



School of Business, Economics and IT  
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# **New Course, New Discourse, New Racism?**

## **Right-Wing Alternative Media in Sweden**

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## **Abstract:**

Like elsewhere in Europe, the tides of nationalist right-wing rhetoric in Sweden have become instrumental in generating a wave of anti-liberal and anti-immigration sentiments in politics and media. In particular, one branch of right-wing alternative media has become a breeding ground for normalizing such rhetoric. Does the anti-immigration stance in such media disguise racist inclinations? In this thesis we examine the discourse of three right-wing alternative media sites in Sweden to explore the possible employment of different types of racism in their articles. By taking the constructivist viewpoint and adopting the post-colonial conceptions of the 'Self' and the 'Other', racist discourse was analyzed and characterized as either biological or cultural. From these two theories, we derived concepts concerning descriptions of contemporary and ideal Swedish society that will be used as further indicators of racist discourses. In this single case study, 94 articles from *Fria Tider*, *Nya Tider*, and *Samhällsnytt* were analyzed on the topics of immigration, integration and crime through a qualitative content analysis. The results show that most of the articles contain cultural racist discourse.

**Key words:** right-wing alternative media, post-colonial theory, biological racism, cultural racism, nationalism, qualitative content analysis.

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# 1 Right-wing alternative media

‘Fake News’ is one of Trump’s commonly used catchwords and a major concern that looms over news reporting in this new age of media mistrust, cynicism, and disinformation (Holt 2018; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). The mainstream established media is accused by Trump and other prominent figures, and followers of the new-right, for being elitist and out of touch with everyday people. This - and usually aggressive - criticism of the mainstream media is powered by an alternative branch of media that has been on the rise the last decade; namely, the right-wing alternative media (Holt 2018). This type of media is radical at its heart, works to normalize right-wing language and brings right-wing agendas to light, making them part of the public discussion (Atton 2006). When it comes to the content of the right-wing media, it often criticizes immigration and overlaps with populist ideology. For example, this is evident in Trump’s successful populist campaign in the U.S that systematically blamed the country’s problems on its immigrants. Right-wing media has entered political life and has become a driving force for political change with unexpected influence (Holt 2018; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Given its influence, right-wing alternative media is a topic of relevance and interest in the current political sphere. It’s an emerging phenomenon that has come to impact many pressing issues in society, such as media criticism, fake news, and information warfare (Atton 2006; Holt 2018; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Therefore, it is of political importance to look closely at what is written on these websites and the meanings and messages it communicates to the reader.

In this thesis, we will examine right-wing alternative news media (RWANM) in Sweden, focusing on the four main Swedish RWANM outlets: Fria Tider, Nya Tider, Samhällsnytt, and Nyheter Idag. These four sites are self-defined as alternative to the mainstream media and have nationalist right-wing tendencies (Holt 2018; Schroeder 2018: 67-70). The literature on alternative right-wing media is limited, especially in respect to Sweden. What previous research have found is that these websites rely on the mainstream media for information. However, they spin mainstream content to fit their right-wing agenda. Prior scholars have also found that these alternative media sites have grown with the rise of the right-wing Swedish nationalist party, the Sweden Democrats (SD), and that they are governed by a strong nationalist sentiment (Schroeder 2018: 67-70). Holt classifies them as “immigration critical alternative media”, stating that after the immigration crisis of 2015, “a growing number, even among mainstream journalists, have argued that there is some truth to the claim that immigration has been off limits for serious discussion in the Swedish public sphere for fear of being labelled racist” (Holt 2018). This begs the question, can criticism of immigration disguise racist inclinations? In fact, these four RWANM sites are frequently accused of being hate sites that contain racist and xenophobic language (Adolfsson 2014; Baas 2017; Expo n.d.). Very few studies have investigated racism in RWANM, and no other study has researched different types of racism in these

four Swedish news sites in particular. When it comes to racist discourse, prominent scholars have argued that nationalist and racist discourse are often intertwined, and that they are dependent on each other for survival (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 59-61, 76-77; Miles & Brown 2003: 9). This means that racism can manifest itself in nationalist content within nationalist media, such as RWANM.

The aim of this research is to study what type of racist discourse RWANM employ, if any. Racism is a phenomenon that constantly shifts with time and prominent scholars have argued that a “new” racism has replaced the old biological one (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 34-46; Blaut 1992; Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002). This is the reason we want to investigate the possible existence of different types of racist discourse in RWANM, to see if their potential racist discourse has taken a new course. Since RWANM is immigration critical it is intriguing and important to look closely at *how* immigration is depicted in its articles. Analyzing language and images in these articles will allow us to expose potential racist depictions of immigrants through the lens of racist theories. Other than immigration, two additional themes will be investigated. The second one is integration considering its interconnectedness with the immigration debate. Crime will be explored as the third theme since it is oftentimes debated as a societal problem correlating with immigration (Schierup & Ålund 2011). Shroeder points to the connection between the three themes when stating that “immigration ... is linked to criminality and the abuse of welfare” (Shroeder 2018: 70) in RWANM’s coverage.

The structure of the thesis is as follows; first, a literature review of the scholarships of racism and alternative media will demonstrate a clear gap in the literature that our thesis sets out to fill. Second, the theories used for examining racism will be presented and a theoretical framework will be developed. Third, statements of the aim and research questions will be provided. Fourth, the design and methods used for this thesis will be discussed. Fifth, the analysis will be presented with corresponding results. Finally, a general conclusion will conclude the study.

## 2 Scholarships on Racism & Alternative Media

By studying racism in RWANM in Sweden this thesis seeks to contribute to the scholarships of *racism and alternative media*, specifically right-wing alternative media in Sweden. The scholarships of racism and alternative media contains a significant gap. While most scholars have studied the connection of these websites to the nationalist party, SD, very few studies have investigated the potential existence of different types of racism in Swedish RWANM, and no other study has researched these four news sites together. That is what this thesis aims to contribute to in answering the main research question: *What type of racist discourse, if any, does the RWANM employ in its articles?*

### 2.1 Scholarship on racism

Racism is often referred to as a theory or ideology in constant change. Allan Pred argues that there is not one racism, but racisms, while Katarina Mattsson and Mekonnen Tesfahuney notes that racism is an ideology that perpetually transforms itself (Pred 2000: 1, Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002). For example, Hübinette and Lundström studied how some people in contemporary Swedish society mourn the loss of the white homogenous society in what Hübinette and Lundström refer to as “Old Sweden”, and how this consequently brings with it a hatred for immigrants, who are depicted as the drivers of change. Most scholars agree that contemporary racism is increasingly hard to define, that it is found ‘between the lines’, and that it has transformed from the classical scientific/biological racism to something more fitting of our times (Pred 2000: 1; Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002; Hübinette & Lundström 2011).

The phenomenon that is often referred to as racism today is given several different names, such as ‘ethnopluralism’, ‘cultural racism’, or ‘new racism’. The common denominator is the discourse, where it is now centered on culture and religion as the separating mechanism, rather than biology and science. This “new” racism is not focused on individuals’ innate different capacities, like scientific racism was, but rather on how people from different cultures/religions are too different to co-exist, and that this is a reason for them to be kept apart. Some scholars argue that according to cultural racism, it is not human beings that are superior to one another, but rather the culture itself. This new racism is sometimes referred to as a revival of the older type of religious racism that pre-dated scientific racism (Wazniowski 2017; Pred 2000: 4).

The main nationalist party in Sweden, SD, is constantly mentioned when reading about racism in Sweden. As a political party they have openly declared a zero-tolerance policy against racism (Schreiber 2012). However, Mulinari and Neergaard conceptualizes them as being culturally racist with a history of neo-Nazism, and a rhetoric that bares traces of biological/scientific racism. Hübinette and Lundström writes that SD mourn the loss of the white and homogenous “Old Sweden”, which makes them feel hatred for immigrants,

especially immigrants described as non-whites (Wizniowski 2017: 36; Mulinari & Neergaard 2015; Hübinette & Lundström 2011).

## **2.2 Scholarship on alternative media**

The second scholarship this thesis will contribute to is studies on alternative media. The term ‘alternative media’ is defined in opposition to the mainstream media, which is seen as possessing the dominant narrative. This means that alternative media present a contradictory or divergent perspective/narrative from the mainstream traditional media (Holt 2018). Alternative media has been called ‘new media’, ‘alternative journalism’, ‘participatory media’ or ‘citizen journalism’ since it adopts a different approach in addressing society through participation and criticism. The platform grew with the increased use of internet, which allowed alternative media to reach more people with fewer resources (Downey & Fenton 2003).

Traditionally, alternative media research has been viewed from a dominantly Marxist lens, where the focus is on left-wing alternative media. This type of media takes its inspiration from notions of anti-globalism and anti-capitalism. Left-wing alternative media is traditionally viewed as a form of activism and source of resistance against the hegemony of the mainstream media. Within this tradition, the mainstream media is viewed as elitist and corrupt, therefore alternative media becomes a symbol and a tool of speaking back to power (Holt 2018; Fenton 2008; Atton 2008; Vatikiotis 2008; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Essentially, alternative media has traditionally been viewed from a celebratory uncritical lens (Atton 2008; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018).

In recent years, a new branch of alternative media has been on the rise, namely ‘right-wing media’, ‘far-right media’ or ‘alt-right media’. This type of media has become influential and is, at its core, like left-wing alternative media, very critical and skeptical of the mainstream media (Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Holt describes its influence as becoming “increasingly relevant in the field of politics, as well as ideological and cultural communications” (Holt 2018). A few scholars have studied the content of these right-wing alternative media websites and found that their rhetoric consists of racist discourse, as well as, advertising the claim that mainstream media does not report correctly concerning certain news, such as immigration and Islam. It has also been demonstrated that these media outlets have a polarizing effect concerning political debates and therefore is a threat to the democratic process (Atton 2006; Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Alt-right media specifically has managed to rebrand its ‘white nationalist’ and ‘white supremacy’ image to appear less radical and appeal to millennials. At its core, alt-right media condones and promotes anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi sentiments. Its discourse contains anti-immigration, racist, and xenophobic notions, thus creating an echo-chamber of misinformation and propaganda (Marwick & Lewis 2017; Faris et al. 2017). Influential alt-right sites,

such as the somewhat infamous media outlet InfoWars in the US, even had a hand in electing Trump in 2016 (Love 2017; Faris et al. 2017).

The literature regarding the topic of right-wing alternative media is missing on several accounts. First, exploring the connection between right-wing alternative media and populist movements is missing (Figenschou & Ihlebaek 2018). Second, a critical approach when examining the content of these media outlets is also largely unexplored, which begs for more critical research done on examining this particular branch of alternative media (Atton 2006).

Within the Swedish context, Holt has characterized right-wing alternative media as ‘immigration critical alternative media’. This is due to their criticism of how immigration is reported on by the mainstream media in Sweden, as well as, their high emphasis on immigration in general (Holt 2018). The four largest most influential right-wing alternative media outlets are: Fria Tider, Nya Tider, Samhällsnytt, and Nyheter Idag. These media sites were established in support of SD. Already a few years after their inception, they managed to garner millions of visitors on a monthly basis. Similar to SD, these media sites are mistrustful of the mainstream media (Holt 2018; Schroeder 2018: 67-70). A study has been done to explore if the trust in the established media in Sweden is declining. The results showed that the mistrust in the mainstream media is found largely in SD sympathizers (Strömbäck & Karlsson 2017). Furthermore, it has also been found that these sites rely on the mainstream media for information. However, they spin it to fit their right-wing agenda (Schroeder 2018: 67-70).

In an effort to distinguish between different types of right-wing alternative media in Sweden, Holt classifies certain immigration critical media, Fria Tider, Nya Tider, Samhällsnytt, and Nyheter Idag, as a type of alternative media that fundamentally calls for a change in the system rather than the replacement of the system as a whole, which is more applicable to radical right-wing movements such as the Nordic Resistance Movement. The former type of alternative media positions themselves in competition with the mainstream media. Holt argues that they even normalize certain aspects and methods of news reporting that deviates from mainstream reporting, thus creating a polarizing effect. An example of this, Holt writes, is when these sites report on the ethnicity of the criminal, which is usually absent in mainstream sites (Holt 2018).

Concerning racism in the four alternative media sites in Sweden, a study on the bachelor level has been done regarding one of them, Nya Tider (Fröjd & Posner 2016). However, these four news sites have not been studied together in a systematic and critical fashion. Very few studies have investigated racism in RWANM, and no other study has investigated racist discourse in these four news sites in particular. This is a gap in the literature that this thesis will contribute to fill. In an increasingly globalized world where people move across borders at a growing rate it is important to study phenomena that can accompany an increased mix of ethnicities, such as racism. A platform that this phenomenon can be studied on is news media, especially nationalist RWANM that focuses on the issue

of immigration. In this thesis, we will examine potential existence of different types of racist discourse in these sites, focusing on the topics of immigration, integration, and crime.

### **3 Post-colonial Theory and its Application to Biological & Cultural Racism**

In this chapter, we introduce the theories and the framework used in the analysis, which is derived by us from existing theories. We use social constructivism as our grand philosophical point of view, followed by post-colonial theory, where we derive the structuralist concept of the binary opposition between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’. Two theories of racism will follow thereafter, namely biological racism and cultural racism. The main concepts of these two theories will be operationalized and adopted in our framework. This thesis is descriptive and will conduct a deductive approach in the analysis.

#### **3.1 Social constructivism**

This interpretivist approach will be used as a lens which will allow us to view the world constructively. Social constructivist philosophy holds the view that reality is constructed by us and through us, therefore it can be analyzed and understood by examining norms, society, language, and values (Halperin & Heath 2017: 46). Using this approach will help us look at what forms of racism there are and how they are represented through language and images.

#### **3.2 Post-colonial theory**

As the name suggests, post-colonial theory deals with the aftermath of colonialism, essentially focusing on the remnants of the colonial world. The post-colonial field concerns itself with the consequences, effects, and the remaining structures of colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2005: 186-199). Mainly, post-colonial theory is focused on dissecting the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and its effects on the cultural, political, economic, social, and psychological levels. Since its inception, post-colonial theory criticizes knowledge creation as being centered around the idea of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ or ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. The ‘Self’, being the dominant colonizer, the knowledge creator, and the western perspective. Essentially, the ‘Self’ is always superior, dominant, and a positive reflection of the ‘Other’. The ‘Other’ is the colonized, the orient, and the silent perspective. The ‘Other’ is inferior, backward, helpless, weak, and is the fantasy that defines the ‘Self’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2005: 186-199; Young 2003: 1-8).

One of the most influential scholars for post-colonial theory was Edward Said. In his monumental work published in 1978, *Orientalism*, Said criticizes western knowledge creation when he argues that the western writer, the Orientalist, only speaks *for* the Orient *for* the West. He argues that the orientalist has little interest in what the truth about the

Orient is, other than it being the premise for what he wants to communicate. The result is that the Orientalist is always outside of the Orient, which through his representation of the Orient creates a dichotomy between the Orient and the West (Said 1993: 88-89). Orientalism is thus about the European collective identity of 'Us' that is always on the opposite side of 'Them' and how the European culture always manages to portray itself as superior in relation to all non-European cultures (Said 1993: 71).

Post-colonial theory provides us with the tools to analyze racist discourse, centered around the idea of the 'Self' and the 'Other', which this thesis will derive and build its analytical framework on. Hence, the framework is constructed by us. By analyzing the relationship between the 'Self' and the 'Other', one is able to understand more in depth the consequences of the relationship between the West and the rest, and the world of inequality decolonization has left behind. Through colonial discourse, knowledge of the 'Other' has been created, therefore language is the primary source when analyzing the relationship between the 'Self' and the 'Other'. Within the creation of otherness, race thinking became an essential part of colonialism and colonial discourse (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2005: 186-199). Racial hierarchical categorizations were typically based on either religious superiority of Christendom or the biological superiority of the white race. This meant an inferior and superior race, which functioned as one of the justifications for colonial conquests and rule (Blaut 1992; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2005: 186-199; Young 2003: 1-8).

### **3.3 Biological/scientific racism**

The idea of race became significant in Europe in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Race was defined in biological terms, where it focused on physical characteristics. Miles and Brown write that "the implication was that distinct 'races' of human beings has always existed, and that 'racial' hierarchy was therefore natural, inevitable, and unalterable" (Miles & Brown 2004: 40). This was the core assumption of biological racism, which meant that belonging to a race would define intelligence, morals, abilities, civil development and individuals' roles in society. The level of these characteristics would determine the race's place in the hierarchy. A type of measurement for these characteristics was for example the skull, which was assigned a significance depending on the size (Miles & Brown 2004: 41). This meant that the bigger the skull the bigger the brains, hence a higher level of intelligence and a higher place in the hierarchy. The small brain characteristics were assigned to the 'African' race which was simultaneously linked to the uncivilized savage idea of the African, while the 'white' race enjoyed bigger brains and an abundance of civilization. Scientific racists also measured other aspects of human physical shape such as nose shape, hair color, and skin color, essentially ranking them according to the 'racial' hierarchy and assigning negative and positive characteristics as they saw fit (Miles & Brown 2004: 41). A fundamental idea of biological racism is social Darwinism, where races got assigned evolutionary abilities of survival according to intelligence and development level, which

was linked to physical characteristics. This meant that the ‘African’ or the non-white races were less likely to survive and prosper due to their inherently weaker abilities. It was all attributed to nature and natural selection (Miles & Brown 2004: 43).

As for Sweden specifically, in the 1920s the world’s first institute of race biology had the project of researching the Swedish population and classifying them into different race categories according to different physical characteristics. This type of project was one of its kind since it adopted photographic classification of the Swedish population, where the aim was to make an inventory of the types of races that existed within the Swedish border. The conviction was that these photographs would function not only as an indicator for physical characteristics, but also as a meter of character expression. This was believed to correspond to inner morality and intelligence. The backbone of this project was the belief that the Nordic race was thought to be threatened due to racial mixing. The Nordic race existed in its purest form in high numbers in Sweden, therefore it had to be protected (Kjellman 2017). The practice of measuring physical characteristics was performed through measuring body height, width of the shoulders, eye color, hair color, and much more. Essentially, they categorized the Swedish population into six main categories, ranging from the *purser Nordic type* and the *east Baltic type* to the *dark type*. These differences were mainly hair color and eye color, where *the purser Nordic type* had lighter eye and hair color, opposite to the *dark type*, which had dark hair and dark eyes. The Nordic type became synonymous with that of the ‘Swede’ (Kjellman 2017). The idea of categorizing race based on physical characteristics was not new in Sweden, it was regurgitated from previous research. For example, the famous Swedish scientist Carl von Linné divided people into categories based on their physical appearance already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Kjellman 2017). Scientific racists all came to the same conclusion that the lighter the color of hair, skin, and eyes, the higher the innate abilities of civilization, morality, development, and intelligence (Kjellman 2017).

Overall, the theory of biological racism separates between whiteness and non-whiteness based on differences in appearance, as positive and negative respectively. This view of the world is constructed with the idea of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’, as presented by post-colonial theory, where the ‘Self’ is the superior, white, developed, and the Nordic race. The ‘Other’ is the darker, uncivilized, and the ‘naturally’ inferior race. The ‘Self’ in our application of biological racism is the white European race, while the ‘Other’ is any other non-white non-European race. An exception to this ground rule is the white European Jewish community that in racist discourse oftentimes is described as a race being homeless, stateless, or an enemy within. The Jews are essentially equated to the non-white non-European races (Miles & Brown 2003: 31-32). From this theory one can establish that the reality described in biological racism is a reality where physical characteristics are identifiers of who is superior and who is inferior. This implies a descriptive reality of society. Furthermore, since the theory relies on social Darwinism as one of its key elements, the implication here is that if the superior race was to stay superior, it must not mix with inferior races for the purpose of prospering by ensuring the purity of the race. This implies an ambition to establish an ideal society which is that of one homogenous race.

In our analysis, biological racist representations of the ‘Self’ will be positive depiction of physical characteristics, such as *white, European, Nordic, light eye color, light skin color, light hair color, etc.* The ‘Self’ would be described as superior due to bodily markers. As for the ‘Other’ in biological racism, it would be described as: *non-white, non-European, n-word, ‘non-Swede’, darker eye color, darker skin color, darker hair color, etc.* Biological racist descriptions of contemporary society could be concerning bodily characteristics as an indication of a superior and an inferior race, while statements of an ideal society could be pointing towards the ambition to establish a racially homogenous society.

### **3.4 Cultural/new Racism**

After World War II and the atrocities of the Nazis there was a shift in the understanding of racism. The shift had started earlier but after the war and the genocide committed with the goal of establishing a homogenous Aryan race, very few wanted to continue subscribing to the science of biological racism (Miles & Brown 2003: 80-81). After the following couple of decades characterized by strong civil rights movements (Blaut 1992), some scholars even went so far as to declare racism dead (Miles & Brown 2003: 60). During the end of the 70s, and more so in the 80s, the term cultural, or new, racism started to appear among scholars. The British scholar Martin Barker was perhaps the first one to use this term when he described how a new political discourse had emerged (Miles & Brown 2003: 61-62). This discourse entailed that British people preferred to live among their own kind, and that this was something natural. When foreign cultures had been introduced to Britain through immigration this was perceived as a threat to the British culture. The British people’s fear and consequently its discrimination of the ‘Others’ culture was something he referred to as cultural racism (Miles & Brown 2003: 61-62).

The concept of ethnicity is central within cultural racism, as a mean of defining the ‘Other’. The word ethnicity is typically associated with a certain culture. It was first used by G. Vacher de la Pougé in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, where he used it to describe the culture of a group of people, who shares social, historical, and psychological aspects. This means that ethnicity does not correspond to the idea of race and therefore, one ethnic group can be constructed of different races. Max Weber similarly defined ethnicity as shared habits, memories, costumes, migration, or colonization among one group of people. Essentially, “Ethnicity asserts a collective ego to the exclusion of others. Each ethnic group perceives the greatest differences in its nearest neighbors” (Bolaffi et al. 2003).

In James Morris Blaut’s theory of cultural racism he describes how biological racism declined in popularity in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that racist practice needed a new theory (Blaut 1992). The result of this massive effort was the theory of modernization. Social scientists at the time based this theory on Weber’s notions of the uniqueness

of the European people and that Europe was the source of modernity. As opposed to biological racism, this theory stated that Europeans and non-Europeans are not different in their capacity, but instead they are different in levels of development and modernity (Blaut 1992). The 'Other' is not inferior due to innate capacity, but rather due to their inferior and unmodern culture. Due to this difference in culture, the 'Others' has not yet learned how to behave as so-called 'social adults'. If the 'Other' followed the European model and accepted the domination of European countries and corporations (in other words, neo-colonialism) this difference was believed to disappear over time, but meanwhile, it was considered fair for Europeans to treat non-Europeans of inferior cultures differently. Even though it was discrimination, it was rather thought of as treating the other person in accordance to their abilities. Essentially the European, or Western, culture substituted the previous racial category of 'white'. This, according to Blaut, was the essence of cultural racism (Blaut 1992).

In the book *Race, Nation, Class* Etienne Balibar questions if the so-called new racism is actually new, or if it is simply a tactical adjustment of the old scientific racism, designed for contemporary society (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 34-46). He argues that racism can be found everywhere in society, and takes the shape of violence, contempt, and intolerance. According to Balibar, culture, in cultural racism, functions as a nature that closes in individuals in a genealogy with a firm and stable heritage. Meaning that one culture can only be carried on by the children of people of that particular culture. In a sense, new racism has adapted, and replaced biology with culture as the differentiating marker between people (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 34-46). Pred argues in a similar fashion, in his investigation of cultural racism in Sweden, that cultural racism is by deception and discursive distraction; "a new form of biological racism ... made to appear as cultural difference pure and simple..." (Pred 2000: 77). In Pred's book, *Even in Sweden*, he quotes Tesfahuney concerning the effect of the 'Other' on the 'Self'; "The category of 'Swede' serves as the standard against which other groups are defined as negations of this standard" (Pred 2000: 75). This is the 'Self' defined by its negative reflection, the 'Other'. An example of this discursive mechanism is how one single individual wrongdoing is turned into collective guilt. If three men from three different countries in Africa sell narcotics in Sweden, then *all* Africans are lazy criminals. This becomes a part of 'their' culture. A negation to the 'Swedish' culture, which is a hardworking and law abiding one (Pred 2000: 75). Tesfahuney and Mattsson elaborate on this negation concerning the Swedish word for immigrant, *invandrare*. They draw similarities to Britain where the word immigrant is synonymous with "black" or "colored", even though most British immigrants belong to the so called "white" group of people. Immigrants with dark hair and dark skin color in Sweden are in a similar way not synonymous with "Swedishness" (Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002).

Mattsson and Tesfahuney state that not only culture is a differentiating factor but also religion. They argue that it is reasonable to also view certain discourse about religion as racist (Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002). Miles and Brown states that Islamophobia is not racism but rather a hostility towards Islam and Muslims. However, they also state that

Islamophobia often interacts with racism (Miles & Brown 2003: 164), while other scholars view what they call Islamophobia as a type of cultural racism (Ekman 2015). Similar to Miles and Brown, Mattias Ekman states that Islamophobia is a discourse that often-times overlaps with racism. He describes how Muslims are stereotyped in British media as culturally deviant and as a threat. According to Ekman, modern Islamophobia is inspired by Said's Orientalism. Not unlike the depiction of Muslims in Orientalism, Islamophobia describes Arab Muslim societies as static in their social and cultural development. Muslims, who are all the same, are not capable of democracy. Islam is described as a religion of violence and terms such as *terrorist* and *suicide bomber* are often associated with this religion (Ekman 2015). Mattsson and Tesfahuney argue in a similar way for Swedish society. People from the Middle East are oftentimes considered being the most different to Swedish people, for religious and cultural reasons. Islam is considered incompatible with Swedish values and post 9/11 there has been an increase in Islamophobia and racism towards Muslims in Sweden (Mattsson & Tesfahuney 2002). Furthermore, Balibar gives examples of the practices of normalization and preclusion with the Arab often being referred to as the addict, rapist, or criminal, and subsequently, how the rapist or the criminal becomes synonymous with the Arab (Balibar & Wallersten 2002: 76).

In our analysis, cultural racists' depictions of the 'Self' would be culturally/religiously/ethnically superior ones, such as *Swedish, developed, modern, etc.* The depictions of the 'Other' would be culturally/religiously/ethnically inferior ones, such as *non-Swedish, backward, immigrant, Arab, rapist, etc.*

### 3.4.1 Cultural Racism and Nationalism

The phenomenon of "New Racism" entails that it is very difficult for different cultures to co-exist, and that the necessity of erasing cultural differences will result in defensive reactions, increased aggressivity, and inter-ethnic conflicts. Accordingly, the best way to avoid conflict is separation, and the most effective tool for separation is the nation-state border. This connects racism to the concept of nationalism (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 59-61, 76-77). Descriptively, "New Racism" shows the difficulties for cultures to co-exist and it also implies statements of ideal society concerning how it ought to be. Since if a mixed culture is described as bad, it is implied that the ideal society is a more culturally homogenous one. Balibar states that racist discourses and nationalism are very similar. Through summarizing the views of fellow scholars, he concludes that nationalism is a necessary condition for racism to exist, and that nationalism will always conceal racism. Moreover, Balibar argues that a nation with one ethnic base does not exist, and consequently that nationalism is built up around fictitious ethnicities. Racism is primarily bound together by a network of fantasies about nations and ethnicities, and secondly by discourse and behavior. Essentially, nationalism needs racism, and racism needs nationalism. The nation-state border functions as a driver for *inner racism* against minorities domestically, and *outer racism* towards foreigners. Balibar states that racist organizations

do not openly call themselves racist, instead they might subscribe to nationalism (Balibar & Wallerstein 2002: 59-61, 76-77). Miles and Brown argue in a similar way, stating that racism and nationalism influence each other and are used together. They describe how opponents of immigration in Europe “combine racist language with a language of defending the nation state” (Miles & Brown 2003: 9). The immigration debate is key for nationalists since it is the topic where anti-immigration nationalist parties have managed to gain traction among the public. Non-European immigrants are portrayed as overrunning the European countries, to the detriment for the European societies and cultures. Muslims in particular are pointed out to be the most different ‘Others’ due to their backward religion, making them the least wanted immigrants. Immigration from Middle Eastern countries is sometimes referred to as a “Muslim invasion” (Wren 2001). This depicted incompatibility between Europeans and non-European Muslims has its roots in the historical conflict between European Christianity and Islam (Wollenberg 2014).

Hübinette and Lundström describes how the Swedish nationalist party SD “dreams” of how Sweden used to be a white and homogenous society, prior to immigration. They mourn the loss of this so called “Old Sweden”, which brings with it a hatred for the immigrants that have made contemporary Sweden a culturally and racially mixed society. This beloved white homogenous past that enabled the Swedish welfare state to prosper is now portrayed as something falling apart due to cultural differences. According to Hübinette and Lundström, SD ‘dream’ about a future similar to the past, where cultural hybridity has been erased (Hübinette & Lundström 2011).

As shown above, the theory of cultural racism contains both descriptive statements of contemporary and ideal society, especially in the context of nationalism. Due to the interconnectedness of racism and nationalism, this thesis will examine nationalistic features in the text closer and, if suitable, link it to cultural racism. Examples of this will be words that describe other nationalities as incompatible with Swedish nationality and society. The ‘Self’ in this case would be described as ‘*Swedish*’, *of Swedish nationality, etc.* The ‘Other’ would be described as ‘*non-Swedish*’, *someone with foreign background, of another nationality and religion etc.* Cultural racist/nationalist descriptive statements could cover topics such as people with different cultures and religions struggling to live together in contemporary Sweden. As for statements of an ideal society, cultural racism/nationalism could advocate stronger borders, a separation of peoples and a culturally homogenous society.

### **3.5 Theoretical & Analytical Framework**

The theoretical framework we have developed for our study contains the two theories mentioned above, namely biological racism and cultural racism. We will use the concepts of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’, central to the body of scholars that comprise post-colonial theory for both biological and cultural racism. This will make us able to extract indicators

that will help us explore which kind of racism it is. We will analyze both texts and images to examine the discourse at play. We have established that both biological and cultural racist theories present descriptions of contemporary society as they see it and descriptions of how ideal society ought to be. These two concepts will be included in our analytical framework, since they will function as a further indication of racist language/images hidden in descriptive statements of ideal and contemporary Swedish society in the articles.

For biological racism, we will examine potential presence of differentializing bodily markers that portrays the ‘Swede’ in a positive way such as *white skin color, Caucasian, light colored hair, blue/green eyes* as well as negative portrayals of the ‘non-Swede’ such as *Non-white, non-European, Jew, n-word, darker skin colors, darker eye colors, darker hair colors, non-Nordic features*. The analysis will also include an investigation of descriptive statements concerning contemporary and ideal Swedish society. As for descriptive statements we will explore potential language/images that portrays Swedish society in a negative way due to it being *racially mixed*. Statements of ideal society will be language/images that exemplifies how society should strive to be of one *homogenous race*. Not all depictions of physical appearances will automatically render it biological racism. Descriptions of one’s physical appearance can be used merely as a description of ethnicity, which by extension can be an indicator of where one is from. Essentially, for a depiction of physical appearance to be considered biological racism, it has to be a negative depiction that is employed to explain inferior characteristics of a subject, such as lower innate abilities.

For cultural racism, this thesis will examine language/images that portrays the ‘Swede’ in a positive way due to their culture/religion/ethnicity such as *developed, modern, skilled, Swedish, of Swedish nationality, European*, as well as language/images that portrays the ‘non-Swede’ negatively due to their culture/religion/ethnicity such as *underdeveloped, backward, foreigner, immigrant, Muslim, lazy, terrorist, suicide bomber, criminal, rapist, Arab, addict, instances where one individual act represents the collective, and someone with foreign background/mixed nationalities*. Furthermore, ethnicity will be used as an indicator for culture. The analysis will also include an investigation of descriptive statements of contemporary and ideal Swedish society. As for descriptive statements we will explore potential language/images that portrays Swedish society in a negative way due to it being *culturally/religiously/ethnically mixed*. Statements of an ideal society will be language/images that exemplifies how society should strive to be a *homogenous culture*.

The depiction of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ as well as descriptive statements of contemporary and ideal society concerning biological and cultural racism are all represented in the table below.

	<b>Biological racism</b>	<b>Cultural Racism</b>
<b>The ‘Swede’ ‘Self’</b>	Language/images that portrays the ‘Swede’ in a positive way regarding his/her biology/bodily markers.	Language/images that portrays the ‘Swede’ in a positive way due to his/her culture, religion, or ethnicity
	<u>Indicators:</u> White skin color, Caucasian, light colored hair, blue/green eyes	<u>Indicators:</u> Developed, modern, skilled, Swedish, European, Christian, of Swedish nationality
<b>The ‘non-Swede’ ‘Other’</b>	Language/images that portrays the ‘non-Swede’ in a negative way due to his/her biology/bodily markers.	Language/images that portrays the ‘non-Swede’ in a negative way due to his/her culture, religion, or ethnicity
	<u>Indicators:</u> Non-white, non-European, ‘non-Swede’, Jew, darker skin colors, darker eye colors, darker hair colors, non-Nordic features	<u>Indicators:</u> Underdeveloped, backward, foreigner, immigrant, Muslim, lazy, terrorist, suicide bomber, criminal, rapist, Arab, addict, one individual act represents the collective, someone with foreign background/mixed nationalities
<b>Description of contemporary society</b>	Language/images concerning society that portrays it negatively due to it being racially mixed.	Language/images concerning society that portrays it negatively due to it being culturally, religiously, or ethnically mixed.
	<u>Indicators:</u> Racially mixed	<u>Indicators:</u> Culturally/religiously/ethnically mixed
<b>Statements of ideal society</b>	Language/images containing statements about ideal society concerning the mixing of races.	Language/images containing statements about ideal society concerning the mixing of cultures, religions, and ethnicities.
	<u>Indicators:</u> Homogenous race	<u>Indicators:</u> Homogenous culture

## 4 Specified aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to investigate different types of racist discourse possibly used by RWANM in their reporting on issues of immigration, integration, and crime. These themes were chosen since they are covered by RWANM as correlating to each other. When it comes to crime specifically, it is plausible to believe that it is a theme of interest in examining potential statements of an ideal society, since crime is typically described as an impediment to such a society. The scholarships we will contribute to are studies on racism and alternative media. Through the lens of post-colonial theory, using the entities of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’, we will analyze RWANM’s discourse. We aim to examine the relationship between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ by applying concepts from biological and cultural racism. Additional focus will be put on eventual descriptive statements about contemporary and ideal society, which will function as further indicators of racism in the chosen media sites. The analysis will be conducted deductively through the theories of biological and cultural racism. Accordingly, the stated research question for this thesis will be answered through answering the two sub-questions corresponding to the framework.

- *What type of racist discourse, if any, does the RWANM employ in its articles?*
  - *What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in its depiction of the ‘Swede’ and/or the ‘non-Swede’ when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?*
  - *What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in its description of contemporary and ideal Swedish society when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?*

## 5 A Single Case Study & Qualitative Content Analysis

In this chapter, we will discuss the chosen research design for this thesis, which is a single-case study design. We will explain how the data will be collected and analyzed deductively through a qualitative content analysis with a directed approach.

### 5.1 Research Design: A single-case study

This thesis set out to investigate if RWANM uses different types of racist language/images in its articles. Our main focus will be on language and images. A single-case study design is a suitable choice because it will allow us to do a careful in-depth analysis of the content of these articles and answer the research questions. Adopting such a design will elevate our internal validity due to the rigorous and careful reading/analysis of the data. This will allow us to arrive at sound conclusions concerning our research questions (Halperin & Heath 2017: 214-216, 148-149).

A single-case study design does have its weaknesses. The conclusions and findings of a single-case study are very hard to generalize from, which points towards our study having a low external validity. This implies that our findings concerning RWANM in Sweden might not be applicable to other news media outlets since these are very specific types of news media (Halperin & Heath 2017: 148-149, 214). Another problem with choosing a qualitative single-case study design is the reliability problem. This means that this research might have replicability concerns since an interpretative research is always affected by the human factor or agency, meaning that different people may understand similar texts differently based on their understanding of the world. This is a problem we are aware of and it is difficult to avoid when performing an interpretative study (Halperin & Heath 2017: 149). However, we are conducting a deductive study with a set framework which is possible to re-produce/replicate. Through consistency in applying this framework in the analysis, we will limit the human factor effect of this study to a certain extent.

Another research design could have more of a comparative nature, where it would be a comparison of RWANM's articles overtime (longitudinal design). The reason this design was not incorporated in this study was because we are not interested in exploring how the content of RWANM media has changed over time, but rather investigate whether it uses racist discourse of any type (Halperin & Heath 2017: 151-152).

## 5.2 Methods for gathering data

For this thesis we set out to collect articles from four online news sites that are widely considered to be the most popular RWANM-sites. The sites are Fria tider, Nya Tider, Samhällsnytt, and Nyheter idag (Holt 2018). When examining these four websites for data gathering, we uncovered that archive access in Nyheter Idag was not possible, therefore this site was eliminated from consideration. We will instead examine the three other sites mentioned above. One reason for choosing these news sites is that they, even though they claim to be independent and unattached, are closely linked to SD. Ralph Schroeder even goes as far as calling them “The Sweden Democrats’ Alternative Media” (Schroeder 2018: 67-70; Holt 2018). Their link to the nationalist party is important because, as we have shown in the theoretical approach, cultural racism is often intertwined with nationalist discourse. This will allow for further exposure of racism within nationalist discourse. These media sites define themselves as being ‘alternative’ to mainstream media, which strengthens their tie to SD further, since SD claim that mainstream media is biased against them and that they do not report the news truthfully. The fact that all three online sites started after 2009, basically when SD entered parliament, and that they have stripped away otherwise standard topics such as economics, sports, culture, and instead focused only on domestic and international politics further strengthens their link to SD (Schroeder 2018: 67-70). Additionally, the fact that these news sites focus on political issues makes them interesting sources for our analysis since we are researchers within political science. The above mentioned suggest that RWANM and SD share similar views of the mainstream media when it comes to the content of their news reporting. Furthermore, RWANM almost exclusively reports on politics, more specifically immigration, which also proposes a link between them and SD since immigration is SD’s main issue (Schroeder 2018: 67-70).

For the material to be collected, we have chosen the period of January 1st to August 31st of 2018 since it was an election year in Sweden, where these eight months were leading up to the election. It is therefore plausible to assume that an increase in articles concerning typical political debate issues such as immigration and integration have been published at these news sites during this period. Dagens Nyheter showed in an investigative article that nationalist and anti-immigrant posts on social media saw a massive spike during the recent election year. Interestingly, this was directly tied to SD’s communication office, where posts from SD’s communication office were systematically replicated and posted in nationalist social media groups shortly thereafter (Sköld, Urisman Otto & Ewald 2018). Schroeder argues that the right-wing alternative media has sprung up in support of SD (Schroeder 2018: 68). We argue that there is a similarity in how the social media groups have grown in support of SD with how the RWANM-sites have grown. It is therefore plausible to believe that there has also been a spike in articles with nationalist and anti-immigrant content on these alternative media sites during this time period.

In order to avoid personal bias when choosing the articles for analysis, we need to be systematic in our selection of articles and avoid cherry-picking. Therefore, from all three

news sites we will select the first article of the first four weeks of each month that covers either immigration, integration, or crime. The articles will be collected from the main page of these news sites. This method of selection will result in 96 articles during the time period. This is a sufficient number of articles to answer the research questions.

Since these three sites often are clumped together by other scholars, on topics other than racism, we will view them in a similar fashion, as a homogenous group (Holt 2018; Schroeder 2018: 67-70). Due to this, this thesis does not have a clear comparative design between these sites. However, we are looking into three different online sites and comparative elements may appear during the analysis if we see that these news sites in fact are different in their discourse.

### **5.3 Methods for Analysing Data: Qualitative Content Analysis**

This thesis will employ a qualitative content analysis (QCA) which provides for a systematic analysis of the data. QCA will allow us to read the texts in their entirety and to read between the lines of the articles. Halperin and Heath summarizes it perfectly when they write that QCA makes it “possible to expose the meanings, motives, and purposes embedded within the text.” (Halperin & Heath 2017: 346). The reading of these articles will be performed using the hermeneutics circle method of interpretation, where the reading of texts and other elements of expressions are repeated by the researchers in order to find and refine knowledge and meanings found in the articles. This will allow us to access the unwritten implied meanings hidden between the lines, which is often where racist discourse manifests itself (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2016). This ability is of utmost importance for this thesis to be able to answer the research questions.

Since this thesis will apply our theoretical framework of biological and cultural racism in its analysis we have chosen to undertake a directed approach of QCA. This approach is a sound choice when existing theory is to be used deductively in the analysis of a study. A directed approach helps us set up the initial coding system and connect it to the categories in the theoretical framework before starting the analysis. This is often referred to as *deductive category application* (Hsieh & Shannon 2005), meaning that we will set up predetermined codes that are linked to the eight categories in our theoretical framework. Halperin and Heath refers to this as *a priori codes* which is often also called *closed coding* (Halperin & Heath 2017: 350). Using a predetermined set of categories and codes is a sensible option when we are trying to determine whether this data contains biological or cultural racism according to our established theoretical framework.

In accordance with our theoretical framework, these are the eight categories we will be searching for during the analysis of our data, codes are attributed to the categories:

**Swebiopos** ('Swede' biology positive) = Language that portrays the 'Swede' in a positive way regarding his/her biology/bodily markers.

**Otherbioneg** ('Other' biology negative) = Language/images that portrays the 'non-Swede' in a negative way regarding his/her biology/bodily markers.

**Soebioneg** (Society biology negative) = Language/images concerning reality or society that portrays it negatively due to it being racially mixed.

**Idealbio** (Ideal society biology) = Language/images containing statements about ideal society concerning the mixing of races.

**Swecultpos** ('Swede' culture positive) = Language/images that portrays the 'Swede' in a positive way due to his/her culture/religion/ethnicity or way of life.

**Othercultneg** ('Other' culture negative) = Language/images that portrays the 'non-Swede' in a negative way due to his/her culture/religion/ethnicity or way of life.

**Soccultneg** (Society culture negative) = Language/images concerning reality or society that portrays it negatively due to it being culturally/religiously/ethnically mixed.

**Idealcult** (Ideal society culture) = Language/images containing statements about ideal society concerning the mixing of cultures/religions/ethnicities.

There are many benefits to choosing qualitative content analysis as our method of analysis. Since we are attempting to answer investigative direct questions with a deductive approach, QCA will help us construct a systematic method of answering the research questions. For example, QCA would have been a poor method of analysis if we were answering an open exploratory question using an inductive approach with the goal of theory construction. Such project would require a more open method of analysis. Furthermore, this method will provide us with an inter-coder reliability, which means that our method of analysis will be possible to replicate with high possibility of similar results. Another strength of this method is that it will make this research process transparent and transferable due to QCA having a rule-governed nature (Mayring 2004). As for the weaknesses of this method, it is grounded in choosing a deductive approach, which could possibly result in finding data that does not fit with the analytical framework and therefore will have to be disregarded. Perhaps an improvement to this would be to incorporate a combination between an inductive and a deductive approach which could provide a more inclusive data analysis. Despite this weakness, a deductive method is still able to answer the research questions adequately and will allow us to come to sound conclusions.

## 6 Analysis & Results

### 6.1 Introduction

The analysis ended up comprising 94 articles, and not the intended 96. The reason for this was that in two of the weeks for selection, there were no articles found on the topics of immigration, integration, or crime. After analyzing the 94 articles selected for the analysis, racist discourse was found in many of the articles among the three RWANM sites. This will be discussed and shown below. Our in-depth reading of the articles also showed that they share many characteristics. First, all three sites position themselves as alternative media who is critical to the establishment and as reporters of the ‘truth’, where they relentlessly point out how the mainstream media is misreporting and ignoring facts and truths. However, these RWANM still use mainstream media as a source of information when reporting news. Second, journalists are a scarce commodity in these sites, with the exception of Nya Tider. This could explain their dependency on mainstream media for information. Third, it was clear that immigrants were in focus and constantly portrayed as the problem. Fourth, in many cases, information in the articles appeared to be incomplete, where, in some instances, the story ended abruptly and unclearly. This created confusion and made the RWANM less reliable as a source of information. Fifth, all three sites brought up SD to highlight the party’s achievements regarding immigration issues. This further strengthens their link to SD. Sixth, when it came to the reporting of the news, the three sites sometimes reported on the same stories using almost identical sentencings. This further strengthens their link to each other. Lastly, questionable sources, such as Wikipedia and Flashback were cited and used by these sites as a source of information.

In the analysis we mainly focused on language since images were found to be relatively neutral through the lens of racist discourse, and thereby not of interest to our research. This was especially true for the themes of immigration and integration, while in crime some images were of interest. Overall, we found significant amounts of evidence of discourse containing cultural racism in these articles. Essentially, the most commonly employed forms of racist discourse were negative depiction of the ‘Other’ as well as, negative descriptions of Swedish society due to cultural/ethnic/religious mixing.

The analysis of the data will be structured as the following: the first section of the analysis will aim to answer the question: *What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in their depiction of the ‘Swede’ and/or the ‘non-Swede’ when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?* This will be analyzed through the three themes. The second section of the analysis will provide an answer to the question: *What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in their description of contemporary and ideal Swedish society when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?* This will also be analyzed through the three themes. The analysis of these two questions will provide an answer to our main research question: *What type of racist discourse, if any, does the RWANM employ in its articles?* These three questions will be answered clearly in the results section.

## 6.2 The depiction of the ‘Swede’ and the ‘non-Swede’ in RWANM

Regarding how the entities of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ were found in the text, descriptions of the ‘Other’ were much more common than descriptions of the ‘Self’. As discussed in the theory chapter, notable scholars describe the relationship between the two entities as fundamentally binary. The manner of which this is discussed entails that the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ always exist in unison implicitly or explicitly. This means that if the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’s relationship is found to be in opposition of one another when they are explicitly described together in the text, it is reasonable to argue that the same relationship would carry on implicitly when only the ‘Other’ is described and vice versa. For example, the ‘Self’ would still exist indirectly as the positive reflection of the ‘Other’ when the ‘Other’ is depicted negatively.

### 6.2.1 Crime

The crime articles from the three sites covered the crimes of rape, sexual harassment, murder, shootings, Islamic terrorism, physical abuse, stabbing, torture, and drugs/illegal weapons. The most commonly reported crime was rape. The biggest pattern that emerged when reading all crime articles was the emphasis put on ethnicity. The ‘Other’ was depicted as the criminal with a certain ethnical background – the ‘non-Swede’ – across all articles that contained racist discourse. The ‘Self’ was described as the victim either explicitly or implicitly, which was relatively positive to the criminal – the ‘Other’.

In the articles where the ethnicity of the criminal was known to the RWANM, they would include it in the title, as well as in the content of the article. Examples of titles are:

*A Syrian sentenced for attempted rape in Uppsala<sup>1</sup> (Pettersson 2018b).*

*A Syrian man wanted for five attempted rapes in Uppsala<sup>2</sup> (Fria Tider 2018k).*

*A fourth Uzbek detained for a terrorism case<sup>3</sup> (Dagerlind 2018b).*

*Swedish twins physically abused by immigrants – their family gets harassed by anti-racists following the incident<sup>4</sup> (Björkman 2018e).*

*An Iranian murdered a woman – should have been deported over 20 years ago<sup>5</sup> (Björkman 2018c).*

This type of sentence construction evokes many questions for the reader. Why is it important for RWANM to mention the ethnicity of the criminal in the title? What are they communicating to the reader? Does ethnicity play a role in the crime itself? There is a relationship that forms between the crime, the criminal, and the criminal’s ethnicity. In such cases, ethnicity becomes a factor that is added to the crime and the criminal. This

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<sup>1</sup> Syrier döms för våldtäktsförsök i Uppsala

<sup>2</sup> Syrisk man begärs häktad för fem våldtäktsförsök i Uppsala

<sup>3</sup> Fjärde Uzbek i terrormål häktas

<sup>4</sup> Svenska tvillingar misshandlades av invandrare – deras familj blev trakasserade av antirasister efteråt

<sup>5</sup> Iranier mördade kvinna – skulle utvisats för över 20 år sedan

makes ethnicity an aspect of consideration when looking at the crime, perhaps as an explanation to why the crime was committed. The rapist in the first two titles is not ‘just’ a rapist, he is a Syrian man, which becomes the focus and the explanation of the crime. The logic employed here is that the ‘Other’ is not any rapist; he is a *Syrian* rapist and *rapes because he is Syrian*. The crime becomes synonymous with the Syrian. There were no titles that read “a ‘Swede’ attempts to rape a girl”. Seemingly the ethnicity of the perpetrator was not of interest to the RWANM in the cases where the criminal was Swedish, since they never reported on it. One could argue that the RWANM aims to depict rape and other crimes as a part of a specific culture and ethnicity. The same logic applies to the rest of the titles. In some cases, in the titles and the content of the articles, binary relationships between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ were explicit, where the ‘Self’ was positively depicted as the innocent Swedish victim, opposite to the non-Swedish guilty criminal. In other cases, the ‘Self’ was arguably implied to be the positive opposite of the ‘Other’, where it did not necessary become the Swedish victim in all articles but rather sometimes the negation of the rapist, murderer, and terrorist as the non-rapist, non-murderer, and non-terrorist.

Concerning the content of the crime articles, the language was focused on the ethnicity of the ‘Other’ when it was known. In one article concerning the murder of a woman, the murderer was described as “an immigrant from Afghanistan”<sup>6</sup> while the woman was described as “the Swedish woman”<sup>7</sup> (Eliasson 2018). The ethnicity of both the victim and the perpetrator is highlighted when the criminal is an immigrant and the victim is Swedish. An association between the crime and the Afghani immigrant forms, even so between the victim and the ‘Swede’. The Afghani becomes synonymous with the murderer and the ‘Swede’ becomes synonymous with the victim. Here is how the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ are explicitly depicted as opposites of each other, victim - criminal. This is a representative example of how RWANM usually depicts the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ in crime articles. In other examples, the ‘Other’ (the ‘non-Swede’) is depicted in relation to different crimes as the “Iraqi man”<sup>8</sup> “Afghani man”<sup>9</sup> “Syrian man”<sup>10</sup> “foreign man”<sup>11</sup> “Eritrean man”<sup>12</sup> “immigrant”<sup>13</sup> “Somali”<sup>14</sup> “African”<sup>15</sup> “Iranian”<sup>16</sup> “Rape-Turk”<sup>17</sup>, while the ‘Self’ took different forms of implicit and explicit descriptions negating the ‘Other’ as the victim or the non-criminal ‘Swede’ (Eliasson 2018; Fria Tider 2018i; Fria Tider 2018k; Fria Tider 2018m; Fria Tider 2018u; Fria Tider 2018v; Fria Tider 2018y; Fria Tider 2018ab; Albinsson 2018; Samhällsnyttredaktionen 2018c; Dagerlind 2018b;

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<sup>6</sup> Invandrare från Afghanistan

<sup>7</sup> Den svenska kvinna

<sup>8</sup> Irakisk man

<sup>9</sup> Afgansk man

<sup>10</sup> Syrisk man

<sup>11</sup> Utländsk man

<sup>12</sup> Eritreansk man

<sup>13</sup> Invandrare

<sup>14</sup> Somalier

<sup>15</sup> Afrikanen

<sup>16</sup> Iranier

<sup>17</sup> Våldtäktsturken

Pettersson 2018b; Björkman 2018b; Björkman 2018c; Malmqvist 2018c). The pattern and the methodology employed by RWANM is apparent. Ethnicity, and by extension culture, is a significant factor in explaining why the perpetrators commit crime.

In one article concerning a gang rape of a minor girl, the ethnicity of the criminal is not known but speculated over. The rape crime was covered as follows:

The young girl survived without serious physical injuries, but according to the police she is feeling bad because of what she has been exposed to. The exact circumstances of the event are still unclear, and the police does not want to reveal what they know<sup>18</sup> (Dagerlind 2018g).

The arrested man will be interrogated again on Monday and the search for other suspects will also continue. The suspects' ethnicities and whether they are known by the police is not reported<sup>19</sup> (Dagerlind 2018g).

This is an example of how RWANM usually reports on the news when the ethnicity of the criminal is unknown. In the first part of the text the focus is on reporting the facts of the crime in relation to the police report. However, as the text continues one can see that the focus has shifted. Samhällsnytt is concerned with the criminal's ethnical belonging. RWANM uses this method to identify and define the criminal as possibly a 'non-Swede'. This communicates to the reader that there is missing information that is relevant to the case, and that the police are hiding this information. Possibly, this provokes the reader to ask where these men are from, which connects to the idea of the criminal not being a Swede, belonging to a different geographical origin. The question about the origins of the suspects becomes a relevant factor implanted in the reader's mind. This text can also be an example of how the 'Self' is implicitly described without directly referring to it. Explicitly the 'Self' would be described as the Swedish girl or woman, here the 'Self' is merely a girl. Theorizing and questioning the ethnicity of the 'Other' and not the 'Self' implies that the 'Self's' ethnicity and thereby culture is not relevant to the role of the victim, while the 'Other's' ethnicity is relevant to the crime. Since the 'Other' is indicated to be the 'non-Swede', following the binary logic of these two concepts, the 'Self' is, by default, the 'Swede'. The girl becomes the Swedish girl without necessarily writing it as such. This exact relationship constantly forms in other similar articles written by the RWANM.

Similar articles can be found in Fria Tider article 13, in Nya Tider article 27, and Samhällsnytt articles 3, 7, 8, 25, 29 (See Appendix 1).

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<sup>18</sup> Den unga flickan klarade sig utan allvarligare fysiska skador men mår enligt polisen psykiskt dåligt på grund av det hon utsatts för. De exakta omständigheterna kring händelsen är fortfarande oklara och polisen är förtegen om hur mycket man vet.

<sup>19</sup> Den gripne mannen ska förhöras på nytt under måndagen och sökandet efter de övriga misstänkta återupptas då också. De misstänkta ynglingarnas härkomst och huruvida de är kända av polisen sedan tidigare uppges inte.



In another article concerning the violent rape of a girl, the rapist is described to be “Somalian”<sup>20</sup> and “African”<sup>21</sup>. Again, the ethnicity of the perpetrator is repeatedly mentioned when addressing him as to remind the reader of his ethnicity, and thereby culture, and indirectly explain his behavior as the violent rapist. As for the victim, she is described as the “Swedish girl”<sup>22</sup> (Fria Tider 2018z). Ethnicity is also relevant for the innocent Swedish victim who got exposed to the violent African rapist. The binary relationship between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ is explicit here. The article is accompanied by a black and white picture of a man giving the finger.

The picture of the man is supposed to represent the rapist. One could argue that an association between color and crime is used in this picture. RWANM associate the color black with the rapist – the ‘Other’. The dark hand is drawn and is clearly not part of the original picture. Arguably, this is added by Fria Tider to emphasize the attitude of the man towards the crime or even the victim, since they describe him in the article to be unremorseful and violent. Another interesting aspect of the picture is the type of hair depicted, which arguably invokes stereotypes of the African with the curly hair. An image of the unremorseful African with the curly hair who rapes young Swedish girls emerges. Conceivably, this could be seen as an association of physical characteristics and criminal behavior. A specific skin color and a type of hair becomes associated with the unremorseful rapist. There is an effort made by Fria Tider in showing a constructed photo of the criminal as they saw him. Possibly this could be due to the problems of publishing the criminal’s real picture. Instead the site chose to present an illustration of how they want the rapist to be seen by the reader. This article arguably depicts two types of racism. While the ‘Other’ was described negatively due to his ethnicity and culture (cultural racism) in the text of the article, the picture implies an association between physical appearance and criminal behavior (biological racism). However, we deem the description of the physical appearance as an indicator of the perpetrator’s origin, hence his ethnicity/culture, rather than as an explanation of why he commits the crime, which would render it biologically racist. Therefore, the analysis leans more towards this article describing the ‘Other’ negatively due to his ethnicity and culture.

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<sup>20</sup> Somalier

<sup>21</sup> Afrikan

<sup>22</sup> Svensk flicka

### 6.2.2 Immigration & Integration

While examining the data for the analysis, we discovered that the themes of immigration and integration are largely presented and discussed in unison. This led to similar patterns emerging in both themes, which would ultimately produce an almost identical analysis. For this reason, we decided to merge the two themes into one, which will make for a less repetitive coherent analysis. This reasoning will apply for the entire analysis.

One of the patterns that emerged in the articles about immigration/integration is defining who the ‘Other’ is, explicitly and implicitly in relation to the ‘Self’. Primarily, the ‘Other’ is depicted as the immigrant across all articles that contained racist discourse. Secondarily, the ‘Self’ is explicitly described as the ‘Swede’ or the non-immigrant or implied as such. The contrast between the two entities was clear in many instances. Describing the ‘Other’ was centered around two main aspects: cultural behavioral characteristics and the ‘Others’ geographical origins.

First, the ‘Other’ was depicted to behave in accordance with his/her culture and religion. The type of behavior portrayed in the articles was negative. For example, the ‘Other’ was depicted to be a liar about his/her age and as a welfare leech. This was in relation to the discussion centered around the recent influx of unaccompanied refugee children (Fria Tider 2018d; Fria Tider 2018p; Fria Tider 2018g; Malmqvist 2018a). In the same articles, these refugees were portrayed to be lazy and to have drug, criminality, and psychological problems. This is presented as the reason why they end up dependent on welfare paychecks. One article from Samhällsnytt even equates illegal immigrants to terrorists (Samhällsnyttredaktionen 2018e). This negatively described behavior is depicted to be stemming from the immigrant’s culture itself. *They behave as they do because of their culture.* The ‘Other’s culture in many articles is equated with the religion of Islam. *They behave as they do because they are Muslims.* The ‘Other’ as the Muslim is illustrated to practice backward traditions such as forced marriages, honor killings, and genital mutilations (Jonsson 2018c; Ronnby 2018; Jonsson 2018d; Jonsson 2018f; Serneholt 2018; Samhällsnyttredaktionen 2018k). When culture is used to explain negative behavior, that single behavior becomes part of that culture, which in itself reflects back on all members subscribing to the same culture. The same reasoning can be applied to religion. When one Muslim lies about his age, all Muslims are liars. *One individual act represents the collective.* This is the type of rhetoric that is repeated and used by the RWANM. In such examples of immigration and integration articles, the ‘Self’ is indirectly implied to be the opposite to the ‘Other’. If the ‘Other’ is lazy, then the ‘Self’ is hard working. If the ‘non-Swede’ lies, then the ‘Swede’ is honest.

Second, the culture is related to a geographical location. The idea of equating culture to a geographical place or country is present in many articles. The usual method in showing this is to emphasize where the immigrants are from. The most common locations mentioned are Somalia, Africa, Afghanistan, and the Middle East. Together they define where the ‘Other’ is from. This means that a specific group of immigrants is targeted constantly

and labeled as the ‘Other’. These locations are depicted to be rich with religious conflicts which creates dysfunctional societies. Such conflicts are brought by the ‘Other’ to the detriment to the ‘Self’. The articles also describe that specific group as non-European. The Somali, African, Afghani, and the Middle Eastern are exactly who the non-European is. The non-European becomes a negative word synonymous with conflict ridden areas and specific ethnicities (Fria Tider 2018ab; Ronnby 2018; Jonsson 2018b; Ohlsson 2018; Dagerlind 2018j). Again, the ‘Self’ is described implicitly in contrast and comparison to the non-European, as the developed European, who is secular, modern, and peaceful.

The second pattern that emerged from reading the articles is the idea that the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ are incompatible with each other where the ‘Other’ is depicted to be a burden on the ‘Self’. This incompatibility is arguably the failed integration that the RWANM illustrates. In one article Muslim refugees are described by saying “they despise us deeply”<sup>23</sup> (Jonsson 2018c). The relationship of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ is clear in this case. The ‘Other’ hates the ‘Self’ and is arguably blamed for the failure of the relationship (integration), therefore they cannot coexist. The same article discusses further how the Muslim immigrants, the ‘Others’, see the ‘Self’.

They see themselves as superior, laugh at European men, and consider Western women to be whores. The more we adapt to them, the more convinced they become that they are right<sup>24</sup> (Jonsson 2018c).

There is strong negative language describing the ‘Other’ in this sentence. The ‘Other’ is depicted to be backward, arrogant and disrespectful of the ‘Self’, which is what should prompt the ‘Self’ to reject living with the ‘Other’. Hence, integration is failing due to cultural differences. There is also an emphasis put on the idea that the ‘Self’ has compromised itself to the point where the ‘Other’ believes it is superior to it. This is depicted to be the result of them coexisting and the reason why they should not. In another article, the relationship is depicted to be negatively affecting the ‘Self’, where the ‘Swede’ is described as fleeing Sweden due to the increase of Muslim immigrants. These immigrants are depicted to be making Sweden unsafe. This disturbance to the ‘Self’ caused by the ‘Other’ further points toward incompatibility (Jonsson 2018b). The failed integration between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ is depicted by RWANM to be a travesty, where instead of the ‘Other’ leaving, it is the ‘Self’ that is forced to leave.

The first article is a report on a video recording an altercation between a young group of boys and two women on a subway in Stockholm. In the video, the young group were aggressive and insulting towards the two women on the subway. Another man on the subway approaches one of the young boys and slaps him as a punishment for his behavior. This is how Nya Tider reported on this story.

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<sup>23</sup> De föraktar oss djupt

<sup>24</sup> De ser sig som överlägsna, skrattar åt europeiska män och betraktar västerländska kvinnor som horor. Och ju mer vi anpassar oss till dem, desto mer övertygade blir de om de har rätt.

Title: Tired of cocky immigrant gang – gave him a slap<sup>25</sup> (Jonsson 2018e).

A viral film taken with a phone camera in the Stockholm subway and published in January shows young immigrants who harass two older Swedish women and call them whores. One man, however, gets sick of them and chooses to slap one of them<sup>26</sup> (Jonsson 2018e).

The other passengers sit quietly and look at their phones, but in the end a Swedish man who is tired of the immigrant youth's contempt steps up. The man asks a question that is not heard on the film, but before the immigrants have had time to answer, the man instead chooses to slap the young boy. This causes the immigrant gang to shout "ey ey ey ey" in a row<sup>27</sup> (Jonsson 2018e).

Someone even says "ey man". However, the gang has no desire for a fight or offensive remarks when the opponent was no longer an elderly woman. Instead, they mean that they now intend to seek help from the police and say "Walla we can report you"<sup>28</sup> (Jonsson 2018e).

The film has been seen over 77,000 times and many also express that they have had enough of immigrants' behavior toward Swedes<sup>29</sup> (Jonsson 2018e).

The title of the article directly points out that the story is about an immigrant gang that is described to be cocky and where one of them eventually got slapped. In the text, the immigrant gang is described as harassing Swedish women. There is a contrast between the harasser immigrant and the Swedish women who are the victims. The construction of such sentencing evokes questions about the use of some words. Is it relevant to the story to mention that the young boy is an immigrant? How did the news site know he is an immigrant? Was watching the video enough to know the ethnicity of the boy? Why did they write Swedish women and not only women? Would it make a difference to the story if they were immigrant women? Would it make a difference to the story if he was a Swedish boy? The story would still be about a boy that disrespected and harassed women whether he is an immigrant or not and whether they are Swedish or not. It is clearly relevant to *Nya Tider* to mention that he is an immigrant and that they are Swedish. This creates a dichotomy between the 'Swede' and the immigrant. The immigrant is described as a cocky, disrespectful harasser while the Swedish women are the abused victims. This type of language is where the ideas of the 'Self' and the 'Other' manifests themselves. The 'Other' is constantly emphasized to be an immigrant in the text. This, arguably, works as a reminder for the reader of who the harasser is and that he belongs to a non-Swedish culture (immigrant culture), which is the reason why he behaves as he does. The link

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<sup>25</sup> Tröttnade på kaxigt invandrargång – gav en örfil

<sup>26</sup> En viral film tagen med mobilkamera i Stockholms tunnelbana och upplagd i januari visar invandrarungdomar som trakasserar två äldre svenska kvinnor och kallar dem för horor. En man tröttnar dock och väljer att örfila den ena ungdomen.

<sup>27</sup> De övriga passagerarna sitter tysta och tittar på sina mobiler, men till slut kliver en svensk man fram som tröttnat på invandrarungdomarnas förakt. Mannen ställer en fråga som inte hörs på filmen, men innan invandrarna hunnit svara, väljer mannen istället att örfila den ena ungdomen. Det får invandrargänget att ropa "ey ey ey ey" i kör.

<sup>28</sup> Någon säger även "ey mannen". Något slagsmål eller kränkande tillmälen har gänget däremot ingen lust med när motståndaren inte längre var en äldre kvinna. Istället menar de att de nu tänker söka hjälp av polisen och säger "walla vi kan anmäla dig".

<sup>29</sup> Filmen har setts över 77 000 gånger och många uttrycker också att de fått nog av invandrares beteende mot svenskar.

between behavior and culture/ethnicities is the method employed by RWANM in defining the 'Other'. This is a typical example of how the 'Other' is explicitly depicted in relation to the 'Self'.

In the second part of the text they describe the Swedish man who slaps the cocky immigrant for his behavior towards the women. Again, one could see the emphasis put on the man being Swedish and the harasser being an immigrant. Here, the 'Self' is no longer passive and a victim, it takes a stand against the aggression of the 'Other'. The man here is depicted to be the hero who stopped the cocky immigrant and helped the Swedish women. The 'Self' is explicitly positive while the 'Other' is negative. Noticeably, the 'Self's depiction changes from the victim who is positive in comparison to the immigrant, to even more positive as the hero who stops the immigrant.

In the end of the article there is an outrage about immigrants' behavior towards Swedish people. Notice, one immigrant's behavior changes to immigrants' behavior and two Swedish women and one Swedish man changes to Swedish people. *One act represents the collective*. The boy's behavior was negative; therefore, it reflects on all immigrants negatively. *All immigrants harass Swedish women*. While Swedish people should stand up and put an end to it.

The second article is a report concerning an interview with the SD party leader Jimmie Åkesson. The excerpts of the article below cover the question asked to Åkesson about the idea of Swedishness and what it means to him and the party.

Åkesson then comes with the somewhat double message that the population primarily consists of "native Swedes", which he himself says during the interview, but that there are also "others belonging to our nation". With "others", Jimmie Åkesson refers to non-European immigrants whom he believes have fit in society. He completes this reasoning and later says straight out that it is no longer desirable that the Swedes are essentially a blond-haired and blue-eyed people. Assimilation and adaptation are enough, he says, and the repatriation of non-Europeans was not mentioned at all<sup>30</sup> (Ohlsson 2018).

Jimmie Åkesson believes that ethnicity is not important, but rather what identity one believes to have, and that the most important thing for SD is to create a society where the conflicts are minimized<sup>31</sup> (Ohlsson 2018).

Swedishness is discussed to be a concept describing the population of the nation. Åkesson divides the nation into two groups of people: native Swedes and what he calls "others". Nya Tider states that what is meant by the 'others' is non-European immigrants who have

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<sup>30</sup> Åkesson kommer då med det något dubbla budskapet att befolkningen visserligen i huvudsak fortfarande består av "infödda svenskar", som han själv säger under intervjun, men att det också finns "andra som tillhör vår nation". Med "andra" syftar Jimmie Åkesson på icke-europeiska invandrare som han anser har anpassat sig i samhället. Han fullföljer detta resonemang och säger senare rakt ut att det inte längre är önskvärt att svenskarna i huvudsak är ett ljushårigt och blåögt folk. Assimilation och anpassning räcker, menar han, och någon återvandring av icke-europeer nämndes överhuvudtaget inte.

<sup>31</sup> Jimmie Åkesson menar att det inte är viktigt med etnicitet utan snarar vilken identitet man anser sig ha, och att det viktigaste för SD är att skapa ett samhälle där konflikterna minimeras.

managed to assimilate to Swedish society. Assimilation is argued to be desired culturally, not biologically. Shared identity is stated to be most important for a peaceful society. There is a clear distinction in the text of who is Swedish and what is Swedishness. Again, the dichotomy of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ is present, where the ‘Self’ is explicitly the native ‘Swede’ while the ‘Other’ is the non-European immigrant who has not assimilated to Swedish society. Some of the ‘Others’, the non-European immigrants who has culturally mimicked the ‘Self’ through the process of assimilation, become part of the ‘Self’. However, they are still ‘Others’ but now accepted by the ‘Self’. This is arguably who Åkesson meant to be “others belonging to our nation”.

This goes along with the idea of incompatibility between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’. The ‘Self’ cannot coexist inside the same borders with the ‘Others’ unless they assimilate and have a shared identity with the ‘Self’. The idea of incompatibility of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ is depicted in this article through nationalist discourse which describes a national identity that must be shared among the members of the nation in order to minimize conflict. Another aspect in this article is the site’s coverage of how Åkesson did not discuss the idea of repatriation of non-Europeans. This possibly implies that Nya Tider believes that he should have mentioned it as a viable option for the ‘Other’, who did not assimilate.

## **6.3 The description of contemporary and ideal society in RWANM**

### *6.3.1 Crime*

In almost half of the crime articles analyzed, we found discourse that portrays Swedish society negatively due to it being culturally, religiously, or ethnically mixed. Statements of solutions in reaching an ideal Swedish society concerning the problematic mixing of cultures, religions, or ethnicities were fewer, but existed, nonetheless. One main theme emerges when the RWANM widens its scope from single crimes and discusses society more broadly in relation to crime. This is the theme of increased crime rates in Swedish society. Within this theme, there are two main topics covered when discussing crime in relation to society. The most frequently re-occurring topic is rape, and oftentimes more specifically gang rape. The second topic is the increased threat of terrorism that comes with the wake of increased immigration, more specifically immigration from the Middle East. The main solution that is re-occurring in the RWANM’s vision of reaching an ideal society is that of extradition. The crime section will begin by covering how the RWANM describe contemporary society concerning the topics of rape and terrorism, and end with an analysis of RWANM’s means to reaching their ideal society.

### 6.3.1.1 Rape

Sexual assault is generally portrayed as a crime that has increased dramatically with the increased rate of what RWANM refers to as mass immigration. The perpetrators' backward cultures are typically highlighted as the explanatory factor to why they commit these sexual assaults. Middle Eastern and African cultures are almost exclusively the ones portrayed committing sexual assaults against women, not seldomly with Islam as an explanatory background. Islam is described as a religion with a backward view of women that becomes the basis for their misogyny. The RWANM depicts these people as believing their way of life is superior to the Swedish secular society, which makes them unwilling to develop and adapt. Multiculturalism, the mixing of these backward cultures with the modern Swedish one, is described as not viable. The establishment of the left liberal political parties and mainstream media are oftentimes described as hypocrites and liars since they conspire not to report this 'truth' to the public. An element of conspiracy theorizing is a reoccurring theme within the RWANM, where mainstream media is accused of concealing the truth. This becomes the very reason for the importance of alternative media.

The following two articles are examples that well represent RWANM's crime articles discussing Swedish society, with a focus on sexual assaults. These excerpts are from an article from *Nya Tider*:

The other week, Expressen conducted a mapping of gang-rapes during the last few years. After staying quiet for decades, they apparently felt compelled to address the topic since it has literally exploded with the increased immigration, and that this is something everybody speaks about on social media<sup>32</sup> (Suk 2018).

When Expressen published its first article on the topic, in March 19, they completely avoided the question of who are the ones doing the raping? The only clue they gave was that the rapists in one case "spoke to each other in a language she does not understand"<sup>33</sup> (Suk 2018).

On social media the critique was hard, where people, among other things, pointed out that before the time of mass-immigration, 30 years ago, gang rape was a completely unknown phenomenon in Sweden. It simply did not happen<sup>34</sup> (Suk 2018).

The day after, Expressen slowly started addressing the elephant in the room, but despite having published several articles on the topic they continue lying and being hypocrites in their attempts to diminish the cultural and ethnical aspects of the heinous crimes<sup>35</sup> (Suk 2018).

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<sup>32</sup> Expressen gjorde häromveckan en kartläggning av gruppvåldtäkter under de senaste åren. Efter att i decennier ha lagt locket på, anser man sig nu alltså tvungna att ta upp ämnet, då det formligen exploderat i takt med den ökande invandringen och är något alla pratar om på sociala medier.

<sup>33</sup> När Expressen den 19 mars publicerade sin första artikel i ämnet undvek man helt den centrala frågan om vilka det är som våldtar. Den enda ledtråden man gav var att våldtäktsmännen i ett fall "talade med varandra på ett språk hon inte förstår".

<sup>34</sup> På sociala medier blev kritiken hård, där man bland annat pekade på att innan massinvandringens tid för 30 år sedan så var gruppvåldtäkt ett fullständigt okänt fenomen i Sverige. Det hände helt enkelt inte.

<sup>35</sup> Dagen efter började Expressen så smått närma sig elefanten i rummet, men trots att man nu publicerat flera artiklar i ämnet fortsätter man att ljuga och hyckla i sina försök att förminska den kulturella och etniska aspekten av de avskyvärda brotten.

Especially this must be said concerning gang rapes, which was something completely unknown when only Swedes and other Europeans lived in Sweden. You simply do not gang-rape, regardless of how little money you have or how poorly you live<sup>36</sup> (Suk 2018).

These paragraphs entail how gang rapes have exploded the last few years due to immigration and is one of RWANM's many portrayals of how safety in Swedish society is deteriorating when different cultures and ethnicities mix. There is no ambiguity here, the journalist writes that the reasons for these heinous crimes are cultural and ethnical. Again, the RWANM theorizes about ethnicity by focusing on the perpetrators' language being unknown and hence not Swedish. The origins of the ones "doing the raping" seems to be the main matter of interest. The third and the fifth paragraphs are especially interesting. Other than being a growing problem in Swedish society, gang rape is described as a phenomenon that did not exist before immigration. The lower socioeconomic status of the perpetrators is disregarded by the site as a factor since prior to the immigration influx there were poor people living in Sweden, and gang rape was still nonexistent. The categorization of different people in the last paragraph present Swedes and other Europeans as unable of committing gang rape while non-Europeans are culturally inclined to commit this very crime. The discourse on social media and of the journalist entails that when it comes to gang rape it was better before immigration, which suggests that the immigrants are an *impediment to the ideal society*, and without them, it would become safer with less crime.

For the context of the next excerpts, it is an article from Nya Tider concerning the possibility of BRÅ (the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention) to include the perpetrators ethnicity in future crime statistics. Seemingly based on the journalist's own conclusion since BRÅ does not confirm this when asked directly by Nya Tider. Previous articles from Nya Tider are cited with statistics from a layman researcher named Joakim P. Jonasson.

- Men with non-European descent commits 84 percent of rapes. Swedes are in fourth place, after Afghans, Iraqis, and Somali people<sup>37</sup> (Svensson 2018).
- Two out of three rapes are committed by asylum seekers or men that has been given a residence permit<sup>38</sup> (Svensson 2018).

The government did not seem to worry about the fact that immigrants and their children committed much more crimes, but rather that these studies, especially if backed by an official agency such as BRÅ, would lead to SD receiving more support and that Swedes would become negative towards multiculturalism<sup>39</sup> (Svensson 2018).

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<sup>36</sup> I synnerhet måste detta sägas gälla gruppvåldtäkter, som alltså var helt okända när det bara bodde svenskar och andra européer i Sverige. Man gruppvåldtar helt enkelt inte, oavsett hur lite pengar man har eller hur dåligt man än bor.

<sup>37</sup> • Män med utomeuropeisk härkomst begår 84 procent av grova våldtäkter. Svenskar kommer först på fjärde plats, efter afghaner, irakier och somalier.

<sup>38</sup> • Två av tre grova våldtäkter begås av asylsökande eller män som getts uppehållstillstånd.

<sup>39</sup> Från regeringshåll oroades man inte över att invandrare och deras barn begick mycket mer brott, utan för att sådana undersökningar, speciellt om de kom från officiellt håll som BRÅ, skulle kunna leda till att Sverigedemokraterna fick mer stöd och att svenskarna skulle bli negativt inställda till mångkulturen.

BRÅ now gets the assignment from the government to highlight the reasons to the increase since 2005. The assignment also includes to estimate “to the extent possible” the actual development of sexual crimes. Probably they will now focus on all the factors that can be used to minimize the ethnic aspect, for example clumping together different immigration groups such as Western immigrants with non-European immigrants, in order to make the latter group’s overrepresentation not appear as extensive<sup>40</sup> (Svensson 2018).

Without providing any sort of reference here, the RWANM depicts certain immigrants as the cause of the increased crime levels in Sweden. Again, it is the Afghani, Iraqi, and Somali people that are highlighted as the worst immigrants, and the least preferred non-European ‘Others’. Their children are also accused of committing sexual assaults, suggesting that the second generation of immigrants will not improve. *Rapists breed rapists*. This is an example of how the RWANM views the ‘Others’ culture as static and unable of improving. RWANM’s link to SD is implied, since if the public knew the truth that Nya Tider provides, they would support SD and become less inclined towards mixing cultures. Again, the RWANM are the ones telling the ‘truth’ and through theorizing about the future, a conspiracy about the establishment takes shape. This conspiracy clearly shows that RWANM advocates ethnicity based differentiation of immigrants. Western immigrants are the benign, while non-European immigrants are the malignant, and the establishment will clump them together to hide this ‘truth’.

Similar examples can also be seen in Fria Tider articles 13, 18, 27 and Samhällsnytt article 18 (See appendix 1).

### 6.3.1.2 *Terrorism*

On the theme of terrorism, Nya Tider writes that the Swedish Security Service (Säpo) receives hundreds of tips every day concerning potential terror attacks. The article also claims that hundreds of thousands of Muslims have immigrated to Sweden the last few years.

Sub-headline: Muslims are the biggest threat<sup>41</sup> (Björkman 2018a).

The biggest threat ... comes from the big mass of “regular” Muslims that quickly can become radicalized<sup>42</sup> (Björkman 2018a).

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BRÅ får nu i uppdrag av regeringen att belysa orsakerna till ökningarna sedan 2005. I uppdraget ingår också att “i möjligaste mån” uppskatta den faktiska utvecklingen av sexualbrotten. Sannolikt kommer man att försöka fokusera på alla faktorer som kan användas för att minimera den etniska aspekten, t.ex. genom att klumpa samman olika invandrargrupper som västerländska invandrare med utomeuropeiska för att på så vis få den senare gruppens överrepresentation att inte se lika omfattande ut.

<sup>40</sup> BRÅ får nu i uppdrag av regeringen att belysa orsakerna till ökningarna sedan 2005. I uppdraget ingår också att “i möjligaste mån” uppskatta den faktiska utvecklingen av sexualbrotten. Sannolikt kommer man att försöka fokusera på alla faktorer som kan användas för att minimera den etniska aspekten, t.ex. genom att klumpa samman olika invandrargrupper som västerländska invandrare med utomeuropeiska för att på så vis få den senare gruppens överrepresentation att inte se lika omfattande ut.

<sup>41</sup> Muslimerna det stora hotet

<sup>42</sup> Det största hotet [...] från den stora massan av ”vanliga” muslimer som snabbt kan radikaliserar.

According to Ahn-Za Hagström it is not returning jihadists that has committed the terror attacks that has affected Europe lately, but instead it is typically the “private Islamists” that are the big threat. Asylum seekers, family fathers, frustrated young men that are being caught up by radical preachers or individuals in their sphere of associates

- A lot of people have the ability. Everybody has a knife in the drawer or access to a vehicle, she says during the seminar<sup>43</sup> (Björkman 2018a).

Muslims are depicted as the biggest threat to Swedish security when it comes to potential acts of terror. It is not a specific branch of Islam or a group of radicalized Islamists that the RWANM mean Sweden needs to fear, but rather the “regular” Muslims. The article states that any Muslim is a potential terrorist and that committing acts of terror is easy. A knife or a vehicle is accessible to everyone and is all that is needed to commit these heinous crimes. Arguably, this is a fear mongering tactic that depicts terrorism as a fundamental part of Islam, and equates all Muslims to terrorists, therefore they should be feared. This is one example of how RWANM portrays the security of Swedish society as failing due to it becoming increasingly *religiously mixed*.

A similar example can be seen in Samhällsnytt article 27 (See Appendix 1).

### 6.3.1.3 *Extradition as a mean to reach an ideal society*

As for solutions to the problems criminal immigrants pose for Swedish society the RWANM constantly suggest separation. Since these criminals are a huge burden on the Swedish society, it is argued that they should be sent back to their respective nations. Extradition is consistently emphasized by RWANM to be the recipe for a better society. In many cases where the court has not presented extradition as an option, it is still discussed by these sites as the solution to decreasing criminality.

It is clear from the Migration office’s report that the status of the Syrian security situation rules out executing an extradition to Syria. Already with this in consideration there is no possibility to extradite Ahmad Alrajjaf. The extradition claim shall be left without acceptance<sup>44</sup> (Pettersson 2018b).

With such an argument no Syrians can be extradited from Sweden. Syrian authorities do not agree with the Migration office’s evaluation but encourages Syrian refugees to

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<sup>43</sup> Enligt Ahn-Za Hagström är det inte de återvändande jihadisterna som begått terroråd i de attentat som drabbat Europa på senare tid, utan oftast är det de ”privata islamisterna” som är det stora hotet. Asylsökande, familjefäder, frustrerade unga män som fångas upp av radikala predikanter eller individer i deras umgängeskrets.

– Många människor har förmågan. Alla har en kniv i byrålådan eller tillgång till ett fordon, säger hon under seminariet.

<sup>44</sup> Det framgår dock av Migrationsverkets yttrande att säkerhetsläget i Syrien är sådant att det råder hinder att verkställa ett utvisningsbeslut dit. Redan med hänsyn till detta saknas det förutsättningar att utvisa Ahmad Alrajjaf. Utvisningsyrkandet ska lämnas utan bifall

return to the liberated areas and help to build the country. Many people have obeyed the encouragement<sup>45</sup> (Pettersson 2018b).

Public records show that Mohamed is a citizen of Somalia and claims to be born in 2001. Since he has received a Swedish passport it is not possible to extradite him with the current legislation<sup>46</sup> (Fria Tider 2018ab).

Lately the question of extradition of criminal foreigners have become an increasingly big part of the political debate, this after SD alone has worked for changing the rules since entering parliament<sup>47</sup> (Samhällsnyttredaktionen 2018c).

The first part of the excerpt from Nya Tider shows that the prosecutor did file for extradition but that the court dismissed it. The second paragraph of the same article, seemingly the words of the journalist, entail that with such a rule it is impossible to extradite anybody to Syria. As a response, the journalist seems to take the side of the Syrian regime that wants Syrian refugees to return to the liberated areas of its war-torn country, to help rebuild it. In the second excerpt, Fria Tider finishes the article by stating that unfortunately ‘Mohomed’ cannot be extradited, even though it was not previously discussed. The third paragraph from Samhällsnytt salutes SD for bringing extradition of criminal foreigners into the political debate. As consistently repeated by RWANM, the preferred solution to criminal immigrants is to make use of the nation state borders and separate them, the ‘Others’, from us, the ‘Swedes’.

Similar examples can be seen in Nya Tider articles 18 and 19 (See Appendix 1).

### 6.3.2 *Immigration/Integration*

When the RWANM discusses immigration and integration in Swedish society, it is typically focused on society’s incapacity of integration, as well as the difficulties and problems that comes with it. To integrate the vast number of immigrants that, according to RWANM, comes to Sweden by the hundreds of thousands, a huge socioeconomic bill is paid by the ‘Self’. The main focus is on the pressure on the agencies comprising the welfare state and the economic costs for Swedish economy. All of which is discussed as negatively impacting the quality of life for native Swedes. At times it is even portrayed as a danger to the future of Sweden with hordes of Muslims slowly taking over Swedish society. Immigration is less discussed and exists more in the background, something inherently negative behind the scenes, as a cause to the problematic integration situation that Sweden endures. Consequently, the solution to this problem is generally described

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<sup>45</sup> Med ett sådant resonemang kan inga syrier utvisas ur Sverige. Syriska myndigheter håller inte med om Migrationsverkets bedömning, utan uppmanar syriska flyktingar att återvända till de befriade områdena och hjälpa till att bygga upp landet. Många har hörsammat uppmaningen.

<sup>46</sup> Allmänna handlingar visar att Mohamed är medborgare i Somalia och påstår sig vara född år 2001. Eftersom han har fått ett svenskt pass går det inte att utvisa honom med gällande lagstiftning.

<sup>47</sup> På senare tid har frågan om utvisning av kriminella utlänningar allt mer kommit upp i den politiska debatten, efter att SD ensamt sedan riksdagsinträdet verkat för att förändra reglerna.

as an easy fix, to take in less non-European immigrants and facilitate for the current immigrants' return migration.

When analyzing the societal debate in RWANM on the topics of immigration and integration, two main patterns unfold. The biggest pattern by far is how immigrants are depicted as a socioeconomic burden for Swedish society. The second pattern is defining the worst immigrant group and their accompanied religion, described as the incompatibility of Muslims and Swedes.

### *6.3.2.1 Immigrants as a socioeconomic burden*

The Swedish welfare state is generally described by the RWANM as an amazing feat accomplished by native Swedes through hard work over the course of a century. It is also described as a phenomenon that is well known globally. With this knowledge at hand, the 'Others' seek to exploit this Swedish marvel, and they travel across half the world in order to do so. A large part of the 'Others' are typically described as coming from dysfunctional countries with unmodern societal orders. They come to Sweden with a predetermined motive of exploitation, rather than as refugees from their countries due to conflict. As a response, the RWANM oftentimes advocates less immigration, return migration, and for the native Swedes to defend the welfare society they are entitled to by birth right. This is best accomplished through public debate and allegiance to certain right-wing parties.

The blame of the depicted immigration issues is typically put on the establishment of left liberal political parties and mainstream media. The establishment is constantly criticized for enabling this socioeconomic exploitation and for covering up the 'truth' of the unsustainable situation in contemporary Sweden. Far right-wing parties are seldom criticized and oftentimes hailed for their immigration critical politics. This establishes a leniency from the RWANM to these far-right wing parties and further shows their dislike of immigration. Some examples of this can be seen in the following excerpts from *Nya Tider*:

Now the migrants have brought with them the ethnic, religious, and social tensions to Sweden. Do our well-meaning politicians understand this? And at the bottom of these tensions we now have, other than bias and ignorance, the battle for sustenance, meaning the battle for the limited resources in this country. The new arrivals have a large social handicap in the competition for a place in society<sup>48</sup> (Ronby 2018).

This politics also creates tensions when others see how certain people cannot support themselves while they live off a welfare they never contributed to. Instead their social disaster brings with it giant costs for our society. Today it is a myth that they are important and beneficial for our economy. That was correct in the 50s and the 60s. Not now! And what the politically correct calls right-wing winds and fascists, are in many cases an expression from the many people, who on a daily basis carry these

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<sup>48</sup> Nu har migranterna tagit med sig de etniska, religiösa och sociala motsättningarna till Sverige. Fattar våra välmenande politiker detta? Och i botten på alla dessa motsättningar ligger nu, förutom fördomar och okunskap, kampen för levebrödet, alltså striden om begränsade resurser i det här landet. Nykomlingar har ett stort socialt handikapp i konkurrensen om en plats i samhället.

burdens, who realize that it is about to go to hell with the welfare society that we with joint efforts built up during a century and more, while the Arabic, African, and Muslim societies have been static due to their dysfunctional social orders<sup>49</sup> (Ronny 2018).

So how shall we solve these problems? In the 1950s and the 1960s, when we had labor immigration, there weren't any big problems with immigration. The immigrants got jobs, could support themselves, got good housing, adapted and functioned like others in society. The moral of the story is that we should not take any more immigrants than we need for our economy<sup>50</sup> (Ronny 2018).

This is one of the more strongly worded articles and an interesting one for our analysis. This article is a window into the writer's mind, filled with his own opinions. Some of these arguments and opinions are typically found independently in other RWANM articles, but in this article, many of them are combined. For this reason, it is representative of the RWANM. This text portrays who the least preferred 'Others' are and how Swedish society crumbles because of them. The 'Others' that pose the big problem are specifically the Arabs, the Africans, and the Muslims. They are carriers of a dysfunctional culture and way of life, bringing with them inter-ethnic, religious, and social tensions. These peoples' societies are portrayed as static and underdeveloped, while the Swedish society has blossomed. As a response to the immigrants' exploitation, RWANM oftentimes resorts to war rhetoric, referring to it as a battle for resources. Since immigrants bring this battle to Sweden, they become invaders, suggesting that they are not invited, entering by force. This is a good example of how society is described negatively due to the mixing of different cultures and religions. The solution for this problem is presented as an easy fix. It is a dream back to Sweden's immigration policy half a century ago, when Sweden only took in labor immigrants necessary for the economy to flourish. Meaning that Sweden should avoid asylum immigration, which is described as bringing immigrants unable of acquiring jobs and assimilating to Swedish culture and society. Instead, Sweden should only accept immigrants that can work, assimilate, and be beneficial to society. Thus, Nya Tider provides statements about the *ideal society*.

The second set of excerpts are also from Nya Tider:

Immigration politics is traditionally based on considerations around the utility for the own nation, but another factor has been added: A moral supposed responsibility to

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<sup>49</sup> Den här politiken skapar också motsättningar då andra ser hur vissa människor inte själva kan försörja sig, samtidigt som de lever på en välfärd som de aldrig har bidragit till. Istället medför deras sociala olycka vårt samhälle enorma kostnader. I dagsläget är det en myt att de är viktiga och nyttiga för vår ekonomi. Det gällde på 50- och 60-talen. Inte nu! Och det som de politiskt korrekta kallar högerkrafter och fascister, är i många fall ett uttryck för att de många människorna, som dagligen bär bördorna, inser att det håller på att gå åt skogen med de välfärdssamhällena vi med förenade krafter byggt upp under ett århundrade och mera, medan de arabiska, afrikanska och muslimska samhällena stått stilla på grund av deras dysfunktionella samhällsordningar.

<sup>50</sup> Hur ska vi då lösa problemen? På 1950- och 1960-talen, då vi hade arbetskraftsinvandring, var det inte några större problem med invandringen. Invandrarna fick arbete, kunde försörja sig, skaffa bra bostad, anpassa sig och fungera som andra i samhället. Sensmoralen är att vi inte bör ta emot fler invandrare än vi har behov av i vår ekonomi.

help other nations members on the expense of the own nation<sup>51</sup> (Malmqvist 2018c).

The Geneva convention is about refugees in its true sense and was never intended to be so strongly exploited as it has been, and still is, in Sweden<sup>52</sup> (Malmqvist 2018c).

When Westerberg managed to open Sweden's borders for a new wave of immigrants, Swedish economy suffered its worst years since WWII. The unemployment was great and the same was true for the state budget deficit. The immigration from former Yugoslavia was very big and far from everyone who went to Sweden were war refugees<sup>53</sup> (Malmqvist 2018c).

This article employs a strong nationalist discourse. The journalist writes that each nation should take care of its own citizens. Thanks to the Swedish establishment, Sweden's soft interpretation of the Geneva convention is exploited, which Sweden suffers from economically. The 'Others' are again portrayed as wanting to move to Sweden, rather than being forced to leave their home countries. Language describing the nation is present and as we have shown in the theoretical chapter, nationalist discourse and cultural racist discourse are dependent on each other to function. Meaning that the presence of one, points to the presence of the other. According to Nya Tider, Sweden suffers economically from the exploitation of foreign ethnicities. This is a nationalist, and by extension a culturally racist, argumentation, where Swedish citizens suffer because other nations' citizens come, which economically impacts Swedish society negatively.

Similar examples can be seen in Fria Tider articles 8, 11, 17, 31, Nya Tider articles 3, 4, 5, 8, 17, 22, and Samhällsnytt articles 6, 32 (See Appendix 1)

### 6.3.2.2 *Muslims are not compatible with Swedes*

As previously established, one of the least preferred 'Others' are the Muslims. Their religion and culture are portrayed as incompatible with Swedish culture. Integration between the two nearly becomes an impossibility. The following example from Nya Tider concerns the religious aspect of incompatibility.

The Swedish church celebrates the Islamization of Sweden and the Bishop in Växjö Stift supports the Muslims demands to propagate Muslim superiority in Arabic from the speakers of the city's minaret<sup>54</sup> (Jonsson 2018d).

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<sup>51</sup> Invandringspolitik brukar traditionellt grundas på avvägningar kring nyttan för den egna nationen, men en annan faktor har tillkommit: en moralisk förment skyldighet att hjälpa andra nationers medlemmar på den egna nationens bekostnad.

<sup>52</sup> Genèvekonventionen handlar om flyktingar i egentlig mening och var aldrig tänkt att hårdexploateras på det sätt som skett och fortfarande sker i Sverige.

<sup>53</sup> När Westerberg lyckades öppna Sveriges gränser för en ny våg av invandrare genomlevde svensk ekonomi sina sämsta år sedan andra världskriget. Arbetslösheten var stor och det gällde också för underskottet i statsbudgeten. Invandringen från det forna Jugoslavien blev mycket omfattande och långt ifrån alla som sökte sig till Sverige var krigsflyktingar.

<sup>54</sup> Svenska kyrkan hyllar islamiseringen av Sverige och Biskopen i Växjö stift stödjer muslimernas krav att propagera muslimsk överlägsenhet på arabiska från högtalare i stadens minaret.

...Christianity is a part of the Swedish cultural heritage, while Islam is a foreign ideology<sup>55</sup> (Jonsson 2018d).

The tactics to abandon your own faith and instead try to oblige to the “new” conquering ideology has not yet attracted any youth to church<sup>56</sup> (Jonsson 2018d).

This is another depiction of how Swedes compromise themselves in order to accommodate the immigrants, in this case, the Muslims. The cultural heritage of Christianity is depicted to be in danger when Muslims settle down in Swedish society. Islam is portrayed as a conquering ideology, which by default victimizes the Swedes. This is how the religious incompatibility of Muslims and Swedes are depicted by RWANM.

Similar examples can be seen in Nya Tider articles 5, 6, 10, 12, 14 (See Appendix 1)

## 6.4 Results

Several results became apparent when summarizing our qualitative content analysis of the 94 articles, conducted with our pre-determined codes. All codes except Socbioneg and Idealbio were found when examining the content of the articles. As presented in the analysis, the two most prevalent codes were Othercultneg, Swecultpos, and Soccultneg. Othercultneg and Swecultpos is language/images that portrays the ‘non-Swede’ and the ‘Swede’ in a negative and positive way respectively due to his/her culture/religion/ethnicity or way of life, and Soccultneg is language/images concerning reality or society that portrays it negatively due to it being culturally/religiously/ethnically mixed. These two codes both represent cultural racist discourse. Overall, negative depictions of the ‘Other’ due to his/her culture, religion, or ethnicity were widely prevalent in the articles, as well as explicit and implicit positive depictions of the ‘Self’ as the opposite. Society was oftentimes described negatively due to it being culturally and religiously mixed. A biological racist discourse was not commonly employed in the articles. There were arguably traces of it in a few articles. However, as discussed in the analysis, the proof for it being actual scientific racism was not clear enough to bring up as a relevant result.

During the analysis, several comparative patterns unfolded in between the three RWANM sites when studying the codes. Overall, Nya Tider stands out as the site that employed racist discourse the most. This is true both for their depictions of the ‘Other’, and its direct and indirect reflections of the ‘Self’, as well as their descriptions of society. Nya Tider is also the main news site that presents its preferred solutions to the many problems depicted in Swedish society. The articles of Fria Tider and Samhällsnytt were less opinionated and more nuanced in their depictions of people and society. However, they too employed cultural racist discourse. Concerning our research questions, they will be answered in the following sections.

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<sup>55</sup> Kristendom är en del av svenskt kulturarv, medan islam är en främmande ideologi.

<sup>56</sup> Taktiken att överge sin egen tro och istället försöka vara den ”nya” erövrande ideologin till lags har dock hittills inte lockat några ungdomar till kyrkan.

#### 6.4.1 *What type of racist discourse, if any, does the RWANM employ in its articles?*

There was a consistent prevalence of negative depictions of the 'Other' due to culture/religion/ethnicity, combined with explicit and implicit positive depictions of the 'Self' due to culture/religion/ethnicity. We also found negative depictions of society due to it being increasingly culturally and religiously mixed, as well as suggestions from the RWANM of how to reach an ideal Swedish society through striving for a culturally homogenous one. Given these findings, we can comfortably answer our initial research question by stating that RWANM employs cultural racist discourse in their articles.

#### 6.4.2 *What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in its depiction of the 'Swede' and/or the 'non-Swede' when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?*

Regarding the depiction of the 'Self' and the 'Other' in RWANM, they were both essentially represented as opposites to each other. The 'Other' was consistently depicted in a negative light through negative language, while the 'Self' was explicitly and/or implicitly described positively in relation to the 'Other'. Within the theme of crime, the 'Other' was for example depicted as the criminal 'non-Swede', the rapist, and the murderer, with a focus on culture and ethnical background, while the 'Self' was described as the 'Swede' who frequently is the victim, the non-criminal, or the brave. The crime articles' discourse portrayed crimes to be caused by culture and is therefore discussed to be representative of all people who practice the same culture.

Immigration and integration themes depicted the 'Other' as the immigrant leech, liar, drug addict, psychologically unstable, and as someone who belongs to a backward culture. The 'Other' was mainly defined to adhere to a specific geographical location, namely Africa, the Middle East, and the Muslim world. These locations were characterized to enjoy the same culture; therefore, they were clumped together under the umbrella of the non-European and represented as such. The 'Other' was also illustrated as unable to integrate into Swedish society and is therefore incompatible with the 'Self', who is the 'Swede' and the European. The rhetoric displayed that the 'Swede' and the 'non-Swede' cannot coexist because the cultural and religious differences between them were too substantial.

Throughout the three themes, the 'Other' was characterized as the religious underdeveloped non-European and by default, the 'Self' was described as the developed European. The measurement of development was predominantly through culture, and not biology. Essentially, the 'Other' was portrayed in a negative fashion due to his/her culture, religion, and ethnicity. The 'Self' was portrayed in a positive fashion due to his/her culture and ethnicity. Since the discourse used in the articles largely corresponded with the theoretical framework, we can satisfactorily answer the question regarding the type of racist discourse that RWANM uses in their depiction of the 'Swede' and the 'non-Swede', by

stating that the evidence found in this research overwhelmingly supports the interpretation that cultural racist discourse was employed by the RWANM.

#### *6.4.3 What type of racist discourse does the RWANM employ in its description of contemporary and ideal Swedish society when it discusses immigration, integration and crime?*

As shown in the analysis, we found an overwhelming amount of evidence of cultural racist descriptions of society. The discourse portrayed society negatively due to it being culturally, religiously, and/or ethnically mixed, and described the RWANM's preferred solutions in reaching an ideal society.

On the topic of crime, non-European immigrants were depicted as the problem, and immigrants from the Middle East and Africa were consistently described as the worst ones. These immigrant groups are portrayed as carriers of backwards and misogynist cultures/religions, which has serious negative consequences for the Swedish modern secular society. The immigrant groups' ethnicities were always in focus as an explanatory factor, where RWANM consistently portrayed the immigrants as the cause for the increased crime rates, typically with a focus on increased gang related crime, terrorism, and a huge increase in rape crime.

As for immigration and integration, the two main societal debates were on the socioeconomic costs of immigration and the incompatibility of Muslims and Swedes. RWANM views immigration and integration as an unfathomably expensive phenomenon and as an exploitation of the Swedish system. It is described as a cost that the Swedish nation cannot bear. Nationalist discourse is typically utilized here, arguing that each nation should take care of its own, and that certain ethnicities should simply not come to Sweden because integration is too expensive. These people are described to be too different from the 'Swedes' for integration to function well. By studying the RWANM's categorization of immigrants, we see that immigrants with a Western ethnicity are typically welcomed, Asian ethnicities a bit less so, and African and Middle Eastern immigrants should preferably not come at all. Generally, labor immigrants are accepted, while asylum seeking immigrants are unwanted. Through a culturally racist discourse with a focus on religion, we see that Muslims are depicted as the people most incompatible with 'Swedes'. Due to Islam being described as a conquering religion, they are depicted as people with a self-image of superiority towards 'Swedes'. They are seen as coming to Sweden in large numbers with no will to integrate. The RWANM oftentimes describes how this group slowly takes over Swedish society, to the detriment of 'Swedes' cultural and religious heritage. The general solution that RWANM presents in reaching an ideal society is a nationalist one; separation through utilizing the nation state border. The criminal immigrants should be deported, immigration should be heavily lowered, people should return to their home countries, the police should focus on targeting illegal immigrants in Swedish society for

deportation, all of which is believed to solve the depicted integration and immigration crisis.

## 7 Conclusions

We set out to answer the question: What type of racist discourse, if any, does the RWANM employ in its articles? The racist discourse found was categorized into biological or cultural racism. Our interpretation of the data shows that RWANM employs culturally racist discourse to a large degree in their articles. The post-colonial concepts of the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ that we applied to biological and cultural racism proved to be useful in disclosing racist depictions of the ‘Swede’ and the ‘non-Swede’. The established connection between nationalism and cultural racism opened avenues for detecting racism in nationalist discourse. Exploring racist statements of contemporary and ideal society were also fruitful. Negative descriptions of society due to it being culturally/religiously/ethnically mixed were abundant. Statements about the ideal society were less occurring.

Racism in the three RWANM sites examined has not previously been investigated, and for this reason, our study is a valuable contribution to the existing scholarships on alternative media and racism. As for the scholarship on racism, our research successfully tested the most recent theory with scholarly consensus on racism on Swedish RWANM, against the older established scientific racism. Our findings demonstrate that contemporary racist discourse takes the form of cultural, religious, and ethnical discrimination, combined with nationalist discourse of protecting the nation. As for the scholarship on alternative media, we have established that RWANM in Sweden employ racist discourse in their articles, and that the predominant form was cultural racism. *Fria Tider*, *Nya Tider*, and *Samhällsnytt* are discussed by other scholars as a homogenous group of right-wing alternative media (Holt 2018). As mentioned earlier, our findings suggest otherwise, where *Nya Tider* stands out as the most radical site. *Nya Tider* had longer, more opinionated articles with a higher focus on immigration and integration, which opened for descriptions of contemporary and ideal society more broadly, while *Fria Tider* and *Samhällsnytt* focused on shorter articles emphasizing single acts of crime. These comparative patterns emerging from our analysis might be of benefit for other scholars examining this particular group of RWANM. For future research, it may be more suitable to clump *Fria Tider* and *Samhällsnytt* together as one entity since they share many characteristics, while *Nya Tider* might be best studied as one.

Like most research, there are strengths and limitations to this thesis. The theories and methods adopted for analyzing and categorizing different types of racist discourse were a strength. Many codes proved to correspond to the content of the articles, which helped identify and systematically classify racist discourse in accordance with our framework on cultural and biological racism. The deductive theoretical approach performed in this thesis was successful in answering the research questions. A reason for this strength is arguably the choice of a relatively large number of prominent scholars discussing cultural racism in Sweden and its vicinity. The scholars’ theories of cultural racist discourse in Sweden and Europe proved to fit well with the findings of this thesis.

As for the limitation of this research, the initial plan was to examine four RWANM sites. Unfortunately, one of the sites proved to be unfitting for our method of gathering data since they had no accessible archive. This somewhat limited the scope of our research since we were not able to study the intended group of RWANM. However, the research was still able to contribute significantly to the scholarships of racism and alternative media by studying the three sites. The topics chosen for the analysis, namely immigration, integration and crime, have arguably limited our research to some extent. This can be considered a weakness since our study did not cover all topics reported on by RWANM, which would have been more representative. However, the topics chosen for this research were derived from the literature on racism and alternative media. Thus, relevant and sufficient in answering the research questions. Furthermore, the number of articles analyzed were enough to make our results representative of the RWANM.

As for future research concerning the topic of racism in RWANM, one could adopt a comparative design and study RWANM in combination with mainstream news media. A comparison of the discourses between the two could reveal if cultural racist discourse has also manifested itself in mainstream news media, and thereby become normalized. Another possible research project could employ a longitudinal design and study RWANM over time, where it investigates whether RWANM's racist discourse has radically changed since its inception. Both these projects would be suitable follow-up studies to our research in further investigating the effect of RWANM normalizing cultural racist discourse in society.

Regarding the implication of this research on politics and society, the findings support the interpretation that this branch of RWANM uses cultural racist discourse in its articles. Naturally, this makes them a questionable source of information. Their reporting represents a fearsome reality to the reader and identifies immigrants as the enemy of the state and the impediment to an ideal Swedish society due to crime and failed integration. These ideas are regurgitated continually and are bound to manifest themselves in the reader's mind, and thereby affect the reader's view of reality. Arguably, this could affect voting patterns, making people more prone to voting for nationalist right-wing parties who share the discourse written on these websites and vice versa. Due to this, combined with their popularity, RWANM becomes an influential outlet and a platform that normalizes racist discourse. Therefore, studying the discourse and unravelling racism in it can possibly be of benefit in revealing racism in right-wing parties using a similar discourse.

As previously mentioned, RWANM in Sweden is accused of being racist, while others choose to label them as xenophobic hate sites (Adolfsson 2014; Baas 2017; Expo n.d.). This has created a debate in Sweden, where RWANM are accused of being racist media outlets. Since there has not been a thorough research into whether the RWANM employ any racist discourse, this debate has been rather unproductive. The findings of this study can help shine a light on this debate. Further research of the RWANM's discourse, as well as replication of this research with more data from RWANM, is necessary in order

to definitively classify them as racist media outlets. If RWANM were officially labeled as racist, some of its subscribers might reconsider their choices of media consumption. Understanding their discourse exposes what is beneath the veil of immigration criticism, a transformed new discourse of cultural otherness weaved into nationalist right-wing rhetoric. Combined, they compose a “new” racism, fitting for our time.

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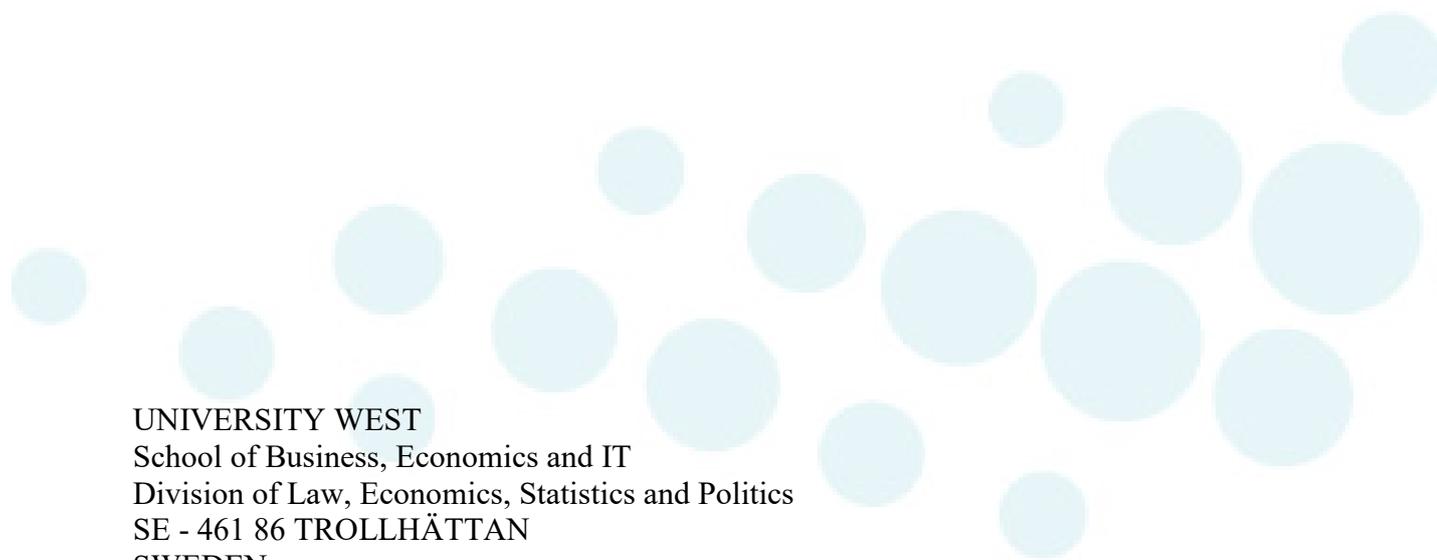
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**Samhällsnytt Article 29:** <https://samnytt.se/37-aring-anhallen-efter-husrannsakan-pa-traffade-vapen-droger-och-stora-summor-pengar/>

**Samhällsnytt Article 30:** <https://samnytt.se/nyoppnad-ambassad-i-beirut-ska-hjalpa-utlanningar-att-flytta-till-sverige-konsular-service-till-svenskar-kraftigt-begransad/>

**Samhällsnytt Article 31:** <https://samnytt.se/aklagarmyndigheten-vill-atala-for-hets-mot-folkgrupp-aven-om-den-enskilde-aklagaren-inte-tror-pa-fallande-dom>

**Samhällsnytt Article 32:** <https://samnytt.se/invandringen-pressar-kommunernas-ekonomi-hojd-skatt-att-vanta/>



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