Journalistic Constructions in the Kärrtorp Demonstrations

How are Racists, Antiracists and Immigrants Portrayed and Constructed in the Kärrtorp-Demonstrations in Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet?

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ISRN: LIU-ISAK/KSM-A- -15/01- -SE

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Nyckelord: Racism, Antiracism, Kärrtorp, Demonstration, Nazism, Media
Abstract

This study investigates journalistic constructions regarding the antiracism demonstration in Kärrtorp in 2013. How do the newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet construct the racist, antiracist and immigrant during and after the demonstration? Through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Theory, Nationalism Theory and Whiteness Theory this study examines how these groups (racist, antiracist, immigrant) are constructed to be excluded as part of the “others” as well as included as part of “us” in addition to who actually expresses opinions about these groups in the articles.

In the construction of the Kärrtorp demonstration a threat was presented (in form of Nazi organizations) that threatened the contemporary Swedish democracy and the solution offered here was to stand up for anti-racism and integration in the demonstration. The journalistic technique of coding and decoding is what occurs in many instances when comparing the perpetrator and their cause to history. The small minority, perpetrator and racist is within the articles constructed as men belonging to organized racist networks that do not believe that all human beings are equal and is constructed as one of the country of Sweden’s major problems that needs to be fixed. What has been argued then is that instead of only constructing and discussing racist propaganda and the extremes within the news it would more important to evaluate institutionalized routines and pattern behaviors within the Swedish society.

Noticeable in the study is also the journalists’ attempt to resent, reject and disapprove Racism, Nazism and violence on all levels and how they in general construct articles with antiracists as spokespersons. Moreover, immigration is mentioned in very few instances in the construction and usually through the racist or Nazi negative perspective with which the journalist does not agree.
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Introduction

“I am not a Racist, but let me just state this……” The qualifying phrase was repeated many times and referenced in many different situations in Sweden in 2014; on the bus among friends, on a TV-debate, among politicians in the Swedish government. Almost thirteen percent of the votes in Sweden’s 2014 parliament election went to the Swedish Democrats (SD), a party with roots in racist and fascist ideas and that strongly supports anti-immigration.¹ Racist ideology is on the rise all over Europe, and one can wonder why and why now. However, this study will not try to answer just these two particular questions. Instead, it will evaluate how news mediums in Sweden choose to address the situation. In this multicultural world, in what ways do newspapers tell their stories regarding racism, antiracism and immigration, from a Swedish perspective, this study attempts to evaluate how.

Returning to Sweden after studying for four years in the United States, I noticed and experienced difference racist and antiracist sentiments in Sweden. The climate had changed; more negative criticism was directed toward immigrants in Sweden. A party with roots in racist and Nazi behaviors had taken a more prominent role in Sweden’s government, and a racist agenda had been promoted on many levels in Swedish society. The former politician who served as Minister for Gender Equality in Sweden, Nyamko Sabuni, wrote in her book, Det nya Sverige—min vision, min väg about the difficulties of the word ‘invandrare’ (immigrant). “The difficulties start right away when choosing what word to use,”² Sabuni writes. “The Swedish word ‘invandrare’ is comfortable to use in describing different phenomena that has to do with integration. But it is not differentiating between a refugee from Somalia, a student from Portugal or an American CEO in an American company based in Sweden. It also does not show the difference between newly arrived asylum seekers who do not know a single word of Swedish from the ones who are born in Sweden to immigrant parents. Everyone is called invandrare.”³

Furthermore, the radio series På flykt i Europa describes differences in how immigrants are treated now compared to how they were treated in the past.⁴ After the Second World War, the Swedish economy was prospering and companies and state turned to different countries for working power. Factory worker,

² Sabuni, Nyamko, Det nya Sverige: [min vision : min väg], Ekerlid, Stockholm, 2010, p.7
³ Ibid p.2
Anton Jaksetic, was one of them who arrived in 1964 and worked in feather fabric in Mönsterås. “It was different then; we did not feel like immigrants,” Jaksetic explains in the radio interview and continues, “the first time I experienced ethnic discrimination in Sweden was at work when I did not get a promotion. Today I can see that same discrimination everywhere. I believe it changes with the economy. When the economy is struggling, people start to think about themselves.”

Lawyer and author, Madeleine Opira, states in her book, Generation Integration, that structural racism exists in Sweden today and the Swedish and the Race Biological Institute (opened in Uppsala 1921) is something that the Swedish population, including the media, refuses to think about or discuss. Opira means that methods concerning the improvement of integration in Sweden have not changed to a great extent since the beginning of the 1900s and that Swedish media, viewed as a great power in society since it shapes and creates perspectives, does not take its responsibility regarding immigration. Opira explains that the Swedish media and news organizations do not bring up the history of racial issues and minorities that have always existed when reporting about immigration in Sweden.

All of the examples above portray a darker picture of multiculturalism, immigration and antiracism. The question in this study, therefore, deals with how the media handles the situation of a renewed racism and how it constructs its images of immigrants within newspapers.

Journalism serves as oxygen in the lives of many human beings; the most influential facts about what is going on in the world is attained through the mass media. Journalists work then, both as information spreaders and restrainers, plays an important role in today’s society. Author and Media Educator, John J. Pungente, argues that the way we view reality is to a great extent established on media messages which have been preconstructed with attitudes, interpretation and conclusions already built in. Pungente explains that media contributes a lot to our sense of reality.

In order to conduct this study and to evaluate the constructed image of the racist, antiracist and the immigrant, the portrayal of a violent attack on a peaceful demonstration in Kärrtorp in two Swedish newspapers, Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet, was chosen.

Kärrtorp is a district in the Skarpnäck borough of Stockholm, Sweden and has 4779 inhabitants. On December 15, 2013 an anti-racism demonstration was being organized in Kärrtorp by the network Line 17 (named after the subway station that passes through the suburb Kärrtorp) and members of a neo-Nazi

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5 På flykt i Europa, (2013) Feb 2
6 Opira, Madeleine, Generation integration, 2. uppl., Recito, Norsborg, 2011, p.52
9 Statistik om Stockholm Retrieved February 9 http://www.statistikomstockholm.se/index.php/detaljerad-statistik
group attacked participants by throwing bottles, firecrackers and other items. A couple hundred demonstrators, including children had come together, and the Swedish Nazi and resistance movement SMR were the ones responsible for the attack. Twenty-eight people were arrested after the attack. One week later, 16,000 people rallied together in another demonstration against racism and violence. This demonstration on December 22, 2013, like the first demonstration, received a lot of media attention.

To evaluate the media attention regarding this subject is important because racism and discrimination exist on many levels today, both in the society of Sweden, and in the world as a whole. To explore how immigration, racism and discrimination are portrayed in newspapers is essential for many reasons. Not only are newspapers easily accessible (76% of Swedish population read the morning newspaper everyday) but a lot of people also believe that newspapers are trustworthy. In a study regarding newspaper credibility it turned out that it had higher credence than other media.

Also, the central figures; the racist, the antiracist and the immigrant, are important to understand because they are active participants that, in different ways, create the compilation or connection surrounding the Kärrtorp demonstration. Since the groups exist and relate to racism, antiracism and immigration in different ways a tension is created which is interesting to evaluate. This tension can be evaluated in many different arenas and in different contexts, but for this study the Kärrtorp-demonstration is particularly interesting because of the newsworthiness in two major newspapers in Sweden. Also, how the media portrays and constructs groups, including their roles as victims and social burdens, matter for a society.

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10 *Thousands Gather in Kärrtorp for Rally Against Racism* Published December 22 2013. Retrieved February 9  

11 SMR=Svenska Motståndsrörelsen (Swedish Resistance Movement) is a Swedish neo Nazi militant organization with the goal through militant revolution create a Nordic national state consistent of the Nordic population only (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Island and the Baltic countries)

12 Ledde till massdemonstration (led to mass-demonstration), news article by TT the News Bureau, Stockholm, Published February 17, 2014.  

13 Ibid, Retrieved Feb 9

14 *Svenska Mediehus 2013/2014. Fakta om marknad och media (Facts about Swedish Media & Market)* news publication by TU [Tidningsutgivarna], Stockholm  

Research Questions and Aims

The study strives to examine how Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet depicted the Kärrtorp demonstration in 2013. The aim is to understand what discourses and central figures the newspapers constructed when describing the Kärrtorp-demonstration.

RQ1-How are racists, antiracists and immigrants portrayed and constructed?

RQ2- How are these group constructed to be part of “others” as well as part of “us”?

RQ3- Who gets a voice and expresses opinions about the racist, antiracist and immigrant?

Disposition

The paper starts with a focus on background information on the subject as a whole; a description of Kärrtorp, discussions on the meaning of multiculturalism and the complexities regarding the word immigrant.

After the background, a chapter on previous research begins with a discussion of studies on race and the roots of Swedish Antiracism. Thereafter, there is a discussion about previous Media Studies on antiracists, racists and immigration which goes into a descriptive explanation on how old ideals affect us today, not representative reporting and linguistic unified reporting on minorities. The final component of the previous research chapter discusses the power of repetition and integrated coverage as the goal.

Next is the chapter of the Theoretical Approach which explains the three theoretical approaches used in the inquiry; Media Theory, Whiteness Theory and Nationalism Theory.

What follows is the Methodology Chapter that discusses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which exists in the field of Social Constructivism. CDA is in this inquiry used to examine how the Kärrtorp-demonstration is portrayed in the two newspapers.

Next in line is the chapter on Material that discusses reasons why Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet are used in this inquiry. Selections and limitations, methods and implementation as well as reflections on
method conclude the Material chapter. Lastly, is the Analysis and Discussion Chapter that explores, debates and discusses the construction of the racist, antiracist and the immigrant.

**Previous Research**

This chapter evaluates previous research concerning racism, antiracism and immigration in Sweden and in the rest of the world. It offers scholarly perceptions on old ideals affecting us today, not representative reporting and linguistic unified reporting on minorities. It discusses integrated coverage as the goal and examines the power of repetition.

**Racism**

Ivan Hannaford writes that race is a “fact,” that has been existent for a long time. When a person is of a different color, appearance, culture and speaks a different language, this leads to the belief that this person belongs to a specific race. The idea of race, Hannaford suggests, is that it is maintained and reinforces the basis that humans beings belong to “enormous physic-natural families of primates’ divisible into ‘races’ and subdivisible into ‘ethnic groups’.” 16

Alan H. Goodman, Yolanda T. Moses and Joseph L. Jones, however, argue that race is not real in the way we tend to think of it: “primordial and biological, rather, race is a fundamental idea with devastating consequences because we, through our history and culture, made it so.” 17 According to several scholars it is suggested that the idea of race slowly emerged in the 15th century with Western European imperialism, but it was not until the middle of the 17th century that it was “in the name of science” possible to label some races superior to others. 18

**Antiracism**

Swedish Antiracism has its roots in the 1930s resistance against Nazism, says Daniel Poohl and Alex Bentgsson in their study, explaining how Antiracism has a difficult history before and during the Second World War through the Apartheid-Movement and the 1980s mobilization toward the Right Extremists. 19

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Jan Jämte, a political scientist, agrees and adds that there are three branches within the anti-racism movement from the 1930s until today. Jämte describes the three different branches as the radicals, the moderate and the pragmatics. First, the radicals saw racism as a direct consequence of the capitalistic society and claimed that fascism was the upper class’s filthiest and grimmest weapon; therefore, they had to use force to strike back against fascist groups. Second, the moderate consisted of people from both the political right and left that saw racism as the democratic society’s stigma and dark spot. To defeat this entity they had to spread knowledge about fascist and Nazi groups to make politicians and administrative authority aware of what a big threat it was. Third, the pragmatics were on one hand critical and dissident toward the source of racism, but on the other hand, they wanted to build broad alliances. To connect a lot of people, they prioritized a broad defense of the democracy, for example, by critiquing the class society. The majority of the people sympathizing with the pragmatics were socialists and people believing in syndicalism, but pragmatic ideas also appealed to radical liberals such as communists and social democrats.

In conclusion, Jämte describes how the Antiracism movement arose in an environment of resistance against racism. Racism has been, and still is, seen as a threat that either comes from the inside or the outside, and its influence and dominance have varied in the Swedish Antiracism movement.

The complexity and many branches within the Antiracism movement in Sweden are, for this study, important to understand when analyzing the construction of antiracists, racists and immigrants within newspapers.

**Media Studies of Antiracists, Racists and Immigrants**

In their study, Dahlstedt et al., examine two specific conflicts regarding antiracists and racists within news media, one in Norrköping 2003 and one in Salem 2001. They found important problematic characteristics in the reporting and in the construction of racists and antiracists in the news. First, they claim that a distinction between threat and democracy is constructed within the articles which legitimatize the existing “order” in society. Second, they state that the articles make clear appearances and characteristics invisible by portraying the racists and antiracists as equals. Third, they found tendencies...
where the racists are constructed either as good or invisible. Ultimately, they discovered that the picture created in the news is too stereotypical and does not have the possibility to show the complexity of the political opposition. By political opposition they mean groups existing in society’s periphery both AFA, NSF and others that does not agree with the democratic order or the authorities. In addition, the authors claim that the journalists in the construction fail to explain within what context these movements exist. Instead, they were constructed as movements who were solely violent and genuinely unpolitical within the articles.

Taking this into consideration, there may be a difference in Dahlstedt et al.,’s arguments and findings on how appearances and characteristics were made invisible in the construction of the racist and antiracist from this inquiry since, in this study, the racists attacked the antiracists in the Kärrtorp demonstration. Nevertheless, no matter the outcome of this study, it is important to take into account that findings in previous studies of journalists’ construction about minorities [minorities that have been threatening authorities] have failed to show the complexities of minority movements in general and have pointed at simplified and stereotypical solutions in the construction.

Many scholars have discussed that journalists have failed in the description and construction of minorities and in what context they exist. One of them is Ylva Brune in her inquiry, *Three Studies in Swedish Journalism on Immigrants, Refugees and Racist Violence*, in which she examined minorities and the construction of immigrants in Swedish Media. Brune explains that early in the 1970s when the word *invandrare* (immigrant) was relatively new, journalists explored a variety of ways to use the expression. In her study Brune brings up headlines of 1976 in Sweden. Some examples include: “immigrant children learn immigrant languages with help from immigrant teachers, Swedish Television publishes and immigrant game for immigrant teams. . . The immigrant puts forward immigrant demands and immigrant prayers etcetera…” Brune explains that the abundant usage of the word immigrant led to the typifying of individuals that eventually led to stereotypes. The journalists tried to construct immigrants using different variations to figure out what we are and what we ought to be in relation to this new phenomena: immigrants. Brune continues and explains that what defined the construction of the category in news media in the 1970s is the new way of looking at people in which the journalist constructs and emphasizes

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24 AFA= Antifascistisk aktion (anti-fascist movement) is a Swedish left wing extremist network.
25 NSF= Nationalsocialistisk front (National Social Front) which is a Swedish neo-nazi organization
characteristics that supposedly are the same for all immigrants.  

However, it is important to remember that the meaning of the word in 1970s might hold a different connotation then what it does in 2015. Dahlstedt et al., assert that when a concept or denomination constantly reoccurs, then it also gets to be naturalized in the sense of the concept. For example, even if you vaguely examine immigrant demands, a picture has already been created in the mind of the reader in reference to previous reporting. In Canada, researchers Frances Henry and Carol Tator acknowledged similar aspects when they were exploring Racial Bias in the Canadian English Press. In addition, they also emphasized and used van Dijk’s founding from 1994 (&1986,1988) where the “newspaper readers tend to remember only a few striking details of a newspaper story…and how headlines have the important function of summoning historically derived culturally shared models and scripts about people and events.”

Henry and Tator analyzed loaded headlines referring to “human cargo, invasion or a human avalanche” in which the journalists stated that “oppressed people arrive to freedom”. With this being said, Henry and Tator recognize that the way newspaper articles are being constructed could shape and create a picture in the newspaper readers’ mind.

On the other hand, in her analysis of the British newspaper Leicester Mercury, Andrea Mayr, realizes that in the latest years there has been a shift or transition from negative reporting toward a more positive one regarding immigration. In her book Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse (2008) in which she looks at the Leicester Mercury, she finds that in recent years there has been a “move away from anti-immigration and problem stories and instead it is a broader range of people that are being talked about; community leaders, ordinary people, business people,” within these stories. Also, she refers to Simon Cottle’s inquiry, Ethnic Minorities and the Media, in which he discusses how within the British press “ethnic minorities [were] being represented in a far more positive vein, such as through festivals and other ‘exotica.’” Nonetheless, Mayr’s findings, after a closer look, show that in Leicester Mercury “there is no coverage of the structural inequalities that affect many ethnic minorities.”

Regarding structural inequalities, the journalist scientists, Clint Wilson and Félix Gutiérrez, have in their study identified five phases in how news regarding ethnical minorities has developed historically. Those five faces are: “exclusionary, threatening issue, confrontation, stereotypical selection and integrated

28 Ibid, p. 214
29 Dahlstedt et al.,(2002) p.76
30 Tator, Carol, & Henry, Frances, Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-language Press [Elektronisk resurs], University of Toronto Press, 2002 p. 144
31 Ibid, p. 144
33 Ibid p.91
34 Ibid p.91
coverage.” Hultén comments on Wilson and Gutiérrez’s findings, stating that the last of the five points is, to a great deal, a vision that has not occurred yet. It is characterized by a “we” that includes all citizens, and she claims that even after 20 years since Wilson and Gutiérrez conducted their research, integrated coverage has not changed within news reporting regarding ethnical minorities.  

**Old Ideals that Affect us Today**

Lindberg and Dahlstedt reveal in their research article, *Det är inte rasism: Om facket och invandrarna*, the importance of remembering the past, old ideals and previous reporting. Lindberg and Dahlstedt state that both journalistically and in society it is important to communicate racial behaviors, old ideals and institutes in order to reflect and realize today’s scapegoats and why they may still exist.

Previous research regarding news and media in relation to racism, antiracism, ethnic relations and immigration in Western Europe and the United States shows unambiguous results. Ylva Brune states in her inquiry that lingering effects of the colonial ways of living still make it possible for big national news organizations to define and rank places, cultures, nations, religions and ethnic groups with ideas such as “we are on top of all,” and the media’s symbolic power could be used to confirm “our” advantage.

Also, Gunilla Hultén describes, in her book, *Journalistik och mångfald*, a report regarding race-uproar or riots in the late 1960s in United States showing that the media gave a misdirected and one-sided view of ethnic minorities. The report found and confirmed that 164 riots that occurred in 1967 had foundations in a “reservoir of grievance and frustration” among black Americans. The discontent and frustration were closely connected to prejudice, discrimination, unemployment, bad housing, etcetera. What was also found in the report was that the news mediums had a prejudiced approach toward blacks consisting of discrimination and racism. The authors of the report argued that the media reporting contributed to a high extent to the riots’ occurrence. Hultén also explains that the report led to inquiries, research and studies and awareness regarding race issues and awareness of the lack of minority-reporting within news organization. These studies ultimately imply that journalists wrote in a way that disregarded minorities and focused on “their own agenda,” consciously or subconsciously.

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40 Ibid p.11
Not Representative Reporting for Both Migrants and Antiracists

The type of news reporting that dominated the United States media in the 1960s when the riots occurred may not be the same as the reporting done in 2013 and 2014 but has, nevertheless, some noticeable similarities. This is stated in Samuel Bennet et al., ’s study The Representation of Third-Country Nationals in European News Discourse, in which the authors suggest that minorities in 2012 are being portrayed in a discrediting way. In their study, Bennet et al., point at media reports and its content that have failed to represented migrants fairly when researchers have done communication science and discourse analysis. Bennet et al., also notice a difference in the portrayal of “new” immigrants versus longer-established ethnic immigrants. In their study, they explain how findings show when not having a European nationality as an immigrant find that the immigrants not having a European nationality were more likely to receive negative treatment and discrimination from the newspaper organizations. Bennet et al., explain how in the early 2000s journalists used “professional codes and non-offensive coverage” for immigrants that had lived longer in the country whereas asylum seekers were portrayed more negatively. Ultimately, according to Bennet et al., they mean that knowledge about certain groups and awareness-raising have led to more balanced portrayals of the immigrant and that the length of experience with the immigration phenomenon has less to do with the construction.

Linguistic Unified Reporting on Minorities

In this globalized and multicultural world, notions about a homogenous national unity still exist within journalism, as Gunilla Hultén shows in her book Journalistik och mångfald. That it is not only through transcendence or preventions of national boundaries or cultures where these notions exist but through strong connections between culture and territory, cultural participation and the People’s home (Folkhem in

42 Ibid p.250
43 Ibid p. 250
44 Hultén (2009) p.19
Swedish). Hultén writes how it is a trinity—territory, country and identity— that support each other in the journalistic process and in the idea of the homogenous national unity. Brune explains that in creation of news the use of a nationalistic discourse in an including and solidary way could be applied. With routine through categorizations and creations as “peacefully” differentiating boundaries, it is possible for a nation to be portrayed in an idolized form, and it could also occur directly through nationalism (or worst case scenario through racism). These different possibilities of characterizing and constructing news that Brune mentions matter in how journalists choose to construct them; however, Hultén explains that in Sweden, the construction is one-sided or angled in one way. For instance, Hultén recognizes that Sweden is a society filled with ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, but that this, nevertheless, is hard to believe if you look into a Swedish newsroom or ask for the background of the editorial staff. Most of the Swedish journalists are middle age, Swedish and share a similar background Hultén states.

Brune makes a similar observation and adds how her findings show that news media within Sweden tries to consolidate or reinforce boundaries between Sweden and refugees, between “Swedish” and “immigrant,” and how ideas of the good society are being formulated at the same time the news texts examine what is constructed as foreign. Brune states that presentation of victims of racial violence and in deportation stories are constructed similarly; the chosen victim is in a hard situation, lacks agency and wants to be like the Swedes. The victim in the construction is chosen to fit in as to where good Swedishness is pointed out Brune explains.

The example of good Swedishness is not only used with minorities within Sweden but could also be constructed when this minority moves to another country; however, this may look a little different depending on whether the migrants are privileged or not. Catrin Lundström finds in her inquiry of Swedish migrants moving to Spain that the category of foreign and migrant suddenly changes. Lundström explains that in Western literature, research and media, the non-privileged migrant is the one that is constructed as a problem in our times. As a result, Lundström writes that within Migrations Studies, whiteness and sometimes race is rather assumed and implied instead of being explicit or problematized.

45 The People home (Folkhem in Swedish) is a political concept that played an important role in the history of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish welfare state.
46 Hultén (2009) p.19
48 Hultén (2009) p.9
50 ibid p.395
51 Lundström, Catrin, White migrations: gender, whiteness and privilege in transnational migration, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014 p.1
By taking Lundströms proposition (with whiteness and race as assumed rather than problematized) into consideration and applying it to news journalism, descriptive storytelling could miss important information, create a misinterpreted version of realities or at the least be constructed from one perspective only.

For this study it is particularly interesting to look at who it is that is constructed and described as foreign and not foreign, visible or not visible in news media.

Power of Repetition

For this study, it is interesting to look back at how the construction of minorities has looked over the years. Already in the 1800s, Urban Ericsson examines how minorities in the form of “the others” were portrayed in a painting in which the representation of the others was clearly shown. Ericsson explains how the power of repetition has been important in the creation and establishment of the others as being constructed as something unfamiliar, unknown and sometimes dangerous. Ericsson states in his study that the more times we see something, the more we believe it is true—the power of repetition.\textsuperscript{52} For example, by photographing an empty parking lot, a façade of an airplane you choose to portray a certain image of a place, an image that has been representative of the Swedish immigrant suburb many times Ericsson writes and means that the constructed image is one dimensional.\textsuperscript{53} If instead there would be a focus on the blue sky, the children playing and the multicolored faces, the image of the place would be more ambiguous in the sense that there are many different dimensions to the place.\textsuperscript{54} If the power of repetition has as big of an impact on negative reporting as Ericsson states, perhaps the same would go for a positive construction. Portraying positive images, to a greater extent, could consequently lead to a widespread understanding of the different dimensions of a place. Ericsson’s study also suggests that certain words could be connected to images that we have seen many times and he establishes that the word immigrant is one of those words.\textsuperscript{55}

Integrated Coverage as the Goal

Dahlstedt et al., claim that there is a growing divergence within media today, and that this divergence of democracy and racism is complicated for many reasons. They explain that democracy is not a vaccine to

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid p.34
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid p.35
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid p.35
racism and that discriminating thoughts and ideas can also develop and become legitimate under democracy.\textsuperscript{56} Dahlstedt et al., provide an example with three Swedish citizens who were born in Somalia and got their bank accounts locked because their “heritage” made them suspect “terrorists.” Dahlstedt et al., focuses on the discriminating thoughts and explains that within the new existing liberal democracy these thoughts have become legitimate on many levels.\textsuperscript{57} Taking this view into consideration, even if it is explicitly stated as it is in the article that antiracist democracy does not support racist and discriminating thoughts, the construction in media could, nevertheless, consist of discriminating thoughts since these thoughts as part of the new existing liberal democracy are legitimate on many levels according to Dahlstedt et al.\textsuperscript{58}

In addition, Dahlstedt et al., state that when racism is constructed as a threat to democracy that only exists on the outskirts of society or are operated by specific racist groups, then the view of society stands as open, tolerant and unbiased. This then allows everyday racism toward immigrants in Sweden, for example, to be explained as individual mistakes, prejudices or attitudes that have nothing to do with society as a whole. They explain, at the same time that mass media has the possibility to frame, construct and make processes easier to understand then it can also make some connections and correlations impossible and unthinkable.\textsuperscript{59}

That mass media has the possibility to construct and frame incidents is something Hultén agrees with while adding that it is not the right of communicating on your own terms that characterize today’s media reporting. Hultén explains that the media’s goal should be to integrate all voices and diversities in society into the media organizations but that this is still significantly out of reach. Integrated coverage would mirror the multitude and multicultural society and would favor both minority and majority expression for ethnic identities. According to Hultén, the categorization “we” has to include all citizens. To reach this goal there must be an increase in the representation of humans with foreign background among the media occupations in addition to a more attentive focus within the news organizations toward multi-ethnical questions and a rebuilding of different sources at the same time as the journalistic schools changes with more ethnical and cultural diversity.\textsuperscript{60}

This chapter evaluates previous research concerning racism, antiracism and immigration in Sweden and in the world. Previous research in this chapter covers the idea of race, maintaining the fact that human

\textsuperscript{56} Dahlstedt et al., (2005) p. 95
\textsuperscript{57} Dahlstedt et al., (2005) p. 96
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid p. 96
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid p. 96
\textsuperscript{60} Hultén (2009) p.146
beings belong to enormous physic-natural families of primates and the Swedish antiracism that arose in an environment of resistance of racism. In addition, journalists have, in previous studies, failed to show the complexities of minority groups in general and have discovered simplified and stereotypical solutions, and one study shows that there is no coverage of the structural inequalities affecting many minorities. Furthermore, lingering effects of colonial ways of living make it possible for big national organizations to define and rank places, cultures, nations and religion as well as the use the power of repetition that affect news organizations today. What previous research also show is the mass media’s ability to frame, construct and make processes easier to understand at the same time it makes other connections and correlations impossible.

**Theoretical Approach**

When analyzing written news articles it is important to understand the source of the material which is news media. *Media Theory* is vital for this study and is also one of the theoretical approaches used. Furthermore, there are two more theories used in the study: *Whiteness Theory* and *Nationalism Theory*. For the Whiteness Theory, Steve Garner’s and also Sara Ahmed’s definition will be used, with a focus on power structures within Swedish news media and how it is used by the journalists in the articles.

*Media Theory*

The view of media theory and journalism in this study is inspired by Brune’s idea that the stories being told in the material world are reestablished and constructed through publication in news text, which contributes to people’s opinion about the material world. For this study I found it essential to apply the media theory in which the construction of news is being explored. Angela Smith and Michael Higgins explain, for example, that “the craft of journalism is not just finding stories that meet the criteria for news, but being able to construct an account of these events that give prominence to their most newsworthy characteristics.”61 Already in 1924 the journalist Walter Lippman wrote that the most important characteristic for a newsworthy article is to awaken feelings in the recipient, and that it is the main goal.62 With this idea in mind, we can see that journalists, instead of randomly choosing news stories and events, purposely select news stories, and this is not a new invention.

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In order to comprehend the process in which a news story gets selected and is constructed, I found it important to look at Smith and Higgins explanation of news stories’ elements. Smith and Higgins point out that all new stories have certain elements that should be included. The article has to get the reader’s attention. There is an abstract (a summary of the story), orientation (who it involves, where, when), complicating action (what happened next? And then?), evaluation (what it means), resolution (how the story concluded). With all elements and codes that are guidelines for a journalist could both help and restrict a journalist.

Also, Pierre Bourdieu asserts that the constructed familiar terms and framing scenarios within media have to do with what he calls the “rush-dictatorship” that exists. With the rush-dictatorship Bourdieu explains how news media has to relate and create stories in regards to the time deficit existent and this, he states, leads to a negative correlation between mental activity and deficiency in time and space in the creation of news.

Furthermore, Bourdieu explains that in order to decode a message you have to possess these “codes” that are required to interpret them. If you are a media consumer it is easier to take in, understand the line of thoughts that you already know or digest what is established and existent in the society in which you live. Because of the place and time deficit, there is no space to explain political reasoning; therefore, minority ideas, opinions and lifestyles are read with the majority’s codes. Brune explains that the narrow and special codes journalists use make the analysis of news texts genre particularly restrained and specific. However, since the media’s goal is to use objectivity, never be fictitious and to be balanced and constantly around us in society, Brune asserts that news media is measured to have a big role in society.

**Whiteness Theory**

As more data was collected for my study, it became obvious that a theory that only portrayed media theory would not be sufficient. In order to comprehend the process of the construction of the different groups, it was essential to apply the whiteness theory according to the perspectives of Steve Garner and Sara Ahmed.

Garner states that whiteness is not tied to the body when it comes to ideas, practices and outcomes, describing the concept from the standpoints of invisibility and visibility. Regarding invisibility, he defines ‘whites’ as raceless individuals who never have to integrate into a society. On the other hand, the idea of

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65 Brune (2004) p.3
visibility refers to individuals and groups that are “not-quite white” (indigenous people, nomadic people, East Europeans, Jews, Muslims). Consequently, they are very visible and forced to assimilate or conform to the white society.\(^6\) In Steve Garner’s explanation of Whiteness Theory he claims that “white is a marked racialized identity whose precise meanings derive from national racial regimes.”\(^7\) He also states that whiteness as a means to invoke terror and power has been used in many different ways throughout history. For example:

- through knowledge of ‘others’—constructed through natural, human and social sciences
- through terror—control of labor, slavery, Indians etcetera,
- through control of frames—who gets to say anything,
- through control of regulations—who is allowed into countries etcetera and,
- through seeing and not seeing.\(^8\)

Apart from statistically measurable patterns of advantages in employment, education, health and housing, whiteness also has the capacity to judge others as collectives and errant whites as individuals, Garner states.\(^9\) Furthermore, Garner explains how social relations become invisible when a white person says: “I am just me”. This form of thinking shows how one ignores the history of the discrimination of colored people by not accepting that there are privileges attached to the whiteness.\(^10\)

For this study, whiteness theory is important when looking at the constructed groups and how they are portrayed. Having Garners input on whites as raceless individuals who never have to integrate into society matters in the construction of people in news media whether it is the person featured in the article or the one writing about incidents. Also, the visibility and invisibility aspect regarding whiteness that Garner describes is used to find theoretical viewpoints, similarities and dissimilarities within the construction.

In addition, Sara Ahmed has an important yet different take on whiteness, viewing it as non-performative where you are unable to actually be anti-racist given the structural racism that surrounds production on texts on whiteness.”\(^11\) Ahmed explains how the stranger is not clear or apparent because of the stranger’s anonymity. From a really young age we have been taught that the stranger could be anyone, Ahmed describes, but her own experience and memory taught her that “this anyone” is pointed toward some bodies (people) more than others.\(^12\) Drawing from her own experience and further studies about the subject, Ahmed explains that the stranger is in more cases than not the non-white person and that the

\(^{7}\) Ibid p.2
\(^{9}\) Ibid p.11
\(^{10}\) Ibid p.3
\(^{11}\) Ibid p.2
\(^{12}\) Ahmed, Sara, *Vithetens hegemoni*, Tankekraft, Hägersten, 2011, p.10
arrival of these non-white bodies show what she calls the whiteness room. When Ahmed talks about the whiteness room she compares it to existent scenarios in the world with bodies that exist somewhere versus bodies that do not exist somewhere, or rather, bodies that are not allowed to exist somewhere. She uses the whiteness room to describe her line of thoughts.

Ahmed notes Lourde’s description about how black women, by just entering the room, can change the atmosphere. Lourde explains how “some bodies ‘are in the way’ for how others enjoy the room maybe because it may remind people of a history that has disappeared from their consciousness.”

For this study there are important arguments Ahmed brings up that could be connected to the Kärrtorp demonstration and the construction of racist, anti-racist and immigrant. Ahmed writes, for example, that the ‘stranger’ is described as the non-white person more often than not and how the arrivals of some people affect rooms. If not aware of these scenarios when constructing news regarding minorities, a misdirected view of events can be portrayed. Ahmed explains that one is unable to be anti-racist because racism is ingrained in the production of texts on whiteness, and if awareness is not created about all the problematic-points Ahmed notes, perhaps similar precarious reporting can occur in the construction of news.

Ulrika Dahl agrees with Ahmed and emphasizes that some specific bodies existing in this time are being affected by the post-colonial and imperialistic heritage, but for some reason people think that “we in Sweden” stand outside Europe’s colonial history. This heritage put us in a position of belonging somewhere and is also part of the reason worlds and doors are open for some and closed for others. Dahl explains how we can learn from Ahmed’s work in relation to Sweden and points at Ahmed’s way of thinking as a tool to help us further realize the imaginary problems in society that are often directed toward the stranger or migrant. In addition, Dahl points out the importance of Ahmed’s work when it comes to understanding a person that is constantly viewed as recently arrived, explaining how this is exploited through emotion politics.

Nationalism Theory
The final theory used in this study is Nationalism Theory, which is important because it explores identities, interests and behaviors regarding how images of people are constructed in newspapers. A nationalist ideology, according to Eriksen Hylland, could be explained as an “ethnic ideology which
demands a right to its own state on behalf of that ethnic group.”  

Technically, that would mean that everyone in that group would share the same opinion and same will. However, Eriksen Hylland points out that in practice it is never that easy because even if the members had different views, it all depends on those who express themselves. Opinions and expressions could either be explained as a point of view from the nation, from the ethnic group or from a category of individuals and he also claims that nationalism gets continuously mixed up in the concepts of nation and ethnic group.  

Furthermore, Eriksen Hylland argues, for example, that “nationalism usually is defined as an ideology which holds that cultural boundaries should correspond to political boundaries; that is to say, that the state ought to contain only people ‘of the same kind.’” Also, the “nation building has been, and still is, an important, spectacular and highly consequential dimension of the worldwide process of change connected with colonialism and decolonization.”  

Benedict Anderson has described the nation as an imagined community that exists both as sovereign and limited. According to Anderson, the nation is imagined because people exist, live and function yet they do not get to know, meet or hear from their fellow members. Despite this they all live in the image of their communion. Anderson also notes that the nation is restricted because even the biggest of them have borders and boundaries separating them from other nations; no matter how big the population within the nation is, the nation is still limited. This information suggests that nationalism is a political and social construction that often gets confused; however, it has this common denominator of national values that human beings have adapted.  

In this study, this idea of nationalism as a common denominator will be used when analyzing the news media’s reporting on the nationalistic/Nazi groups attacking the demonstration. How are the groups within the study being described and how is Nationalism Theory built into the reporting? This study will also provide input from Eriksen Hylland’s, Anderson’s and Malkki’s work regarding nationalism and reporting. According to Eriksen Hylland, nationalism is a cultural boundary and the state ought to contain only people ‘of the same kind.’ Liisa Malkki suggests that notions of a nation or nativeness “become very complex as more and more people identify themselves, or are categorized in reference to

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77 Eriksen Hylland (2010) p.295  
78 Ibid p.289  
79 Ibid p.289  
81 Eriksen Hylland (2010) p.289
deterritorialized ‘homelands,’ ‘cultures,’ and ‘origins.’”
She means that there are not often many reflections about specific groups of people, but the concern lies in the “cultural displacement of people, things and cultural products.”

**Methodology**

This study evaluates two big Swedish newspapers’ (Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet) reporting on the construction of the groups connected to an antiracism-demonstration in Kärrtorp, Stockholm from the 15th of December 2013 until the 16th of December 2014. The reports written within that year and the empirical material are analyzed within the study with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CDA belongs under the field of Social Constructivism, which will briefly be described here. Social Constructivism is the view of reality and society as something that is constantly produced and reproduced. The main idea of constructivism is that properties of agents, such as people’s identities, interests and behaviors, are socially constructed by ‘collective meanings, interpretations and assumptions about the world’.

The basic principle of Social Constructionist thought, as described by Berger and Luckman in *Knowledge Sociology*, is that the human is inclined to act according to habits that are being *externalized*, or embodied. These habits are then *institutionalized* and become valid guidelines for humans that are born into society. In this way, an *objectifying* of social institutions occurs and the view, thereof, becomes an “objective reality”. Absorbing and learning from society’s institutionalized norms is called *internalization*.

This view of society as constantly being produced and reproduced is used as a way to understand the material in this inquiry.

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis is a derivate of Social Constructivism and consists of both theory and method. CDA is one of several social constructionist approaches that uses theories to gain an understanding of culture and society. The theory within CDA comes with the assumption that discourses are produced and used within political economies, and that they produce and articulate broader ideological interests, social

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83 Ibid, p.intro
85 Ibid, p.16
formations and movements within those fields. When defining Discourse Analysis, Mats Börjesson and Eva Palmblad argue that as soon as language is used, reality is being created. In other words, by recognizing different things through language, we acknowledge their existence and give them meaning thereby producing a reality. One can assume that the creators of certain texts can strongly affect populations, and in my inquiry, in which articles are being examined, it means that the journalists, without realizing it, produce realities for other people.

It is important to mention that there could be different definitions of the meaning of Discourse as a whole. For example, Antaki, Billing, Edwards and Potter state that there are “widely disparate assumptions being made about fundamental topics such as method, theory, the nature of discourse, the nature of cognition, and the nature of social structure.” They explain further that no matter the approach or social or scientific field, when using discourse analysis, “one must take analysis seriously for there are basic requirements for analysis regardless of the particular type of analysis.” Ultimately, the meaning of Critical Discourse Analysis continues to be explored and can yield different positions regarding how analysis should be conducted; however, for this master thesis I have chosen to focus mainly on Norman Fairclough’s definition of CDA because he is focusing on the relations of power as well as how discourse (in my case news articles) is being used in these relations of power.

Fairclough says that you cannot define a discourse independently, but if you combine the analysis of an institution with textual analysis and other relations with the society, you may end up with a greater understanding of what discourse can be. Stories and messages in news media are built upon a reality that every individual interprets from his or her own language and experience; therefore, CDA could help reveal and evaluate information according to the newspapers’ language, political views, underlying opinions and world views to create a better understanding. CDA is used in this study to examine social realities and discourses regarding an antiracism-demonstration.

Since CDA, as a theory and method used to analyze language, can take different forms depending on the professional text and the author’s view point, it is important to realize the complexity attached, not only to the analysis per se, but also to the meaning of CDA itself. In order to comprehend the meaning of CDA, I will dissect the concept.

In order to break down Fairclough’s definition of ‘Critical’ Discourse Analysis, Janks writes that with

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89 Ibid p 2.
this critical perspective, language is viewed “as a form of social practice,” and that “all social practices are tied to a specific historical context and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served”. When using this critical concept there are certain questions asked about whose interests the text serves and why and how certain texts are positioned in a particular way. Ultimately, what it seeks to examine are the “relations of power and struggles over power…” as well as how a discourse is being used in these relations of power. Furthermore, one goal of critical analysis is to inspect the role the general-discourse-practice plays in maintaining unequal distributions of power while using the results of the analysis to fight for social change. CDA differs from other types of discourse analysis in that it politically engages in social change and takes the side of the minority groups in society.

Material

Newspapers Investigated in Study

The purpose of this study was to find out what discourses and central figures the newspapers construct when writing about the Kärrtorp-demonstration. I selected Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet because they are two of Sweden’s biggest newspapers; therefore, many articles were written about the chosen subject. Also, both newspapers are big in Stockholm where the Kärrtorp-demonstration occurred. Moreover, they differ politically—one is more to the middle and right (liberal) and one is more to the middle and left (socialdemocrat)—and they portray different story-telling techniques—one is a morning newspaper while the other is an evening newspaper. These differences are taken into consideration when analyzing the material and the construction of the racist, antiracist and immigration in the Kärrtorp-demonstration. Focusing on these two newspapers means that a lot of other Medias and potentially

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94 Ibid. p.72
95 Dagens Nyheter is a Swedish morning newspaper with a daily circulation of 279 000 (2013) characterized as what is called åbenende liberal (independent liberal). An independent liberal standpoint in Swedish newspaper publishing means that the newspaper has no connection to the liberal political party (the liberal—more rightwing in the Swedish political spectrum) and express subjective liberal opinions on the editorial pages.
96 Aftonbladet is a Swedish afternoon newspaper with a daily circulation of 161 600 (2013) and is characterized as socialdemokratisk (Swedish Social Democrat Party) on the editorial pages. Ingemar Oscarsson writes in his study how, in the past, Aftonbladet has been politically at times a little to the right and discusses the complicated relationship between the owners of the Social Democrats when Aftonbladet has sometimes acted as a spokesperson for the party. However, Aftonbladet is also well known for its coverage of Swedish culture with a neutral political left opinion.
different angles were omitted from this study. For example, alternative sources that do not exist in mainstream media in the same way as Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet might portray different constructions of the racist, antiracist, and immigration, angling their news stories differently in accordance to their commitments, timeframes and authorities potentially seeking more thorough investigative journalism. However, despite the fact that alternative and smaller sources are important when looking at constructions, Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet were chosen because their constructions are accessible to a larger quantity of the population and their institutions are situated near the occurrence of the incident in Stockholm.

Selection and limitations
The selection of the articles used in the study is taken from the search engine Mediearkivet Retriever which contains newspaper material and has in total more than 270 million news articles from Sweden and the world.98 The search words used came in three different variations: “Kärntorp and Demonstration,” “Kärntorp and Antiracism,” and “Nazism and Antiracism in Kärntorp”.

The timeframe selected started on the 16th of December 2013 and went through to the 16th of December 2014, a year after the demonstration occurred on the 15th of December 2013. The result found 56 articles from the newspaper Dagens Nyheter and 35 articles from Aftonbladet. The material contained both hard news and soft news. Hard news is breaking news and immediate news coverage: a plane crash or an armed robbery, for example; it is events reported instantly or up-to-the-minute news. Soft news, on the other hand, refers to feature stories, editorials, background information and human-interest stories. From the 91 articles, I have chosen to exclude articles referring to other demonstrations, racism and Nazism stories not connected to Kärntorp as well as individual person’s antiracism stories not concerning Kärntorp. Also, articles that just contained one word from the incident and nothing else have not been analyzed. Many of the articles written during the year after the Kärntorp-demonstration made references to the incident: “A demonstration just like in Kärntorp,” but then contributing nothing to further add to the discussion about Kärntorp specifically. These articles were also omitted. I ended up with 35 articles from Dagens Nyheter and 28 articles from Aftonbladet to evaluate in my analysis. Right after the occurrence of the incident there was naturally more hard news which then later was supplemented with soft news.

There is a mix in the material, encompassing more than the editorials to provide a more comprehensive picture of the newspapers’ perspective in terms of what the editors write and what they

chose to publish. A common tendency for journalists and the authors of the majority of the articles in both newspapers is to express a concern that the politicians and the Swedish society do not address issues like racism, antiracism and immigration enough and particularly do not offer solutions to the problems. This leads to discussions of antiracial work to a great extent in the editorials, but the newspapers also allowed interviewees to express opinions similar to the ones constructed in the editorials—racists are bad and antiracists are good—as well as apprehension about how an attack of this scale could possibly occur in an antiracist demonstration in Sweden.

Method and implementation
In order to answer the research questions and explore how racists, antiracists and immigrants are portrayed and constructed in the media reports on Kärftorp-demonstration, Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework is being used as an analytical tool. I have first and foremost used Fairclough’s framework to ask the same questions about each article, including what kind of language is used in the article, are there certain words that are used more than others, and can we notice a pattern strictly in the language? I have then looked for descriptions and expressions of the racist, antiracist and common themes. How are they portrayed? How are they visible? In what contexts and in what kind of activities are they described? How are their actions valued? I have also, in each article, looked at who gets a voice to express opinions about the racist, antiracist and immigrant as well as the problems and solutions that are created in the article. The answers to the questions have then been used to evaluate similarities, correlations and irregularities of the construction of the articles.

Reflections on Method
Texts in general, and particularly news texts, could be a great way to understand how discourses, ideology and power function in society. Fairclough writes that “textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change”; however, Fairclough also states that theory and method used to analyze language can take different forms depending on the professional text and the author’s view point. For me, it could be hard to place myself outside society’s structures and culture to see the ideologies and ideas that pervade media since I am a part of it and formed by the sociocultural environment in which I exist.

99 Smith & Higgins (2013) p.9
100 Börjesson, M., & Palmblad, E. Diskursanalys i praktiken / Mats Börjesson & Eva Palmblad (red.). Malmö : Liber, 2007, p.10
Fairclough does not, however, state that you can or should stand outside the sociocultural environment in the analysis and points at the fact that discursive practices are influenced by societal forces.\(^{101}\)

With this being said, it is important to find analyses of how a phenomenon is constructed when trying to distinguish the structures and the sociocultural environment that affect the content in the news texts. My perspective and the theory and method of Critical Discourse Analyses are the tools I am using to find how the racist, antiracist and immigrant are constructed.

For me, my interest in integration, immigration and antiracism have affected the choice of subject of the event in the first place. I was not in Kärrtorp when the antiracist-demonstration and attack occurred but followed the media reporting closely and wanted to find out more about how journalists portray news stories like this.

Furthermore, all the material in the analysis has been translated from Swedish to English and the goal of linguistic accuracy has led to a thorough, detailed and exhaustive exploration of technical terms and phrasing. Every word in the analysis has been reviewed and revised in order to get an accurate translation. The translations has also contributed to philosophical and rational reasoning on how discourses, ideology and power function can be evaluated and how they can be linked with the chosen quotes. Since it takes more time to translate from one language to another, more time has also been spent on each quote and its relation to the discourse and the construction, which has been positive and necessary for this study. Nevertheless, even though I have read a lot about translation and how to translate across surface structures, I realize that I do not have the knowledge of a professionally trained translator which may contribute to a different result in the analysis. Also, translated texts may have different renderings for the same items, and inconsistent renderings in different texts can occur due to the translators knowledge or ideological principles. For this study, the attempt has been to provide translations as close to the original meaning as possible; but, since there are no absolute substitutions for all words to be directly translated from Swedish to English, there have been times when other words have been used as a replacement. However, the original quotes are available in the notes for Swedish speaking readers.

### Analysis

#### General Descriptions

The demonstration in Kärrtorp was in the earliest reporting by *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* described

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as a peaceful anti-racism demonstration before it was attacked by other, most likely Nazi-organizations. In the majority of the texts one can read that the people demonstrating got assaulted by the Nazi-organization, the word violent is used a lot as well as riot and tumult that also occurred to a high extent in the beginning of the reporting.

After the first demonstration on the 15th of December the common denominator was that people were in shock and that people being interviewed asked themselves where all the evil came from and why they would attack children in trollies and old people. After the second demonstration on December 22nd the description of the demonstration was that a lot of people stood up for anti-racism and anti-violence and that them (the big broad general public) defeated and won the battle of hatred with love and togetherness.

**The Racist in Kärrtorp**

What will be evaluated in this chapter is the construction of the racist in *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*. Important points discussed will be the use of emotion in the construction of the racist, the democracy portrayed as something good with the extremes as the great threat to society and repetitive methods of familiar pictures in the construction. In addition, the comparison of the perpetrators to historical Nazi figures will also be deliberated.

The journalist Markus Larsson portray in *Aftonbladet* how he talked to his close friend that describe the Kärrtorp-demonstration for him:

> He writes that he has been demonstrating in Kärrtorp, that families with children was attacked by Nazis, and that he is so angry, sad and scared that he cries. Nazism and Fascism is once again not a man with mustache in the history books but exist closely in your surroundings. It has become personal.102

Here the racist is constructed as a vague threat in our nearest surroundings; we are not sure of what it is except that it is dangerous. The description put emphasize on this man’s emotions and what he is feeling when the Kärrtorp-demonstration occurred; he was angry, sad and cried. According to Smith and Higgins references to persons in news stories lead to a greater awareness and attentiveness for human interest in news and also help readers empathize with subjects of a story and that this is one of the goals for a journalists in constructing news.103 Also that the journalist starts with explaining how he talked to his

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102 Han skriver att han har varit och demonstrerat i Kärrtorp, att barnfamiljer blivit attackerade av nazister, att han är så arg, ledsen och rädd att han gråter. Nazism och facism är återigen ingen mustachetryck tyst galning i historieböckerna. Det finns i ens omedelbara närhet. Det har blivit personligt. Markus Larsson 22/12-13 Aftonbladet

103 Smith, Higgins (2013) p.21
friend, putting himself in a position as to where the journalist, not as a neutral writer but as an included citizen, talk to his friend about fascism in our surroundings.

In the quote the journalist not only compare the racists and the attackers to Nazism and Fascism but also connect it to Adolf Hitler and his mustache, which shows that Nazism sometimes still is understood from a history point of view.

The use of the words violent extremists attacking the democracy was used many times from different journalists both in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter in the construction of the racist. In both Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter`s Editorials and Leaders they strongly emphasize and portray how they resent, reject and disapprove Racism and Nazism and violence on all levels. To do so the journalists construct images on how citizens as well as the newspapers are strong standing up ready to take the fight against racism and also explain the democracy’s right to defend itself:

"At the same time it is important that we draw a line toward violence as political method and practice. Democracy has its right to defend itself, but the Nazi violence should be fought with our juridical system, and not with fists. Otherwise perhaps what Mahatma Gandhi warned us of is going to occur; 'an eye for an eye until the whole world is blind.'" 104

By stating that democracy has its right to defend itself the journalist states their position and stand; democracy is good and racism is bad. The use of a message from a peace making man Mahatma Gandhi continues the construction of what the good and bad in the general public—good: Mahatma Gandhi, society, democracy, bad: violence, Racism and racists.

The false theory to relativize the right wing extremists is dangerous, GP’s journalist Henrik Arnstad explain: Not only does it ignore the ideological content—if the fight is for or against democracy and racism is explained as unimportant but also the Hron, Söderberg and Gbeyo. It also combines the Nazis and anti-Nazis as being the same perpetrators that we [we as in peaceful/law-abiding humans in society] should be scared of. The lady in Växjö and the skinhead that she pummels upon suddenly becomes twins.105

The journalist here talk about the difficulties in descriptions that equalizes leftwing and rightwing-extremists and means that the real threat for us is the right-wing Nazis that has racist ideas and are the ones violating others. The underlying tone in the quote is stating that journalists in general should be aware of the difficulties existing when writing texts regarding right- and left wing extremists and that they

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should not be compared as equals. The constructed sentence with democracy and racism being explained as unimportant shows the journalist point of view of the significance to take these issues profoundly and how the racist is not described correctly because it is compared to an old lady in Växjö.

Notwithstanding, in many of the articles there is a reoccurring theme with the Nazi reporting in the construction of the racist:

This is how we have gotten used to the Nazism. It was alive in the 20th century. And then it disappeared. And now it emerges again. Like a storm that comes in and shakes us with its brutality. 106

The journalist explain Nazism as the source to our problems and fears, it is the Nazi-organization with its followers that scare us in the society with its brutality. The foundation of society’s problems is the Nazi-organization as the perpetrators and not the society, and not the people; instead it is this small group that is filled with hatred towards other people. Dahlstedt et al., talk about the danger in completely separating “perpetrators” from the “attitudes in the dominated culture,” they mean by doing so you contribute in maintaining the “open, unbiased and tolerant” view of society which necessarily is not always true. 107

They explain, for example, that there could be a strong connection of Swedish company’s indication of the importance of buying Swedish primary products and the Nazi-organization ideas of Swedishness. Dahlstedt et al., mean that some of these nationalistic thoughts are instead of separated, shared, within the society, but that journalists many times does not include this in the construction in order to make the story less complicated108 Lilequist et al., describe how it is vital and important that the media source critically examine authorities and the established society especially, and this obligation is a condition for a functioning democracy. 109 If media point only at one aspect and bring up same scenarios repeatedly and do not mention others it may lead to majorities reasoning that it is a problem that does not concern the individual, it was the evil (Nazi) powers that exist and there is nothing the individual can do in their everyday life to enhance antiracism thoughts:

The Nazi-attack last Sunday in Kärrtorp has correctly been condemned and doomed as terrible. That right-wing extremists attack individuals that are dissidence, or people with different color on their hair, is certainly nothing new. But that around thirty organized Nazis attack a demonstration with hundreds of ordinary citizens is kind of unique in Swedish history. It is detestable. 110

107 Dahlstedt et al., (2005) p.96
108 Ibid p.96
110 Nazistattacken förra söndagen har med rätta fördömts starkt och enhälligt. Att högerextremister attackerar oliktänkande, eller bara människor med fel hårfärg, är förvisso inget nytt. Men att ett trettioal organisera nazister mitt på dagen ger sig på en demonstration med flera hundra vanliga medborgare är något ganska unikt i svensk historia Det är helt avskyvärt. Editorial, no name 21/12-13 Dagens Nyheter
In general, both *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* describe the racist as being closely connected to the right-wing extremist. They “attack individuals that are dissidence and have different hair color and this is nothing new” is a statement proposing that these individuals are angry, evil and violent, and have been this way for a long time. The right-wing extremist is someone that attack people with different hair color and people with different opinion. In the majority of the articles the right-wing extremist do not get to express their opinion instead other people talk about them such as the Police, Politicians, the victims that were attacked and the journalists writing the Editorials and Leaders. One example of a Leader in *Dagens Nyheter* portraying the racist is the following:

> Defend yourselves? Our only weapon was our words and the strength in being many people! You came with brass knuckles, bottles with unrecognizable substance, percussion caps, knives and fire. Were you that scared of us? 111

One of the initiative takers to the demonstration Anjana Saltas get a lot of room and write in an Editorial in *Dagens Nyheter* about her experiences about the Kärrtorp-demonstration. By allowing Saltas to express her opinion the newspaper also choose what they stand behind in regards of the demonstration, an antiracial organization, and as such as antiracial society. *Dagens Nyheter* have several articles with the same theme which *Aftonbladet* also have, where someone that was at the demonstration, demonstrating that explain their point of view of the racist and what they did to them. However, in a few instances news stories occur where the outspoken Nazi or racist get to express their opinion. There will be two examples below on news stories like this and in the first one spokesperson for SMR, Svenska Motståndsrörelsen Per Öberg states this in an interview:

> They go out with the information and state that the SMR are not allowed to be existent in Kärrtorp and I view that as a provocations, it is more or less a declaration of war. Our policy is to use violence in self-defense and if there is anyone aggressively threatening us out of Kärrtorp of course there will be violence. 112

Per Öberg's opinion and the explanation of the emergence of the attack had to do with SMR being threatened and therefore they had to fight back. SMR perceived the anti-racist demonstration as an insult and Öberg identify himself with racism as a racist. The fact that SMR and Öberg gets offended for not being allowed in a place is interesting for many reasons and most importantly because of the parallel

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111 Försvara er? Våra enda vapen var våra ord och styrkan i att kunna samla många! Ni kom med knogjärn under kevlarhandskar, flaskor vars innehåll vi ännu inte kunnat fastsätta, knallskott, knivar och bengaler. Var ni så rädda för oss?-Anjana Saltas 15/1-14 Dagens Nyheter

directly drawn to immigration: Öberg is most likely in favor of wanting immigrants out of Sweden and now he is experiencing the same provocation that he let other people undergo.

Another interviewee stating nationalistic opinions:

> Of course I do not believe that all humans are equals, nobody else does that either even if they say so. No one think that a pedophile and a murderer are worth the same as a good person. I believe that Swedes, Nordic living people and other Europeans, in that order, is more worth than non-Swedish and non-Europeans.¹¹³

In this quote the person is trying to justify his opinion by stating that all other people think the same way he does but that they pretend to state opinions that they in reality do not believe. This person does not make a different of the person, the person’s actions and background.

Both examples portray something that the journalists and also the Swedish society do not stand behind. To use violence because someone made you upset or to not treat people as equals are two contradictory factors that is not stated in *Regeringsformen*¹¹⁴ that state that all humans are equal before the law.¹¹⁵ By using these two examples of the perpetrators opinions the journalist construct ideas of inhuman and insensitive people oppressing wrongful ideas with violence [or at least opposite ideas as to what is stated in *Regeringsformen*]. The racist is here men who belongs to an organized network that are not afraid to use violence for the cause, also the racist is portrayed as someone who does not believe that all human beings are equal.

In addition, in many of the descriptions of the racist and the perpetrator attacking the demonstration a parallel is drawn into history, how it used to be and how previous authors have described or written about similar incidents before.

In reality the men of hatred was very active between the 1980s and 1990s, which is pointed out in Stieg Larsson and Anna-Lena Lodenius important book on the right wing extremist twenty years ago. Skinheads were marching in Stockholm, refugee accommodations were put on fire and the laser man was pointing his weapon towards random immigrants. You could with good reason talk about the renaissance of hate, not only in Sweden.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Nej jag anser givetvis inte att alla människor är lika värda. Det gör ingen annan heller, även om folk påstår det. Ingen anser att en pedofil eller mördare är lika mycket värda som en god människa. Jag anser att svenskar, nordbor och andra europeer i fallande ordning, är mer värda än ickesvenskar och icke-europeer.—Lisa Hansson 21/12-13 Aftonbladet

¹¹⁴ *Regeringsformen* 2:1 is a Swedish Constitutional Law which consists of 15 chapters of constitutional conventions of governance in Sweden. 2:1 which is called *Demonstrationsfrihet* (freedom to demonstrate) guarantees the right to be part and participate in a demonstration but also protect and assures the rights to not participate in case of forceful action. Gustafsson, A (Retrieved 23/2-15) http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/regeringsformen

¹¹⁵ http://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/regeringsformen

¹¹⁶ I själva verket var hatets män väl så aktiva i skarven mellan 1980- och 90-talen, vilket Stieg Larsson och Anna-Lena Lodenius belyste i sin viktiga bok Extremhögern för 20 år sedan. Skinheads marcherade i Stockholm, flyktingförläggningar sattes i brand och lasermannen riktade sitt vapen mot slumpvisa invandrare. Man kunde med fog tala om hatets renässans i flera europeiska länder, inte bara i Sverige. Peter Wolodarski 22/12-13 Dagens Nyheter
The journalist construct the story as to something familiar that we are used to with skinheads, the laser man leading the reader to understand what this is about. Ericsson find, in his study, the power of repetitive words and terms and how they can could be connected to images that we have seen many times.\textsuperscript{117} If the men of hatred, right-wing extremist, skinheads and racist is used a lot and compared to history then automatically it is put into a familiar folder that we understand and accept and perhaps not fight. When Bourdieu thoroughly explain the decoding within journalism he means that the readers have to have “codes” to be required to interpret them. For media consumers it is easier to take in, understand the line of thoughts established and existent in the society.\textsuperscript{118} Words (or codes) that are used in the news articles in constructing the racist is strongly connected to people belonging to Nazi-organizations. The racist is described in the newspapers as men of hatred, belonging to Svenska Motståndsrörelsen (SMR), rightwing extremists, belonging to other Nazi-organizations, extremists, undemocratic, violators and perpetrators, a man (without mustache) and a threat that is close.

This chapter has covered the construction of the racist in the \textit{Aftonbladet} and \textit{Dagens Nyheter}. What has been discussed is for example that the use of emotions in describing the racist create a greater awareness and attentiveness for human interest which help the reader emphasize with the victim that describe bad experiences of the racist. A strong connotation from the authors side where they resent, reject and disapprove racism on all levels and use different people to portray these points. In the articles you can also sense that democracy is portrayed as something good and the extremes are the great threat to society. It is, however, not always good to separate the “extremes or perpetrators or the ones attacking society” from the “attitudes in the dominated culture,” which instead could lead to ideas that everyday racism within society does not exist or concern the individual, but the society, and is therefore not the individual’s responsibility. In addition, with history the journalists construct the Nazi-organizations by comparing to what it used to be: skinheads, laser man and men of hatred. The racist is here men who belongs to an organized network that are not afraid to use violence for the cause, also the racist is portrayed as someone who does not believe that all human beings are equal.

Dahlstedt et al., mean that if the emphasis in the construction is on the act of violence then this could harm ideas of the demonstration per se. Dahlstedt et al., explain that the focus on violence in the news reporting make the purpose of demonstrations go away, at the same time a reestablishment occurs with the understanding that demonstrations of this kind is assumed to be violent.\textsuperscript{119} In the reporting of the racist and both the demonstrations in Kärrtorp (December 15\textsuperscript{th} with the attack and the 22\textsuperscript{nd}) a great focus has

\textsuperscript{117} Ericsson, (2007) p.20
\textsuperscript{118} Liliequist & Lundälv (2002) p.139
\textsuperscript{119} Dahlstedt et al., (2005) p.76
been on the violence.

By repetitive methods a familiar picture is constructed instead of perhaps looking at other aspects onto why racism has grown and the purpose of the attack. Dahlstedt et al., point at the 1990s major cut downs in the public sector, unemployment and ideological diminishing when looking at political resistance and states that the love that the mass media have of stereotyping, dramatization and violence reporting in their construction will be greatly challenged in the antiracial future work.120

The Antirasist in Kärrtorp

What will be evaluated in this chapter is the construction of the antiracist in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter. Important points discussed will be the construction of the antiracist as someone serious and correct in a peaceful manner and someone that could be almost any (if not all) citizen. The attackers stand for racism and the big broad mass for antiracism and democracy. Furthermore, what also will be explored is the antiracist opinion in relation to violence that contributes to a more persuasive tone initiating resistance towards racism.

In the description and construction in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter of the antiracist is that they are peaceful, serious and correct. The antiracist is in the news reporting constructed as almost anyone; children, families, old ladies, politicians, sometimes the police, the media, society, everyone but the attackers are in the news reporting constructed as antiracists. In addition, the antiracist is almost always constructed as the demonstrators in the articles which also makes them victims in the incident. In difference from the description of the racist an emphasis is put on their families and on their age; “the antiracists and demonstrators were in all different ages”121 and they were more than anything victims in the incident:

The ones that suffers the most by the violent minorities’ extremism is the great peaceful majority. They are the ones that are forced to run away from stones and bottles. They are the ones that are forced to think through if it is worth the risk to express your opinion in speech or text, to engage politically, in the unions or with non-profit organizations.122

120 ibid p.102
121 Artikel DN: Tusentals stod upp för mångfalden. Av Katarina Lagerwall & Marit Sundberg 23/12-13
122 Mest lidande av de små minoritetsnas våldsamma extremism blir den stora fredliga majoriteten. Det är den som tvingas fly undan stenar och flaskor. Det är den som tvingas tänka efter om det är värt risken att uttrycka sin åsikt i tal eller skrift, att engagera sig politiskt, ideellt eller fackligt. Editorial (no name) 17/12-13 Dagens Nyheter
Many of the articles of the Kärrtorp demonstrations in *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* constructing the antiracist concerned the fact that they were the victims, the big broad mass suffered the most. They were the ones coming to the demonstration for a good cause but were forced to “run away from stones and bottles”. Agne Gustafsson writes that according to the law *Regeringsformen 2:1* in Sweden every citizen is allowed to participate and organize a demonstration or other expression of opinion on public ground. Taking this into consideration the quote show signs of writing in favor for demonstrating for a cause, demonstrating is viewed as a good entity and is written into the law in Sweden; this is also constructed in the article. When someone attacks the idea of peacefully demonstrating when you are forced to think through if it is worth the risk then the ones attacking are the enemies and you as the one demonstrating [the antiracist] is on the innocent side. Because not only are the enemies illegally attacking your cause with violence [whether your cause is antiracism or anything else] but they are also attacking your constitutional rights to peacefully demonstrate.

In addition to be on the good side the antiracists is in the articles constructed as the ones keeping their dignity intact:

Three days after the violent attack on the antiracial manifestation in the Stockholm suburb Kärrtorp there is one thing that we can establish; the only ones coming out with their dignity intact are the people living in Kärrtorp. They stood united as engaged citizens when Nazi’s with glass bottles, percussion caps and bludgeons attacked their ideas of a Nazi-free neighborhood. That no one got a glass bottle in their head or a fire cracker in their baby stroller is a miracle and nothing else.

This article establish that the citizens come out with their dignity intact, however we do not get an explanation on what the citizens did to do so or which ones that is not getting out with their dignity intact. Is it the people not living in Kärrtorp, the ones not attending the demonstration, the police, media or the politicians that do not get out with their dignity intact?

The description that the citizens stood united (like an army against the violence) is here constructed as a great entity and they are brave human beings that did this, they stood put in this act of violence. Olle Findahl explains how the responsibility of the media is that in all reporting, and especially in demonstration and protest reporting, media should give room for arguments and opinions of people.

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123 *Regeringsformen 2:1* is a Swedish Constitutional Law which consists of 15 chapters of constitutional conventions of governance in Sweden. 2:1 which is called *Demonstrationsfrihet* (freedom to demonstrate) guarantees the right to be part and participate in a demonstration but also protect and assures the rights to not participate in case of forceful action.


125 Tre dagar efter den våldsamma attacken mot den antirasitiska manifestationen i Stockholmsförorten Kärrtorp kan vi konstatera att de enda som lyckats komma ur det hela med värdigheten i behåll är Kärrtorpsborna själva. De stod kvar när nazister med glasflaskor, knallskott och påkar gick till angrepp mot engagerade medborgare som gått samman för ett nazifritt bostadsområde. Att ingen fick en glasflaska i huvudet eller en smällare i barnvagnen är ett rent under och ingenting annat. 18/12-13 Martin Kellerman Dagens Nyheter
standing outside the established power and the elite.\textsuperscript{126} He states that the news reporting could complicate matters due to the fact that media, at the same time as it objectively tries to report on an incident is part of the society and dependent on the dominating hierarchies amenity and that the reporting occur through a news filter that has been formed by commercial survival requirements.\textsuperscript{127}

With this being said, when the media organization publish news stories explaining how the citizens did a great thing standing up against violence, one or many aspects could be the news organization goal; unite citizens in the democracy, explain an incident as if the newspaper stand up for and is on the citizens’ side, construct an idea of how racism is bad overall and through the articles make interviewees express opinions similar to the dominating hierarchies within society.

The left-wing extremists is by \textit{Dagens Nyheter} in the beginning of the reporting described as autonomous, different left-wing that is the biggest threat\textsuperscript{128} and that they went to counter attack towards the Nazis. In the beginning of the reporting they are neither described as racists nor antiracist but that there are two extremes that attacked and fought each other. However, \textit{Aftonbladet} does not talk about the left-wing extremists as the same threat as \textit{Dagens Nyheter} does, instead they claim that it was the demonstrators that stroke back and defended themselves from the violent attack (as in antiracists). After the first week of reporting on Kärrtorp-demonstration the focus on left-wing extremists got less room and eventually not talked about as much or described as people standing behind and protecting the antiracists by both newspapers.

Furthermore, the are several people that gets to express their opinion, either being or about the antiracist is in both \textit{Aftonbladet} and \textit{Dagens Nyheter}. The ones that attended the demonstration, people that were there, the ones arranging the demonstration, politicians and the police, but a great emphasis is in both newspapers put on Editorials and leaders discussing the matter (i.e. an outside perspective).

The police is both portrayed and constructed as the antiracist within the articles. However, in the beginning of the reporting, the police got a lot of critique for not being more prepared in the first demonstration and the construction of the police was everything but positive. In the Editorial in \textit{Aftonbladet} journalist Petter Larsson writes this:

\textit{On the police blog Blåljust one of the six police men describes the incident with verbal praise over himself and the other five police men present [at the first demonstration]. Here, a story is told about...}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{126} Red. Lilequist et al., Author: Findahl (2002) p.9
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid p.9
\textsuperscript{128} Dagens Nyheter article 16/12-13 Holmberg, Holender Carp
\end{flushleft}
six brave men that put their own life at stake, determent to protect the world from a bloodbath. In addition, it is about how the police are pretty darn great at their job.\textsuperscript{129} 

The negative tone is also seen in Dagens Nyheter’s reporting that allow the initiative taker to the demonstration speak about the police:

Instead of arresting the guilty of the apparent and clear crimes they defended them, says spokesperson Ammar Khorsed about the police. In the beginning it was six police men at the location of Kärrtorp and according to Ammar Khorsed it was 30 attackers. He believes that the coverage of the police was not good, and the police agree with this when asked in hindsight.\textsuperscript{130}

In both examples there is a critique toward how the police handled the first demonstration, the journalists did not approve of the police force’s work and construct the picture of the police as an antiracist that took the wrong side in the incident.

In her study, Olausson, explain how it exist an implicit truth or understanding about the police in Sweden: “Everyone understands that if you do not do anything, the police will not run after you with a baton in their hands either.”\textsuperscript{131} The general perspective of the police in Sweden is that they would do no harm unless a crime has been committed and the meaning of words and headlines are created thereof.

With this being said, there are many aspects going in when constructing the police as “the coverage of the police was not good” with the first demonstration in Kärrtorp. The journalists in both examples in Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet count on the police force being constant and to know what is going on, a mistake of only having six police men present is not acceptable and since they made this mistake the journalist construct and expresses the opinion on how the police did not protect the antiracists.

In her inquiry Chantal Mouffe points at Carl Schmitt and his description where he explains that the construction of ideologies is a distinction between friends and enemies. She means that in the political spectra in society there is always a formation of “us” in contrast to “them,” she means that they are created through collective identification models that has to do with conflict and antagonism in a decision making matter rather than in free discussion. Schmitt explain further that the political can only be understood from the delimitation between friends and enemies, regardless what implications this may have for the moral, esthetics and economy.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{129} På polisbloggen Blåljus reser en av poliserna på plats en verbal hjältestaty över sig själv. Här berättas om hur de tappra sex med sitt eget liv som insats, beslutsamt står de kvar för att förhindra ett blodbad. Och om hur polisen i allmänhet är jävligt bra på det den gör. - Petter Larsson 20/12-13 Aftonbladet
\textsuperscript{130} Kritik mot polisen: ”Istället för att gripa de som gjort sig skuldiga till uppenbara brott så försvarade man dem, säger talespersonen Ammar Khorsed. Inledningsvis fanns sex poliser på plats i stadsdelen Kärrtorp och enligt Ammar Khorsed rörde det sig om cirka 30 angnpare. Han anser att bevakningen var för liten, vilket polisen i efterhand håller med om.”-Ann Persson 18/12-13 Dagens Nyheter
\textsuperscript{132} Mouffe (2008) p.20
Nevertheless, in the construction of the police they are constructed in a delimitation between friends and enemies, in the beginning the police took the enemies side; “instead of arresting the guilty of the apparent and clear crimes they defended them.”

When the police choose the other side then the antiracists in the constructed picture become a victim in two respects, first they are a victim in the incident as to where someone attacked their cause and then they become more exposed as a victim when the police working the government agency takes the enemies side.

The constructed picture of the police taking the enemies side changes however quickly within the articles when the police express regret. The chief of the police apologizes and says that the fact that they were taken off guard was wrong and they should have been more prepared. After this first incident in the construction of the police changes and they are on the “good side” or “our” side again, now the police are allowed to express opinions about the antiracists and their comments are in many cases used as sources in the articles.

In addition, in many cases the construction of the antiracist is being expressed by the people that were there, i.e. the antiracists themselves. Stefan Gadd is one of them that get to express his opinion;

Stefan Gadd fell victim of the attack and got assaulted last Sunday but never hesitated to come to the new demonstration. Instead this made him more convinced about the importance of standing up for the underlying threat that he means is existent.

-Many people have not taken the threat from the Nazi’s seriously. This was an alarming awakening, Gadd says.  

The antiracist is described as a strong human that despite the fact of being injured comes anyway and stand up for his opinion; a reoccurring focus in both Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet is on the violence in the construction. Liliequist et al., points at previous demonstrations in the explanation on how media choose to portray certain scenarios with a focus on violence. The most serious observation that the media scholars Halloran, Elliot and Murdock point at the media’s reporting of the great manifestation towards USA’s war in Vietnam is that the media completely, ignored the political content. The participants in the demonstration were either described as youth that wanted to have a little fun or as hooligans. This concerned both the reporting in the newspaper and the television. Nevertheless, on the contrary to the studies of the Vietnam demonstration the violence reporting did not take over and forgot the focus of the

133 Stefan Gadd tvekade däremot aldrig att sluta upp trots att han blev attackerad när han deltog förra söndagen. Det gjorde honom istället mer övertygad om hur viktigt det är att markera mot det underliggande hotet som han menar finns. –Många har inte tagit hotet från naziserna på allvar. Attacken blev en väckarklocka, säger han.” -Marit Sundberg o Katarina Lagerwall 23/12-13 Dagens Nyheter

134 Liliequist et al., (2002) p. 18

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political message in Kärrtorp. Even if the focus was on violence in many of the articles of the demonstration in Kärrtorp the message of the peaceful demonstration against racism was not overtaken by brutality with demonstrators described as hooligans. Rather, a consequent because of [both the experienced and the earliest constructed reporting on] violence led to a persuasive tone initiating that we are all against violence and racism, as with this example of Politician and party leader of Socialdemokraterna Stefan Löfven:

The democracy answered. 16 000 people came together in Kärrtorp to show their disgust and repulsion toward racism and Nazism. And 60 000 hearts—from all over the world—also showed their support online.
- It is amazing that so many people come here and show their support and prove that our country should not be built upon Nazism, fascism or Xenophobia but instead democracy, says the party leader Stefan Löfven. 135

The politician and party leader Stefan Löfven here gets to express opinions and is being portrayed as the antiracist, and many of the articles are built up and constructed similarly to this. There are, however, examples on conversely attitudes in the construction of what Sweden as a country use as anti-racist ideas and the need for change and awakening as in this example:

In Sweden there is something suspect in an antiracial standpoint. We want to stick with our self-image that we are the only country on this earth that is exempt from racist ideas. It could be time to let go of that image and look at things as to what they are. Because something in society - that were put into the spotlight through the Nazi attack - says that a widespread inability to see the danger with a clearer racism. An inability that a lot of people already pay a high price for. 136

In this construction Dagens Nyheter’s journalist is critical towards the way Sweden as a society discusses racism and act as a nation with this. In Benedict Anderson inquiry he discussed the nation as an imagined community that exists both as sovereign and limited. Anderson states that is it imagined because the members of the smallest nation will never know, meet or even hear their fellow members, yet they live in a imagine communion. Further, he means that the nation is limited because even the largest, which can include a billion human beings, has finite, boundaries. He states that no nation view itself in extent to mankind. 137 Thus, taking this into consideration, the view that the journalist express of society’s self-image of not being racists in Sweden could similarly to Benedict Anderson’s explanation of nations be


136 I Sverige ligger det något lätt suspckt i ett antirasistiskt ställningstagande. Vi vill gärna hålla fast vid självbilden att vi är det enda land på jordklotet som är förskonat från rasismens idéer. Det kan vara dags att släppa den bilden och börja se saker för vad de är. För någonting i samhällsklimatet- och som sätts i blixtbelysning genom den naziistiska attacken- säger att det finns en utbredd oförmåga att se faran med en allt tydligare rasism. En oförmåga som många redan idag betalar ett högt pris för. 18/12-13 Martin Kellerman Dagens Nyheter

137 Anderson (1993) p.141
imagined. For example, the members out in the countryside in Sweden may never know, meet or even hear their fellow members of “the antiracists,” they just “know” that they all exist under the same category. The journalist is critical to this general knowledge and believes that we should evaluate racist thoughts within Sweden otherwise a lot of “people pay a high price for our inability to see the danger with clearer racism.”

This chapter has covered the construction of the antiracist in the Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter where the antiracist portrayed as someone serious and correct in a peaceful manner. In addition, the people being described as the antiracists are in fact several, if not all, citizens except the ones attacking the demonstration. The antiracists was constructed as the ones that suffered the most and was victims in the incident, the citizens were also the ones coming out with their dignity intact. Being a victim are in many situations a person in a powerless position that has to sacrifice something, this is however not the case for the antiracists in the Kärrtorp-demonstration. The antiracists were constructed as standing united as an army against the wrongdoing they experienced and became the victims in the sense that they were people suffering from a destructive action. If there was anything that the antiracists had to sacrifice it was democratic principles and their right to take action and also a multicultural society that the perpetrators aimed to stop. However, the constructed version of the antiracists was that they were strong enough standing up for their rights and democracy and that the perpetrators failed in their attack.

Furthermore, demonstrations in Sweden and equal rights for all citizens is written into the law and the Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter reinforces this while constructing the image of how the attackers who stand for racism and Nazism are enemies and the big broad mass (with the citizens, politicians and media included) are friends and stand up for democracy. News reporting could complicate matters however, due to the fact that at the same time as it objectively tries to report is also dependent on the dominating hierarchies and commercial survival requirements.

Moreover, the ones that get to express opinion about either being or about the antiracist are several people, the articles are also in many cases written as Editorials and leaders with could contribute to an outside perspective; somebody talking about the incident that was not at the place when it occurred. However, many that was existent at the demonstration get to express opinions of describing the situation, in the beginning the police got constructed as choosing the racists side but were then used as source. In comparison of this construction an emphasis was put on differences of environment in the construction of implicit truths and understandings.

When allowing the antiracist express their opinion an existing correlation on violence was visible, however, this contributed to a more persuasive tone initiating that we all are against racism.
Nevertheless, the constructed tone that we all are against racism was not argued in all articles, as of the example with the journalists stating Swedes inability to see the dangers with racism in Sweden. The journalist argued here that our self-image as antiracists may not be accurate and the comparison was drawn to the Benedict Anderson’s theory with nationalism where he states that nations are imagined. In a sense the constructed version of Swedes inability to see the dangers with racism in Sweden is one where the antiracist is portrayed as naïve.

The Immigrant in Kärrtorp

What will be evaluated in this chapter is the construction of the immigrant in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter. Important points discussed will be the immigrant as constructed in two general ways explored in the beginning of the chapter, the journalist taking the immigrant’s side explaining racism and its cause of action, and whiteness perspective and who it is constructing the message and ideas concerning the immigrant.

The creation in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter in the Kärrtorp-demonstration show similar aspects and methods in the construction of the immigrant. The two different approaches are in general; hardly mentioning the word immigrant at all and using other terms to describe the immigrant (“others,” “not like us” and “xenophobia” and also just a silence is used,) or when [even if it is very seldom] the term immigrant is used explicit and immigrants are visible it is either from a defending and including manner and if anything negative were to be said about the immigrant it would be through the racist or the Nazi’s perspective.

In an article published in March in Dagens Nyheter, four months after the Kärrtorp incident were the journalists’ goal in the construction is to put an end to the “Most Common Myths About Immigration”:

-Immigration leads to economical loss for the receiver country. Wrong. Many actual informative international studies show positive increment or growth because of immigration. This develops, among other, things due to the fact that immigration contributes to increased exportation, increased specialization on the labor market and repel competence deficiency work force deficiency” 138

Dagens Nyheter chooses to publish material from a report that the grassroots initiative organization Oss Alla (All of Us) made after feeling frustrated that responsible politicians do not step forward and take the

138 Vi punkterar de vanligaste myterna om invandringen: -Invandring leder till ekonomiska förluster för mottagarländerna. Fel. Flera aktuella internationella studier visar på positive tillväxteffekter av invandring. Dessa uppstår bland annat av att invandring bidrar till ökad export, ökad specialisering på arbetsmarknade samt motverkar kompetensbrist och arbetskraftsbrist
debate with facts. They explain that these arguments are important for ordinary citizens to have to refute the daily racism existent in Sweden today, otherwise there is a “change that this may lead to more pointless violence”\footnote{Article in Dagens Nyheter, author unknown 21/3-14} [as the violence in the Kärrtorp-demonstration]. By publishing arguments of how the \textit{(Dagens Nyheter)} do not agree with “immigration leads to economical loss for the receiver country,” they also state their political standpoint where they encourage and cherish the multi-cultural society through the construction of the immigrant. The construction of the immigrant has differed over the years, in this article the construction is in a positive perspective: “Immigration contributes to increased exportation, increased specialization…etcetera,” Ylva Brune explains in her study however that the construction have differed over the years.

Brune talk about when the word immigrant first arrived to Sweden in the 1970s how the journalists tried it out in many variations and explains how this first and foremost was a statistical and administrative way of constructing the immigrants as categories within the state and county. But then explains how this, however, led to other notions. Brune describes that when the discourse of the immigrant was created this consequently led to an assumed, unified picture of how the immigrant and his or hers characteristics ought to be and what was “typical” for immigrants. Brune means that media’s construction of the immigrant is partly a product of the journalistic work form and the fixation of the immigrant in news media is a technique typical for the news making as a tool.

Brunes example with the headlines, in 1976, show the immigrants portrayed in an exclusionary way, when the word first was used in the media it seems like the journalist sought understanding for the word by explaining it with every aspect of life. Creating a category or stereotype by profoundly using the word immigrant in different ways may perhaps have led to people’s perception on what it is and means to be an immigrant. A discourse created and constructed through the choice of word from the journalist. Consequently, perhaps the constructed picture of immigrants with all their characteristics has spread and \textit{Dagens Nyheter} feel the need to express the fact that they do not support anti-immigration and racism in 2014. Stating that immigration contributes to “increased exportation, increased specialization on the labor market and repel competence deficiency work,” etcetera show proof of \textit{Dagens Nyheter}’s will of expressing a pro-immigration attitude in their construction of the articles.

The immigrant is in many ways also included in the big broad mass when constructed in the newspapers regarding the Kärrtorp demonstration. In fact, in the articles about the Kärrtorp demonstration the immigrant is included, by the journalists, in the general mass of people demonstrating against racism. The problem that the Nazi organization state to have with immigration [hence the reason to why the
attacked the anti-racist demonstration] is nothing that the journalists choose to comment on in the reporting of the Kärrtorp demonstration. “Neo-Nazis Went to Attack With Cudgels”\textsuperscript{140} and “Nazi-Attack Show the Violence From the Right”\textsuperscript{141} are the first two headlines on the articles coming out on December 16\textsuperscript{th}, the day after the first demonstration and none of the articles mention immigrants.

When immigrants are mentioned within the article it is through the Nazi perspective, here an anonymous Nazi is being interviewed:

\begin{quote}
[Journalist] What do you think of people that do not believe that immigration should be stopped?

-Generally these people are ignorant, unenlightened and how no knowledge. Some people knows the truth and realities but they probably do not care because they make a profit from the immigration. People like that are just mean and make a profit from the ones on the bottom.

[Journalist] "Your people", who are the ones specifically counted into this?

-First and foremost ethnical Swedes and other Nordic people from Scandinavia: Icelandic, Norwegian, Finnish and even some people from the Baltic.\textsuperscript{142}
\end{quote}

The journalist is here dividing or separating people from the guy in SMR by asking what he thinks about the ones that favor immigration. A line is drawn with what is good to think and bad to think, and the journalist here is on the immigrants’ side. By putting quotation around people enhances the additional emphasis that he is alone in thinking these thoughts and the journalists do not agree with him in his opinions.

In many of the articles both \textit{Aftonbladet} and \textit{Dagens Nyheter} chose to discuss the matter of immigration and racism on the Editorial and Leader pages. Martin Kellerman in \textit{Dagens Nyheter} explains the rhetoric of racism; first step is to point out a certain kind of people, then take away their humanity and existence justification, Kellerman means that when this happen to a person they often feel the need to explain themselves. In addition the person have to be economically profitable and successful to even have an existing position in society and Kellerman states the following in his Editorial:

\begin{quote}
The racism in everyday life and in society create a mental tension that makes you believe in the philosophy in your own emotional universe. When a human being have heard that she is the burden of society, is uneducated and do not fit in enough times it is not weird at all that she react with talking about how much she works, that she studied at the university and that she believes in democracy.\textsuperscript{143}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Dagens Nyheter} 16/12-13
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Aftonbladet} 16/12-13
\textsuperscript{142} Vad anser du om sådana som inte anser att invandring bör stoppas? -Generellet är dessa bara okunniga, inskränkta och har noll koll. Det finns dock också en del som faktiskt vet hur samhället och verkligheten ser ut, men som inte bryr sig för de själva tjänar pengar på invandringen. Sådana människor är bara onda som profiterar på sitt folks underringång. - "Ditt folk", vilka ingår specifikt i det? - Framförallt etniska svenskar och övriga nordbor: isläningar, danskar, norrmän, finnar och även en del balter. –Anonymous source from SMR in Aftonbladet\textsuperscript{143} Raisism i vardagen och på en samhällelig nivå skapar en mental påfrestning som till slut gör att du införlivar den rådande människosynen i ditt eget känslomässiga universum. När en människa tillräckligt många gånger har fått höra att hon ligger samhället
The journalist is in this case taking the immigrant’s side, explaining racism’s cause of action and what could occur to people experiencing this and constructing the article thereof. However, the way the article is built up you sense that the journalist has not experienced the racism himself, but that he talks about it from an outside perspective. Hultén explains how the editorial staff in Sweden has the same background even though the Swedish society is filled with ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. This could be problematic since the most influential facts about what is going on in the world is attained through the mass media and the journalist construct a picture from an outside and whiteness perspective. Steve Garner states in his study that whiteness is not tied to the body when it comes to ideas and points at colorblind racism and how it exists and fit into a neoliberal moment: social relations become invisible when a white person says: “I am just me.” By saying this, Garner state, it shows how one ignores the history of the discrimination of colored people by not accepting that there are privileges attached to the whiteness.

Taking this into consideration it is important to realize that the journalist in the article is not using this whiteness perspective to his advantage, but instead constructing ideas of racism and individuals in an informative and educational way trying to create awareness regarding racism, immigration within Sweden. Although, the message and ideas are clear but the question is who is constructing them. Being a journalist writing from an outside perspective [no matter broad understanding on the subject (in this case inequalities, differences and race)] this person, taking Garner’s study into consideration, was born as a raceless individual that never had to experience what it takes for a “not-quite white” person to integrate into society. To get a more integrated coverage with mixed multi-cultural experiences from different sources in Swedish journalism is what is needed, Hultén express in her study, and point at an increased representation of people with foreign background among the media occupations in order to get a better view of realities and include all citizens in the Swedish reporting.

Moreover, during the 1990s Alexandra Ålund finds that the construction of the immigrant was simplified, stereotypical, described with cliché and as a stranger with Muslim characteristics in media discourses in Sweden. Also in an evaluation of the picture of Muslim women in Dagens Nyheter and...
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Aftonbladet made in 1999-2002 show themes where immigrants are portrayed and associated with “culture collision, violence and integration problems.” However, when evaluating the use of the word immigrant in this study the construction of the immigrant does not have the same stereotypical association as with culture collision etcetera. What is noticeable however, is rather, how seldom the word immigrant is used, which goes for both newspapers in the majority of the articles.

There is a different though, between the two newspapers of how they choose to portray the immigrant when they do. Noticeable is when Dagens Nyheter publish an advertisement about a book about immigration in connection to the Kärrtorp-demonstration, Aftonbladet strongly reacts on the Editorial pages and means that it is a xenophobic book and associates the publishing of the advertisement with the Kärrtorp-demonstration, racism and immigration. Columnist in Dagens Nyheter Richard Swartz talk about the content in the book as something that he does not quite agree with but that he founds interesting, Swartz opinions strongly get critiqued in Aftonbladet:

After that Swartz talk about the immigrant as a problem—at least the ones that are illiterate or do not have a “modern work place” (he does not define modern work place). These people “perhaps cannot or do not want to learn Swedish.” Swartz writes and asks: “can they then participate in the democratic society?” He continues his reasoning with expressing disbelief and mistrust of the immigrants’ ability of solidarity and cooperation with others than their own clan and people. The text generates into the conventional litany of appropriations; it has got to be legitimate to ask the question how much immigration the welfare can handle and take. Swartz himself, however, has no idea.

The author of the article here Åsa Linderborg strongly disagrees with Swartz argumentation and constructs this disagreement with, for example, putting quotation marks around “modern work place” and in the parenthesis explain that he does not define what he means with this. In addition, by using his words “it has got to be legitimate to ask the question how much immigration the welfare can handle,” and writing “that he has no idea,” Linderborg is showing the audience that Swartz does not have good arguments or a solution for the proposed problems. She continues and describes with different examples how liberal journalists in Dagens Nyheter complains about the “inquisitorial debate climate regarding immigration” but Linderborg does not agree or understand what it is that stops Swartz and others of expressing their opinions about immigration. Linderborg also describes how liberals in general are silent in the fight

150 Därefter ringar Swartz återigen in invandrarna som ett särskilt problem- i alla fall de som är analphabet eller saknar en ”modern arbetsplats” (han definierar inte modern arbetsplats). Dessa människor ”kanske inte kan eller vill lära sig svenska”, skriver Swartz och frågar: ”kan då de delta i det demokratiska samtalet”? Han fortsätter resonomranget med att uttrycka sin misstro mot invandrarnas formåga till solidariet och samarbete med andra än sin egen klan. Texten mynnar ut i den sedvanliga litanian, att det måste vara legitimt att ställa frågan hur mycket invandring som välfärden behöver och klarar. Själv har han ingen aning-Åsa Linderborg Aftonbladet, 8/1-14
against the right wing extremists but she also expresses a relief over Fredrik Reinfeldt\textsuperscript{151} and his party that strongly take side against anti-immigration.

In relation to Linderborg’s article \emph{Dagens Nyheter} answer in the Editorial pages:

In Aftonbladet Åsa Lindeborg writes a long text that accuses liberals for standing quiet in the fight against right wing extremists. Her article offers involuntarily additional explanations onto why many non-socialists (as well as many moderate/balanced left wing humans) think twice before they attend “antifascist” situations. The text is a glob of accusations, association-guilt and complaints. Nazi marching and swastika-destruction of schools was connected to an advertisement in \emph{Dagens Nyheter} about immigration\textsuperscript{152}

The construction in the article shows the disagreement between the two newspapers. By stating that Linderborg’s text is a “glob of accusations, association-guilt and complaints,” and “that many moderate/balanced left wing humans,” you sense a difference in political agenda. The journalist here is against what Linderborg is stating that it is only “left wing humans that think twice before attending antifascist situations,” and construct the view that it is not only left wing humans that does this and what Linderborg states is nonsense.

However, the starting point in this, that \emph{Dagens Nyheter} had an advertisement for a book that may have content with anti-immigration lead to Aftonbladet’s construction of the article where \emph{Dagens Nyheter} appear to be more racist and writing about immigration in a more negative tone. \emph{Dagens Nyheter} then feel the need to respond to this and a finger pointing between the newspaper appear: who it is that mention immigration in the worst possible way and why is their own newspaper and political view slightly better.

This chapter has covered the construction of the immigrant in \emph{Aftonbladet} and \emph{Dagens Nyheter}. What supervened as additional constructional points when exploring the immigrant was the subject of immigration as a whole. For instance, when exploring the construction of the word immigrant it was found in a sentence where a racist expressed opinions about immigration as well as the immigrant, the two topics are closely connected. Also, when discussing immigration on the Editorial pages a constructed picture of the immigrant is also existent, therefore it has been important to discuss and compare immigration in the analysis in order to find the constructed image of the immigrant.

What has been argued is that the immigrant is portrayed two general ways; one is where the word

\textsuperscript{151} Fredrik Reinfeldt former Prime Minister in Sweden

\textsuperscript{152} På aftonbladet Kultur skriver Åsa Lindeborg på tisdagen en lång text som anklagar liberaler för att stå tysta i kampen mot högerextremismen. Hennes artikel erbjuder ofrivilligt ytterligare förklaringar till att många ickesocialister (liksom många sansade vänstermänniskor) tänker sig för flera gånger innan de ger sig in i ”antifascistiska” sammanhang. Texten är en gegga av beskyllningar, associationskuldk och svepande anklagelseakter. Nazismarcher och hakkorsvandalisering av skolor sätts i samband med en annons i DN för en bok av invandring. Dagens Nyheter
immigrant is hardly mentioned at all and/or other terms are used to describe the phenomena and/or a complete silence is existent. The other one is a construction of the immigrant in a defending or including manner, if opinions were to be expressed about the immigrant it is usually through the racist or Nazi perspective.

In addition, what this chapter also has explored is the whiteness perspective in the construction of messages and ideas. If you are born as a “raceless” individual that never experienced how it feels for a non-white person to integrate into society is this then accurate including reporting or Swedish reporting can perhaps be more multicultural and integrated. However, the whiteness perspective with its view that every individual belongs to a certain race could be somewhat harsh, especially in relation to what the goal of the journalists’ constructions are aimed to be in this study. Even though the journalists does not have the experience of a non-white person to integrate into society it does not mean that he or she cannot report on incidents concerning multi-culturalism in a fair way.

Discourse and Central Figures

One of the most general aspects when analyzing the racist, antiracist and immigrant of the Kärrtorp demonstration is that democracy and the state is constructed as something good and the extremes (with the small Nazi organization) as a threat to society. What has been argued then is that it is not always good to separate the extremes or perpetrators from the attitudes in the dominated culture, which could lead people to believe that racism is not the individual person’s responsibility and makes society excluded from being a contributed cause or factor onto why racism exist.

The small minority, perpetrator and racist is within the articles constructed as men belonging to organized racist networks that do not believe that all human beings are equal and is constructed as one of the country of Sweden’s major problems that needs to be fixed. What has been argued then is that instead of only constructing and discussing racist propaganda and the extremes within the news it would be more important to evaluate institutionalized routines and pattern behaviors within the Swedish society. In the construction of the Kärrtorp demonstration a threat was presented (in form of Nazi organizations) that threatened the contemporary Swedish democracy and the solution offered here was to stand up for anti-racism and integration in the demonstration but then no further ideas of possible pursuance was offered.

The antiracist in the Kärrtorp demonstration, constructed as almost anyone but particularly the demonstrators (the police, the politicians, the big broad mass, individuals), are described as serious, correct, the ones who acted in a peaceful manner and the ones who suffered the most; the antiracists are
the victims in the incident. However, what has been argued is that the antiracists are not victims as in a powerless position that has to sacrifice, but rather as strong and united victims that were suffering from a destructive action. If there was anything that the antiracists needed to sacrifice then it was their democratic rights, however the construction within the articles portrays that the perpetrators failed in this and the antiracists came out stronger than before.

The journalistic technique of coding and decoding is what occurs in many instances when comparing the Nazi-organization with history. What has been argued in the thesis is that the particular codes created regarding Nazi-organizations are all connected in the line of thoughts that is established and existent in society. Also these codes get created in different ways due to the time deficit existent within news media with minimal time to explain political reasoning.

In addition, also the construction of the immigrant has experienced coding and decoding within journalism in the past. Ylva Brune explains in her findings that when the word first arrived to Sweden in the 1970s the immigrant was portrayed in an exclusionary way and the media sought understanding for the word by explaining it with every aspect of life.\textsuperscript{153} Brune explains how the journalists’ experiments led to an assumed unified construction of how immigrants ought to be. This, in turn, matters for the reporting as of the example in \textit{Dagens Nyheter} where they express how they do not support anti-immigration actions. Creating a category or stereotype by profoundly using the word immigrant in different ways leads to people’s perception on what it is and means to be an immigrant. A discourse created and constructed through the choice of word from the journalist. That discourses are constructed is something Fairclough recognize within CDA explaining that we produce realities as soon as we recognize different things through language.\textsuperscript{154}

However, because of a greater awareness of the construction of the immigrant in the past perhaps lead the journalists in \textit{Dagens Nyheter} and \textit{Aftonbladet} to construct the immigrant in an including way in the Kärrtorp demonstration even though Nazi organizations and other tries to point at them as the real danger. Daniel Poohl and Alexander Bengtsson explain that the party \textit{Sverigedemokraterna}\textsuperscript{155} constantly takes every opportunity to point at immigrants as the real threat.\textsuperscript{156} Poohl and Bengtsson states; when society have trouble defining new threats of hatred (in some cases it has been formulated as anti-Semitism or as islamphobia or been blamed at right-wing extremist groups) then \textit{Sverigedemokraterna} could act as a

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Brune (2002), p.214
\item Fairclough (2010), p.93
\item Swedish Democrats, explain the party’s new position as the Jews defendant came together with the attempt to strengthen the party’s anti-Muslim profile in Malmö County in 2008 stating to map out anti-Semitism and attitudes around this, focusing on Arabic and Muslim groups as the perpetrators.
\item Poohl and Bengtsson (2012) p.36
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
party that take this question seriously and make it their own. With this, Poohl and Bengtsson states, *Sverigedemokraterna* intensely have tried to formulate a problem-description that make the multi-cultural society, left wing extremist, Islam and so called mass immigrants the perpetrators.\(^{157}\) In the construction and reporting regarding the Kärrtorp demonstration the journalists have decisively, firmly and in union rejected the problem description Poohl and Bengtsson discuss and Bashy Quraishy praise Sweden’s ability to openly talk about racism and trying to reach out for future solutions, this, Quraishy states, is far from his own country Denmark who does not even admit that racism exist there.\(^ {158}\)

Furthermore, it is never the journalist expressing negative views and ideas about the immigrant and when mentioned (not very often) a finger pointing occur between the two newspapers about who the “best” antiracist is and who it is that mentions immigration in the worst way. *Dagens Nyheter* wonders why it is so difficult to discuss the matter of immigration at all and *Aftonbladet* believes that every subject is to be equally discussed in a democracy and think that *Dagens Nyheter* should feel free to discuss however much immigration they want but they need to be prepared to be critiqued because this is also important in a democracy.

What was examined in this inquiry was also how much the newspapers differed in their construction of the racist, antiracist and immigrant. On only two instances there is a general difference in the construction and reporting by the different newspapers. First, in the construction of the perpetrator *Dagens Nyheter* explain how it was both the right-wing extremists and the left-wing extremists that participated within the attack of the demonstration, *Aftonbladet* never talk about the left-wing as a perpetrator in the demonstration, more that they were defending the demonstration. *Dagens Nyheter* on the other hand accused the left-wing extremist more and explained that they also were violent in the attack. Only after a few articles *Dagens Nyheter* stop mentioning the left-wing extremist and start to only talk about the right-wing extremist as the real threat. In addition, the second time the two newspapers differed was in the construction of the immigrant; *Aftonbladet* blame *Dagens Nyheter* for not defending or explaining why they publish an advertisement on (what *Aftonbladet* state to be) the xenophobic book and *Dagens Nyheter* believes that it is inquisitorial debate climate. If this is because the newspapers differ politically one is more to the middle and right (liberal) in the political spectrum and one is more to the middle and left (socialdemocrat) or that they have different opinion about advertisement is hard to say.

In the construction of the Kärrtorp demonstration the focus is in general in a similar way; the

\(^{157}\) ibid p.37  
perpetrator and the evil groups existing (the racist) and the victim and the society (the antiracist, the immigrant). Lilequist et. al write that the critical thoughts media is using in the construction concern, in essence, the form and presentation, but that it is difficult to understand the content, circumstances and intention in those arrangements. Lilequist et. al continues and says that it is these arrangements that news creators can construct that affect us and have "manipulative possibilities” to make us look at the world in one way or with a black and white-perspective.159

In this study the constructed tone overall is that “we as a society is against racism,” however, journalist Martin Kellerman in Dagens Nyheter critique this in his construction and mean that our self-image as antiracists may not be accurate. This inquiry explores the self-image of Swedes as antiracists in comparison to Benedict Anderson’s imagined national theory. Anderson explains the imagined national theory and community existent both as sovereign and limited and that members within this community do not meet or hear from other members within, yet they exist in this imagined community together; same could occur for people in Sweden living with the constructed self-image as antiracists.160

Kellerman is critical to this general knowledge and believes that we should evaluate racist thoughts within Sweden otherwise a lot of “people pay a high price for our inability to see the danger with clearer racism.” What this thesis argues is that the idea of an imagined community of anti-racism in Sweden could be existent partly because of journalism and the different tools with dramatization, with the creation of the good and bad, and the different codes and decoding systems.

**Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to try to understand what discourses and central figures the newspapers constructed when writing about the Kärrtorp-demonstration, including the ways in which racists, antiracist and immigrants were created. When conducting a study using Critical Discourse Analysis the purpose is to evaluate how concrete, linguistic textual analysis of language is being used in social interaction and how these contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups.

What this study shows is that the journalist constructs an image that racists are bad for society and that the majority of the population, including immigrants, in Sweden are antiracists. The majority of the articles are constructed from an outside perspective with a focus on antiracial work, brave people standing

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159 Lilequist et al., (2002) p. 22
160 Anderson (1993) p.141
up for antiracism, not backing down from the racist threat.

The threat within the construction is the small minority racist group and the Nazi organization which differ a lot from the peaceful society according to the opinions, views and form of action presented. In the construction the racists are, for example, described as men of hatred, belonging to SMR, violators and undemocratic—constructions that completely separate them from the constructed image of the antiracist, including, the democratic society as a whole.

After learning about how the reporting was constructed when the word “immigrant” was first used and how the term “the others” has been constructed as something unfamiliar, unknown and sometimes dangerous in the past, I have, in this study, noticed a difference. On very few occasions the journalist constructed an image of the immigrant as being bad for society and for Sweden. Perhaps this has to do with the type of event I chose (an anti-racism demonstration in which immigrants were victims attacked by Nazis), but this may not be the only reason.

A conscious awareness of immigration in its totality is in place as well as using the words related to immigration in the media. The word “immigrant” itself is loaded with meaning and perhaps the easiest way to avoid problematic situations is not to use it at all. But there might also be a conscious decision made by the Editors-in-Chiefs not to discuss this subject that could spark a flame or ignite the racist organizations existing even at the governmental level in Sweden today.

However, even though the word “immigrant” is not constructed as something “unfamiliar, unknown and sometimes dangerous” within this study, there are noticeable patterns that racism exists on many levels in society, not only in the form of attacks on peaceful demonstrations. Race and ethnicity arguments have been replaced with arguments about non-European cultures, civilizations and religions, and there is a great concern about how to deal with this as expressed in many ways in the construction in the articles concerning Kärrtorp.

In addition, that many Editorials and Leaders have written from an outside perspective, discussing the incident themselves instead of exploring a range of different voices and opinions, plays a great role in the construction and image the readers receive.

The journalistic form of codes and decoding has created a sharp attitude toward the racist and Nazi groups to create the enemy. Even though it was accurate that the Nazi group attacked the demonstrators (which is however important to describe), it seems like the journalists, through repetitive methods, creates a white and black scenario throughout the construction of the Kärrtorp demonstration. They, the bad people, attacked us, the good ones, in society. To realize that structural racism exists on many levels

161 Ericsson (2007) p.20
within society and to discuss it is vital for future antiracist work. To only point at the resistance groups, minorities and the outcasts, without looking at, for example, nationalistic imagination or the day-to-day racism hidden in the foreground could be dangerous. The racist attack is specified to a concrete moment while racism could occur constantly. Because journalists have a great responsibility to tell a story and paint a picture of reality, it is important and vital for them to construct and discuss different genres, scenarios and viewpoints in order for Sweden to be that antiracist society that we argue that we are.

**Continued Research**

In order for this study to dig deeper into the field, there are several other methods that could have been applied. Approaching the field only through textual analysis has been interesting and important for this study, but the use of in-depth interviews of the journalists who are the constructors of the images would have enhanced the process by adding another dimension of perspectives and reasoning. In addition, a focus group responsible for reading the material and sharing their thoughts and opinions about the constructions they notice in the news media could have been used. Another interesting subject to explore further would be how the journalistic news organizations work regarding the construction of racism, antiracism and immigration within their institutions.
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