



UNIVERSITY OF  
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# Smartphone Panopticon and the Securitized Plurality

A study of the relationship between the Islamic State, Media and Power

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## ABSTRACT

The events caused by the Islamic State can be read close-to-daily in Swedish newspapers. Since the Islamic State came under the scope of the four major Swedish newspapers *Aftonbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* in 2014, the reporting about the group's actions has grown exponentially. The aim of this study is to examine how the reporting influenced the news consumers' discourses and identities, and consequently what role the media has in reproducing certain power structures in society. By using a mixed method this study both mapped and analyzed the language use and discourses of the newspapers in order to fulfill its purpose. The study showed how negative connotations in the reporting of the Islamic State reproduce a discourse of the group as evil and dangerous, whereas the own (Western) states should be seen as good and protectors. This cause a securitization move and identity shift called the *Securitized Plurality* that manifests legitimacy to the states sanctions against the Islamic State. At the same time, the discourses also reproduces power structures that discipline the consumers in their living, which is metaphorically called the *Smartphone Panopticon* as the potential, existential threat of the Islamic State immediately can reach the consumers through electronic versions of the news.

**Key words:** discourse, identity, power, Foucault, Arendt, securitization, terrorism, Islamic State, news media, Sweden,

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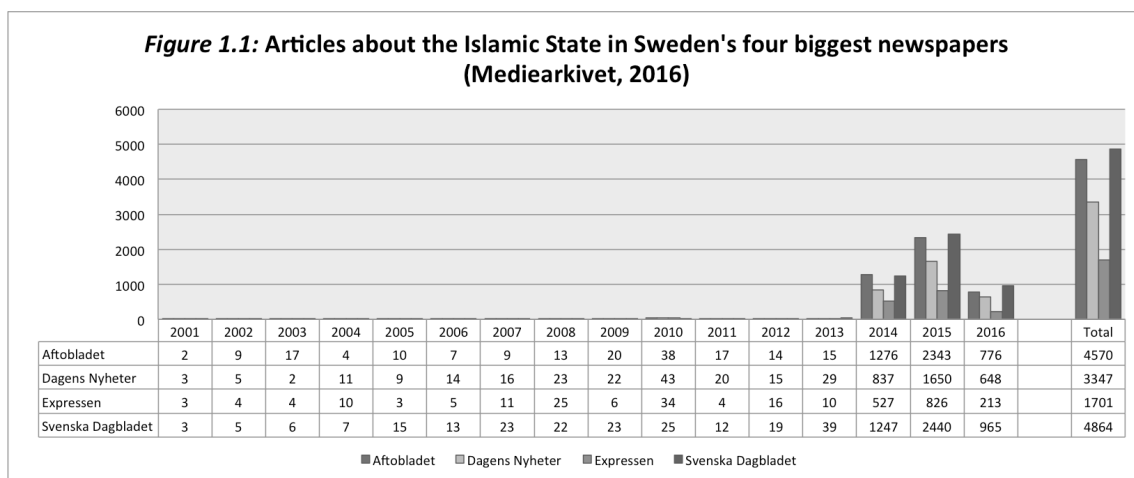
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# 1. INTRODUCTION

This study will focus on the intricate discourse and power relations (re)produced by news reporting from Swedish mass media about the Islamic State. Today, media is an important part of society. This is first of all regarding its function to provide otherwise harder-to-get insight and knowledge (to politics for example) as well as to provide us with news and other curiosities stretching from local level to global level. The media (which in this thesis is regarding the *massive news* media in comparison to entertainment media, photography or social media, etc.) therefore has the role of providing access to spheres of the society of which we otherwise could not have had access to.

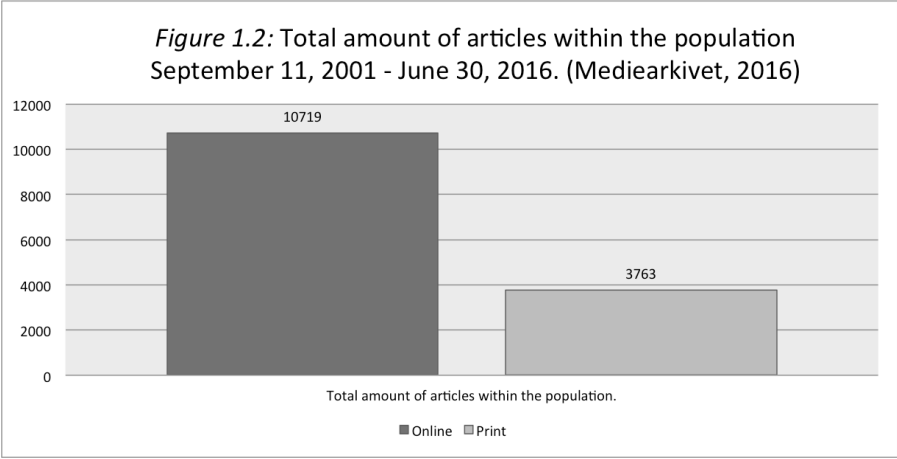
Furthermore, in the light of globalization and the great technological boom(s) of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, this has had an immense acceleration creating a “time-space compression”; making it so that news from even further away reaches us even quicker (McGrew, 2014). Examples of this are the developments of conflicts in the Middle East after the events in the U.S. on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, that has led to the upsurge of The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (hereinafter *ISIS*). Close-to-daily we can read about these events in the Swedish newspapers. This has been further propelled by the recent events in Paris in 2015, Brussels in 2016, Baghdad in 2016, Istanbul in 2016, and many more. These events has been largely reported (*Figure 1.1*) in the four biggest national newspapers in Sweden: Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen and Svenska Dagbladet (Svenska Mediehus, 2014). (The articles about ISIS in these four newspapers will work as this study’s *units of analysis*, where Aftonbladet contribute to 31,6 %, Dagens Nyheter 23,1 %, Expressen 11,7 % and Svenska Dagbladet 33,6 %.)



Then, since news coverage arguably is beneficial for the society – why is this a problem? First of all, this brings us to a core perception of terrorism studies, namely “propaganda by deed”.

From Roman times, to the French Rule of terror, to the revolutionary group Narodnaya Volya in 1870's Russia, to Palestinian groups killing Israeli Olympic athletes, to today's immediate broadcasting of news from around the world, the "propaganda by deed" has been a tool for terrorist groups to bring attention to their cause (Hoffman, 2006: 3-4; 178-179). "Terrorism is theatre", Brian Michael Jenkins (1974: 4) claimed, referring to how terrorism is aimed at the observers around the world, not its victims.

Finally, if we look towards today and how this propaganda is communicated, the Internet has had a huge impact. We can instantly get feedback from LIVE-feeds of different news channels (either voluntary or involuntary by news flashes). Looking at statistics about how many articles in the population are communicated in print in comparison to online (Figure 2), we see that close to three times (2,84x) the amount of articles about ISIS has been published and communicated online.



An applicable example that Birgitte Nacos (2007: 14) argues is that the relationship between terrorism and media is a quasi-symbiotic relationship where both sides benefit: the media from views and readings of their articles and the perpetrators in that they get their propaganda out through their channels. In short: *violence sells*. Bruce Hoffman (2006: 181) claims the following: "Immediacy, exclusivity, and drama (the more violent or life-threatening, the better) thus become the essential 'hooks' with which to reel in viewers and ensure a flow of advertising revenue." Building upon it, Margaret Thatcher famously claimed that terrorism survived on the "oxygen of publicity". Notably, this was in a context where the United Kingdom was torn by uproar by the Irish Republican Army (IRA)/Sinn Fein (Wilkinson, 1997: 61).

Albeit quite critical points of view provided by Hoffman and Thatcher, there is still an important aspect to it: namely that it matters of how (and ultimately if) the mass media

chooses to communicate the acts of terrorism. Lisa Wade (2011) also describes how journalism may form around a certain subject. Derived from the work of Daniel C. Hallin (1986), there are two separate spheres: a “sphere of legitimate controversy” that require legitimacy, and a “sphere of consensus” that “find widespread support for their goals and little or no organized opposition” (Wade, 2011: 1167). This means that there is a possibility that news reporting either exists in oppositions that creates a varied news landscape, or a consensus that normalizes what is reported. This may lead to a form of *pack journalism* and *groupthink* that creates clusters of journalism and news media that circulate a cohesive and non-opposed reporting of a certain event (Matusitz & Breen, 2012: 897).

In this study, *journalism* is simply what is put under the scope. This study could have had any other scope to study in order to examine the potential power structures reproduced by the media, but has since the recent events decided to study ISIS and how the media talks about it. As a disclaimer, the study has no intention of what so ever glorifying the acts of ISIS, nor to diminish the freedom of speech that mass media has the right to. Rather, the study aims to study the potential power relations manifested by its discourses, thus providing a critical standpoint and mindset that aims to be emancipatory by widening the frameworks of knowledge within the sphere, much like how Norman Fairclough (2000: 15) talks about critical social science. This is also why it is an important subject to study within the field of Global Studies and International Relations, since it aims to bring forward the structures within society that (re)produces certain discourses and behaviors in a *glocal* context. Viewing the society with a critical eye such as this is therefore important.

Furthermore, seen from a scientific point of view this subject is quite untouched when it comes to a Swedish context, which is interesting for three main reasons: 1) in a *geographical* sense, Sweden is very detached from the Middle East, which makes it interesting to study how these power relations travel through the channels of media; 2) in a *historical* sense, Sweden is quite “untouched” except from a couple of attempts in the last 5-10 years (see for example Hanson & Holmström, 2010, December 5: or Säkerhetspolisen, n.d.); and 3) according to Dr. Magnus Ranstorp, lecturer at the Swedish National Defense College in Stockholm, Sweden has a high amount of fighters travelling to Iraq and Syria to fight for ISIS (see for example Ranstorp, Gustafsson & Hyllengren, 2015). Based upon these arguments, this study can cumulatively add to understanding more about the situation in Sweden, which may help the scientific field take one step further.



## 2. AIM

The aim of this thesis is to by a mixed methodological study *map, analyze and understand* how Swedish news reporting about terrorism (more precisely the Islamic State) is affecting and (re)producing different discourses and power structures based upon the theories of Michel Foucault and Hannah Arendt, as well as Barry Buzan, Ole Waever & Jaap de Wilde. The objects (herein *population*) that will be the basis of this study are the four biggest national newspapers in Sweden: *Aftonbladet, Expressen, Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. The goal is to inductively answer the following questions:

1. How is the landscape of news reporting regarding the Islamic State constructed in terms of language use?
2. How is the reporting about the Islamic State manifested in consumers' *discourses*?
3. What role does the media have in reproducing discourses and by extension power structures?

### 2.1 Scope and limitation

In order to make sure that these are the questions studied and answered, the scope has been set and delimited according to the following limits and reasons:

#### 2.1.1 Geography

First of all, the scope is regarding Sweden as its *consumer based geography*. The newspapers within the population are all sold within Sweden. Surely, there are Swedish reading people living outside of Sweden that may read the online editions, but for the sake of this study they fall under this scope as well, since the discourse of the newspapers reach them.

#### 2.1.2 Newspapers

Secondly, *the newspapers* (and their articles) mentioned earlier are the population of the scope. The reason why these newspapers are interesting are: 1) that they are the four biggest national newspapers according to Svenska Mediehus (2014), which means that they reach the most readers in Sweden between them (a great majority of the Swedish population); and 2) that they have the role and channels to communicate the events caused by ISIS. Furthermore another important reason to study newspapers, is that the relationship between media and terrorism is a relationship that is in need of thorough critical analysis (as described under *I. Introduction*).

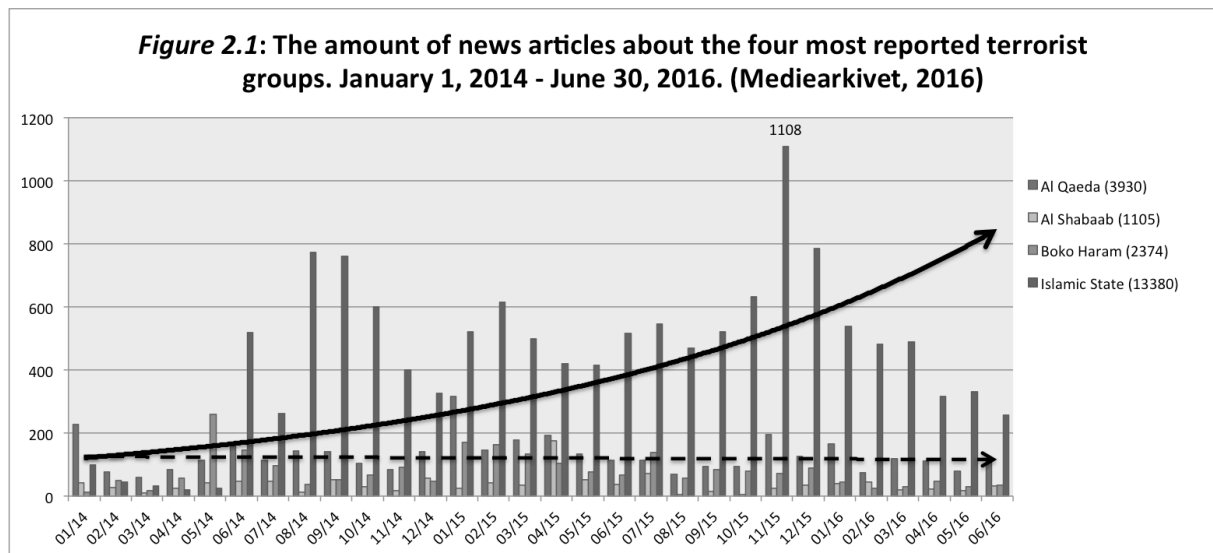
### 2.1.3 Time

When regarding *Figure 1.1*, it is clear that most of the articles (93-94 %) are produced *after* 2014. Thus, in order to ensure that it really is *ISIS* that is reported (and not *an* Islamic state, i.e. a country where Islam is the main religion or a state with Islamic or Sharia law), there will be a limitation when studying the population set to January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 to June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016, which equals two to and a half years. The reason why the end date of the population is set to June 30<sup>th</sup> is that the data gathering of this study was accomplished in early-to-mid July, which makes it a June 30<sup>th</sup> a natural stopping point for the sample.

### 2.1.4 Regarding the Islamic State

Thirdly, the scope has a *group-based* limit. *ISIS* is essential for this study, but due to two things, there will not be any longer description of them as a group. First of all, this study aims to examine how the language use both affects the consumers and is affected by the media. An important factor is that the name “*ISIS*” itself has a discourse. There is a debate regarding calling *ISIS* a state since there are notions that are pointing to that this is legitimizing their cause in establishing the caliphate and that they should instead be called *Daesh* (an Arabic translation “with pejorative overtones”) instead, according to the former PM of the United Kingdom, David Cameron (Irshaid, 2015, November 2). However, since this study aims to see the language use of the media, it will use the same terminology as a majority of the articles, while recognizing and disregarding the discourse that it carries.

On *Figure 1.1*, one can also see a great rise in news about *ISIS* in 2014. This is due to *ISIS* entering into Syria during the power vacuum that was created by the civil war, which led to that they conquered Mosul in Iraq and declared a Caliphate (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016). It is from this point forward that *ISIS* has become one of the most reported groups, as shown in *Figure 2.1*. What the figure shows (in combination with *Figure 1.1*) is that *ISIS* came to be reported about after its upsurge and has since then been growing. A filled trend line is showing the exponential growth of the amount of articles about *ISIS*. That can be compared to the dotted trend line that represents the change in news articles regarding the second most reported terrorist group: *Al Qaeda*. Another aspect that is possible to derive using *Figure 2.1* is the highest point of news articles in a month: November 2015 and the Paris attacks. This event will serve as the point for the qualitative analysis described under 3. *Method*.



## 2.2 Examples of previous research

### 2.2.1 Frank Louis Rusciano (2003)

In the backwaters of the events of 9/11, Frank Louis Rusciano (2003) - Professor at Rider University and known for the research about the concept of “world opinion” - turned towards the elite press to research about how they talk about world opinion. In the study, Rusciano examined how “world opinion” was talked about during seven weeks in 10 different newspapers from around the world. The aim of the study was to see how the attacks on the United States and the following measures (i.e. the invasion of Iraq by United States and its allies) were talked about and to try to determine different discourses (while being careful not letting the country origin of the newspaper determine the discourse).

### 2.2.2 Michael Laver, Kenneth Benoit & John Garry (2003)

Methodologically, the study of Laver, Benoit & Garry (2003: 311-312) used a similar approach to a different problem. They wanted to analyze different forms of political competition, primarily by using a wide theoretical framework and perspectives and by using data gathered over a 32-year period from close to 2.400 party manifestoes from 632 different parties in Britain and Ireland, comparing them to relevant parties in Germany. Furthermore, they analyzed this data both quantitatively and qualitatively. (Laver, Benoit & Garry, 2003: 312-313).

### 2.2.3 Shaul Kimhi, Daphna Canetti-Nisim & Gilad Hirschberger (2009)

This study by Kimhi, Canetti-Nisim & Hirschberger (2009) studied whether the ethnicities of the perceiver in relation to the perpetrator in a terrorist event has affect of the level of support,

motivations and denunciations of terrorism. They do this extensive study in a Israel-Palestine context by interviewing 202 participants (91 Israeli Palestinians and 111 Israeli Jews), from different gender, ages and levels of society, and investigate how they react to certain terrorist scenarios (balanced to be biased and unbiased randomly within the sample) (ibid. 80-82).

#### **2.2.4 Norman Fairclough (2000)**

A final example of previous research in relation to this study is Norman Fairclough's (2000) study of the political sphere of the UK following its "mediasation" in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fairclough argued that due to this mediasation, where political leaders had become media personalities, the language and discourse of politics has not only changed, but it had grown to take a much bigger part of the political context than before. To study what effects this had had, Fairclough set out to study how "new" the discourse and language of New Labour, under the leadership of Tony Blair, actually was. (Fairclough, 2000: 3-11) In order to describe, analyze and criticize the language of New Labour, Fairclough compiled a "corpus" of particular and essential key words and phrases for analysis. The method Fairclough used to compile this corpus was to compare it to older Labour texts and also more general relevant and contemporary texts (ibid. 17).

#### **2.2.5 How and what this study adds to the field**

The studies described are examples of how to approach a problem of the relationship of language, discourse and global societal contexts and events. Then how does this study fit into this field and what does it add? First of all, much like Rusciano's and Kimhi, Canetti-Nisim & Hirschberger's studies, it combines both the communicated and perceived notions of terrorism by using methods similar to Laver, Benoit & Garry and Fairclough.

Rusciano's study is using a similar methodology to the one of this thesis; however It differs in that it focuses on global opinions, whereas this study will focus on how global events affect *local* discourses and identities. This will elucidate the *glocal* structures emanated from the globalization.

Kimhi, et al. (2009) show a few important aspects of this subject – namely how 1) it is important to try to determine, value and analyze the different discourses within the context and 2) how it methodologically actually is possible to extract truth and knowledge (however possibly biased in this case) from such a hermeneutically heavy study.

Fairclough (2000) brings forward an interesting aspect of content analysis – namely change over time. Michel Foucault’s (Foucault, 1978: 10-15) view of discourse and language shows that the transformability and discontinuity of discourse encourages researchers of discourse and language to study its genealogy to understand it. This “history of discourse” is what shapes us (Foucault, 1978: 10-15).

This study will break down and analyze power relations through discourse structures, something that has been somewhat lacking in the studies above. This will not study the “gap between rhetoric and reality” as in Fairclough’s case, but discuss the potential effects of a securitizing discourse and disciplinary power reproduced by media (by (in)voluntarily communicating terrorist propaganda). Thus, this study will add to the field by producing a critical analysis of power structures, thereby aiming to be emancipatory in its purpose.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 Literary review**

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this study has its main foundations in Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault's theories, as well as the theory of securitization provided by Buzan, Waever & de Wilde. Due to the fact that their bibliographies and archive of theories are so vast, sometimes anthologies or compilations of their work have been consulted. However, from a critical point of view, the main texts of the relevant theories are used as main sources for the study. The texts by Foucault use the compilation *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, power and the subject* (1993) by Alec McHoul & Wendy Grace as reference text. This book focuses on the main texts by Michel Foucault, but also deepens the substance by cross-referring to lectures and articles written by Michel Foucault. This provides a further understanding of the theories of Michel Foucault encircling on the views of *Discourse, Power and the Subject*.

This study also relies on a social constructivist, discursive approach towards studying the construction of truth and power relations. In order to navigate through the field of discourse analysis, two main texts will be referred to: *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* by Louise Phillips & Marianne W. Jørgensen (2002), which gives an methodological, overview of the field of discourse analysis (both its merits and demerits); and *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* by Göran Bergström & Kristina Boréus (2005), which gives a wider methodological insight of both qualitative and quantitative methods that will be used in this study. Since the latter works is in Swedish, the book written by Phillips & Jørgensen will be used as a work of reference to ensure the correct terminology. These two works have been selected for this study since they complement and correlate each other to give a wide and deep understanding of discourse analysis.

#### **3.2 Conceptual framework**

##### **3.2.1 Discourse**

According to Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 18), discourse in a structuralist, social constructivist way, regards "the functioning of discourse – discursive practice – [as] a social practice that shapes the social world". Instead of determinism, structuralists implied that we see the world as products of signification and social conduct (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 34). Foucault takes this to a new level by introducing discourse as an understanding of the subject and its *subjection* (Foucault, 1972: 55). What Foucault points to is that it is through the subject that

discourse can be seen in any given historical time, where discourse is what constrains and enables the use of language for each subject (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 31). To further conceptualize the role of the subject, Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 14) comments through the words of Steinar Kvale:

“The self no longer uses language to express itself; rather language speaks through the person. The individual self becomes a medium for the culture and its language (Kvale, 1992: 36)”

In an interview given in 1978, Foucault introduces three different foundations that the theory of discourse rests upon (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 43-49):

- “the idea of a single system has to be pluralized into *systems*”
- “the idea of discontinuity has to be pluralized into ‘discontinuities’”
- “the idea of ‘history of mind’ has to be replaced by ‘history of discourse’”

Foucault summarizes these notions by claiming we should recognize “the diversity of *systems* and the play of *discontinuities* into the *history of discourses*” (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 49). What this means is that the notion of history must be seen as a system of many histories, due to the transformability of discourse. Discourses may also form into certain *epistemes* where they are manifest “truths” (ibid. 45). Foucault later rejected the idea of episteme when it comes to analysis; however, it largely resembles the idea of *hegemony* coined by Antonio Gramsci and developed by Chantal Mouffe, which is a history-bound hierarchical set of truths that remain manifest (*hegemonic*) until they are challenged and changed (called *hegemonic intervention*; Martin, 2013, 213). This view of discourse is important for this study, since it aims to study both the impact of discourses, its *discontinuity* and *transformability* regarding the news reporting about ISIS.

### 3.2.2 Discourse Analysis

According to Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 143-144), discourse is not something that can be found as an object in reality: it needs to be analytically examined and constructed through discourse analysis. Similarly, Chantal Mouffe & Ernesto Laclau mean that both social and physical objects exist, but it is through the scope of discourse that researchers can understand their meaning. The main framework for analysis that this study relies upon is the one shaped by Mouffe and Laclau. Based upon a structuralist and Marxist foundation, Mouffe and Laclau made a creation based upon deconstructed elements from other theories. By identifying and examining *signifiers*, *moments* and *nodal points*, which are aspects within a discourse, and a

framework of method provided in *4. Method*, they built a network of correlating *moments* that builds the discourse (almost like a fishing net). So what discourse analysis really aims to do is to “focus on the specific expression in their capacity as articulations: what meanings do they establish by positioning elements in particular relationships with one another, and what meaning potentials do they exclude?” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 24-29). Another way of view this is the *binary oppositions* that comes from the deconstructionist theory of Jacques Derrida (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2014: 78-79). It means that meanings is produced, not only in what *is* said, but what *is not* said; meaning that it is both what is included and excluded of language use that is of importance (ibid.).

An interesting, and also criticized, point that Mouffe & Laclau use in their framework is *the field of discursivity*. They argue that a discourse is constituted only by what it excludes and the field of discursivity consists of everything outside the discourse – the “surplus of meaning”. The critique lies in whether the field consists of a random mass of signifiers, or if it contains structured discourses that has not been used or identified. Moreover, it may lead to a close to infinitely long chain of equivalence, where irrelevant signifiers are included in the discourse and identity. In order to make sure that there is a relevant sample of discourses, moments and signifiers, it is possible to use Fairclough’s idea of the “order of discourse”, which is a denotation of a limited section of discourses that are within the same field, thereby leaving the field of discursivity to what it is (ibid. 27-28).

A description of how the framework of Mouffe & Laclau will be used in this study can be found in *4.4 Discourse Analysis*. The reason why it will be used lies in how identities are formulated and (together with Foucaults theories of discourse) the *transformability* of discourse that interplays with these identities. By examining the newspapers’ communication of the acts of ISIS, these identities may surface and be open to examination.

### 3.2.3 Power

Building on his theories of *discourse*, Foucault continues to formulate theories of *power*. In the case of Foucault, power has many uses and dimensions – two of which are interesting for this study, namely *disciplinary power* and the *power/knowledge* complex (connected by *biopower* or *biopolitics*). They are both interconnected and (re)produce discourses (and themselves) within society, but it is still important to isolate and review them on their own.

The first power theory, *disciplinary power*, derives from Foucault’s exploration of punishment of criminals in prisons. In the book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the*



*Prison* (1975), Foucault studies power that relies upon structures embedded within society, i.e. surveillance. Foucault means that the most archetypal technique for disciplinary power is Bentham's Panopticon. This is a physical prison, shaped as a circle with a guard tower in the middle, where prisoners are put in solitude with the cells looking in towards the guard tower. The idea is that the guard tower should have dark windows, so that the prisoners do not know if the guards are watching or not, and thereby will discipline themselves as if the guards are always present and always watching. Foucault means that this disciplinary power "reforms the criminal's soul" and gives "power of mind over mind" (Foucault, 1977: 10), meaning that the apparatus of the Panopticon is making it so that the inmates themselves are the bearers of the power that limits themselves. In order to function within society (not just as Bentham's Panopticon), it is important that it permeates all levels of society. This is why the disciplinary power is important for this study: the critical and emancipatory foundation of this study shows that there are aspects of the discourse produced by media that has disciplinary features.

The second power theory, *power/knowledge*, comes from Foucault's studies of how structures of "truth" are manifested within the history of sexuality (Foucault, 2002). In the book, Foucault studies how the Catholic Church over 300 years produced a truth about sexuality using the instrument of confession. (ibid: 80-89). An interesting point that Foucault makes in this study is the role of the subject. Whereas previous power theories generally saw power as something more or less oppressive and negative (implicit or explicit) between a sovereign and its subject(s), Foucault saw how the subjects' casualties, unawareness and knowledge's that the powerful reproduces, changes the knowledge of sexuality itself. Foucault means that this is not the question of some inherent truth about sexuality, but changes in relation to the power methods residing in the language of the subject (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 64; Foucault, 1976: 86). Derived from this comes the complex of *power/knowledge* in that the power can produce the truth of its "intention", and by extension the knowledge; "power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1977). In the case of the history of sexuality, this manifested a bio-political truth regime of sexuality that shaped the identities of the subjects (McHoul & Grace, 1993: 83). It is this subject-production (or subjection) that Foucault prioritized when studying how discourse and power-relations in relation to identities (ibid. 91). Why this is important for this study is regarding just how this system of power, reproduced by discourse, manifests different truths that shape the identities of the subjects. This study regards the news

as a system of truth and by extension it will study what effects it may have upon its consumers by exploring its discourses through discourse analysis. Therefore, the theories of power according to Foucault will help study the third question of the study (under 2. *Aim*).

Another key concept for this study is the legitimacy of power is manifested, which will be done through the theory of *plurality* of Hanna Arendt (1970). Arendt compares and distinguishes *Violence* to *Power*, where the former is a strictly instrumental view of violence. Arendt's view of power is regarding acting in concert and if someone is *in* power, which is regarding the empowered legitimacy established by the *plurality*. Arendt claims that “[w]here power has disintegrated, revolutions are possible but not necessary” (Arendt, 1970: 46). As an answer to the revolution (or any other context where the power has disintegrated), the previously powerful may turn to *violence*. What Arendt means is that violence and power in their pure state are not only incompatible, but also antithetical. In a pragmatic sense, they may exist at the same time, but no power has solely built its claim upon violence; power requires legitimacy and violence is never legitimate (however sometimes justifiable).

The reason why the theory of legitimacy and power is important for this study is the aim to highlight and criticize the power structures that are produced and reproduced through news reporting. By looking at the sheer acts or threats of violence (as an instrument) committed by ISIS, this theory will deepen the understanding of the above-mentioned structures. However, there is a dividing line. Today, terror has manifested itself much by building on dichotomies towards “the Other” making the opposition essential for its continuous existence. Therefore, the theory of plurality according to Hannah Arendt will help study the second and third questions of the study (under 2. *Aim*).

#### **3.2.4           Securitization**

Connected to Foucault and Arendt's theories is the theory of *securitization*. It refers to the movement of lifting politics to a special kind of security politics or something above politics (on a scale of non-politicized – politicized – securitized). Securitization is possible in regards to a threat towards the existence of something; be it a life or many lives, a certain culture, a religion or the conservation status of an endangered animal (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde, 1998: 23-24). This existential threat is based upon perceived threats and is therefore essentially intersubjective (ibid. 30). What this implies is that discourses may present something as a perceived threat, thereby creating a *securitization move* (as in a move towards

a question being securitized). It is not a necessity that this movement goes through only the government, but i.e. social movements that also have led to a securitizing agenda (ibid. 24).

Important for this study is securitization within society. Security as a concept revolves a lot around the nation state as a security unit. However, national security has a key aspect of including the society that is regarding *identity* and *societal security* (ibid. 119). The latter is not meaning social security (as in the welfare state), nor the vague population of the state's population, but the imagined communities united as a "we" (ibid 120). The "we" is essential in the dichotomy between "us-and-them", since securitization is regarding an existential (and often external) threat of the "we" (and can be manifested through good/evil, male/female, Western/Eastern, etc.). According to Buzan et al. (1998: 122), society can react in two ways to this change/disruption of the "we"-identity: either by acting out as a joint community or letting the question move up to the political level. This is why the theory of *securitization* is important for this study, and it will help answer the second question of the study (under 2. *Aim*) and to further understand and unveil embedded power structures is important for the emancipation of society.

### 3.2.5 Regarding "terrorism"

Terrorism is a concept that is essential for this study; however, there will not be a definition regarding the idea of terrorism. This is due to two things primarily. First of all, due to the fact that this study will examine how the news media is talking about terrorism, a definition of the term "terrorism" will render redundant (similarly to 2.1.4 *Regarding the Islamic State*). This is also due to the fact that predominate discourses sees terrorism in different ways since it is generally seen as the term "terrorism" is a negative term that carries lots of meaning (as examined in this study). Building upon the first argument, the second argument is regarding the debate around the definition of terrorism. This is a very vast and long-going debacle that has not come to any conclusions of a single theory. Many studies are devoted to *only* this question (see for example: Schmid, 2004; or Wight, 2009), so to include a definition of terrorism when the term will be inductively examined through discourse analysis would not give the debate justice and at the same time making the definition superfluous.

## 4. METHOD

This study consists of a three part, mixed method that involves a primary and secondary quantitative analysis forming a corpus or database that together with a qualitative discourse analysis *creates* and *analyzes* the data needed in order to fulfill its aim. This makes it so that the study is *theory creating* in its essence, but also *theory consuming* by using the theories under 3.2 *Conceptual framework*. The study also has the possibility for follow-up studies that may further deepen the knowledge of this subject. However, due to the narrow time frame of the study, the method is limited to the method described below. This study is based upon Swedish readings and analysis, while presented in English. It is important to further highlight that the discourses that are analyzed are based upon a Swedish context.

### 4.1 Methodological basis

The hermeneutical ontology this study uses aims to study the meaning of human action and the products of human action, which it does through interpretation (Gilje & Grimen, 2007: 171). Scientists and researchers using a hermeneutical ontology are working under a form of double hermeneutic: that they on the one hand have to have in mind that the subjects and social actors already has interpreted the world around them, when on the other hand the scientists are doing research in a world derived from their own interpretations (ibid. 177). Actors within a hermeneutical ontology have expectations and prejudice (positive and/or negative) towards what they will study. This is based upon previous experience and the discourse of the actor and means that the researchers using hermeneutics must be very aware of the contexts of what they are studying (ibid. 179-186). Furthermore, the hermeneutically based epistemology *critical realism* that this study has used sees that the world around us is given meaning through social conduct (Sprague, 2005: 39-41). What this has meant for this study is that the research has been done within the cultural contexts and discourses that have been examined, something that makes it harder to regard them as discourses. In order not to see them as common-sense understandings or to take the discourse for granted, a set of questions (see 4.4.2 *Asking Base Questions*) were used in order to ensure that the discourses were examined more fairly (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 21).

### 4.2 Material

All the data gathered for the analysis is retrieved from a Swedish online program called *Mediearkivet (Retriever)*. It is a research archive that covers 95 % of printed newspapers in Sweden, which emanates over 700 printed papers and 2.300 web-based newspapers. It is safe to say that *Mediearkivet* covers the population of this thesis. Similar to searching for an

article in a scientific online archive such as *ProQuest* or *Web of Science*, Mediearkivet uses the function free text searches by coding key words. An example from this study is ("*Islamiska Staten*" OR (*ISIS OR ISIL*) OR *Daesh*) AND *terror*", which will retrieve all the articles including Islamiska Staten (the Islamic State in Swedish), ISIS, ISIL and terror-, with the asterisk opening up for possibilities of suffixes as *terrorist*, *terrorism*, *terrorattack* and similar phrases. Relevant for this study, Mediearkivet has the option of selecting sources of the articles and whether they are printed or digital, which directly condenses the data down to the relevant population. Finally, Mediearkivet has the option to export the data as units, figures or graphs. (Retreiver, n.d.)

### **4.3 Quantitative analysis**

In order to determine relevant key words that were to be used in *Retriever*, a primary quantitative analysis was performed by examining a sample of *randomly stratified* units of analysis within the population. This enabled a secondary, larger quantitative analysis that was made in order to study the frequencies within the full population.

#### **4.3.1 Primary quantitative analysis**

The aim of the primary quantitative study was to highlight a wide base of specific terms (signifiers) used in the newspapers by the journalists regarding ISIS. In order to ensure that the sample was randomly stratified, 10 different articles from *each* newspaper within the scope and population was randomly selected to serve as a basis. A stratified sample ensures that there will be an even distribution of articles from each newspaper, whereas the random selection of news articles was made by using a randomization function in Microsoft Excel. The results of this primary quantitative study was then compiled into a calculating system based upon frequency and categorized based upon its thematic.

#### **4.3.2 Secondary quantitative analysis**

The secondary quantitative analysis created a corpus or database that showed how well manifested the language use from the primary analysis was in the population. When then the order of discourses was to be established in the discourse analysis, this quantitative analysis served as basis for studying how established the discourses were (if established at all), which rendered a relevant and valid order of discourse.

The basis for the search formula was (based on the total amount of articles in the study: 13.685). The significant terms were formulated as shown in 9.1.5 *Secondary quantitative analysis* and the formula was set as follows:

*(“Islamiska Staten” AND (ISIS OR ISIL) AND Daesh) AND [significant]*

#### 4.4 Discourse analysis

Building upon the quantitative database, the qualitative analysis set out to identify main themes of discourse based upon the toolset below. However, while quantitative study focused on the full period between January 2014 and June 2016, the qualitative study focused on two primary months connected main events of ISIS: June, 2014 (Mosul), and November, 2015 (Paris). Important to note is that the two events of Mosul and Paris are in essence two very different types of events and that is something that colored the discourses. The reason why these events were chosen was first of all because of the huge spike of news articles in November 2015 (see *Figure 2.1*) reaching to 1138 articles in just one month, whereas the other closest months had close to 800 articles published as most; and second of all, in June 2014 the newspapers first started to thoroughly cover the news about ISIS. The reason why two events were chosen is due to Foucault’s view of discourse; that its analysis should study the history and transformability of discourses. Furthermore, it is when putting two discourses in contrast to each other that distinctions can be seen.

The articles that were chosen in a similar way as the quantitative analysis, apart from that they needed the property of having a larger and more exhaustive language use, and therefore a minimum word count (WC) was set to >500 words in the article. This created the formula:

*(“Islamiska Staten” AND (ISIS OR ISIL) AND Daesh) WC:>500*

From the generated samples, a quick read through was done in order to exclude irrelevant article samples. Based upon that relevant sample, the final articles were chosen using the randomizing formula used for the primary quantitative analysis.

In order to study the now chosen units of analysis, the qualitative analysis used a discourse analysis framework provided by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau as its main foundation. It operationalized by first identifying all signifiers in the articles, and by identifying chains of equivalence that built nodal points, which then served as the foundation for identification of discourses.

#### 4.4.1 Discourse analysis toolset

- *Signs* or *signifier* is referring to a two-part term including both what is spoken (as an act) and what the speech contained. As an example, there is the spoken or written word of “dad”, and then there is the content of what “dad” entails. The former is related to how the word is formulated, as “mad” or “had”, whereas the latter is related to “mother” or “grand-father”. At this level, the discourse is not yet studied (Bergström & Boréus, 2010: 316).
- *Element* is due to the struggles within the theories of Laclau and Mouffe referring to the multifaceted aspects of a signifier (ibid. 316). Certain elements that are open to interpretation (based upon discourse) are called *floating signifiers*. An example used in this study is the term “terrorist” that is filled with different meaning depending on the significant discourse of the subject (ibid. 316)
- *Moments* are when signifiers and elements start affixing or *close* towards becoming a manifest discourse (ibid. 317).
- *Nodal points* are certain distinct signifiers around which a discourse can be affixed (ibid. 318)
- *Chains of equivalence* are systems of signifiers that together help to manifest a discourse (ibid. 317). In this study this was used to build nodal points.
- *Articulation* is when a signifier is given meaning by comparison to other signifiers. This was used in the study within (*intradiscursively*) and between (*interdiscursively*) discourses in the *order of discourse*.
- *Subject positions* are identities, sometimes multiple at the same time (called overdetermination), that subjects adhere to within a certain discourse (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 319; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 40-42)
- Through an *antagonistic struggle* of discourses, *identities* are shaped and changing (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 320). This was manifested through dichotomies of good vs. evil, peaceful vs. terrorist, life vs. death, etc.

#### 4.4.2 Asking base questions

Following the identification of relevant signifiers and nodal points of discourses, this study used a set of questions provided by Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 145) to ensure that all the units of analysis of this qualitative study were approached the same way.

- “[What are] the aspects of the world to which the discourses ascribe meaning?”

- [What are] the particular ways in which each of the discourses ascribes meaning?
- [What are] the points on which there is a open struggle between different representations?; and
- [Are there] any understandings naturalized in all of the discourses as common-sense?"

#### 4.5 Validity and reliability

Validity is split into three main definitions: that the theoretical definitions and operational indicators correspond; that there are no systematic errors; and the study measures what it is supposed to measure. The two former are determined by *construct validity* (how the study is constructed and operationalized) and the latter is determined by *result validity* (how the results turn out; Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wägnerud, 2012: 57-58). The construct validity was ensured by two main constructed methods. First of all, since there were no previous (condensed) data that could contribute to this question (regarding Sweden), the quantitative study was constructed. This made it so that the qualitative study got more weight to it by showing how frequent the signifiers were used and thereby what role the media has in (re)producing the discourses. Second of all, in order to ensure that the study measured what it was supposed to, the indicators were operationalized by first of all defining the relationship between discourse and power, as well as media and discourse, and through defining the quantitative analysis. Furthermore, recreating the quantitative study, which is called “double coding”, ensured the thesis’ reliability. The original study was conducted on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, 2016, and the double coding was conducted on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August and showed the same results within the same scopes and limitations. The construct validity and reliability of the study thereby ensured high *result validity* (ibid. 57).

Equally important to the validity is that the study should be “objective” in the sense that it can be repeated by other scholars while receiving the same results, as well as it should be able to be understood by readers of the research – it should be *intersubjective*, transparent and value free (Esaiasson, et al., 2012: 25). However, as discussed under *4.1 Methodological basis*, the role of scientists using a discourse analysis may require that they work within the discourses that constructs themselves. First of all, by working from the framework of social constructivism, scientists *always* carry their discourses that thereby color their research. Therefore, the study was constructed in order to minimize the impact of the subjectivity: no understandings was tried to be taken-for-granted and the analysis was thoroughly critical, the method was shaped so that the study can be easily repeated, and finally, it is presented in such a solid, comprehensive and transparent way as possible. This does not ensure the study to be



“objective”, but it enables it to be what Phillips & Jørgensen (2002) 172) refers to as “*plausible to the community of scholars*”.

#### **4.6 Other possible methods**

To ensure the relevancy of the method of this study, a comparison will be made if the study would not have been mixed method, but isolated into either the qualitative or quantitative study. As seen under 4.5 *Validity and reliability* and as can be seen here, the mixed method study provides a solid ground from which it is able to thoroughly fulfill the aim of this study.

##### **4.6.1 Strictly quantitative method**

The possible gains from a strictly quantitative study is first of all that it could be even more intersubjective, leading to solid *quantitative* results. Second of all, it could study a wider range of data, since the qualitative research would not have taken the time it took, and thereby perhaps pointing to even more general coherencies. Thirdly, it could have given room to an even more detailed coding-schematic that went deeper into the quantitative data. However, it is quite apparent that this cannot answer the same questions as this study has aimed for (except for perhaps the first question under 2.1 *Aim*). An analysis of power will need more intrinsic tools than the ones provided by a strictly quantitative method.

##### **4.6.2 Strictly qualitative method**

In contrast to the strictly quantitative method, it is not fully possible to study power relations with a strictly qualitative method in form of discourse analysis. However, there is a big problem in which signifiers to choose. If the signifiers were chosen from the back of the researcher’s head, it would perhaps miss out on many important signifiers or it would be *too* intersubjective (in the eyes of other scholars). Furthermore, these signifiers could not assure that they had any real basis in *reality*. A signifier that is chosen by the researcher may only appear a handful of times in the newspapers. Therefore, by creating the database of potential signifiers through a quantitative analysis, the study is given more authority.

## 5. RESULTS

### 5.1 Quantitative study

The primary quantitative analysis based upon a read-through of news articles within the population generated close to 400 potential signifiers. A full list of the signifiers can be found in the appendix under *9.1 Quantitative analysis*. Here they have been condensed and summarized into a list of categories, where categories that have been condensed from lots of different signifiers have been exemplified with a sub-category (i.e. 1.1.1.). The secondary quantitative analysis was based upon the primary quantitative analysis and ran each signifier through the same system to indicate how many times it had been used. Important to note regarding this analysis is that not all mentions of the signifier is in the context that comes from the primary quantitative analysis. However, the signifiers are still in regards to ISIS and therefore serve their purpose.

#### 5.1.1 Quantification and categorization of signifiers

##### 1. Methods of the Islamic State

- 1.1 Crimes against civilians and others
  - 1.1.1 *terror (7807), kill or death (5449), attack (4715), bomb (3505), threat (3405), violence (2691), weapon (2583), deeds (1879), shoot (1791), suicide attacks (1648), murder (1600), blow up (1419), crimes (1417) explosions (1100), execute (1083), kidnapping and abductions (1007), beheadings (797), hostage (787), punish (583) burnings (447), sectarianism (447), capturing (432), abuse (378), genocide (378), imprisonment (357), torture (282), hanging (242), enslavement (235), wreck havoc (214), crucifixions (203), plunder (183), whippings (146), submit others (108), chemical weapons (104), black-mail (72) mutilations (64), fake executions (16),*
- 1.2 Cultural violence (destroying cultural treasures with sledge hammers, blasting ancient burial sites and monuments)
- 1.3 Fights against Western and regional opponents to take control over strategic regions and/or buildings and functions in society in order to for example gain economic means or weapons
  - 1.3.1 *battle (4899), war (4779), control (3436), West (2703), conflict (1809), power (1499), offensive (1352), oil (1110), economy (1028), prosperity (1002), advancement (809), intensify (773), revenge (391), conquer (396), escalate (334), income (237), take possession (177), expansion (82)*
- 1.4 Mass executions, genocide and persecutions of non-Muslims, (according to ISIS) false Muslims and certain minorities
  - 1.4.1 *See 1.1.1, oppress (286), persecute (199), discrimination (140)*
- 1.5 Economic activities (smuggling and trade with slaves, oil, gaining hundreds of millions (SEK),
  - 1.5.1 *See 1.4.1, Slave (235), sex slave (157), slave keeper or slave trading (10)*
- 1.6 Communication of their acts
  - 1.6.1 *chock (436)*
- 1.7 Implementing strict sharia and following their own strict interpretations of the Quran (taking hands of thieves, punishments such as whipping or crucifixion, forcing women to wear big and covering clothing)
  - 1.7.1 *Sharia (282)*

- 1.8 Radicalization and recruitment of young men (mostly) and women (see 2.1) to travel to them to fight in their jihad
  - 1.8.1 *join (1496), recruit (1165), radical (1117),*

## 2. General perceptions of the Islamic State

- 2.1 ISIS are depicted as follows:
  - 2.1.1 *men (6397), jihad (5160), extremist (3635), damaging (2545), Islamist (2467), Muslim (1798), suicide armed (1705), bombers (1648), warriors (1183), militant (1081), militia (1049), feared (1003), bloody (938), brutal (929), religious (842), ruining (770), equipped (433), network (412), revenge (391), cruel (383), masked (338), clan (321), horrible (314), criminal (303), barbarian (287), motivated (278), dissatisfied (340), cells (226), rapists (216), martyr (196), bearded (155), murderers (142), myth (121), crazy (92), law-less (61), cold-blooded (60), sword (48), well equipped (27), war machine (23), battle wise (17), glorifiers (12), enslavers (10),*
- 2.2 Women and girls are depicted as *wives*; elderly, women, girls and boys seen as victims,
  - 2.2.1 *women (1917), victims (1333), girl (642), boy (485), wives (274),*
- 2.3 Symbolized by the Black Flag of ISIS
  - 2.3.1 *black flag (308)*
- 2.4 “The world’s most extreme terror organization”, World’s most dangerous man/men, The world’s richest and best equipped extremist organization
- 2.5 Acts that are close to the realm of fantasy, studied cruelty
- 2.6 Sometimes seen as “Daesh” or “Daish” (but often followed by “ISIS”)
  - 2.6.1 *Daesh or Da’ish (208)*
- 2.7 A national and international security threat
  - 2.7.1 *crisis (2061), fear (1603), humanitarian (777), horror (648)*

## 3. Effects of the Islamic State

- 1.1 Global worry about ISIS
  - 1.1.1 *worry (2176)*
- 1.2 People fleeing
  - 1.2.1 *flee (6405)*
- 1.3 ISIS being a threat that has to be eradicated (by World Powers), through air strikes and possible support of the enemies of ISIS in the region
  - 1.3.1 *attack (4715), support (3092), West (2703), crisis (2061), air strikes (674), rid (126)*
- 1.4 Repressions of local inhabitants, especially women
- 1.5 In 2014: positive since the oppressive military of Iraq
- 1.6 The UN Security Council in different crisis meetings
  - 1.6.1 *United Nations (2400) crisis meeting (109)*
- 1.7 China and Japan denouncing all acts of terror by ISIS
  - 1.7.1 *China (382), Japan (205)*
- 1.8 The U.S., Iran and Turkey planning (in 2014-2015) to increase their amount of strikes against ISIS
  - 1.8.1 *The U.S. (5509), Turkey (2774), Iran (1394),*
- 1.9 A need (call) for international help
  - 1.9.1 *aid and help (3473), “international help” (12)*

## 4. Sweden and the Islamic State

- 4.1 300 Swedish men and 2800 men with Western passports has travelled to fight with ISIS
  - 4.1.1 *Sweden or Swedish (3875)*
- 4.2 Gothenburg as the main city for individuals travelling to fight for IS and example of Gothenburg where supporters of ISIS were active
  - 4.2.1 *Gothenburg (303)*

- 4.3 A need to sharpen Swedish legislations regarding individuals who travel to train or fight with ISIS
  - 4.3.1 *Swedish law (41)*
- 4.4 ISIS as a security risk
  - 4.4.1 *risk (1864)*

## 5.2 Discourse analysis

In the following segment discourses and identities in relation to power structures will be examined through the scope of two certain events; Paris on November 13, 2015 (referred to as *Paris*), and ISIS's conquering of Mosul and their declaration of a caliphate in June 2014 (referred to as *Mosul*).

### 5.2.1 Mosul - Aftonbladet

The news article from Aftonbladet was published 2014-06-18 and is titled *Beväpnar sig mot Isis* [Arming themselves against Isis]. Already in the title of the article, there are signifiers pointing towards an anti-Isis movement; buried within the language of the article, however, is a struggle between this movement and the discourse of the terrifying and strategically efficient Isis (Granlund, 2014). Three nodal points can be derived: ***terrorism: sectarian war machine, violence and death*** and ***counter-Isis movement***.

Nodal point	Signifiers in chain of equivalence
<i>Terrorism: sectarian war machine</i>	<i>Jihadist, control, brutal offensive, seizing led by Isis, the advancement of Isis, plunder, extremely high grade of violence, thousands of foreign fighters, Isis' march, tactics of attrition, took over the strategically important city of Baqubah (during a few hours)</i>
<i>violence and death</i>	<i>conquered, took over, doomsday prophecy, armed men, death, horror, extremely high grade of violence, thousand civilians estimated to have lost their lives, torture, regular executions, heavy terrorists, Sunni extremism</i>
<i>counter-Isis movement</i>	<i>Barack Obama sending troops to Iraq for the first time in over two years, Iraqi government forces pushed back Isis, 44 rebels executed, took back control over Baqubah, a question of great politics, children as young as 8 years old armed to face Isis, U.S. sent 275 soldiers to protect American interests, symbolic maneuver, give the Iraqis the chance of a profitable future, a new great war in Iraq, Saudi Arabia supporting Sunni extremism and Isis, Iran supporting the Shia led government in Bagdad.</i>

Based upon this article, there is a clear dichotomy that is created by the articulation of the first two and the last nodal points. ISIS is depicted as such a strong actor that the U.S. as a World

power is forced to react in order to save their own interests as well as help the local population. Within the counter-Isis movement, there is also the fact that the Iraqi soldiers (at this stage) are creating a good opposition and challenging ISIS’s advancements.

**5.2.2 Mosul – Dagens Nyheter**

The sample that was studied from Dagens Nyheter was published 2014-06-23 and is titled *Så vill Isis vinna folkets hjärtan* [This is how Isis wants to win the people over]. This title is a signifier of a Isis fighting for the legitimacy of the people (something that according to Arendt would establish power). Three nodal points can be derived: **ISIS as a state** and **terrorism: violence and brutality**.

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>Isis as a state</i>	<i>the black flag of Isis, road reparations, Consumer Ombudsman, department of consumer protection, ice-cream to the children, strict interpretation of Sharia law, Islamic Juridical Courts, handing out food, establishment of religious schools, refined apparatus of propaganda, crime punishment and legitimizing control</i>
<i>terrorism: violence and brutality</i>	<i>thieves get hands cut off, all flags but Isis’ flag are prohibited, women needs to wear full covering clothing, brutal methods, many are horror-struck, punishment by crucifixion or whipping, fear of Isis, terrifying violence, not tolerating any resistance, training of child soldiers, cold blooded executions, war crimes, violent conflicts and Isis is the strongest rebel group.</i>

In this article, ISIS is not only depicted as a strong actor, they are shown as a state on the road to legitimacy. A good description from the article that are further pointing to the nodal point of **Isis as a state** are the words of Nadim Houry from Human Rights Watch: “[t]hey see themselves as a state that has to support the needs of the inhabitants” (TT, 2014; translated). Furthermore, many of the methods identified in 5.1.1 *Quantification and categorization of signifiers* are given more life by the language in this article. An example of this is how they are opening schools and giving ice-cream to children, which the author believes to be a method of training child soldiers. According to Arendt’s theories, this could be an action of trying to manifest legitimacy within the local populations. Another articulation that is created in this article is how ISIS is established as men, whereas women and children are only passive non-actors that have no say.

### 5.2.3 Mosul – Expressen

The article from Expressen was published 2014-06-16 and is titled *Här förs de mot döden* [Here they are brought to death] and is regarding (potential rumors of) mass executions of 1700 Shia soldiers and supporters of the Iraqi regime. It is a quite detailed description referring to videos that ISIS released through their propaganda networks. Two nodal points can be derived from this article: ***terrorism and terrorists as men*** and ***internationalization***.

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>terrorism and terrorists as men</i>	<i>man after man shot, bloody bodies, mass executions, young men shot, masked men, armed men, violent men, black flags, jihadi messages, mass murder, propaganda, armed men took control, all resistance to Isis will be killed, Jihadists from Europe, extremely jihadist, incredibly cruel, terror propaganda, execution videos, hangings</i>
<i>internationalization</i>	<i>fear, a step towards a bloody civil war, Zlatan Ibrahimovic's Milan shirt on one of executed victims, the U.S. evacuating embassy personnel, Iraqi forces killing 297 rebels, reporting from international media, Jihadists from Europe, Swedish security police estimates 80 people has traveled from Sweden to Syria where around 20 have been killed and around 40 dead, thousands of foreign jihadists,</i>

The article also shows the following picture that is fuelling on the nodal point of terrorists as violent men: “Surrounding the killed stands masked and armed men with black banners with Jihadist messages.” (Mattson, 2014; translated). However, not only the perpetrators are men, but also the victims, whereas women and children aren't mentioned. An example from the article is the Iraqi police that had to flee from ISIS and taking his family with him in fear of both ISIS and al-Maliki.

Another interesting point is regarding the second nodal point. When the previous two articles only shows a strong presence of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, this article formulates articulations in comparison to a Western “identity”. For example:

“On one of the strongest pictures, one of the executed persons is wearing a Zlatan Ibrahimovic shirt from Milan.” (Mattson, 2014; translated)

### 5.2.4 Mosul – Svenska Dagbladet

The fourth article regarding the events in Mosul was published 2014-06-13 and is titled *Isis får näring av missnöjet* [Isis is nourished by the discontent]. The article covers the question why and how ISIS has “grown so strong, so quickly” (von Hall, 2014). Four nodal points can

be derived from the article: ***terrorism: strategic advancements, national and international responses, Isis' nourishment and suffering civilians.***

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>terrorism: strategic advancements</i>	<i>Jihadi offensive, offensive of violence, cities have fallen, blitz offensive, fast advancement, try to gain control over Baghdad, preparing offensive towards Fallujah towards Baghdad, long-term objective to create an Islamic state,</i>
<i>national and international responses</i>	<i>deep worry, Iraq's government requesting aid, Iraq's government trying to get control, Iraq's Prime minister al-Maliki paralyzed, Iraqi soldiers fleeing the field, al-Maliki considering air-strikes, How are the U.S. &amp; UN reacting?, Iraq's government calls for American drones, the U.S. wants to avoid a new Iraqi war, UNSC condemns Isis attacks, UN will as soon as possible give humanitarian aid, Iraqi airstrikes around Mosul, al-Maliki wants to declare national emergency,</i>
<i>Isis' nourishment</i>	<i>pent anger in Sunni inhabitants exploited by ISIS, hot bed for support and fighters, gather control, want control over regions with Shia majority, cooperating with other Sunni groups, Shia regime (led by Nouri al-Maliki) lacking support by Sunni, demoralized and tired regime soldiers, regime soldiers fear Isis militia's brutality and relentlessness,</i>
<i>suffering civilians</i>	<i>another stone of burden, half a million people has fled Mosul in the last days, further stream of refugees, develop into a humanitarian crisis, massive refugee pressure from Syria [to Jordan], people more scared of the government's answer to Isis offensive, possible air-strikes, humanitarian catastrophe, UNSC expresses worry for local populations, UN aid "will be an aid on a wound that probably will not stop bleeding in a while", anxiety over what will come with ISIS,</i>

Similar to the article from Aftonbladet, this article also articulates signifiers that between themselves are formulating a dichotomy between the strategic advancements of ISIS and the international community. One way that this is further fuelled is by how the article articulates the suffering community of civilians. "The Isis offensive is another stone of burden on the severely tested Iraqi population" (von Hall, 2014; translated).

Another important aspect that this article brings forth is that of the local support for an anti-Nouri al-Maliki (the former Prime Minister and current Vice President of Iraq) movement of which ISIS was a part during this period. This articulation shows some legitimacy to their movement. However, there is a struggle between this and the above mentioned *national and international responses*.

### 5.2.5 Paris – Aftonbladet

The first sample of the events in Paris is represented by an article titled *TERRORJAKTEN* [The Hunt for Terror or The Terror Hunt], published in 2015-11-15, and is an overview of the events of the night of November 13. Two nodal points can be derived: *terrorism as methodical and targeted violence* and *the attacks as international*.

Nodal point	Signifiers in chain of equivalence
<i>Terrorism as methodical and targeted violence</i>	<i>Seven terrorists, the deeds in Paris, cost of at least 129 lives, 352 hurt, 99 in critical condition, three teams of terrorists, barbarism, independent terror cell, accustomed to war, horrific deeds, organized attacks, cold-blooded, methodical execution of the deed, divided into three teams, shot with Kalashnikovs, shot with automatic weapons towards restaurants and on open streets in central Paris, killed at least 39 people in 15 minutes, hundreds of gun shells from Kalashnikovs, three commenced the massacre in Bataclan, a fourth detonated the bomb belt at a restaurant, one person severely hurt, two hours and 40 minutes later police stormed Bataclan, two terrorists detonated their bomb belts and blew themselves up, a third was shot by police before he detonated the charges around his waist, suicide bombers detonated their charges outside Stade de France, terror attacks, revenge, massacre, the attacks did not have any other goals and places where people gather on Friday nights, maximum attention, strike in the dark, harder for the police to act</i>
<i>the attacks as international</i>	<i>deeds in Paris, terrorists suspected to have fought in Syria, Swedish woman in 20's dead, another Swedish women among the 352 hurt, suicide bomber had tickets to France – Germany game, one terrorist came to Europe through Greece, Syrian passport, terrorists "mentioned" Iraq and Syria, three connected to the deeds arrested in Molenbeek in Belgium, car used in attacks rented in Belgium, one team managed to flee from Paris, American Intelligence through New York Times claims no rumors or warning signs had been shown</i>

As we shall see in the samples from Paris, most of the articles have very detailed accounts regarding the passed events when compared to Mosul. Using very in depth descriptions, this article articulates how very methodical, bloody and even dehumanized the terrorists (as depicted by the article) were in the attacks. This article also shows the international context of the events, not in the same aspects as Mosul, but by mapping the origins of both the terrorists and some of the victims. As we shall see in the following sample, this will contribute to a securitizing language.



### 5.2.6 Paris – Dagens Nyheter

The second sample regarding the Paris events is titled *Självordsbombare kan ha kommit in i EU under täckmantel som flykting* [Suicide bomber may have entered the EU under cover as refugee] and was published 2015-11-15. This article is depicting the origins of some of the terrorists, tracking their paths to Paris. In the article, two nodal points can be found: ***violent terrorism*** and ***the volatility of terrorists***.

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>violent terrorism</i>	<i>three teams carried out the attacks, at least 129 died, all heavily armed, Kalashnikovs, bomb belts, suicide bombers, young man, terrorists mentioned as suicide bombers, individuals of the right caliber (to carry out the attacks), already individuals who are ready to commit terror acts in Europe, violence and moral threshold low after fighting in Syria</i>
<i>the volatility of terrorists</i>	<i>one suicide bomber may have entered Europe under the cover of a refugee, identify the perpetrators by DNA and finger prints, two persons registered as Syrian refugees in Greece, Syrian passport on Stade de Frane suicide bomber, suicide bomber's finger print, registered on Leros, came in small boat from Turkey with 69 other refugees, moved through Macedonia, passport may be forged, another person took the same way, nothing indicates that another Syrian may have entered Europe through Greece, an Egyptian passport found close to a suicide bomber (perhaps one of the victim's), strong indication that the passports are fake, fake Turkish passports, entered Europe with false or stolen passport, many documents flourishing,</i>

As the previous samples also demonstrates, this article also has a language that articulates how violent, systematic and evil the terrorists are. Furthermore it tells how volatile the terrorists are in their being: they have access to false passports and they go under cover as refugees. However, through the words of the terrorist researcher Magnus Ranstorp, doing so is deemed to be an unnecessary effort since “there are already individuals ready to commit terrorist deeds in place in Europe” (Sundberg, 2015-11-15; translated). This articulates how we perhaps are not safe in Europe and that terrorism may strike at anytime.

### 5.2.7 Paris – Expressen

The sample from Expressen is titled *216 minuter som skakade världen* [216 minutes that shook the world]. It was published 2015-11-15 and is a detailed description, including witness statements, of the 216 minutes the event lasted. This is the longest of the articles (close to

3.500 words), which is something that will show in the amount of signifiers. Two nodal points can be derived: *coldblooded terrorism and bloody violence* and *France as beautiful and united*.

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>coldblooded terrorism and bloody violence</i>	<i>loud boom, the sound of terror arriving to the capital of France, three groups, eight men, spreading death and horror on the streets of Paris, seven terrorists dead, Isis sees Paris as the capital of prostitution and the obscene, the worst terror attack in the modern history of France, eight brothers, wrapped in explosive belts, armed with automatic weapons, hit targets chosen in the central parts of Paris, eight spread terror and horror, Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>, many paid with their lives for choosing to eat Cambodian/Vietnamese that evening, sharp bang, the crowd heard the bang over the noise, they heard a suicide bomber, a belt charged with explosives, the man detonates himself, 21:30 another suicide bomber detonates his belt, a third explosion, no victims, suicide bomber, their colleagues in other teams were more successful, armed with Kalashnikovs as the brothers Kouachi that did the Charlie Hebdo attack, two black cars rented by the perpetrators, open fire with their Kalashnikovs towards the guests, she was hit in the chest, gunfire, masses of glass, deadly wounded, didn't know how many men that attacked, fired for what seemed like an eternity, made pause to reload, heard a bang, next moment filled with panic and screams, saw his friend Gabriel on the sidewalk covered in blood, leaving 14 dead, a black dressed armed man, opened fire at a pizzeria from his car, held the gun to his left shoulder, a long automatic gun with magazines underneath, dressed in black tight clothes, seemed like a soldier, a man in military uniform, did not speak a word during the deadly visit, "I heard explosions", he shot for around three minutes, blood everywhere, many victims, three teams, bloodiest and worst part yet to come, madness, 21:49 the terror finally reaches the Batclan, cause a awful and prolonged devastation, "This is for Syria!", dressed in black, no masks, focused, one was very young, looked like any person but had a Kalashnikov, shot at everyone from the back, nowhere to hide, a blood bath, people screamed and screamed, ten horrible minutes, they shot then reloaded then shot again, aimed for the people on the floor, spared no one, when people tried to run they were shot, they shot everyone, including handicapped people in a wheelchair, easy targets, sparing no one, the man moved in the shadows and shot if somebody said something, the worry was big, there are survivors, they shoot everyone, one after one, there were women inside that were panic-stricken, a man tried to calm them down and try to make them not to cause any attention, total horror, death count rising the whole evening, three out of the four men</i>

*had blown themselves with the explosives wired in their belts, lasted for 216 minutes*

*France as beautiful and united*

*many reasons to love Paris, the city of light, the city of love, the city of artists, looking the same since the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with its boulevards and avenues, open-air restaurants and bars, the open-air restaurants still open even though it is mid-November, the nation learnt to love the multicultural national football team after winning the World Cup in 1998, the French national team returned to Stade de France this Friday, La Belle Equipe is fully booked this evening both inside and outside, the Bataclan has in the history hosted French giants as Edith Piaf, when the crowd is let out from Stade de France they sing the French national hymn “the Marseillaise”, Paris taxi cars drive people home for free, Parisians open their doors to strangers so they can sleep, a shaken President Hollande speaks to the nation,*

It comes quite naturally from an article such as this, with such detailed signifiers, that it articulates (same as the others) the dangerousness and violence of the terrorists. How they “fire for what seemed for an eternity” and how ISIS “cheered” after the attack. Furthermore, what is very apparent in this article is how the language use creates an articulation and dichotomy between the bright and beautiful Paris and the dark and masked terrorists. Or taken to its extreme: between the Good and the Evil.

### 5.2.8 Paris – Svenska Dagbladet

The sample from Svenska Dagbladet is titled *Timmarna som skakade Paris hjärta* [The hours that shook the heart of Paris], was published 2015-11-14, and covers the 24 hours that has passed during and following the events. Two nodal points can be derived: ***indiscriminate violence*** and ***French aftermath***.

<b>Nodal point</b>	<b>Signifiers in chain of equivalence</b>
<i>terrorist violence and war</i>	<i>two bloody terror attacks, thoroughly chosen victims in first attack, this time wide and indiscriminating, heavily armored police, number of dead 80 to 160, at least 129 dead, most violent deed in France since the second world war, suicide bombers, eight perpetrators, two bombs, explosions, death shootings, the targets of the enemy, anyone could have been chosen, attacks against regular Parisians in their everyday life, violent makers and extremists, “Now we’re at war”, 80 people shot to death, shooters blew themselves up, act of war, answered without mercy, terror cell behind the attacks, body bags lined up on the ground, violent, deadly, seven attacks, may strike again, not ordinary and peaceful Muslims that has lived side by side in generations, terrorist group, terrorists spoke Arabic, eight</i>

*terrorists killed 129 civilians*

*French aftermath*      *fear of gathering in larger groups, woman rampantly crying, hug from an older lady, people lighting candles and writing strengthening words about compassion and love, “Je suis Charlie”, same scene as Charlie Hebdo but different, small crowds, police wants to avoid larger crowds that may be victims of new terrorist, time for the French to take back their country, civilian polices, notably concerned older lady, crying young woman, cannot stop crying, in January media highlighting not to generalize ordinary and peaceful Muslims as terrorists, today headlines of France being in war, national emergency, counter terrorists without mercy, French have to show compassion, solidarity, unity and nerves of steel, France has to be strong against the terror, she has to be grand and the leadership hard, and we will, xenophobic reactions from man in bomber jacket and boots, does not feel at home in France any more, we’re surrounded by people from other countries, shops are closed and boardwalks empty, recommendations to stay inside, the destiny is the destiny, I refuse to be scared.*

“France has to be strong against the terror, she has to be grand and the leadership hard, and we will” (Küchler, 2015, November 14; translated). This was the words of President Francois Hollande following the attacks. This articulates the state as a protector and patron against the evil that is terrorism, which is to be defeated by “relentless” war, which is justified in the article through the articulation of that is a revenge of the attacks. Restaurant guests, concert visitors, football lovers, young and old are the ones in need of protection. In short: every one on the Good side of the dichotomy. What is also articulated in this article builds upon what is stated under 5.2.3 *Mosul – Expressen*, namely that the state and men (terrorists, Hollande, Obama, and others) are the actors of terrorism, whereas women are depicted as suffering, crying and in need of help.

### 5.3 Identifying discourses

By analyzing the nodal points and articulations from the section above, this section will present which discourses can be found (given a limited *order of discourse*), what subject positions and identities they reproduce, and what they include, exclude and what knowledge they have as taken-for-granted. First out is the discourse of **terrorism**, then the discourse of **ISIS as evil, dangerous and feared** and **(Western) states as a good**, and finally the discourse of **the male terrorist and the female victim**. These discourses will be studied using the questions from 4.4.2 *Asking base questions*.

### 5.3.1 Terrorism

Terrorism is a prime example of a floating signifier that has been a subject of transformation between Mosul and Paris. First and foremost, it is well manifested in the quantitative analysis as just the term *terror* itself has been used many times. Interestingly, during Mosul, ISIS is seen as rebels and insurgencies, they are seen as brutal extremists wanting to realize Sharia law in Iraq and the Levant, and they are even called a *sectarian war machine* and a jihadist army. Not even once are they called *terrorists* in the sample even though they are using similar methods (executions, kidnappings, shootings, etc.) and its attached propaganda of videos and Tweets. So there is a big divergence between the Islamist group and the Terrorist group. There may be two reasons for this: either this is due to the fact that Mosul and Paris are different types of events, or that Mosul laid a foundation of ISIS as a force to be reckoned with that uses violent methods in their progression. Not only that, but the “truth” and “knowledge” about Islamic State are seen to be more of a common-sense knowledge in Paris than in Mosul.

The second aspect of the discourse of terrorism is how the empty signifier of terrorism is filled of signifiers during the Paris events. The meaning of the terrorist discourse is ascribed through the violent actions of for example *suicide bombings, shootings, massacre, horrific acts, barbarism* and creating a *blood bath*. Thus the floating signifier of terrorism is given meaning through the actions of ISIS and the “truth” is hegemonically manifested. A way through which there could have been a struggle of this knowledge is through the classical motto “one person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighter” (Hoffman, 2010: 13). There are signs of this regarding the events in Mosul where the local population are happy to be rid of al-Maliki’s government rule and welcomed change (von Hall, 2014). At the same time however, Human Rights Watch workers warned the local populations of ISIS (TT, 2014).

A third aspect of the discourse of terrorism is the transformation from national (regarding Syria *and* Iraq) to international view of terrorism. In Mosul, most of the notions regarding ISIS were regarding what they did inside the borders of mostly Iraq and Syria: they took *control* and they committed terrorist actions towards the local population. When spoken about the internationality of ISIS it was mostly regarding its *multi-nationality* of Europeans travelling *to* Iraq and Syria to fight. In comparison, during the Paris events, the internationality was mostly regarding terrorists travelling *from* Iraq and Syria into Europe. Some indications points to that they go as refugees, others as home comers, and others as

radicalized at home. Therefore, the transformation can be seen as having shifted from terrorism far away to now being closer.

When being affected to a struggle with this discourse, the consumers are subjected into identities of the “we” being largely under threat of a growing and advancing ISIS with a wide reach throughout the world; the subject positions thereby being for example *threatened* and *possible victims* of the attacks, but also *peaceful* and *civilized* since the binary oppositions show “them” as violent and barbaric. As we shall see with the next discourse, this will be further extended.

### 5.3.2 The Islamic State as evil, dangerous and feared

This discourse is given meaning by the articulations of the acts and actions of ISIS. In the samples from Mosul, the *moment* of ISIS is starting to be fixed within the discourse. At this time they are seen as a rebel militia that quickly and forcedly are gaining ground and taking control of regions in Syria and Iraq, and even capturing Mosul. In their endeavors in 2014, ISIS is described around nodal points such as *sectarian war machine*, *Isis as a state* and *strategic advancements*. Not only that, but they lay death and horror behind them (Granlund, 2014). A floating signifier that gives a lot of meaning to this part of the discourse is *the black flag of ISIS*. The reason for this is because the flag gets filled with meaning of ISIS’s conquest and spreading in the regions, as well as the death, executions and prosecutions that follow their path.

What this did was to lay the foundation for the discourse of how ISIS were depicted during the Paris attacks. For example in 5.2.3 *Mosul – Expressen* there are signifiers of violence in the rumors of systematic executions. There is a *intradiscursive* transformability regarding the violence that has moved from a view of a reporting of *structural* violence, to a reporting of *direct* violence. The difference between structural and direct violence being that the latter is visible, manifest and personal (Galtung, 1969). Surely, there are nodal points and signifiers in Mosul that point to a manifest violent agenda of ISIS, but it does not compare to the violence in Paris. In addition, the articles regarding Mosul are discussing the structural and violent implementation of ISIS (establishing a Caliphate).

What else can be derived from the transformability of the discourse in between Mosul and Paris is that the signifier of *ISIS* has become more fixed. Related to the discourse of terrorism above, the “truth” about ISIS is more manifest in the articles from Paris. This is shown since there are no problematizing or explaining of the background or goals of ISIS. In Eriksson

(2014, November 15; Aftonbladet) however, it is explained that the attacks were a revenge for the French intervention against ISIS, and according to Larsson (2015, November 15; Expressen) the shooters inside Bataclan claimed that “[t]his is for Syria” (translated). This is only pointing to the reason behind these certain events however.

A final part that builds this discourse is how the perpetrators themselves are described. Generally, this has been quite continuous since Mosul, but there are signifiers that further fuel the discourse that can be found in Paris. As can be seen in for example Mattson (2014, June 16) and Larsson (2015, November 15), the terrorists are depicted as young, masked men. Not only that, but they are also regarded not only as terrorists but as *suicide bombers* and *shooters*, giving them an even stronger discourse of evil action. Many of which come from Europe, have an easy way of coming here or may be in Europe right this moment. Furthermore, they are *radicalized, dehumanized, organized, committed, methodical* and *cold-blooded*. The discourse is given meaning through the dichotomy of reproducing structures of “us-versus-them” or “the Other” as Edward Said (1978) famously depicts it. The discourse reproduced by the media is therefore building upon these fearsome pictures of “the Other”, and similar to the discourse of *terrorism*, this also shows how the “we” are put into subject positions as *good, peaceful* and *not to be feared* based upon the binary oppositions.

### 5.3.3 States as good and protectors

Who is supposed to save the “us” from “the Other”? This has a very state-centered discourse, where the meaning comes from the state as protectors. Important to note is that *state* in this case also is a part of the discourse of ISIS (see 2.1.4 *Regarding ISIS*), in between which there is an antagonistic struggle. As can be seen in the quantitative and qualitative studies, different states (mostly Western) and international organizations are mentioned in the context of countering ISIS, with the exception of Saudi Arabia that is once mentioned to support anti-Iraqi rebel groups including ISIS (Granlund, 2014, June 18). The state is depicted as powerful and with the possibilities to perform different sanctions against ISIS. For example: one of the commonly mentioned sanctions are *air strikes*. Interestingly, it was due to the air strikes and other sanctions against ISIS that they committed the events in Paris (Larsson, 2014, November 15); however, there are not many regards to a problematizing outlook of the role of the state as *both* protector and perpetrator in this conflict. Al-Maliki’s Iraqi government is depicted as a failed state that endangers its population and therefore part of the problem, but Obama’s U.S. is only seen as beneficial in their endeavors to support the anti-Isis movement (that includes al-Maliki’s Iraq). Thus, the discourse of the state is has a naturalized

understanding of the state as good and ascribes meaning through its power to create change and that the “we” shall put trust in the states in the international arena to solve this issue. This establishes strong subject positions of the consumers’ “us” being *good citizens, civilized* or *democratic*, since the essence of the state plays such importance in the discourse. As previously stated, based upon the binary oppositions, this is further emphasized by the previous two discourses.

#### 5.3.4 The active male and the inactive female

Finally, there is the discourse of the active male terrorist and the inactive female victim. This discourse ascribes meaning through the articulation between the active man and the passive woman. Men in the discourses are actors both regarding the terrorists (as mentioned above) and the protectors. The latter is much due to leaders of countries being talked about as “Obama”, “Hollande”, “al-Maliki” or even “Stefan Löfvén”, whereas women are almost exclusively referenced as victims, as forced to wear full covering clothes under the implementation of Sharia law (Mosul) or crying and mourning (Paris). Thus, men are active in the sense that they commit the crimes or should react and stop the crimes, whereas women are seen as inactive bystanders or victims. There has not been a large transformation of the discourse, but there is an intra-discursive articulation that ascribes meaning and truth to the discourse where the roles of the “man” and the “woman” are seen as naturalized. There are of course exceptions, but they are rather an exception that proves the rule. What this means is that even though “Merkel” is also mentioned in regard to the Charlie Hebdo events, the German Chancellor is still the only one mentioned in a group of men. One example of the contrary is an article that was used as the foundation for the primary quantitative study called *Vaga uppgifter odlar myten* [Vague information grows the myth] (Dagens Nyheter, Sample 4). Even though it has many signifiers that depicts ISIS as violent men and uses the signifier of the black flag, it also lifts the notion of fighters from ISIS fearing female soldiers from the Kurdish Peshmerga forces. The reason being that if they are killed by a female from the Peshmerga, the “martyrs” (fighters from ISIS) will not get their 72 virgins in heaven (Ohlsson, 2014, November 04).



## 6 ANALYSIS

This following section will analyze and answer the questions under 2. *Aim* by tying together the conceptual framework with the results from the quantitative and qualitative studies. The first question (under 6.1) will answer how the landscape of the reporting looks like. The second question (under 6.2) will answer what that landscape implies for the consumers and their discourses. Then building upon the first and second question, the third question (under 6.3) will answer what potential power structures and discourses that is affected by the news reporting about ISIS.

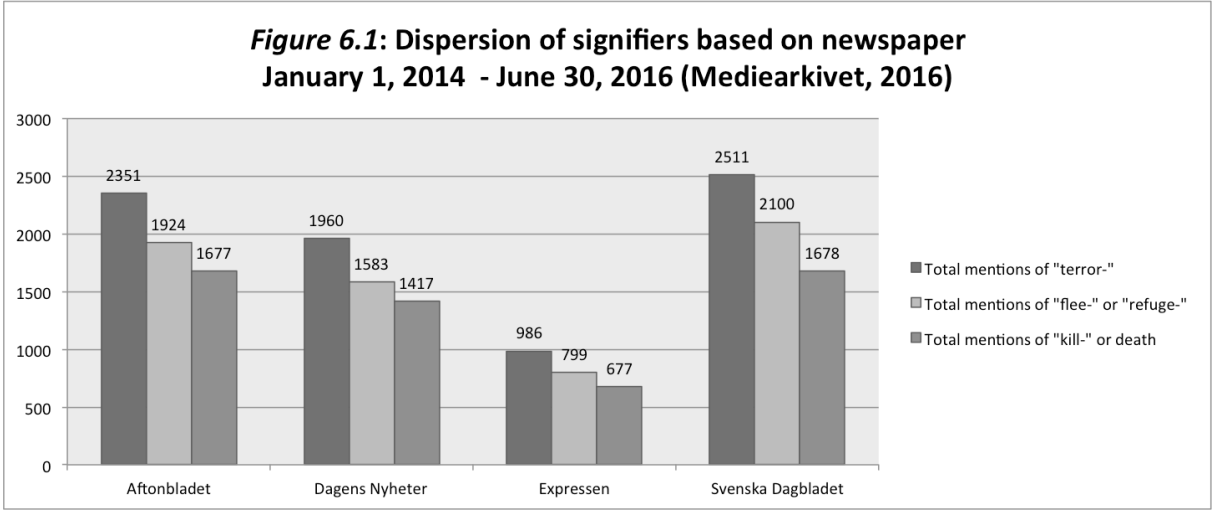
### 6.1 Negative connotations within the sphere of consensus

1. *How is the landscape of news reporting regarding the Islamic State constructed in terms of language use?*

This question is regarding the database of signifiers that was created. As can be derived by the mapping of language extracted by the quantitative study under 5.1.1 *Quantification and categorization of signifiers*, the language use revolves mostly around the methods and descriptions of ISIS, and the struggle between ISIS and different states around the world. Some of the most used signifiers are *terror* (7807), *flee* (6405), *men* (6397), *the U.S.* (5509), *jihad* (5160) *kill or death* (5145), *battle* (4899), *war* (4779) and *attack* (4715), all of which goes in line with the idea that “violence [or tragedy (author’s addition)] sells” and therefore is used to describe. Such signifiers with a “negative outlook” of the conflict (in the eyes the consumers of the media) are the clear majority of the database. There are other signifiers as *aid and help* (3473) or *support* (3092) that may cause a struggle for the construction of the landscape of news reporting, but evidently when looking at the database there is a clear deficit of such similar signifiers that may clearly be drowned by the presence of the signifiers with a negative outlook.

Another interesting aspect can be found when looking at the dispersion between the language uses from the different newspapers. Take for example three of the most mentioned signifiers *terror*, *flee/refuge(e)* and *death/kill*. Signs shown in *Figure 5.1* show that there is a similar spread the signifiers from each newspaper and the amount of articles from each newspaper (as shown in *Figure 1.1*). This could be an indication of the normalization of the “sphere of consensus” as mentioned by Ward (2011) since it implies a similar usage of language from each newspaper. This can be seen as quite natural as the opposition that comes from a *pro-Isis* media does not have any room in the mainstream media. However, there is an anti-Isis

movement aside from the counter measures committed by states that could have a bigger room in the “sphere of legitimate controversy”. An example of this could be the Kurdish women fighting against Isis mentioned above.



Therefore, the answer of the first question is that the landscape of news reporting regarding ISIS is emphasized upon the negative connotations about ISIS itself, and that it is mostly reported from within the “sphere of consensus”. This is leaving potential struggles from positive connotations of *anti-Islamic State* movements less room, which creates less possibilities of legitimate controversy.

**6.2 The Securitized Plurality**

*2. How is the reporting about ISIS manifested in consumers’ discourses?*

This will focus on the discourses identified under 5.3 *Identifying discourses*. According to the Marxist view of discourse according to Mouffe & Laclau, and the discontinuity and transformability of discourses according to Michel Foucault, these discourses will come into a struggle with discourses of the consumer of the news.

First and foremost, as discussed earlier, the reporting of ISIS is reproducing discourses of “us-versus-them” dichotomies; ISIS is due to the internationalized transformation and the descriptions of them as evil and dangerous perceived as a threat that is imminent and may happen close by. At the same time as the “them” is distinguished as evil and dangerous, the “us” in the lines of Derrida’s binary oppositions (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2014: 78-79) is perceived as good and safe, which is building the identity of the “us” through struggle and hegemonic intervention. This is further exemplified by the discourses of the state as good and protectors of the “us”, which has two major implications: first of all that different questions

get *securitized*, which in turn leads to the second point that the sanctions of the protector are legitimized by the power of the plurality. As described under 3.2.5 *Securitization*, this existential threat can be a sign of a securitization move since the *identity* of the “us” is being challenged by the external threat of the “them”. This securitization move is largely driven by the discourses of *Terrorism* and *ISIS as evil, dangerous and feared*. By reporting as the newspapers do, this further expedites the security move. Then what question is it that is *securitized*? A common theme in the post-9/11 era is that the picture of the terrorists painted by the newspapers as for example male (linked to the discourse of *The active male and the inactive female*) from the Middle East, speaking Arabic and perhaps wearing a turban (fuelled not only by the language use, but also the imagery and pictures) are securitized (see for example Meeropol, 2015; Carmody, 2005; or Ahluwalia & Pelletiere, 2010). Thus the mere picture of “them” as “terrorists” is securitized.

What is interesting is also what this implies in regard to the discourse of *The State as good and protector*. Connecting to the power theory according to Hanna Arendt (1970), the power and, more importantly, the legitimacy lies in the eyes of the *Plurality*. As the studied newspapers reaches a majority of the population in Sweden, it is possible to claim that many discourses of consumers in Sweden are put to a struggle. No matter how efficient for each individual, the identified discourse and their implementations on identities, grants *more* legitimacy to different sanctions that the state commits. In the context of the Swedish state, this could have an effect on the sanctions taken on migration laws, on the Swedish weapons exports or how Swedes see the airstrikes committed against ISIS by the French government supported by the EU member states.

So, to answer the second question of this study the discourses reproduced by the newspapers’ language use is manifested through a *Securitized Plurality*, meaning a securitizing move that grants legitimacy to sanctions against the threat through the plurality of the Swedish population.

### 6.3 The Smartphone Panopticon?

3. *What role does the media have in reproducing discourses and by extension power structures?*

Building on the two earlier questions, this question will study the role of the media in the light of Michel Foucault's view of both power/knowledge and disciplinary power. The role of the media as we can see in this study, revolves around the act that they reproduce discourses that cause an identity struggle for its consumers that in the end lead to a securitizing move. All of the studied newspapers has a similar language use to each other in their news reporting, much due to the events being what they are which create a sphere of consensus around ISIS. This consensus is also the foundation of the knowledge and "truth" created about ISIS: since it is seen to be the hegemonic view of the situation (of which *The male as active and the female as inactive* as a great example, whereas the reality of the situation may be quite different). Therefore, in connection to what has been said about the identity of the consumers, they become produced as subjects under this truth through consuming the news about ISIS and being more or less affected by the discursive struggle. Thereby, by reproducing the "truth" and knowledge of ISIS, the newspapers also have a power over the consumers in that they produce them as subjects in relations to the discourses, and by extension the consumers' identities.

Interestingly, this is not the only role that the media has in regards to reproduction of discourse and power. Looking back to the globalization processes and the immediacy, exclusivity and drama of news regarding terrorism has nowadays, the consumers are even more closely knitted to the events of for example Mosul and even more plainly of Paris. This gets even more evident as the consumers can follow the events in real-time using the electronic versions of the newspapers on their computer or the (possible) smartphones in their pockets. Thus, this subject-production (or *subjection*) by the identified discourses and *power/knowledge* is immediate from whenever and wherever it happens (given that it has a "news worth") directly to affect the consumer, which can be symbolized by the *smartphone* as a beacon of technology today.

So how does this affect the consumers? The consumers' subjection leads to that they can be subjected to the discourses of the newspapers at any time, which to its extent means that *terrorism* and *ISIS as evil, dangerous and feared*, is always *possibly* present and there is an imminent threat to the "us". Given that the idea of the *securitized plurality*, the consumers are

therefore *disciplined* into recognizing this imminent threat and is constantly reminded of it in times of frequent actions from ISIS. Thus, the smartphone can be seen as acting as a window of a guard tower in Bentham's Panopticon that constantly may or may not reproduce the discourses and subject-production. This, put together with the smartphone as a metaphor of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, creates the concept of the *Smartphone Panopticon*.

To answer the final question, the media has the role of producing news that reproduces structures of *power/knowledge* that produces subjects of its consumers in relation to both ISIS itself, and the surrounding discourses. This in turn means that the media creates a *Smartphone Panopticon* that disciplines the consumers into always recognizing the "us" under potential existential threats coming from "them".

## 7. CONCLUSION

This study has shown through a quantitative and qualitative analysis, how the news reporting regarding the Islamic State from the four biggest newspapers in Sweden through negative connotations creates “us-versus-them” dichotomies and an immediate, existential threat against the “us”. The discourses of terrorism and the Islamic State as evil and dangerous in comparison to the state as good and protective causes a securitization move and identity shift called *the Securitized Plurality* that legitimizes the states’ actions towards the terrorist group. Furthermore, the quantitative study shows that as the reporting from the newspapers are within the sphere of consensus, there is hegemonic and uncontested truth about the Islamic State that is reproduced in almost all articles. Finally, the immediacy of news today reproduces a discourse of pending and local threat. Symbolized by the smartphone as a beacon of technology today, this creates aspects of the news that reproduces power structures that are disciplinary; called the *Smartphone Panopticon*. The study finds general trends from previous studies (i.e. *terrorists as evil* and *the media as a consensus*), however in the certain context there are important applications. Firstly, it can be an *empirically manifested* warning flag for society to have a critical eye towards what is consumed, and that even though the acts of ISIS are horrendous. we are subjects to power relations when we consume it. Secondly, it could also be a heads-up to the media, showing how society and themselves can benefit from legitimate controversy – i.e. reporting more about local resistance to the group.

### 7.1 Future research

However, this study is but a small excerpt of a larger structure; there is always the possibility to further research to further understand the problem. First of all, it would be interesting to study what this *really* means in the life of the consumers. Is there a securitization of the refugee situation in Sweden due to the media reporting about the Islamic State, and how well are the dangers perceived by the consumers *in reality*? Second of all, it would be interesting to study the states’ sanctions and see how legitimized they really are. In Sweden, the recent changes in migration law had a large discussion. Is it possible to study how the newspapers discourses contributed to this? Thirdly, it can be interesting to study how well grounded these discourses are in consumers identities, perhaps through an interview series or questionnaires. Fourthly, it would be interesting to study the newspapers choose to report and why they report. Then finally, it would of course be interesting to similar studies with another group or event as a scope; perhaps one that it turns out does not have such a consensus around it.

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## 9. APPENDIX

### 9.1 Quantitative analysis

#### 9.1.1 Primary quantitative analysis – Aftonbladet

Aftonbladet	News article name [Translation]	Publishing date	Signifiers (Swedish)
Sample 1	<b>Islamiska staten - högt spel av Isis</b> [ISIS - dangerous game by Isis]	2014-06-30	global underkastelse, avsky bland motståndare, automateld, svarta flaggor, korstfästning, straff, massavrättningar, veckors offensiv, hot mot alla länder, utsätta för diskriminering, mota tillbaka isis, missnöje bland sunniter, internationell jihadism, ISIS krig mot al-Qaida
Sample 2	<b>Isis offer</b> [The victims of Isis]	2014-09-03	terrororganisationen, systematisk grymhet, tagit kontroll, människor på flykt
Sample 3	<b>Turkiet attackerar Islamiska Staten</b> [Turkey attacks ISIS]	2015-07-24	turkisk soldat dödad av IS, turkisk attack mot ISIS, skottväxling, turkiet trappar upp mot IS, stöd från amerikanska stridsflyg
Sample 4	<b>Rebellarmén i Irak: Mer än bara Isis</b> [The rebel army in Iraq: More than just Isis]	2014-06-21	jihadistiska isis, skepnad, maskerade män, rädda Mosul från regeringsstyrkor, Isis bär skägg, klankrigare, svarta flaggor
Sample 5	<b>Turkisk polis har frihetsberövat 13</b> [Turkish police has taken 13 into custody]	2016-06-30	attack mot flygplats i Istanbul, IS-celler, personer i kontakt med IS-medlemmar, inte säkert om IS utförde attack mot flygplatsen, pekar mot Daesh, typiskt för IS
Sample 6	<b>IS har bränt ihjäl upp till 40 personer i Irak'</b> [IS has burned 40 people to death in Iraq]	2015-02-19	terrorsekt, bränt ihjäl människor, dödat minst 40 poliser och stam-män, de flesta brända till döds, tagit kontroll över stora områden, vidrigheter, utsätta civila för vidrigheter, oron för IS, IS framfart, terrorsekt, förfölja kristna, 21 kristna fick halsen avskurna, nationella säkerhetshot, stor oro i Italien, risk med Daesh (IS, red. anm.),
Sample 7	<b>Vi måste prata om förföljelsen av kristna</b> [We have to talk about the prosecution of Christians]	2014-05-16	gravid kristen kvinna dömd till hängning efter att ha lämnat islam, tvingar kristna att konvertera eller betala guld i avgift, annars väntar svärdet
Sample 8	<b>Journalist halshuggen av IS</b> [Journalist beheaded by IS]	2014-09-02	avrättning, video, "denna onda allians av Amerika mot Islamiska staten"
Sample 9	<b>Stoppa svenska IS-rekryteringen</b> [Stop the Swedish IS recruitment]	2014-08-27	ansluter sig till IS, skärpa svensk lagstiftning, säkerhetsrisk, utstuderad grymhet, 80 svenskar, nyrekrytering, inte staten som stoppar terrorism, pressa tillbaka IS med militära medel, stoppa IS inkomstmöjligheter

<b>Sample 10</b>	<b>Hjälp når Sinjar-berget</b> [Help reaches Sinjar mountain]	2014-12-21	jihadistgrupp, ingen hjälp till kurdiska grupper på 75 dagar, behöver hjälp, driva ut IS
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### 9.1.2 Primary quantitative analysis – Dagens Nyheter

<b>Dagens Nyheter</b>	News article name [Translation]	Publishing date	Signifiers (Swedish)
<b>Sample 1</b>	<b>FN-stöd för kamp mot rebeller i Irak</b> [UN support for fight against rebels in Iraq]	2014-01-11	FN ger fullt stöd till Irak i kamp mot rebeller, Iraks insatser hyllade mot ISIS
<b>Sample 2</b>	<b>Det blodiga spelet om Mellanöstern</b> [The bloody game for the Middle East]	2014-09-06	hela nationer rämnar, IS är krigsmaskin, risk för kidnappning, blodigt inbördeskrig, humanitärt krisläge, flyktingkaos, sjukdomar och svält, laglöshet, krigsbrott och kidnappningar, folkmord, IS slåss på tre fronter i Syrien, IS krigare, IS har medvind, vidriga avrättningsbilder, västlig media återger IS dåd med detaljrikedom, skräckinjagande och mytomspunnen utstrålning, Dai'sh (arabiska namnet på IS), snabba som öken vinden, invånare flyr för sina liv, IS extrema tolkning av sunniislam, avfallingar våldtas eller mördas, ett blodindränkt dödens fält, extrem variant av sharia, genomföra läror genom våld och terror, terrorgrupper, väpnad kamp, jihadist, utbrett skräckvälde, välbeväpnade, motiverade, stridsvana, mördarmaskin som följer sina egna lagar, erövra nytt territorium, sunnitiskt revanschtänkande, bytta upp en slagstyrka i Irak och föra över krigare till Syrien, korsat turkiska gränsen kallad "Jihadisternas motorväg", maskerade män, svarta flaggor, hämnd på kolonialherrarna, revansch, spår på våldet och oron, rädsla för att det islamistiskt färgade våldet sprider sig, USA vill ge stödpaket till IS- och Assad-motståndare, vapen och pengar kan hamna hos IS, våldsamt utveckling i regionen, IS framstår som det överskuggande globala säkerhetshotet, IS ingen formell stat, IS verkar utvidga sina gränser, IS lockar missnöjda sunnimuslimer, halshuggningar, korsfästelser, kidnappat, tillfångatagit i strid, anklagat för brott, tiotusentals flytt undan IS, IS dränker nationsgränserna i blod

<b>Sample 3</b>	<p><b>Erik Ohlsson: Det handlar om terror - inte religion</b></p> <p>[Erik Ohlsson: It is about terror - not religion]</p>	2015-02-27	terror, inte religion, skövla kulturskatter, terrorsekt, krossar tretusenåriga statyer med släggor, uppröra en hel värld, inbördesstrider, plundringar, kulturell katastrof, sekterism, våldsam extremism, IS-terrorister, sprängde gravmonument, religiös plikt, religion eller folkgrupp förstörs i konflikt, inget i Koranen om att förstöra misshagliga bilder, IS tvingar folk att underkasta sig, barbarernas gärningar, IS förstör ovärderlig konst, säkerhetsråd i krismöte, halshugga fångar, 220 assyrier bortförda, IS lockar kvinnor
<b>Sample 4</b>	<p><b>IS väntas ge besked om japanska gisslans öde</b></p> <p>[IS expected to give notice regarding Japanese hostage's fate]</p>	2015-01-23	japansk gisslan, terrorgrupp, hotar döda, japan hjälper icke-militära sanktioner mot IS, endast humanitära ändamål, inte ge efter IS hot, dödshot mot japaner,
<b>Sample 5</b>	<p><b>Islamister frigav fyra franska journalister</b></p> <p>[Islamists released four French journalists]</p>	2014-04-20	fransmän togs som gisslan av IS, extrem islamistisk grupp, fransmän lyckliga av att vara fria, skönt att se himlen
<b>Sample 6</b>	<p><b>Vaga uppgifter odlar myten</b></p> <p>[Vague information grows the myth]</p>	2014-11-04	kidnappningar, sexslaveri, offentliga avrättningar, övergrepp, våldshandlingar, gränsar till fantasins värld, IS krigare, IS krigare fruktar att dö av kvinnliga krigare från kurdiska styrkor, martyrer i himlen, rörelsens svarta flagga
<b>Sample 7</b>	<p><b>IS har sprängt världsarv i Palmyra</b></p> <p>[IS has blown up world heritage in Palmyra]</p>	2015-06-24	terrorgrupp, förstört historiska ruiner, IS-stridande, sprängmedel, placerat ut minor runt ruiner, skövlat fornminnen
<b>Sample 8</b>	<p><b>IS tjänade hundratals miljoner på kidnappningar</b></p> <p>[IS gained hundreds of miljons SEK on kidnappings]</p>	2014-10-26	tjänat hundratals miljoner kronor, avrättning, kallblodigt, rullande kamera, utsatta fångar, tortyr, skenavrättningar, sammanlagt 270 miljoner kronor, samtliga har avrättats
<b>Sample 9</b>	<p><b>FP kräver straff för IS-krigare</b></p> <p>[The Swedish Liberals demands punishment for IS-fighters]</p>	2015-01-21	hårda straff, terrororganisationen, straffbart med terrorresor, kriminalisering, upp mot 80 personer har kommit tillbaka till Sverige från IS
<b>Sample 10</b>	<p><b>USA planerar nya attacker mot IS</b></p> <p>[The U.S. Plans new attacks on IS]</p>	2014-08-25	utöka attacker, terrororganisationen, IS framgångar på slagfältet, kurdiska trupper försvarar, USA planerar angripa IS med bland annat flygangrepp

### 9.1.3 Primary quantitative analysis – Expressen

Expressen	News article name [Translation]	Publishing date	Signifiers (Swedish)
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<b>Sample 1</b>	<p><b>FOLKET FLYR FRÅN MOSUL</b></p> <p>[THE PEOPLE IS FLEEING FROM MOSUL]</p>	2014-06-13	familjer flyr, IS hade vapen som kan skjuta ner helikoptrar, tog kontroll, en halv miljon på flykt, skottlossningar, explosioner, invånare trötta på krig (amerikanska invasionen och sektaristiskt våld), orolig för att IS tar makten, explosion i Mosul, död, strikt sharialag, straff, piskrapp, stöld ger avhuggen hand, kvinnor ska bära stora kläder, invånare lämnar hem, orolig att Maliki svarar med bomber, IS tagit kontroll, invånare glada att de är av med Maliki,
<b>Sample 2</b>	<p><b>IS tar på sig skulden - via hemliga chattar</b></p> <p>[IS takes the credit - through secret chats]</p>	2016-03-22	jihadistgrupp, tar på sig skuld, dåd i Bryssel, världens mest fruktade terrorgrupp, blodiga självmordsdåd, terrorstämplade, hemliga krypterade chattar, stora nätverk av anhängare, bombdåd, bombbälten, sprängmedel, Amaq (IS nyhetsbyrå), fungerar som nätverk, IS har hjälpdesk för terrorister, explosioner på flygplats och tunnelbanestation
<b>Sample 3</b>	<p><b>Medfången: James Foley blev syndabock</b></p> <p>[Fellow prisoner: James Foley became the scapegoat]</p>	2014-08-22	dödad kollega, vän, bästa cellkompis, halshuggning, rädsla för säkerhet, kallt, svält, Foley delade med sig, fasansfullt filmklipp,
<b>Sample 4</b>	<p><b>NOURAN, 6, I TRYGGHET</b></p> <p>[NOURAN, 6, IN SAFETY]</p>	2015-09-08	Assads bomber, IS massavrättningar, tack Sverige, tack Danmark, tack Tyskland, tack Europa, omöjligt att leva i Syrien, ingen skola eller framtid för barnen, Assad är galen och förstör, IS är galen och förstör, Daesh (IS) tog över stad - omöjligt att bo kvar,
<b>Sample 5</b>	<p><b>Isis terrorarmé avancerar mot Bagdad</b></p> <p>[Isis terror army advancing toward Baghdad]</p>	2014-06-14	konflikt i Irak, terrororganisation, Isis avancerar mot bagdad, stora framgångar, offensiv, lyckats ta kontroll, oljerika staden Kirkyk, USA och Iran kan blinda sig i, flygattacker,
<b>Sample 6</b>	<p><b>Norsk man pekats ut som ledare inom Isis</b></p> <p>[Norwegian man indicated as leader within Isis]</p>	2014-07-02	normmann som ledargestalt, militant islamistorganisation, 50 andra normmän, krigar, lemlästa offer, dödshotat Jens Stoltenberg och Haakon,
<b>Sample 7</b>	<p><b>Uppgifter: Världsmakterna förklarar krig mot IS</b></p> <p>[Information: World Powers declare war toward IS]</p>	2015-11-20	världsmakter, världskrig mot IS, terrorgrupp, terrordåd i Paris, UNSC har kapacitet, Kinas vrede, IS dödade kinesisk fånge, Kina fördömer barbarisk akt, saknar helt mänsklighet, ställa inför rätta
<b>Sample 8</b>	<p><b>Terrorgruppen var ute efter fler utlänningar</b></p> <p>[The Terror group was after more foreigners]</p>	2014-01-06	Al-qaidas systergrupp Da'aesh, kidnappat fem från Läkare Utan Gränser, målet att kidnappa fler, svensk medarbetare kidnappad, beväpnade män, stormade in, kvinna var oklädd vid kidnappning, dödade 4 från Daesh och skadade två, Daesh-medlemmar fick vård i Turkiet

<b>Sample 9</b>	<b>46 dödade i nya strider i Libyen</b> [46 killed in new battles in Libya]	2015-08-15	46 människor döda, strider mellan extremist gruppen Islamiska staten och andra grupper, kämpar om makt
<b>Sample 10</b>	<b>Läkare: IS kan ha använt kemvapen</b> [Doctor: IS may have used chemical weapons]	2014-10-25	terrorgruppen IS, kemiska vapen, kraftig explosion, patienter med onormala symptom, senapsgas, framryckningar i IS, kontroll över anläggningar med kemiska vapen sedan Saddam Hussein

#### 9.1.4 Primary quantitative analysis – Svenska Dagbladet

<b>Svenska Dagbladet</b>	<b>News article name [Translation]</b>	<b>Publishing date</b>	<b>Signifiers (Swedish)</b>
<b>Sample 1</b>	<b>De flydde från Islamiska staten</b> [They fled from ISIS]	2014-08-15	sommarlov blev ej som tänkt, IS avancerade mot kristen stad, skräckfyllda månader, våldtagit kvinnor, män tvungna att titta på, mörda män, kvinnor tvungna att titta på, skräckinjagade historier, terrororganisationen, fly, striderna rasade, kraftig smäll, invånare väldigt rädda, vad IS gör med tjejer, IS kunde vara där när som helst
<b>Sample 2</b>	<b>Stefan Olsson: Ett år med Islamiska staten</b> [Stefan Olsson: A year with ISIS]	2015-08-02	IS attackerade yazidier (minoritetsgrupp), 5000 dödade, 2000 togs som slavar, 150 000 flydde, IS vidrigheter, spektakulära avrättningar, flickor i fångenskap, flickor som krigsbyte, flickor som sexslavar, IS är ett hot som måste utraderas, offensiva operationer mot IS, grymma, framfart, härjningar i Irak, glorifierar folk mord, skryter om att de förslavar unga kvinnor och säljer dem som boskap
<b>Sample 3</b>	<b>Explosiv ökning av saudiarabiska hyllningar till Islamiska staten</b> [Explosive increase in Saudi Arabic tributes to ISIS]	2015-02-27	terrororganisationen, terrorgruppen, svartvita IS-fanor, slår sönder antika statyer, IS våld, dödsbränning av jordansk pilot, mord på egyptiska kopter
<b>Sample 4</b>	<b>Livet på flykt undan Isis</b> [The life running from Isis]	2014-07-06	drivit människor på flykt, terror, extremister, bombades (av regeringen), barn dödade, hot om död, straff, hugger fingrar av rökare, piskar de som ser på fotboll,

<b>Sample 5</b>	<p><b>Isis ledare - världens farligaste man</b></p> <p>[Isis leader - the world's most dangerous man]</p>	2014-06-22	rik terrororganisation, världens mest extrema terrororganisation, mytomspunne, extremt radikale, världens farligaste, strikt islamistisk stat, strikt sharia, styrd av religiösa män, kvinnor har få rättigheter och friheter, global jihad, extrem brutalitet, avrättningar i realtid, få unga män runt om i världen att resa dit, kidnappningar, utpressning, oljesmuggling, IS är rikaste och bäst utrustade extremistorganisationen, -is tog över Mosuol, radikala sunniirakier, få tror att IS kan ta över hela Irak, total upplösning av Irak som stat, jihadiströrelse, miliser, en halv miljon på flykt, sekteristisk våld, blixtoffensiv, IS kontrollerar en tredjedel av Irak, strider intensifieras, chockerande bilder, massaker, internationellt ramaskri, våldsamma strider i Irak, tagit över kemvapenfabrik, tagit över strategiskt viktig stad, forsla in vapen
<b>Sample 6</b>	<p><b>Brödraskapet terrorstämplas</b></p> <p>[The Brotherhood gets marked as terrorists]</p>	2014-03-07	SaudiArabien terrorstämplar, IS, band till al-Qaida
<b>Sample 7</b>	<p><b>Massflykt från kristen stad i Irak</b></p> <p>[Mass exodus from Christian town in Iraq]</p>	2014-06-26	tusentals kristna flyr, Mosul övertaget av IS, 19 döda i självmordsattack, bomb,
<b>Sample 8</b>	<p><b>Stöd till självständigt Kurdistan</b></p> <p>[Support for a independent Kurdistan]</p>	2014-07-23	terrororganisation, tagit kontroll över delar av Irak, djupt splittrat Irak
<b>Sample 9</b>	<p><b>Nazister och jihadister delar rekryteringsbas</b></p> <p>[Nazis and jihadists share the same basis for recruitment]</p>	2014-07-11	80 svenskar har rest till IS, kriga för IS, 2800 män med västerländska pass har rest, talibanliknande styre, expanderar i Irak och Syrien, kvinnor från Europa och USA välkomnas, rekryteras som hustrur, invånare flyr hals över huvud, 40 jihadister återvänt till Sverige, muslimska invandrare, inte funnit sig tillrätta, frustrerade unga män, motverkas online, de radikaliseras, hindra unga män från att åka till Syrien, hjälpa dem få vettig tillvaro i hemlandet, extremism i Sverige
<b>Sample 10</b>	<p><b>De hyllar IS - och föreläser i kulturförening</b></p> <p>[They celebrate IS - and lectures at culture society]</p>	2015-04-22	förening i Göteborg, flera har rest till Syrien, IS-an slutna svenskar, radikaliserad, tre år efter de första resorna rapporterats, terrororganisation, föreningslokal i nordöstra Göteborg, Göteborg hemstad för majoritet av 500 IS-resande, gå med i IS, radikaliserad, våldsbejakande extremism, terrororganisation, våldsbejakande islamism

### 9.1.5 Secondary quantitative analysis

terror*	7807	straff*	583
fly*	6405	pojke*	485
män OR man	6397	sekt*	477
USA*	5509	bränd OR bränn* OR brinn*	447
död* OR dog	5449	chock*	436
jihad*	5160	utrust*	433
strid*	4899	tillfångata*	432
krig*	4779	muslim* AND sunni*	417
attack*	4715	nätverk*	412
säkerhet*	4465	erövra*	396
Sverige* OR svensk*	3875	hämnd*	391
extremist*	3635	grym*	383
bomb*	3505	Kina* or kines*	382
hjälp*	3473	folkmord*	378
kontroll*	3436	övergrepp*	378
hot*	3405	fånge*	357
stöd*	3092	maskera*	338
Turkiet*	2774	"trappa* upp"	334
väst*	2703	klan*	321
våld*	2691	avsky*	314
vapen*	2583	Göteborg*	303
skad*	2545	kriminal*	303
islamist*	2467	barbar*	287
FN* OR "Förenta Nationerna*"	2400	förtryck*	286
oro*	2176	tortyr*	282
kris*	2061	sharia*	282
kris*	2061	motivera*	278
kvinnor OR kvinna	1917	fru OR fruar	274
dåd*	1879	häng* ANDNOT hänger	242
risk*	1864	missnöje*	240
konflikt*	1809	inkomst*	237
muslim*	1798	slav*	235
skjut* OR sköt OR skott*	1791	cell*	226
beväpna* OR väpna*	1705	våldtäkt*	216
själv mord*	1648	härj*	214
rädd* OR rädsla*	1603	Daesh OR Da'ish	208
mord*	1600	Japan*	205
makt*	1499	korsfäst*	203
anslut*	1496	förfölj*	199
spräng*	1419	martyr*	196
brott*	1417	plundr*	183
Iran*	1394	överta*	177
offensiv*	1352	sexslav*	157
offer* OR offr*	1333	skägg*	155



krigare*	1183	pisk*	146
nyrekryt* OR rekryt*	1165	mördare*	142
radikal*	1117	diskriminer*	140
olja* OR olje*	1110	"svart* flagg*"	138
explosion* OR explodera* OR smäll*	1100	"driv* ut"	126
avrätt*	1083	myt*	121
militant*	1081	krismöte*	109
milis*	1049	underkast*	108
ekonomi*	1028	kemvapen*	104
kidnapp*	1007	galen OR galn*	92
frukta*	1003	expans*	82
framgång*	1002	utpress*	72
blodig*	938	lemläst*	64
brutal*	929	laglös*	61
religiös*	842	kallblod*	60
avancera* OR framfart*	809	svärd*	48
halshugg*	797	"svensk lag*"	41
gissla*	787	välutrusta*	27
humanitär*	777	krigsmaskin*	23
intensi*	773	stridsvan*	17
förstör*	770	skenavrätt*	16
flygattack*	674	glorifier*	12
skräck*	648	"internationell hjälp*"	12
flick*	642	slavh*	10