Images of Muslims in Evangelical Christian and Secular Right-Wing Discourse

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Article

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This is a comparative content analysis of the construction of Islam and Muslims in two Swedish publications—the newspaper Världen idag and the journal SD-Kuriren, the official organ of the Sweden Democrats—representing the Swedish Evangelical Christian right and the Swedish political right, respectively. The aim is to see both agreement and differences in their Muslim-related discourse from 2006–2007. Both news products share basic assumptions about Muslims and Islam. The main theme in the editorials and articles is the Muslim threat, in some cases combined with a Western retreat. Världen idag also focuses on Islam's alleged incompatibility with democracy. In both media Muslims are consistently described as aggressive and are seen as the cause of different problems. Lastly, in both media products, Muslims are related to negative behavior; good Muslim behavior is constantly disregarded, while bad behavior is assumed to reflect their true character.

INTRODUCTION

This is a comparative content analysis regarding the discourse on Muslims and Islam from 2006–2007 in the Swedish Evangelical newspaper *Världen idag* and the journal *SD-Kuriren*, the official organ of Sweden Democrats.[1] The aim is to reveal the following: 1) *how* Muslims and Islam are described, 2) what *linguistic strategies* are undertaken to construct this description, and 3) *similarities* and *differences* between the two

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publications. The two publications are representative of and are rooted in two different movements. *Världen idag* is a part of the Swedish Evangelical Christian right and *SD-Kuriren* is the official periodical of Sweden Democrats, a right-wing political party.

Over the last thirty years, a new political right has emerged both in Europe and in the United States. In Europe the radical right is characterized by populism and suspicion towards Islam and Muslims (Mudde 1999: 182, 185). In the United States, the new political right is characterized by a Christian right-wing discourse emphasizing the need for becoming politically involved (Balmer 2010: 59–60), counteracting abortion and homosexuality, as well as supporting Israel (Balmer 2010: 69).

In Europe the growth of the radical right accelerated in the 1980s (Mudde 1999: 182), and several new parties were founded: the French National Front, the German Republicans, and Flemish Bloc in Belgium (Mudde 2011: 7). In some cases new parties were created out of splits in established ones. In a few cases, entire established parties turned towards a populist, right-wing direction, most notably the Freedom Party of Austria and the Swiss People's Party (Mudde 2011: 7). The importance of these parties has grown, and in 2011 they were represented in twelve national parliaments in the European Union. Currently, they have a voting share of around 10% in twelve member states. However, their growth has slowed down and some of the parties have lost electoral support (Mudde 2011: 9).

For many years, this new radical right had little success in Sweden. The success of the party New Democracy in the early-1990s was based on its two charismatic leaders. When they stepped down, the party lost its electoral support and was not re-elected to the parliament in 1994 (Rydgren 2005: 8, 75).

The Sweden Democrats was founded in 1988 and was at that time perceived as an almost neo-Nazi party with close ties to the movement Preserve Sweden Swedish (Rydgren 2005: 118). Hence, the party was marginalized. About ten years ago, the party was taken over by a set of young leaders who wanted to create a more acceptable right-wing party, one that could attract social welfare nostalgic voters in Sweden (Hellström 2010: 102–3). For years the party had little success, until 2010 when they gained seats in the parliament.

In Sweden the growth and success of right-wing Christian movements is limited, with two exceptions: the church Word of Life and The Faith Movement. Still, the Christian right has not become a significant political force. Sometimes the label 'the

Christian Right' is used as a dysphemism for conservative branches of the Christian Democratic Party[2] (Lindberg 2011-01-25), but also here the political influence is limited. Nevertheless, the Swedish Christian right has managed to create The Clapham Institute (a think tank); an ecumenical organization, The Swedish Evangelical Alliance; and a newspaper, *Världen idag.*

Although *Världen idag* and *SD-Kuriren* are two media actors with limited readership, I find it interesting to study an Islam and Muslim related discourse in two publications representing movements with different ideological roots. *Världen idag* originates in an Evangelical Christian context, while *SD-Kuriren* represents a party with neo-Nazi roots. If we, in spite of these different backgrounds, find a discursive consensus, this might be of great interest as it might portend an alliance between right-extremist parties and neo-conservative Christian movements, especially since the Christian Democratic Party is undergoing a crisis. It has been discussed if the Sweden Democrats could take over the role the Christian Democrats once had. Thus, a discursive consensus regarding Islam and Muslims might indicate that the Sweden Democrats might have the opportunity to gain ground among practicing Christians.

The publications under scrutiny in this study have a limited readership. The Swedish Christian media market is dominated by periodicals that tend to focus on spiritual edification, some represent denominations. *Världen idag* is one of two Christian newspapers; like any newspaper, it deals with political, social, societal, and financial issues. The paper, with a circulation of around 8,000 (TS-tidningen, no. 1, 2009, 11), is almost eleven-years-old and has been published three times a week since 2004. Its Internet site states that the paper is an independent newspaper based on Christian values (*Världen idag*, *Om tidningen*). Still, the paper is assumed to have close ties with the church Word of Life, since its chairman, Ulf Ekman, is a pastor of the church (Östlund 11 March 2011). According to *Världen idag*, it has 900 shareholders, of which the major owner is a Word of Life member (Obadja, Välkommen till Obadja AB). However, its readership is varied and includes readers from several denominations. According to statistics released by *Världen idag*, almost 75% of its readers are not a part of the faith movement but sympathize with other Evangelical denominations (Agnarsson et al. 18 February 2004).

SD-Kuriren, unlike *Världen idag,* is not a newspaper but a periodical. It was founded in 1988 and was published four times in both 2006 and 2007. During these two

years, the periodical had a circulation of approximately 28,000, according its own sources. However, from time to time the periodical has also been accessible on the website of the Sweden Democrats. The close connection between the publication and the leadership of the Sweden Democrats is obvious as many of its articles are written by members of the party board and as Richard Jomshof has been both chief editor and publisher, as well as a member of the executive committee of the party board. Most importantly, the periodical is publicly referred to as the official organ of the Sweden Democrats.

DESIGN, METHOD, PRINCIPLES
OF SELECTION AND STRUCTURE OF ANALYSIS

As can be seen from the research question, this study is a descriptive comparative content analysis. Using such a method enables me to see not only differences and similarities between the two news products but also to identify nuances in their respective language (Landmann 2008: 4–5). Furthermore, this study is based on the normative foundation of critical discourse studies, aiming at revealing an oppressive language: the way a certain "discourse (re)produces social *domination* and *power abuse* of one group over others" (van Dijk 2009: 63). However, the concrete method is eclectic, combining quite different methodological instruments; hence, it is hard to classify it in a narrow category.

The years under scrutiny, 2006 and 2007, were selected as they were years of intense conflict between Islamists and islamophobic groups in the West, particularly in 2006. In these years the political effects of the Muhammad caricatures were evident, resulting in demonstrations and economic boycotts against Denmark. In Sweden, the website of the Sweden Democrats was closed for a short time, since the party published the caricatures. Lastly, parliamentary elections were held both in Sweden and in the Palestinian territories, resulting in a more heated political climate.

Although a wide variety of news material occurs in the publications, in this study only the most distinctive material will be selected, that is, material explicitly reflecting the values of the news media. In the case of *Världen idag,* I have chosen editorials. *Världen idag* publishes approximately 300 editorials yearly, two in each issue. Of these, I have selected those mentioning Islam and Muslims, Muslim organizations such as Hamas, and Muslim terms such as *Sharia*. I have also included editorials that, although they are few, mention Muslim individuals or ethnic groups with a Muslim

majority. Based on these criteria, 127 editorials were selected from the 2006-2007 issues of *Världen idag* (approximately 21% of all editorials) (see table 1).

Selected editorials and political articles 2006–2007 (2006)

Världen idag, editorials			*SD-kuriren,* political articles		
Mats Tunehag	100	(42)	Richard Jomshof[3]	23	(11)
Ruben Agnarsson	13	(7)	Mattias Karlsson	5	(1)
Hans-Göran Björk	6	(6)	Björn Söder	3	(2)
Carin Stenström	6	(5)	Jimmy Åkesson	2	(1)
Siewert Öholm	1	(0)	Tony Wiklander	2	(1)
No signature	1	(0)			
	127	(60)		34	(16)

Table 1

Traditionally, editorials are anonymous and merely the voice of the newspaper. However, this is not the case with *Världen idag*. All its editorials, with one exception, carry the names of their writers. Consequently, we can see that Mats Tunehag has written one hundred editorials, Ruben Agnarsson thirteen, Carin Stenström six, Hans-Göran Björk six, and Siewert Öholm one.

The selection criteria that were applied in the case of *Världen idag* cannot be applied to *SD-Kuriren.* I have chosen to expand the selection, so that not only *editorials* are included but all articles written by any member of the party board. This decision is based on the number of editorials being extremely small, which therefore could not facilitate sufficient material for analysis. Furthermore, the editorials are short and rarely concern relevant political issues. Finally, these articles, written by members of the party board, are so politically distinctive that a comparison with the editorials in *Världen idag* seems relevant.

In 2006 and 2007, eight issues of *SD-Kuriren* were published, of which eighty-four articles were written by members of the party board. Out of these eighty-four political articles, thirty-four concerned Muslims or Islam,[4] which comprises 40.5% of all the political articles (see table 1). Richard Jomshof was the most active writer.

Lastly, in this study Robert M. Entman's *framing analysis* functions both as an analytical as well as an organizing tool of the study. According to Entman, framing

> is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe. (Entman 1993: 52)

Analytically, I have developed and refined a method based upon Entman's keywords: *diagnosing, evaluating* and *prescribing*. Likewise, I have used the same keywords to organize the study into three sections. In some sections, I develop more specific attendant operational questions.

THE DIAGNOSES

Editorials, as well as political articles in *SD-Kuriren,* are usually spurred by political problems. Success stories are rarely an inspiration. That problems characterize these articles is not necessarily a consequence of anti-Muslim attitudes per se. Nevertheless, a problem arises when European Muslims do not have access to the media of the established majority society, and therefore cannot articulate alternative public images. Statements might go unchallenged and therefore contribute to the hegemony of an anti-Muslim discourse.

It is difficult to categorize news according to their diagnoses because sometimes there is more than one diagnosis, some of which are unclear. Still, I have categorized the editorials inductively, identifying the most pertinent diagnoses.

In the case of *Världen idag's* editorials*,* by far the most reoccurring diagnosis concerns different Muslim *threats* (see table 2a), one kind being physical threats posed against the West. Islam allegedly threatened Denmark during the hot-headed demonstrations against *Jyllands-Posten*, the Danish newspaper that published the Muhammad caricatures (Tunehag 2 January 2006). Furthermore, the life of a reporter at the Norwegian Christian paper *Magazine* was threatened, and Hans-Göran Björk speculates whether this reveals the true face of Islam (Björk 13 January 2006). Further, that the Danish embassy in Damascus was set on fire (Stenström 6 February 2006) and that Iran leaders launched a nuclear program (Tunehag 10 March 2006) are seen as additional physical threats against the West.

Likewise, Muslims threaten Western non-material values, such as religious freedom, democracy, and freedom of speech and expression. The existence of radical Muslims in Europe is one such threat (Tunehag 31 January 2007). In one editorial, "The Islamic Republic of Sweden?" it is implied that British Muslims threaten democracy and support Sharia (Tunehag 8 March 2006) and in another article that 'we' all might be forced to follow Islam (Tunehag 13 February 2006).

A second theme appearing in some editorials is the *retreat* of various Western elites from important Christian or democratic values, particularly when facing a Muslim threat. This retreat is described in a typically populist vein, and it is supposedly caused by Muslim immigration and ignorant and naïve Western elites fearing Muslim immigrants. A clear case is the excuse Denmark's Prime Minister and the chief editor of *Jyllands-Posten* gave the Muslim world after publishing the Muhammad drawings. Allegedly, 'they' are now letting Islam rule a Scandinavian democracy (Björk 3 February 2006). Not only the political elite is sounding the retreat, so do "ignorant secularists" and "media" as well (Tunehag 7 June 2006). They allow a self-censorship to wildfire, limiting the freedom of speech and expression, especially in issues related to Islam and homosexuality (Tunehag 8 November 2006).

A third diagnosis concerns *Swedish foreign policy*. Here the writers criticize what is referred to as the official Swedish compliant attitude to Russia (Agnarsson 18 January 2006) and Arab states or organizations, as well as negative attitudes to Israel (Agnarsson 5 May 2006; Björk 8 May 2006).

A fourth diagnosis concerns the perceived *incompatibility between Islam and democracy.* Islam is described as genuinely undemocratic. Muslim societies are supposedly unable to adopt democratic values (Tunehag 27 February 2006). Tunehag calls democratic Islam a "square circle," a contradiction in terms (Tunehag 30 January 2006).

A fifth issue is criticism of the media relating to the *media coverage* of the war in southern Lebanon in the summer of 2006. The media allegedly distorts reality, as journalists supposedly tend to have communist leanings (Björk 9 August 2006).

The analysis of *SD-Kuriren* establishes major rhetorical similarities with *Världen idag* but also some differences. A shared feature is alleged Muslim *threat* as a reoccurring theme. Threat is the dominating or one of two dominating problems in almost 60% of the selected political articles. This is a larger proportion than in *Världen idag* (table 2b).

Unlike *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* never claims that Islam as such is incompatible with democracy. However, like *Världen idag*, it dwells on the idea that Muslims in Europe constitute a threat to democracy. In 2006, Richard Jomshof described

Diagnosis, the motive for editorials with a Muslim presence
in Världen idag *2006–2007 (2006)*

	Number	
1. Threats from Islam/Muslims	35	(17)
Threat *and* retreat	17	(10)
Threat *and Swedish foreign policy*	1	(1)
Threat *and* the behaviour of the left	1	(1)
Threat *and* Islam and democracy	3	(1)
2. Retreat	3	(2)
3. Swedish foreign policy	7	(7)
Swedish foreign policy *and* mass media critique	1	(1)
4. The behaviour of the left	1	(1)
5. Mass media critique	3	(2)
6. Islam and democracy	17	(7)
Islam and democracy *and* retreat	1	(0)
Islam and democracy *and* remaining	2	(0)
7. Children as subjects of propaganda	2	(0)
8. Secularization	3	(1)
9. Hate crimes	3	(0)
10. Remaining	27	(9)
Total	127	(60)

Table 2a

the reactions against the publications of the Muhammad images—enabled by Danish Muslims, labeled "fifth columnists"—as a threat to and an assault on free and democratic Denmark (Jomshof 67b, 2006). Jomshof's expression reoccurs in an article by Björn Söder, who claims that Muslims not only constitute an external threat but also conduct "fifth column activities" (Söder 67, 2006). Söder also refers to Pia Kjærsgaard, the leader of the nationalist Danish People's Party, by claiming that "there are strong Muslim forces that wish to curtail our democratic rights" (Söder 69, 2006).

Diagnosis, the motive for editorials with a Muslim presence in SD-kuriren *2006–2007 (2006)*

	Number	
1. Threats from Islam or Muslims	8	(3)
Threat*/*retreat	6	(4)
Threat/retreat/treason	3	(2)
Threat/treason	2	(2)
Threat/Islam and democracy/retreat	1	(1)
2. The treatment of SD by the political establishment	5	(0)
3. Retreat	2	(2)
4. Swedishness	2	(0)
5. Immigration policies	2	(1)
6. Remaining	3	(1)
Total	34	(16)

Table 2b

Furthermore, the writers return to the idea that the Muslim threat is permanent and growing as 'they' are here, their number is growing and 'they' are becoming more radical. The Muslim group is assumed to "grow increasingly fast" through "mass immigration and high nativity" (Jomshof 69a, 2006). Moreover, this group "will cause major problems in the future" (Jomshof 69a, 2006) as it will demand "antidemocratic Sharia laws," Muslim autonomy, and segregation (Jomshof 69d, 2006).

These problems are understood to be permanent, because Muslim culture, in Richard Jomshof's mindset, cannot adjust to democratic and Western values. In addition, the system of independent schools will contribute to the permanency of the problem of giving Muslims the opportunity to reproduce their culture and religion independently (Jomshof 74b, 2007). Being an ardent supporter of Christian independent schools, *Världen idag* refrains from this critique.

Similar to *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* portrays Muslims as violent and irrational. According to the journal, the threat they constitute is not merely a threat to democratic *ideas* but also a real physical threat, and a threat to law and order. In 2007 *SD-Kuriren* reported on the violent riots which took place in some of the suburbs of Paris and Utrecht (Jomshof 72b, 2007). Richard Jomshof and Björn Söder depicted how Muslim youths in France make up the basis of the problem and cause a situation described as the "brink of civil war" (Jomshof and Söder 67, 2006). In the same article, it is also reported that an "Arab mob," without any rational reasons, assaulted passengers on a train in Nice. The authors also emphasize that this is not an isolated French threat but also a Swedish and European one.

Unlike *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* stresses that crime and sexual violence is yet another kind of Muslim threat and an outcome of Islam. In the mindset of *SD-Kuriren,* crime is not merely a social or legal issue if the perpetrator is Muslim. Crime is understood as a part of a global war between the Muslim world and the West (Karlsson 74, 2007; Karlsson 68, 2006) and is seen as an outcome of Islamic attitudes as "Muslim violence against infidels to a large extent is based upon attitudes towards women, men, sex and violence thriving in Muslim societies" (Jomshof 74, 2007).

Another reoccurring theme in *SD-Kuriren* is the *retreat* of Western elites. Herein lies *SD-Kuriren*'s populist dimension: voicing a mistrust of national elites and depicting them as ignorant and blind to massive threats posed by Islamic presence in the West. Moreover, it is a wide group of elites that is criticized. One such group is artists.

SD-Kuriren claims that the refusal of children's book illustrators to make drawings of Muhammad was a retreat and the origin of the crisis (Jomshof 67b, 2006). This was understood by *SD-Kuriren* as a symptom of that Denmark voluntarily "subjected" itself to "Islamic censorship." Likewise, Jomshof regards the refusal to accept Lars Vilks'[5] participation in an exhibition in Karlstad in the summer 2007 (Jomshof 73, 2007) as well as the closure of *SD-Kuriren's* website in 2006, probably under pressure from the Swedish Foreign Minister (Jomshof 67a, 2006; Jomshof 69b, 2006; Jomshof 74c, 2007), as yet another symptoms of retreat.

As with *Världen idag*, *SD-Kuriren* sometimes uses historical analogies, comparing contemporary actors to those in the 1930s and 40s. For instance, Scandinavian media is described as appeasers (Wiklander 67, 2006), and, similarly, Dutch media allegedly "suppress and belittle" the riots outside Utrecht (Jomshof 72b, 2007). Furthermore, Swedish and British politicians are described as "appeasers" of those Muslims who want to impose Sharia (Jomshof 68, 2006).

A wide category of articles concerns the treatment of Sweden Democrats in the public debate by the media (Jomshof 71, 2007) and by labor unions (Söder 73, 2007). Although these articles address some criticisms of individuals of Muslim background, the main criticism is directed towards the Social Democratic Party (Åkesson 72, 2007) and the Liberal Party (Karlsson 72a, 2007), as well as media companies and labor unions.

EVALUATION OF MUSLIMS' MORAL CHARACTER

The second phase in Robert Entman's framing method concerns the moral portrayal and evaluation of actors in a discourse. This extensive section of the analysis is divided into subsections based on more specific attendant operational themes. One section quantitatively analyzes explicit claims regarding Muslims' moral character. Another quantitatively analyzes implicit claims; the final section qualitatively analyzes interpretations of Muslim behavior.

EXPLICIT DESCRIPTIONS OF MUSLIMS

In this quantitative analysis regarding explicit claims about Muslims and Islam, the roles Muslims play in the articles will be analyzed. Thereafter, attention will be given to the usage of labels and complements. Exploring the role Muslims play in relation to

diagnoses in editorials, I will study the extent to which Muslims are regarded as problem-makers and as possessing a passive, neutral, unclear role or described as problem-solvers.

The two news media differ as well as agree with respect to assignment of responsibilities. In both publications, Muslims are repeatedly described as problem-makers. In *Världen idag*, Muslim actors are described as problem-makers in 81% of editorials (table 3); in the case of *SD-Kuriren,* they make up 79%. Likewise, the two publications rarely describe Muslims as problem-solvers. However, there is one difference; in the case of *Världen idag,* Muslims quite often also have a passive, neutral or unclear role, which is seldom the case in *SD-Kuriren.* The reason is that in several articles in *Världen idag,* unlike *SD-Kuriren,* more than one kind of Muslim actor is present. The same article depicts *different* Muslim actors in different roles.

The roles of the Muslim actors in relation to the problems
and diagnoses of the editorials (per cent and number)

	Muslim actor in *Världen idag,* 2006–2007 N=127		Muslim actor in *SD-kuriren,* 2006–2007 N=34	
Rejected problem-maker	81	(103)	79	(27)
Passive, neutral or unclear role	38	(48)	21	(7)
Accepted problem-solver	9	(11)	9	(3)

Table 3

The second part of the analysis regarding *explicit* descriptions of Muslims focuses on the use of *labels*. The analysis of labels denoting Muslims deals with their *denotative* precision and *connotative* value (Ottosen 1995: 100). Combining negative connotations with vague denotations is an effective strategy to incite prejudice.

Världen idag's 127 editorials contain 608 labels of Muslims,[6] 13% of which fall into the category of labels with an unequivocally negative, that is dysphemistic, connotation (table 4a). The concept of connotation is complicated. There is no impartial wordlist naming all dysphemisms and euphemisms. What is a disparaging label depends on the context (Ejvegård 2005: 16). If there is reason to believe that a writer has the intention to speak in a derogatory manner, to vulgarize, or to describe someone as offensive, then the term is disparaging, particularly if it is reasonable to believe that the audience understands the terms in question in the same way.

The writers in *Världen idag* do *not* paint their editorials with disparaging labels. And naturally, labels with a positive connotation are rare. Instead, 85% of the terms

denoting Muslims are very vague or neutral. This does not imply that we have 127 impartial editorials, something that will become evident later in the analysis.

Of the labels denoting Muslims, 54% denote *ambiguously*, 46% include terms combining an ambiguous denotation and a neutral or vague connotation, such as "Muslims," "Islam," "Muslims in our countries," or "Muslim groups."

Labels denoting Muslim actors in Världen idag 2006–2007
(per cent and number) N=608

		Denotation			
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
	Unequivocally positive	0.5	(3)	0.5	(3)
Connotation	Neutral or vague	39	(239)	46	(281)
	Unequivocally negative	5	(33)	8	(49)

Table 4a

Another common category is one in which labels combine a neutral or vague connotation with an unequivocal denotation. They can refer to states or organizations, names of individuals and royal families. I find this kind of label ethically unproblematic as it is clear to whom the writer is referring to and the labels are not degrading.

Of course, the most problematic category is the one combining derogatory connotations with unspecific denotations. Some labels used are "Islamic extremists" (Björk 13 January 2006), "this religion of violence" (Stenström 6 February 2006), "dangerous religion" (Stenström 6 February 2006), "the wolves" (Björk 8 May 2006), "suicide bombers from Gaza" (Tunehag 4 September 2006), "the terrorists" (Tunehag September 6 2006), and "these bawlers" (Tunehag 18 September 2006).

Labels denoting Muslim actors in SD-kuriren 2006–2007
(per cent and number) N=219

		Denotation			
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
	Unequivocally positive	4	(8)	1	(3)
Connotation	Neutral or vague	35	(76)	49	(108)
	Unequivocally negative	3	(6)	8	(17)

Table 4b

SD-Kuriren's usage of labels is consistent with *Världen idag's* (table 4b). In the thirty-four articles, I have found 219 labels denoting Muslim actors. Like *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* does not allow labels with negative connotations to dominate. 11% of these labels can be classified as negative (13% in *Världen idag*). Likewise, vague or neutral

labels dominate the editorials in *SD-Kuriren*. 84% of labels denoting Muslim actors or Islam are vague or neutral, compared to 85% in the case of *Världen idag.*

In both of the publications, there is a tendency to create ambiguity. In total, 58% of the labels denoting Muslims are vague in *SD-Kuriren* compared to 54% in *Världen idag*, which possibly indicates that the writers generalize to some extent. However, they avoid using negatively charged labels. The dominant category in both journals is labels combining an ambiguous denotation with a neutral or vague connotation, for example, "Muslims" (Jomshof 67a, 2006; Jomshof 72b, 2007; Jomshof 74b, 2007), "increasingly more Muslims" (Jomshof 67a, 2006; Jomshof 69a), "strong Muslim forces" (Söder 67, 2006), and "Islam" (Söder 67, 2006; Söder 69, 2006; Jomshof 72a, 2007).

Similar to *Världen idag,* labels combining a neutral or vague connotation with unequivocal denotation comprise the second largest category and represent 35% of all the labels in the case of *SD-Kuriren.*

The most ethically problematic labels, those combining a denotative vagueness with negative connotation, represent 8% of the total amount. In the case of *Världen idag,* many of these labels are clear dysphemisms. In *SD-Kuriren* all the dysphemisms are borderline cases, that is, less malicious forms of dysphemisms: "Islamists" (Wiklander 67, 2006), "a too big Muslim population in Sweden" (Jomshof 69a, 2006; Jomshof 74b, 2007), "Muslim fundamentalists" (Jomshof 74b, 2007), and "alleged moderate Muslims" (Karlsson 72b, 2007). This implies that the two publications in many ways coincide in their use of labels as an instrument to describe Muslims, although ambiguous expressions are considerably more vulgar in the case of *Världen idag.*

In the scrutiny of explicit descriptions of *Muslims*, we have now come to c*omplements*, which is the clause element describing what Muslims *are,* what they *are not,* and so on.

In the 127 editorials in *Världen idag*, there are 110 such clauses. I have divided these statements into six categories (table 5a), into those making clear positive statements, neutral or vague statements, and complements making unequivocally negative statements. Moreover, I have divided the statements along another dimension concerning the denotative clarity of the subjects in the clauses.

In *Världen idag,* there is a clear tendency towards negative statements. In 62% of the clauses, its writers make unequivocally negative statements. Merely 6% of the complements are positive. However, a qualitative scrutiny of these six cases reveals that

not even these statements are affirmative. The confirmatory complements are in some cases contrasted with a 'but' devaluating the impression. For instance, "Muslims are part of Swedish society, but we cannot accept measures that will create 'the Islamic republic of Sweden'" (Tunehag 8 March 2006).

The thirty-four cases with vague or neutral complements are either very simple statements like "Albanians are Muslims" or ambivalent statements such as "Kemal Ataturk (sic) was a skilled pragmatist/pragmatic politician." [7] The most malicious sentences, that is those thirty cases combining depreciative complements and ambiguously labeled actors, are sometimes truly hostile. For example, Stenström claims that "Islam is a dangerous religion, a direct threat to the free world" (Stenström 6 February 2006).

The use of complements in descriptions of Muslims in Världen idag 2006–2007
(per cent and number) N=110

		Denotation of subject label			
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
Complements	Unequivocally positive	1	(1)	5	(5)
	Neutral or vague	19	(20)	13	(14)
	Unequivocally negative	33	(34)	29	(30)

Table 5a

In *SD-Kuriren,* I have found fifty-nine clauses with a complement (table 5b). Of these, thirty-three (56%) are defined as negative (62% in *Världen idag).* In *SD-Kuriren* there were only two clauses with a positive complement, one of which contained no irony. Here the writer and debater Dilsa Demirbag-Sten is described in a genuinely positive manner, "talented," and is portrayed as a role model for other immigrants (Wiklander 67, 2006). The number of neutral complements is comparatively high: 40%, which is slightly higher than in *Världen idag*.

The use of complements in descriptions of Muslims in SD-Kuriren 2006–2007
(per cent and number) N=59

		Denotation of subject label			
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
Complements	Unequivocally positive	2	(1)	2	(1)
	Neutral or vague	20	(12)	20	(12)
	Unequivocally negative	15	(9)	41	(24)

Table 5b

The most malicious category, in which unequivocally negative complements are combined with ambiguous subjects, is more prevalent in *SD-Kuriren.* 41% of the complements are negative with a wide reference. In an article from 2006, Richard Jomshof claims that Muslims "have become more radical," "were willing to resort to physical violence," and "such actions show clearly how dangerous Islam as a religion is" (Jomshof 69a, 2006).

IMPLICIT DESCRIPTIONS OF MUSLIMS

Presumably debaters and writers avoid *explicit* claims and assaults. Therefore, in this section, another linguistic layer will be considered: studying *implicit* moral assessment of Muslims. First, alleged *Muslim behavior* will be analyzed. However, analyzing verbs alone is insufficient as verbs do not always reveal the moral character of behavior. In order to reveal this, the inclusion of a direct object, and in some cases the adverbial depicting *how* something is done, is required. In the sentence "Muslims demand increasingly more space at the expense of others" (Tunehag 7 June 2006), the moral standard of the behavior is clear. All in all, this section examines the moral standard of behavior attributed to Muslim actors by analyzing *verbs, direct objects* and *adverbials.*

In the case of *Världen idag*, it is apparent that Muslim actors are frequently made accountable for morally questionable behavior (table 6a). 65% of Muslim behavior is morally doubtful, while a mere 7% is morally acceptable, and 28% of the depicted

The behaviour of Muslim actors in Världen idag 2006–2007
N=706 (per cent and number)

		Denotation of subject label			
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
The moral	Unequivocally positive	4	(29)	3	(18)
character	Neutral or vague	13	(94)	15	(104)
of the behaviour	Unequivocally negative	31	(220)	34	(241)

Table 6a

behavior is morally vague or neutral. This means that this linguistic technique is the one which *Världen idag* uses consistently to depict Muslims in negative terms. Furthermore, this morally negative behavior is repeatedly combined with ambiguous subject labels, making an undefined and large Muslim group responsible for the behavior in question.

The two most common behaviors attributed to Muslims is that they "murder" and "demand." During the observation period, Muslims "murder" more than twenty times. This excludes the following clauses which I decided to omit: "carried out mass murder" (Tunehag December 13 2006), "carry out their murderous misdeeds" (Tunehag 4 September 2006), "engaged in mass murder" (Tunehag 13 September 2006), or "encourage children to murder Jews" (Tunehag 22 February 2006). Secondly, Muslims "demand," and their demands are unjust, are directed towards the West, and are part of a zero-sum game. That is, everything 'they' demand is at 'our' expense.

SD-Kuriren contained a total of 251 clauses describing Muslim behavior (table 6b). Basically, *SD-Kuriren* uses the same linguistic strategy as *Världen idag,* although the rhetoric in *SD-Kuriren* might be construed as being somewhat harsher. Accordingly, 68% of alleged Muslim behavior is categorized as negative (65% in *Världen idag),* while 29% is categorized as morally neutral or ethically unclear.

In the case of *SD-Kuriren*, the most common behavior ascribed to Muslims is "believe" (fourteen cases) and "participate" (nine cases). "Believe" has more or less the same function as "demand" in the case of *Världen idag,* indicating unjust attitudes. Muslims "believe" that the Swedish society should adapt to them (Jomshof 69d, 2006) and that "anti-democratic Sharia laws" should be introduced in Sweden (Jomshof 69d, 2006).

The behavior of Muslim actors in SD-Kuriren 2006–2007
N=251 (per cent and number)

| | | Denotation of subject label | | | |
		Unequivocal		Ambiguous	
The moral characte of the behavior	Unequivocally positive	1	(3)	0.5	(1)
	Neutral or vague	12	(31)	17	(43)
	Unequivocally negative	20	(51)	48	(122)

Table 6b

Yet, another strategy that could be employed to *implicitly* indicate Muslim moral inferiority is the use of the adjectives *Islamic* and *Muslim*. Usually, adjectives have the function of giving more information about a noun or a pronoun's referent. However, in texts where you intend to charge concepts as Muslim and Islam with negative values, you simply let the aforementioned adjectives occur as qualifiers to negatively perceived phenomena. If terrorism, hatred and violence are constantly referred to as 'Muslim'

terrorism, 'Muslim' violence and 'Muslim' hatred, these nouns will affect the way Muslims are perceived.

In *Världen idag*, 244 of Muslim-related adjectives are to be found (table 7). In twenty-five cases, the adjective 'Islamic' refers to nouns with a positive connotation. However, a closer look at these cases reveals that not even here are Muslims really depicted in a favorable mode. In one case, the usage is clearly that of irony (Tunehag 1 February 2006). In another editorial, Mats Tunehag employs the expression "Islamic law" (Tunehag 31 March 2006), which is categorized as an expression with a positive connotation. Still, a reading of the entire paragraph reveals another agenda. In a third case, Tunehag refers to "Islamic literature" (Tunehag 14 August 2006). However, he describes how more or less all terrorist attacks in the world are planned and implemented by Muslims being "encouraged by Islamic literature" (Tunehag 14 August 2006). The Muslim-related adjectives in the 130 cases, where the nouns have a vague or neutral connotation, refer to expressions like "Muslim areas" (Tunehag 12 July 2006), "Muslim countries" (Tunehag 14 June 2006; Tunehag 12 July 2006), and "Muslim groups" (Tunehag 7 June 2006; Tunehag 14 June, 2006).

The character of nouns preceded by the adjectives Muslim and Islamic
(per cent and number)

Character of nouns	Världen idag 2006–2007 N=244		SD-kuriren 2006–2007 N=120	
Nouns with positive connotations	10	(25)	9	(11)
Nouns with vague or neutral connotations	53	(130)	69	(83)
Nouns with negative connotations	36	(89)	22	(26)

Table 7

Most importantly, Muslim-related adjectives are qualifiers to explicitly negatively perceived phenomena in eighty-nine cases. The nouns to which the adjectives Muslim and Islamic are most commonly related to are "terrorism," "terrorists" and "terror attacks," and so on (twenty-two cases), as well as "regimes" and "murder regimes" (fifteen cases).

In *SD-Kuriren*, 120 Islam or Muslim-related adjectives were found. The conclusion for *SD-Kuriren* is relatively similar to that of *Världen idag*. 9% of the Islam or Muslim-related adjectives in *SD-Kuriren* are connected to nouns with positive connotations. Unlike *Världen idag*, none of these cases qualify as irony. Yet, the contexts

in which these terms occur are not positive; for instance, "The Islamic Cultural Organization" initiates extensive trade boycotts against Denmark" (Jomshof 67b, 2006).

SD-Kuriren makes *distinctively* fewer links between Muslim-related adjectives and nouns with a negative connotation compared to *Världen idag*. In the case of *SD-Kuriren*, 22% of these adjectives were associated with negative nouns. The adjectives Islamic or Muslim are mostly connected to a lack of democracy regarding censorship. But unlike *Världen idag*, *SD-Kuriren* rarely makes connections to violence and terror. Expressions that do occur in *SD-Kuriren* are "Muslim anti-democatic Sharia Laws" (Jomshof 69c, 2006) and "Muslim Censorship" (Jomshof 74c, 2007). A dominating element is the correlation between Islam-related adjectives and vague/neutral nouns. For example, expressions as "the world's Muslim countries" (Jomshof 67b, 2006), "the Muslim world" (Jomshof 74c, 2007), and "Muslim schools" (Jomshof 74b, 2007) are common. As previously stated, the expressions in themselves are neutral, *but* the argument being made depicts Muslims in a negative vein. Apparently, neither the Muslim countries and schools nor the Muslim world represent anything of value, nor do they make a contribution to humanity.

INTERPRETATION OF GOOD AND EVIL MUSLIM BEHAVIOR

Since the analysis so far has largely been quantitative, based on *counting* clause elements, contexts might have been lost. This part of the analysis will counterbalance this qualitative deficit by analyzing lines of argument: how good and evil Muslim behavior is understood and interpreted.

Drawing from the assumptions of cognitive consonance (Festinger 1957: 2–8) and attribution theory (Vertzberger 1990: 162), humans are believed to be interpretative beings with a tendency to assume that enemies have evil intentions while friends have good ones (Lebow 1981: 103–4): "In general, people attribute the behavior of others to their inherent nature, whereas their own behavior is likely to be perceived as affected almost exclusively by situational causes" (Vertzberger 1990: 162). Thus, 'we' have good intentions even when we do evil. Our evil deeds do not define 'us' (c.f. van Dijk 1995: 23–24; Said 1997: 9). Regrettably, peremptory circumstances force 'us' to do evil things (Cahoone 1996: 16; Zur 1991: 357). Enemies, on the other hand, are forced to do good or have evil intentions doing so. In this vein the cognitive consonance is maintained. This implies that once a notional world is established, it becomes self-feeding or self-

supporting: "Information is accepted when it conforms with preexisting images" (Cottam 1992: 126) and "information that contradicts such an assessment is either ignored, given very little attention" (Blanton 1996: 26) or reinterpreted.

In *Världen idag's* 127 editorials, some lengthy discussions and explanations of good and exemplary Muslim behavior are found, of which a few have been selected as illustrations. *Världen idag*'s writers, as expected, more or less consistently frame good behavior as circumstantial. In January 2006, Ariel Sharon fell ill with cerebral haemorrhage. Shortly thereafter, Stenström writes, members of the Palestinian government contacted the Israeli government and "expressed their dismay" (Stenström 9 January 2006). Stenström calls it at first "surprising" but concludes that "really it is not so surprising, for the Palestinians it is of great importance that Israel has a functional leader-ship" (Stenström 9 January 2006). Thus, for Stenström, Palestinian compassion was at first surprising. However, she soon saw in its 'true' light merely an example of simple self-interest.

On 26 April 2006, Tunehag published an editorial commenting on the publication of *Banat Al Riyadh,* a novel by the Saudi novelist Rajaa Al-Sanea. The novel is the story of the relationships between men and women in Saudi Arabia, but it can also be seen as a critique of Saudi society. Although Tunehag probably believed that the novel was published in Saudi Arabia, he would be incorrect in that assertion. The novel was merely distributed there, not published. And astonished Tunehag writes, "It is interesting to note that the authorities have permitted the book. Could this be a part of a political power struggle between liberal reformers and Islamic fundamentalists?" (Tunehag 26 April 2006). Thus, such exemplary behavior is suggested not as the fruit of good intentions, but merely as a side effect of a power struggle.

In the 1980s, the PLO moved step-by-step to a position based on compromise in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. This policy peaked in 1992–93. Ruben Agnarsson claims that it was "the absence from this [financial and political] support that forced them [the PLO] to the negotiation table" (Agnarsson 5 May 2006). Accordingly, the peace policy was evidently necessitated by external circumstances and not by character.

It is hard to neglect the fact that Turkey is making some democratic progress. In one editorial, Tunehag explains this development as something instrumental and enforced: "The ambition of Turkey to become a member of the European Union,

combined with pressure on Turkey, have implied some progress for democracy and human rights in the large Muslim country" (Tunehag 29 May 2006).

This successful development is disregarded and discredited as an effect of the aspiration to become an EU-member, as well as an effect of European intervention. Nothing in the editorial is attributed to the democratic desires of Turkish citizens. Later, in 2007, Tunehag again diminishes Turkish progress, calling the development ambiguous in a Janus faced country (Tunehag 25 July 2007).

The writers of *Världen idag* interpret 'evil' Muslim behavior differently. Political violence is discussed and rejected but never explained, thus making it an Arab-Muslim trait. In January 2006, a Muslim threatened the life of a journalist at the Norwegian Christian newspaper *Magazinet*. In the article "The Death Threats-the True Face of Islam?" Björk asks rhetorically "When death threats are issued in the name of the religion, is this not a proof of the true face of the religion?" He equivocates that "it does not have to be the case." Still, alluding to the threats against the journalist, he claims "each time representatives of Islam in Sweden have succeeded in crawling away from the responsibility of their fellow believers" (Björk 13 January 2006).

The strategy, neither to explain evil behavior and nor to make it comprehensible, was followed in *all* editorials where alleged 'Muslim' immoral behavior was under discussion. In September 2006, Tunehag comments on both Pope Benedictus XVI's lecture in Regensburg as well as on the killing in Iraq and Sudan: "The violence in Iraq, the continuous bombing of civilians—day by day. And what is that? Well, Muslims massacring Muslims" (Tunehag 18 September 2006). That is all there is to it. The fact that the perpetrators are Muslims is an exhaustive explanation.

A week later Tunehag continues, "The reaction of the Muslim world to the statement of the Pope on Islam and Jihad, are revealing and absurd" (Tunehag 25 September 2006). As the reactions, in some cases violent demonstrations, are depicted as "absurd" and attributed to the Muslim world, Tunehag underpins Orientalist representations of Muslims by depicting them as irrationally violent.

On the whole, the patterns in *SD-Kuriren* are similar to those in *Världen idag*. However, there are a few exceptions. Tony Wiklander, for instance, underlines that in Sweden there is a highly educated and secular group of people with a Muslim background supporting democracy. Furthermore, Wiklander says these people need to be underscored (Wiklander 67, 2006). In a similar vein, in one case a journalist with Muslim

background is used as a witness to the truth, testifying against the interests of the Muslim group in Sweden. The journalist in question revealed close ties between leading "figures" in Muslim congregations and the Social Democratic Party (Jomshof 69e, 2006) and that Muslim organizations are two-faced, pursuing another real agenda contradicting the public one (Karlsson 72b, 2007). Although this behavior was defined as good behavior, these people were still described as either exceptions to the rule or as anti-conformists, thus revealing the true nature of Islam.

In the theoretical introduction to this section, it was stated that humans disregard or perhaps reinterpret behavior that contradicts our expectations in order to maintain cognitive consistency. A text by Mattias Karlsson bears witness to this logic. One of the larger Muslim organizations in Sweden, which is generally regarded as moderate and led by Helena Benaouda, publicly rejects Sharia. Karlsson acknowledges this fact; but in order to maintain cognitive consistency, he claims that non-public messages in Arabic in different mosques reveal another anti-Semitic agenda (Karlsson 72b, 2007). Furthermore, he asserts that the fact that Benaouda's own daughter is facing allegations of taking part in military actions led by an ultra-orthodox Islamist organization also serves to reveal the true nature of Islam.

Lastly, similar to *Världen idag*, *SD-Kuriren* never explains bad behavior with circumstances. Such behavior is seen as an effect of Islam and its rigid culture. This is particularly evident in the description of the protests against the *Jyllands-Posten's* publication of the Muhammad cartoons and in the description of the various riots in Europe. Neither the protests in Denmark (Jomshof 67b, 2006; Jomshof 69c, 2006) nor the actions of various Islamic parties, diplomats and governments are explained. In addition to this, the political positions and dilemmas that Muslim actors face are not mentioned. The same logic characterizes the treatment of the riots in Paris in 2006 and in the Netherlands in 2007. The events were described but never explained (Jomshof and Söder 67, 2006; Jomshof 72b, 2007)

PRESCRIPTIONS AND SOLUTIONS

Entman's framing analysis suggests that frames are also revealed in suggested *solutions* to vital problems. Accordingly, I have analyzed different solutions suggested in the texts, more specifically, to what extent the solutions are of a *problem-solving* kind or

characterized by *reform* and *emancipation*. I have also evaluated the precision of the suggested solutions, whether they are *ambiguous* or *clearly defined*.

The solutions presented vary greatly as a direct result of the diagnosis. This section analyzes the editorials concerning *threat* (table 2a and 2b), as analyzing solutions to all the different categories of problems would be too vast an undertaking. Of the 127 editorials in *Världen idag*, fifty-two concern threat; with *SD-Kuriren,* this concerns 21 political articles out of thirty-four.

Overall, the solutions in *Världen idag* tend to be characterized by *aggressiveness*. Furthermore, suggested measures dealing with threats are *imprecise*. Often, it is not stated *who* is going to act, and the *measures* are not clearly defined and based on problem-solving theory. There is no request for readers to understand Muslims or Islam in order to establish a constructive relationship with Muslims. On the contrary, the readers are encouraged to dissociate themselves from this group in order to deter them from further aggression, to regain control over western areas from Muslim influence, and to explicitly express dissatisfaction with policies in Muslim countries.[8]

By far the most common linguistic tool used in *Världen idag* to make its texts imprecise is different kinds of *implicit prescriptions* (Ejvegård 2005: 29). For example, following the death threat towards a Norwegian journalist, Hans-Göran Björk stated in January 2006 that "strong measures are required against all kinds of religion that wish to silence a democracy with violence and threats and to take over society" (Björk 13 January 2006). With this language, which can be labeled *expressive exclamations* (Ejvegård 2005: 26–27), Björk clearly underlines the magnitude of the Muslim threat and implicitly calls for "strong measures" without clarifying what *kind of measures* that are necessary or *who* will carry them out. Agnarsson pursues the same method in an article in which Muslims are defined as incarnated hatred that "must be fought on many levels" (Agnarsson 27 January 2006) and concludes that "our modern history teaches us that we need to be on our guard."

In the article "A Coordinated Defense is Required," Stenström calls Islam a "religion of violence" (Stenström 6 February 2006) and poses numerous *rhetorical questions*. The purpose of this kind of question is usually *not* to make the reader reflect, but to provoke the reader to confirm the attitude and logic of the writer (Ejvegård 2005: 28–29). Stenström asks, "how can we continue to show tolerance and openness and at the same time defend ourselves against those who apparently do not?", "how can we defend

democracy and human rights against those who despise democracy and freedom?", "how can we master and overcome hatred and violence when there are major groups that advocate violence?", and "how can we safeguard our culture and fundamental values?" (Stenström 6 February 2006).

I find Stenström's linguistic strategy intriguing. "We" are facing difficult dilemmas and, as Islam is described essentially as a "religion of violence," there is no solution. Using these rhetorical questions, Stenström provokes the reader to find solutions of a problem-solving kind. Later in the article, Stenström draws her own conclusions: "European countries with major Muslim populations … must … prepare a strategy for the future. … The civilized world must brace itself for a united resistance to this dangerous madness" (Stenström 6 February 2006).

SD-Kuriren's rhetoric concerning solutions to Muslim threats resembles the one in *Världen idag*, and the solutions are characterized by aggressive and imprecise assertions. Without explaining who is supposed to act, or what kind of actions should be undertaken, Richard Jomshof makes an implicit prescription: "Just as the democratic world took the fight against Nazism in the 1930s–and 40s, we must now take the fight against the Islamists" (Jomshof 67b, 2006). This sentence is repeated in three additional articles in 2006 and 2007 (Jomshof 69c, 2006; Jomshof 69d; Jomshof 74b, 2007); in the latter, he adds, "it is now time to not merely to react, but also to act." Furthermore, *SD-Kuriren* also deems it hard for Muslims to live in harmony with the rest of the population. Reform is not the first option. After the riots in Europe in the summer of 2006, Richard Jomshof and Björn Söder claimed that "in order to prevent similar incidents in Sweden, we must sharply limit immigration whilst enjoying many of the unassimilated immigrants already here to go back to their home countries or to adapt to Swedish society" (Jomshof and Söder 67, 2006). Lastly, unlike *Världen idag*, *SD-Kuriren's* writers merely use rhetorical questions to describe dangers, and not to express solutions.

CONCLUSION

Unquestionably, editorials in *Världen idag* and political articles in *SD-Kuriren* to a large extent coincide in their description of Muslims and Islam. In both media, Muslims and Islam are described as an immediate threat either to "our" physical survival or to "our" survival as a democratic and free society. Muslims are also described as an aggressive and static monolith. The relationship between a Christian, or secular, Western civilization

and Muslims is consistently described as conflictual, with irrevocable players in a zero-sum game. Whatever "Muslims" demand will be at the expense of "us." Furthermore, Muslims are never regarded as an asset to Western societies. Muslims and Islam are a part of a problem, not part of the solution.

The strategies used to mould this image are seldom simple name-calling or explicit allegations. Different linguistic strategies occur. Firstly, negative complements are used, and phenomena with negative connotations are often combined with adjectives as 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. Lastly, bad behaviour is associated with Muslim actors. The stigmatizing effect is strengthened through lengthy arguments in which bad behaviour supposedly reflects the inner character of Muslims and where Muslims are described as static and incorrigible. All this motivates a problem-solving attitude when political solutions are discussed. The solutions tend to be characterized by an aggressive, imprecise discourse of deterrence.

There are also some differences in the anti-Muslim discourse. Firstly, there are two issues that *SD-Kuriren* underlines and *Världen idag* never mentions: independent Muslim schools and halal slaughter. This is probably due to a vested interest in other political issues. *Världen idag* is an ardent supporter of Israel and the Jewish people; consequently, it supports kosher slaughter. In order to avoid inconsistency, *Världen idag* never criticises Muslim food rules. Furthermore, *SD-Kuriren* claims that Muslim independent schools create a religious and cultural refuge for Muslims and constitute an obstacle to assimilation. Since *Världen idag* regards independent schools as a very important tool for the Christian community, it cannot criticise an educational system benefiting its own group.

There are also some thematic differences that are more difficult to understand; they can be coincidental. Unlike *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* never claims that Islam as a religion is incompatible with democracy. Yet, a few differences concern crime and sexuality. *SD-Kuriren*, unlike *Världen idag*, regards Muslims as sexually uncontrolled and defines them as a sexual threat. Moreover, unlike *Världen idag, SD-Kuriren* regards Muslim crime as a threat and part of a war against Sweden.

The elements of this discourse are not unique to *Världen idag* and *SD-Kuriren.* On the contrary, they are articulated within a broad political spectrum. This includes mainstream media (Abrahamian 2003); Christian Zionism (Steiner 2010: 91–135);

Eurabia literature, with Gisélle Littman as a frontal figure; and the partisan discourse among the European radical right parties (Mudde 1999: 182, 185).

The idea that Islam constitutes a threat to Europe is a general ideological legacy (Fekete 2011: 34–35). A number of authors claim that it is too late for Europe: the continent has passed a point of no return as it did not notice this danger until it was too late (Bawer 2006), and it is irreversibly entering the stage of Eurabia (Bat Ye'Or 2005). Consequently, London has become Londonistan (Phillips 2006) and a "white flight" is "already under way in Holland, as the beleaguered Dutch leave their native land for Canada, Australia, and New Zealand" (Steyn 2006: 134). The idea that harsh measures are required is widespread (Fekete 2011: 33), implying that "civilized and lawful conduct and legal standards within Western countries will not apply on Muslim countries" (Israeli 2008: 223).

Lastly, the results of the present study have evoked further research questions. Firstly, it is of interest to study whether this discursive consensus also implies a cooperation of any kind between the movements *Världen idag* and *SD-Kuriren* represent. No systematic studies have taken place in this regard. So far I have not seen signs of any cooperation, no arenas shared by representatives of these movements. One reason could be that these movements have very different target groups. The Sweden Democrats are pursuing disappointed social democrats, particularly those who are dependent on the welfare state as means of existence. In the discourse of *Världen idag*, it is apparent that its target group is not Evangelical Christians supporting the strong state and government led welfare.

Secondly, it is doubtful that this ideological agreement regarding Islam and Muslims constitutes a more encompassing ideological agreement between the Christian Evangelical right and the political right, since the Sweden Democrats seems to have an instrumental view of Christianity: seeing it as a tool to restore ethno-national homogeneity in Sweden. Christianity plays a very different role for *Världen idag*. As already said, the attitude to a strong government and welfare system is yet another divide. However, there is another political issue where the discourse of the two media might coincide: the conflicts in the Middle East and the attitude towards Israel. Having a common enemy—Muslims—might be a facilitating factor, in spite of the neo-Nazi background of Sweden Democrats.

NOTES

1. The Sweden Democrats is a political party founded in 1988 with a national agenda and an aggressive attitude towards immigrants. The party is seen as being partly populist and partly xenophobic. In the national elections in 2010, the party received 5.7% of the votes, resulting in twenty seats in the national parliament. Since 2005, the party has been chaired by Jimmie Åkesson.

2. The Christian Democratic Party was founded in 1964 as a cultural conservative party with the aim to preserve the sanctity of the family, Christian education and the unborn child, and to counteract secularization and materialism. The cultural conservative traits of the party became less prominent in the 1970s, and the party included environmental protection, and brotherhood as ideological principles. The party has been represented in the Swedish parliament since 1991.

3. Richard Jomshof wrote one article together with Björn Söder and another one with Olav Helset.

4. Selection based on the same criteria as in the case of *Världen idag's* editorials.

5. Lars Vilks is a Swedish artist who is best known for his caricatures of Muhammad, who he depicts as a roundabout dog.

6. This does not mean that there are 597 unique terms denoting Muslims. If the same term reoccurs in the same article, it is only counted once. If the same term occurs in different editorials, it is counted once per article.

7. To be skilled is, of course, a status-enhancing claim, but to be pragmatist is ambiguous.

8. Some editorials deviate, as the writers turn to an imagined Muslim audience of Muslims (Tunehag 18 September 2006) and to Swedish politicians (Björk 11 August 2006).

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