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A child at any cost

A study on how the issue about assisted reproduction for single people is being interpreted by the Swedish media

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ABSTRACT

March 13th 2012 the Swedish social Committee brings up a proposal that assisted reproduction should be legalize for single women in Sweden. The suggestion was quickly forwarded to the parliament for a decision making. Although majority of the Swedish parties (the alliances) are positive about this proposal, there are also a few who are strongly against the proposal, for example the Christian Democratic Party. The purpose of this study has been to investigate how the two Swedish newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet has written about the issue on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women in Sweden. To help me come to my results and conclusion on this study I decided to use the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative text analysis method. I have specifically chosen to concentrate on how these two newspapers have chosen to present this issue and what angles do Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet uses to present this issue to their readers.

After my qualitative text analysis, I came to the conclusion that this issue didn't get the attention that it deserves from both of the newspapers. Since the issue is about babies, women and their bodies, I expected the newspapers to write about this issue as a gender issue, but that was not the case. Instead it was twisted around by the press and made into a political fight between the Christian Democrat party that is against the proposal and the alliances that is positive to the proposal. In all the articles I had chosen to analyze, I as a reader was met by the voices of different politicians that had strong opinions about legalizing assisted reproduction for single women. The opinion of ordinary people didn't seem to matter to any of the journalist and neither was the opinion of women, because I realized that neither of these groups were found in the articles. Even more interesting was the fact that the voices of the politicians were all dominated by men. In conclusion looking at the issue on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women, one would supposed that the issue is going to be based on subjects about babies, hospitals, women and their bodies. Instead the issue was made into a political fight and dominated by male voices and opinions.

Keyword: Assisted reproduction, Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Alliances, the Christian Democratic Party

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1. INTRODUCTION

Giving birth and becoming a parent to a child is something that many people dream of, but for some people this dream is impossible to come true in a natural way. Through technology today scientist and doctors have come up with several of ways for people who are unable to get pregnant natural and give birth, to become parents genetically. This method is known as assisted reproduction. Even though this method has been around for a long while, it took time for the society to finally grant it citizens the right to use this methods legally.

The year 1982 the first child was born through vitro fertilization in Sweden, in 2003 the law changed and assisted reproduction outside the body through vitro fertilization with donated sperms was permitted. At the same time, egg donation was also permitted. In 2005 homosexual women living as a couple got the right to assisted reproduction with donor sperm on the same terms as heterosexual couples. In 2010 discussion on if assisted reproduction should be allowed for single women was brought up.¹ In 2012 a law proposal on legalizing assisted reproduction for single people was sent in to the Swedish parliament. But not all the Swedish party welcomes this proposal as something positive, the Christian Democratic Party are against this proposal with their argument being that every child has the right to two parent. Personally for me being raised by a single parent or both parents doesn't really make that much differences in a child's life. I was raised by a single parent and I still got all of life's benefits, just like any other child out there in the world. I see nothing wrong with wanting a child as a single woman or man, which is partly why I have gained an enormous interest to this subject.

Since the issue about assisted reproduction being legal for single women was brought up by the Swedish parliament's social committee, this issue has taken space in the Swedish newspapers. Which is why I have decided to investigate how this issue and the process of the political decision making on if these law will be legalized or not is being portrayed in the Swedish newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. Through interviewing a few people, I found out that assisted reproduction is an issue that a lot of people in the society have different opinions about; in addition, assisted reproduction is a very loaded topic. This is also why I think this issue would be a very good research project. For the past two and the half month since the issue was brought up, the subject has been constantly updated in the media. I want to see how the newspaper is connected to this issue, how does the press follow

¹ Assisterad befruktning – 15 år senare, statens medicinsketiska råd, 2012-04-21

the issue? What role does it play and how are the stories on this issue interpreted? I understand that I can't study all the Medias and newspapers in Sweden, which is why I have decided to limit myself to two of the biggest morning newspapers in Sweden, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet.

1.1 Observation

I have decided to write my essay in the English language. Due to the fact that I will be analyzing two Swedish newspapers and all the articles are in the Swedish language, my mentor and I decided that I can go ahead and take for granted that my audience will be the Swedish audience. Meaning that to maintain the credibility of my analyses, I will not be translating the articles from Swedish to English while doing my analysis.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The purpose of my essay is to investigate the issues and debates on assisted reproduction for single people and how it is being heard and written about in the Swedish newspapers. I am also going to do a rhetorical turn and analyze on how the individual journalist writes in their articles about assisted reproduction being legalized for single women in Sweden. Meaning, what role the journalist plays in his or her text, how is the issue being interpretation and what information is seen as relevant in the articles. I will limit my research to two Swedish newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. Not only are these newspapers big and popular, but the fact that they also have different political stands caught my attentions. Dagens Nyheter sees themselves as independent liberals while Svenska Dagbladet considers themselves as unbound moderates. These two newspapers also happens to have their own specific sites for lives issues called Insida and idagsida, which is where issues like assisted reproduction is often written about.

After reading about this issue, I thought it would be very interesting to do an investigation on it. I also find it interesting that adoption for single people is legal in Sweden but insemination isn't. It is also an issue that according to my observation seems to be getting less attention than what it deserves in the media, which is unfortunate because it concerns a lot of opinions on values, thoughts of lives, reproduction and sexuality.

I will be using a quantitative context analysis and a qualitative text analysis to help me complete the task of getting to my results and helping me to answer my research question.

1.3 Research question:

- How does the issue about legalizing assisted reproduction for single people come across in the Swedish newspapers and how has the subject been interpreted by the press?
- What role does the journalist play in their writing? Are they objective or subjective?
- What information are seen as relevant?

2. Background

In this chapter I'm going to briefly present relevant and valuable information about assisted reproduction. The different methods that are being used to perform assisted reproduction and what the Swedish law says about these methods.

Assisted reproduction means that a woman's egg or a man's sperms is use to produce a child outside the body, this can happen through surrogacy or insemination. Surrogacy means that a woman gets pregnant willingly without having the intension to keep the baby as her own; these women are often called surrogate mothers. There are two types of surrogacy, partial surrogacy which is when the surrogate mother is fertilized through insemination, this makes her both the biological and genetic parent of the child. The second type is the full surrogacy, it means a fertilized egg is taken from another woman, often the woman who intends to pursue parenthood, and the egg is then injected into the surrogate mother. This makes the surrogate mother the biological but not the genetic mother to the baby.²

According to the Swedish law assisted reproduction birthing method was only allowed to be performed on married women or a woman who is cohabited with a *man*. This law changed on June 2005, women of the same sex were allowed to use the assisted reproduction method. Although this gave Swedish society a certain satisfaction, another group was left out – single

² <http://www.rfsl.se/?p=4414>, The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights, 2012-03-30

women.³ Proposals about changing the law on assisted reproduction has been brought up a number of times, but often got majority of no from the parliament.

In March 2012 the proposal was brought up again, majority of the Swedish parties, both in the national and regional level voted yes on giving single women the right to assisted reproduction. March 13th the proposal was brought up by the parliament's social committee. The decision was there to propose to the government to urgently return to the parliament with a bill.⁴

Assisted reproduction is the definition of different methods used to treat people or couples who are not able to give birth by natural means, in other words infertile couples. The two main ways of performing assisted reproduction is through insemination or fertilization outside the body, often related to surrogacy.⁵

Insemination: This method is used by sending sperms into the vagina or uterus to help achieve fertilization. In artificial insemination a pessary looking plastic container with semen is placed towards the mouth of a woman's uterus or seminal fluid is injected through a tin tube into the uterus. Most commonly is donor insemination which is when a woman is inseminated with sperms from another man – a sperm donor, because her husband or partner cannot produce the right quantity of fertilized sperms to course pregnancy.⁶ Apart from that, is the homologous insemination method, this method is often performed when the couple for any reason are unable to perform sexual intercourse or if the man's sperms cannot swim into the uterus. One important thing to note here is that the sperms used is from the woman's husband or partner.⁷

Out of the body fertilization/ Surrogacy: surrogacy is a term used when a fertilized egg is taken outside the body from a woman and injected into another woman (surrogate mother's)

³ <http://www.rfsl.se/?p=1534>, The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender rights, 2012-03-30

<http://www.gp.se/nyheter/sverige/1.873281-ensamstaende-ska-fa-insemineras>, TT, 2012-02-28

⁴ <http://www.gp.se/nyheter/sverige/1.902487-ja-till-assisterad-befruktning>, TT, 2012-03-29

<http://www.gp.se/nyheter/sverige/inrikespolitik/1.873592-kd-ett-riktigt-daligt-forslag>, TT, 2012-02-28

<http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Debatter--beslut/Debatter-och-beslut-om->

[forslag/Arendedebatter/?did=GZ01SoU26&doctype=bet](http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Debatter--beslut/Debatter-och-beslut-om-forslag/Arendedebatter/?did=GZ01SoU26&doctype=bet), Sveriges riksdag, 2012-03-29

⁵ <http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/assisterad-befruktning>, Mats Ahlgren, 2012-03-30

⁶ <http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/insemination>, Göran Rybo, 2012-03-30

⁷ <http://www.medterms.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=7214>, Medicine Net, 2011-04-27

<http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/insemination>, Göran Rybo, 2012-30-30

<http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/publikationer2008/2008-42-3>, Socialstyrelsen, 2008-04-03

womb where the fetus develops. The surrogate mother gives birth to the child but she is not the genetic mother to the child.⁸ Another form of surrogacy is when a third woman becomes pregnant through artificial insemination with sperms from a man (who is in a relationship with another woman). When the baby is born, the surrogate mother is paid and the baby is given to the couple.⁹

2.1 Laws and regulation of assisted reproduction

According to the Swedish law, donation of egg or sperm is allowed. However it is not allowed to fertilize a woman's egg with the husband or partner's sperm and then inserting the fertilized egg into another woman's womb, so that this woman will carry the pregnancy and after delivery returns the child to the couple, this is known as surrogacy.¹⁰ Insemination is only allowed if the woman is married or has a partner.¹¹

3. Earlier Research and theory

Assisted reproduction is a social and a societal issue that a lot of people have different opinions about, which is why I expected to find a lot of materials on this issue, but it turns out that journalism have not, however, devoted much time on this subject, which is why I couldn't find any deep early research on this subject. After a long search for early research, I was recommended to take a look at a book that has caught the eyes of the Swedish media. The book *Varat och varan* by Kajsa Eki is about prostitution and surrogacy. Eki writes that

⁸ <http://www.rfsl.se/?p=4414>, The Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights, 2012-03-30

http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/surrogatmoderskap?i_whole_article=true, Nationalencyklopedin, 2012-03-30

⁹ http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/surrogatmoderskap?i_whole_article=true, Nationalencyklopedin, 2012-03-30

¹⁰ <http://www.ne.se.till.biblextern.sh.se/lang/assisterad-befruktning>, Mats Ahlgren, 2012-03-30
<http://www.rfsl.se/?p=4414>, The Swedish federations for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Right, 2012-03-30

¹¹ <http://www.notisum.se/rnp/sls/lag/20060351.htm>, Rättsnätet, 2011-04-07
http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Lagar/Svenskforfattningssamling/sfs_sfs-2006-351/#K7, Sveriges Riksdag, 2006-05-18
http://www.lagboken.se/dokument/Lagar-och-forordningar/1898/Lag-1984_1140-om-insemination-Forfattningen-har-upphavts-genom_-SFS-2006_351?id=64977, Socialdepartementet, 2006-07-01

prostitution is becoming something that is seen more like a work than women selling their body and just like people who sells sex, surrogate mothers are seen as somebody who performs a service. A business transaction that is convertible into currency and exchangeable in the market. Even surrogacy is portrayed as something subversive, in this case as something that breaks the heteronormative idea of a normal ideal family, when in fact it reinforces traditional perceptions of the ideal family. The buyers are always two, mostly heterosexual, and longing for a biological child born to someone who then disappears from the scene. In this way, the traditional family image intact and also available to anyone with a few dollars in his pocket. In this case where the prostitute is viewed as a whore, the surrogate mother becomes this “madonna” image who protects the holy family. The same old dichotomy has been defining the woman since the ancient Greeks.¹²

After further researching on earlier research, I finally came across an essay on statens medicinsk- etiska råd called Assisterad befruktning – 15 år senare (assisted reproduction – 15 years later). In this essay I found a timeline that took me through the history of laws that have been legalized on assisted reproduction in Sweden. In 2003 the law about reproduction outside the body change, and assisted reproduction through In vitro fertilization with donated sperms was allowed. Egg donation also became legal. Two years later in 2005 assisted reproduction was legalized for lesbian couples.¹³ Since then the issue of assisted reproduction was quite until now 2012 when the issue was brought up again, this time it is about assisted reproduction being legalized for single women.

After my research I final found a theory that fits perfectly on how the journalism in the two chosen news papers are handling this subject. In the book Journalism Studies, Robert Entman, Jörg Matthes and Lynn Pellicano’s wrote the framing theory and according to me, this describes the situation of how this issue is being handled in the Swedish newspapers best. The writers write when news is framed episodically, social issues are constructed around specific instances and individuals. There is no broader context provided in order to steer attention away from public solutions. In contrast, thematic framing emphasizes broader trends or backgrounds of issues. Other suggestions include Entman’s (2004) differentiation between substantive and procedural framing, with the latter focused on evaluating political strategy

¹² http://www.smp.se/noje_o_kultur/bocker/kajsa-ekis-ekman-varat-och-varan%282118106%29.gm, Camilla Carnmo, 2010-09-23

Ekis Kajsa, *Varat och varan*, Stockholm: Leopard, 2010

¹³ statens medicinsk etiska råd – *assisterad befruktning 15 år senare*, 2012-04-21

and power struggles among elites, rather than on the substantive nature and import of issues, events and actors.¹⁴

4. Methods

The methods I have decided to use in my research are both quantitative content analysis and the qualitative text analysis. The decision to use the quantitative content analysis is because it will help give a general view on the newspapers that I have chosen and how they handle the subject of my research question. I also want to use the quantitative content analysis to show how far back the newspapers have been writing about this subject, in what way have they been writing about the subject since it caught their interest, is it catching more interest as a news journalism or opinion journalism. From all the articles that I will be using in the quantitative content analysis, I will be choosing a number of articles from a period of time to analyze deeper with the help of the qualitative text analysis method. For a better view and understand, these two methods will both be presented in their own subchapters.

4.1 Quantitative content analysis

Quantitative content analysis is an examination of contents in any form of written, oral or visual presentation. Quantitative content analysis means study based on an equal and comparable data on so many units of analysis that these can be expressed and analyzed with numbers. Quantitative content analysis is a very useful method when one wants answers to questions about the existence of different types of content categories in a material.¹⁵ The analysis should be systematic and objective, meaning that we formulate general rules for how the material should be treated. Objective means in this context that we as hard as possible try to reduce impact or influence from other individual researcher's, also meaning that the opinions should be kept out when analyzing the materials. The goal here is that other

¹⁴ Wahl-Jorgensen, Hanitzsch, *The handbook of journalism studies*, New York: routledge, p. 176

¹⁵ Peter Esaiasson, Mikael Gilljam, Henrik Oscarsson and Lena Wängnerud, "*Kvantitativ innehållsanalys*" *Metodpraktikan*, Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik AB, p. 223

researchers or coders, who are going through the same or similar materials, will come to the same result.¹⁶

I have decided to use the quantitative content analysis because I think it will help me give an overview to the articles that are being written in my two chosen newspapers, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. After doing my research on assisted reproduction on this two newspaper I didn't come across as many materials as I had expected, which is why I decided to use all the materials that I found. Meaning my quantitative research is based on materials from the period the year 2002 to the year 2012 on both newspapers.

4.2 Qualitative text analysis

After going through the materials found on the website of Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, I choose to do a qualitative text analysis on specific articles. I choose the articles that were published between the times of mid February 2012 till early April 2012 because this was the time that the bill on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women was submitted and once again started gaining interest in the media. In the process of my qualitative text analysis I choose to use the analysis model "a mass media rhetorical analysis model" found in Lundgren, Ney and Thurén's book *Nyheter – att läsa tidningstext*.¹⁷ I choose to use the qualitative text analysis method from this book because it gives a concrete instruction on how to analysis the construction of a text in steps. By looking at my research question, I chose the question and points from *Nyheter – att läsa tidningstext* that I considered to be relevant and useful, the once I did not considered to be relevant were left out. Here are the points and questions I chose to base my analysis on:

- What is the article about? What does it want to say and what selections of facts have been made for this purpose?
- What do the headline and introductory say?
- Is there a connection between the images and the text?
- Is the article connected with earlier articles?
- Which actors appears in the text and what or whom are they representing? Who gets that final say?

¹⁶ Helge Östbye et al., *"Kvantitativ innehållsanalys" Metodbok för medievetenskap*, Malmö: Studentlitteratur, 2004, p. 213

¹⁷ Kristina Lundgren, Birgitta Ney, Torsten Thurén. *Nyhet – att läsa tidningstext*, Stockholm: Ordfront, p. 55-57

- How is the choice of word, style and tone in the article? Are they irrelevant information in the text?
- How is the relationship between the source and the journalist portrayed?
- What about the journalist's own voice and presence in the text?

When analyzing certain text, rhetoric turns to play a big role, which is why I also decided to go deeper on the rhetorical analysis in my category of qualitative analysis. Which is why I decided to add the advice of Birgitte Mral's rhetoric analysis. Mral writes that in a rhetorical analysis it is always the context that is the starting point. The important thing is to find out in which rhetorical situation the messenger being sent and received is situated. A rhetorical situation can be seen as a combination of three elements. The element first being a problem that has to be solved with the help of words or other symbols. In journalism it could be the never-ending request for news. The second element is the audience, who is going to receive the message and gain a new understanding from the article. The third and last element is the circumstances and the limits set up for the sender. This can be the requirement for a certain genre, it is important to be clear about which genre a text is categorized in. In journalism it is important to consider which type of article it is you have in front of you, for example news, debates and letters to the editor are three different types of articles genres. Also important here is to know what kind of spoken and unspoken norms that are specific for each genre¹⁸ In my qualitative analysis I will be doing an analysis to only the articles that are under the category, news.

Aristotle, who is well known in rhetoric, indicated that there are three main ways to conviction in rhetoric. Logos is what attracts the understanding and the thinking of the receivers (the audience), pathos affects and moves the feelings of the receivers (the audience) and ethos is the mediator's own credibility. Ethos is by many researchers said to be the most important, because credibility is a pre-condition for pathos and logos, at the same time as those two can be strengthening ethos.¹⁹

After analyzing the context different aspects of the text and reflected on which main method the mediator has chosen to convince its audience, one can then move on to analyzing the text disposition. According to the classical rule a speech/text should consist of an interesting

¹⁸ Birgitte Mral, "Retorikanalys" in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2000, p.154

¹⁹ Birgitte Mral, "Retorikanalys" in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2000, p.154
Sharon Crowley, Debra Hawhee. *Ancient rhetorics for contemporary student* 3rd edition, Boston: Allyn&Bacon, 2005

introduction, a thesis (proposition), a background story (narration), an argumentation (argumentation) and a conclusion (conclusion). After reading and understanding the whole text, you then go to the individual parts of the text. To understand the whole text one has to understand the individual parts. Out of this deep understanding, one can then put the text together again and proceed to argumentation on one's own interpretation of the text.²⁰

When doing my qualitative investigation, I will concentrate on who is speaking in the article and how the actors are being described or pictured.

5. Choice of material

In this chapter I will be doing a presentation on how I have thought when choosing the materials and articles that I will be using on both my methods.

5.1 Quantitative content analysis

As mentioned earlier the materials I am going to be analyzing are from the Swedish newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. Using the keyword *assisterad befruktning* (assisted reproduction); I got a result of 86 articles on Svenska Dagbladet and 51 articles on Dagens Nyheter between the dates of 2002 to 2012. I didn't find this result to be very troublesome which is why I decided to use the entire article from each newspaper to present in my quantitative content analysis. Meaning that I use the material from 2002 when assisted reproduction was first mentioned in these two newspapers till today 2012. Assisted reproduction is also the word used often when discussing about both insemination and surrogacy. Insemination and surrogacy are both in the category of assisted reproduction, which is why instead of searching these words separately and singly, I decided to limit my search on the word: assisted reproduction. More so in my opinion I also found this keyword to be good enough to cover and give a satisfactory number of articles for my research.

The materials I got from both the newspapers, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, I got accessed to partly through an internet research on the website of both newspapers, partly from the media archive called Retriever and some of them were taken from the news paper and from the microfilmed office at the National library of Sweden.

²⁰ Brigitte Mral, "Retorikanalys" in *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Lund: Studentlitteratur 2000, p.155-56

5.1.1 Topic categorization and definition of variables

After getting hold of the materials I needed, I took the next step in sorting out the articles according to what type of articles there are and what kind of subject the articles are about. The reason why I used this system is because I wanted to divide the news article from the opinion articles. I did this also because it would make it easier for me to choose the materials that were needed for my qualitative text analysis. The variables that I choose to use under my category article types are: news articles, reportage, leading articles, debate articles, reviews, chronicles and interviews.

The topic category that I used to help decide which article falls under what news types are as followed:

Assisted reproduction in General: this is for the articles that are about assisted reproduction in general, those articles that has nothing to do with assisted reproduction for single people, but writes about assisted reproduction in general, for example about assisted reproduction for lesbians or about donors.

Assisted reproduction for single women: I decided to add this category for those articles that are about assisted reproduction for single people, but neither the word insemination nor surrogacy has been used in these articles to define the exact system of assisted reproduction that is being talked about. Only the word assisted reproduction was used.

Surrogacy: this category includes articles that are about assisted reproduction through surrogacy or surrogate mothers.

Insemination: this category includes articles that are about assisted reproduction through insemination.

Foreign: this category is about articles that are about assisted reproduction in other countries.

Statistics and studies: this category is about studies and statistics on assisted reproduction and if the statistics are the main subjects of the article.

Other: this category is for text that can't be placed under any of the other categories. And I also decided to put the articles that aren't about assisted reproduction for single people, but assisted reproduction has been mentioned in them.

5.2 Qualitative text analysis

Since the issue of assisted reproduction was updated and brought up recently by the Swedish parliament's social committee, I wanted to choose a time span that was as current as possible. This reason is why I have decided to take articles from the end of 1st of February 2012 until the beginning of 30th April 2012. I choose this period because it is the period between when the issue was brought up in the parliament and the period when the decision making on if the law was to be legalized or not was expected to take place. This period chosen will be used for my qualitative text analysis.

When choosing the text that I would be using for my qualitative text analysis, I decided to choose only from the news type, which means I didn't include opinion articles in my choice. I did this because I personally think that opinion articles often turns to be about the writers own opinion. I knew that to be able to get the answers to my research question, I needed objectivity in the articles that I wanted to analyze. And objectivity is often found in news articles. After choosing my research period 1st of February 2012 to 30th April 2012 I got the results of 10 articles from Svenska Dagbladet and 9 articles from Dagens Nyheter. I then narrowed down my chosen articles to articles that are only about assisted reproduction for single woman, giving me a result of 6 articles from Svenska Dagbladet and 4 articles from Dagens Nyheter. All together, I got 10articles to use for my qualitative text analysis.

6. Results of the quantitative content analysis

In this chapter I will be presenting the result of the quantitative research methods from both Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet.

6.1 Type of Material in the newspapers

In Figures 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 is the division between editorial materials and the opinion materials. In the category editorial materials are the variables news articles, reportage and interviews. In the opinion category are leading articles, debate articles, reviews and chronicles. It's normal that the articles that can't be placed in any of the research categories

are often excluded from the research, but all the articles I found got a placing in my categories. So in the end all the 51 articles from Dagens Nyheter and 86 articles from Svenska Dagbladet were analyzed.

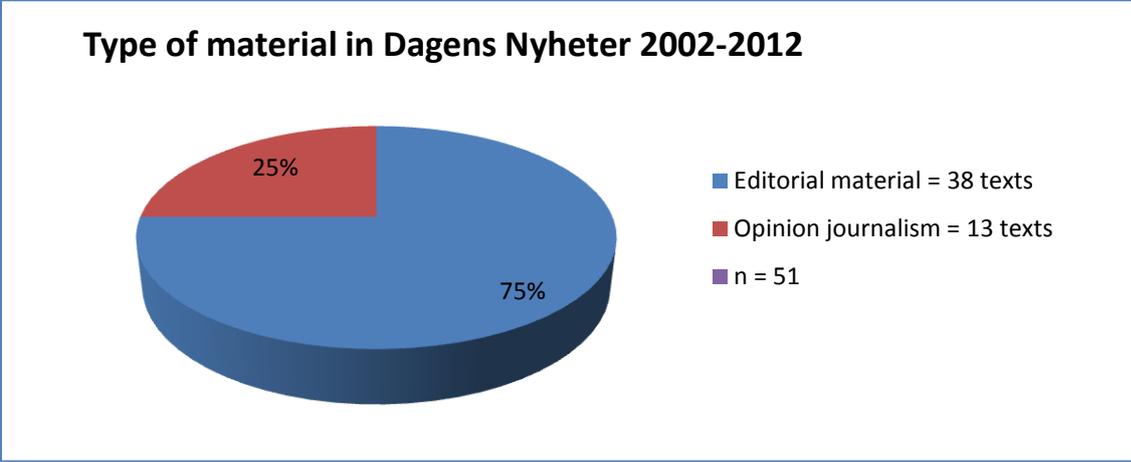


Figure 6.1.1: Types of materials in Dagens Nyheter, 2002-2012.

As shown in figure 6.1.1 editorial materials dominated majority of what was written about assisted reproduction in Dagens Nyheter. Also as seen in the figure, not many opinion materials we found on assisted reproduction, with only thirteen articles, five of them being lead articles and two of them being debate articles.

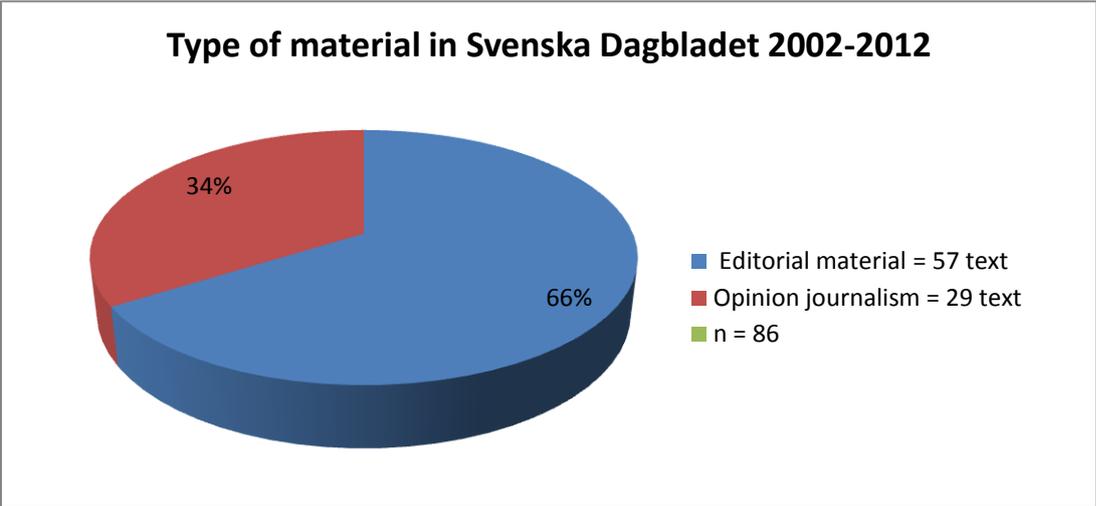


Figure 6.1.2: Type of material in Svenska Dagbladet, 2002-2012.

Even in Svenska Dagbladet it shows that majority of the materials about assisted reproduction is editorial material. With 56 of the materials classified as news and only one classifieds as an analysis article. Even thought the editorial material take a large portion, they were still a lot of

opinion materials in Svenska Dagbladet, with up to twenty articles classified as *focal point* (*brännpunkt*) and two lead articles.

Taking a look at the diagram, there's an obvious difference between the two news papers. For example they are more news and opinion material found in Svenska Dagbladet, than in Dagens Nyheter. But this could merely be because they were more articles written about assisted reproduction in Svenska Dagbladet than in Dagens Nyheter.

6.2 Where do the materials come from?

In this chapter I'm going to give a simple diagram on where the newspapers get their news on assisted reproduction from.

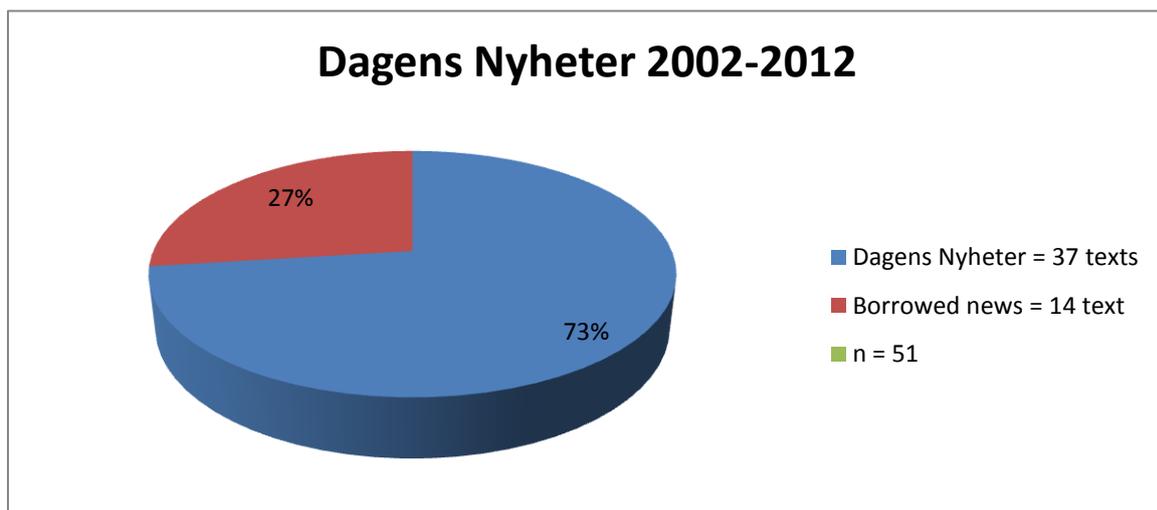


Figure 6.2.1: Dagens Nyheter 2002-2012. Where do the materials come from?

Majority of the news material on assisted reproduction that has been published by Dagens Nyheter as seen in figure 6.2.1 is editorial news. Meaning it's the newspapers own news. Mean while only fourteen of the news materials is taken from the Swedish newspapers agency call TT (tidningarnas telegrambyrå).

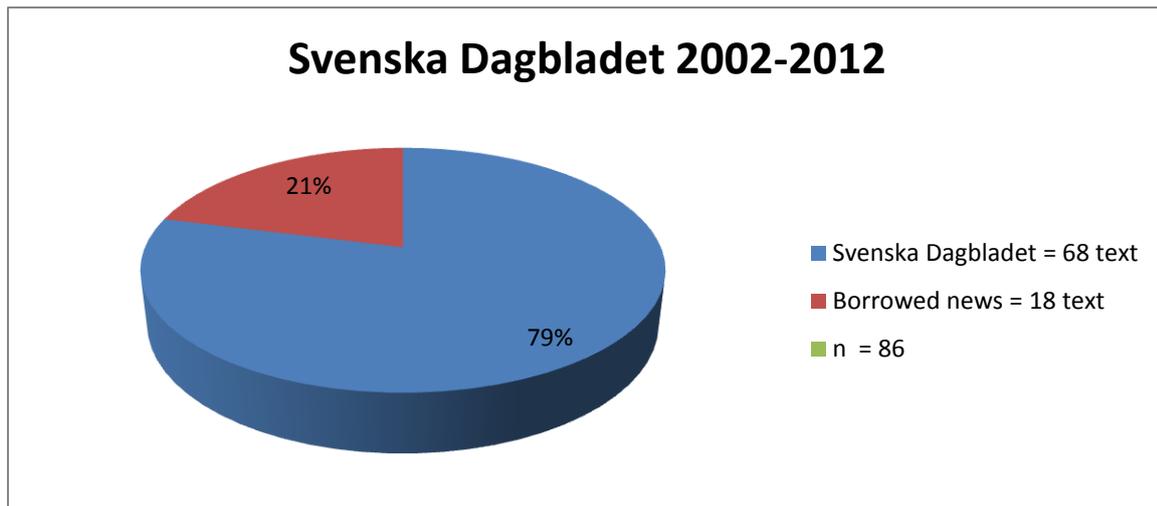


Figure 6.2.2: Svenska Dagbladet 2002-2012. Where do the materials come from? Note!

Just like the previous diagram majority of the articles in figure 6.2.2 were Svenska Dagbladet's own news, mean while the remaining eighteen are borrowed from another agency too. In this case the Swedish newspaper's news agency TT (tidningarnas telegrambyrå).

Once again Svenska Dagbladet dominates over Dagens Nyheter in this section. But keep in mind that it's merely because, Svenska Dagbladet has written more articles about assisted reproduction than Dagens Nyheter.

6.3 Distribution of topics in the newspapers

Presented in figure 6.3.1 and figure 6.3.2 is a diagram on how the different topics on assisted reproduction are divided in each news paper. For more information on topic categorization and definition of variables you can take a look at the chapter 5.1.1 *topic categorization and definition of variable*. In this part I still used all the number of materials that were found on assisted reproduction on both new papers.

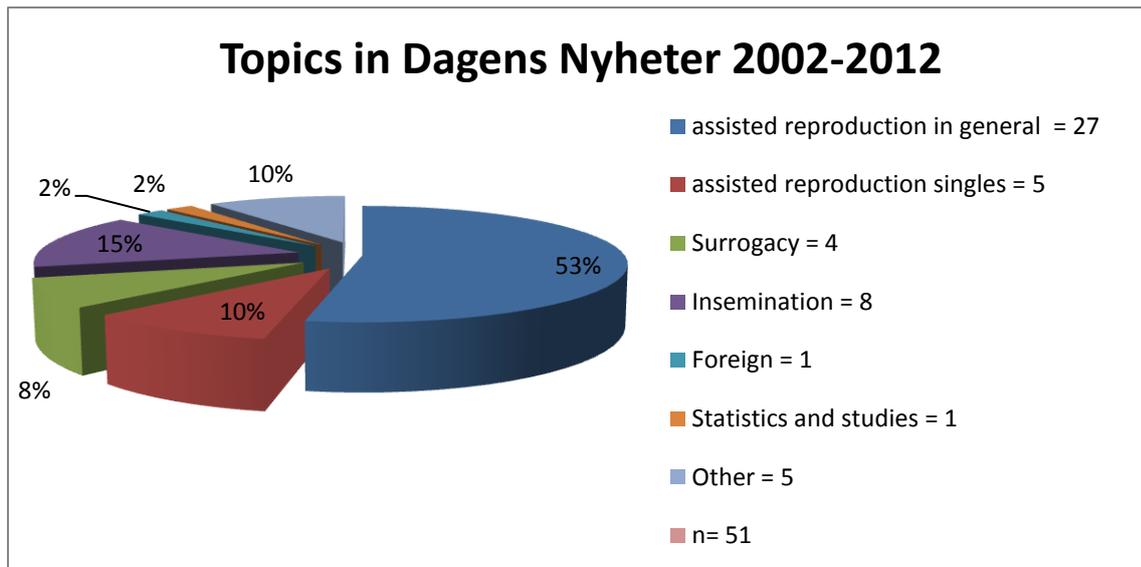


Figure 6.3.1: Topics in Dagens Nyheter, 2002-2012.

In figure 6.3.1 it's clear that topic *general* dominates. Note that this is mostly because all the articles that were not about assisted reproduction for single people were put under this category. Majority of the articles that ended up in the subject general were old articles about insemination and assisted reproduction for lesbians couples. After that come articles on *insemination*, in this category almost all the articles were about assisted reproduction for singles.

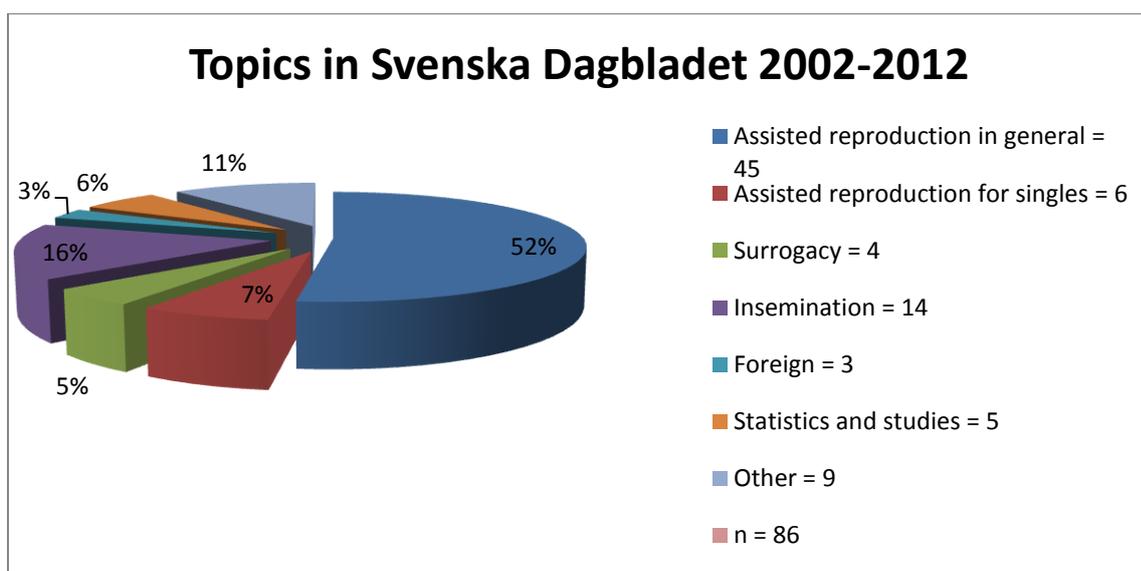


Figure 6.3.2: Topics in Svenska Dagbladet, 2002-2012. Note! The numbers in the diagram are in percentage (%)

Even figure 6.3.2 is dominated by the subject general and there after comes insemination.

7. Results of the qualitative text analysis

In this chapter I am going to present the results of the qualitative text analysis from Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet.

7.1 Dagens Nyheter

The news article *Borgerlig öppning för insemination välkomnas från vänster* published on February 28th 2012 and written by Ossi Carp, is the first article that is written about the alliance parties wanting to legalize insemination for single women and how the political parties the Christian democrats and Sweden democrats were the only parties against the idea. The introduction of the article practically summarizes what the whole article is about but it doesn't match up one hundred percent with the article. In the article we meet the voices of various actors from the alliance party's side but none so ever from the Christian democrats' side. When talking about the Christian democrats the journalist was being narrative, meanwhile when talking about the alliance parties, the journalist would let the alliance parties voice themselves and their opinion. This could also give a closer understanding to the alliance party's opinion and a weaker understanding to the Christian democrats and Sweden's democrats opinions, since none of them appeared personally in the article.

”Göran Hägglund menar att fler pappor behövs, inte färre.”²¹

Instead of meeting a comment from the Christian democrat's leader Göran Hägglund after this narration, the readers are met by another quote from the alliance party, defending this narration. Not getting any quotes from the Christian democrat's side could be seen in this purpose as the journalist minimizing the “other side” of the story. As a reader after reading the introduction I expected the article to have exchanged of opinions, but the voice of the opponent wasn't heard, it was being narrated by the journalist.

Even though the introduction noted that the article is going to be about Christian democrats and Sweden democrats' opposing the ideas of the alliances, only the Christian democrats was

²¹ Carp, Ossi, *Borgerlig öppning för insemination välkomnas från vänster*, Dagens Nyheter, 2012-02-28

mentioned as opponents throughout the article. The Sweden Democrats was almost forgotten until at the end of the article where the voice of the leader Per Ramhorn is heard. After he was voiced the journalist asked him the following question:

”Far barn till ensamstående mer illa?”²²

Reading between the lines, this question could be seen as the journalist ways of challenging the opponent’s opinion. This is questioning the opponent’s opinion since none of these questions were asked to the alliances and neither were any of the alliances opinions challenged by the journalist. This could jeopardize the journalist credibility or detachment to the article. Asking that question doesn’t feel like it’s relevant for the article either, since the leader of the Sweden democrats isn’t a child psychologist or a child expert.

The title of the article *Borgerlig öppning för insemination välkomnas från vänster* has the connection with the article because the only voice I got to hear from the article was voices from the left (vänster).

The Sweden democrats got the last say in the article because their voice was the last voice heard in the article, but it wasn’t as positive for them as it could seem. The source Per Ramhorn was challenge to his last words by the journalist.

In the news article *Insemination för singlar splittrar alliansen* written by Ossi Carp and published on February 28th 2012, the readers are met by the main actor of the article which is the Christian democrat’s social committee leader Anders Andersson. The article is about the Christian democrat’s opinions on why they are against the idea of legalizing assisted reproduction for single women. The introduction in this article also summarizes what the whole article is about, already in the introduction; readers are almost warned that the main actor, Anders Andersson from the Christian democrats is very upset. Reading further in the article it is seen that, this part of information given in the introduction was merely to give the reader a dramatic feeling and a push to read the article. Because he didn’t seem upset, he seemed more like trying to point out his point of view of the whole situation.

²² Carp, Ossi, *Borgerlig öppning för insemination välkomnas från vänster*, Dagens Nyheter, 2012-02-28

”KD:s övertygelse om barns rätt till båda de biologiska föräldrarnas omvårdnad kommer att vara ett av partiets huvudargument mot en lagändring, men något stöd för att barn till ensamstående far sämre än andra har Anders Andersson inte.”²³

In this piece of the article the journalist writing this information is a way to note that Anders Andersson from the Christian democrats isn't an expert on children or child psychology. This weakens the sources argument in the article because it shows that his main argument is built on assumption - his own assumptions on an area he according to the journalist doesn't have any supporting proof on.

The news article, *Vi tycker att det är ett dåligt förslag* written on February 29th 2012 by Jens Kärman, talks about the Swedish political party the Christian democrats expressing their strong opinion against legalizing assisted reproduction for single women. The introduction of the text summarizes almost everything the text is about. In the beginning of the article, it is visible that the journalist is either taken sides with the main source, the Christian democrats, or just simply trying to dramatize the situation, for example:

“Sedan alliansregeringen tillträdde har den lyckats lösa de flesta av sina konflikter utan öppen strid. Inte den här gången.”²⁴

It sounds like the journalist is trying to give a dictatorial image about the alliance government. The article is also about how the Christian democrats don't agree with the alliance on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women, but throughout the whole article, the only actor that appears in the text was the leader of the Christian democrats Göran Hägglund. No other actor was presented to question Göran Hägglund's opinions; this could jeopardize the journalist credibility. Even the journalist choice of words at various part of the article could give an image of the journalist sympathizing with his source, for example:

*“Därför kan det bli så att övriga allianspartier försöker **runda** KD genom att I stället låta justitiedepartementet, som leds av moderaten Beatrice Ask, utreda frågan.”²⁵*

Instead of giving the readers a direct quote comment from Beatrice Ask, the journalist presents a comment from a previous source Kenneth Johansson chairman of the social committee for the Centerpartiet. One would expect that the person that the journalist is

²³ Carp, Ossi. Insemination splittrar alliansen. Dagens Nyheter, 2012-02-28

²⁴ Kärman, Jens, "Vi tycker att det är ett dåligt förslag", Dagens nyheter, 2012-02-29

²⁵ Kärman, Jens, "Vi tycker att det är ett dåligt förslag", Dagens nyheter, 2012-02-29

narrating about would be the person to comment. Another thing to point out is that the journalist made his main source the leader of the Christian democrats into a children expert (which he is not):

“Vi tycker att det här i grunden är ett dåligt förslag. Vi har uppfattningen att barn har rätt till sina föräldrar.”²⁶

Not only once paragraph where the journalist sympathizes with his source was found on this article. It's easy to miss but looking closer to his choice of word the reader can clearly see the journalist attachment to his source, for example:

*”Moderaterna, Centerpartiet och Folkpartiet **väljer att köra över** Kristdemokraterna i frågan om det ska vara tillåtet med assisterad befruktning för ensamstående kvinnor.”*

When it comes to the journalist – source relationship in this article, I think the journalist has a sympathetic feeling for his source, he sees his source as a victim being bullied. Even though he tries to hide his voice in the article, some of his choice of word reveals him.

The news article *Ensamstående kan få insemineras* written by TT and published on February 28th 2012, is about how the alliances have decided to go ahead with the suggestion on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women, even though the Christian democrats are against the idea. The first and main actor we meet already from the introduction is Jan Björklund, the leader of the liberal party of Sweden.

”– Det får väl socialministern själv avgöra hur involverad han vill vara. Det går ju också att överlåta beredningen till någon annan, säger Björklund.”²⁷

The journalist could have given the readers a part of the “other sides” story, let the Christian democrats defend themselves in this matter. The readers are met with only one side’s opinion. Only one actor is presented in this text, which means only one actor gets the final say. Reading the last line of Björklund’s quote “*Det går ju också att överlåta beredningen till någon annan, säger*”, not putting any further comments or explanation after this quote, could victimize the Christian democrats. The reader could easily see Björklund’s choice of words as a threat to the Christian democrats.

²⁶ Kärman, Jens, “Vi tycker att det är ett dåligt förslag”, Dagens Nyheter. 2012-02-29

²⁷ TT, “Ensamstående ska få insemineras, Dagens Nyheter, 2012- 02- 29

”Vi är övertygade om att människors lämplighet som förälder inte avgörs av huruvida man lever i en parrelation eller inte”, skriver M:s, FP:s och C:s gruppledare i socialutskottet på SvD Brännpunkt, och föreslår en lagändring.”²⁸

”Jag är övertygad om att det är förmågan att kunna ge barnet kärlek och omsorg som är avgörande för en trygg uppväxt – inte om man lever i en parrelation eller inte”, skriver socialutskottets ordförande Kenneth Johansson (C) i ett pressmeddelande.”²⁹

Here the sources in the articles could be portrayed as playing ”expert” on children and families by what they’re saying. They talk about what doesn’t assure a child’s life as if they are experts on the subject. The journalist doesn’t seem to have anything other than a journalist – source relationship with his source, meaning that the journalist takes a fair distance from the article. He uses direct interpretations from the sources when explaining the situation, making no space for his own personal opinion.

The picture in this article connects with the article. It connects with the articles because the article in general is about assisted reproduction for single women and in the picture is a half bodied pregnant woman holding her fully grown pregnant stomach. This picture is a sentimental picture and in one way could almost get the reader directly to choose a side in this story, the side being with the alliances whom by seeing this picture wants to give every woman an opportunity to God’s or nature’s gift. It’s possible that, that wasn’t the journalist intention giving the fact that he has been very neutral during the whole article, but at the same time it’s hard to tell.

These first four articles are about the Swedish political parties’ opinions on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women. In all the articles the journalists concentrate on that fact that the only parties that were against this suggestion were the Christian democrats and the Sweden democrats. But out of four of the articles only one actually talked about Sweden democrats being opponent to the suggestion. In the rest of the article we read what almost seems like a battle between Christian democrats disagreeing with the law suggestion. Saying they’re thinking of the children’s rights and the alliances (based on many different parties) saying they want the laws but how a child’s childhood looks like doesn’t depend on if they have one or two parents. In the articles the Alliances and the Christian democrats tries to give

²⁸ TT, ”Ensamstående ska få insemineras, Dagens Nyheter, 2012- 02- 29

²⁹ TT, ”Ensamstående ska få insemineras, Dagens Nyheter, 2012- 02- 29

convincing arguments to why their decision is the best decision. On the other hand none of them could present experimental or expert facts either, basing their arguments on assumptions only. The journalist did not present the article with experts on the subject either, leaving the article empty and making the reader feel like he or she is reading a fight between two people on a subject they have no knowledge on. No normal everyday person was presented either, like for example mothers or fathers. This creates doubt to the articles from the reader's side.

7.2 Svenska Dagbladet

In the reportage *Viktigaste är att barn har vuxna som älskar den* written by Karin Thurfjell and published on February 28th 2012, we meet Kristina Grandin and her daughter Signe whom she got pregnant with through insemination. We get to enter her life as a single mother and a little bit of inside tales on Signe's life as a child to a single mother. Also Kristina's thoughts on the fact that assisted reproduction for single women might be legalized in Sweden. After the introduction was followed by a large picture which reading further in the text, the picture connects the whole article into one. In the picture the reader sees a little girl smiling in her mother's arms. In her hand is a stuffed animal. Looking at the picture without reading the text, you could never tell that this child is missing a father in her life or people who loves her – which is what I think the journalist intension was to portray.

The journalist then starts the body text with an explanation to the readers:

“Signe Grandin är två och ett halvt år gammal och vet att familjer kan se ut på olika sätt. Hennes består av Signe, mamma, mormor, morfar, moster och bonusfarmor. På hennes dagis finns barn med mamma och pappa, med två mammor och med adoptivföräldrar.”³⁰

Here the journalist intentionally tells the readers that Signe knows what's going on but it doesn't bother her because as far as she's concern, she has people that love her. This knowledge stops the reader from judging the situation before finish reading the article.

The journalist manages to stay detached from the article but at the same time she manages to bring out the normality of being a single parent without having any “extra” problems. The normality of being a child who was born through insemination and the journalist manages to do this without her opinion being visible in the process. She leads the readers into Kristina's

³⁰ Thurfjell, Karin, “Viktigaste är att barn har en vuxen som älskar den”, Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

life first before bringing up the issue of insemination being legalized for single women and bringing up Kristina's opinion on the fact:

“– Det blir ett erkännande för Signe och alla andra barn som kommit till på samma sätt, säger hon.”³¹

Even in this sentence I think the journalist neutrally creates sympathy for children like Signe and officially giving a picture of Christian democrats as “the bad guys” who are against this law and making children like Signe into outsiders.

She then continued by creating sympathy for the woman who has to go through all this trouble to get a child:

”En annan viktig aspekt är enligt Kristina Grandin att kvinnor slipper slänga sig på första bästa flyg till Danmark eller Finland när ägglossningen närmar sig.”

”– Dessutom är det helt ologiskt att ensamstående kan adoptera, men inte insemineras, säger hon.”³²

”– Jag är så lycklig och glad över att ha Signe i mitt liv. Det enda jag ångrar nu är att jag tvekade så länge med att inseminera mig.”³³

I found this article very interesting to analyze, the journalist manages to use her sources words and lifestyle to create sympathy from the reader's side, she was a little subjective in her writing but it's hard to see it if you don't concentrate on it. She connected the title, introduction, picture and text perfectly.

The news article *RFSU: Det är en självklarhet* written by TT and published on February 28th 2012, is about the organization RFSU expressing their supports to the fact that the political parties Centre party, the liberal party of Sweden and Moderate party decided to move forward with the suggestion of legalizing assisted reproduction for single women, without the support of the Christian democrats.

Since this is an issue that has been heard frequently in the media, the journalist didn't feel the need to explain the situation at the beginning of the body text. Even so the journalist gave a

³¹ Thurfjell, Karin, "Viktigaste är att barn har en vuxen som älskar den", Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

³² Thurfjell, Karin, "Viktigaste är att barn har en vuxen som älskar den", Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

³³ Thurfjell, Karin, "Viktigaste är att barn har en vuxen som älskar den", Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

good summarization of what the article is about already in the introduction. After that he uses the sources direct voices to tell the story:

”– Vi är väldigt glada över det steget. Att ensamstående ska ha rätt att bära sitt eget barn tycker vi är en självklarhet. Man har ju i dag som ensamstående rätt att adoptera, säger Kristina Ljungros, ordförande i RFSU.”³⁴

Through the source in this part of the text, the journalist brings out a supporting proven fact, that isn't an assumption. Which is that if single people can adopt then what is the difference with actually carrying you own child as a single woman. This strengthens the sources credibility to the point that she's trying to proof.

”Socialminister Göran Hägglunds argument att förslaget innebär att vissa barn bara får rätt till en förälder kallar hon ihåligt.”³⁵

”– Det är en problematisk utgångspunkt. Många barn växer upp med bara en förälder Sverige i dag. Hägglund degraderar därmed dessa föräldrar och säger att deras föräldraskap är sämre än andras.”³⁶

Once again even in this article we don't get to hear the opponent's voice, instead it is narrated by the journalist. As said earlier this could keep the make the reader wonder if the journalist is simple just taking sides sneakily or if the source wasn't available for interviewing. After that a direct quoting was use to opposes this narrative claim of what leader the Christian democrats Hägglund supposedly said. This shows clearly that the opponents, the Christian democrats, weren't given any power at all in this article. Direct quotes are often more believable than narrated ones. The journalist is almost never heard in the article and most of the article is based on direct quotes, meaning the journalist was a “fly on the wall” in this article. Already in the title it is understood that the main actors that would be heard are the RFSUs.

The news article *Björklund: beklagar att vi inte kom överens* written by TT and published on February 28th 2012, is about the leader Jan Björklund from the Sweden liberal party expressing his apologies that the alliances including his party had to go ahead with the decision about assisted reproduction, even though the Christian democrats are against it. He also took the opportunity to explain why they alliances decided to take this decision:

³⁴ TT, RFSU: det är en självklarhet, Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

³⁵ TT, RFSU: det är en självklarhet, Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

³⁶ TT, RFSU: det är en självklarhet, Svenska Dagbladet, 2012-02-28

” – Vi har diskuterat den här frågan i ett antal år men vi upplevde att vi inte kommer längre i förhandlingarna, och då var det dags att konstatera att det finns en mycket bred majoritet, säger han till TT.”³⁷

The first paragraph after introduction gives the reader a picture of a situation that has been going on longer than it is supposed to, just because one party didn't agree to it and for many years the alliances have been taking consideration of the Christian democrat's opinion. And now it's time to move forward without them. Here the journalist gives the Christian democrats a sort of “grumpy” image, giving the reader a feeling of the need almost to sympathize with the alliances for having to put up with the Christian democrats stubbornness for so long.

Throughout the article the journalist quotes Björklund and then in the end finishes by giving the last say to the Christian democrats through narration.

The news article *Statsvetare: Risk att KD tappar i trovärdighet* written by Mikaela Åkerman, is based on information from the political scientist Magnus Hagavi. The text is based on Hagavi talking about how Christian democrat's decision to disagree with the alliances about the decision to legalize assisted reproduction could jeopardize their place in the parliament. In the text Hagavi states the following:

”– Gissningsvis kan man anta att det finns en ganska stark majoritet i riksdagen för att gå det här tillmötes, och att KD då förlorar den här omröstningen, säger han.”³⁸

”– Det finns en risk att KD tappar i trovärdighet när man ganska lättvindigt administrerar beslut man egentligen är emot. För KD har familjen som ledstjärna och ser familjen som en enhet i form av mamma pappa och barn är det här en viktig fråga, säger Magnus Hagevi.”³⁹

Because he's an expert on politic, him making this statement was left by the journalist for the readers to assume it as the truth. The journalist didn't give any space for opposition, leaving Hagavi's words as the truth.

Throughout the rest of the article the reading gets to meet similar comments from Hagavi saying that the Christian democrats are pretending to put up a fight before finally giving in, to seem strong. His voice was the only voice heard, making him the main and only actor in the

³⁷ TT, Björklund: beklagar att vi inte kom överens, 2012-02-28

³⁸ Åkerman, Mikaela, *Statsvetare: Risk att KD tappar i trovärdighet*, 2012-02-28

³⁹ Åkerman, Mikaela, *Statsvetare: Risk att KD tappar i trovärdighet*, 2012-02-28

article. The journalist gives very little narrating points and kept herself neutral and detached from the article.

In the news article *Göran Hägglund (KD): "Ett riktigt dåligt förslag"* written by Mikaela Åkerman and published on February 28th 2012, noted the fact that the Christian democrats have said no to the suggestion on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women in Sweden. But the Christian democrats saying no doesn't change anything; the rest of the parties voted yes and have decided to go forward with the suggestion without the Christian democrats concerned. In one of the Christian democrats quote, Göran Hägglund from the Christian democrats comments the situation:

*"– De partierna som är beredd att genomdriva en sådan lagstiftning tycker jag tar på sig ett mycket stort ansvar, eftersom barn med bara en förälder är mer utsatt. Blir en förälder sjuk eller går bort har de här barnen ingen förälder kvar."*⁴⁰

Göran Hägglund is trying to give a clear picture that their party isn't being stubborn, instead they're thinking of the children, which opponents aren't doing. The following paragraph is written by the journalist himself narrative:

*"Förslaget, som ska tas upp i socialutskottet i dag, innebär att partierna går vidare utan KD, som sedan länge sagt bestämt nej till en lagändring."*⁴¹

Reading between the lines the journalist is admitting the facts to the readers that the Christian democrats' decision really doesn't affect alliances. In this position the Christian democrats can be seen as stubborn and just putting an empty fight to make show. And in this case lose supporters.

In the news article *Ensamstående ska få insemineras* written by TT and published on February 28th 2012, the journalist writes shortly about assisted reproduction for single women. The journalist also gives a short view on the fact that the Christian democrats has always been against this suggestion and the alliances have voted negative to this suggestion a few times

⁴⁰ Åkerman, Mikaela, Göran Hägglund (KD): "Ett riktigt dåligt förslag", 2012-02-28

⁴¹ ⁴¹ Åkerman, Mikaela, Göran Hägglund (KD): "Ett riktigt dåligt förslag", 2012-02-28

because of the Christian democrats. The journalist then proceeds in ending the article with a quote from the Centre party's social committee chairman Kenneth Johansson:

”Många kvinnor lever i dag som ensamstående, men med en stor längtan efter barn. Jag är övertygad om att det är förmågan att kunna ge barnet kärlek och omsorg som är avgörande för en trygg uppväxt - inte om man lever i en parrelation eller inte”, skriver socialutskottets ordförande Kenneth Johansson (C) i ett pressmeddelande.”⁴²

This quote creates sympathy for the single women by giving the readers a bigger picture. That no matter what home a child comes from, life can still prove to be easy or difficult. Reading between the lines she admits the different definitions of family, she shows that a person does not have to have a partner to be a fit mother or to become the perfect family. Because there's no opponent to these facts, you could say that, the text in one way supports the picture that Johansson is trying to portray, meaning that the journalist is taking side in a hidden way.

7.3 Conclusion

When I hear the word assisted reproduction, I automatically think about hospitals and babies, but that's far from the angles the two newspapers I have chosen, choose to follow this subject. After reading the articles on Dagens Nyheter and analyzing them, I came to the conclusion that all the articles sounded the same. It was like reading the same articles with only a few words being changed. All the articles are linked together; one could say that the latest article took its information from the previous one and so on. The article in Dagens Nyheter were also strictly political, the journalists put their concentration on the political fight between the Christian Democratic Party and the alliances. The alliances were explaining themselves meanwhile the Christian Democratic Party were defending themselves and the readers got to meet the same sources several of times in the different articles. It was like the same story being told over and over again.

Svenska Dagbladet in the other hand gave the readers a little mixture; we not only get to meet the voices of politicians, but also the voices of single women who have been through insemination.

⁴² TT, Ensamstående ska få insemineras, 2012-02-28

In both newspapers when the Christian Democratic Party are the main sources, the journalist concentrates on giving the readers information based on the Christian Democratic Party defending their decisions. And when the Alliances are the main sources, the journalist concentrates on giving the readers information based on the alliances explaining their decision. One thing also noticeable is that neither Dagens Nyheter nor Svenska Dagbladet gave a fair share on the discussion between Christian Democratic and the Alliances. Every one of their introductions in the articles talked about the Christian Democratic Party saying no to the suggestion on legalizing assisted reproduction for single women. But while reading I noticed that though the Christian Democratic Party was being heard, they still don't really get a lot of quotes, meanwhile a whole article is based on quotes from the Alliances. This of course does not mean that the journalist are taken side, but it was definitely visible that in the "political fight" one side (the alliances) was being heard more than the other (the Christian Democratic Party)

Also noticeable is that the articles from both Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet have a connection; they seem to have taken information from each other or from the same sources. In some articles, the quotes and when the journalist is being narrative were very similar.

What I also noticed was that not as many articles as I had expected were written about this issue. The fact that assisted reproduction can be classified as a social political and family political issue is why I expected to find a lot of articles about assisted reproduction on Svenska Dagbladet's Idagsidan and Dagens Nyheter's Insida. Idagsidan is the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet's department for psychology, existential issues, male-female, children and young people, relationships and sex, trends in society and the body and health. Insidan holds the same position in Dagens Nyheter. But only 3 articles were found in Dagens Nyheter's insidan and they were very old articles between 2007 and 2011, nothing so ever has been written about assisted reproduction being legalized for single people in 2012. Meanwhile in Svenska Dagbladet's only four articles were written in their Idagsidan and even there too, the articles were old articles with only one of them from 2012. This is where the essay in my chapter earlier research *Assisterad befruktning – 15 år senare* comes in. The timeline I found on this research showed what a big time gap there is between each time a new law or discussion about assisted reproduction is brought up. Thinking of the gaps and how little there is written in the newspapers about this subject, could make one think that there is tabulism in this subject that is the reason for why the subject is being shutdown as quickly as it is being

brought up. Meaning that when this subject is being brought up, very little is being written about it in the newspapers and after a short period of time the subject is forgotten until the next couple of years that it will be brought up again. Which could also explain why after sorting out my categories, I only had 10 articles left to analyze in a period of time when there should clearly be more articles written about this subject. Meaning that due to the fact that this subject is at the height of its moment, it is still fresh, I expected to find more than the amount of news articles that I found for my qualitative text analysis.

Assisted reproduction can also be seen as a gender issue but after reading and analyzing the news articles I also noticed that none of the journalists actually handle this issue as a gender problem, instead it was handled as a political issue. Kajsa Ekis says that surrogate mothers are being seen as someone who helps provide the “idea family” for our society, while they really aren’t different from normal prostitutes because either way someone is selling their body for money. This is a gender angle that the journalist in the newspapers could have lifted up but they didn’t. Could it be that the gender angle wasn’t prioritized because this aspect could create sympathy on this subject? Or maybe it wouldn’t have attracted as many readers as the “political angle” was attracting?

The biggest concentration in all the articles was on the political argument between the alliances and the Christian Democratic Party. The only article that could be classified as having been written about this issue from a gender perspective was the reportage *Viktigaste är att barn har vuxna som älskar dem* about Kristina Grandin, a single woman who got her daughter Signe through insemination. Even though we get to meet a gender perspective on this article, the journalists still manage to bring in the political issue in it. Thinking of the fact that this issue is about women and their bodies they should clearly have been more articles on the gender perspective side of this issue. It makes me wonder if this issue didn’t get the attention it deserves because of the fact that it *is* a gender issue that got turned around.

In conclusion looking closer into the articles it is very interesting to see how the newspapers view this issue. The articles were mostly about the political conflicts that were going on due to this issue, and many of the articles the journalists wrote seem to have used this issue to attack the Christian Democratic Party. This might be due to the fact that the Christian Democratic Party has been against this issue for many years every time it has been brought up. Instead of writing about the issue for what it is, about children, women and their bodies, it was used to highlight the conflicts between the Christian Democratic Party and the alliances.

Another interesting fact is that this issue is actually an issue about women's body but yet it is only *men* who speak on the issue in the articles. In the article that I chose to analyze it was very clear that male sources dominated the articles and a female voice was barely heard. This just proves that this issue has gone so far that it has become a political issue instead of a gender issue. This is where the framing theory in my chapter about earlier research and theories comes in. The importance of this issue seems to have been long forgotten and the newspapers turn it into a political issue. Even the main actors (women) did not even get as much as a little space in this issue. Going after that framing theory further, the journalist seem to be writing a perspective that their audience clearly react to strongly which is why there is a continuation with the perspective. This means that this subject has been framed from a gender issue and turned around into a political fight. It makes one wonder if this journalist are really focused on this subject or just lifting it because the angle they chose to use sales better?

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