

AI at Work: Good News or Bad News?

A Longitudinal Study of Dominant Media Frames of AI's Impact on Work in Swedish Trade Media

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Abstract: The media's framing of artificial intelligence (AI) has drawn increasing scholarly attention for its role in shaping public perception and polarizing opinion by emphasizing selective aspects of the technology. This is especially relevant in the context of work, where successful AI adoption partly depends on workers' attitudes, perceptions, and knowledge. Despite widespread predictions about AI's impact on work, limited research has examined how media has framed these implications. Existing studies mostly focus on early media portrayals in AI-leading countries, overlooking how framing evolves with growing adoption and varies across national contexts. This study addresses these gaps by analyzing how trade media framed AI's impact on work from 2019 to 2024 in Sweden, a country with relatively slow AI adoption and growing skepticism. Using Framing Theory and literature on AI and work, a longitudinal qualitative content and thematic analysis of 619 articles is conducted, which revealed six dominant media frames: *disruptive force*, *inherent risks*, *opportunities*, *augmenting tool*, *job displacement*, and *importance of upskilling*. These frames all shifted from speculative to concrete implications as AI became more accessible. Additionally, the framing evolved from predominantly negative to more positive following the release of generative AI tools. This study contributes to academic literature by enriching the concept of AI as a double-edged sword, illustrating the ambiguity of its impact on work. It also advances media framing theory by showing frames evolve with technological and societal change, and may transcend national context. Conclusively, this study offers practical insights for organizations managing AI adoption.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, AI impact, framing, media frame, trade media, work

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	8
1.1 Background	8
1.2 Research Context	11
1.3 Purpose & Expected Contribution	12
1.4 Research Questions	12
1.5 Delimitations	13
2. Theory	14
2.1 Literature Review	14
2.1.1 AI and Its Impact on Work	14
2.1.1.1 Defining AI	14
2.1.1.2 AI's Impact on Work	14
2.1.2 Framing Theory	16
2.1.3 Media Framing	17
2.1.3.1 The Process of Media Framing	18
2.1.3.2 AI Media Frames	20
2.2 Synthesis & Research Gap	21
2.3 Conceptual Framework	22
3. Methodology	24
3.1 Methodological Fit	24
3.2 Research Design	24
3.3 Research Process	25
3.3.1 Preparatory Work	26
3.3.2 Data Collection	26
3.3.3 Data Analysis	28
3.3.3.1 Thematic Analysis	29
3.3.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis	31
3.3.4 Concluding Work	32
3.4 Quality of the Study	33
3.4.1 Trustworthiness	33
3.4.1.1 Credibility	33
3.4.1.2 Transferability	33
3.4.1.3 Dependability	33
3.4.1.4 Conformability	34
3.4.2 Ethical Considerations	34
4. Empirical Findings and Analysis	35

4.1 Statistical Trends in Swedish Trade Media Coverage	35
4.1.1 An Increasing Number of Publications	35
4.1.2 A Shifting Framing Tonality	36
4.2 Dominant Media Frames of AI's Impact on Work	37
4.2.1 Generic Media Frames	40
4.2.1.1 Disruptive Force - From Futuristic to Everyday Reality	40
4.2.1.2 Inherent Risks - From General Concerns to Concrete Evidence	42
4.2.1.3 Opportunities - From New Business Value to New Professions	43
4.2.2 Issue-Specific Media Frames	44
4.2.2.1 Augmenting Tool - From Salvation to Support and Back Again	45
4.2.2.2 Job Displacement - From Forecasts to Tangible Redundancies	46
4.2.2.3 Importance of Upskilling - From Vague to Specific Recommendations	47
5. Discussion and Conclusions	50
5.1 The Evolving and Conflicting Media Frames of AI's Impact on Work	50
5.2 Theoretical Contributions	51
5.2.1 A Polarized View of AI's Impact on Work	51
5.2.2 The Evolution of Media Frames	52
5.2.3 The Disconnection Between The Country Context and Media Framing	53
5.3 Practical Implications	55
5.4 Limitations	56
5.5 Future Research	57
6. References	58
6.1 Academic Sources	58
6.2 Electronic Sources	64
6.3 Personal Communication	65
7. Appendices	66
7.1 Appendix A: The Context of Work and AI in Sweden	66
7.2 Appendix B: Interview Subject	68
7.3 Appendix C: Interview Guide (Preparatory Work)	69
7.4 Appendix D: Interview Guide (Concluding Work)	70
7.5 Appendix E: Thematic Analysis Process	71
8. AI Disclosure	74
8.1 Generative AI Description	74
8.2 Generative AI Sources	74

List of Figures

Figure 1. Process Model of Framing (Scheuefele, 1999)	19
Figure 2. Conceptual Framework	23
Figure 3. Research Process Outline	25
Figure 4. Thematic Analysis Process	31
Figure 5. Coding Scheme for Qualitative Content Analysis	32
Figure 6. Swedish Trade Media Articles on AI's Impact on Work 2019-2024	35
Figure 7. Percentage of Positive, Negative, and Mixed/Neutral Media Framing Tonality	36
Figure 8. Percentage of Articles in Each Frame from 2019 to 2024	38
Figure 9. Evolution of Dominant Trade Media Frames	51
Figure 10. Swedish Labor Market Trends Between 2019 and 2024*	67
Figure 11. Swedish Citizens' Attitudes Toward AI's Impact on Individuals*	67

List of Tables

Table 1. Selected Trade Media Journals	27
Table 2. Dominant Media Frames in Swedish Trade Media	37

Definitions

<i>Term</i>	<i>Definition in this study</i>
Artificial Intelligence (AI)	A flexible, self-learning system encompassing both robots and digital systems that process data, recognize patterns, make decisions, and adapt over time to achieve specific goals without human programming (Elliott, 2019; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019; Raisch and Krakowski, 2021).
Automation	AI taking over human tasks (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021).
Augmentation	AI complementing human tasks (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021).
Audience Frame	Individual cognitive schemas within the receivers of media frames which determine how framed issues are comprehended by the receiver (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).
Communicative Frame	Frames expressed through language, art, or other media that trigger the activation or formation of similar cognitive frames in the mind of another person (Sullivan, 2023).
Frame	A cognitive lens used by actors to simplify complex environments, enabling them to focus on specific elements, make decisions, and take action (Goffman, 1986).
Framing	Choosing specific elements of a perceived reality and increasing their salience to highlight a particular problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or recommended responses to the described element (Entman, 1993).
Frame Building	The process that determines how an issue is expressed and presented in news media (Scheufele, 1999).
Frame Setting	The process by which media frames influence public opinion and individual perceptions by shaping what facts or values of an issue are considered more relevant (Scheufele, 1999).
Generic Media Frame	Broad and overarching media frames that can be generalized across different issues, potentially applicable to various cultural contexts, time periods, or themes (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).
Issue-Specific Media Frame	Media frames pertinent to specific topics or issues that

encompass specific angles or extrapolated facets of an issue (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

Journalist Frame

Journalists' cognitive schemas that shape their thoughts about a given issue or event and, thereby, how they present that issue or event (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

Media Frame

Written, spoken, or visual messages produced by media that emphasize the salience of certain aspects of an event or issue (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

Salience

Information is made more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to the receiver, increasing the likelihood that the receiver will interpret, process, and store it (Entman, 1993).

Trade Media

Journalism that produces content related to work and business, targeting professionals and organizations within given industries (Wilkinson and Merle, 2013; Duffy, Prah, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022).

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

“The development [of a positive attitude to AI in Sweden] has gone as a curve that started out quite high, then it peaked in 2021, and now it has collapsed. [...] The media plays an important role. We have been conducting attitude surveys for over a decade, and we can see that media reporting influences public opinion on various issues.”

– Lukas Berg (2025a)

The emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI) as the most transformative technology in the 21st century (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018) has evoked substantial media attention in recent years (Ittefaq et al., 2025). Both experts (Berg, 2025a) and scholars recognize the media as a key actor in shaping public perceptions and polarizing opinion by directing attention to selected aspects of the novel technology (Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005; Groves, Figuerola, and Quintanilla, 2016; Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Cools, Van Gorp and Opgenhaffen, 2024). The broad reach of media provides it with a twofold ability to affect individuals’ perceptions and reflect the ongoing societal debate by reporting on the public’s stance regarding AI (Macnamara, 2005; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Choi et al., 2024).

Nowhere is this dynamic more crucial than in the context of work, as successful AI adoption depends on human support (Jarrahi, 2018). Given the inherent complementarity between AI systems and humans, the perceptions, attitudes, and knowledge of individual workers influence whether AI is successfully adopted within an organization (Jarrahi, 2018; Kar and Kushwaha, 2023; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). This underscores the importance of understanding how the media is framing AI’s impact on work as these media narratives reveal the central issues attached to the technology, which in turn signals what perceptions, attitudes, and knowledge people access (Brause et al., 2023), ultimately affecting employees’ readiness to embrace or resist AI at work (Orlikowski and Gash, 1994; Kaplan and Tripsas, 2008).

Unlike previous transformative technologies, such as information technology, which enabled communication between humans and machines (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018), AI possesses self-learning capabilities that operate beyond human control, as it autonomously derives knowledge from data rather than relying on human-programmed rules (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019; Allen, 2020). AI can be described as a system’s ability to interpret data, learn from that

data, and utilize the learning to help humans achieve specific goals through adaptation (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019). In many cases, the technology surpasses human cognitive performance (Glikson and Woolley, 2020) and can solve complex problems for businesses (Golgeci et al., 2025). As such, AI promises to transform the world of work by reshaping industries and redefining organizational structures, ultimately fueling the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025).

This transformative promise of AI has generated an immense interest among scholars and the media. However, rather than reporting on specific technological features of AI, media tend to report on AI's impact (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018), often in the workplace (Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Brause et al., 2023; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024). These media narratives are often double-edged (Vicsek, 2021), just like the academic literature on AI's potential in the workplace. On the one hand, media and scholars portray successful AI adoption in the workplace as enhancing processes, reducing costs, and fostering new professions (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020). On the other hand, discussions persist about AI's role in ruining jobs, increasing layoffs, and challenging the hierarchical nature of business and society (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). These polarized predictions are the most prominent within the debate of AI's impact on work (Vicsek, 2021), which elicits a complex mix of curiosity and apprehension among workers (Golgeci et al., 2025). As successful AI adoption depends on human acceptance and support (Jarrahi, 2018; Kar and Kushwaha, 2023; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025), the media has a significant influence on AI adoption in organizations through its ability to disseminate narratives and predictions about the technology.

An increasing number of studies have demonstrated the decisive role of media narratives in shaping public perceptions of AI, drawing on the well-established Framing Theory (Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024; Ittefaq et al., 2025). In its earliest form, a frame was conceptualized as a cognitive lens used by actors to simplify intricate environments, allowing them to focus on specific elements, make decisions, and take action (Goffman, 1986). Today, framing is a broad construct used across diverse research fields to explain macro-level representations and micro-level interpretations of issues (Sullivan, 2023; Flusberg et al., 2024). An important theoretical development of framing theory has emerged within the communications research field, where media frames have been proven to influence how an audience perceives and responds to

reality by emphasizing certain aspects while omitting others (Entman, 1993; De Vreese, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). This development of Framing Theory is highly applicable for understanding perceptions of AI, as individuals often rely on media frames when interpreting uncertain developments in which they lack prior experience and knowledge (Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Brause et al., 2023).

However, media framing is a dynamic and evolving process (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2019). The frames produced by journalists are shaped by public debate, organizational pressures, and journalists' perceptions (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2019). The resulting media frames, in turn, further influence public perceptions, shaping subsequent debates and impacting prevailing narratives (Scheufele, 1999; Groves, Figuerola, and Quintanilla, 2016). This ongoing framing process demonstrates how media both affect and reflect individuals' perceptions, making it a powerful source for understanding the development of media frames and consequent public attitudes toward AI over time (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Scheufele, 1999; Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Brause et al., 2023).

Despite the growing body of literature on media framing of AI, the topic remains underexplored (Brause et al., 2023). First, there is a limited understanding of how media frames have evolved together with the progression and accessibility of AI in recent years, and scholars consistently call for more longitudinal research acknowledging media framing as a dynamic and ever-evolving process (Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024). This process perspective is particularly important regarding AI, as interpretations, attitudes, and opinions naturally evolve with a technology's development and adoption over time (Kaplan and Tripsas, 2008). Second, given the novelty of interdisciplinary research on media framing and AI, there is a need for further research in additional country contexts (Nguyen and Hekman, 2022) to achieve a broader theoretical understanding of potential differences in media frames in countries at different levels of AI maturity. Third, most previous research has predominantly investigated general frames of AI (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024), yet focused examinations into media frames of AI's impact on work remain scarce, despite the technology's promise to unleash the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018). Ultimately, this study seeks to bridge

these knowledge gaps by examining the dominant media frames of AI's impact on work and how these have evolved in a novel country context.

1.2 Research Context

Sweden constitutes a compelling research context for this study for several reasons (See full description in Appendix A). First, unlike in many other countries, the Swedish labor market is particularly susceptible to opinion shifts due to workers' considerable power over their working lives. This power is mainly attributable to the strong presence of trade unions, which actively shape policy and negotiate to protect workers' conditions (Furåker and Bengtsson, 2013; Logue, 2019). Trade unions in Sweden wield greater influence than in most other countries (Logue, 2019), with a workforce unionization rate of 68% in 2023 (Larsson, 2024) compared to 22.4% in the United Kingdom (Department for Business & Trade, 2024) and 10.1% in the United States (Redmond, 2024). Given the strong presence of trade unions in Sweden, it is crucial to understand the media narratives that shape workers' perceptions, as these affect the agendas of organizations.

Second, although Sweden is considered a technologically advanced country (Torkington, 2023), it lags in AI adoption. The public accessibility of Generative AI, following the release of OpenAI's chatbot ChatGPT in November 2022 (Elliott, 2024), led to an increase in AI usage in Swedish businesses from 5.4% in 2019 to 25.2% in 2024, with the number of firms using AI doubling from 2023 (SCB, 2024). Despite this surge in AI usage, merely 20% of the Swedish population utilizes AI in their work (Insight Intelligence, 2025b) compared to the global average of 65% (McKinsey & Co, 2024). This slower adoption rate presents a unique opportunity to study the evolution of dominant media frames in a context where the technology has not yet become widely adopted into the labor market.

Third, this technological lag in the Swedish labor market coincides with a rising negative attitude towards AI among the Swedish population. In fact, Swedish citizens' positive attitudes towards AI peaked in 2021 but have since then declined, facing historically high skepticism in 2023 and 2024 (Insight Intelligence, 2025b). According to Lukas Berg (2025a), CEO of Insight Intelligence and public opinion expert, this shift in opinion may be closely tied to evolving media narratives, as media influences opinions and perceptions on various issues. Keeping all of this in mind, Sweden constitutes a compelling research context as it allows the exploration of dominant media frames of AI's impact on work in a country that

lags in AI adoption and in which employees' opinions, which have shifted together with AI's accessibility, are influential in shaping the agenda for organizations.

1.3 Purpose & Expected Contribution

The purpose of this study is to understand how the media's framing of AI's impact on work has evolved over the past six years. Firstly, the aim is to identify the frames that have dominated the media coverage surrounding AI's impact on work in a country that lags in AI adoption. Discovering these frames enables an understanding of the predictions that shape employees' perception, acceptance, and subsequent adoption of AI in workplaces. With this in mind, this study is expected to theoretically contribute to the literature on AI's impact on work by demonstrating the dominant predictions of what AI will entail for work, and to Framing Theory by examining whether country contextual factors influence media framing of AI. On a practical level, this study is envisioned to contribute to organizations and institutions by highlighting the media frames shaping employee and business perceptions. This can inform organizational strategies for proactively shaping the AI-driven workplace transformation and guide strategies for media, labor unions, and policymakers regarding how to steer the discourse toward favorable AI adoption. Since Sweden lags in AI adoption, organizations and institutions must make informed decisions to position Sweden at the forefront of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Secondly, the aim is to explore how dominant media frames of AI's impact on work have evolved with the progression and increased accessibility of AI in recent years. This evolution is critical to explore as changes in media frames can reveal changes in perceptions of AI, which in turn have implications for its adoption. By responding to the growing calls for further longitudinal research (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024), this study is expected to contribute to scholars by enriching the notion of media framing as a process (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

1.4 Research Questions

To address the identified research gaps and realize the aforementioned purpose, this study will explore the following two research questions:

RQ1: What media frames have dominated the trade media discourse of AI's impact on work in Sweden between 2019 and 2024?

RQ2: How have these media frames evolved with the progression and accessibility of AI in Sweden between 2019 and 2024?

1.5 Delimitations

Certain delimitations are required to realize the purpose of this study. First, the study focuses on the period from 2019 to 2024, as it marks the time just before, during, and after the widespread societal introduction of AI (Appendix A). Second, the media scope is delimited to trade media rather than mass media, as it provides targeted coverage of the labor market and businesses (Wilkinson and Merle, 2013), allowing for a more explicit analysis of articles discussing AI's impact on work.

2. Theory

This chapter presents a review of existing literature deemed relevant for answering the research questions (2.1), followed by a synthesis highlighting the research gaps (2.2), and a presentation of the conceptual framework developed to guide the study (2.3).

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 AI and Its Impact on Work

2.1.1.1 Defining AI

AI is a transformative technology encompassing multiple interconnected concepts and breakthroughs (Allen, 2020). Although AI has been widely discussed in the literature for over half a century, providing a universal definition remains difficult (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020). Nevertheless, Skilton and Hovsepian (2018) identify four recurring pillars within definitions: perception, learning, natural language processing, and reasoning. Following Nilsson (1971), Raisch and Krakowski (2021) describe AI as machines carrying out human-like cognitive functions, including learning, interaction, and problem-solving. Similarly, AI has been defined as the ability of a system to interpret data, learn from such data, and use that learning to help humans achieve specific goals through responsive adaptation, at the same level or even surpassing human performance, enabled by machine learning (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019; Allen, 2020). These abilities are further emphasized by Elliott (2019), who describes AI as any computational system capable of thinking, learning, and reacting, which can be realized in both physical robots and digital systems.

This study combines the aforementioned definitions and assumes that AI is a *flexible, self-learning system encompassing both robots and digital systems that process data, recognize patterns, make decisions, and adapt over time to achieve specific goals without human programming*. This definition has implications for AI at work as it highlights its opportunities in assisting and improving human work, and its challenges, such as loss of control and a diminished need for human workers.

2.1.1.2 AI's Impact on Work

In recent years, the progression of AI has accelerated significantly (Appendix A), which has unlocked new opportunities for organizations to improve the effectiveness of operations that

previously required human intelligence (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). As such, AI is transforming the workplace by altering organizational structures, employee roles, and work design (Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025).

Similar to previous workplace revolutions, AI has provoked various predictions and narratives about how the future of work might unfold; however, the dialogue remains polarized (Vicsek, 2021). On the one hand, scholars emphasize the possibility of AI to augment human work by assisting employees and fostering more creative and satisfying jobs (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021). On the other hand, scholars suggest that the introduction of AI in organizations will automate work and thus lead to massive unemployment (Ibid.). These conflicting predictions also extend to wider consequences for the labor market and society. The anticipated opportunities of AI include improved productivity, the emergence of new professions and sectors, reduced biases in human resource practices, and enhanced working environments (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Siau and Wang, 2019; Vicsek, 2021). In contrast, forecasts of inherent risks are also prevalent, including amplified biases, greater societal inequality, technical shortcomings (Siau and Wang, 2019), dehumanization of work (Khogali and Mekid, 2023) and increased job stress induced by confusion about tasks, the need for adaptation, and increased workload (Kim and Lee, 2024). Ultimately, these contradictory predictions underscore the uncertainties surrounding AI's impact on work, often described as a double-edged sword that presents both opportunities and risks and that could drive either augmentation or automation of the human workforce (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025).

Moving beyond a simple either/or perspective of AI in the workplace (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025), Raisch and Krakowski (2021) propose a both/and perspective, recognizing automation and augmentation as both conflicting and interdependent, creating an enduring paradox. Overemphasizing either can undermine organizational performance and societal benefits by generating considerable job losses and creating tensions between workers with and without augmentation-relevant skills (Ibid.). In contrast, a balanced integration can generate supplementary benefits where AI offloads and accelerates time-consuming tasks, thereby enabling employees to focus on strategically developing their core human skills (Ibid.). Numerous scholars emphasize the significance of skills development even beyond the augmentation/automation debate. Skills development is considered crucial not only for effectively harnessing and understanding AI but also for

addressing its limitations through uniquely human skills such as empathy and intuition (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025).

Ultimately, narratives and predictions concerning AI's impact on work are polarized, typically portraying either positive or negative implications (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2019; Vicsek, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025), while more balanced perspectives remain scarce (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021). Widely disseminated through the media, these narratives and predictions are easily accessible to individuals, contributing to ambiguous expectations and a complex mix of emotions (Vicsek, 2021; Golgeci et al., 2025). Whilst positive predictions of AI's impact on work can contribute to curiosity and optimism among employees, dystopian narratives can foster fear and resistance (Golgeci et al., 2025), which has been identified as a driver of employee resistance to AI adoption (Nam, 2019). This potential resistance raises concerns for businesses seeking to leverage the promised benefits of AI, as successful adoption requires workforce acceptance and support (Ångström et al., 2023; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025), but negative perceptions ultimately impede such adoption (Brougham and Haar, 2020). Such concerns underscore the importance of understanding the prominent narratives of AI's impact on work as they can shape perceptions and inform employees' behavior, subsequently influencing actions toward AI at work (Vicsek, 2021).

2.1.2 Framing Theory

Framing Theory is a theory broadly concerned with how selected aspects of reality are presented and how this shapes perceptions, interpretations, and actions. The construct of *framing* emerged throughout the 20th century, driven by an interest across multiple academic disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, psychology, economics, mass communication, and political science (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Flusberg et al., 2024). However, different research streams have developed along distinct paths, resulting in differences in the meaning of the construct across academic disciplines (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Sullivan, 2023; Flusberg et al., 2024). One of the most widely cited definitions of the construct was developed by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1986), who described a *frame* as a cognitive lens used by actors to simplify intricate environments, allowing them to focus on specific elements, make decisions, and take action. Another widely cited definition of the construct was provided by Robert Entman (1993) in the communications field, who described framing as choosing specific elements of a perceived reality and increasing their salience in a

communicating text to highlight a particular problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or recommended responses to the described element.

Since these early definitions, scholars in separately developed fields have provided various alternative definitions of the construct (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Flusberg et al., 2024). One such alternative definition, building on Entman's (1993) foundational work, has emerged within the communications field, conceptualizing *communicative frames* as a type of frame that emerges when expressed through language, art, or other media (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Sullivan, 2023). Chong and Druckman (2007) explain how receivers' attitudes and behaviors are influenced by such communicative frames, which are highly dynamic and dependent on ongoing events and the context in which they are produced. They recognize framing as a process through which individuals develop a specific understanding or adjust their perspective of an issue in response to communicative frames. This process holds especially true for novel and unexplored issues, as individuals may lack experience and knowledge beforehand (Ibid.). However, the success of communicative frames in affecting the receiver's attitudes and behaviors depends on their salience (Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Flusberg et al., 2024). Salience implies that information is made more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to the receiver, ultimately increasing the probability that the receiver will interpret, process, and store it (Entman, 1993). One way the salience of a frame can increase is through repetition (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Flusberg et al., 2024), for instance, by being regularly repeated in the news media (Entman, 1993).

2.1.3 Media Framing

A prominent research field within the groundwork of communicative frames is *media framing* and its role in shaping public attitudes, behaviors, and opinions (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1993; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). *Media frames* are a type of communicative frame that was early described as organizing everyday reality and providing meaning to events by selecting some aspects of such events and making them more salient (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Entman, 1993). More recent definitions describe media frames as journalistically produced written, spoken, or visual messages that emphasize the salience of certain aspects of an issue (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). As such, the construct of media framing is closely related to Agenda-Setting Theory, which suggests that news media have the power to shape the reality that individuals perceive and influence the importance of issues in the public's mind by emphasizing selected aspects of an issue and

undermining others (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). The more attention a particular issue receives from the media, the greater significance the audience perceives it (Ibid.). Thus, when investigating the media's role in affecting perceptions, Framing Theory helps understand the presentation of issues, whereas Agenda-Setting Theory explains why issues are salient (De Vreese, 2005). Hence, both theories are valuable for understanding the framing of events in media and how this affects how the audience interprets and understands these events (Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005; Nazir et al., 2022).

In addition to shaping the frames and consequent perceptions held by its audience, the media is reciprocally influenced by preexisting public opinions and beliefs (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Behind published articles are journalists who are influenced by factors such as pre-existing frames, which affect their presentation of certain issues (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2019). Thus, media discourse and public opinion should be treated as two interacting systems that jointly construct meaning by influencing each other in an ongoing process (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

2.1.3.1 The Process of Media Framing

Reflecting the dynamic interplay between journalists, media frames, and audiences, scholars have conceptualized framing as a multilevel process (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002; De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). The process model of framing (Figure 1), initially developed by Scheufele (1999), essentially conceptualizes framing as a continuous and dynamic process in which *journalist frames* shape *media frames*, which in turn influence *audience frames*, ultimately affecting individual and public attitudes, that feed back into the production of subsequent media frames.

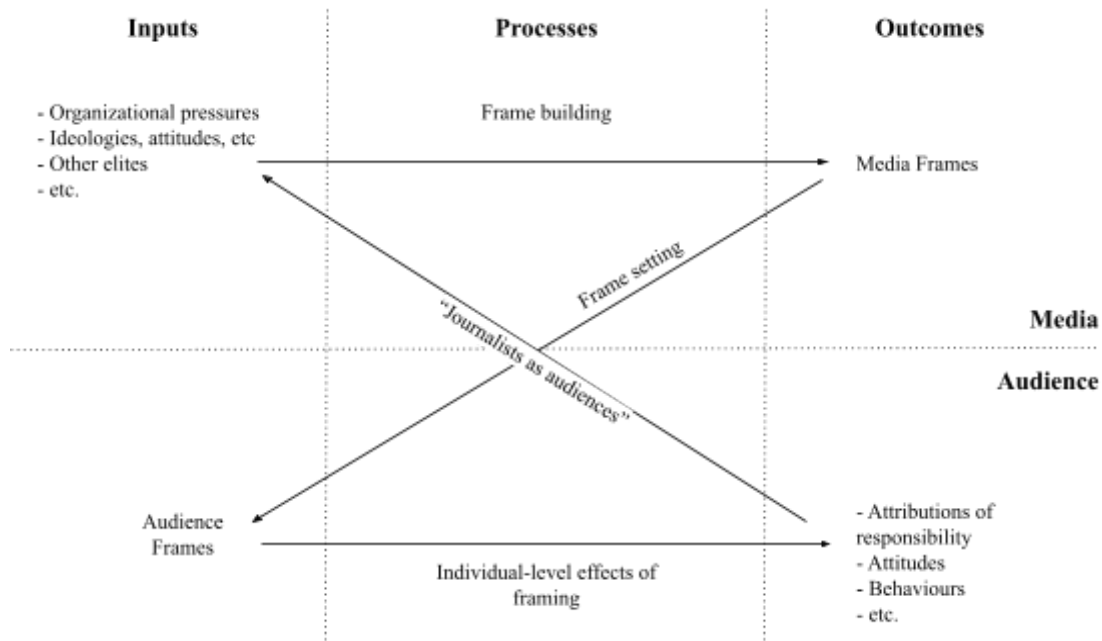


Figure 1. Process Model of Framing (Scheufele, 1999)

The framing process begins with *journalist frames*, i.e., individual cognitive schemas that affect journalists' thoughts about a given issue (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018), which shape the frame-building process that determines how an issue is expressed and presented in news media (Scheufele, 1999). The journalist frame ultimately shapes the sensemaking of incoming information, which is affected by constraints such as organizational pressures, political orientations, and external actors' opinions (Ibid.).

The frame-building process yields a *media frame* (Scheufele, 1999), which constitutes written, spoken, or visual messages (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). Scholars typically distinguish between two principal types of media frames: *generic* and *issue-specific* (Ibid.). Generic media frames refer to broad and overarching frames that can be generalized across different issues (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018), potentially applying to different cultural contexts, time periods, or themes (De Vreese, 2005). Conversely, issue-specific frames are highly contextualized and detailed as they are pertinent to specific topics or issues (De Vreese, 2005), encompassing particular angles or extrapolated facets of an issue (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

The produced media frames ultimately influence the *audience frames* through *frame-setting* (Scheufele, 1999). Whereas media frames concern how an issue is presented, audience frames refer to how such issues are comprehended as they entail cognitive structures within

the receivers of the media frames (D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). Similar to McCombs and Weaver's (1972) idea of agenda-setting, the frames selected and amplified by the media influence public opinion and individual perceptions by shaping what facts or values of an issue are perceived as more relevant (Scheufele, 1999). The subsequent public debate and individual perceptions within a context feed back to the journalist frames, resulting in a continuous development of media frames (Ibid.).

This process view of media framing reveals the media's dual role in shaping and reflecting public opinions and individual perceptions (Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo, 2019). The notion of frame building implies that new media frames are constructed at a macro level in contexts, and successful distribution of these frames to audiences results in a mutual understanding of what is true, which further influences the subsequent frame-building process (Scheufele, 1999; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). The continuous interaction and reciprocal influences between media and individuals drive the evolution of frames over time (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Consequently, studying the development of media discourse across time allows for a broader conception of societal opinions, beliefs, and values (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

2.1.3.2 AI Media Frames

In recent years, AI has emerged as a prominent topic within the media framing literature. Scholars have found that media coverage of AI informs and influences the public's perception regarding the technology (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Duffy, Prahl, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024; Ocal and Crowston, 2024; Ittefaq et al., 2025). Given the inherent ambiguity of emerging technologies, people often rely on media frames to interpret and make sense of such technologies (Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Brause et al., 2023). Thus, media framing of AI is highly relevant for reflecting the public's stance regarding the technology (Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005), as it affects the central issues, knowledge, and evaluations people access (Brause et al., 2023). Existing studies have primarily focused on the main topics through which the media has framed AI. A common finding is that business, economic, and work-related issues dominate media coverage of AI (Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Brause et al., 2023; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024; Ittefaq et al., 2025). Additionally, researchers have found that the appraisal of AI has been mostly positive, although negative portrayals have increased in recent years (Fast and

Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019). Another trend reported by Nguyen and Hekman (2022) is that media coverage of AI has shifted from framing it as a science fiction topic to recognizing its actual economic, social, cultural, and political impacts.

Concerning media narratives particularly about AI's impact on work, studies have examined specific AI applications (Duffy, Prah, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022), countries (Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024), or media sources (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Duffy, Prah, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022; Ocal and Crowston, 2024). Some scholars have revealed how AI's impact on work is largely portrayed positively by media (Brause et al., 2023), with frames such as augmentation, removal of human errors, and salvation from tedious tasks (Duffy, Prah, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022). Others have found media frames highlighting negative consequences for employees, such as automation and job loss (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024). Ultimately, these scattered findings underscore the need for further investigation into how the media has framed AI's impact on work in the ongoing technological shift.

2.2 Synthesis & Research Gap

The literature review reveals that Framing Theory is a relatively mature research field with research spanning multiple academic disciplines (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Flusberg et al., 2024). However, AI's implications for work is a more nascent research field (Brause et al., 2023), with existing research showcasing scattered findings from a limited range of research contexts (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Duffy, Prah, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022; Brause et al., 2023; Ocal and Crowston, 2024). Current research has predominantly investigated American and British contexts (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024) given that the United States is the global leader in AI and the United Kingdom ranks third (Fattorini et al., 2024). However, Nguyen and Hekman (2022) call for a broader examination of other countries to unveil insights into the contextual influence of the country on media framing. This examination is particularly relevant for countries lagging in AI adoption as it can reveal how variations in national discourse may shape and reflect perceptions and consequent adoption differently. Additionally, previous research has mainly investigated general AI frames (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024), but a more focused examination of the framing of AI's impact on work remains limited. Given AI's

promise to transform the world of work and the role of individual perceptions in successful adoption, it is critical to examine how the media have framed this issue.

Moreover, scholars consistently advocate for longitudinal research, acknowledging that media framing is a dynamic and ever-evolving process (Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024). This process perspective is particularly essential regarding AI, as interpretations, attitudes, and opinions naturally evolve with the technology's adoption over time (Kaplan and Tripsas, 2008), which in turn affects how the technology is embraced and utilized given the inherent complementarity between AI and humans (Jarrahi, 2018; Kar and Kushwaha, 2023). However, most previous research has explored media frames before AI became publicly available (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022), thus overlooking how media frames have evolved as individuals have been able to form their own experiences and perceptions of the technology.

Bridging the aforementioned research gaps presents a compelling avenue for study. Exploring the evolution of dominant media frames of AI's impact on work in recent years in a country that lags in AI adoption is crucial for advancing theoretical understandings of how dominant media frames evolve in different contexts and the central predictions concerning AI's implications for work.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

To enable the investigation of the evolution of dominant media frames concerning AI's impact on work, a conceptual framework was developed drawing on insights from the literature review (Figure 2). The framework seeks to illustrate how media frames are central for revealing the issues of AI's impact on work that dominate a given context. It is grounded in the notion of media framing as a process (Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo, 2019): media frames are not statically produced at one point in time, but rather exist through a continuous interaction between journalists, individuals, the public, and the context in which they are created. In essence, scholars and experts make polarized predictions about AI's impact on work, ranging from positive outlooks of enhanced working conditions and novel opportunities to negative consequences such as massive unemployment and dehumanization of work. These predictions affect journalists and their preconceived frames of what AI will entail for work. By producing generic and/or issue-specific media frames of

the issue, journalists disseminate these predictions, ultimately influencing audience frames that shape both individual perceptions and the public discourse, which has implications for the extent to which AI is adopted at work. This media framing process evolves over time through a dynamic feedback loop. The public discourse and individual perceptions, influenced by media frames, feed back to journalists' perceptions, forming their subsequent framing of AI's impact on work.

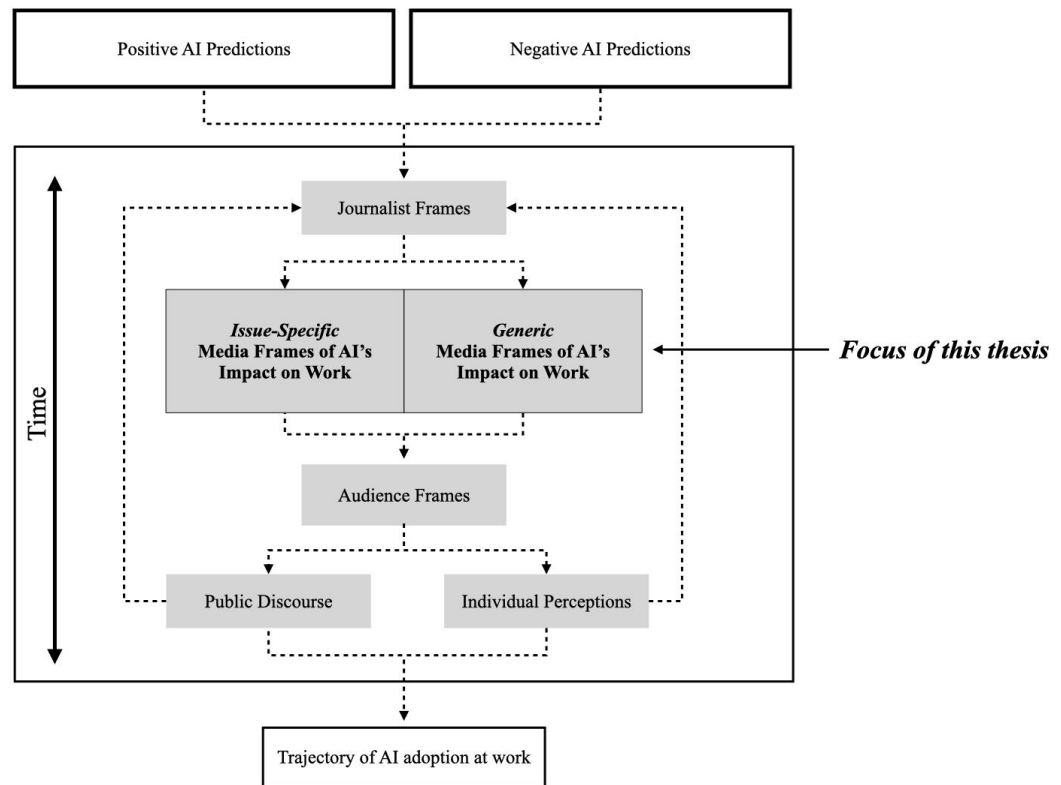


Figure 2. Conceptual Framework

It is important to note that the researchers do not consider a causal relationship between media framing, individual perceptions, and AI adoption at work, nor do they aim to measure such relationships. Nonetheless, the media is a powerful source for investigating the central issues attached to AI (Scheufele and Lewenstein, 2005; Brause et al., 2023). Therefore, exploring the dominant media frames of AI's impact on work over time enables an increased understanding of what issues, knowledge, and perceptions have circulated and consequently influenced adoption within a given context during that period.

3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological fit (3.1), research design (3.2), and research process (3.3) of this study. It concludes with a discussion concerning the quality (3.4) of the study.

3.1 Methodological Fit

Given the novel nature of AI's impact on work, the phenomenon has not been extensively explored in relation to media framing in academic research. Accordingly, an exploratory qualitative research approach was adopted in this study to enable field-collected data to inform and refine the researcher's evolving understanding of the phenomenon (Edmondson and McManus, 2007; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). The qualitative research approach was considered appropriate as the study aimed to explore meanings within written texts, which is more challenging to capture quantitatively (Macnamara, 2005; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022).

The researchers assumed a constructionist ontology, which posits that the studied social phenomena are constantly constructed and reconstructed by human action and meaning-making (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). As such, the analyzed media frames were viewed as one version of reality, recognized and co-constructed by the researchers and the phenomenon, rather than one objective and definitive truth (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022; Naeem et al., 2023). Correspondingly, the researchers adopted an interpretivist epistemological position. Since social actors constantly reconstruct media frames, interpretivism holds that gaining knowledge requires in-depth immersion into individuals' perspectives to uncover the subjective meanings of such frames (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). This bottom-up approach ensured that the analysis of media frames remained grounded in the contextual nuances and real experiences within the data, thereby strengthening the study's interpretive depth (Naeem et al., 2023).

3.2 Research Design

This study employed an abductive approach characterized by an iterative movement between theory and empirical data to clarify a puzzling phenomenon (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). The researchers initially reviewed existing literature on media framing and AI to establish a broad understanding of the research topic. However, to prevent theoretical preconceptions from influencing the data analysis, the initial empirical findings and analysis

shaped further engagement with the literature on AI's impact on work, which served as the basis for a second round of analysis. This abductive approach was imperative for remaining receptive to unexpected data insights rather than merely seeking validation from theoretical preconceptions (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007). Moreover, a longitudinal research design was employed to track a phenomenon's evolution over time (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). Thus, data were collected and analyzed from the same media related to six different years, allowing the researchers to explore how the dominant media frames of AI's impact on work have evolved with the progression and accessibility of AI.

3.3 Research Process

The research process consisted of four phases: preparatory work (3.3.1), data collection (3.3.2), data analysis (3.3.3), and concluding work (3.3.4), as visually illustrated in Figure 3.

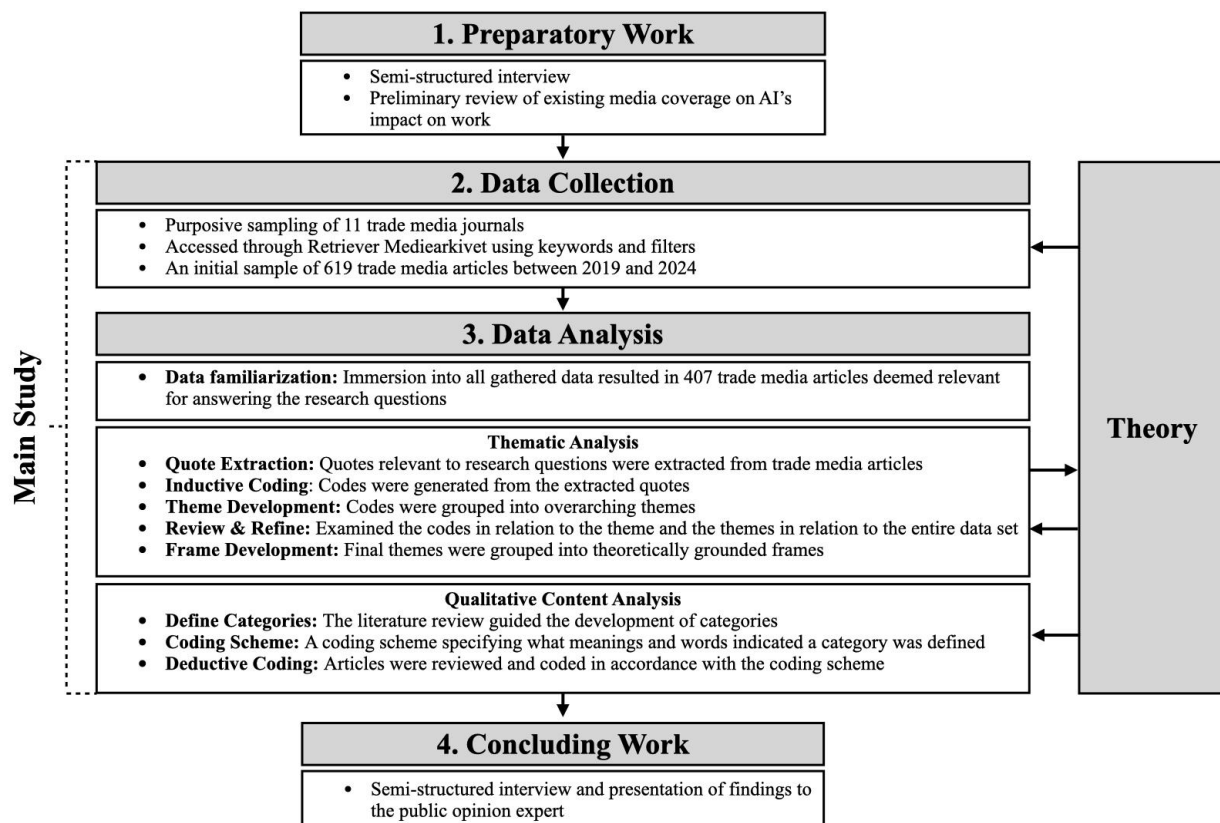


Figure 3. Research Process Outline

3.3.1 Preparatory Work

Before the main study, the researchers conducted an explorative semi-structured interview with Lukas Berg (2025a), the CEO of the analysis and communications agency Insight Intelligence and a public opinion expert (see Appendix C for interview guide). This interview aimed to gain a broad understanding of the AI landscape in Sweden. Several interesting interview insights shaped the layout of the study. Firstly, the interview revealed that Swede's positive perception of AI peaked in 2021 but has since then drastically declined. The interviewee attributed part of this shift to media reporting, suggesting that examining how media coverage of AI has evolved, particularly before, during, and after the peak, would be valuable. As a result, the timeframe for the longitudinal study was set from 2019 to 2024 to capture this evolution. Secondly, the interviewee revealed that while AI is increasingly used in the workplace, workers' feelings toward AI's impact on work have not been extensively explored. This insight guided the focus of the study from general AI predictions to AI in the work context.

Following the exploratory interview, the researchers preliminarily reviewed existing media coverage on AI's impact on work. The aim was to identify the types of media outlets reporting on the topic and assess the extent of their coverage. This initial review revealed that while mainstream media frequently reported on AI, the coverage tended to be very broad, often focusing on AI in daily life rather than its specific implications for work and business. This finding led to a more targeted exploration of trade journals and business press, hereafter referred to as *trade media*, that explicitly reported on work, providing a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon.

3.3.2 Data Collection

For qualitative research, the sampling strategy should be driven by the research question (Macnamara, 2005; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). Therefore, an a priori purposive sampling strategy with predefined criteria for selection was suitable (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). The selection criteria included (I) Swedish media journals reporting on work-related issues, (II) articles discussing AI, and (III) articles published between 2019 and 2024. These criteria ensured a data sample that captured the key parameters of AI, work, and the designated time frame, thereby strengthening relevance and analytical depth.

The insights gained from the preparatory work contributed to selecting media articles covering work to ensure topic-relevant data for the phenomena to be studied. According to Duffy, Prahl, and Ling Yan-Hui (2022), different news sources reflect different narratives about phenomena based on the interests of their respective audiences. For this study, trade media were considered most relevant, as this form of journalism produces content related to work and business (Ibid.). Trade journals are magazines that target professionals within a given industry, whereas business press reports on organizations, individuals, or developments in a particular industry or sector (Wilkinson and Merle, 2013). Accordingly, nine trade journals from Sweden's most prominent trade unions, one member's magazine for journalists, and Sweden's most prominent business magazine were purposively chosen as the sample for analysis (Table 1). Several key considerations determined the sample of journals. First, trade journals report on phenomena in a work context, making it valuable for investigating the framing of AI's impact on work. Second, the member's magazine for journalists, *Journalisten*, was incorporated, as the perceptions and frames of journalists shape the production of media frames (D'Angelo, 2019). Third, Sweden's most prominent business magazine, *Dagens Industri*, stands as one of the most influential cross-sector business papers, making it valuable for capturing broad and diverse work perspectives.

Table 1. Selected Trade Media Journals

Trade Media	Description	Trade Union	Union Members
Akademikern	Member's magazine for the leading trade union for social scientists	Akademikerförbundet SSR	80 000
Akavia Aspekt	Member's magazine for the leading trade union for academics	Akavia	140 000
Arbetet	Member's magazine for a collection of 13 trade unions covering several industries	Landsorganisationen	1 400 000
Chef & Karriär	Member's magazine targeted at managers	Unionen	700 000
Handelsnytt	Member's magazine for retail workers	Handels	150 000
Kollega	Member's magazine for white-collar workers in the private sector	Unionen	700 000
Kommunalarbetaren	Member's magazine for workers in municipalities, regions, and the private sector	Kommunal	500 000
Vi Lärare	Member's magazine for teachers and guidance counselors	Sveriges Lärare	300 000
Vision	Member's magazine for workers in welfare, municipalities, regions, and the private sector	Vision	212 000
Journalisten	Trade union- and professional magazine for journalists	Journalistförbundet	10 000
Dagens Industri	The largest business newspaper in the Nordic region	n/a	n/a

Note: Union member numbers from the website Fackförbund.nu (2025)

The corpus of trade media articles was found using the Swedish database Retriever Mediearkivet. The researchers used four keywords related to the definition of AI employed in this study to yield the sought articles: “*artificiell intelligens*” OR “*AI*” OR “*maskininlärning*” OR “*robot**”. The search was refined by choosing the 11 trade media journals (Table 1), Swedish language, publications between 2019-01-01 and 2024-12-31, and the media types of “Print” and “Web”. This selection resulted in 2,912 articles. What became evident was the dominance of articles from Dagens Industri, with topics ranging from listed AI companies to innovations within robotics in China. To retrieve articles relevant to AI’s impact on work, the articles from Dagens Industri were filtered on the topic “*Arbetsliv*” (working life). This refinement narrowed the search results to 619 articles, which served as the initial data sample.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

This study employed a thematic and qualitative content analysis to identify the evolution of dominant media frames of AI’s impact on work. However, several qualitative methods can be used to analyze communication, and the researchers considered these in detail to ensure the most appropriate method for this study. For instance, critical discourse analysis is commonly used in management studies for exploring the linguistic elements in the construction of social phenomena (Phillips, Sewell, and Jaynes, 2008) while narrative analysis is used to examine the underlying assumptions that form the story of an issue (Bell, 2002; Liamputtong, 2009). Nevertheless, the goal of this study was not to understand the deeper assumptions behind language or how narratives have been constructed, but rather to identify the overarching frames through which AI has been portrayed in the media. Therefore, the trade media articles were analyzed adopting a thematic and qualitative content analysis: two commonly used methodologies in qualitative research for revealing frames, meanings, and portrayals within communication (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013; Humble and Mozelius, 2022).

Although these two methods have similarities, such as breaking down texts into smaller units of analysis, grouping similar codes, and identifying patterns across datasets, they differ in their analytical focus, strengths, and weaknesses (Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). Thematic analysis is an entirely qualitative approach for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting abstract themes within data, allowing the researchers to account for richer and more nuanced meanings (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Humble and Mozelius, 2022). Conversely,

qualitative content analysis is a systematic method for describing and quantifying a phenomenon within communication (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013), allowing a qualitative analysis whilst quantifying data and emphasizing the frequency of meanings (Grbich, 2013). These differences entail inherent trade-offs. Qualitative content analysis, with its structured approach and emphasis on code frequency, may overlook nuanced meanings within communication (Macnamara, 2005; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). In contrast, while providing richer insights, thematic analysis carries a greater degree of subjectivity due to the high level of research interpretation (Macnamara, 2005; Humble and Mozelius, 2022). Thus, this study employed a combined approach to leverage the systematic rigor of qualitative content analysis whilst enabling rich and detailed insights through the thematic analysis. The primary method for data analysis was the thematic approach, which allowed nuanced media frames to emerge from the data. These insights contributed to the literature review on AI's impact on work, which served as the foundation for the subsequent qualitative content analysis of predefined framing categories.

Both thematic and qualitative content analysis begin with the researchers familiarizing themselves with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). Thus, the researchers initiated the data analysis by reading through the corpus of 619 articles. Throughout this familiarization phase, 212 articles were deemed inapplicable for answering the research question because they lacked an explicit discussion on AI's impact on work. Thus, these articles were excluded to enable an accurate analysis of the phenomenon of interest, resulting in a final sample of 407 articles.

3.3.3.1 Thematic Analysis

The trade media articles were first analyzed using a thematic analysis technique, which has been widely used in media framing research to identify themes that can be grouped into frames (see, for instance, Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Korneeva et al., 2023; Roe and Perkins, 2023). This study combined and followed the guidelines for a thematic analysis provided by Braun and Clark (2006) and Naeem et al. (2023), as detailed below.

First, quotes discussing AI's impact on work were systematically extracted, translated, and recorded in an Excel file, along with the article title and media source. To establish consistency in selecting relevant quotes, the researchers jointly read and extracted excerpts from the first 10 articles of each year. Next, the researchers generated codes from the extracted quotes across the entire dataset. Following the conceptualizations of Braun and

Clarke (2006) and Naeem et al. (2023), the researchers assumed that a code identifies the most interesting, salient, summative, and essence-capturing feature of the data that can be analyzed concerning the research questions. The researchers employed an inductive, manual coding process, generating codes directly from the data (Naeem et al., 2023). This exploratory coding approach enabled the researchers to remain open to novel ideas emerging from the data, rather than limiting the coding to pre-existing theories (Ibid.). However, this flexibility may have come at the expense of reduced reliability (Chong and Druckman, 2007). Therefore, the researchers collaboratively reviewed and coded the first 10 articles from each year to establish consistency and improve intercoder reliability (Macnamara, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007). Thereafter, the remaining articles were split between the two researchers, and the codes for all articles were recorded in the Excel file.

Once all 407 articles had been coded, the theme development phase started, which represented sorting and grouping related codes (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to uncover patterns or trends that provided insights into the research questions (Naeem et al., 2023). Following the description by Naeem et al. (2023), a theme entails patterned meaning within data, which requires the researcher to move beyond the concrete codes to interpret and conceptualize overarching themes within the dataset. Following the inductive coding approach, the codes were sorted and grouped into potential themes based on their affinity, allowing themes to emerge from the real data rather than trying to fit codes into predefined themes.

When finalized, the themes were reviewed and refined. As proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), this process involved examining the individually coded extracts to ensure they accurately related to their assigned themes and assessing the validity of all individual themes in relation to the entire data set. To strengthen the quality of the interpretative analysis, the researchers constructively questioned all codes and themes, which revealed that some themes conceptually overlapped while others lacked significant supporting data. Thus, the researchers merged and removed some themes. Each theme was also defined and named to encapsulate its essence (Ibid.). Following the abductive research approach, this step also involved further engagement with academic literature to refine and deepen the understanding of the identified themes, merging them into broader, theoretically grounded frames. An example of the thematic analysis process is presented in Figure 4, and Appendix E provides a visual representation of the identification of all frames.

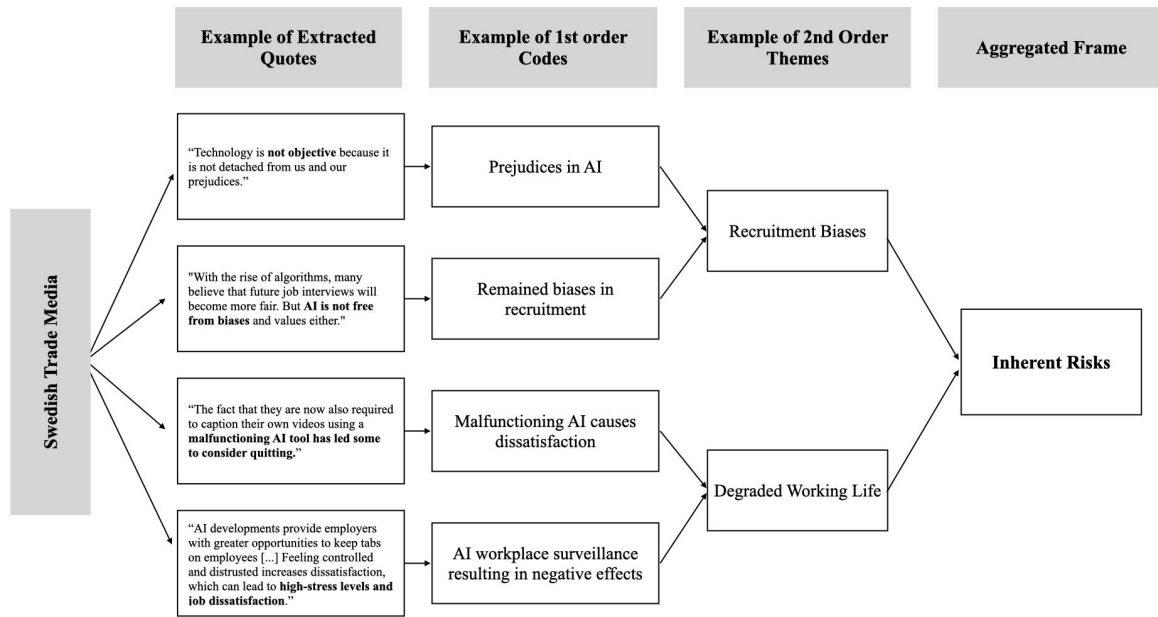


Figure 4. Thematic Analysis Process

3.3.3.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

Following the thematic analysis, the trade media articles were analyzed through a qualitative content analysis – a systematic coding approach used to investigate communication to describe and quantify patterns of words, meanings, and discourse (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013). The researchers combined the guidelines for conducting a content analysis presented by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) and Chong and Druckman (2007), as detailed below. The aim was to measure the most dominant tonality in the framing of AI's impact on work through broad, theoretically predefined categories.

The researchers employed an a priori design with predefined categories and an accompanying coding list (Macnamara, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). The literature review revealed that AI is often portrayed as having either a positive or negative impact on work (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021; Vicsek, 2021), although specific themes or narratives within these portrayals may vary (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Brause et al., 2023). Thus, *Positive*, *Negative*, and *Mixed/Neutral* became the predefined categories to ensure mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive coding categories (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). After the researchers had familiarized themselves with the data, a coding scheme was developed, which specified what words and messages indicated the presence of each category (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Elo and Kyngäs, 2008) (Figure 5).

<i>Frame category</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Prototypes of meanings</i>
Positive	AI is positive for work and will lead to improvements for employees and working life	• Exciting; Impressing • Improved productivity; Improved efficiency • Better working conditions; Makes work fun; Removes boring tasks • New opportunities; New professions • Less biases; • Supporting tool; Assistance
Negative	AI is negative for work and will lead to deterioration for employees and working life	• Takes over jobs; Replace employees; Jobs will disappear; • Makes errors; Bad performance • No trust in AI; Resistance • For unethical, illegal tasks; Causes harm; • Increased inequality • Overconfidence
Mixed/ Neutral	AI will entail both improvements and deterioration for employees and working life, or no changes at all	• Change the labor market; Change professions; • AI is here; • Some jobs will be automated, other augmented; • Uncertain future; • Need for skills development; • Transformation; Revolution • Application areas

Figure 5. Coding Scheme for Qualitative Content Analysis

Thereafter, the 407 articles were reviewed again and manually coded according to the coding scheme to reveal the frequency of each category. Human coding enabled the researchers to search for prototypes of underlying messages rather than specific terminology, allowing for greater flexibility (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). However, as human coding increases the risk of researcher bias, the researchers co-coded the first 10 articles from each year to enhance intercoder reliability (Macnamara, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas, 2013).

3.3.4 Concluding Work

At the end of the research process, the researchers conducted a concluding semi-structured interview with the expert Lukas Berg (2025b) (see Appendix D for interview guide), discussing the findings, potential explanations, and implications. This concluding work sought to close the loop by revisiting the expert who initially sparked the interest in the topic. Since this interview was conducted after the main study, it did not influence the researchers' analysis of the trade media articles, nor the insights informing the conclusion, but rather enabled a richer discussion of the findings. The interview insights from the concluding interview are included in the Discussion in Chapter 5.

3.4 Quality of the Study

3.4.1 Trustworthiness

There are four commonly used criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of a qualitative study: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *conformability* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Accordingly, the methodological approach of this study was evaluated and aligned with these four criteria to ensure high-quality research.

3.4.1.1 Credibility

The criteria of credibility concern the confidence of truth in findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As thematic analysis relies on the researcher's interpretation, the researchers undertook actions to enhance credibility. First, the chosen method was derived from similar studies (see for instance Cornelissen and Werner, 2014; Duffy, Prahl, and Ling Yan-Hui, 2022; Korneeva et al., 2023; Roe and Perkins, 2023), which strengthened the validity of the methodology for this sort of media investigation (Shenton, 2004). Second, by combining thematic analysis and qualitative content analysis, method triangulation ensured rich results whilst limiting the risk of subjectivity (Wilson, 2014; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022).

3.4.1.2 Transferability

Transferability concerns the potential to apply the study's findings beyond the specific context in which it was initially investigated (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As qualitative research is often limited to a particular context, researchers should provide detailed descriptions of the studied context and the methodological process to strengthen the transferability (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). Accordingly, the researchers detailed the context of Sweden and the methodological choices regarding data collection, selection criteria, time frame, and quantity of trade media covered to enable readers to judge the transferability of findings (Shenton, 2004).

3.4.1.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the extent to which the researchers provide exhaustive records of the research process in a way that is comprehensible and accessible to readers (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). To accomplish dependability, the researchers meticulously described the

methodological approach and research process through text and figures, allowing the study to be comprehended and replicated by peers (Shenton, 2004).

3.4.1.4 Conformability

The criteria of conformability pertain to the extent to which the findings are derived from data rather than influenced by the researcher's personal biases or theoretical predispositions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To minimize the subjectivity inherent to theme development, the researchers adopted the criteria outlined by Naeem et al. (2023) to ensure that the themes aligned with the original data and were relevant to the research questions. Moreover, to avoid theoretical predispositions influencing the findings, the researchers did not fully engage in existing literature on AI's impact on work until after the first round of analysis. Additionally, by presenting quotes from the trade media articles and detailing how these were coded, the researchers demonstrated that their interpretations and conclusions were data-driven (Shenton, 2004). To further mitigate researcher bias and establish intercoder reliability, the researchers engaged in investigator triangulation (Shenton, 2004; Wilson, 2014; Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022), in which they jointly familiarized themselves with the data and established shared principles for data analysis.

3.4.2 Ethical Considerations

In this study, ethical considerations were considered, including ensuring the privacy, consent, and confidentiality of research subjects (Bell, Bryman, and Harley, 2022). However, since the research subject of this study was trade media articles collected through a valid license from Retriever Mediearkivet, there were no concerns related to the privacy or consent of individuals, nor the confidentiality of sensitive information.

4. Empirical Findings and Analysis

This chapter integrates the empirical findings with theoretical analysis through the lens of Framing Theory and literature on AI's impact on work. Since identifying and presenting the empirical data in frames involved a high degree of analytical interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2006), combining the empirical findings and theoretical analysis increased clarity and quality. In the following sections, the findings from the qualitative content analysis (4.1) and thematic analysis (4.2) are presented through visuals and quotations and analyzed in conjunction with theory and the contextual factors presented in Appendix A.

4.1 Statistical Trends in Swedish Trade Media Coverage

4.1.1 An Increasing Number of Publications

The qualitative content analysis revealed that the number of publications on AI's impact on work more than halved from 2019 to 2020, remained low but relatively stable until 2022, and drastically increased in 2023 and throughout 2024 (Figure 6).

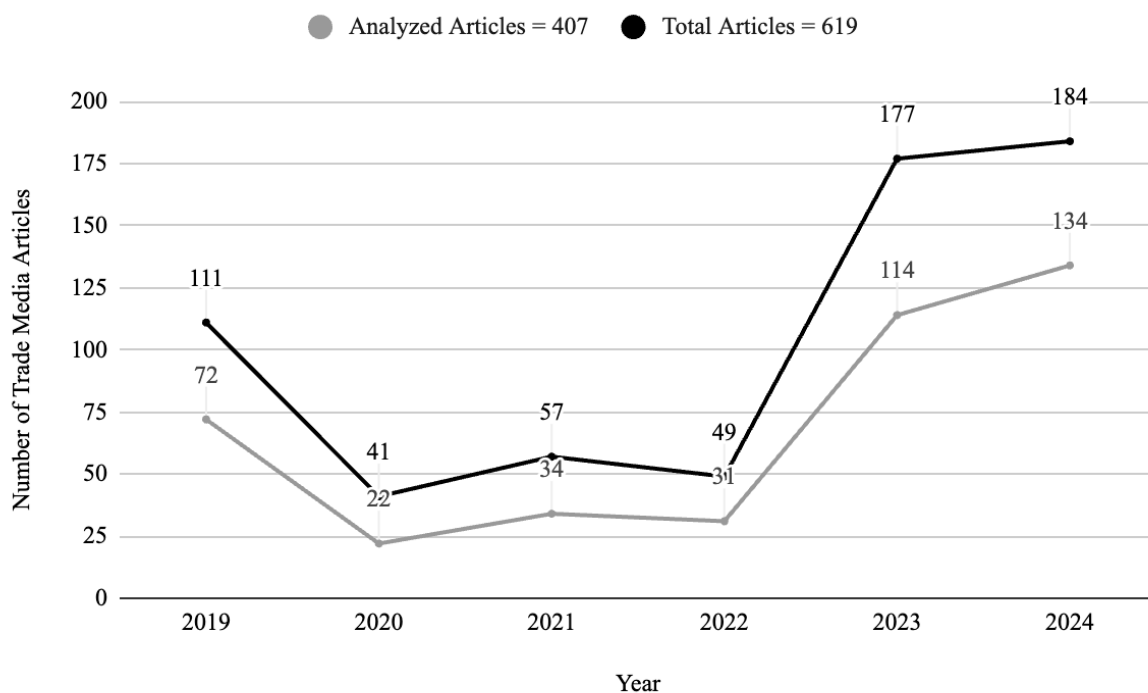


Figure 6. Swedish Trade Media Articles on AI's Impact on Work 2019-2024

The comparatively low number of articles between 2020 and 2022 coincides with one of Sweden's largest labor market disruptions in recent years – the COVID-19 pandemic (Appendix A) – suggesting that trade media may have prioritized reporting on the labor

market effects of the pandemic over AI-related effects. The consequent rise in published articles in 2023 occurred the same year Generative AI became widely accessible to the public through the release of ChatGPT in late 2022 (Appendix A). This increased accessibility may explain the surge in published articles, as it fueled greater engagement with AI for employees and businesses, generating more opinions and issues for trade media to report on. Framing Theory maintains that the frequent repetition of an issue in the media reinforces its salience (Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007). This implies that AI's impact on work was a less noticeable issue to the receiver of the trade media discourse up until 2023, but the increasing repetition thereafter made the topic more noticeable, meaningful, and memorable to the audience, ultimately increasing the probability that the audience would interpret, process, and store it (Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007; Flusberg et al., 2024).

4.1.2 A Shifting Framing Tonicity

The qualitative content analysis further revealed that the framing of AI's impact on work has fluctuated between a *positive*, *negative*, and *mixed/neutral* tonality between 2019 and 2024 (Figure 7).

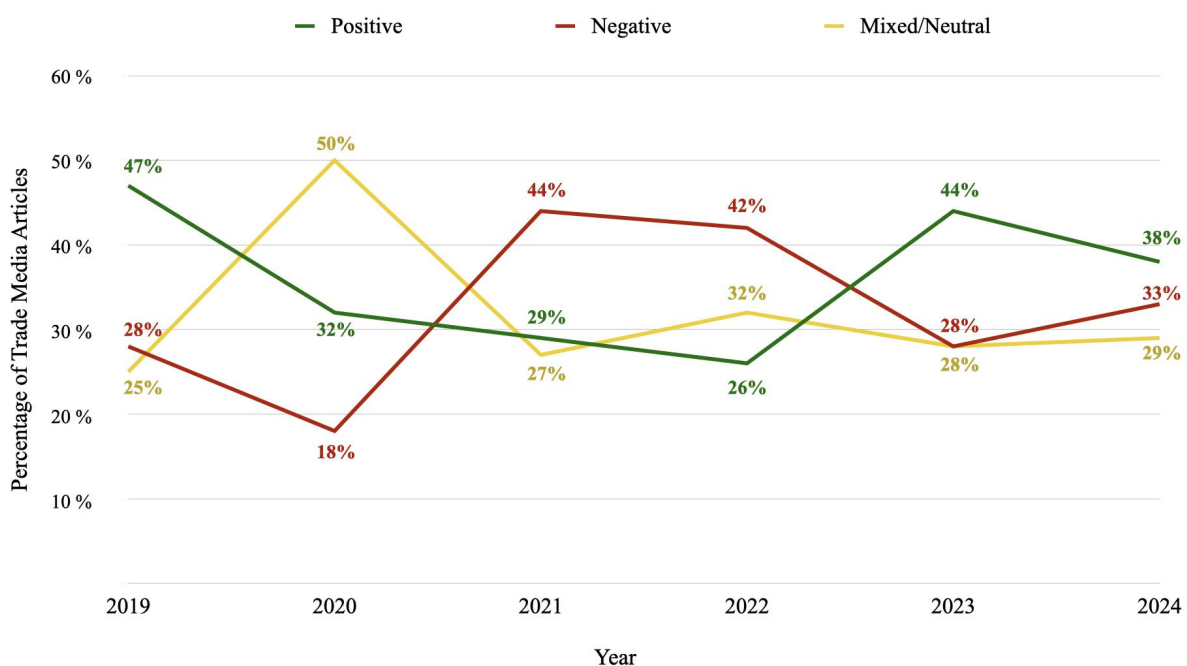


Figure 7. Percentage of Positive, Negative, and Mixed/Neutral Media Framing Tonicity

This fluctuating trend aligns with Vicsek's (2021) argument that predictions of AI's impact on work are contradictory and ambiguous. The positive framing of AI dominated in 2019, percentually decreased between 2020 and 2022, and reverted to dominance as Generative AI

was made widely accessible to the public (Appendix A). The findings further revealed a spike in negative framing in 2021 and 2022. One potential explanation for this pattern could be that these were the years the COVID-19 pandemic largely disrupted the labor market (Appendix A), creating a gloomy outlook for the entire world of work and spilling over into negative outlooks for AI. Moreover, the trade media discourse continuously included mixed/neutral framing, which dominated in 2020. This type of framing either emphasized how AI would simultaneously improve and deteriorate working life or imply no changes for working life at all, further reinforcing the notion that the predictions of AI's impact on work are ambiguous (Vicsek, 2021).

4.2 Dominant Media Frames of AI's Impact on Work

Six media frames emerged through the thematic analysis of Swedish trade media articles because of their regular repetition, implying these were the most salient issues trade media emphasized regarding AI's impact on work (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007). In line with the theory on media framing (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018), the six media frames were classified into two broad types: generic and issue-specific (Table 2). The frames of *disruptive force*, *opportunities*, and *inherent risks* were classified as generic media frames as they can be generalized across different issues and potentially applied to themes outside the context of work and AI (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). In contrast, the frames of *augmenting tool*, *job displacement*, and *importance of upskilling* were classified as issue-specific media frames as they cover specific work-related issues concerning AI (De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

Table 2. Dominant Media Frames in Swedish Trade Media

<i>Media Frame Type</i>	<i>Media Frame</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Generic Frame	Disruptive Force	AI is framed as a revolution, reshaping and transforming the labor market, organizations, and society.
	Inherent Risks	AI is framed as problematic due to technical limitations, inaccuracies, and unethical usage, thus worsening working life.
	Opportunities	AI is framed as creating novel opportunities for businesses and employees.
Issue-Specific Frame	Augmenting Tool	AI is framed as a supportive tool to enhance human work, improving productivity and efficiency.
	Job Displacement	AI is framed as replacing human workers through automation, resulting in job loss.
	Importance of Upskilling	AI is framed as a technology requiring new skills and competencies.

The percentage of articles in each dominant media frame varied over the years, as demonstrated in Figure 8. Within the frames of *disruptive force* and *augmenting tool*, the percentage of articles remained consistently high across all six years, signaling that these were the most salient issues regarding AI's impact on work (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007). Moreover, the percentage of articles on the *inherent risks* and *job displacement* frames peaked in the same years where negative framing dominated, confirming the negative tonality surrounding AI revealed by the qualitative content analysis in 2021 and 2022. Additionally, the percentage of articles in the *opportunities* and *importance of upskilling* frame was comparably low throughout most of the six years, signaling that these issue of AI's impact on work was not made as salient in the minds of the audience as the other identified frames (Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007).

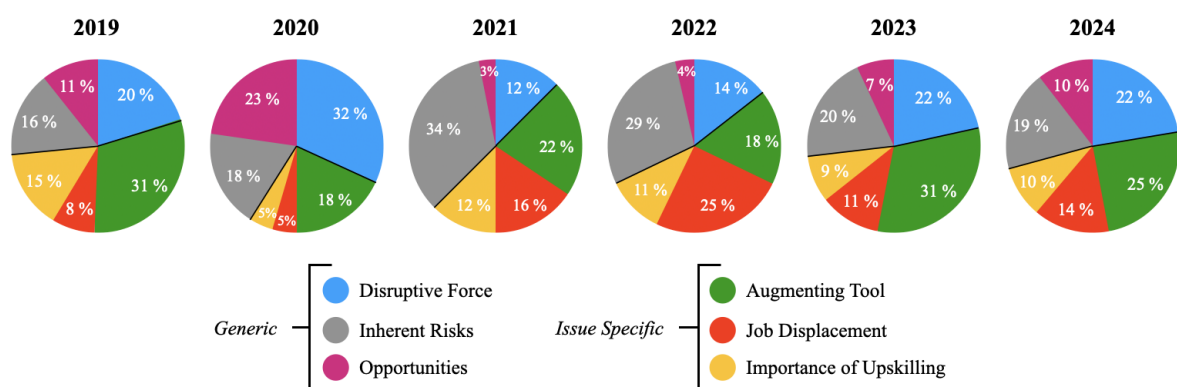


Figure 8. Percentage of Articles in Each Frame from 2019 to 2024

The presence of the conflicting frames of *augmenting tool* and *job displacement* align with theoretical perspectives asserting that AI has dual impacts (Skilton and Hovsepien, 2018; Siau and Wang, 2019; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). However, the percentage of articles in the *augmenting tool* frame consistently outnumbered the *job displacement* frame, except in 2022. This finding contrasts with the existing literature, which often presents AI as a double-edged sword, emphasizing its augmenting capabilities and potential to cause job displacement as equally prominent (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020). This finding reveals that, in Sweden, AI is more often portrayed as a tool to enhance working life than a dystopian technology, suggesting that this frame should have had a greater impact on individuals' perception due to its higher salience (Chong and Druckman, 2007). However, the more nuanced perspective suggesting that automation and augmentation are intertwined

aspects of AI (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021) was absent in the trade media discourse. Although some articles acknowledged both potential pathways, none framed automation and augmentation as complementary aspects yielding reciprocal benefits for businesses and society (Raisch and Krakowski, 2021). Rather, the trade media strengthened the theoretical conceptualization of AI augmentation and automation as either/or (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021).

Furthermore, the academic literature argues that predictions of AI's impact on work often include both *opportunities* and *inherent risks* (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Siau and Wang, 2019; Vicsek, 2021). The findings of this study reinforced this argument, as the trade media discourse continuously presented similar topics through opposing viewpoints of risks and opportunities. For instance, discussions alternated between whether AI mitigates or exacerbates biases and whether its applications drive business value or introduce accountability issues. The absence of more balanced discussions suggests that the framing of AI is polarized across multiple issues, reinforcing the ambiguity in the debate regarding AI's impact on work (Vicsek, 2021). However, the number of articles in the *inherent risks* frame consistently outnumbered those in the *opportunities* frame, especially in 2021 and 2022. The limited framing of opportunities may be attributed to the dominance of negative portrayals of AI's impact on work over these two years. The prevailing concerns about the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on work during this period may have overshadowed discussions on opportunities, which would reinforce the notion that broader societal anxieties and real-world developments influence media framing (Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo, 2019). Nevertheless, whereas the frame of inherent risks has steadily declined since 2021, the number of articles in the opportunities frame has increased in percentage terms, further confirming that the positive framing of AI has increased in recent years.

What is more, the qualitative nature of the thematic analysis uncovered nuanced shifts within the identified media frames, which confirms the argument that media frames are dynamic and co-constructed over time (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). Broadly, the themes within the dominant media frames shifted from general and speculative to narrow and concrete as AI became more available in the workplace. The following subsections detail this evolution between 2019 and 2024, divided into generic and issue-specific media frames.

4.2.1 Generic Media Frames

The thematic analysis identified three generic media frames in line with the distinction provided by De Vreese (2005) and D'Angelo and Shaw (2018), presenting broad implications of AI in the workplace: *disruptive force*, *inherent risks*, and *opportunities*.

4.2.1.1 Disruptive Force - From Futuristic to Everyday Reality

The first dominant generic media frame is that of *disruptive force*, which portrayed how AI will dramatically transform the world of work and generate structural changes. This frame aligns with academic literature that describes AI as the technology defining the Fourth Industrial Revolution that will reshape our world (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018). In particular, this frame encompassed discussions of the potential benefits and drawbacks of AI as a disruptive force, which confirms Skilton and Hovsepian's (2018) assertion that the revolution of AI raises numerous questions regarding improvements and challenges for work.

The framing of AI as a disruptive force significantly evolved over the six years. Early on, the technology was futuristically framed as having the potential to revolutionize the world of work, affecting both low- and high-skill professions, despite the omission of concrete evidence:

"It is hard to imagine how fast our society will change and how it will affect the world of work. Some jobs will disappear, new ones will be created, and decision-making and leadership will change." – Kommunalarbetaren, 2019-09-25

"Some professions will disappear, others will emerge, but almost all jobs will change." – Akavia Aspekt, 2020-09-03

In 2021, a new theme emerged within the frame, which emphasized how AI may cause structural changes such as reduced working hours, reinforcing academic literature arguing that AI alters workplace structures (Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). Although this prediction emphasized more concrete implications of AI, it still discussed AI as a futuristic technology:

"[In 2050] All production has been automated and robotized. Productivity gains have led to a significant reduction in working hours. People now have more time for leisure activities, social interactions, and civic engagement." – Akavia Aspekt, 2021-08-27

In 2022, Swedish trade media continuously depicted AI as a technology fabricating a revolution in the workplace and compared the technology with previous transformative innovations:

“AI is said to be the ‘new electricity’, a technology that will change people's lives forever.” – Akavia Aspekt, 2022-03-25

However, from 2023 onwards, the theme of AI creating structural changes re-emerged, but with more emphasis on tangible consequences, such as a more polarized labor market with clear winners and losers:

“The key issue may not be the jobs that disappear, but what happens to those that remain. There is a risk that we will see a further stratification of the labor market and a clearer division into an A and B layer, i.e. that technology at one end of the spectrum will create more skilled and creative jobs, while at the other end, it will create incredibly simple and monotonous, and low-paid, jobs.” – Akavia Aspekt, 2023-09-01

“This year, everything revolves around another paradigm shift: the AI revolution. The world is being automated before our eyes, with the consequence that hundreds of millions of people will lose their jobs in the coming years. At the same time, this development will create new winners.” – Akavia Aspekt, 2024-02-02

Additionally, a noticeable shift occurred in the trade media discourse in 2023, as themes within the disruptive force frame drifted from describing AI as a futuristic revolution to a natural and inevitable evolution of work, which reinforces academic literature that regards AI as a continuation of its historical technological predecessors (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018). This shift in the media framing coincided with the public availability and widespread adoption of generative AI models like ChatGPT (Appendix A), which likely made AI's impact visible and accessible to a broad audience, establishing it as a fundamental technology in the workplace:

“The launch of the AI service Chat GPT on 30 November last year set off an unprecedented AI race. This is a paradigm shift that is fundamentally changing many industries.” – Dagens Industri, 2023-10-05

“The world of work is in constant flux and always will be. Now, there is a lot of talk about AI and how we should relate to that technology. In the future, we will talk about something else.” – Kollega, 2023-11-01

"In just a few years, artificial intelligence has gone from science fiction to an everyday reality. Now, more and more people are using AI at work." – Vision, 2024-10-23

The increased accessibility of AI probably demystified the technology – it was no longer a subject of speculative predictions but a technology embedded in daily work routines and used by workers in many professions and industries. In addition to normalizing AI, this accessibility enabled the trade media to report on more practical implications and structural changes inherent to the technology rather than pure speculations.

4.2.1.2 Inherent Risks - From General Concerns to Concrete Evidence

The second dominant generic media frame is that of *inherent risks*, which initially entailed general concerns surrounding AI such as technical limitations and accountability issues, which is also found in the academic literature (Siau and Wang, 2019). In 2019, the trade media discourse predominantly emphasized the technical limitations within AI applications, while in 2020, the discourse shifted to more hypothetical risks by underscoring accountability challenges of potential AI applications:

“Tens of thousands may have received incorrect benefit decisions from the Swedish Public Employment Service. Although the error was caused by an IT failure, the agency continues to automate its decision-making” – Arbetet, 2019-02-22

"Automated decisions raise a number of ethical questions. For instance, who is responsible for the decisions made by the robot?" – Akademikern, 2020-09-01

In 2021 and 2022, a new theme emerged, which was concerned with the biases inherent to AI, thus challenging the assertion that AI is not entirely objective but could rather increase workplace inequality. This risk narrative of AI is evident in the academic literature (Siau and Wang, 2019), emphasizing the challenge of human biases reflected in AI tools:

"With the rise of algorithms, many believe that future job interviews will become more fair. But AI is not free from biases and values either." – Kollega, 2021-01-13

“Technology is not objective because it is not detached from us and our prejudices.” –
Dagens Industri, 2022-09-06

From 2023, the trade media discourse emphasized more concrete implications and fact-based narratives by presenting real-world accounts of AI’s adverse effects. This discourse particularly highlighted how AI-driven surveillance fosters feelings of control and violation among employees, how malfunctioning AI tools contribute to increased workloads, and how AI adoption leads to more stressful, monotonous tasks while undermining human communication in the workplace. This theme of degraded working life aligns with the academic literature, which highlights how AI in the workplace can dehumanize work by reducing human autonomy (Khogali and Mekid, 2023) and generate increased job stress due to the need for employees to adapt to new tools, confusion about tasks, and larger workloads (Kim and Lee, 2024):

“AI developments provide employers with greater opportunities to keep tabs on employees [...] Feeling controlled and distrusted increases dissatisfaction, which can lead to high-stress levels and job dissatisfaction.” – Akademikern, 2023-12-05

“The fact that they are now also required to caption their own videos using a malfunctioning AI tool has led some to consider quitting.” – Journalisten, 2023-05-12

“Can AI pose a threat to employee privacy and be used for surveillance and control?”
– Vision, 2024-06-03

This shift in the framing of inherent risks from general concerns to more concrete and empirically grounded risks highlights how media frames changed as the technology became widely accessible, strengthening the assertion that media framing is dynamic and ever-evolving (Scheufele, 1999; D’Angelo, 2002).

4.2.1.3 Opportunities - From New Business Value to New Professions

The third generic media frame is that of *opportunities*, which closely aligns with academic discussions emphasizing AI’s potential to create new business opportunities and drive innovation through various use cases (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Siau and Wang, 2019; Vicsek, 2021). Early on, the frame encompassed broad opportunities by highlighting the potential for new business value and application areas:

“Digitalization is creating major changes in the legal industry. Artificial intelligence and blockchain offer opportunities to create new value.” – Akavia Aspekt, 2019-08-16

“Artificial intelligence is behind the technology to recognize a face. By 2022, all border crossings in the Schengen area will use facial recognition” – Kollega, 2020-03-11

In 2021 and 2022, the trade media discourse contested the inherent risk narrative of increased biases, arguing how algorithmic decision-making could mitigate such problems. This theme aligns with the academic literature, which emphasizes the possibility of AI to reduce biases within HR practices (Siau and Wang, 2019; Vicsek, 2021):

“Large parts of the candidate supply process are digitized, and we have, for example, AI-based tests at an early stage. This contributes to a more accurate and unbiased recruitment” – Dagens Industri, 2021-11-25

“To minimize the risk of bias during a job interview, the recruitment company TNG has developed new approaches. (...) Then, they may meet Tengai – the robot, or an interview software, which conducts the interview in exactly the same way for everyone.” – Dagens Industri, 2022-10-11

From 2023 onward, the opportunities frame began to include more concrete and fact-based themes. The discourse highlighted how AI creates entirely new professions and businesses, which conforms with the academic literature (Siau and Wang, 2019):

“Historically, technology development has never led to fewer jobs. AI will generate entirely new jobs” - Kollega, 2023-11-01

“Prompt engineering has, of course, become a profession. Companies are hiring people to train AI tools.” – Kollega, 2024-08-28

4.2.2 Issue-Specific Media Frames

The thematic analysis further revealed three issue-specific frames in line with the distinction provided by De Vreese (2005) and D’Angelo and Shaw (2018), emphasizing more direct and specific work-related issues of AI: *augmenting tool*, *job displacement*, and *importance of upskilling*.

4.2.2.1 Augmenting Tool - From Salvation to Support and Back Again

The first issue-specific media frame identified in the Swedish trade media discourse is that of *augmenting tool*, which centered around how AI will enhance human work. This narrative is prevalent in the academic literature, with scholars arguing for AI's possibility to augment human work by assisting humans and fostering more creative and satisfying jobs (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). The augmenting tool frame had the least fluctuations in themes over the six years, with only two dominant themes occurring interchangeably. This finding suggests that although AI has progressed and become more accessible, the expectations of the technology's potential to augment human work have remained relatively consistent.

From 2019 to 2020, the most salient theme in this frame concerned AI as a means of alleviating employees from tedious and repetitive tasks, thereby enabling them to focus on more stimulating and cognitively engaging tasks:

"16 municipalities have introduced robots that decide on income support [...] As a result, the process has become more formalized, and it is easier to avoid arbitrariness and corruption. At the same time, time can be freed up for other, more specialized social work" – Akademikern, 2019-12-10

"A robot can relieve you of administrative tasks, support you in decision-making, or even make decisions on its own." – Akademikern, 2020-09-01

In 2021 and 2022, a shift occurred in the trade media discourse, with AI increasingly being framed as a supportive and constantly available colleague that can assist human work in enhancing outputs rather than a technology that will save employees from tedious work. This shift in themes coincided with a period of predominant negative media framing, which may be reflected in the portrayal of AI as a supportive, rather than salvaging, technology:

"The interaction between humans and technology is becoming increasingly prevalent. AI will become an extension of us humans [...]." – Dagens Industri, 2021-09-30

"The new addition is his assistant, artificial intelligence. [...]. 'I work only eight hours, but AI works 24.'" – Vision, 2022-10-26

Nevertheless, in 2023 and 2024, the discourse reverted to framing AI as a salvation from tedious work by automating simple and repetitive tasks. This return in themes coincided with

the reversion to predominantly positive framing and with the public availability of ChatGPT and other generative AI models (Appendix A), as trade media articles reported on real-life cases where AI had improved human work:

“Nacka municipality is the first in Sweden with fully automated building permit decisions [...] Does the streamlining mean that people will be laid off? - ‘No, the case officers will have more time to focus on large, complex cases, service, and interaction.’” – Vision, 2023-06-07

“The time that AI frees up by taking over some of the administrative work in the recruitment process can instead be spent on what she herself finds most enjoyable about the job, namely meeting people.” – Dagens Industri, 2024-05-01

This shift in themes within the augmenting tool frame implies that actual interactions with AI allowed employees and businesses to experience the rescue from tedious tasks firsthand, thereby reinforcing media frames of AI as salvation.

4.2.2.2 Job Displacement - From Forecasts to Tangible Redundancies

The second issue-specific media frame is that of *job displacement*, which, in line with the academic literature, depicted AI as threatening employment, resulting in automation-driven job displacement (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Vicsek, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). The frame of job displacement has noticeably evolved with the progression of AI. Up until 2024, it encompassed speculative themes, including predictive forecasts of how many individuals might lose their jobs and how long-established professions will become obsolete:

“And even though we do not yet have human-like robots, we are well on our way: In the next ten years, 75 million jobs are predicted to disappear due to the rise of artificial intelligence.” – Arbetet, 2019-01-18

“In 10 to 30 years, half of the jobs we have today will be gone - jobs we never thought would disappear.” – Vision, 2020-12-09

“The Fourth Industrial Revolution —robotization and AI technology— is making numerous jobs obsolete, both as a direct and indirect negative effect.” – Dagens Industri, 2021-08-17

Despite the absence of substantial evidence, trade media continuously emphasized AI's potential to replace employees in 2022 and 2023, reinforcing the fear of human obsolescence in the future:

“Many simple, monotonous, and routine tasks are at risk of being replaced by AI robots. This may also apply to complex tasks that require higher precision” – Akavia Aspekt, 2022-02-02

“The use of artificial intelligence is expected to increase significantly in the coming years. This means that computers will take over more and more tasks and large groups of workers may be displaced.” – Dagens Industri, 2023-04-18

However, by 2024, the frame of job displacement emphasized real-life cases of organizations implementing layoffs attributed to AI adoption, revealing a shift towards a more concrete theme of actual redundancies of human workers:

“Now, 130 out of 195 warehouse workers at Adlibris are being given notice of redundancy. In the new fully automated warehouse, robots will handle the packing of books and other goods.” – Handelsnytt, 2024-10-03

“Recently, Klarna announced that its new AI assistant can replace over 700 employees and is expected to boost profits by SEK 400 million.” – Dagens Industri, 2024-05-30

This shift in themes within the job displacement frame reveals the dynamic nature of media frames in which meaning is co-constructed between the media and the public (Scheufele, 1999; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Initially, the framing of AI-driven job displacement was largely predictive, probably shaped by expert forecasts and individual concerns. However, as organizations began enacting employee reductions due to the possibilities of AI, these concrete developments reinforced the subsequent framing of AI's impact. The initial hypothetical fears transitioned into an empirically substantiated reality, demonstrating how media frames mirror technological and societal developments (Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018).

4.2.2.3 Importance of Upskilling - From Vague to Specific Recommendations

The last issue-specific media frame is that of *importance of upskilling*, which, in line with existing academic literature, recognized the need for continuous skills development in

response to AI-driven workplace transformations (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Raisch and Krakowski, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025). In 2019 and 2020, trade media narratives within this frame were vague and abstract, emphasizing the general need for investments in skills development and the individual's responsibility to protect employability. However, the discourse provided little guidance on what particular skills would be most valuable:

"Then there is the ongoing structural transformation with the emergence of technologies such as AI and robotization, which means that jobs are disappearing and new ones are being created. This requires new skills, and far too many companies today are not investing enough in skills development." – Akavia Aspekt, 2019-03-08

"When it comes to an individual's employability, the most important factor is investing in one's own skills and taking responsibility for continuously keeping them updated."
– Akavia Aspekt, 2020-05-15

This initial lack of specificity in media framing of skills development may be attributed to the uncertainties surrounding the workplace applications of AI at the time. Since businesses and employees had limited direct interaction with the technology, it was difficult to predict and, thus, for the media to report precisely how skills demands would shift. However, as AI advanced, organizations and experts presumably gained further insights into the competencies required to adopt and use AI effectively. This growing exposure led to a noticeable shift in trade media framing from 2021 onwards, moving from appeals for general skills development toward more specific recommendations. This increase in the salience of particular recommendations potentially enhanced employees' and businesses' understanding of how to adapt skills in response to the AI-driven workplace transformation. Thus, in 2021, the Swedish trade media discourse emphasized both technical AI skills and human skills as crucial future competencies:

"Future lawyers will undoubtedly need more technical competence as technological tools become an increasingly central part of daily work." – Akavia Aspekt, 2021-03-17

"As AI takes over advanced thinking, it is the creative, flexible generalists who will see the connections that specialists may overlook." – Chef & Karriär, 2021-04-28

However, in 2022, the discourse emphasized the importance of human skills and knowledge to a greater extent, whereas in 2023, the discourse more heavily emphasized the importance of technical AI skills:

“Those who do not have the ability to adapt will become obsolete. They will need to fully embrace the technology and at the same time have the ability to contribute with knowledge and creativity, which the technology cannot.” – Dagens Industri, 2022-12-15

“I don't think AI will outcompete humans. However, I do believe that people who use AI effectively will outcompete those who do not.” – Akademikern, 2023-09-19

In 2024, the trade media framing once again highlighted the dual need for AI-related competencies and the importance of human capabilities:

“The skills most sought after by companies are primarily in IT, AI, digitalization, and sales.” – Dagens Industri, 2024-05-08

“Even though AI poses a challenge to certain creative jobs today, human creativity will remain essential when it comes to problem-solving.” – Akavia Aspekt, 2024-10-18

Just as the trade media, the academic literature on AI's impact on work emphasizes the importance of skills development in terms of core human skills (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2020; Raisch and Krakowski, 2021; Petre, Rațiu, and Osoian, 2025) and technical competencies (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018). Given the trade unions' role in improving workers' conditions (Furåker and Bengtsson, 2013), it is no surprise that this frame has incorporated recommendations for individual workers to develop AI-related competencies and core human abilities to protect their employability.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

This concluding chapter answers the two research questions (5.1), followed by an extensive discussion of the findings divided into theoretical (5.2) and practical contributions (5.3). Lastly, the limitations of the study (5.4) and suggestions for future research (5.4) are outlined.

5.1 The Evolving and Conflicting Media Frames of AI's Impact on Work

As initially stated by the public opinion expert Lukas Berg (2025a), the Swedish population's attitude towards AI has deteriorated with the rapid progression and increasing accessibility of the technology in recent years, and the media plays a key role in influencing such public attitudes. This statement sparked an interest in exploring what media frames of AI's impact on work have dominated the trade media discourse in Sweden and how these have evolved alongside the progression and accessibility of the technology between 2019 and 2024. By conducting a longitudinal analysis of Swedish trade media through the lens of Framing Theory and academic literature on AI's impact on work, this study contributes to filling existing research gaps regarding the evolution and country context of media framing and predictions about AI's impact on work by answering the two research questions:

RQ1: What media frames have dominated the trade media discourse of AI's impact on work in Sweden between 2019 and 2024?

RQ2: How have these media frames evolved with the progression and accessibility of AI in Sweden between 2019 and 2024?

Firstly, it can be concluded that six media frames dominated the Swedish trade media discourse between 2019 and 2024. Three of these media frames were generic, presenting broad implications of AI at work: *disruptive force*, *inherent risks*, and *opportunities*. The remaining three media frames were issue-specific, emphasizing more concrete work-related issues of AI: *augmenting tool*, *job displacement*, and *importance of upskilling*. Secondly, it can be concluded that while all six media frames persisted between 2019 and 2024, the themes within the frames evolved along with the progression and accessibility of AI. Generally, the frames developed from emphasizing futuristic and general predictions of AI's impact on work to concrete and tangible implications. Furthermore, Swedish trade media primarily framed AI's impact on work negatively in the lead-up to the public release of generative AI tools, but shifted toward a positive framing tonality as the technology

progressed and became more accessible in Sweden. Figure 9 visually presents the shift in framing tonality through the line chart as well as the evolution of the dominant media frames, which ultimately answers the two research questions.

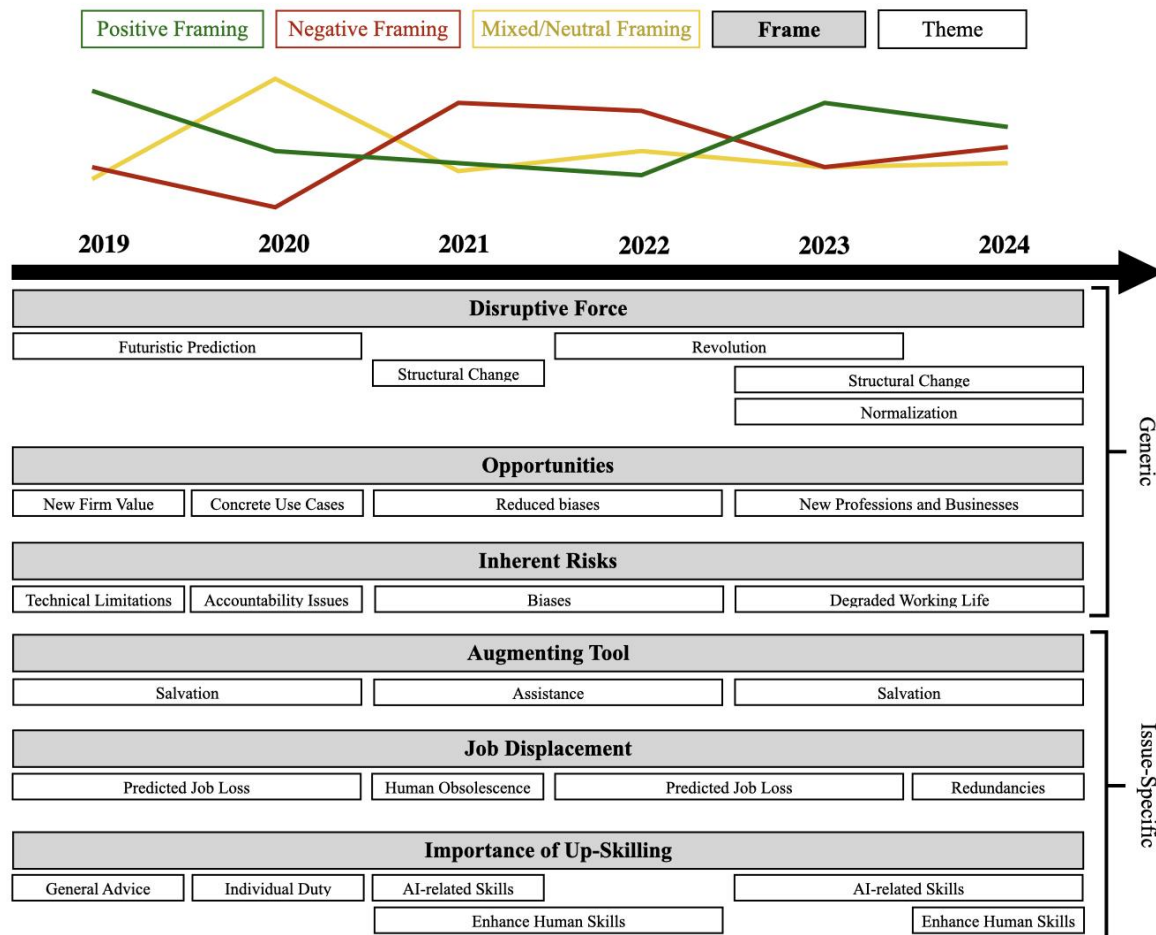


Figure 9. Evolution of Dominant Trade Media Frames

5.2 Theoretical Contributions

5.2.1 A Polarized View of AI's Impact on Work

By empirically demonstrating that the trade media coverage of AI's impact on work mirrors the polarized predictions persistent in the academic literature, this study contributes to the theoretical understanding of AI's ambiguous implications for work. The qualitative content analysis revealed that media frames significantly fluctuated between positive, negative, and more balanced or neutral media framing, and the thematic analysis demonstrated contradictory frames of what AI will entail for work. Just as scholars emphasize the positive impacts of AI in the workplace, where the technology will assist humans in their work, foster

more satisfying jobs, and create new professions and sectors (Skilton and Hovsepien, 2018; Vicsek, 2021), the trade media discourse encompasses dominant frames of *augmenting tool* and *opportunities*. Likewise, just as the academic literature accentuates negative impacts – predicting massive unemployment and risks of amplified biases, technical shortcomings, dehumanization of work, and increased job stress (Siau and Wang, 2019; Vicsek, 2021; Khogali and Mekid, 2023; Kim and Lee, 2024) – trade media discussions comprises dominant frames of *job displacement* and *inherent risks*. Hence, the trade media framing reinforces the dichotomous predictions of AI’s impact on work demonstrated by academic scholars, further fueling the ambiguities surrounding the future of work and reinforcing the notion of AI as a double-edged sword capable of affecting work for better or worse.

5.2.2 The Evolution of Media Frames

In addition to reinforcing the existing literature on AI’s impact on work, this study contributes to the emerging intersection between media framing and AI’s impact on work. By adopting a longitudinal research design, this study acknowledges media framing as a dynamic process (Scheufele, 1999; De Vreese, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D’Angelo, 2019), which allows establishing a solid understanding of what issues regarding AI’s impact on work are made salient in a given context over time. Moreover, unlike previous studies that have predominantly relied on quantitative methods to measure the frequency of media frames (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022), the qualitative nature of this study’s thematic analysis allowed to uncover thematic shifts within the dominant media frames. As such, this study reinforces the assertion that media framing is a process correlated with societal developments (Scheufele, 1999; D’Angelo and Shaw, 2018) by uncovering thematic shifts within persistent media frames with the progression and accessibility of AI.

As AI became more accessible, particularly after the public release of ChatGPT in late 2022 (Appendix A), trade media coverage drastically increased, and the media frames generally shifted from speculative predictions to evidence-based reporting. This shift in framing suggests that as AI developed, so too did the clarity surrounding its implications for work, allowing for a more pragmatic and evidence-based framing. Essentially, this indicates that lessons learned in practice regarding AI shape and refine media frames and increase the salience of those experienced issues, highlighting the importance of exploring media frames over time (Scheufele, 1999; De Vreese, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007; D’Angelo, 2019).

The process model of framing, presented by Scheufele (1999), suggests that media frames and individual frames mutually influence each other over time as media increase the salience of certain issues, which in turn shape individual perceptions, public debates, and, thereby, subsequent media frames. Thus, media frames naturally evolve with individuals' beliefs and public discourse, thereby constantly co-constructing meaning with their audience (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014). Neither media frames, public perceptions, nor AI itself is static; rather, they constantly evolve, shaping and reshaping each other in response to broader societal and technological developments.

5.2.3 The Disconnection Between The Country Context and Media Framing

This study further aimed to explore the role of media framing of AI's impact on work in a country with relatively low AI adoption at work, contrasting previous research conducted in AI-leading countries (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Nguyen and Hekman, 2022; Cools, Van Gorp, and Opgenhaffen, 2024). By doing so, this study addressed the question raised by Nguyen and Hekman (2022) regarding the role of the country context in AI media framing. However, despite the novel country context of this study, the findings from the qualitative content analysis largely align with previous research on the media framing of AI. First, the increasing number of published articles on AI's impact on work found in Swedish trade media aligns with prior research (Ittefaq et al., 2025). Second, the increasing predominance of positive media framing of AI's impact on work, alongside the recent surge in negative framing, mirrors previous findings (Fast and Horvitz, 2017; Chuan, Tsai, and Cho, 2019; Brause et al., 2023). Lastly, the thematic analysis found that all dominant media frames have evolved from incorporating futuristic and speculative narratives to more concrete reporting on the realized impacts of AI. This evolution aligns with previous research demonstrating how the media discourse surrounding AI has shifted from framing it as a science fiction topic to focusing on its actual impact (Nguyen and Hekman, 2022).

The broad alignment of the findings of this study with prior research conducted in AI-leading countries raises questions about the extent to which the country context shapes media framing. Although frames are argued to be context-dependent (Chong and Druckman, 2007), the observed consistency in media framing suggests that trends in media framing of AI transcend national contexts despite being at different stages of AI adoption. Thus, the slow adoption of AI at work observed in Sweden (McKinsey & Co, 2024; Insight Intelligence, 2025b) may be better explained by other contextual factors than the media's framing of the

topic. This finding contributes to the theoretical discourse surrounding AI media framing by revealing the stability of media frames across national contexts despite variations in AI adoption levels. In light of this, there is an opportunity for further investigation into what factors beyond media framing might explain Sweden's lag in AI adoption.

Additionally, during the preparatory work, the researchers found that Sweden faces increasing skepticism toward AI (Insight Intelligence, 2025b), which, according to Framing Theory (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Chong and Druckman, 2007), should be reflected in media framing as media coverage influences public perceptions (Berg, 2025a; Scheufele, 1999; De Vreese, 2005; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). However, given that the media framing from 2023 onwards has been predominantly positive, workers' feelings and attitudes towards AI's impact on work should have been positively influenced (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo and Shaw, 2018). This finding suggests a potential disconnection between media frames and individual perceptions in Sweden. When the researchers presented these findings to the public opinion expert in the concluding interview, he suggested that one possible explanation for this discrepancy might be a lag in attitudes (Berg, 2025b). Media frames were mostly negative in 2021 and 2022, which may have resulted in subsequent negative perceptions in 2023 and 2024, even though the framing became more positive. This potential lag between media framing and perceptions has not been addressed in existing literature and thus presents a compelling avenue for further exploration. One additional explanation for this disconnect between media framing and perceptions could be that media articles accentuating negative aspects of AI attract more attention than articles presenting positive aspects. This idea is supported by the psychological principle that *bad is stronger than good*, which denotes that bad information is processed more carefully and has a greater impact than good information (Baumeister et al., 2001). Thus, although Swedes have increasingly faced positively framed media articles about AI's impact on work, they may process the few negatively framed media articles more strongly and thus form negative perceptions, which presents another interesting area for future investigation.

One final aspect worth discussing is that the dominance of positive portrayals in recent years does not equate to the absence of negative or mixed/neutral framing, nor the conflicting frames emphasizing both opportunities and threats. According to previous scholars, conflicting framing with mixed signals can contribute to ambiguity regarding AI's anticipated impact on work (Vicsek, 2021) and a complex mix of feelings, potentially fostering resistance and impeding successful adoption (Brougham and Haar, 2020; Golgeci et al., 2025). Thus,

the consistently contradictory frames of AI's impact on work identified in this study may help explain Swedish citizens' increasingly negative attitudes toward AI, which the public opinion expert Lukas Berg (2025b) found interesting and considers investigating in future opinion surveys.

5.3 Practical Implications

The findings of this study have implications for businesses and trade unions in Sweden. Firstly, this study revealed the dominance of dichotomous media frames, emphasizing various implications of AI at work through opposing viewpoints. For Swedish organizations, this finding implies a need to recognize that the issues regarding AI's impact on work, which are made salient in employees' minds, are ambiguous, which could create ambiguity and potentially foster resistance to the technology (Vicsek, 2021; Golgeci et al., 2025, Brougham and Haar, 2020). To counteract these conflicting frames produced by the media, managers and organizations should consider their communication strategies to include clear and coherent expectations and guidelines for what AI will entail for their employees. Such communication could anticipate concerns and address misconceptions, thereby facilitating AI adoption. Additionally, understanding AI media frames and their impact is crucial for trade unions and other policymakers, as it enables these actors to shape what portrayals individual workers and organizations encounter, ultimately affecting their perceptions and consequent adoption. By selectively choosing what issues to make salient, trade unions can create more favorable conditions for successful AI adoption. This may be especially critical in Sweden, given the influence of Swedish trade unions (Logue, 2019) and the fact that the country lags in AI adoption, coupled with an increased skepticism of AI (Appendix A).

Secondly, the comparatively low number of published trade media articles emphasizing the importance of upskilling suggests that employees and businesses in Sweden may not fully recognize the critical role of skill development for maintaining competitiveness amid the AI-driven workplace transformation. Given the media's twofold role in shaping and reflecting the societal discourse (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), the limited emphasis on the importance of upskilling in contrast to other media frames indicates that the salience of this issue remains weaker among the audience and has less impact on attitudes (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Entman, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007). This has implications for employees and businesses, as without awareness of the need to enhance AI-related and human skills in response to AI integration in the workplace, employees and businesses risk

losing out on valuable potential (Skilton and Hovsepian, 2018; Raisch and Krakowski, 2021). Thus, managers and organizations should actively inform their employees on what skills to acquire and develop to remain competitive in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Moreover, this insight has implications for Swedish trade unions as they can utilize trade media to elevate the salience of upskilling in public discourse. In doing so, trade unions can influence both employees' and organizations' perceptions, ensuring that upskilling is recognized as a critical response to an AI-driven workplace transformation and mitigating the risk of lost potential for workers and businesses.

5.4 Limitations

Despite its noticeable contributions, this study has several limitations. Firstly, the qualitative nature of theme development, which served as the basis for identifying the dominant media frames and their evolution, inherently involves interpretation. Although the researchers employed measures such as method and investigator triangulation to improve conformability, subjective interpretations remain inevitable. This interpretation implies that the researchers may have overemphasized or underemphasized specific issues in the trade media discourse over others, potentially influencing the relative prominence of particular frames. Secondly, this study did not measure actual perceptions of AI's impact on work. Therefore, the researchers could not draw any direct conclusions concerning whether or how media framing influences perceptions and actions regarding AI at work, nor what actual perceptions individual workers have held in recent years. Lastly, this study focused exclusively on trade media, which, while highly relevant for reporting on AI's impact on work, represents only a segment of the broader media landscape. The exclusion of other media sources may have limited the author's ability to capture a more comprehensive range of narratives and perspectives.

5.5 Future Research

This study advances the research on media framing of AI's impact on work. However, given the aforementioned limitations, further research is required to reinforce the findings on what media frames have dominated in Sweden and whether they represent individuals' perceptions of AI's impact on work. First, future studies should complement this interpretative study using quantitative measures to enhance statistical rigor and minimize subjectivity. Second, future researchers are encouraged to examine workers' actual perceptions regarding AI in the

workplace. This examination could reveal the extent to which media frames of AI's impact on work actually affect individually held frames, which was outside the scope of this study. Thirdly, as this study merely analyzed trade media articles, future research should examine a more extensive set of media to uncover the dominant media frames of AI's impact on work within the broader Swedish media landscape. Lastly, considering the reflections in the discussion, scholars are encouraged to investigate whether attitudes toward media framing naturally lag in time and the relative impact of positive versus negative framing of AI in shaping perceptions.

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6.3 Personal Communication

Berg, L. (2025a) 'Preparatory Interview', personal interview with Emma Iversén and Tuva Löfving, 22 January.

Berg, L. (2025b) 'Concluding Interview', personal interview with Emma Iversén and Tuva Löfving, 14 April.

7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix A: The Context of Work and AI in Sweden

The Swedish labor market has experienced several disruptions in recent years (Figure 10).

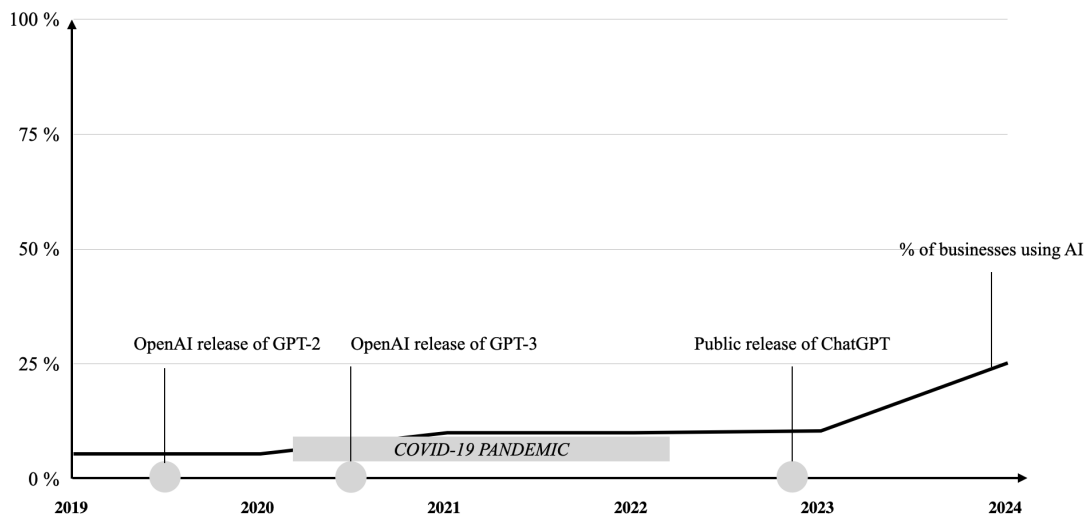


Figure 10. Swedish Labor Market Trends Between 2019 and 2024*

* Data from SCB (2024), Almega (2025), and Elliot (2024)

According to a report from the leading employer organization in Sweden (Almega, 2025), the COVID-19 pandemic was a historic crisis that fundamentally reshaped the labor market. The pandemic led to historically high levels of unemployment due to the significant restrictions and economic insecurity that followed (Ibid.).

Following the pandemic, Generative AI was made publicly available in late 2022, fuelling a new workplace disruption (Dale, 2021; Elliot, 2024). The progress of AI has been slow until recent years, in which it has accelerated markedly, since the computational power of AI today is said to double every six months (Elliot, 2024). Although many companies have been involved in AI's rapid advancement in recent years, the non-profit research organization OpenAI is considered one of the major contributors through its large language models GPT (Dale, 2021; Elliot, 2024). In 2019, the company released the first GPT-2, which could perform tasks such as summarizing and translating texts (Elliot, 2024), although it had visible flaws (Dale, 2021). However, in June 2020, OpenAI announced a refined version called GPT-3, which was considerably larger and could produce texts often indistinguishable from those produced by humans (Dale, 2021; Elliot, 2024). Two years later, in November 2022, the interactive chatbot ChatGPT, building on GPT-3, was released to the public, ultimately

introducing generative AI to a broader audience (Elliot, 2024). ChatGPT generated massive interest among the general public, and within a week, it already had over one million users (Kirmani, 2022).

In Sweden today, approximately one-third of the population uses ChatGPT, making it the most widely used AI tool in the country (Internetstiftelsen, 2024). The release of ChatGPT is said to be the catalyst for AI's transformation in society and businesses, as it has made the technology accessible for all (Elliot, 2024). The rapid advancement of AI over the last few years is also evident in the statistics on business usage of AI. According to the Swedish Central Statistical Office (SCB, 2024), the number of organizations using AI has increased from 5.4% in 2019 to 25.2% in 2024. A significant shift occurred in 2024, as usage doubled compared to 2023 and increased in all sectors and business sizes (Ibid.).

The rapid advancement of AI has generated significant interest in exploring people's perceptions and attitudes toward the technology. The organization Insight Intelligence specializes in surveys on Swedes' perceptions of various macro trends (Insight Intelligence, 2025a). In their yearly report "Svenska Folket och AI" (Insight Intelligence, 2025b), the organization monitors public attitudes towards AI to reveal how these perceptions influence the reception and adoption of AI in Swedish society. In their 2024 report, the organization demonstrates that the positive attitude toward AI peaked in 2021 and has declined thereafter (Figure 11) (Ibid.). Additionally, the report discloses that skepticism reached historically high levels in 2023 and 2024 (Insight Intelligence, 2025b).

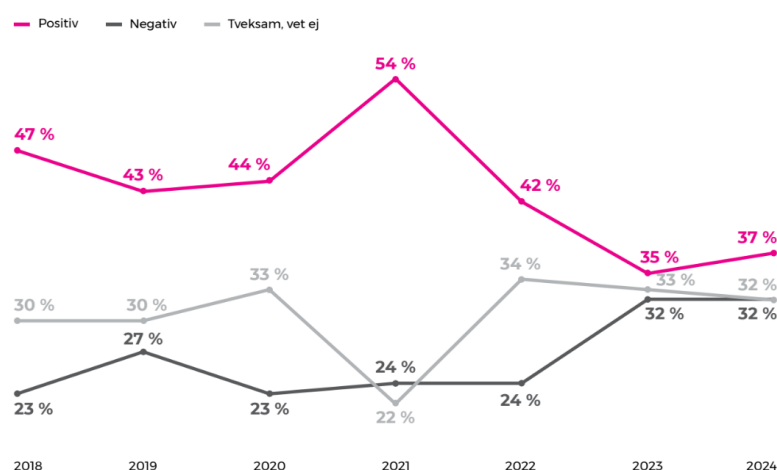


Figure 11. Swedish Citizens' Attitudes Toward AI's Impact on Individuals*

* Data from the report "Svenska Folket och AI 2024" (Insight Intelligence, 2025b)

7.2 Appendix B: Interview Subject

Interview Subject	Role	Interview Type	Date	Location	Duration
Lukas Berg	CEO of Insight Intelligence and public opinion expert	Preparatory interview	2025-01-22	Insight Intelligence HQ	47 minutes
Lukas Berg	CEO of Insight Intelligence and public opinion expert	Concluding interview	2025-04-14	Microsoft Teams	28 minutes

7.3 Appendix C: Interview Guide (Preparatory Work)

Introduction

- Brief introduction of the researchers and the topic.
- Ask for permission to record and cite the interviewee.

Warm-up Questions

- Can you introduce yourself and your role at Insight Intelligence?
- Can you describe Insight Intelligence's report "Svenska Folket och AI"?

In-depth Questions

- How would you describe the evolution of Swede's perceptions and attitudes towards AI?
- When did the optimism about AI peak?
- When did the pessimism about AI peak?
- What has been the trend in people's perception of AI at work?
- What do you believe influences public perceptions the most?
- What role do you think the media has in affecting perceptions?
- What do you think are the risks/implications of skepticism toward AI?

Concluding Question

- What do you think are the most interesting findings from the "Svenska Folket och AI" report?

7.4 Appendix D: Interview Guide (Concluding Work)

Introduction

- Brief presentation of the research process, key findings, and conclusions.

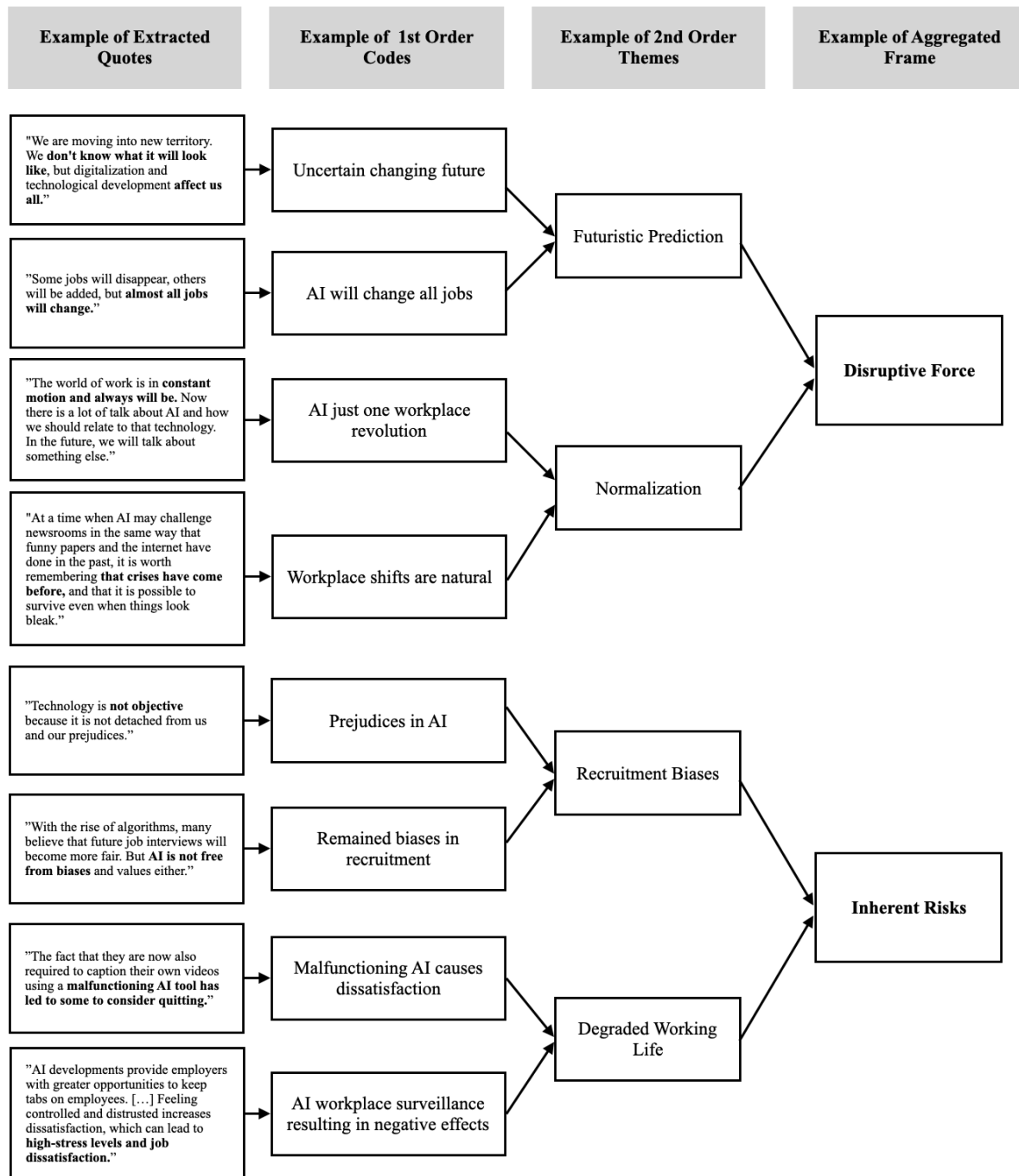
In-depth Questions

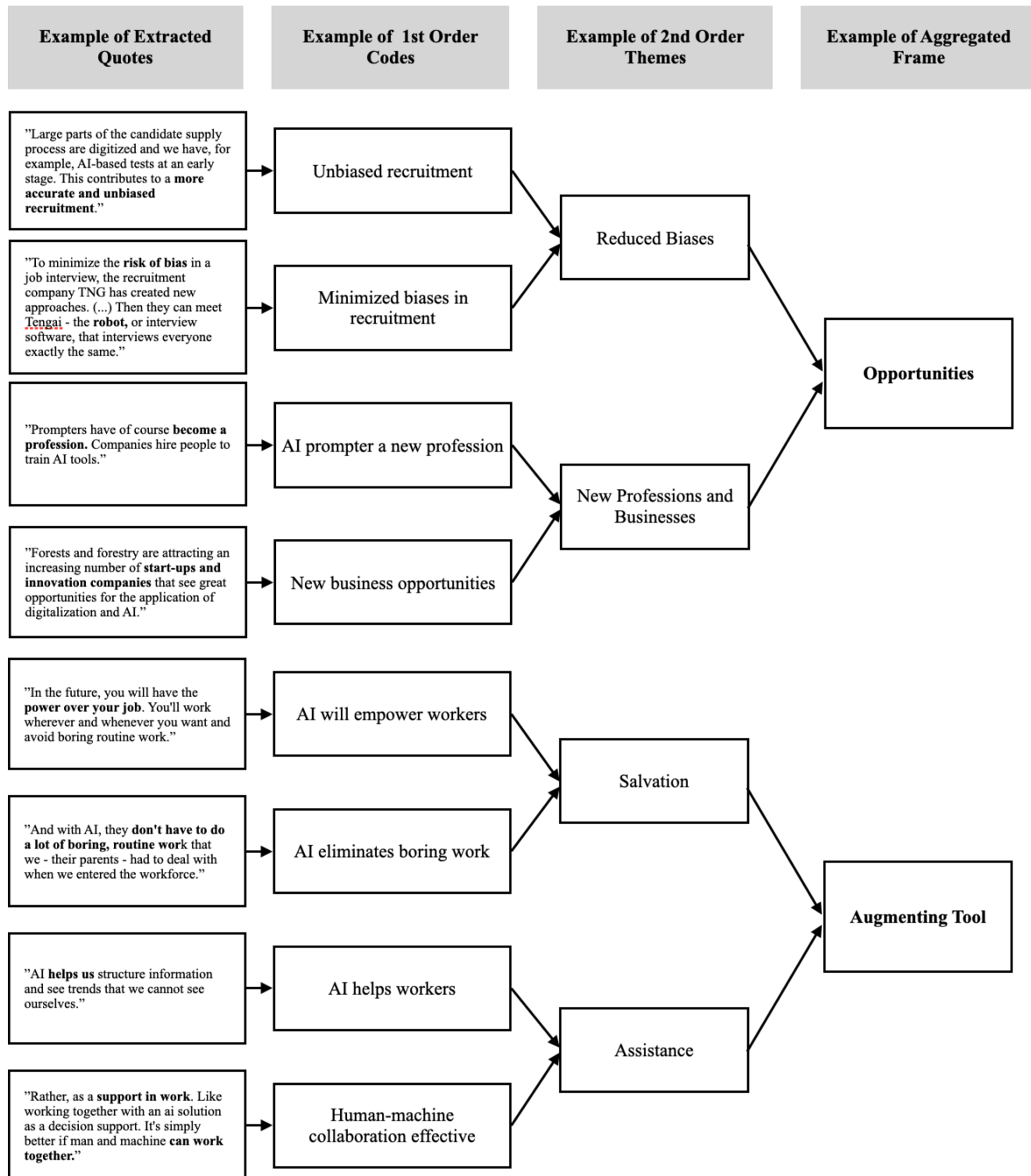
- What are your thoughts on the trends found in the qualitative content analysis (Show Figures 6, 7, and 8 and Table 2)?
 - What potential explanations for this come to your mind?
- What are your thoughts on the identified frames in this study (Show Table 2 and Figure 9)?
- Is there something in our findings that surprised you?
- What do you think is the most interesting finding?

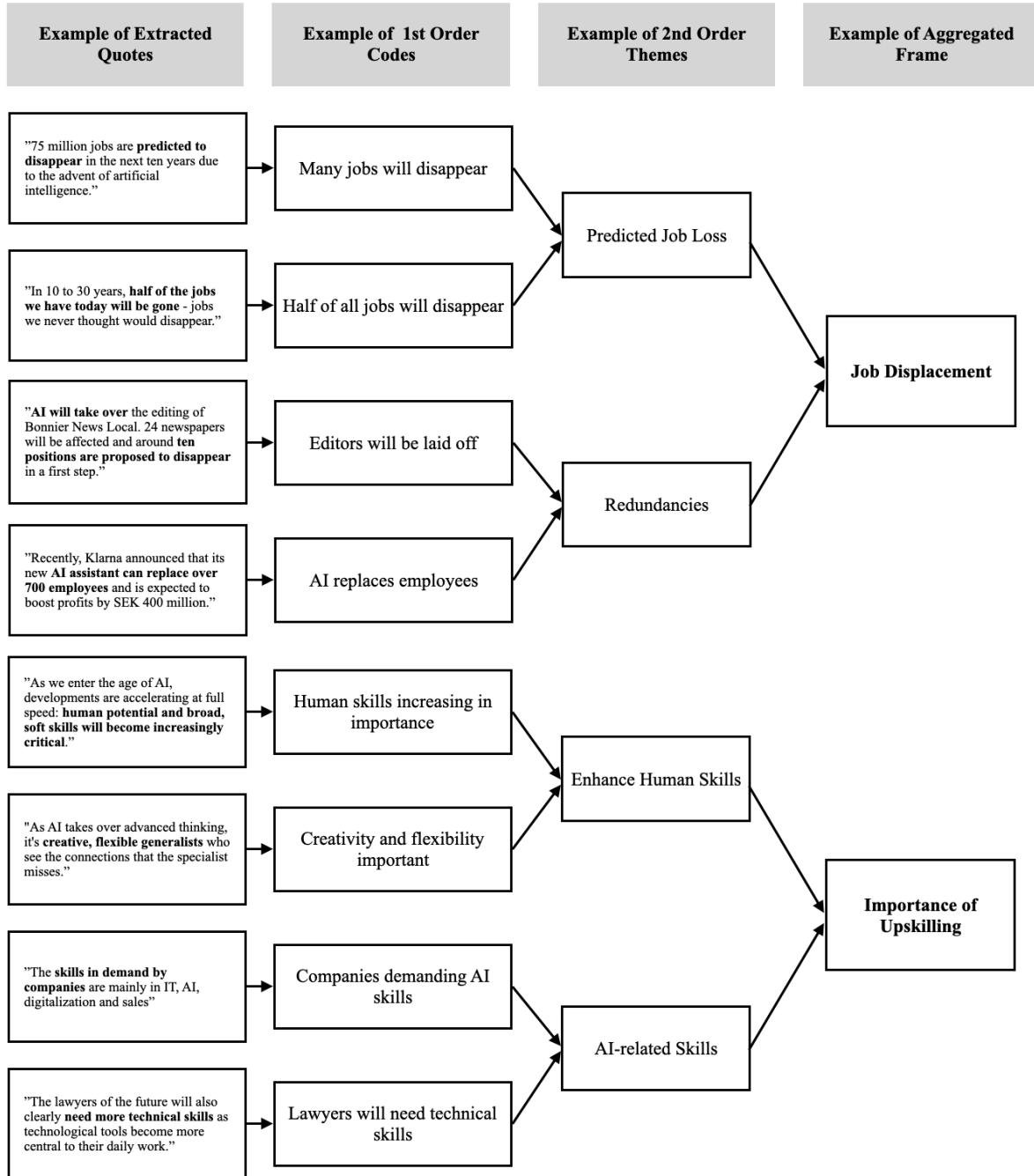
Concluding Question

- Is there anything from this study that you found particularly interesting for further investigation?

7.5 Appendix E: Thematic Analysis Process







8. AI Disclosure

8.1 Generative AI Description

Two AI tools – ChatGPT-4o and Grammarly Premium – were used throughout the writing process of this study. The subsequent sections outline the purpose, contributions, risks, and risk mitigation measures associated with using these AI tools.

ChatGPT-4o was used to enhance the grammar and formulations in text writing. Using this tool in the text-writing process improved the quality of the study by suggesting how sentences could be reformulated more concisely and providing proper words to express complex thoughts, ultimately enhancing the clarity of the text. However, as with all large language models, there is a risk of incorrect outputs inherent to ChatGPT-4o. To mitigate this risk, the researchers did not use the tool to generate complete sentences or content.

Grammarly Premium was utilized throughout the text-writing process and in the final review of the study to detect spelling and grammatical errors, thereby enhancing the delivery of the text. The purpose of using Grammarly Premium was to detect errors in the writing that the researchers did not detect themselves, ultimately enhancing the quality and perceived trustworthiness of the study. As aforementioned, there is an inherent risk of incorrect outputs from large language models, which could worsen rather than improve the quality of the writing. For instance, Grammarly Premium suggested writing the names of the dominant media frames in different ways at various points in the text, even though the researchers wanted the names to remain consistent to facilitate the reader's understanding. To mitigate the risk of such inaccurate suggestions, the researchers carefully reviewed all suggestions provided by Grammarly Premium in their full context, including the sentence and paragraph.

To conclude, the use of AI tools significantly improved the quality of the text in this study. However, the researchers experienced the limitations inherent to AI tools and consequently learned that researchers must always double-check the final output.

8.2 Generative AI Sources

Open AI. (2025) ChatGPT-4o (May version) [Large language model] <https://chatgpt.com/>.

Grammarly. (2025) Grammarly Premium (May version) [Large language model] <https://app.grammarly.com/>.