The Depiction of a Troubled School, a Study of Unbalanced Media

Sydsvenskans skildring av en turbulent skola, en studie av obalanserade medier

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Abstract

The purpose of my dissertation is to study an example of a depiction in local media of a troubled school. The dissertation examines the newspaper *Sydsvenskan* and its reports on the case that developed from the events taking place around the Gustav Adolf’s school in Landskrona. The starting points for the media coverage began on the 18th of January 2007 when the school was closed down. This paper follows *Sydsvenskans* reporting from that day and the following fourteen days, until the 1st of February. The dissertation focuses on problems such as bias and generalizations that arise in the media or more specifically in *Sydsvenskan* during this event. The purpose of the dissertation is to examine how a single turbulent event was portrayed in a large local newspaper and to see if the coverage was balanced. A variety of newspaper texts, ranging from articles, editorials and letters to the editor are examined using critical discourse analysis, as developed by linguists Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk. The method attempts to draw lines between the use of language and the exercise of power. My results were divided in two sections, one on racism and one on political bias. Connecting the material to theories on hidden racism as described by van Dijk and the Swedish sociologist Birgitta Löwander, I did not find the reports racist or stereotypical, in fact there are very few references to ethnic divisions in the material. However, there is a clear political bias regarding who is represented in the paper. Politicians from Folkpartiet get more space in the reports than their political counterparts, They are featured in more than half of the articles. The political bias is not otherwise present in the content, and what is being said is more nuanced than who is actually saying it.

**Keywords:** English, Media, Ethnicity, Bias, Sydsvenskan, Gustav Adolfs skolan
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1. Introduction

The small city of Landskrona became known nationwide in January of 2007 when one of its schools, Gustav Adolfs skolan, was forced to close down due to failing to provide a safe working environment for students, staff and teachers. The events unfolding in the media during the following weeks sparked several debates in Swedish society, both on a local and a national level. On January 18 the school was closed down after a firecracker had been fired by some students at one of the cleaners, who had to be taken to a hospital. This lead to the closing of the school, and the suspension of twenty-eight of its students. Of these twenty-eight, six were permanently expelled and transferred to other schools. However the working environment of GA-skolan was problematic even before the climactic events of January 18. Several reports of threats and harassment had been filed. Of special importance is a group of girls that had gone on strike due the impossible working situation and several cases of harassment. When finally the firecracker was fired, the school decided to close down due to failure to provide a safe working environment. During the following weeks, the school became infamous, in local as well as in national media. Several politicians made statements regarding the events and the school was seen as an example, or at least a warning of where Swedish schools seemed to be headed.

The media are a powerful force in our society today. What is written in newspapers, said on TV our heard on the radio are to many people the only connections to certain events. In the never-ending stream of impressions that the media provide us with, we often simply do not have time to read through more than the headlines. One of the roles of the teacher will have to be to better understand the medial context and discussions, particularly when it comes to ways in which the schools and school environments are portrayed in the media. This is because the general audiences who do not have first hand information on the situation in schools often base their knowledge on what is reported in the media.

An in-depth study of how a big local paper covers a story like the closing of the Gustav Adolf's skolan can be a great help in understanding how a school environment can be portrayed in the press. It is also a way to develop an understanding of the medial context, a context that might ring as true for those who might have no other relationship with the school other than what the media provide them with. In more detail, I use the material to look at how
Sydsvenskan portrays ethnic minorities in connection to the events in Landskrona. I examine in what ways the school, its pupils, teachers and school board are represented. This study also examines Sydsvenskan in terms of the political perspectives conveyed in the texts about this case and if there is a political bias in the reports and debate.

2. Background

Long before the election of 2006 there has been a debate in Sweden concerning education. Usually there is a divide between on the one side, the Social Democrats and the political left wing, on the other the liberals, with Folkpartiet as the liberal party that upped education as a key issue. Folkpartiet had won great public support before the election of 2006, with a range of propositions that intended to deal with the problems of the school. An article from Skolvärlden\(^1\) explains the different political parties views on segregation in schools. Where the Social Democrats and the other parties on the left focus on the benefits of multicultural schools and on the availability of education for all, the parties on the right side of the political spectrum focus more on the individual right to choose and even mean that choice does not necessarily lead to segregation (as in the case with the Christian Democrats\(^2\)).

Folkpartiet as explained in Skolvärlden focused on radical policies of change. In opposition to the previous Social Democratic government, education became one of their major questions, if not the major question preceding the election. Their suggestions and policies include: a grade in behavior, earlier grading and greater authority to teachers.\(^3\) Before and after the election Folkpartiet spearheaded the right-wing alliance policies on educational matters. The current Minister of School affairs: Jan Björklund, is by many stated as next in line to become party leader after the resigning Lars Leijonborg (who is in the writing of this dissertation minister of education), and to further emphasize the party as education-focused. The first issue on their homepage stated at the very top of the webpage is education.\(^4\) Opponents and critics have argued that these policies are in fact not liberal at all as the article in Västerbottenskuriren written by some teachers state: “Det är beklagligt att det liberala partiet,

\(^1\) http://www.skolvarlden.se/Article.jsp?article=1148 2007-04-04, 13:27
\(^2\) http://www.kristdemokraterna.se/VarPolitik/Motioner/2004-05/BoU/GS02Bo303.aspx
\(^3\) http://www.folkpartiet.se/FPTemplates/ImportantArea__20462.aspx 2007-04-04, 14:40
\(^4\) http://folkpartiet.se/ 2007-04-04, 14:55
alltså ett frihetligt parti, verkar för en anti-frihetlig, icke-liberal och auktoritär skola".\(^5\) The relevance of this is connected to both the political views of Sydsvenskan (as an independent liberal newspaper) and to the fact that the paper supported the right-wing alliance in the election of 2006. Thus arguments in Sydsvenskan editorials supporting Folkpartiets views on educational politics are to be expected, but these opinions are not what I primarily have set out to study.

Swedish media researcher Ylva Brune states that the issues of immigration and education often go hand in hand in the media – stereotypical images of Muslim terrorists are connected to Muslim students in Swedish schools which form a complex and dangerous pattern. Brune states that the images created in the media, are built on emotional structures that are rooted in the colonial past of Europe. The “others” become a projection of our own fears.\(^6\) These ideas do not nullify the fact that there are problems in the Swedish classrooms. International as well as Swedish surveys show that there is a lot of disruptive behavior in Swedish classrooms.\(^7\)

3. Purpose, presentation of the problem and research question

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how a single turbulent event is portrayed in a large local newspaper and to see if the coverage is balanced. I will do a text analysis on a range of articles from Sydsvenskan and will do a comparison between these in order to examine how the school environment is perceived in the press. The purpose is to examine in what way Sydsvenskan reports its news. Understanding the media, even if this understanding is limited in size and scope is useful. For a teacher understanding media reports is especially important when schools and school environments are described. The teacher must interact with people who use the media as a primary source of information, like government officials and in some cases even parents. In order to understand your own school environment you need to some degree understand the image of schools that the media are a part of creating.

I aim to examine how Gustav Adolfs skolan and the particular set of events which lead to the permanent expelling of six of its students were depicted in Sydsvenskan from January the 18 until the January 30. In addition I want to study as political perspectives play out in the

\(^5\) \url{http://www.vk.se/Article.jsp?article=32477} 2007-04-04 15:15
\(^6\) Brune, Ylva 2001, Mörk magi i vita medier, p. 11
\(^7\) \url{http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/254} 2007-06-07 18:13
representation of the school, and also if there is underlying racism in the reports, I will explain this in more detail further down. The analysis is thus divided into two areas of examination, ethnicity and political bias. My research questions are:

- Is there a political bias in this representation, in the form of what is being said or in the form of who is heard in the reports regarding the events at Gustav Adolfs skolan in Landskrona between January 18 until January 30.
- Is there any hidden racism as defined by Teun Van Dijk\(^8\) and Ylva Brune\(^9\) in Sydsvenskans reports regarding the events at Gustav Adolfs skolan in Landskrona between January 18 until January 30.

4. The Concept of Representation

In order to understand my dissertation, it is important to understand how I use the concept representation. What is it, and how does it apply in my dissertation? One definition, taken from Jostein Gripsruds chapter on representation in Medie kultur Medie samhälle is that Representation is something that stands for something else, for example a symbol, image or sentence can stand for a political party – a political party or view can be represented by a symbol, image or sentence.\(^{10}\) In *Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* Stuart Hall refers to it as something “central to the processes by which meaning is produced.”\(^{11}\) The way Marie Gillespie and Jason Toynbees *Analysing Media Texts* use the term is also relevant to my dissertation.\(^{12}\) Here representation is used in the more traditional sense, being part of a process of understanding: “identities and relationships [in media] result in particular representation”.\(^{13}\) All of the above definitions are valid in my dissertation. I have set out to examine the representation in the articles, editorials and letters to the editor in *Sydsvenskan*, and to examine this representation from a perspective of political bias and stereotyping. What the articles represent in is a possible political view or even a possible context, or world view.

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\(^{8}\) Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, *Analysing Media Texts*. 2006, p 129

\(^{9}\) Brune, Ylva 2001, Mörk magi i vita medier, p. 11

\(^{10}\) Gripsrud, Jostein, Medie kultur Medie samhälle, MediaPrint Uddevalla AB, Uddevalla, 2004, p. 25-26

\(^{11}\) Hall, Stuart, *Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 1997, p. 1


\(^{13}\) Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, *Analysing Media Texts*. 2006, p 151
It is also important to state that representation is a construction, and not an objective truth. Gripsrud states that “Representation är med andra ord även en viss sorts konstruktion av det som framställs – inte någon fullständig objektiv återspegling”. Furthermore according to Hall the representation approach of constructionists states that images and texts are constructed representations of reality. Hall continues: “we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate”. There is always a constructive process in creating a text. Within this construction there is a selection process, and while the actual text itself might be important to study – what has been excluded, that which is not in the text, might be equally or more important.

There are of course laws regarding representation, in Sweden it is for example illegal to represent women in an objectifying way and it is against the law to make degrading comments about groups of people based on religious, ethical or sexual orientation. However, what is in the media can sometimes balance on the very edge of these definitions, especially when put into a larger context. One should also be aware that there is an ongoing debate about the freedom of press. In this dissertation it is important to remember that representation is a concept that can be linked to depictions of ethnicity and current political debates.

5. Theory and Method

There is a lot of literature on analyzing media texts. I have chosen to focus on How to do media & cultural studies by Jane Stokes, Analyzing media texts by Marie Gillespie, and to a lesser extent Gripsruds Mediekultur, mediesamhälle. In addition a Swedish book called Mörk magi i vita medier, a collection of articles edited by Ylva Brune will be used to examine the concept of hidden racism. In the book Brune and other journalists drive the thesis that there is a mental segregation in the Swedish society which is being maintained by the media. I have already used Stuart Halls Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices to help explain the concept of representation.

14 Gripsrud, Jostein, Mediekultur Mediesamhälle, p 26
15 Hall, Stuart, Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, 1997, p. 15
16 Hall, Stuart, Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, 1997, p. 25
17 Gripsrud, Jostein, Mediekultur Mediesamhälle, p. 27
18 http://www.aftonbladet.se/vss/ledare/story/0,2789,877977,00.html
I will use Stokes book mainly in the method chapter to motivate and describe the method of text analysis. Stokes’ book also focuses on methods and is detailed regarding media texts in particular. In short, I will use it to motivate and explain my method, since I feel this will give the reader both a broader and a more detailed approach to the dissertation. One of the purposes of my study is to examine how Sydsvenskan portrays ethnic minorities regarding the events in Landskrona, to see if the problems and examples from in Mörk magi apply in the Landskrona case. Mörk magi is a selection of texts, not by a single author but by nine different ones in my dissertation, the theories of three of these writers will be relevant: Ylva Brune, who is also the editor, will provide a general overview of the problem.

As for Analysing Media Texts, the chapter on discourse analysis will be the relevant one. Here linguists Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijks methods of critical discourse analysis are explained. The texts from this book are highly relevant in describing and exemplifying critical discourse analysis. The theory of hidden racism is a binding factor, as it is described in similar fashion both in Mörk magi and in Analysing Media Texts.¹⁹,²⁰

6. Description of Methods

First of all my method of choice is text analysis, or more specifically textual discourse analysis, with a focus on the issues of representation. Firstly it will answer the question if there is any stereotyping, or racism in the material. It will also address the issue of if there is an political bias, meaning that it will examine what kinds of politicians are interviewed and if, and if so how, the articles are angled. My goal is not to compare the articles in Sydsvenskan to any ‘truth’. My goal is to examine the articles and to look at the reports from Sydsvenskan as a whole.

I have used Mediearkivet²¹ as a source for the articles, where I retrieved several articles through a search based on keywords such as “skola”, “Landskrona” and “Gustav Adolfs skolan”. I also retrieved material in the form of letters to the editor from the microfilm archive at Malmö city library. Here I also checked if I had missed any articles in my search at Mediearkivet.

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¹⁹ Löwander, Birgitta: 2001, Mörk magi i vita medier, p. 86
²⁰ Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006, p 129
Then there is the question of objectivity. I do not expect the actual texts, not even the news reports to be objective. However, there is still a value in examining the text, even though they are not as simple as objective or subjective. In *How to do media & cultural studies*, Jane Stokes explains:

"Because it is so subjective, semiotics is not reliable in the traditional social science sense – another analyst who studied the same text may well elicit a different meaning! But this does not devalue semiotics, because it is about enriching our understanding of the texts."

There are several problems and when dealing with media texts. When examining if it is biased and/or stereotypical, the author makes a political stand, in the case of this dissertation that would be me. Jane Stokes writes that: “An ideology is a system of ideas or beliefs, and all media artefacts are the products of an ideology.” According to Stokes all media are part of an ideology (even this dissertation), and even though I would disagree with the width of such a statement (surely there are non-ideological media) I believe it applies in most of the cases, and certainly in *Sydsvenskan*. In fact *Sydsvenskan* does take a clearly defined political stand: independent liberal. From this I can formulate my criticism. Stokes writes that: “The methods [in this case qualitative textual discourse analysis] employed would be the same for any other topic: but the choice of topic and the theoretical grounding would reflect the political interest of the investigator.” My interpretation of this is that any method will be objective at least to a degree but my choice of topic and focus will not be. Hence I would not have chosen to study media if I did not already have several opinions on the subject. One way around this is to acknowledge that the dissertation will be subjective, from the topics chosen, ethnicity and political bias, to the choice of material, in this case: *Sydsvenskan*, a liberal newspaper.

There is also a need to examine the concept of discourse analysis. Gillespie and Toynbee use the linguists Norman Faircloughs quote description of it: “labelled ‘critical discourse analysis’ – because it claims to be more critical of language…” As I will explain below, this method would be especially valid when looking at media texts. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the study of both specific linguistic markers, as in a method called “us

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22 Stokes, Jane, *How to do media & cultural studies*, 2003, p. 72
24 Stokes, Jane, *How to do media & cultural studies*, 2003, p. 77
and them in the press” by Dutch linguist Teun van Dijk. Van Dijk states that specific markers can reveal hidden racism and stereotyping. Such markers are typically negative hyperbole metaphors, words that are topicalized (made points of focus), the certain uses of possessive pronouns and general unspecific numerals that could be used to exaggerate certain reports. The second method, developed by UK linguist Norman Fairclough can be readily explained by a three-question quote:

“1 How is the world (events, relationships, etc.) represented?
2 What identities are set up for those involved in the programme or story (reporters, audience, ‘third parties’ referred to or interviewed)?
3 What relationships are set up between those involved (for example reporter-audience, expert audience or politician-audience relationships)?”

I examine the articles with these three questions in mind and I also look for van Dijk’s linguistic markers. In the study of the articles I try to understand how representation works in the description and discussion of the school environment. At this point I think that it is important to emphasise that there are distinct differences between understanding a representation, and understanding the actual environment. There are also distinct differences in the representation of the individual persons involved. What roles do students, teachers and local government officials have in the articles? Finally it is important to examine how relationships between the participants are represented, and through it all how these factors intertwine and relate. The represented world affects how we perceive its inhabitants and how the involved people are represented in turn affects the world in a similar manner. In my dissertation the questions themselves are used as tools to examine content.

Lastly, I would like to add a comment on examining racism in the media. According to Birgitta Löwander text from the book *Mörk magi i vita medier* there are inherent problems in media reports as with regards to generalisation, stereotyping and racism. Löwander writes about racism in the media in the chapter about racism in the news. She states that news in general tends to focus on the negative and

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deviant news items and fails to make longer processes visible. News also reduces structural issues to individual persons and reduces individual events into processes. I agree with these statements, but think that some of the problems cannot be addressed by examining or even criticizing single articles. A broader perspective can be achieved by examining a series of reports in context. Reports that span over longer time periods and where more than one or two people have been involved are more suitable when examining these issues. This is especially true when it comes to examining if people have been made invisible, or if a certain ethnic groups has been generalised.

7. Text Analysis

The material is divided into four subcategories: Articles from January 18 to January 20, articles from January 21 to January 30, editorials and letters to the editor. Within each subchapter there is a chronological order, the articles or texts follow each other by date.

7.1 Articles from January 18 to January 20

The first article is titled “GA-skolan inför nolltolerans”. Zero tolerance in GA-school. In this article, *Sydsvenskan* publishes what will be followed by a series of articles and letters to the editor. The article is especially important in my opinion, because it summarises the events that will be discussed and this article will form the foundation for the other articles. This first article mentions that a firecracker had been thrown towards a cleaner which in turn forced the staff to close down the school. The article also mentions a link between this event and problems the school has had in the past:

> förutom detonationer av smålare handlar det om ett alltmer utbrett våld i form av hot, trakasserier och slagsmål. Det går inte längre att acceptera.

29 *Sydsvenskan* ”GA-skolan inför nolltolerans 28 stöksiga elever stängs av från undervisningen - sex ska flyttas till andra skolor.” 19/1 2007

30 *Sydsvenskan* ”GA-skolan inför nolltolerans” 19/1 2007
Apart from the actual firecracker the school has a recent history which involves a great deal of violence, threats, harassment and fighting. The school’s solution is a zero tolerance policy and a suspension of twenty-eight students, where six students will be permanently transferred to other schools.

Which voices that are heard, and who are made invisible are markers should be paid special attention according to Löwander.\(^3\) It is noticeable that the people who get a say in the article are Torkel Standberg (fp) chairman of the municipal council and the Minister of Education Jan Björklund who is a key member of Folkpartiet. It is highly noticeable that no teachers and no students are interviewed (although the principal has a few lines). Torkel Standbergs comment is:

- Jag följer debatten om ordningsbetyg som förs i Stockholm och den ger råg i ryggen, kommenterar han. Jag är inte främmande för att införa något liknande i Landskrona för att vända utvecklingen.\(^3\)

Here Standberg links the issue at the GA-school, to a current political debate – namely the issue about a grade on behaviour and this is not the last link between folkpartiets educational reforms and the GA-school. Another of Folkpartiet’s suggestions was the highly criticised suggestion that only Swedish should be spoken in the classrooms, and this issue is to enter the debate later.

The events at the GA-school are turbulent and intimidating and indeed worthy of both political and medial discussion. In *Sydsvenskan* initial report there are no suggestions or hints that the problems are linked to foreign languages being spoken in the classrooms. However, there is a problem in the report in the form of representation. According to Gripsrud texts, images and sound can represent something other than them selves.\(^3\) The text and the images in *Sydsvenskan* represent the GA-school, and the events taking place there. The problem with the representation lies in the fact that only politicians from one party (folkpartiet) are interviewed, and that the only person asked to represent the GA-school is the principal. This is a problem of representation that I will go deeper into later.

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\(^3\) Löwander, Birgitta: 2001, Mörk magi i vita medier, p. 88
\(^3\) Sydsvenskan “GA-skolan inför nolltolerans” 19/1 2007
\(^3\) Gripsrud, Jostein, Medie kultur Medie samhälle, MediaPrint, 2004, p. 25
Faircloughs questions concerning representation are answered by the fact that those involved are mainly politicians and high ranking officials.34

On the following day, the 20th of January, Sydsvenskan does publish an article where the students are given a voice. The statements are short, but in combination with the previous article you get a more balanced representation. Interesting comments are made from girls who have previously been harassed: They state that they still are unsure if they want to stay at the school.35 There is also a short comment from one of the teachers at the school. This teacher, Birgitta Lundgren explains the frustrations of not having any means of enforcing the rules of the school.36 Even though its somewhat lacking in depth, this article adds to the width of the reporting. Among the interviewed students some hope for a better future. These obviously dislike the trouble at the school. Some students have clearly enjoyed the trouble: “det är inte bra men det är roligt ändå”.37 This statement refers to the use of firecrackers in the schoolyard. Names are included in the article, and the students that hope for a better future are students with Swedish sounding names, while the student who seem to have enjoyed the trouble all have foreign sounding name. This could very well be a coincident though. It could also be as in van Dijk’s terms an example of a hidden implication, meaning that there is a hidden meaning in that students with Swedish background are (at least in general) better behaved than those of foreign background.38 However, the implication alone proves nothing, and if its an isolated phenomenon it could very well be a coincident.

Sydsvenskan publishes another article on the 20th of January: “Gustav Adolfs skolan har anmält flest incidenter”.39 This is a more statistically oriented article regarding the number of filed reports from GA-skolan to the institute of working environment. According to the article the GA-school is the number one school in the region of Skåne when it comes to reports the institute of working environment. The article has a valid point, but it would have been more interesting if the school was compared on a national level instead of only the region of Skåne since this limits

34 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006, p 122
35 Sydsvenskan ”Tjejer osäkra på om de vill stanna” 20/1 2007
36 Sydsvenskan ”Tjejer osäkra på om de vill stanna” 20/1 2007
37 Sydsvenskan ”Tjejer osäkra på om de vill stanna” 20/1 2007
38 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006, p 133
39 Sydsvenskan ”Gustav Adolfsskolan har anmält flest incidenter” 20/1 2007
the scope to local area. The article serves as a representation to the fact that GA-
school is not an average Swedish school. The article does not contain any of van
Dijk’s markers.

A long article from the 20th is entitled: “Personalens beteende smittar av sig på
eleverna”. This article focuses mainly on a school consultant named Per Binbach.
Binbach argues that the problem lies with the school staff, and that the new policy
of zero tolerance should have been applied long ago. According to Binbach's own
website it is the schools new mission to take over where other adults (such as
parents, social services and the police) have failed. This article has been given
more space than the previous two combined and considering that Binbach has
economic interests in promoting the view of Swedish schools in distress, one can
assume that he is not necessarily striving for objectivity. He continues by criticising
the school of education and suggests that not enough emphasis is put on dealing
with conflicts even though a statement from the school of education denies this and
states that improvements have been implemented recently.

If we return to Norman Fairclough’s three questions on representation and examine
the articles from the first reports we find a number of things. The world
represented in the articles is the stage of the events: the school itself, and so far in
the reporting it has been a very turbulent place. It has also been represented by
various statements, some of them from people who have natural connections to the
school such as the principal and students. But the school is as often described by
statements from politicians. In this case it is the same politicians that lean on the
question in their political agenda that make statements about the school and how to
fix the problems. The comments from Torkel Strandberg (fp) is one example: “Jag
följer debatten om ordningsbetyg som förs i Stockholm och den ger råg i ryggen,
kommenterar han”.

40 Sydsvenskan ”Personalens beteende smittar av sig på eleverna” 20/1 2007
42 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006, p 122
43 Sydsvenskan ”Två tjejer osäkra på om de vill stanna” 20/1 2007
44 Sydsvenskan GA-skolan inför nolltolerans 2007-01-19
The school that Strandbergs describes would not only be a very problematic environment, it is also a place where problems are fixed by making the school more authoritarian, a school where teachers for example grade behaviour. This is despite the fact that the two leading unions for teachers: Lärarförbundet and Lärarnas Riksförbund have declared themselves critical to such solutions.45,46 This is however not stated in Sydsvenskans articles. There is also a lack of a political counterweight to the words and opinions of Folkpartiet. In Sydsvenskans defence their image of the GA-school is not completely one sided. The chief of administration Ylva Runneström states that most students in the 9th grade do behave in school and only want to learn.47 However this is one positive statement, and it is heavily outweighed by negative comments. In the two weeks of reporting it is clearly the exception that proves the rule.

The first articles have been free from any of the linguistic markers describe by Teun van Dijk, with the exception of the students with foreign names and Swedish names having different opinions on the problems in the school. Still, in the absence of any other markers it could very well be a coincident.

7.2 Articles from January 21 to January 30

After the initial articles a shift of focus occurred in the debate and reporting around GA-skolan. The debate became focused more on language and politics than on anything else, and the reports in Sydsvenskan on this subject are indeed interesting. In Mörk magi i vita medier, Anna-Lena Lodenius and Mats Wingborg writes that we can speak of hidden and visible racism48 (as does Teun van Dijk49) within the media. According to them there is a common argument based on the false assumption that the welfare of the entire society is dependent on the success or failure of the immigration policies. Furthermore Lodenius and Wingborg state that racism in the media seldom is expressed openly, but more often it is hidden or implied in articles, like an example from Mörk magi that the writers have taken

45 http://www.lararforbundet.se/ Lärarförbundet kritiskt till ordningsbetyg 2007-05-06 16:44
46 http://www.lr.se/ Många frågor återstår kring ordningsbetyg 2007-05-06 16:45
47 Sydsvenskan GA-skolan inför nolltolerans 2007-01-19
49 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006, p 129
from the paper Bohuslänningen: “Det är synd och skam om den välfärd som vi har byggt upp kommer att raseras p g a en illa skött invandringspolitik”.  

In this example there are clear connection between a threat to the common welfare and the question of immigration, even though there are no direct references to race.

On the 21st of January Sydsvenskan published an article named “Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget” The title of the article refers to a proposition that folkpartiet presented before the election, declaring that only Swedish should be allowed to be spoken inside classrooms not teaching foreign languages. Furthermore, this rule was to be taken one step further at Gustav Adolfs skolan as the school board decided to implement a full ban on all non-Swedish languages, in the classroom as well as in the schoolyard and in the school cafeteria. The reason for this somewhat extreme course of action is not initially explained, and the only persons who get a say in the initial article are two politicians from Folkpartiet. Allan Widman ensures the journalist and the readers that Folkpartiet’s suggestion is not quite so restrictive and Folkpartiets Minister of Integration Nyamko Sabuni states that people should get a chance to develop their own language as well as Swedish. Furthermore Widman states in a somewhat contradictory way that: “Det känns väldigt svårt för en liberal att reglera folks språkbruk på raster och fritid”. Again, with the concept of representation in mind, I believe that what is not in the article could be more important than what is actually in it, namely statements from Folkpartiet. In the light of this new policy Folkpartiet suddenly represents itself as protectors of diversity.

On the same page as the previous article, there is a short text with a different point of view. This article is titled “Föraldrar kräver ny skolledning.” Here the focus is very different from the other articles. The article is based on an open letter written by a parent, and former teacher at GA-skolan, Thomas Lundén. Lundén writes, basically in direct conflict with the ongoing debate that the problems derive from

50 Anna-Lena Lodenius och Mats Wingborg: 2001, Mörk magi i vita medier, p. 109
51 Sydsvenskan Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget 2007-01-21
52 Sydsvenskan Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget 2007-01-21
53 Sydsvenskan Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget 2007-01-21
54 Sydsvenskan Föraldrar kräver ny skolledning 2007-01-21
“en grupp auktoritära gammalmodiga lärare,”\textsuperscript{55} that is, a group of old-fashioned teachers. Furthermore Lundén claims that this group of teachers controls the principal. According to him, new students at the school had been told by the teachers: “vi känner redan dina syskon, så vi vet vad vi har att vänta”\textsuperscript{56}, the teachers, already knowing the students’ siblings, have already labelled the new student a troublemaker. This article is an important part of Sydsvenskans representation, mainly because it so differs from the other articles. It offers a new view of the environment, and perhaps even more importantly it offers a new explanation to the problems at the school. In addition, we also get a different view of the teachers at the school. This adds to the complexity of the reports. Finally, Lundén contributes another important comment, when he states that:

\begin{quote}
problemelevernas invandrarbakgrund fått för stor plats i debatten. Svenska barn med liknande hemförhållanden, präglade av arbetslöshet och utanförskap hade haft samma svårigheter\textsuperscript{57}
\end{quote}

Apart from the new angle regarding the situation of the school, we also get a new perspective, regarding the debate in itself. What makes this article important is that what is being said differs from the previous reports. In addition, it comes from a representative with relatively high credibility (a former teacher at the school, and a current parent). The inclusion of such an article in the reports strengthens Sydsvenskan’s credibility.

The next article is published two days later, on the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of January and is again on the topic of the suggested controversial language rules. It is entitled “DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler”\textsuperscript{58} The ombudsman of discrimination issues examines if the new rules are a violation of the laws of discrimination. Lisa Flinth, a member of Folkpartiet and chairman of the board of child and youth affairs comes to the defence of the language rule\textsuperscript{59}, even though senior members of her party declare themselves sceptical to how it has been implemented in this particular case. She states that it is impossible to uphold a zero-tolerance level if the teachers cannot

\textsuperscript{55} Sydsvenskan, "Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning" 2007-01-21  
\textsuperscript{56} Sydsvenskan, "Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning" 2007-01-21  
\textsuperscript{57} Sydsvenskan, "Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning" 2007-01-21  
\textsuperscript{58} Sydsvenskan, "DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler" 2007-01-23  
\textsuperscript{59} Sydsvenskan, "DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler" 2007-01-23
understand what is being said. Then, for the first and only time during the two week period, a politician of another party than Folkpartiet gets to speak. Niklas Karlsson, a member of the opposition and a Social Democrat states that:

Skolan skall vara en trygg plats och det skall vara nolltolerans mot våld. Men eftersom modersmålet är stommen för inlärningen riskerar förbudet att bli kontraproduktivt. Språkregeln är helt enkelt inte hållbar.60

Karlsson’s statement is more in line with the views of the teachers’ unions as mentioned earlier.61 He states that the mother tongue is the base of learning and that a restrictive policy could be counter productive. The article continues to say that the new zero-tolerance policy has been initiated and that roughly around thirty phone calls have been made to parents.

I again turn to the questions of representation, and find that the reporting no longer solely is represented by members of folkpartiet. Up until now, we could from the reporting only assume that no other politician from any party had anything to say on the subject – this is at least the view that Sydsvenskan depicts. Those representing the school are to a large degree people without direct connections to the physical school environment, such as politicians and government officials. In defense of Sydsvenskan I would state that persons in power do hold vital information, and that their opinions and statements can be highly interesting. I have found none of the markers of hidden racism either in metaphors or in anything else.

On the 25th of January, Sydsvenskan publishes a short article. The article is not about GA-skolan primarily, but would still be valuable in understanding the greater whole. The article is called: “Fp-förslaget inget förbud enligt fp.”62 It is a short summary that states that the municipal council will address the bill that Folkpartiet has presented regarding the suggestion that that Swedish should be the only spoken language during lessons. Furthermore, that article explains that exceptions can be made when teaching other languages and when the student receives counselling. Finally, the article links the content with the events in Landskrona when it again

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60 Sydsvenskan, ”DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler” 2007-01-23
61 Page 11
62 Sydsvenskan ”Fp förslaget inget förbud, enligt fp” 2007-01-25
states that the rules at GA-skolan are harsher than the rules suggested by Folkpartiet in their new Bill.

If we, use Fairclough’s model to examine how the world is represented so far, it would seem like a world where folkpartiet is a major player indeed. According to Gillespie and Toynbee, Fairclough’s model helps reveal several important things, one of them being “the relationship between the programme and its audience” or, in this case, the relationship between the newspaper and its readers. Faircloughs analysis “makes connections between … individual, micro (small-scale) uses of language and much broader ‘macro’ questions concerning the arrangements of authority and power in society”. Thus, from the individual interviews, we can conclude who is considered important and who is not, and Folkpartiets is in the light of this, represented as very important in matters of education.

Sydsvenskan calls itself independent liberal and it seems proper that the editorials then have a liberal focus. Thus the audience presumably has liberal views: a liberal paper for liberals. However this first part of the dissertation is not about the editorials. Since the newspaper Arbetet closed down in 2000 Sydsvenskan has been in a position of monopoly in the south of Skåne, a position that puts greater demands on how news is reported. Even though one might expect editorials to be subjective, the news itself should not be so. Complete objectivity might be wishful thinking, but a display of diversity would strengthen the credibility of the reporting.

If we return to the articles, we find that the reporting returns to GA-skolan again on the 26th of January. The critical articles in the media and the statements from politicians obviously had an effect. The article is titled “GA-skolan inför vakter i entrén tvånget att bara tala svenska mildras”. The school has changed, or at least clarified it position on the foreign language ban as Lisbeth Månsson chief of the

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64 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, *Analysing Media Texts*. 2006, p 127
66 http://www.ne.se.support.mah.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=321618&i_word=sydsvenskan&i_h_text=1&i_r phr=sydsvenskan 2007-05-01 17:42
67 http://www.ne.se.support.mah.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=116947&i_history=1 2007-05-01 17:35
68 Sydsvenskan ”Ga-skolan inför vakter i entrén Tvånget att tala svenska mildras”, 2007-01-26
area of schools which GA-skolan is a part of states.69 Sydsvenskan has a slight tone of challenge when it in a sense asks the school representative if the school has backed down. There is no direct question in the text, only the response and Månsson feels that the school does not back down from its previous decision.70 The question, only hinted at and not printed in the article is if the school has been lenient in “backing down from” the new rules. This goes hand in hand with Folkpartiets policy of a more orderly classroom. The article also states that guards have been posted at the entrance of the school.

The last article from the reports is from the 30th of January and it is titled “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”.71 It refers to those twenty-two students who were suspended but later returned to the school. It is also stated that both students and teachers have found an improved environment – a still rowdy environment where most of the trouble have subsided but still an environment with teachers on edge: “Alldeles lugnt har det dock inte varit. Skolan har sedan stängningen haft nolltolerans mot bråk och olämpligt språk och ett hundratal överträdelser och lika många samtal till föräldrar noterades i förra veckan”.72 Ylva Runnström, chief of the department of school, states that a number of new rules have been implemented: “Vi har satt in en rad insatser som kontinuerligt skall etableras och utvärderas”.73 Those involved, this time, the students and those employed by the school, and not the politicians or other government officials, have a general attitude that things have improved: “Enligt både andra elever och skolledning har arbetsmiljön sedan dess varit bra”.74 There is a problematic situation in that one student, claims to have been wrongfully suspended: “blev avstängd bara för att han fanns i närheten av raketskjutningen”.75 This is something that the principal of the school denies, “rektor Patrik Helgesson förnekar att en enskild händelse skulle lett till att elever skickades hem”.76 The principal gets the last word since the student does not reply, or is not asked to a reply by Sydsvenskan. The represented relationship is one of control from the board of the school.

69 Sydsvenskan “Ga-skolan inför vakter i entrén Tvång att tala svenska mildras”, 2007-01-26
70 Sydsvenskan “Ga-skolan inför vakter i entrén Tvång att tala svenska mildras”, 2007-01-26
71 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
72 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
73 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
74 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
75 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
76 Sydsvenskan “Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
Teun van Dijk’s method with a number of linguistic keys in the articles, did not yield anything and or very little trace of the hidden racism or “us and them in the press” (as van Dijk calls his method) was found.\textsuperscript{77} I can only conclude that \textit{Sydsvenskan} in no way has displayed any of the markers of the new racism that van Dijk describes. There are hardly any metaphors in any of the articles (unless you count “droppen som fick bägaren att rinna over”,\textsuperscript{78} very few designators such as questionable uses of the possessive pronoun, no associations that can be connected to racism or stereotyping. There are a few vague numbers however, for example “ett hundratal överträdelser och lika många samtal till föräldrar”,\textsuperscript{79} but none of those can be attributed to any underlying attempts to create images of threat or racism. There are some implications in the articles but these are often positive as well. For example, when Lisbeth Månsson, chief of the area of schools where Gustav Adolfs skolan is included, talks about good behaviour of the majority of the students: “den stora majoriteten elever från sjätte till nionde klass sköter sig bra och vill lära.”.\textsuperscript{80} Looking at the complete material from the two weeks, I find no support that Sydsvenskan is racist in its reports in any way.

\subsection*{7.3 Editorials}

There are two texts in the editorial section of \textit{Sydsvenskan} during the two-week period studied, and only one of these texts could truly be considered an editorial. Therefore, and because of the obvious fact that editorials are a place where a paper can express its view and opinion,\textsuperscript{81} this section will not be a long one. Still I feel that it is an important and necessary part in understanding the greater whole.

The most important editorial, titled “Klarspråk i skolan”\textsuperscript{82} is a clear statement of where \textit{Sydsvenskan} as a newspaper stands in the question of how to deal with the problems at GA-skolan. The language is a little more descriptive than it is in the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[77] Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, \textit{Analysing Media Texts}. 2006 p 129
\item[78] Sydsvenskan “GA skolan inför nolltolerans” 2007-01-19
\item[79] Sydsvenskan ”Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola”, 2007-01-30
\item[80] Sydsvenskan ”GA skolan inför nolltolerans” 2007-01-19
\item[81] http://www.ne.se/support.mah.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=238960&i_word=ledare 2007-05-01 17:30
\item[82] Sydsvenskan ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
reporting articles, and there are some uses of Teun Van Dijk’s lingual markers such as hyperbolic metaphors: “den anarki som härskat på skolan”. However there are no signs that suggest that these markers point to any form of ‘us and them’ schism. In fact Sydsvenskan actively frowns upon a statement made by one of the municipal commissioners of Landskrona, Torkil Standberg. Standberg in a somewhat provocative way states that “vi måste ha in människor med ordnade förhållanden, som betalar skatt, i Landskrona”. Sydsvenskan does surprisingly little to support the other statements of Folkpartiet in this matter and declares that “Problemen på Gustav Adolfskolan beror inte på att eleverna ibland talat andra språk än svenska utan på att de vuxna inte talat klarspråk.” This stand forms an interesting question on who Sydsvenskan indeed supports, the paper has actively taken a stand against the language rule, but it still seems to support the idea of a more disciplined school. The question of representation again comes to mind, and we do indeed, strengthen our pre-existing world view of a school in chaos and anarchy, but there are no clear pointers on who is to blame in this editorial, and Sydsvenskan divides the responsibility between the school itself, politicians, parents, pupils and teachers.

The second text from the editorial section is in the form of a current events debate article, here people outside the paper itself are allowed to express their opinions. The article is written by Allan Widman and Ewa Bertz, two members of folkpartiet and of Malmö municipal council. The article is titled “Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor”. This article is not linked to Sydsvenskan policies but, there is an interesting point in the fact that members of Folkpartiet again are given so much space in the debate. Widman and Bertz respond to unnamed critics of the language restriction rule: “Många kritiker vill göra gällande att förslaget diskriminerar elever med annat moderstånd. Vi menar att det är precis tvärtom…” Furthermore Widman and Bertz respond to the criticism by stating that “Medan vanliga folk har lätt att begripa logiken i detta resonemang, tycks många av landets proffstyckare

83 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 129
84 Sydsvenskan ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24
85 Sydsvenskan ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24
86 Sydsvenskan ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24
87 Sydsvenskan ”Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor” 2007-01-24
88 Sydsvenskan ”Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor” 2007-01-24
helt omedveten om verkligheten”.

Of all the articles that are analysed in this dissertation, I would say that this one does come closer to the hidden racism described by van Dijk. There are implications that suggest a clear link between non-Swedish ethnicities and the troubled schools: “I Malmös mest segregerade områden kommer många elever inte i kontakt med svenskan” and “I det hårt segregerade Malmö har 43 procent av eleverna ett annat modersmål än svenska.”

Parallels between economic difficulties, or any other possible cause are left out, and all that remains as a differentiator between “us” and “them” in the article is ethnicity. Despite this flaw though, it is hard to point to the article as truly racist, and this is mainly because there are no obvious divisions between “us” and “them”. The writers still refer to the children as a collective, without any divisions: “Det är för barnens och deras framtids skull”. Therefore the article, is not one of racist nature, although it does come closer than most of the other material.

7.4 Letters to the editor

The final part of this dissertation will focus on letters to the editor. I initially planned to include letters to Postis (the youth section of Sydsvenskan, where letters from persons up to seventeen are published) but unfortunately, the Postis section contained no text that could be directly or indirectly linked to Gustav Adolfs skolan in Landskrona. The published letters to the editor during the two week period Landskrona are four in number, all published on January 24 regarding the events in Landskrona. One of them focused on how the school has erred in exacting what is called a collective punishment, another puts the biggest blame on the board of the school. It uses vivid metaphors such a comparing the situation in the school to an “inferno”. The two remaining letters express more extreme points of view.

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89 Sydsvenskan Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor 2007-01-24
90 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 132
91 Sydsvenskan Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor 2007-01-24
92 Sydsvenskan Fel att bestraffa de icke delaktiga eleverna 2007-01-24
93 Sydsvenskan De skyldiga på GA-skolan tar inget ansvar 2007-01-24
94 Sydsvenskan De skyldiga på GA-skolan tar inget ansvar 2007-01-24
One is titled “Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik”.\(^{95}\) This letter, as its title implies places full blame for the incident on the ‘lenient’ Swedish immigration policy. Here the message is clear, the writer states that instead of focusing on fixing the problem, the politicians are worrying about if their actions are “‘diskriminerande’ eller ‘rasistiskt’”.\(^{96}\) The writer suggest that the schools are lacking in discipline and that this problem can be fixed by hiring leaders from the military. This letter has no implied tones of where the problem comes from, the writer states them quite bluntly: “usel svensk integrationspolitik”.\(^{97}\)

The final letter is quite the opposite of the last one, as it is a sarcastic comment on the politicians from Landskrona, and on Folkpartiet as a party in general. Through sarcasm it mocks folkpartiets policies with comments like “Vi måste tänka på rätten till hämnd och vädergällning”.\(^{98}\)

Thus, when looking at the totality of the letters to the editor, with Fairclough’s three question of representation in mind we can conclude, that at least three of the four letters are firm in the view of the school as a turbulent place,\(^{99}\) whereas the fourth states that the system of zero-tolerance is unfair. There are implications, hyperbole metaphors and rhetorical repetitions\(^{100}\) (continuing use of the word “struts”\(^{101}\) meaning ostrich) especially in one of the letters, but also in the remaining three, although the purpose of these differs. As a page where all opinions are heard, the Ordet section of Sydsvenskan does indeed fill its function. Sydsvenskan’s credibility is strengthened from this wide array of different opinions but there is still an emphasis on discipline being the way to correct the problems in the school. Three out of four letters to the editor state this. But if Ordet is a reflection of the views of the public then perhaps this selection of letters is representative.

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\(^{95}\) Sydsvenskan Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik 2007-01-24
\(^{96}\) Sydsvenskan Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik 2007-01-24
\(^{97}\) Sydsvenskan Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik 2007-01-24
\(^{98}\) Sydsvenskan Tack folkpartiet! Tack Landskrona! 2007-01-24
\(^{99}\) Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 122
\(^{100}\) Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 132
\(^{101}\) Sydsvenskan Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik 2007-01-24
8. Results and Conclusion

What then are the results of my dissertation? I wanted to examine how Sydsvenskan represented the events at GA-skolan in Landskrona between the 18th and the 30th of January 2007. The focus of this examination was split between studying how ethnicity was portrayed and to study if the reports were politically biased.

My results, using critical discourse analysis method as outlined by Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk yielded two types of results. Van Dijk’s method of searching for linguistic markers provided little or no conclusions in the articles themselves, there were a small amount of markers in the letters to the editor and in the one of the editorials, but not enough to label the reporting racist, or even stereotypical. One of the debate articles in the editorial section and one of the letters to the editor displayed some of the minor markers, mainly through implications which hinted or stated a connection between non-Swedish ethnicity and the discipline problems at the school. But these were not the words or opinions of Sydsvenskan. And counter arguments to these articles and statements were presented in one of the articles. Fairclough’s three questions of representation, apply both to examining stereotyping and political bias. We will address these issues in a summarising manner one at a time. The first of Fairclough’s questions concerns how the world is represented. In this case, that means how the events at Landskrona have been represented. We find a view heavily influenced by Folkpartiet’s opinions which seems to be present at all time. Sydsvenskan supports, or remains neutral to Folkpartiet’s policies, often by simply giving them most of the space, the most noticeable examples are the articles titled: “Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget”, “GA-skolan inför nolltolerans” and “DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler”. Most of the articles either support Folkpartiet or remain neutral to them. The one editorial written by Sydsvenskan regarding Gustav Adolfs skolan goes directly against this reporting and opposes the language rule. Still even that article fails to mention any other political solutions or comments. This does indeed affect their representation of GA-skolan and

102 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 122
103 Sydsvenskan “Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor” 2007-01-24
104 Sydsvenskan “Prov på strulmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik” 2007-01-24
105 Sydsvenskan “Förråddar kräver ny skolledning” 2007-01-24
106 Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, Analysing Media Texts. 2006 p 122
107 Sydsvenskan “Språkförbudet går längre än fp förslaget” 2007-01-21
108 Sydsvenskan “GA-skolan inför nolltolerans” 2007-01-19
109 Sydsvenskan “DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler” 2007-01-23

29
the political world around it. The second question, is that of identities – we have a clear division among the students, those who behave and those who are troublemakers. There are no ethical pointers in this view though. The board of the school, is perhaps rightfully, harshly criticized, and portrayed as weak and indecisive. The criticism comes both from *Sydsvenskan* itself in the editorial “Klarspråk I skolan”\(^{110}\) and from parents as in the article “Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning”.\(^{111}\) The teachers are given a frustrated powerless identity, although this view is clearly contrasted in the article “Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning” where old-fashioned authoritarian teachers and a powerless principal are given the blame.\(^{112}\)

The last of Fairclough’s questions is that of relationships and it connects the other two questions of identity and environment. Most noticeably there is a clear relationship between the politicians and their public statements and the readers. Many of the statements made from politicians are blurry, vague and general as for example the statement in the debate article “Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor” where two local politicians defend their view on education and appeal to the public: “vanligt folk har lätt att begripa logiken”.\(^{113}\) This sort of language can be expected from politicians, but the problem lies in the fact that such statements go unopposed. Other important relationships are those of the teachers and the students. One of the students claims that “vi var som pappor till lärarna”,\(^{114}\) strengthening the image of weak teachers.

In conclusion there is no hidden racism in *Sydsvenskan* reporting, like the one van Dijk\(^ {115}\) and Löwander\(^ {116}\) speak of. However, there is a strong political bias in the sense that politicians from folkpartiet are included in four of the ten articles in the reports. This excludes the debate article published by politicians from Folkpartiet in the editorial page. In fact the only time a political opponent is heard at all during this entire two-week period is in the article “DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler”.\(^ {117}\) This one sentence in a single article in combination with the editorial where *Sydsvenskan* disagrees with the foreign language rule ban “Klarspråk i skolan”,\(^ {118}\) is not enough to counter such one-sidedness. A paper in

\(^{110}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24

\(^{111}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning” 2007-01-24

\(^{112}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning” 2007-01-24

\(^{113}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor” 2007

\(^{114}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”GA-skolan inför nolltolerans” 19/1 2007

\(^{115}\) Gillespie, Marie and Toynbee, Jason, *Analysing Media Texts*. 2006 p 129


\(^{117}\) *Sydsvenskan*, ”DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler” 2007-01-23

\(^{118}\) *Sydsvenskan* ”Klarspråk i skolan” 2007-01-24
Sydsvenskan’s position, as the biggest morning paper in the region of Skåne, has to provide a better ideological diversity when reporting on issues regarding Swedish schools and education. Sydsvenskan is not biased in the sense of what is written though, here the paper even takes an active stand against an issue that Folkpartiet promotes. However, the paper is still biased in the sense that those heard are to a great extent politicians representing Folkpartiet.

8.1 Article Overview

The following table is an overview that covers the articles, editorials and letters to the editor. It provides the reader of an overview of the examined material and the content. Here all of the texts are in chronological order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type of Text</th>
<th>Who is heard</th>
<th>Content - what is said</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007-01-19</td>
<td>GA-skolan inför nolltolerans</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Fp-politicians, safety representative, principal, local government officials</td>
<td>Background on the schools turbulent past, some political comments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-01-20</td>
<td>Tjejer osäkra på om de vill stanna</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Students, principal, teacher</td>
<td>Brief statements from several students, short comment by teacher and principal</td>
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<td>2007-01-20</td>
<td>Gustav Adolfsskolan har anmält flest incidenter</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<td>Short description of teachers situation and the complexity of the problem</td>
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<td>Personalens beteende smittar av sig</td>
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<td>Språkförbude t går längre än fp förslaget</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Fp-politicians</td>
<td>Fp-politicians clarify that their suggestion is not a complete ban</td>
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<td>Föräldrar kräver ny skolledning</td>
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<td>An opinion that states that the problem lies with old-fashioned teachers, not with lacking discipline.</td>
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<td>2007-01-23</td>
<td>DO granskar GA-skolans språkregler</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Fp-politician, ombudsman of discrimination issues, Social Democrat-politician</td>
<td>A short debate on different focuses on school issues</td>
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<td>2007-01-24</td>
<td>Klarspråk i skolan</td>
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<td>Språk och arbetsro viktiga frågor</td>
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<td>Fel att bestraffa de icke</td>
<td>Letter to the editor</td>
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<td>De skyldiga på GA-skolan tar inget ansvar</td>
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<td>Prov på strutsmentalitet i svensk invandrarpolitik</td>
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<td>Fp förslaget inget förbud, enligt fp</td>
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<td>Ga-skolan inför vakter i entrén</td>
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<td>Avstängda elever tillbaka på skola</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>Student, government official, principal</td>
<td>The school states that a number of measures have been implemented</td>
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</table>
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