial relation between methodology and theory, where visualization can be explained through wider societal phenomena particularly touching upon social injustice related to ethnic identity. Present articulations of otherness (Lutz & Collins 1993) is a determining factor that reveals differences in the visualization of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, namely if stereotypical imagery is present in the selected material. These articulations help to gain a further understanding of how visual images published in mainstream media outlets echo immigration discourse, and further elaborate previously presented findings by Bleiker et al. (2013), Esses et al. (2013) and Midberry (2017), who specifically investigated political strategies, refugee representations and how visual images influence public opinion. Articulations of otherness are thus not separated from visualities, as presented by Kirkpatrick (2015) and Bleiker and Key (2007), who function to highlight how

visual images trigger political engagement and reinforce stereotypes. The methodological approach, emphasizing a qualitative image approach, will be able to focus on the EU political context of the 2015 refugee crisis and the 2022 invasion of Ukraine when analyzing images, thereby connecting images to immigration discourse as mentioned in the third research question. The second research question emphasizes how visual representation is manifested through photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility* by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). This framework is therefore used to categorize selected visual images.

The above described methodology provides the adequate tools to answer the research question along with chosen theoretical frameworks. By drawing this conclusion, I will argue that other methodological approaches such as a quantitatively oriented analysis would fail to answer the second and third research question since the understanding of a visual image representing ethnicity is to be linked with semiotic and culturally bound processes, providing the reader with a certain set of characteristics to be interpreted, rather than strictly quantitatively and systematically analyzed (Rose 2016).

5.3 Data collection and selection

The present study aims to specifically investigate visual images presented in Swedish news outlets as mentioned in Q1, Q2 and Q3 *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. The core of the present study is therefore relying on a purposive sampling strategy, where selected Swedish news outlets are to represent a case of European reporting (Bryman 2016). Although the present study has a comparative research design, it should be distinguished as a case study, explicitly examining a typical case of European visual depictions of refugees. The focus is therefore not to compare the three news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* but to distinguish how they make up a case of Swedish news reporting.

Dagens Nyheter and *Svenska Dagbladet* are recognized broadsheet papers while *Aftonbladet* is regarded as a tabloid evening paper. Although there is a distinction between these two forms, the three news outlets were selected on the basis of their popularity, influence and national spread (Nordicom 2022). Moreover, the selected mediums have their own professional photographers, highlighting the importance of investigating news outlets with photojournalistic resources.

In terms of data collection, one set of data divided into two categories was investigated, the one set consisting of visual images and belonging captions found in the above mentioned news outlets. The two categories refer to the distinction between Syrian and Ukrainian refugees where visual depictions of Syrians make up the first category, and visual depictions of Ukrainian refugees make up the second. To discover relevant visual images, the search functions of the news outlets websites have been used. In order to find relevant visual images published in these Swedish news outlets, I have used Swedish terminology while searching for visual depictions for the first and second category of the dataset. Phrases such as “Syriska flyktingar” have been used to locate news articles and stories containing visual images of Syrian refugees. For the second category I have searched for phrases such as “Ukrainska flyktingar”. Exclusively photographs taken by journalists or photographers are included in the sample.

By stating this, the time frame for collected images differ, since the war in Syria has lasted 12 years and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine has lasted little over one year. To ensure a fair comparison of the two wars, the critical time period in terms of conflict development and applications for residence permit in Sweden is taken into consideration for each of the conflicts. Collected material in the first category of the data set was published between July 1st of 2015 to June 30th of 2016 as motivated by the EU refugee crisis, greatly shaping EU migration policy during the second half of 2015 and the start of the year 2016 (Migrationsverket 2022). Selected material in the second category was published between February 24th 2022 to August 20th 2022, since the majority of Ukrainian refugees arrived in Sweden in March 2022 (Migrationsverket 2023), an event closely documented by national news outlets.

The sampled visual images have been randomly collected where every third news article containing one or more images of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees from the respective time periods listed above, have been included in the sample. This randomized sampling approach is to ensure the collected material can provide adequate indications of dominant visual narratives, and to establish that the selected visual images are not cherry picked based on the tropes they reveal.

5.3.1 The first category: images of Syrian refugees

The collected data consists of 200 visual images in total. The first category in the dataset is made up of 100 visual images. Out of the 100 images, 33 photographs were selected from *Dagens Nyheter*, 38 photographs from *Svenska Dagbladet* and 29 photographs from *Aftonbladet*.

5.3.2 The second category: images of Ukrainian refugees

The second category is made up of 100 images. Out of the 100 images, 33 photographs were collected from *Dagens Nyheter*; another 33 photographs from *Svenska Dagbladet* and 34 photographs from *Aftonbladet*.

As mentioned above, the sample consists of 200 visual images in total. I have no intentions of generalizing the results beyond the extension of the present study in order to disclose a conclusive answer. I have not analyzed all visual images concerning Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, meaning that the findings presented will provide indications and patterns in the selected material. However the findings will provide implications of how visual framing is shaped by ethnicity, dimensions of otherness and politics of representation which is the purpose of this investigation. The sample size is therefore not meant to universally represent the portrayals of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees by statistical measurements, but to center around particularities of photojournalistic imagery in influential, popular and well-established news outlets with national spread.

5.4 Operationalization

As presented and described above, qualitative visual analysis and interpretation is used to examine articulations of otherness (Bhabha 2012; Lutz & Collins 1993) by using a specific set of analytical questions and strategies. The analysis aims to further explore present photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility* in the sample dimages (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017) and to inductively discover additions to regimes, yet to be academically recognized. Analytical approaches to recognize images generating emotional and social engagement and images with a sensational edge will also be part of the analysis, since this relates to visualities and immigrant discourse (Bleiker & Key 2007; Kirkpatrick 2015; Parry 2011). Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) and Kędra and Sommer (2018) provide methodological tools to specifically analyze refugee portrayals, using respectively semiotic and rhetorical

approaches to the material. My manual for analysis includes six steps touching upon denotation and representation, but also how photographic techniques and emotional engagement may add to the rhetorical message conveyed by a photograph (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Hansen and Machin 2019; Kędra and Sommer 2018; Lutz and Collins 1993; Rose 2016).

Before introducing the six analytical steps I will address two aspects concerning the analysis. Firstly, otherness is, as illustrated in the previous chapter, a complex process relying on the presence of several elements. In my analysis break these down in terms of the experienced connection to story subjects felt by the viewer, the display of physical attributes such as skin color and clothing and the scenery presented in the frame and the focus of conflict or threat, poor living conditions and limited resources, as seen in the case of Mamma Sessay. The number of individuals portrayed in a photograph also reveal indications of otherness since previous research stresses that large numbers of refugees tend to be associated with animalistic descriptions of “flocks”, alluding to otherness (Pandir 2019; Parry 2011; Pruitt 2019; Trivundža 2004). Similarly, the third research question regarding immigrant discourse and visualities seizes the complexity of how images communicate political messages. In my analysis, dimensions of discourse and visualities displayed in photographs are analyzed through evocation of emotional engagement such as connection to story subjects (Bleiker & Key; Kirkpatrick 2015). The political, social and economic context the image is placed in and whether the image captures dimensions of migration policy is another crucial analytical step.

Secondly, by discussing the analysis of otherness, I will address that the analysis concerning otherness is different to the classification of visibility as threat, presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). The analysis, specifically examining otherness, centers around articulations and how rather than if refugees are dehumanized and aims to reveal how mainstream Swedish news outlets may sustain the legacy of colonialism, imperialism and orientalism. Chouliaraki and Stolic’s (2017) regime fails to further investigate these articulations, while my analysis focuses on how and by which elements an other is created. The research question regarding otherness enables a critical perspective to be explored, to establish how journalistic imagery can capture notions deriving from orientalism and how this narrative can be used to map stereotypes present in modern society.

The manual (see Appendix A) embodies several aspects of visual representation and captures multiple levels of abstraction. I discuss the steps here below (see Appendix B for an example of how the qualitative visual analysis was performed):

- The first step of denotation, formulated by Kędra & Sommer (2018), deals with the basic and primary essence of the image, namely what is there. Furthermore, it focuses on the visual narrative and how the story of the image is centered around the fragments that together constitute the photograph (Rose 2016).
- The second step focuses on camera angle and the analysis of photographic techniques, further elaborated by Rose (2016). As mentioned in the manual above, this includes a wide range of factors where camera and stylistic strategies have an impact on the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees.
- The third step centers around those within the frame. Several questions touch upon activity and facial expressions, connected to the concept of agency (Kozol 2004; Lams 2019; Martikainen & Sakki 2021), where agents with a voice are documented to be active (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). Articulations of otherness as described by Bhabha (2012) and Lutz & Collins (1993) is also related to this step since the visual representation of Syrian and Middle-Eastern refugees tend to allude to stereotypes and dehumanization (Pandir 2019; Parry 2011; Pruitt 2019; Trivundža 2004), which is noticeable when analyzing the images. Ethnic and cultural identity is therefore a crucial dimension of analysis for the present study. This is analyzed by the questions concerning number of individuals within the frame, form of interaction, violence displayed in combination with physical attributes such as dark skin color, traditional Muslim attire, and scenery of poor living conditions or conflicts between the portrayed West and East at borders.
- The fourth step relates to emotional engagement, a highly interpretative matter since social identities and previous experiences influence emotional engagement in viewers (Brennen 2010; Rose 2016). On one hand, visual framing of vulnerable children, families, elderly and pets evoke emotion and these add to the intermediary feeling of empathy. On the other hand, imagery of chaotic scenes at border crossings, police or military intervention may result in feelings of intimidation or concern. The emotional engagement is also linked to visualities since photography may reflect attitudes and discourse triggering certain responses in viewers (Bleiker & Key 2007; Kirkpatrick

2015). Emotional engagement therefore examines a variety of dimensions in regards to previous research.

- The fifth step is touching upon the framework of Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) and I aim to investigate if the five photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility* are sufficient for the present study and if there may be other regimes that can be inductively discovered in the selected material. These specific regimes are presented in detail below.

Visibility as biological life refers to images depicting a mass of unfortunates on fragile boats or in refugee-camps which reduces life to biological needs of the body. In terms of responsibility, this regime invites viewers to follow current events, providing vague awareness of refugees. Refugees in collapsing dinghies or large groups desperately trying to cross borders are images to be sorted into this regime. The second regime, visibility as empathy, presents intimate glimpses of individuals, such as a mother and her baby. This regime has a humanizing potential, but also enables infantilization. Responsibility in this regime, lies at the heart of charitable donations which seizes compassion. In relation to my analysis, I followed the examples by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) and focused on up-close family portraits, snapshots of specific individuals and also those in frame struggling or facing emotional trauma. The third regime, visibility as threat, is captured in photographs of masses, violence at borders and participation in riots (ibid). Animalistic references to flocks and swarms allude to this regime of visibility as threat. The form of responsibility in this case lies in the action of closing borders and stopping immigration. In this category I therefore took the matter of displayed police or military aggression such as patrolling personnel, shown weapons and border control into consideration. Images containing these elements were therefore categorized into this regime of visibility as threat.

Visibility as hospitality includes visual imagery of pro-refugee involvement. This can be visually framed during protests with banners such as the “Refugees Welcome” march in 2015 (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). However, in this regime, imagery of refugees and integration practices is included, such as work performances in host countries, refugees taking part in language courses and school activities. Responsibility in this sense is embodied in solidarity. The final regime, visibility as self-reflexivity can be recognized in the form of celebrity benefaction which is caught in the show-business aesthetic. Social media graphics picked up by news make up the other dimension. Responsibility within this regime is linked to the

self-understanding of ethics regarding refugees. I will include celebrities posing with refugees, namely UNICEF ambassadors or faces for other charity organizations in this regime.

- The sixth and final step centers around political context, which is highly relevant for the selected images since they exist in a political climate, giving them meaning (Becker 1995). For example, articulations of otherness may be captured in scenery of disasters or violence which is further investigated in this step of analysis. Furthermore, the images may reflect economic issues such as making a living in a host country. Social circumstances also influence the visual portrayals within the frame. Context, political and social context in particular, are central in the forming of visualities (Bleiker & Key 2007), which are related to discourses of immigration. Context may reveal positions in migration policy which can relate imagery to specific events of conflict or crisis. Imagery triggering political or social engagement further answers the third research question.

The captions belonging to the images will have an explanatory purpose where the text may reveal how an image ought to be interpreted by the viewer. This was taken into consideration when analyzing the images although focus remained on the analysis and interpretation of the visual images.

5.4.1 Pilot study

I conducted a pilot study to test and ensure chosen methodological approach adequately functions (Bryman 2016; Kim 2011). The pilot study was made up of 21 images, seven photographs from each of the selected news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. Out of the 21 images, eleven photographs depicted Syrian refugees and the other ten depicted Ukrainian refugees. When using the manual to analyze and interpret the selected photographs, I realized I had no category or questions to analyze body language such as poses and gestures. As suggested by Hansen and Machin (2019), body language remains a crucial carrier of connotation and visual representation. A question regarding body language was therefore added to the manual.

5.5 Reliability and validity

Since reliability and validity refers to methods of evaluating quantitative research, terms such as credibility become relevant to evaluate qualitative research (Golafshani 2003). In terms of credibility, I have used adequate and appropriate methodological and analytical tools. I have reflected upon whether the study could have been carried out, using other forms of data or analytical methods. Since the matter of visual representation of ethnicities naturally rules out text analysis, visual analysis remains a suitable methodological strategy. Moreover, the study is supervised and peer reviewed meaning that the quality of the study has been tested and constructive feedback has influenced the research process. I acknowledge that the interpretative approach reduces the possibility of replicability, and that I interpret the material based on my experiences, within the frame of my social identity, as described by Rose (2016) and Brennan (2010). This means it is possible that others may interpret the material differently. My aim is to openly present and provide examples for my analysis and interpretation so that readers can follow and understand the conclusions displayed in the following chapters.

5.6 Ethics

Visual research is accompanied with a number of ethical dilemmas (Butler 2007; Sverrisson 2015; Wiles et al. 2008). One of them being informed consent. As Wiles et al. (2008) argue, using photographs of individuals who are not informed their picture is included in a research project, let alone given consent for the images to be used, is a problematic ethical difficulty. Moreover, the present study focuses on refugee imagery. Refugees are a group known to be photographed without explicit consent (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi 2023). Another dimension to be added to this discussion centers around the issue of age. Some of the images involve young children who do not have the capability to give consent. I argue that images included in the present study highlight these above mentioned journalistic ethical dilemmas. I have a critical and analytical approach to the selected images, meaning I aim to raise questions and bring awareness to practices undermining consent, rather than defend the ethical status of photographs in Swedish mainstream news outlets. The second ethical issue to be addressed is anonymity (Sverrisson 2015; Wiles et al. 2008). Faces can easily be identified, as Sverrisson (2015) explains. This is problematic for those who do not participate with name or personal details. The sampled photographs of the study were collected on the

websites of three major news outlets, indicating all of the selected images are available to the public. Furthermore, I am not interested in the individuals appearing in the photographs per se, but rather how they are framed to appear. Thus, I am not questioning those within the frame, but rather journalistic strategies of depicting various ethnic, cultural and social identities.

The third ethical issue I intend to discuss is the matter of respect. According to Barroso (2020) respect is a major component in the ethical framework in photojournalism. By this, I acknowledge that images used in this project are of sensitive nature since some of them frame the battle between life and death. Trauma captured in the sampled photographs are to be seen as traumatic and not to be downplayed or placed out of context. Shedding light on visual imagery of dangerous routes to safety, the pain of losing a close family member, and the horrific outcomes of war, highlight the societal significance for the present study and pay respect to all those who have endured crisis and trauma.

6. Results of analysis

In this chapter I present the results of the analysis and provide examples of imagery alluding to otherness and imagery belonging to the *regimes of visibility and responsibility*, and examples of visualities and how photography reflects immigrant discourse. The last section of the chapter presents a summary of the results.

6.1 Articulations of otherness

According to my analysis, imagery of Syrian refugees was overrepresented with reference to otherness. No photography of Ukrainian refugees included any of the above mentioned dimensions and aspects of otherness, meaning significant differences between the two data sets were discovered. Articulations of otherness were visible in my material and could be detected in indicators concerning number of individuals portrayed, the physical attributes of those within the frame, and the scenery depicted. In the sampled photographs, imagery conveying a message of an “us” and a “them” contributes to the process of othering. This is specifically clear in photography of border crossings where one side represents the “us” the image is produced for and the other side behind the fence represents the “them”.

Military aggression or control may be other indicators of otherness since this not only signals conflict, but leads to associations of danger. Other types of imagery contributing to otherness include images which highlight poor living conditions, living conditions which would be regarded as unacceptable by the standards for those who are meant to observe the image. Photographs of refugee camps without running water or electricity or crowdedness in temporary accommodations are examples of this dimension of otherness. These were the dominant sites of capturing otherness, the Turkish-Syrian border or other borders of Syria did make up the majority of locations depicted. Camps and refugee centers consisting of a large number of tents were the other dominating site of photography concerning otherness.

As illustrated, indicators of otherness are related to the scenery and environment presented in the frame but also the attributions of those who appear in the image. One clear indicator described in previous literature concerns the number of individuals portrayed in an image (Pandir 2019; Parry 2011; Pruitt 2019; Trivundža 2004; Wilmott 2017). This relates to animalistic references such as “swarms” and “flocks” which contributes to the experienced difference between those depicted and the viewer observing the image. To further look into

this second position, the basis of otherness can be directly linked to physical appearance such as skin color and this was detected in the analysis of my material. However, skin color alone does not per say mean a photograph is alluding to otherness, but rather in combination with other of the described aspects. Along similar lines, physical attributes such as clothing, for women in particular, may also constitute the religious and cultural other. Traditional Muslim female attire such as burka, hijab, chador, niqab, shayla and other forms of veils are commonly associated with non-Western practices, thus alongside above mentioned factors creating the image of the other.

The positions and distance of the camera also play a key role when discussing imagery of otherness. In my analysis, otherness may also be indicated by a level of story subject anonymity. This means that the ethnic, cultural, religious or dangerous other is not necessarily given the opportunity to connect with viewers by showing facial expressions, navigating their own story or advocating for themselves in other ways. It deprives the viewer of feelings of empathy, since the imagery is not focusing on families, couples or friends but rather capturing the reality of migration policy. Furthermore, the camera angle and position can be crucial for the viewer's interpretation of an event. A large group of anonymous story subjects walking towards the camera contributes to a feeling of intimidation, serving to further add to the notion of an invasion of others.

As illustrated in the example imagery below, images must contain several of the above listed indicators touching upon scenery, camera position and angle and physical attributes to be interpreted as photography alluding to otherness. I provide explanations and motivate the interpretation of the photographs used as examples below:



Caption: "Turkiska soldater vid gränsen mot Syrien sommaren 2015. FOTO: AP"

Figure 1: Turkish soldiers at the Turkish-Syrian border (Published in Aftonbladet)

The image above accentuates the experienced "us" and "them" identity and the cultural, religious and potentially dangerous other. The fence marks the crucial line between the side representing the "us" where the camera is located, and the side representing the "them" where a relatively large number of people carrying luggage is visible. The cultural and religious other is detected by the traditional Muslim attire seen in several individuals within the frame. The hint of a dangerous other is highlighted by the Turkish military personnel controlling the border between Syria and Turkey. The military action signals conflict where the side representing the "us" requires protection for the influx from the other side of the border.



Caption: “Syriska flyktingar på väg in i Turkiet i juni i år. Foto: Lefteris Pitarakis/AP”

Figure 2: Syrian refugees to enter Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter)

The image presented above highlights another indicator of otherness, namely the large number of individuals detected. As in the case of the previous photograph, traditional Muslim gear is displayed. Imagery alluding to otherness does not allow the viewer to see facial expressions clearly, but the “mass”. The barbed wire seen above the depicted indicates the presence of the dangerous other, implying those in the image are not allowed to freely enter the border to Turkey, leaving it to the viewer to decide why.

6.2 Regimes of visibility

In this section I present the five positions of visibility, their frequency in the material, and how they appeared in the sample dimages. The section is introduced by an overview of detected regimes and followed by a detailed presentation of the five positions: empathy, biological life, hospitality and the inductively discovered variation hospitality as integration, threat and self-reflexivity.

Four out of the five *regimes of visibility and responsibility* introduced by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) were recognized in the material. The table below provides an overview of present regimes:

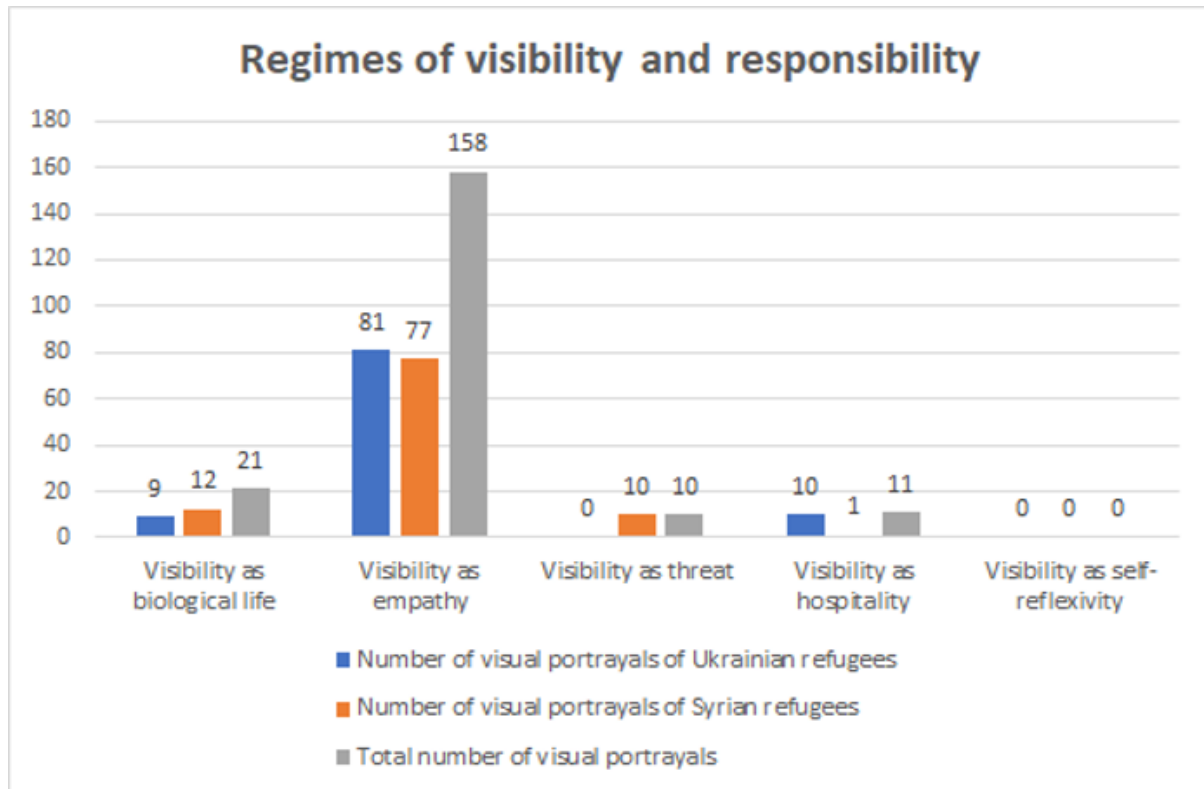


Table 1: An overview of regimes of visibility and responsibility discovered in the selected material

6.2.1 Visibility as empathy

As illustrated above, the dominant regime of the analysis is visibility as empathy which is present in 158 of the sampled 200 photographs. Empathetic visual portrayals were prominent in both of the analyzed data sets, meaning that Syrian and Ukrainian refugees overall received empathetic visual framing in *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. This aligns with Nordic studies investigating visual representation of refugees (Bengtsson Lundin 2021; Jovičić 2020; Nilsson 2022). In my material visibility as empathy includes a wide range of imagery, for example, family portraits such as children posing with parents, siblings, or other relatives. Photography of friends or couples interacting are other examples of imagery belonging to this category. Close-up images of children playing, smiling, crying, being vulnerable, at risk, or hurt also make up this regime since these images manifest visualities generating empathy. Rescue workers assisting and posing together with refugees, as explained by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) also fit this category. Several events, locations and types of scenery were included in this dominant regime. Sites in Ukraine, Syria, Sweden, Poland and Germany dominated this regime. Imagery of story subjects in bomb shelters, subways, temporary accommodations, camps, sites of public transportation were commonly detected.

Individuals or groups posing with pets such as dogs and cats add another dimension to the regime, moving the focus from humanitarian crisis affecting humans to the consequences for animals. This is a variation to be added as an extension to the regime of visibility as empathy, since Chouliaraki and Stolic's (2017) analysis did not cover animal imagery when refugees pose with pets. As discovered, Ukrainian refugees were found to be posing with pets while no Syrian refugees were photographed with pets. Moreover, up-close photography of elderly struggling with physical movement or other age-related issues are included in the regime of empathy. Individuals of various ages and genders who are portrayed and approximately distanced less than two meters from the camera lens, showing facial expressions of happiness, concern or fear make up this regime. Photography allowing the viewer to clearly see faces and bodies experiencing emotions or physical conditions such as distress remain key indicators for this regime. This is further related to gaze where eye contact can give an impression of connection between viewer and story subject, as described by Edwards (2012). In the manual of visual analysis and interpretation, this regime is closely related to the step regarding emotional engagement, putting emphasis on the empathy experienced by the viewer.

When presenting the images belonging to the regime of visibility as empathy, I will make a distinction between photographs alluding to victimization and photographs allowing those depicted agency (Azoulay 2008). This to point at issues regarding infantilization and framing of refugees as passive actors. Infantilization may be created through a bird's-eye view, where the camera is angled down at those depicted, making them appear small. This combined with passivity has the ability to make those in the frame strike the viewer as helpless. Passivity is detected in images where those depicted are not participating in an activity or interacting with others. Down below I present two images highlighting the essence of the regime of visibility as empathy:



Caption: “Ett syriskt par som klarat färden över Egeiska havet, från Turkiet till den grekiska ön Lesbos. Bilden är tagen den 30 september. Foto: Santi Palacios/TT”

Figure 3: A Syrian couple arriving at Lesbos after crossing the Aegean Sea (Published in Svenska Dagbladet)

The photograph above captures a Syrian couple, holding each other. The woman’s facial expression signals she may be relieved from arriving safely at Lesbos. Their embrace highlights intimacy and the close snapshot of the moving interaction evokes empathy.



Caption: “Ljudmyla Maljuga tog med sig sin katt när hon flydde från Mariupol. Hunden fick de lämna kvar, de fick välja mellan att ta med en hund eller att rädda ännu en människa. Foto: Lotta Härdelin”

Figure 4: A woman fleeing Mariupol with her cat (Published in Dagens Nyheter)

The above presented image of a woman and her cat exemplifies the variation detected regarding pets. The close snapshot of the woman seemingly looking at a beloved family member echoes the described core of visibility as empathy. Especially when the viewer learns that the woman had to leave her dog behind in Ukraine.



Caption: “En flicka från Syrien fick spendera en natt med sin familj vid en bro i Tyskland, i väntan på att komma till ett läger. Foto: Muhammed Muheisen/TT”

Figure 5: A Syrian girl crying on a bridge in Germany, having spent the night at the site (Published in Svenska Dagbladet)

The little girl in the image above evokes emotion since the viewer can see her sad facial expression. The caption reveals she has spent the night at the site (perhaps outside), and that in combination with her young age appeals to a possible parent identity in the viewer.

6.2.2 Visibility as biological life

The second common regime detected is visibility as biological life. As demonstrated, this regime was nearly equally present in both data sets, indicating no significant differences in the number of photographs portraying Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. This regime centers around the battle of life and death and captures the needs of the body where images of refugees in collapsing dinghies or in refugee camps symbolize these struggles. In my material imagery of refugees in dinghies, camps, at borders, in the wild trying to find paths to safety and refugees struggling to get out of harmful situations is included in this regime. Central

locations and sites for this regime are borders and camps in Ukraine, Syria and Poland. No photographs taken in Sweden belonged to this category. Scenery and events may be taken outside in nature such as illustrated in the example images below. Water and collapsing dinghies remain typical scenery alongside camps and crowded borders. Crowds and large groups are associated with this position, thus connecting the regime with animalistic references detected in previous research (Parry 2011; Pruitt 2019; Wilmott 2017).

A crucial aspect is the matter of distance. In contrast to visibility as empathy where those depicted are presented up-close, images belonging to the category of visibility as biological life are usually further distanced from the camera, resulting in partly or not visible facial expressions. In my material this is a key difference between the two regimes. Agency and the ability for those depicted to navigate their own experiences is therefore not present for imagery alluding to visibility as biological life (Azoulay 2008). The focus remains centered around the matter of survival and living standards close to the bare minimum which is illustrated in photographs of dinghies breaking down, leaving refugees to rely on their own capacity to swim to land. By the results of my analysis, images of Syrian refugees would center around dinghies, borders and camps. Ukrainian refugees were mostly capturing sites of public transportation such as train stations, bus stops or ferries while photographs of Syrian refugees would center around dinghies, borders and camps.



Caption: “En grupp syriska flyktingar har fått bensinstopp och tvingas paddla mot land. Efter fem timmar på havet andländer de utmattade men lättade. (Klicka för att se fler bilder) Foto: Linus Sundahl-Djerf”

Figure 6: Syrian refugees paddle ashore after five hours at sea (Published in Svenska Dagbladet)

This photograph of Syrian refugees having to paddle ashore after hours at sea in a crowded dinghy, captures typical scenery connected to portrayals of Syrian refugees. The open water behind them and the symbolism of the life jackets become elements capturing the dangerous journey to safe grounds.



Caption: “FOTO: EMILIO MORENATTI / AP

En lång rad människor försöker fly från Irpin genom att korsa den torra flodbädden. Irpin har under flera dagar varit centrum för striderna mellan rysk militär norr om Kiev och ukrainsk militär.”

Figure 7: Ukrainians escape the war-torn city Irpin by crossing the dry riverbed (Published in Aftonbladet)

In the image above, Ukrainians cross the dry riverbed. The camera is positioned behind a bush, resulting in covered faces. The story subjects remain anonymous as they try to escape Irpin, indicating the image captures the route to survival. This highlights the crucial dimension of visibility as biological life, the struggle to find safety.

6.2.3 Visibility as hospitality

The third common regime to be discovered was visibility as hospitality. Portrayals of Ukrainian refugees were dominant in this category, and Syrian refugees were underrepresented. According to Chouliaraki and Stolic’s analysis (2017) this regime centers around visualities welcoming refugees and can be detected in photography of marches and demonstrations where banners and shirts with refugee-welcoming messages are visible. My analysis solely focuses on refugee portrayals, and not imagery of public engagement regarding migration policy or activism. The presented regime by Chouliaraki and Stolic

(2017) was therefore not found in my material. However, a variation and possible extension of the regime was detected.

6.2.3.1 Visibility as hospitality and integration

In relation to the discussion above, I introduce an empirically and inductively recognized variation and extension to the regime introduced by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). My addition highlights the aspect of integration and photography capturing forms of integration strategies involving refugees such as arrivals, queues to migration agencies or other institutions, labor work in the host country and using or waiting for public transportation in the host country. In other words, this addition is marked by activities in host countries, also focusing on the environment presented within the frame. The extension links integration with hospitality, and centers around visualities manifesting migration policy and political decisions. Unlike visibility as biological life, the imagery of additional variation does not focus on survival needs or struggle. It differs from visibility as empathy, as facial expressions are not visible or in focus and that no intimate snapshots of specific individuals are displayed (Edwards 2012).

The variation of integration emphasizes institutions and phenomena the Swedish viewer is familiar with such as the Migration Agency and geographical locations such as Globen and then allows refugees to interact with that scenery. It mixes typical Swedish scenery with non-Swedish story subjects and this marks the success of the present integration policy. All images belonging to the regime of visibility as hospitality and integration were taken in Sweden, at various locations. Some locations were bound to specific forms of public transportation. For example, images of Ukrainian refugees arriving by ferry were commonly taken in Karlskrona. Ukrainian refugees were overrepresented in this regime, significantly outnumbering the portrayals of Syrian refugees. The extension of integration may therefore be helpful when analyzing imagery of refugees taken in host countries since the focus of this variation centers around the presented scenery and whether refugees are visually framed to integrate themselves into the host country. Martikainen and Sakki (2021) argue that imagery of integration contributes to personhood and humanization, indicating integration practices may generate positive portrayals of refugees. I will provide examples of my discovered variation below:



Caption: “Köande ukrainska flyktingar utanför Migrationsverket i Malmö den 15 mars. Men möjligheten för tiotusentals ukrainare som kommit till Sverige att försörja sig är i praktiken obefintliga, anser insändarskribenten. Foto: Johan Nilsson/TT”

Figure 8: Ukrainian refugees queuing up outside the Migration Agency in Malmö (Published in Dagens Nyheter)

The photograph above provides further refugee interaction with Swedish institutions and authorities, namely the Migration Agency. The crowd appears to be waiting to enter. Imagery such as this highlights the integration process for refugees.



Caption: “Ukrainska flyktingar som anlant med buss till Globenområdet den 22 mars. Foto: Magnus Hjalmarson Neideman”

Figure 9: Ukrainian refugees arriving by bus to the area close to Avicii Arena (Published in Svenska Dagbladet)

The image above accentuates typical imagery of visibility as hospitality and integration where Ukrainian refugees arrive at Avicii Arena previously known as Globen. Avicii Arena, being a symbol of Stockholm, acts as a typical Swedish site where Ukrainians now arrive, integrating with the host country.

6.2.4 Visibility as threat

Visibility as threat was the fourth common regime. In this regime, Syrian refugees were overrepresented, making up all photography belonging to this category, meaning no images of Ukrainian refugees were classified into the regime of visibility as threat. Imagery alluding to visibility as threat is characterized by massification and singularisation, where those depicted within the frame pose a threat to Western social order (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). Visualities of racialization, reflecting on refugees' skin color are present in this regime. Accordingly, imagery of threatening young dark men pose a threat to European safety. In my material images displaying refugees seemingly acting aggressive, crossing borders by cutting or jumping over fences, lining up behind a fence at the border and queuing up to cross borders. Specific locations of imagery in this category would be the Syrian-Turkish border and other borders of Syria. Photographs of borders can therefore be seen as a major indicator of the category, although other factors also influence the reception of the image as threatening.

Visibility as threat includes elements of aggression in terms of weapons or military personnel on display in the image. This was detected in several cases, and is presented in one of the images below. Imagery alluding to visibility as threat emphasizes clothing such as traditional Muslim veils such as burka, niqab, hijab or other type of gear contribute to the illusion of a threat since these types of clothing are associated with non-Western religious and cultural values. Furthermore, this regime allows refugees agency where they are portrayed to be active actors, but unlike visibility as empathy, these images do not evoke feelings of empathy, but fear. Active story subjects acting aggressively by jumping over the barbed wire marking the borders fit this regime. Visibility as threat is an emotionally driven regime, relying on the interpretation of the viewer. In relation to this, it is helpful to further look into viewer's positions. As discussed by Esses et al. (2013) positions and ideology of the viewer may determine how the image is interpreted, where attitudes and public engagement may reveal how the image is perceived. The results of my analysis aligns with previously established research specializing on refugee imagery (Lanette & Mikovic 2018; Pandir 2019), adding to

knowledge on how refugees from the Middle-East are visually portrayed. Down below two images exemplifying visibility as threat is presented:



Caption: “Syriska flyktingar tar sig över gränsen till Turkiet. Foto: Lefteris Pitarakis/AP”

Figure 10: Syrian refugees crossing the border to Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter)

The threat is illustrated through active story subjects jumping over the border, giving the impression they are illegally entering Turkey (Lanette & Mikovic 2018). The large number of refugees poses a threat since it is indicated those behind the fence want to enter.



Caption: “Syriska flyktingar tar sig under taggtrådsbarriären som den ungerska regeringen låtit sätta upp längs gränsen till Serbien. Foto: Bela Szandelszky/TT”

Figure 11: Syrian refugees entering Serbia by crawling under the barbed wire, set up by the Hungarian government (Published in Svenska Dagbladet)

The image above illustrates threat, and this time by digging. As in the previous example the threat is connected to migration policy and the limited possibility for refugees to enter legally. The man holding the stick, helping the other come through is depicted with agency, as an actor who will do what it takes to ensure those on the other side can enter.

6.2.5 Visibility as self-reflexivity

No images within this regime were recognized in the material. The sampled photographs are exclusively framing refugee portrayals published in mainstream news outlets and therefore rules out social media graphics and playful internet aesthetics, which are described to be one dimension of the regime (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017). Celebrities posing with refugees are documented to constitute the other dimension of this regime. None of these dimensions were detected.

By presenting the results of the analysis, the aspect of comparison is to be addressed. As demonstrated in this section, the focus of the study is not to compare the selected mediums and the differences between the broadsheet and tabloid formats, but the representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. Although similarities and dissimilarities between the news outlets can be studied in this research design, the purpose of the study centers around visualization of Syrians and Ukrainians.

6.3 Visualities and immigration discourse

The analysis of visibility and immigrant discourse was captured in politically engaging imagery, thereby imagery evoking emotional engagement. Images of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees could be detected and described to reflect discourse. This can be seen when discussing articulations of otherness and the emotional engagement and context of the images. Elements such as connection with story subjects in terms of empathy, or the emotional evocation of intimidation or fear in viewers were key indicators of visualities, based on the description of Bleiker and Key (2007). Images linked to specific political or social contexts such as the Syrian-Turkish border, living standards in camps, children or adults struggling and images capturing dramatic scenes of death, survival, greetings, good-byes and endearment also remain crucial for this category. By stating this, the majority

of the sampled images did display one or more of the above described elements, indicating the spread and significance of political messages embedded in visual journalism.

Sensationalism and controversial imagery may grab the viewer's attention and have a great influence on how the viewer experiences events. This was detected in my analysis where many of the images analyzed were published in multiple of the selected Swedish news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. This hints some images reached spread and status. This was seen in cases of photographs of children, Syrian and Ukrainian, and was exemplified by the well-known image of drowned 3-year old Alan Kurdi who was washed up on a beach in Turkey. In connection to visualities, Prøitz (2020) argues that the specific imagery did politically engage young members of Western societies and also functioned to concretize the present refugee crisis. As previous research indicates, imagery of children appeals to viewer's sensitivity (Kędra & Sommer 2018), causing them to go viral on social media and reach global spread. Images of crying or struggling children therefore exemplify photographs generating political engagement.

On the other hand, visualities can be further related to in- and out-group identities (Stocchetti 2017). This is seen in imagery of the Turkish-Syrian border, also capturing otherness. I will hereby address that there is a connection between otherness and visualitis, namely that visualities can convey a message of an ethnic, cultural, religious or dangerous other. As Kirkpatrick (2015) stresses, the media play a key role in the unveiling of collective attitudes. The specific visual framing of in- and out- group identities, the "us" and the "them" was solely affecting Syrian refugees, reflecting discourse in terms of shifts in migration policy. However, imagery of Ukrainian refugees arriving in Sweden, and photography showing processes of integration may reflect the generous immigration strategy in 2022 with reference to Ukrainian refugees. By discussing otherness, I will make a distinction between the levels of analysis covered by the first and third research question, both relating to images and otherness. The first research question solely captures articulations of stereotypical imagery. The third research question focusing on immigrant discourse, highlights how imagery may convey various political messages with the ability to educate, unite and divide. Due to this, visualities reveal how photographs of the two ethnic groups differ in terms of communicated political and social themes. The visualization of Syrians captures a magnitude of visualities founded in humanity, otherness and intimidation. Portrayals of Ukrainians, however, indicate

that the group is overwhelmingly associated with a discourse marked by humanity and empathy.

I present one of the analyzed images below, a photograph of Alan Kurdi. This image reached global spread and received great attention on social media platforms:



Caption: ”De senaste dagarnas massiva reaktion på bilden på den drunknade flyktingpojken Alan Kurdi, uppspölad på en strand i den turkiska badorten Bodrum, får mig att fundera över vad som krävs för att vi ska reagera på humanitära katastrofer”, skriver DN:s Erik Ohlsson. Foto: AP”

Figure 12: The drowned 3-year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi being carried away from a beach in Bodrum in Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter)

The image remains one of the central and striking examples of images resulting in emotional and political engagement. The case of Alan Kurdi is well-documented and highlights the connection between journalistic imagery and political engagement reaching global status, and how young Europeans managed to grasp an understanding of the 2015 refugee crisis (Fehrenbach & Rodogno 2015).

6.4 Summary of results

The results show that scenery and physical attributes may contain elements of otherness. Poor living conditions and visualization of chaos and conflict at the borders may be scenery that

alongside other elements create the image of an other. Physical features such as dark skin color indicating an ethnic other and traditional Muslim attire indicating a cultural or religious other are, alongside scenery, key elements constructing the other. Furthermore, empathetic visual portrayals dominate the material in both data sets. Both Syrian and Ukrainian refugees received overwhelmingly empathetic visual framing. Imagery focusing on families, children, couples, friends, struggling individuals and, in some cases pets, was consistently discovered among the 200 photographs. However, differences between the two data sets could be recognized. First, imagery of pets such as cats and dogs were only present in photographs of Ukrainian refugees. Second, images belonging to the regime of visibility as biological life points out two major types of scenery associated with the two data sets where scenery and environment were associated with either Syrians or Ukrainians. However, the number of images of the data sets belonging to this category indicate that visibility as biological life was a relatively common trope for imagery of both Syrian and Ukrainian refugees.

Visibility as hospitality was, in my analysis, associated with migration politics and specifically, integration. The category focuses primarily on imagery of integration processes such as arriving in a host country, queues to migrations agencies or other institutions clearly associated with the host country, labor work in the host country or the use of public transportation in the host country. This was detected in the case of Ukrainian refugees. Syrian refugees were underrepresented in this regime. Furthermore, the regime of visibility as threat applies to Syrian refugees. This also highlights a crucial difference between the two data sets in terms of otherness. No imagery of Ukrainian refugees belong to this regime according to my analysis. The fifth of the regimes by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) was not recognized in the material.

Visualities of social engagement were recognized in the material, as in the case of Alan Kurdi. Children in struggle or crying generate emotional and political engagement. However, visualities conveying a message of “us” and “them” were present in sampled photographs of Syrians exclusively.

7. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to compare the visual representation of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*. The aim was also to investigate how articulations of otherness appear in the visualization of two national and ethnic groups. Moreover, the purpose of the study was to explore how the visual representation of the two groups were manifested through the five photojournalistic *regimes of visibility and responsibility* by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). The study also had the ambition to further investigate the connection between visual images published in the media and immigrant discourse. In this finishing chapter I will answer the research questions and discuss societal, methodological and ethical prospects. Lastly, suggestions for further research in the subfield of photojournalism and representation of refugees are disclosed.

7.1 Answering the research questions

7.1.1 How do articulations of otherness appear in the visual representation of Syrian in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in news media outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet*?

Articulations of otherness were recognized in imagery of Syrian refugees. No imagery of Ukrainian refugees were conveying the message of an other. These results may be further related to previous research, where Scandinavian news outlets sustain and justify otherness especially targeting Muslims (Creutz-Kämppi 2008). As the analysis reveals, the religious other was present in the material. The religious other is marked and emphasized by traditional Muslim attire, commonly worn by women. In other words, the religious other highlights the experienced opposition between Christian values and Muslim values and the idea that these two religions clash, which appeals to the notion that Christians and Muslims have difficulties co-existing due to differing religious values. This can be further related to conclusions by Lutz and Collins (1993) who argue that Western actors may assume that Islam explains all cultural, political and social differences between the experienced West and East. This simplification aligns with the idea of the Middle-East as monolithic and contributes to the blurring of significant differences in terms of religion, culture and social life of

Middle-Eastern countries. This is not isolated from the cultural other. The cultural other was another articulation recognized in the analysis. As mentioned by Lutz and Collins (1993), the lines between religion and culture remain blurry and it can be argued that imagery capturing the religious other also frames a sense of the cultural other. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, photography of the cultural other is usually fixed to living standards judged as “poor” or “unacceptable” by the viewer. The cultural other in my material is primarily connected to the living situation for refugees. By discussing this I will also address that the articulations of otherness do overlap and reinforce one another and it is possible for in image to convey a message of multiple articulations of otherness.

Furthermore, the ethnic other was identified. The ethnic other is, as discussed by Bhabha (2012), exemplified by skin color and illustrated by “an ethnic difference compared to oneself and one’s proximate social group” as explained by Lehtela (2007: 2). The ethnic other is therefore not exclusively bound to skin color, but rather the experienced difference between the ethnicity of those observed compared to the viewer’s own ethnicity and social identity. This articulation of otherness relies on the premise that the viewer’s social and ethnic identity is dissimilar to those who are portrayed in an image. Since the investigated news outlets are Swedish and targeting a Swedish audience, the ethnic other may be emphasized, the Syrians representing what is considered as “non-Swedish”. As explained by Bhabha (2012), the Swedish audience may be familiar with Syrians in a way that allows misrepresentation and marginalization. Public opinion and discourse regarding this misrepresentation to be appropriate will not question political or government strategies to sustain the marginalization of people of color. By acknowledging this, the connection between specific articulations of otherness distributed in visual journalism has the ability to influence public debate and the immigration discourse. This is a relevant parameter to discuss considering Sweden granted many Syrians asylum in 2015 and 2016, and since the 2015 refugee crisis greatly shaped public discourse. Articulations of otherness remain influential players in the game of visual journalistic framing.

The dangerous other, the other directly appealing to the viewer’s emotional experience of the image. Images generate emotional engagement and in the case of the dangerous other, the viewer may feel a sensation of fear or intimidation. The dangerous other is an articulation shaped by the other forms of otherness and in combination with agency alludes the viewer to experience those portrayed as a threat. Agency as discussed by Azoulay (2008) and Horsti

(2016) is therefore a key concept to discuss, since refugees framed as active actors appearing to act aggressively or commit crimes such as entering borders illegally greatly influence the audiences relationship with those within the frame. As Esses et al. (2013) discuss, the dangerous other may constitute in- and out-group identities where some members of society feel satisfied with the dehumanization since it justifies the status quo. The image of the dangerous Syrian refugee jumping over fences to reach Europe may therefore result in negative public reactions to asylum seekers in general. According to Esses et al. (2013) this is noticeable in individuals who have had little to no contact with refugees. The dangerous other is therefore an expression of a process enabling the media to justify negative attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers.

Additionally, I will touch upon migration policy and how EU responsibility-sharing failed and how this may influence the visual portrayals of Syrians. Border controls and closers in Europe had a significant meaning to those seeking refuge. Strict migration policy in many countries led to difficulties for Syrians and other groups to reach host countries legally, thus contributing to the sense of illegalness when refugees who have significant complications to reach safety then enter possible host countries. Migration policy in various European countries may therefore have laid the foundation for the articulation of the dangerous other during the 2015 refugee crisis.

Furthermore, the analysis of the present study shows that the legacy of colonialism and imperialism is deeply embedded in influential institutions such as the media, and can be recognized in the visual depictions of Syrian refugees, as it could be during The Balkans War in the 90's and during the US invasion of Iraq in the early 2000's (Kozol 2004; Trivundža 2004). The construction of an other functions to embody the out-group, those not meant to be included in the community. Thus giving members of society with negative attitudes to refugees, not only justification for their beliefs, but a target for their prejudice in the form of an other's face printed in a leading newspaper such as *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* or *Aftonbladet*.

7.1.2 How is the visual representation of Syrian in comparison to Ukrainian refugees in *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* manifested through photojournalistic regimes of visibility and responsibility, as presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017)?

As shown in the previous chapter, the majority of imagery of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees was categorized as visibility as empathy. This aligns with Nordic research on the specific topic of visual refugee portrayals (Bengtsson Lundin 2021; Burell & Hörschelmann 2019; Jovičić 2020; Nilsson 2022; Prøitz 2020). The present study supports the documented tendencies that Nordic news outlets emphasize empathy in visual news reporting. With a frequent focus on families, friends, couples, children, pets and individuals who struggle, the viewer is inclined to experience feelings of empathy and may donate to charity organizations. Furthermore, recognized key difference between Syrian and Ukrainian refugees concerns the sites these groups were photographed at. During the 2015 refugee crisis EU migration policy, the emphasis on responsibility-sharing switched to border closers (Saatçioğlu 2021). On the contrary, it is documented that the crisis affecting Ukraine after the Russian invasion has resulted in EU migration policy with less control and more solidarity compared to other forced migrations in the Schengen area (Jaroszewicz et al. 2022; Parusel & Varfolomieieva 2022). In other words, the possibility to safely reach a host country varied between Syrians and Ukrainians.

With reference to this visibility as hospitality, I provide a dimension of integration. This is seen in imagery of integration processes such as labor work or queues to migration agencies. However, this was primarily recognized in images of Ukrainian refugees, meaning there is a photojournalistic focus on specifically framing Ukrainian refugees interacting with institutions in host countries. Syrian refugees were underrepresented in this regime. In the sampled images, there was imagery framing Syrian refugees and integration processes but these images were categorized as visibility as empathy since there was a clear focus on facial expressions and relationships which are two strong indicators of empathetic portrayals.

The fourth frequent regime found in the material is visibility as threat. This regime only applied to Syrian refugees highlighting conclusions drawn in previous research relating to stereotypical imagery and ethnic misrepresentations (Amores et al. 2020; Kozol 2004; Lanette & Mikovic 2018; Parry 2011; Pruitt 2019; Wilmott 2017). Previous research stresses an inclination to accentuate geographical and cultural distance between the experienced

“West” and “non-West” and this has influenced the visual portrayals of Balkan, Iraqi, Syrian and Middle-Eastern refugees (Kozol 2004; Pruitt 2019; Trivundža 2004). By visually framing conflict and military presence at the border, the experienced threat of non-Western refugees is conveyed. The absence of Ukrainian refugees in the category may be related to Ukraine’s move towards West when president Zelensky requested to join NATO in 2021, clearly marking political distance from Russia (Mbah & Wasum 2022). In terms of social identity construction Ukrainians may therefore be part of the Western “us” and Syrian refugees may be portrayed as the “them” (Lehtela 2007). This on the basis of the visual representation of Syrian refugees in this regime. Furthermore, the matter of visibility as threat is not isolated from previously described concepts of otherness. The idea of threat relies on the premise of a dangerous other which, among other properties, is created by physical attributes such as skin color clearly relating the dangerous other to the ethnic other. In my material, traditional Muslim female attire such as burka, hijab, chador, niqab etc. also created the sense of a cultural and religious other. The combination of the ethnic, cultural and religious other manifest a visually experienced threat, solely detected in photographs of Syrian refugees.

The regime of visibility as self-reflexivity was not present in the sampled images. This can be explained by the criteria of sampled images, where social media graphics and interpretations of images were excluded from the analysis. The absence of celebrities and UNICEF ambassadors can be connected to the intensity of the conflicts where few fly out to meet and pose with refugees in areas of large-scale military conflict.

7.1.3 How do the visualization of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in the three news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* reflect immigration discourse?

As presented in the results, several images could be linked to specific visualities generating certain emotional or political responses, the most striking example being the image of Alan Kurdi washed up on a beach in Turkey. The image of the little boy conveys a message of great despair and triggered reactions on social media (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Kędra & Sommer 2018) and political engagement in young Europeans (Prøitz 2020). As described by Bleiker and Key (2007), images in the media can be catalysts for social movements and that this type of photographs are referred to as pluralist photographs. The image of Alan Kurdi can by this definition be recognized as the dominant pluralist photograph of the sampled images. In the case of Alan Kurdi, the social and political dimensions to the photograph were

highlighted since the little boy's death could be related to restrictions concerning migration policy, resulting in unsafe travel routes for refugees during the 2015 refugee crisis.

Furthermore, distinctions regarding specific visualities may be discussed. As illustrated above, the case of Alan Kurdi exemplifies visualities resulting in social engagement contributing to an understanding of the living situation for people in flight. However, as Parry (2015) describes, the political struggle to be seen as a citizen and member of society highlights issues concerning representation. Who is allowed to be seen and who is left out? This is a crucial dimension to reflect upon while investigating visual portrayals since it is a matter of visibility.

Regarding immigrant discourse, tendencies can be recognized in my material. As the analysis reveals, news outlets *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Aftonbladet* produced empathetic portrayals of refugees triggering emotional responses. Viewer's connection to story subjects playing a major role in empathetic emotional reactions. With the solidarity-influenced approach to migration policy during the 2015 refugee crisis, 77 of 100 of the images in the analysis framed individuals empathetically according to the framework of visibility and responsibility by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). The three news outlets examined generally reflected this approach of solidarity and compassion by focusing on specific Syrians affected by war and humanitarian crisis.

However, several images would indicate that immigrant discourse was about to switch, as demonstrated in the Swedish political landscape. The split of the political right block Alliansen and the rising popularity of traditional, conservative and immigration critical party Sverigedemokraterna greatly influenced the political arena. As reported by SVT (2018) the 8th most important political issue during the 2018 elections was refugees/immigration. Compared to the election four years prior, the issue of refugees or immigration did not make the list of political issues considered important for the Swedes. By 2022, immigration and integration remained the fourth important political issue, according to Novus (2022). The matter of immigration is placed high on the political agenda, and as illustrated by the report from SVT (2018) refugees and immigration was regarded as a theme. Moreover it is described as a political issue indicating experienced issues with integration. Imagery of Syrian refugees posing as a threat to European borders, culture and people may reflect this discourse.

Ukrainian refugees were visually framed empathetically with a great focus on families, couples, children and pets. This aligns with political decisions, in the EU and in Sweden. As previously discussed, the humanitarian crisis associated with the Russian invasion of Ukraine were managed with more solidarity than other forced migrations, including the 2015 refugee crisis (Parusel & Varfolomieieva 2022). Additionally, good conditions with reference to welfare settlements have been offered to Ukrainian refugees, illustrating the described solidarity shown. The crisis following the war on Ukraine, highlights a common understanding and discourse of humanity and responsibility-sharing, overshadowing the solidarity shown during the refugee crisis where Sweden, Hungary, Germany and Austria received two thirds of all EU asylum seekers (Ambrosini et al. 2019). The attitude towards Ukrainian refugees in Sweden echoes the political decisions made by the EU. The first five days of the Russian invasion the Swedes donated 55 million SEK to the Red Cross, showing humanitarian engagement not seen since the Tsunami disaster in Thailand in 2004 (Öhagen 2022). The crisis affecting Ukrainian refugees has greatly engaged Swedish viewers, and resulted in discourse reflecting empathy, understanding and humanity.

7.2 Societal implications

The present study touches on various levels of journalistic visual portrayals, linking them with theory and discourse involving public and political engagement. My contribution to research on refugee depictions highlights the question whether visual images published in influential news outlets reflect current immigrant discourse and if visual images influence the political and public debate. Iconic and viral images reach global spread and may fulfill an educational purpose where members of society gain further understanding of the 2015 refugee crisis and the war on Ukraine. Images are not merely a representation of reality but have the ability to embody suffering, struggle, relief, happiness, life and death.

Moreover, photographs hold the power to sustain marginalization and keep stereotypes alive (Bleiker & Key 2007; Lanette and Mikovic 2018; Trivundža 2004). As illustrated, othering and portrayals of Syrians posing a threat in the media may result in consequences for Syrians in Sweden, having to face prejudice. This can be linked to processes of segregation, where those who seek asylum in Sweden are excluded from the Swedish community. As Radjovec et al. (2020) argue, refugees are generally excluded from discourse and therefore struggle to

represent themselves. Segregation in Sweden is increasing and described to be a complex and complicated issue (Furén-Thulin 2022). Crimes committed by foreign born citizens in several domains have reportedly increased from the early 2000's to 2021 (Brå 2021) and this concern is greatly reflected in the media. Gang violence and organized crime is a hot topic in the media, being the topic receiving most medial attention during the election 2022 (Abdelzadeh 2022). Depictions of otherness highlight the connection between segregation, organized crime and discourse where the fear of crime and violence is a potent catalyst, enabling and justifying negative portrayals fitting the image of dangerous foreigners destroying Western civilization.

Journalism is an influential player in the shaping of discourse and it can be argued that quality journalism has a responsibility to produce nuanced depictions. However, sensationalism and dramatic images of refugees jumping over fences and borders may generate profit and clicks online. All three news outlets investigated in this study are commercial actors, meaning they have an ambition to gain publicity and readers when publishing news content.

The majority of the sampled images did evoke empathy, indicating there is space for connection with story subjects in the Swedish narrative. To allow story subjects to navigate their own story and share their experiences may add to personalization and allow refugees to become individuals rather than the mass referred to in previous research (Chouliaraki & Stolic 2017; Martikainen and Sakki 2021). This lays the foundation for a possible approach of empathy and understanding among the Swedes when interacting with refugees.

7.3 Methodological and ethical reflections

The analysis captured the complexity of images, othering and how these influence societal discourse. Although the analysis is transparently presented with an example and through a manual of interpretation, there are elements in the analysis which can be experienced in various ways depending on the social identity of the person observing the image. I address this as a methodological reflection to highlight that my analysis is grounded in my social identity as a journalist student and my national identity as a Swede. My ambition is to justify the decisions I have made in my analysis and provide the reader with analytical steps and examples so that the reader can easily follow my reasoning.

Furthermore, the present study highlights a crucial ethical issue with reference to photographs of refugees. Some of the images included in the analysis, such as the image of Alan Kurdi, are of sensitive nature and leaves the question whether such a photograph should be published, yet exist. As addressed in the section regarding ethics, refugees are a group to be visually exploited (Carastathis & Tsilimpounidi 2023). This points out an issue within the guidelines of photojournalistic practices. The balance between news-worthiness and story subjects personal integrity is evidently a complicated matter for journalists and photographers. Regardless of the social engagement these images may generate, children, women and men in traumatic situations are pushed into a space of forced recognition and this may have great implications in their lives.

7.4 Future research and final remarks

The present study investigates the visual portrayals of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in a comparative research design. Future contributions to the field of journalism may explore how Syrian and Ukrainian refugees are visually represented on social media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram to further reveal how these two groups are included, or perhaps, excluded in the digital discourse and debate on social media. Additionally, the analysis of the present study was limited to photographs in Swedish news outlets. A comprehensive comparison between news outlets in various countries with mixed approaches to EU migration policy will map immigration discourse in the EU and highlight tendencies of geopolitical significance.

Furthermore, future research may be dedicated to lay the foundation of an extensive methodological framework for analysis of visualities and imagery carrying political or social meaning. My analysis presented key elements contributing to the formation of visualities. Nonetheless, analytical tools to understand the connection between photography and discourse are to be discovered.

By conducting this study I wish to raise awareness regarding how journalism and visual images sustain the legacy of imperialism and colonialism. Photographs published in the media replicate attitudes and the construction of social identities founded in orientalism and prejudice. As once said by Edward Said (1978: 258);

The worldwide hegemony of Orientalism and all it stands for can now be challenged, if we can benefit properly from, the general twentieth-century rise to political and historical awareness of so many of the earth's peoples.

References

- Abdelzadeh, Hewa. Migration och gängkriminalitet fick mest utrymme i medierna. Published 2022-11-06. *SVT Nyheter*. [Migration och gängkriminalitet fick mest utrymme i medierna - Nyheter \(Ekot\) | Sveriges Radio](#) (Retrieved 2023-05-21).
- Ambrosini, Maurizio et al. (2019). *The refugee reception crisis: Polarized opinions and mobilizations*. Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles.
- Amores, Javier J., Arcila-Calderón, Carlos & González-de-Garay, Beatriz. (2020). The gendered representation of refugees using visual frames in the main Western European media. *Gender issues*, 37(4), 291-314.
- Amores, Javier J., Calderón, Carlos A. & Stanek, Mikolaj. (2019). Visual frames of migrants and refugees in the main Western European media. *Economics & Sociology*, 12(3), 147-161.
- Azoulay, Ariella. (2008). *The civil contract of photography*. Zone Books.
- Barroso, Paulo. (2020). On philosophy and language of photojournalism: the (Un) Ethical aestheticization of violence. *Logoi—Journal of Philosophy*, 31-43.
- Becker, Howard S. (1995). Visual sociology, documentary photography, and photojournalism: It's (almost) all a matter of context. *Visual studies*, 10(1-2), 5-14.
- Bengtsson Lundin, Rebecca. (2021). *Appearance and photographs of people in flight: A qualitative study of photojournalistic practices in spaces of (forced) migration* (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University).
- Berti, Benedetta & Paris, Jonathan. (2014). Beyond sectarianism: Geopolitics, fragmentation, and the Syrian civil war. *Strategic Assessment*, 16(4), 21-34.
- Bhabha, Homi K. (2012). *The location of culture*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Bleiker, Roland, Campbell, David, Hutchison, Emma, & Nicholson, Xzarina. (2013). The visual dehumanisation of refugees. *Australian journal of political science*, 48(4), 398-416.
- Bleiker, Roland & Kay, Amy. (2007). Representing HIV/AIDS in Africa: Pluralist photography and local empowerment. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(1), 139-163.

- Brennen, Bonnie. (2010). Photojournalism: Historical dimensions to contemporary debates. In Allan (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to news and journalism* (pp. 71-82). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Bryman, Alan. 2016. *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. 3rd edn. Stockholm: Liber AB.
- Brå. (2021). *Misstänkta för brott bland personer med inrikes respektive utrikes bakgrund*. Brå Rapport 2021:9. Brå/ Fou-enheten.
- Burrell, Kathy & Hörschmann, Kathrin. (2019). Perilous journeys: Visualising the racialised “refugee crisis”. *Antipode*, 51(1), 45-65.
- Butler, Judith. (2007). Torture and the Ethics of Photography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and space*, 25(6), 951-966.
- Carastathis, Anna & Tsilimpounidi, Myrti. (2023). “Through the Lens of a Refugee”: Disrupting Visual Narratives of Displacement. In *The Routledge Handbook of Refugee Narratives* (pp. 115-127). Routledge.
- Chouliaraki, Lilie. (2013). The humanity of war: Iconic photojournalism of the battlefield, 1914–2012. *Visual Communication*, 12(3), 315-340.
- Chouliaraki, Lilie & Stolic, Tijana. (2019). Photojournalism as political encounter: western news photography in the 2015 migration ‘crisis’. *Visual Communication*, 18(3), 311-331.
- Chouliaraki, Lilie & Stolic, Tijana. (2017). Rethinking media responsibility in the refugee ‘crisis’: A visual typology of European news. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(8), 1162-1177.
- Creutz-Kämpfi, Karin. (2008). The othering of Islam in a European context. *Nordicom Review*, 29(2), 295-308.
- Davis, Jessica L. & Gandy Jr, Oscar H. (1999). Racial identity and media orientation: Exploring the nature of constraint. *Journal of Black Studies*, 29(3), 367-397.
- Durrani, Sameera. (2020). Disagree and you shall be valued: a semiotic examination of how photojournalism constructs “valuable” Iranian bodies across Time. *Social Semiotics*, 1-17.

- Ebim, Matthew A. (2017). "Terrorists or tags"? Contested identities in media portrayal of militants in Nigeria. *Mgbakoigba: Journal of African Studies*, 6(2), 142-154.
- Edwards, Janis L. (2012). Visual literacy and visual politics: Photojournalism and the 2004 presidential debates. *Communication Quarterly*, 60(5), 681-697.
- Ekman, Mattias. (2018). Anti-refugee mobilization in social media: The case of soldiers of Odin. *Social Media+ Society*, 4(1).
- Esses, Victoria M., Medianu, Stelian, & Lawson, Andrea S. (2013). Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. *Journal of social issues*, 69(3), 518-536.
- Fahmy, Shahira, & Kim, Daekyung. (2008). Picturing the Iraq War: Constructing the image of war in the British and US press. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(6), 443-462.
- Fehrenbach, Heide, & Rodogno, Davide. (2015). "A horrific photo of a drowned Syrian child": Humanitarian photography and NGO media strategies in historical perspective. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(900), 1121-1155.
- Furén-Thulin, Åsa. (2022). Segregationen är ett hot vi måste ta på allvar. Published 2022-08-25. *Sveriges kommuner och regioner*. [Segregationen är ett hot vi måste ta på allvar | SKR](#) (Retrieved 2023-05-16).
- Fürsich, Elfriede. (2010). Media and the representation of Others. *International social science journal*, 61(199), 113-130.
- Golafshani, Nahid. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-607.
- Good, Jennifer, & Lowe, Paul. (2020). History and Development of Photojournalism. In *Understanding Photojournalism*. Routledge.
- Griffin, Michael. (2010). Media images of war. *Media, War & Conflict*, 3(1), 7-41.
- Hanappi, Hardy. (2022). Russia. The Background of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine. *Theoretical and Practical Research in Economic Field*, (Volume XIII, Winter 2022), 2(26): 116-129.

- Hansen, Anders, & Machin, David. (2019). Analysing photographs and video. In *Media and Communication Research Methods*. 2nd edn. Springer Nature Limited.
- Herman Eedward S. & Chomsky, Noam. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent. The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. London: Bodley Head.
- Hoare, Marko A. (2013). Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century. *International Dialogue*, 3(1), 23.
- Horsti, Karina. (2016). Visibility without voice: Media witnessing irregular migrants in BBC online news journalism. *African Journalism Studies*, 37(1), 1-20.
- Jaroszewicz, Marta, Grzymski, Jan, & Krępa, Mateusz. (2022). The Ukrainian refugee crisis demands new solutions. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 6(6), 750-750.
- Jovičić, Jelena. (2020). Images of crisis and the crisis of images: a visual analysis of four frames of representation of 'refugeeness' in Swedish newspapers. In *Refugees and the violence of welfare bureaucracies in Northern Europe* (pp. 105-121). Manchester University Press.
- Kędra, Joanna & Sommer, Mélodine. (2018). Children in the visual coverage of the European refugee crisis: A case study of the World Press Photo 2016. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 7(1), 37-58.
- Keith, Susan. (2014). Back to the 1990s? Comparing the discourses of 20th-and 21st-century digital image ethics debates. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 21(2), 61-71.
- Khan, Hafeez U. & Khan, Waseem. (2017). Syria: History, The Civil War and Peace Prospects. *Journal of Political Studies*, 24(2).
- Khatua, Aparup & Nejd, Wolfgang. (2022). Rites de Passage: Elucidating Displacement to Emplacement of Refugees on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 33rd ACM Conference on Hypertext and Social Media* (pp. 214-219).
- Kim, Yujin. (2011). The pilot study in qualitative inquiry: Identifying issues and learning lessons for culturally competent research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2), 190-206.

- Kirkpatrick, Erika. (2015). Visuality, photography, and media in international relations theory: A review. *Media, war & conflict*, 8(2), 199-212.
- Konrad, Franz. (1943). *Warsaw Ghetto Boy*. [Photography]. [Jews captured by German troops during the Warsaw ghetto uprising | Holocaust Encyclopedia \(ushmm.org\)](#) (Retrieved 2022-01-24).
- Korosteleva, Julia. (2022). The Implications of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine for the EU Energy Market and Businesses. *British Journal of Management*, 33(4), 1678-1682.
- Kozol, Wendy. (2004). Domesticating NATO's War in Kosovo/a: (In) Visible Bodies and the Dilemma of Photojournalism. *Meridians*, 4(2), 1-38.
- Kristdemokraterna. (2023). *Migration och integration*. [Migration och integration | Kristdemokraterna](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).
- Lams, Lutgard. (2019). Agency and power in the Dutch-language news coverage of the summer 2015 refugee situation in Europe: A transitivity analysis of semantic roles. *Images of immigrants and refugees in Western Europe*, 83-99.
- Lehtela, Heli. (2007). Photojournalism as a Creator of Values: otherness in Sámi representations. *Networking Knowledge: Journal of the MeCCSA Postgraduate Network*, 1(2).
- Lenette, Caroline. (2017). Visual Depictions of Refugee Camps:(De) Constructing Notions of Refugee-Ness?. *Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences*, 1-18.
- Lenette, Caroline & Miskovic, Natasa. (2018). 'Some viewers may find the following images disturbing': Visual representations of refugee deaths at border crossings. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 14(1), 111-120.
- Lucaites, John L. & Hariman, Robert. (2001). Visual rhetoric, photojournalism, and democratic public culture. *Rhetoric Review*, 20(1/2), 37-42.
- Lulu, Reem Abib, Racman, Sohayle M. H. A. & Gubat-Manabilang, Monaimah. (2022). Ethical Dilemma Created by Media Circulation of the Graphic Images of Child Refugees: A Case Study of Aylan Kurdi. *Journal of Communication and Cultural Trends*, 4(2), 22-43.

- Lutz, Catherine & Collins, Jane. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London.
- Lyford, Amy & Payne, Carol. (2005). Photojournalism, mass media and the politics of spectacle. *Visual Resources*, 21(2), 119-129.
- Martikainen, Jari & Sakki, Inari. (2021). Visual (de) humanization: construction of Otherness in newspaper photographs of the refugee crisis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44(16), 236-266.
- Mbah, Ruth E. & Wasum, Divine F. (2022). Russian-Ukraine 2022 War: A review of the economic impact of Russian-Ukraine crisis on the USA, UK, Canada, and Europe. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 9(3), 144-153.
- McManus, John H. (2009). The commercialization of news. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 238-254). Routledge.
- McNair, Brian. (2009). Journalism and democracy. In *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 257-269). Routledge.
- Midberry, Jennifer. (2017). “Only Image I Ever See” US media consumers’ perceptions of Iraqis. *Journalism Studies*, 18(7), 925-942.
- Migrationsverket. (2022). *Beviljade uppehållstillstånd översikter*. [Statistik Översikter av beviljade uppehållstillstånd - Migrationsverket](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).
- Migrationsverket. (2023). *Sökande från Ukraina*. [Sökande från Ukraina - Migrationsverket](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. (2006). On visibility. *Journal of visual culture*, 5(1), 53-79.
- Moderaterna. (2023). *Invandring*. [Invandring | Moderaterna](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).
- Mortensen, Mette. (2016). The image speaks for itself’—or does it? Instant news icons, impromptu publics, and the 2015 European “refugee crisis. *Communication and the Public*, 1(4), 409-422.
- Mortensen, Mette & Trenz, Hans-Jörg. (2016). Media morality and visual icons in the age of social media: Alan Kurdi and the emergence of an impromptu public of moral spectatorship. *Javnost-The Public*, 23(4), 343-362.

- Mortensen, Tara. (2014). Comparing the ethics of citizen photojournalists and professional photojournalists: A coorientational study. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 29(1), 19-37.
- Mykhnenko, Vlad. (2020). Causes and consequences of the war in Eastern Ukraine: an economic geography perspective. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 72(3), 528-560.
- Newton, Julianne H. (2020). Photojournalism ethics: A 21st-century primal dance of behavior, technology, and ideology. In *The Routledge Handbook of Mass Media Ethics* (pp. 115-132). Routledge.
- Newton, Julianne H. (2009). Photojournalism: Do people matter? Then photojournalism matters. *Journalism Practice*, 3(2), 233-243.
- Nilsson, Åsa. (2023). Så många kommuner står för sfi för ukrainare. Published 2023-02-10. *Dagens Samhälle*. [39 kommuner anordnar SFI för flyktingar från Ukraina - Dagens Samhälle \(dagenssamhalle.se\)](https://dagenssamhalle.se) (Retrieved 2023-03-24).
- Nilsson, Maria. (2022). Spaces of Empathy: Visual Strategies in Photojournalistic Imagery of Migration. *Imaginations*, 13(2), 181-206.
- Nilsson, Maria. (2020). Visualizing the experience of flight: photojournalistic portraits and refugee migration. *Novos Olhares*, 9(1).
- Nordicom. (2022). *Mediebarometern 2021*. University of Gothenburg. DOI: [10.48335/9789188855626](https://doi.org/10.48335/9789188855626).
- Novus. (2022). Viktigaste politiska frågan maj 2022. *Novus*. [Viktigaste politiska frågan maj 2022 - Novus - Kunskap och undersökningar](https://www.novus.se/kunskap-och-undersokningar/viktigaste-politiska-fragan-maj-2022) (Retrieved 2023-05-11).
- Ojala, Markus & Pantti, Mervi. (2017). Naturalising the new cold war: The geopolitics of framing the Ukrainian conflict in four European newspapers. *Global Media and Communication*, 13(1), 41-56.
- Ostrand, Nicole. (2015). The Syrian refugee crisis: A comparison of responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 3(3), 255-279.

- Palomo, María B. & Guerrero-García, Virginia. (2015). The crisis of photojournalism: rethinking the profession in a participatory media ecosystem. *Communication & society*, 28(4), 33-46.
- Pandir, Müzeyyen. (2019). Stereotyping, victimization and depoliticization in the representations of Syrian refugees. *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 21(2), 409-427.
- Parry, Katy. (2015). Visibility and visualities: 'ways of seeing' politics in the digital media environment. In *Handbook of digital politics* (pp. 417-432). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Parry, Katy. (2011). Images of liberation? Visual framing, humanitarianism and British press photography during the 2003 Iraq invasion. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(8), 1185–1201.
- Parusel, Bernd & Varfolomeieva, Valeriia. (2022). *The Ukrainian Refugee Situation: Lessons for EU Asylum Policy*. Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier (Sieps).
- Patton, Michael Quinn. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health services research*, 34(5 Pt 2), 1189.
- Phillips, Christopher. (2015). Sectarianism and conflict in Syria. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(2), 357-376.
- Pruitt, Lesley J. (2019). Closed due to 'flooding'? UK media representations of refugees and migrants in 2015–2016—creating a crisis of borders. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 21(2), 383-402.
- Prøitz, Lin. (2018). Visual social media and affectivity: The impact of the image of Alan Kurdi and young people's response to the refugee crisis in Oslo and Sheffield. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(4), 548-563.
- Radojevic, Radmila, Nguyen, Dennis, Bajec, Jan, & Ferra, Ionna. (2020). Visual framing and migrant discourses in social media: The story of idomeni on instagram. *Understanding Media and Society in the Age of Digitalisation*, 157-182.
- Rettberg, Jill W. & Gajjala, Radhika. (2016). Terrorists or cowards: negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees in social media. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), 178-181.

Roman, Nataliya, Young, Anna, & Perkins, Stephynie C. (2020). Displaced and invisible: Ukrainian refugee crisis coverage in the US, UK, Ukrainian, and Russian newspapers. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research*.

Rose, Gillian. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*. 4th edn. Sage: Glasgow.

Saatçioğlu, Beken. (2021). The EU's response to the Syrian refugee crisis: a battleground among many Europes. *European Politics and Society*, 22(5), 808-823.

Said, Edward. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage Books A Division of Random House: New York.

Saric, Liljana. (2019). Visual presentation of refugees during the “Refugee Crisis” of 2015–2016 on the online portal of the Croatian public broadcaster. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 991-1015.

Schwalbe, Carol B., Silcock, B. William, & Keith, Susan. (2008). Visual framing of the early weeks of the US-led invasion of Iraq: Applying the master war narrative to electronic and print images. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(3), 448-465.

Shmidt, Victoria. (2022). The Ukrainian Refugee “Crisis” and the (Re) production of Whiteness in Austrian and Czech Public Politics. *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics*, 16(02), 104-130.

Silverstone, Roger. (2002). Complicity and collusion in the mediation of everyday life. *New Literary History*, 33(4): 761–780.

Stocchetti, Matteo. (2017). Digital visibility and social representation: Research notes on the visual construction of meaning. *KOME-An international journal of pure communication inquiry*.

Strömbäck, Jesper, & Nord, Lars. (2006) “Do Politicians Lead the Tango?”, *European Journal of Communication* 21(2), pp. 147-64.

Sverigedemokraterna. (2023). *En strikt Invandringspolitik*. [En strikt Invandringspolitik - Sverigedemokraterna \(sd.se\)](https://www.sverigedemokraterna.se/en/invandring) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).

Sverrisson, Árni. (2015). Visuell Metodik. In Ahrne., G & Svensson, P. (Red.). *Handbok i kvalitativa metoder*, 2(3), 191-205.

SVT Nyheter. (2022). Söka på svt.se. Updated 2022-11-08. *SVT Nyheter*. [Söka på svt.se | Kontakt - SVT](#) (Retrieved 2023-03-02).

SVT Nyheter. (2018). Viktigaste frågorna. Published 2018-09-09. *SVT Nyheter*. [VALU: Väljarnas viktigaste frågor - SVT Nyheter](#) (Retrieved 2023-05-11).

Thomas, Helene Maree. (2016). Lessening the construction of otherness: A slow ethics of journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 10(4), 476-491.

Trivundza, Ilija Tomanic. (2004). Orientalism as news: Pictorial representations of the US attack on Iraq in Delo. *Journalism*, 5(4), 480-499.

UNHCRa. (2023). *Ukraine Refugee Situation*. Published 2023-01-17. [Situation Ukraine Refugee Situation \(unhcr.org\)](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).

UNHCRb. (2023). *Syria Regional Refugee Response*. Published 2023-01-19. [Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response \(unhcr.org\)](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).

UNHCRc. (2023). *SUMMARY: 3RP Regional Strategic Overview 2023*. Published 2023-02-02. [Document - SUMMARY: 3RP Regional Strategic Overview 2023 \(unhcr.org\)](#) (Retrieved 2023-02-09).

Ut, Nick. (1972). *Napalm Girl*. [Photography]. [Photographer Who Took Iconic Vietnam Photo Looks Back, 40 Years After the War Ended | Vanity Fair](#) (Retrieved 2023-01-24).

Van Aelst, Peter, Brants, Kees, Van Praag, Philip, De Vreese, Claes, Nuytemans, Michiel, & Van Dalen, Arjen. (2008). The fourth estate as superpower? An empirical study of perceptions of media power in Belgium and the Netherlands. *Journalism studies*, 9(4), 494-511.

Wells, Karen. (2007). Narratives of liberation and narratives of innocent suffering: The rhetorical uses of images of Iraqi children in the British press. *Visual Communication*, 6(1), 55-71.

Wilmott, Annabelle Cathryn. (2017). The politics of photography: Visual depictions of Syrian refugees in UK online media. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 24(2), 67-82.

Wiles, Rose, Prosser, Jon, Bagnoli, Anna, Clark, Andrew, Davies, Katherine, Holland, Sally, & Renold, Emma. (2008). Visual ethics: Ethical issues in visual research.

Wright, Terence. (2002). Moving images: The media representation of refugees. *Visual studies*, 17(1), 53-66.

Zarzycka, Marta. (2016). Save the child: Photographed faces and affective transactions in NGO child sponsoring programs. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 23(1), 28-42.

Zawadzka-Paluckta, Natalia. (2023). Ukrainian refugees in Polish press. *Discourse & Communication*, 17(1), 96-111.

Zhang, Xu & Hellmueller, Lea. (2017). Visual framing of the European refugee crisis in Der Spiegel and CNN International: Global journalism in news photographs. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(5), 483-510.

Zhang, Lingling & Haller, Beth. (2013). Consuming image: How mass media impact the identity of people with disabilities. *Communication Quarterly*, 61(3), 319-334.

Öhagen, Angelica. (2022). Rekordinsamlingen till Ukraina – 55 miljoner kronor. Published 2022-03-01. *Aftonbladet*. [Rekordinsamlingen till Ukraina – 55 miljoner kronor \(aftonbladet.se\)](https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/2022-03-01/rekordinsamlingen-till-ukraina-55-miljoner-kronor) (Retrieved 2023-05-11).

List of figures

Figure 1: Turkish soldiers at the Turkish-Syrian border (Published in Aftonbladet) - Photograph by AP.....p. 35

Figure 2: Syrian refugees to enter Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter) - Photograph by Lefteris Pitarakis AP.....p. 36

Figure 3: A Syrian couple arriving at Lesbos after crossing the Aegean Sea (Published in Svenska Dagbladet) - Photograph by Santi Palacios TT.....p. 39

Figure 4: A woman fleeing Mariupol with her cat (Published in Dagens Nyheter) - Photograph by Lotta Hårdelin.....p. 39

Figure 5: A Syrian girl crying on a bridge in Germany, having spent the night at the site (Published in Svenska Dagbladet) - Photography by Muhammed Muheisen TT.....p. 40

Figure 6: Syrian refugees paddle ashore after five hours at sea (Published in Svenska Dagbladet) - Photograph by Linus Sundahl-Djerf.....p. 41

Figure 7: Ukrainians escape the war-torn city Irpin by crossing the dry riverbed (Published in Aftonbladet) - Photograph by Emilio Morenatti AP.....p. 42

Figure 8: Ukrainian refugees queuing up outside the Migration Agency in Malmö (Published in Dagens Nyheter) - Photograph by Johan Nilsson TT.....p. 44

Figure 9: Ukrainian refugees arriving by bus to the area close to Avicii Arena (Published in Svenska Dagbladet) - Photograph by Magnus Hjalmarson Neideman.....p. 44

Figure 10: Syrian refugees crossing the border to Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter) - Photograph by Lefteris Pitarakis AP.....p. 46

Figure 11: Syrian refugees entering Serbia by crawling under the barbed wire, set up by the Hungarian government (Published in Svenska Dagbladet) - Photograph by Bela Szandelszky TT.....p. 46

Figure 12: The drowned 3-year old Syrian boy Alan Kurdi being carried away from a beach in Bodrum in Turkey (Published in Dagens Nyheter) - Photograph by AP.....p. 49

List of tables

Table 1: An overview of *regimes of visibility and responsibility* discovered in the selected material.....p. 37

List of links of analyzed images

Dagens Nyheter

[DN/Ipsos: Färre väljare vill minska flyktinginvandringen - DN.SE](#)

[”Ukrainska flyktingars möjlighet att jobba finns bara på pappret” - DN.SE](#)

[Nu ska hund och katt följa med på flykten till varje pris” - DN.SE](#)

[Hur utreds uppgifter om krigsbrott i Ukraina? - DN.SE](#)

[Fler ukrainare återvänder till kriget - DN.SE](#)

[580 ukrainska barn i Sverige utan vårdnadshavare - DN.SE](#)

[”Ge alla ukrainska flyktingar undervisning i svenska” - DN.SE](#)

[Så ska ukrainska flyktingar få jobb: ”Det är svårare än de säger” - DN.SE](#)

[Leken lindrar sorgen efter flykten från Ukraina - DN.SE](#)

[Flyktingar från Mariupol om katastrofen - DN.SE \(6 images\)](#)

[Göteborg: Ändra er om flyktingar från Ukraina - DN.SE](#)

[Utmaning att kontrollera ukrainarnas hälsa - DN.SE](#)
[19-årige Gleb skriver dagbok från krigets Mariupol - DN.se](#)
[Därför kontrolleras få husdjur från Ukraina för rabies - DN.SE](#)
[”Skänk din tusenlapp för bilen till Ukrainas flyktingar” - DN.SE](#)
[Deras hus bombades – nu får Olga och Oleg skydd hos ryssar - DN.SE](#)
[Så fungerar mottagandet av flyktingar från Ukraina i olika länder - DN.SE \(2 images\)](#)
[Så gick Polen från auktoritär halvdemokrati till Europas moraliska guldgosse - DN.SE](#)
[Frivilliga önskar besked om ukrainska flyktingar i Sverige - DN.SE](#)
[”Bevara ett alliansfritt Sverige som fristad för flyktingar” - DN.se](#)
[Studio DN om Sverigedemokraterna och Ukraina - DN.SE](#)
[Oklart om ersättning för den som hyr ut till flyktingar - DN.SE](#)
[Larm om människohandel efter ankomst till Sverige - DN.SE \(2 images\)](#)
[”För varje dag blir kriget mer och mer verkligt” - DN.SE](#)
[Pressat läge för flyktingmottagandet i flera grannländer. - DN.SE \(2 images\)](#)
[Löfven kan blockera EU-toppmötets slutsatser om flyktingpolitiken - DN.SE](#)
[Satir om flyktingar gjorde Mahmoud till stjärna - DN.SE](#)
[På stranden börjar det nya livet - DN.SE](#)
[FN slopar matbidrag till Syrienflyktingar – ”Situationen är desperat” - DN.SE \(3 images\)](#)
[Annika Ström Melin: Tyska gränskontroller sätter press på EU - DN.SE](#)
[Välgörenhet sluter upp i Malmö - DN.SE \(2 images\)](#)
[Bara hoppet lever - DN.SE \(3 images\)](#)
[Desperationen i Budapest växer - DN.SE](#)
[Yasmin flyr från Syrien: ”Vi måste betala för att komma vidare” - DN.SE \(2 images\)](#)
[1930-talet har blivit vår tids spegelbild - DN.SE](#)
[Värsta flyktingkrisen på ett kvarts sekel - DN.SE](#)
[Ny rapport: Flyktingar från Syrien nu över 4 miljoner - DN.SE](#)
[Hälsningarna hem beskriver ett annat Sverige - DN.SE \(5 images\)](#)
[Flyktingar tvingas stanna i Istanbul - DN.SE \(3 images\)](#)
[EU kräver Danmark på svar om tuffare asyllagar - DN.SE](#)
[Välgörenhet sluter upp i Malmö - DN.SE](#)
[Niklas Wahllöf: Likgiltigheten är ointresserad av att peka ut den som inte är rätt - DN.SE](#)
[”Ni bryr er inte om oss! Gör någonting!” - DN.SE](#)
[Påvens flyktingar vågar blicka framåt - DN.SE](#)
[Hårdare tag stoppar inte flyktingarna - DN.SE](#)
[SOHR: Vakter sköt ihjäl syriska barn - DN.SE](#)

Svenska Dagbladet

[Kriget i Ukraina: Olha flyr med sin bebis över gränsen till Polen | SvD](#)
[Bevittnar vi den moderna ukrainska nationens födelse? | Dick Harrison | SvD](#)
[Flyr från Kiev i Ukraina – vill inte säga att hon är rysk | SvD](#)
[Humanitära korridorer kan gynna Putin | SvD](#)
[Över två miljoner har flytt från Ukraina | SvD](#)
[Läkare utan gränser planerar för Odessa-attack | SvD](#)
[Öppna hemmet för flyktingar ett stort ansvar | SvD](#)
[Jenny Nordberg: Bli en rasande tant för Ukrainas skull | Jenny Nordberg | SvD](#)
[Kriget i Ukraina: Eskalering av Ryssland efter attack nära Polen | SvD \(2 images\)](#)

[Nationell samling i Polen | SvD Ledare](#)
[Danmark avvisar ukrainska flyktingar | SvD](#)
[Brist på ukrainska tolkar i Sverige | SvD](#)
[Flydde från Ukraina – tog bara med hundarna | SvD](#)
[FN: Nästan tio miljoner ukrainare på flykt | SvD](#)
[De rustar för akutboende i idrottshallar | SvD](#)
[Danmark snabbar upp asylprocess för ukrainare | SvD](#)
[Från Ukraina till Grästorp | SvD Ledare](#)
[Guide: Detta gäller för ukrainska flyktingar i Sverige | SvD \(2 images\)](#)
[Flyktingar matchas med svenska familjer – ingen myndighet på plats | SvD](#)
[Vi tar emot ukrainare som flytt tid och rum | Kirsten Åkerman | SvD Ledare](#)
[Höggravida Mariia flydde Ukraina – har ännu inte stabilt boende | SvD](#)
[ABF Stockholm: Flyktingar från Ukraina bör få tillgång till SFI | SvD Debatt](#)
[4,2 miljoner har flytt från Ukraina | SvD](#)
[Flykt undan krig ett trauma i generationer | Ylva Herholz | SvD](#)
[Många ukrainska flyktingar väntar ännu på dagersättning | SvD](#)
[Cancersjuk från Ukraina bor i sporthall | SvD](#)
[Jenny Nordberg: I USA får ukrainare förtur – är det politik eller rasism? | Jenny Nordberg | SvD \(2 images\)](#)
[Zaporizjzja – ukrainska staden som blivit flyktingars mål | SvD](#)
[Ukrainska flyktingbarns skola i Stockholm | SvD Ledare](#)
[Nästan 12 miljoner syrier på flykt | SvD \(2 images\)](#)
[Hårdare visumkrav slår hårt: "Allt förgäves" | SvD](#)
[Statsvetare: "EU:s fria rörlighet hotad" | SvD](#)
[Syriska flyktingar alltmer utsatta | SvD](#)
[Därför slutar Al Jazeera använda ordet "migrant" | SvD](#)
["De skickade iväg oss med bara några droppar bensin" | SvD \(5 images\)](#)
[Tyskland struntar i förordning – syriska flyktingar får stanna | SvD](#)
[Svenska miljoner till flyktingar på Lesbos | SvD](#)
[Fotografen: Jag var tvungen att ta bilderna | SvD](#)
["Orbáns parti borde uteslutas" | SvD](#)
["Vi är inte i Sverige på riktigt – är på asylboende" | SvD \(4 images\)](#)
[Mobilen visar vägen genom Europa | SvD](#)
[Se starka bilder längs med flyktingvägarna | SvD \(3 images\)](#)
["Vi kommer att bidra till tyska samhället" | SvD \(2 images\)](#)
["Akuta flyktingkrisen kräver politiskt ledarskap" | SvD Debatt](#)
[Chockbilder driver kampen för mänskliga rättigheter framåt | SvD](#)
[Saudiarabien efter kritiken: Har tagit emot 100 000 syrier | SvD](#)
[Callis Amid: Hjälp flyktingarna - ingrip militärt mot IS | SvD Ledare](#)
[Ny trend: Flyktingar väljer bort smugglare | SvD \(2 images\)](#)
[Jätteläger i Turkiet ska stoppa flykten till EU | SvD](#)
[Bakslaget: Grekland vägrar patrullera med Turkiet | SvD](#)
[Turkiets syriska slit- och slängfruar | Linda Nordlund | SvD Ledare](#)
["Barnen gråter – säger de hatar sina liv" | SvD \(3 images\)](#)
["I luften är det flygplan som släpper bomber" | SvD](#)

Aftonbladet

[Natalia Kazmierska om kriget i Ukraina \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (2 images)
[Alisa Sopova om kriget och mediernas bild \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (2 images)
[Här flyr barnen – mitt i kriget i Ukraina \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (7 images)
[Flydde till Polen från kriget i Ukraina: Barnen gråter \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (2 images)
[Ryssland: Vapenvila i två städer i Ukraina \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Rekordinsamling: 131 miljoner kronor till Röda korset i Ukraina \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[FN: ”Snabbas växande flyktingkrisen sedan andra världskriget” \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Humanitära korridorer har öppnats – här flyr civila kriget i Ukraina \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Kriget i Ukraina – i bilder \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (12 images)
[Oisín Cantwell: Irina flydde krigets Ukraina – nu är hon fast i Migrationsverkets kö \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Semen, 10, flydde från Kiev: ”Svenskar verkar snälla” \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (2 images)
[P4 Extra-profilen Lasse Persson bryter ihop i sändning \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Hjälpviljan stor i Litauen – men framtiden oroar \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Aftonbladet har träffat familjen som räddades av Gula båtarna i november: ”Så många som slåss i Aleppo - där finns inget hopp”](#)
[Vi kan inte blunda för kriget i Syrien \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Vill annonsera mot flyktingar \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Gripande bilden gav familjen 80 000 dollar \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Nilufer, 29, tog den hjärtskärande bilden på Aylan, 3, som chockade världen \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[6 flyktingar visar innehållet i sina väskor \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (5 images)
[Grekland visar vägen \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Dagens bilder från världen \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Tyskland stöttar Grekland – vill ha bättre yttre gränskontroller \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Män flyr – kvinnor stannar \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Amnesty: Turkiet deporterar flyende \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Charlie Hebdo i blåsväder om pojke \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Tusentals flyr bomboffensiv \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Mohamed såg sina bröder mördas av IS – nu är han ensam \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Här är Islands första syriska flyktingar \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Europa måste få en fungerande flyktingpolitik \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Turkiet och EU kritiseras hårt för flyktinghantering \(aftonbladet.se\)](#) (3 images)
[”De slog oss och behandlade oss som djur” \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Flyganfall mot flyktingläger i Syrien \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
["Jag ville inte vänta och göra ingenting" \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Uppgifter: Syriska flyktingbarn sköts av gränsvakter \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Ett bluffkontrakt kan fortfarande öppna dörren till Sverige \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)
[Syrisk flykting hittade över en miljon – nu hyllas han av polisen \(aftonbladet.se\)](#)

Appendices

Appendix A: Manual for qualitative visual analysis and interpretation

Denotation

-What is presented within the frame?

Position of the camera and analysis of photographic techniques

-How is the camera angled?
-How is the camera distanced from the focus of the visual image? Close-up, intermediate or far apart?
-How do lightning and color, and the confluence of these influence or enhance the representation of those visually portrayed?

Those within the frame

-Are those depicted Syrians or Ukrainians?
-How many individuals are visually portrayed?
-Who is the main person?
-What body language, such as poses and gestures, is displayed?
-What facial expressions are visible?
-Are any of those depicted making eye contact with the camera?
-What is the surrounding area of those within the frame?
-Is there an event taking place?
-What level of activity is detected?
-Is there interaction between the individuals?
-Is there any form of aggressive activity or military troops or weapons shown?
-What dress styles are recognized?
-Does nudity occur within the frame?

Emotional engagement

-What emotional engagement does the visual image and representation evoke?

Regimes of visibility and responsibility

-Does the visual representation fall under the five-typology of regimes as presented by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017)? If not, how does it differentiate?

Context

-How can political, economic and social context explain the visual representations in the image?

Appendix B: Example of analysis

The image below is presented as an example of how I performed qualitative visual analysis.



Caption: “Syriska flyktingar på centralstationen i Köpenhamn. En majoritet i folketinget står bakom de nya lagarna som bland annat säger att flyktingars tillgångar över 10 000 kronor ska beslagtas.Foto: Finn Frandsen AP”

- The first analytical step reveals what is presented in the frame, namely Syrian refugees, a family, at the central train station in Copenhagen. Trains and people walking by are visible in the background.
- The second step investigates photographic techniques and the position and distance of the camera in relation to story subjects. The image is a close-up of the family and the camera is positioned to be at the height of the story subjects.
- The third step draws attention to those depicted within the frame. Based on the captions, the image portrays Syrians. At least 14 individuals can be detected in frame and the woman and the two children appear to be the main persons according to their position in the center. Body language found in the image includes pointing, walking, leaning, kissing, holding, gazing and standing up with hands in pockets. Facial expressions are visible. The woman is looking down on the children. The child being kissed appears tired or perhaps sad. The story subjects do not make eye contact with the camera. The activity is mainly linked to interaction where the older child embraces the small child held by the woman. The main persons interact by gaze and physical

touch. No aggression such as military action or display of weapons is shown. Mixed dress styles can be recognized where hoodies, the woman's shayla and the orange vest of staff appear. No nudity is displayed.

- The fourth step of analysis touches upon emotional engagement. The image evokes feelings of empathy, mainly due to the interaction between the cuddling children. The feelings of empathy result in connection between the observer and the story subjects. With the clear focus on the loving gesture of the two children, the two present indicators of otherness (skin color and the shayla worn by the woman) do not strike the viewer as intimidating or alienating.
- The fifth step includes the *Regimes of visibility* by Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017). The image is classified as visibility as empathy based on the interactions presented in the photograph and the feelings of empathy the image evokes.
- The sixth step draws attention to the context the image exists in. The image can be placed in a political and social context since the train station draws attention to the travel routes for refugees. The caption states that assets of refugees valued at 10 000 SEK or more are to be confiscated, stressing possible social consequences for the family in frame. Based on the given context, a visuality of humanity allowing refugees to be seen as individuals who deserve the viewer's empathy is communicated.

Stockholm Universitet / Stockholm University

SE-106 91 Stockholm

Telefon / Phone: 08 – 16 20 00

www.su.se



Stockholms
universitet