"The Nonracist Racist"

A Discursive Psychology Approach to Anti-immigration Sentiment in Sweden

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Abstract

Immigration is one of the effects, one of the symptoms of the ill-functioning and outdated machine that is the elite. Immigration and asylum-seeking have been frequent topics in public debates for years. The number of refugees making their way from war-torn regions of the world to Sweden makes the citizen versus asylum-seeker dichotomy highly relevant for social psychology research about discursively constituted identities. That is to say: how social-categorizations, emotions and attitudes are created in text and talk. Today, public opinion is largely produced online, this makes it possible to explore the motivations, strategies and goals of "the nonracist racist" on Facebook. This study utilizes a dual-edged approach in that coding is done both from an inductive- and a deductive direction. It adheres to a discursive psychology approach and follows Potter and Edward's (2001) situated, action-oriented and constructed features of discourse. These theoretical features inform the deductive coding and are contextualized using Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) three representation of otherness with subsequent six discourses produced by the populist radical right.

Findings indicate that cultural comparison constructing cultural incompatibility is the main rhetorical resource for constructing the citizen versus asylum-seeker dichotomy. However, this dichotomy is not the most dominant "us and them" construction by the "nonracist racist". "The elite versus the people" is the most common "us and them" construction. It carries significant weight that the seemingly unfiltered expressions of hatred on anti-immigration pages on Facebook are more concerned with what "we" are doing wrong rather than what is wrong with any "deviant others". It is more about an internal clash of moral compasses than it is about a supposed clash of civilizations. Along with the occasioned feature of discourse, this partly explains why anti-immigration advocates for example position themselves as victims or defenders.

Keywords: *discursive deracialization, denial of racism, anti-immigration, us and them, populist radical right*.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1. Introduction

My previous thesis, "Differently Different: Changing the perception of US and THEM" (André, 2017), increased my interest in one of the larger present-day "us and them" constructions, *citizen versus asylum-seeker*. It is especially interesting considering the relatively large number of refugees making their way from war-torn regions of the world to Sweden.

Before the onset of the conflict in Syria, I visited Damascus and travelled around in the country. This is perhaps why I felt unusually disturbed when seeing images of destroyed cities and suffering people. These feelings increased my interest in the topic of this study but also cautioned me. I feared that I would somehow trivialize the very real suffering of refugees by focusing on how "us and them" are constructed in anti-immigration discourse. However, when I began exploring this topic almost a year ago I was shocked. The anger. The hate. The dysfunctional discussions. At first it was hard to read, it took an emotional toll. The anger somehow spilled over into me. While this was exhausting it also convinced me that this is what I need to know more about. This is what we all need to know more about in a society where most social interaction occur on social media platforms: "given that the Internet is becoming the major means for the production of public opinion and the dominant consensus on ethnic and racial affairs, this matter is more than academic" (Hughey and Daniels 2013, 342). The meaning of this quote, and its ramifications, need to be considered in the context of discursive psychology: "thought is internal dialogue, resulting from the internalization of public debate" (Bakhtin 1981 in Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 108). These quotes alone illustrate the academic importance of understanding the motivations, strategies and goals of the "nonracist racist" on Facebook.

1.1. Aims and Objectives

The purpose of this paper is to understand the citizen versus asylum-seeker construction by exploring the motivations, strategies and goals of "the nonracist racist" on Facebook. I came up with the term "the nonracist racist" when I first started exploring this topic. To me it encapsulated the discursive struggle in the immigration debate and how perceptions may clash in individual and collective interactions. Immigration and asylum-seeking have been frequent topics in public debates for years. The particulars made relevant in such debates have undoubtedly played some role in informing listeners (myself included) about what is most relevant. I therefore assume that religion, both as a faith and a social affiliation, is an important rhetorical resource in anti-immigration discourses in Sweden. However, the relevance and rhetorical weight given to religion in this study will primarily be determined following the inductive coding and thereafter the theoretical framework contextualized by Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) three representations of otherness: a threatening ideology, deviant others and inner enemies.

The research questions are all specifically about anti-immigration discourses, constructed by publicly accessible comments on Swedish anti-immigration related Facebook pages, as such this will not be re-articulated in the questions below.

1.2. Research Questions
- What are the dominant rhetorical resources used to construct an "us and them" dichotomy and how are these resources used?
- How are threats to ingroup related to notions of: a threatening ideology; deviant others; and inner enemies?
- Why do "nonracist racists" position themselves as they do?

1.3. Demarcation

The focus is on online data which people have posted publicly and that has not yet been deleted by moderators. Possibly, more extreme content may have been deleted by moderators (whitewashing) and what a person is prepared to post publicly online may differ from what would be revealed in private. Interest lies in how self and others are discursively constructed along with perceived religious-, cultural- and racial/ethnical affiliations. It is based on a

social-constructionist perspective and alternative perspectives on the formation of self and the social world, such as essentialism, are not considered but may still be part of the constructed realities.

Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theory

2.1. Literature Review

The literature review introduces important concepts as an orienting framework and makes use of additional opinion pieces and concepts (Creswell 2014). For structural reasons, the review is divided in general themes of interest and focus is on presenting key aspects relevant to contemporary online anti-immigration discourses. Each article is briefly introduced when it is relevant to the research context. Subsequently, comparisons are made between different articles and perspectives throughout the literature review.

The following aspects must be central in the article: (1) Anti-immigration discourse/sentiment focusing on different forms of Xenophobia. (2) Preferably, a focus on the phenomenon of interest in relation to online rhetoric and discourses; (3) published within the past ten years.

2.1.1 Xenophobia & Racism

Some argue that it is justified to classify xenophobic and Islamophobic expressions as racism (Yang and Self 2014, 50-51). Sundstrom (2013, 79) deliberates that it is often based on either historical reference to racism against Muslims or reference to the racialization of Muslims and Middle-Easterners. The latter is according to Taras (2013, 431) based on fusing variables of religion, race, ethnicity and culture. However, Taras (2013, 431) points out that this may transform shallow stereotypes into deep structures. Additionally, Sundström (2013, 77-80) argues that it makes it harder to address xenophobia which needs to be condemned separately because of its particulars.

In this study, xenophobia may be viewed as an umbrella term and as such racist expressions may be differentiated from other kinds of xenophobic expressions.

2.1.2 Religion

Sundström (2013, 75-76) argues that xenophobic attitudes make groups of ethnic, religious or racial minorities associated with foreigners even if they are legal citizens, "Muslim citizens in Europe and America… are simply Muslim. They are not us … [they are] perpetually foreign" (Sundström 2013, 76).

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Awad (2013, 435) examines the driving-force behind negative attitudes in European societies toward Muslim groups. Awad (2013, 435) argues that Europe suffers from religiophobia rather than Islamophobia and states that "these non-religious Europeans … have not reached a stage of intellectual preparedness and have not yet developed a balanced extent of tolerance to deal with a new wave of religiosity" (Awad 2013, 435). Contradicting this religiophobia hypothesis, Bloom et al. (2015, 218) state that it is certain elements in the religious experience that makes or unmakes intolerance. Using two priming experiments Bloom et al. (2015, 218) distinguish between the roles of religious social identity and religious belief. Findings indicate that religious belief increases welcoming attitudes toward immigrants of the same religion and ethnicity but increases anti-immigration support if immigrants are different, particularly if there are religious differences. Bloom et al. (2015, 218) conclude that this may explain why Muslim immigrants are targeted by greater exclusionary rhetoric.

2.1.3 Discourses

Using discourse analysis, Every (2013, 667-668) examines the rhetorical strategies of those for and against asylum-seeking in Australia. A key aspect is when a discourse focus on what a person *is*, rather than what a person *says* or *does*, it attempts to construct a marginalized and shamed identity with negative attributes (Every 2013, 667-668). There are several rhetorical and psychological ways by which an individual may deal with this shamed identity. Faulkner and Bliuc (2016, 2) focus on how and why everyday people who seek validation express support or opposition to racist behavior. Faulkner and Bliuc (2016, 3-5) argue that the psychological process of moral disengagement explains how "good" people can do "bad" things. By avoiding self- and social-sanctions for supporting racist behavior, it may appear moral and justified. According to Burke and Goodman (2012, 19), one way to appear more reasonable is to emphasize reasons other than race. Burke and Goodman (2012, 19) examine how the link between Nazism and racism is constructed in the asylum debate and found that the rhetorical removal of race, called "discursive deracialization" by Augoustinos and Every (2007, 133), also occur online.

With discourse analysis and based on the securitization theory, Bonansinga (2015, 824-834) explore the dynamics of threat construction related to the framing of Islam as an issue of security concern. Bonansinga describes that "perception and interpretation of risks do not always come from a direct experience but are filtered by the mass media and political discourse" (Bonansinga 2015, 824). Bonansinga (2015, 834) links cultural polarization to the

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negative visibility of Muslims in media. Similarly, Kunst et al., (2016, 249) state that public discourse often portrays Islam as the main obstacle for Muslim minorities' integration when instead Islamophobia should be considered a major obstacle. "Only when Muslims experienced substantial religious discrimination did religious identity negatively relate to national engagement and particularly positively relate to ethnic engagement" (Kunst et al. 2016, 249). In other words, when experiencing severe discrimination, Muslim immigrants are less likely to integrate.

2.1.4 Moderate & Extreme expressions

Hawdon et al. (in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 30) identify individuals rather than organized hate-groups as the primary sources of extreme views of hatred toward a group. However, Faulkner and Bliuc (2016, 3) do not view extreme views of hatred as the primary threat, since these may alienate the "moderate racist". Instead, moderately racist expressions are more harmful because of their potential in changing social norms on race communication. According to Hawdon et al. (in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 30) many may find such material educational rather than offensive or harmful.

Adding further complexity to the issue, Razmyar argues that "when it becomes legitimate for established politicians in parliament to state their will to 'wage war on multiculturalism', it is no longer necessary for those who spread hate to be anonymous. Instead they openly organize hate campaigns" (Razmyar in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 112) Similarly, Bonansinga (2015, 835) argues that the Islamic threat is shaped by political communication and may serve to embed all social frustrations in a society.

However, Hughey and Daniels (2013, 336) argue that expressions of racism are developing in the opposite direction. From being very open to becoming subtler and moving to private arenas. Hughey and Daniels (2013, 336) examine how to research racism in the public sphere of mainstream news sites and find that moderation results in whitewashed data which hides racism from a discourse analysis.

Yang and Self (2014, 46) seek to illustrate the connection between the propaganda of organized racist groups and "everyday racism". Yang and Self (2014, 50) argue that connecting with like-minded others and influential actors can make radical opinions further mainstreamed, or gradually make extreme expressions appear more moderate. Contrastingly, Idir (in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 95) states that it is naïve to think that hateful views exist because people are so easily influenced that they adopt them when they see them. Idir argues that hateful expressions should be kept in the open because "the more information we have

the better equipped we are to form opinions" (in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 95) However, Awan (2016, 3) argues that the internet is now a safe haven for those who marginalize and demonize certain groups. Awan (2016, 1) examines hate groups on Facebook who are spreading an Islamophobic and racist narrative. Awan (2016, 3-4) advocates for increased regulations and cooperation between social media networks and authorities.

2.1.5 Pro-immigration

Every's (2013, 667-668) discourse analysis, on the online rhetorical strategies of those advocating for asylum-seeking in the Australian debate, identify shaming as the preferred tactic. Every (2013, 678) point out that the negative constructions of the asylum-seeker opposition, included in shaming, creates a positive construction of the advocates themselves with attachments such as "humane" and "knowledgeable".

According to Burke and Goodman (2012, 20) supporters of asylum-seeking are careful of calling someone a racist as this would trigger "playing the race card" response. Similarly, Every (2013, 667) finds shaming to be a counterproductive tactic in asylum-seeker advocacy as it elicits flight or fight responses of denial, avoidance or escalation of conflict. Burke and Goodman (2012, 30) conclude that the best way for supporters of asylum-seeking to counter opponents of asylum-seeking is to defend asylum-seekers without trying to suppress alternative opinions. Bloom et al. (2015, 218) state that those trying to gain support for immigration policies from liberal constituencies should emphasize values of compassion and caring while highlighting any similarities between immigrants and members of society as their key values.

2.1.6 Anti-immigration

According to Burke and Goodman (2012, 30), the norm against prejudice (see Billig 1988, 94) also exist online. Burke and Goodman (2012, 20) describe that members of majority groups claim that they are being discriminated against because of the taboo on prejudice. However, they find that the victimization claim is a mere strategy to disclaim racism (Burke and Goodman, 2012, 30). In addition to this victimization strategy, Hughey and Daniels (2013, 338) point out two more strategies to avoid moderation online: abstract arguments about the right to free speech and matter-of-fact statements based on implicit racial stereotypes.

According to Every (2013, 680-681) there are three common types of responses to shaming in the asylum-debate: avoidance, denial and counter-attack. The first response,

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avoidance, differentiates between legitimate and illegitimate concerns. According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 161), rationalization may be accomplished by invoking detail, statistics and expert knowledge. By also making comparisons between out- and in-group members it highlights an "us and them" dichotomy (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 161).

The second response, denial, tries to undermine the construction of anti-immigration advocates as racists while repositioning themselves as normal (Every 2013, 680-681). According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 158) "ordinariness" may be emphasized using informal language and appeals to common sense and shared knowledge.

Every (2013, 680-681) divides the third response, counter-attack, in two sub-categories: name-calling and insults or a reconstruction of asylum-seeker advocates as the intolerant which includes a victimization narrative. A strategy Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 157) refer to as reversal of victim-perpetrator positions (see Van Dijk 1993). According to Every (2013, 680-681), when people start describing themselves as courageous for speaking out despite having their voices suppressed by the real intolerant ones, this strategy has taken place. According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 165) such arguments constructs "inner enemies". This particular strategy may be part of "The tolerant are the most intolerant" discourse where it serves to construct anti-immigration advocates as martyrs in an otherwise pro-immigration public.

A second discourse in Sakki and Pettersson's (2016, 165-166) "inner enemies" category is "Tolerant as traitors". The traitors may be constructed as the elite in contrast to the ordinariness of the populist radical right, who are portrayed as defenders and saviors of the nation.

2.1.6.1 The Muslim Other
Yang and Self (2014, 64) find that arguments generally reduce all Muslims to a single one-dimensional culture. The culture is demonized and described as the opposite of the west. Awan (2010, 536) describes that Islam and terrorism are almost synonymous terms in literature and media post 9/11 and that Muslims are depicted as all having a hatred for their host communities in the west. By analyzing responses to the construction of the Dudley mosque, Allen (2014, 9) finds that the mosque, Islam and Muslims are perceived to be exclusive and a drain on public resources. In Awan's (2016, 1-5) more specific "five walls of Islamophobic hate" typology, Muslims are depicted as: terrorists; rapists; Muslim women with niqab/hijab are security threats; Muslims are at war with "us"; and Muslims should be deported.

2.1.7 Literature Review Discussion

In previous research, there are different alternatives presented for what is more dangerous to society and what should be the focus of our attention. Alternative facts, or alternative truths, have been a topic of public debates in recent years, especially following the election of the 45th president of the United States, Donald Trump. Arguably, such alternative truths are constructed with moderate views rather than extreme views, since these have the potential of changing social norms on race communication (Faulkner and Bliuc 2016, 3). However, when moderate views are judged in relation to extreme views, they may appear more appealing to a greater number of people. A very similar argument was recently expressed by the leader of the Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Åkesson when commenting on the latest populist radical right party "Alternative for Sweden" (Expressen 2018.03.18).

Regarding the norm against prejudice (Burke and Goodman 2012, 30), it should be stated that this study is based on discursive psychology hence norms are not perceived to govern interaction but are rather viewed as resources for action and understanding (Potter and Edwards 2001, 107).

Today, people see no reason to hide who they are when they post hateful and offensive comments (Razmyar in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 112), they may even find them educational (Hawdon et al. in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015, 30). This alternative reality, with controversial opinions turned into alternative facts, is by its very nature in opposition to any reality constructed by the so called politically correct elite. These "inner enemies" are both traitors and the truly intolerant ones, both because they tolerate the intolerant Muslims and because they do not tolerate the intolerant ingroup members (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 165).

Today's debate about immigration in Sweden, and many other countries, involve religious affiliations in one way or another and regardless of what it is called, religious discrimination causes religious identity to negatively relate to national engagement and positively relate to ethnic engagement (Kunst et al. 2016, 249). Considered together with the negative visibility of Muslims in media and cultural productions (Taras 2013, 422-423; Awan 2010, 535-536; Bonansinga 2015, 834), the negative evaluations of Muslims produce cultural polarization and thereby construct the supposed cultural clash depicted as a major threat to Western civilization in the first place. As illustrated by Yang and Self (2014, 64-65), the normalization of hatred will lead to increasingly radicalized opinions (presented as facts). However, given Every's (2013, 667) and Burke and Goodman's (2012, 30) findings, anti-immigration advocates may not be solely responsible for the normalization of hatred or

increased polarization. The oppressive strategies used to counter xenophobic or racist expressions are misguided and are more likely to increase polarization rather than changing anybody's opinion on the matter.

A focus on non-racist explanations for opposing asylum-seeking appears to encapsulate some of the key aspects of contemporary discourses influenced both by the taboo against racism (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157; Burke and Goodman 2012, 30; Every 2013, 667-668) and the taboo against making accusations of racism. Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 160) describe three representations of otherness: inner enemies, a threatening ideology and deviant others. These make a context appropriate typology of the construction of common enemies, based on populist radical right discourse in Sweden. This typology can be explored within a "non-racist and anti-immigration" order of discourse. However, it should be noted that this does not imply that the different discursive constructions are non-racist rather than racist.

2.2. Theory

A social constructionist view is that our understandings and categorizations in everyday life are socially situated and constructed through interactions rather than being reflections of a world out there. Realities are products of historically and culturally specific understandings of the world. In discursive psychology cultural narratives and discourses positions individuals in certain social categories, such as working-class or feminist. Thereby, the self is made up of multiple, discursively constituted identities (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 109).

The social world is constructed and maintained socially, through social interaction between people in their everyday lives (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 102). It is contrary to an essentialist view that holds that people have a pre-determined or God-given essence that gives them certain true and unchangeable characteristics. The essentialist view implies that the self can be discovered in isolation from the social world instead of being created and continuously recreated by it, as in social-constructionism. This anti-essentialist view may have considerable implications when considered in the context of the extent to which today's social interactions occur online, on social media platforms.

Jörgensen and Philips (2002, 107-108) describes that the interest in synthetic discursive psychology lies in how peoples' accounts of themselves, experiences and events are made "real" and how competing accounts are exposed as false. In other words, how discourse is *situated*, both occasioned and rhetorical. Additionally, Potter and Edwards (2001,

105) describe that the two other theoretical features of discourse are *action-orientation*: how discourse is oriented towards social action (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 107-108) and how discourse is *constructed* by words as well as how it constructs versions of the world (Potter and Edwards 2001, 105-106).

In discursive psychology, psychological categories, such as attitudes and emotions, are considered discursively constituted (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 102, 177). Cognitive processes are studied as part of discourse practices rather than being the primary analytical resource as in traditional social psychology where activity is the output of cognitive processes (Potter and Edwards 2001, 105-106). While Potter and Edwards (2001, 105) argue that people's attitudes, beliefs, opinions and positions can be considered a topic rather than a theory of behavior, Jörgensen and Philips (2002, 106) argue that discursive psychology may still be combined with non-discourse theories, to explore wider social and ideological effects.

Burke and Goodman (2012, 20) explain that discursive psychologists criticize Tajfel's social identity approach because it does not account for variations in talk about prejudice. A variation illustrated by the rhetorical denial of racism. However, the social identity approach may be combined with Turner's self-categorization theory (Lange et al. 2012, 406). Additionally, Hogg's (2007; Hogg and Adelman 2013) uncertainty-identity theory addresses both the motivation behind categorization and if uncertainty will be perceived as a threat (with negative implications) or a challenge (with positive implications). Another relevant aspect is that discursive psychology alone can never answer *why* people position themselves and others in particular discourses (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 113). Thus, aspects from social psychology, such as the social identity approach, may be a necessary if there is to be a synthetic discursive psychology focus on how certain discourses further one group's interest on another group's expense (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 107-108).

Despite the notion that the discursively constituted self can never be fixed, there can still be what Jörgensen and Philips (2002, 111-112) call a "temporary closure". This is when a person, in a certain context, chooses one version of the self. Thereby, identity, which in principle is always open to change, is temporarily fixed and allows a closer look at this particular version of the self. This concept is similar to Turner's (Lange et al. 2012) singular identity categorization and Hogg and Adelman's (2013) transformation of the self-conception to be governed by a group-prototype. A group-prototype may be viewed as a guide, in terms of what is right and wrong and what behavior is desirable. This may also be referred to as a shared moral compass (Cambridge dictionary 2018.04.11). A "temporary closure" arguably

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occurs when the individual is viewed as a group-prototype rather than an individual person. From a social identity perspective, we can therefore argue that we can look at the group-prototype but not the individual person, a part of the self but not the entire self.

The theoretical assumptions, held in discursive psychology, and partly in the social identity perspective, infers that our analysis will only ever be valid in this particular context, at this particular time. This idea connects to Amartya Sen's (2008) more philosophical concept about social categorization and multiple identities which debunks notions of broad, incompatible and unchangeable social identities imaginarily based on civilizations. Notions that are still, or perhaps again, common in anti-immigration rhetoric, as illustrated by previous research. Sen's (2008) main point can be used to exemplify how power operates discursively, within discursive categories. Within a discourse of orientalism, an individual may position herself as a member of the category "the civilized West" and others may be placed in the category "the barbaric Islamic world" (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 111). Regarding the possible use of imported theories, we may also use this example to argue that the "westerners" becomes "westerners" when there are relevant and distinctly different categories to contrast it with, such as "the Islamic world" or "Muslims", this may be called social comparison (Tajfel 1974) and there is no reason to assume that social comparison does not operate discursively, on the contrary such concept shows that a particular social category may only become "we" after the articulation of a certain "them". Furthermore, by describing "the Islamic world" as barbaric the person enables the ingroup to be described as civilized. Because, the norms and attributes of the ingroup are constructed discursively in relation to the norms and attributes ascribed relevant outgroups. This correlates with the idea that psychological distinctiveness (Tajfel 1974) may also operate discursively. Even if concepts based on the social identity perspective are primarily concerned with cognitive processes, the functions can still be described in discursive terms, making activity the primary analytical resource. Indeed, there are ontological differences between the concepts. However, where to draw the line between what is constructed discursively in interaction and what is a cognitive process functioning by itself or in response to certain interactions, is not entirely necessary since discursive psychology primarily focuses on people's activity while social psychology theories focus on cognitive explanations to such activity. Thereby, any theoretical and ontological assumptions are limited to the respective areas of interest and claims can be judged separately.

2.3. Theoretical Working Method

The processes of reproducing and changing attitudes and emotions is discursive. Only limited by available understandings of the world, dependent on cultural narratives, at a certain time and place. The context is therefore key. The anti-immigration Facebook pages may be considered part of a wider populist radical right context. Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) study on the construction of common enemies by radical right politicians in Sweden and Finland, provides a contextually anchored typology. It is appropriate for the analysis of discourses within a "non-racist and anti-immigration" order of discourse. Figure 1 illustrates how Potter and Edwards' (2001) three theoretical features of discourse are operationalized. Each feature provides an analytic focus area within the order of discourse. Each focus area is particularized by Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) representations of otherness.

Figure 1: Theoretical Operationalization
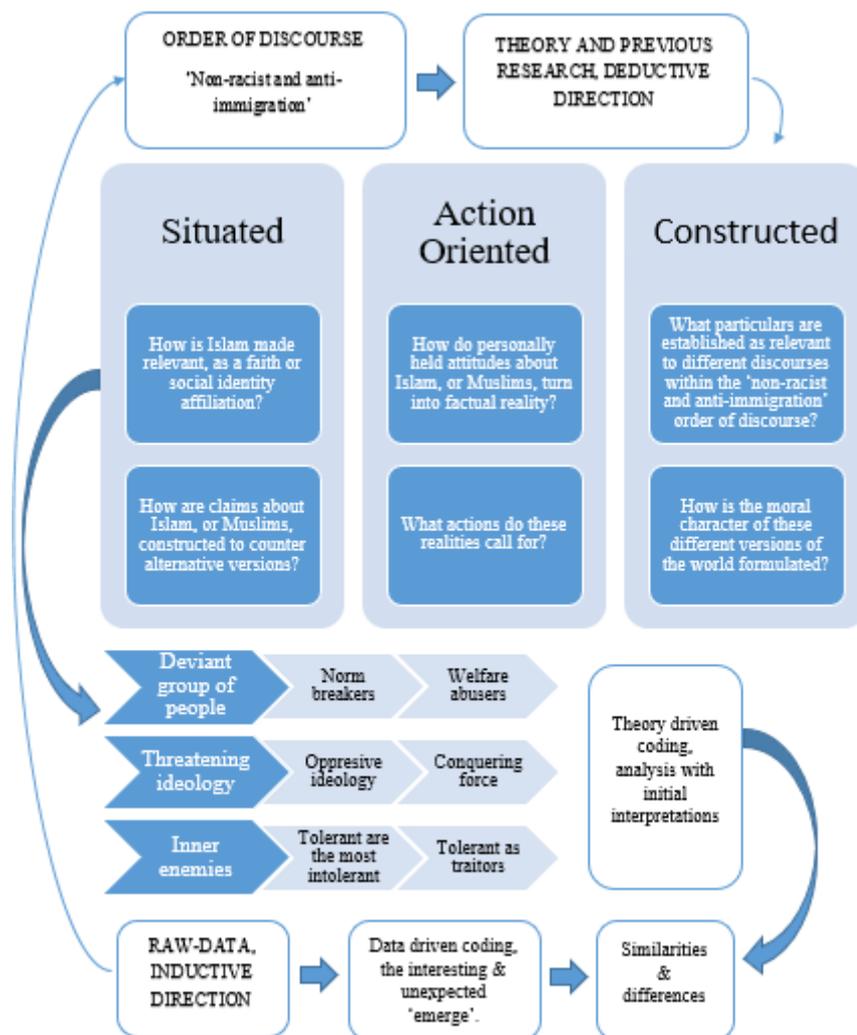
The first feature, *situated*, entails that participants choose what identities should be invoked, oriented to, or subverted and ignored and that the descriptions are often constructed to counter alternative versions and resist attempts at disqualification. Therefore, they can have both defensive and offensive rhetoric (Potter and Edwards, 2001, 104).

The second theoretical feature of discourse, *action oriented* (Potter and Edwards 2001, 105) is the connection between discourse and social action (Jörgensen and Philip's 2002, 106). This feature holds that attitudes are evaluations that participants make to get things done (Potter and Edwards 2001, 105), thus attitudes are action oriented.

The third feature, *constructed*, entails that discourse is both constructed, for example by certain words and rhetorical devices, and that discourse constructs versions of the world (Potter and Edwards 2001, 105).

This chapter leaves us with viable, and theoretically anchored, focus areas for the analysis that underpins the research questions while integrating the contextual particulars of contemporary radical right discourses in Sweden.

Chapter 3 Method and Material

3.1. Method

This study is qualitative in terms of discourse analysis, using a discursive psychology approach to look at how discourses are *situated*, *action oriented* and *constructed* (Jörgensen and Philips 2002; Potter and Edwards 2001). Additionally, it is quantitative in the sense that coding includes a relatively large amount of data which is quantified, not for generalizations to wider society but for illustrative purposes. As figure 1 (2.3. Theoretical Working Method) shows, the research approach is both inductive and deductive. This is more realistic than relying on emerging themes alone which would require an ability to block one's pre-acquired knowledge of the topic. According to Gläser and Laudel (2013, 14), the view that theory should be ignored for categories to emerge from the data is epistemically naïve. Similarities and differences between the theoretically informed understanding and the understanding acquired during the initial inductive coding will provide ample opportunity to either adjust and re-interpret coding or to generate new hypotheses.

Unlike, Jörgensen and Philips' (2002, 122-124) discursive psychology focus on interviews for data-collection, this study will use naturally occurring data, common in discursive psychology according to Potter and Edwards (2001, 108). The main methodological concern is related to the ethical considerations regarding re-representation of data (3.1.2 Ethical Considerations). "The researcher has to present analysis and conclusions in a form that enables the reader to judge the researcher's interpretations" (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 125-126). Following Jörgensen and Philips (2002) guidelines, representative examples from the material should therefore by presented. This also connects to the validity criteria (chapter 3.1.3 Validity) since interpretations should be verifiable in some way. The methodological phases described below provide a detailed account of the theoretical operationalization (2.3. Theoretical Working Method; Figure 1).

Phase One – Inductive coding

According to Potter and Edwards (2001, 108), starting with close attention to the material rather than a hypothesis is a way of allowing the unnoticed or unexpected into the analysis. Therefore, an initial coding is done without a theoretical framework to guide it. Focus is on

coding all data, regardless of relevance to theory. This is somewhat contrary to St. Pierre and Jackson's (2014, 1) claim that a non-theoretical approach would make all data equal and analysis impossible since all data cannot be given equal attention in analysis. However, in this study, theory will play a crucial role in phase two (2.3. Theoretical Working Method; Figure 1). The coding starts with reading and re-reading the material to identify themes in the data. It provides an overall understanding of the material and unlikely or unexpected themes may in this process be referred to as emerging from the data even if coding is always guided by the pre-acquired knowledge of the coder. The results of phase one are presented in chapter 4, Results.

Phase Two – Deductive coding

During the deductive, or theory-driven coding, the raw-data is re-coded using the theoretical framework (Figure 1). During this process the initial coding, may be revisited to check accuracy. This is suitable for a larger body of data. It identifies what elements within the data support or conflict with initial interpretations. The results of phase two are presented in the analysis section.

Phase Three - Comparison

If the dominant, or interesting, aspects of discursive constructions, from the inductive coding, do not match the interpretations tested during the deductive coding, the interpretations need to be refined. Jörgensen and Philips (2002, 151) describe that such refinement can be based on the following questions:

- Can the hypothesis be adjusted to account for these additional elements?
- Do elements not in line with the hypothesis have common features?
- Are certain parts of the text governed by one logic and other parts by another?

The most relevant comparisons between the inductive and deductive coding will be presented in the analysis (Chapter 5).

3.1.2 Ethical considerations

Members on Facebook agree to the use of their public comments for research purposes (Facebook Data Policy). This may be regarded as a form of consent. However, Wolfinger (2016) argues that it is common for users not to read the terms and conditions which complicates the notion of *informed* consent. Furthermore, Wolfinger (2016) points out that privacy concerns of the producers of the data make it questionable to regard the data as

public. Both concerns relate to the issue that producers of the data may believe that their comments on social media are somehow private rather than public.

This study deals with a "sensitive topic". It is possible that harm could arise from users becoming re-identified. Consequences may not only include embarrassment or reputational damage but also for example prosecution for incitement to racial hatred (SVT, 17.10.2018). Harm to participants should be a concern for everyone, even for those who may find consequences desirable. We should always avoid harming research participants despite any notion of not tolerating intolerance. In this sense Wolfinger (2016) elaborates that controversial political opinions or discussions about illegal activities should possibly be excluded from qualitative analysis. However, this would draw a very ambiguous line between what can and cannot be researched in online environments. Furthermore, controversial political opinions are far more interesting to investigate than uncontroversial opinions. In general, it is of great public interest. The transformation of opinions from controversial to uncontroversial, from personally held opinions to a factual reality, is a key area of interest in discursive psychology and in this study. Arguably, the very attempt to construct opinions as uncontroversial makes it impossible to exclude these opinions based on them being too controversial. It would be contrary to the perspective of the data producer, it would give a distorted image of the area under study and it would be ethically questionable to exclude opinions that diverge from the researchers own.

Data presented in the results chapter will as far as it is possible be raw-data. This will allow readers to make their own judgement about the results and allow for comparisons to other studies (Potter and Edwards 2001, 108). The translation from Swedish to English makes re-identification harder but to minimize the risk further, entire comments, or longer segments, are not presented. Neither are unique words or expressions. Only commonly occurring expressions are presented. As such, it is likely that, when traced, data will lead to several places and people rather than one specific individual. For example, the expression "they're all animals", is highly unlikely to be traceable to one particular individual.

3.1.3 Validity

The main concerns regarding validity connects to previously mentioned methodological and ethical considerations. That is, how to inform the reader of specific interpretations without providing access to the original source, in the original context, for ethical reasons. As mentioned previously, this study attempts to do so by exemplifying coding with shorter, but illustrative, raw-data extracts.

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Qualitative validity is built in to the research design and can be further checked by triangulation of data sources and/or perspectives from participants (Creswell 2014, 201). As this study is based on previous research and a theoretical framework the triangulation strategy can be partly employed to verify which codes belong to what category and how codes and categories may interrelate. Additionally, previous research and the theoretical framework presents the basis of interpretative decisions in the analysis. If interpretations do not deviate from the understanding gained from the theoretical framework the reader should have a good idea about the theoretical assumptions underpinning the interpretation. Finally, all raw-data will be stored in its original format (print screen) and the inductive and deductive coding of the data will also be stored and password protected, should it be needed.

3.1. Material

The material is naturalistic, it is collected in the form that it exists regardless of research purpose. The choice is based on how discourse works in discursive psychology, discourse as *situated*, *action-oriented* and *constructed* (Potter and Edwards 2001). Therefore, this study utilizes qualitative data from Facebook-users in the form of publicly accessible comments to selected Facebook posts. The comments are collected from Facebook pages containing anti-immigration contents. The comments can therefore be considered naturally occurring in interactions between Facebook users within these specific Facebook communities. The above stated is also the main selection criterion. 25 different Facebook groups were identified as regularly having larger amounts of anti-immigration related content. Out of these, users were more active in ten of the groups. In these ten groups, the first 100 posts were considered. The selection criteria for posts include that there must be at least 500 comments attached to the post. Based on the assumption that a larger amount of comments possibly equals a higher change to come across interesting perspectives. Additionally, it simplifies the process of quantifying qualitative data for illustrations of codes and patterns. This approach embraces that it is more interesting to read about discursive practices if it can be shown how often they occurred in the data. Instead of simply stating the something is common or unusual, the illustrations will reveal how common or unusual patterns are.

Chapter 4 Results

For contextual reasons, the overarching organizing principle for this chapter is the respective origin of the data; the Santa post and the Prayer post. Each of which starts with an overview of the total number of codes within each category. For the benefit of the reader, to ease the transition between results and analysis, Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) categories (Figure 1) are included as guiding themes for relevant categories and codes. These were added after the deductive coding of the data. Focus in this chapter is on describing the most commonly occurring codes and categories as well as the most interesting aspects emerging from the data.
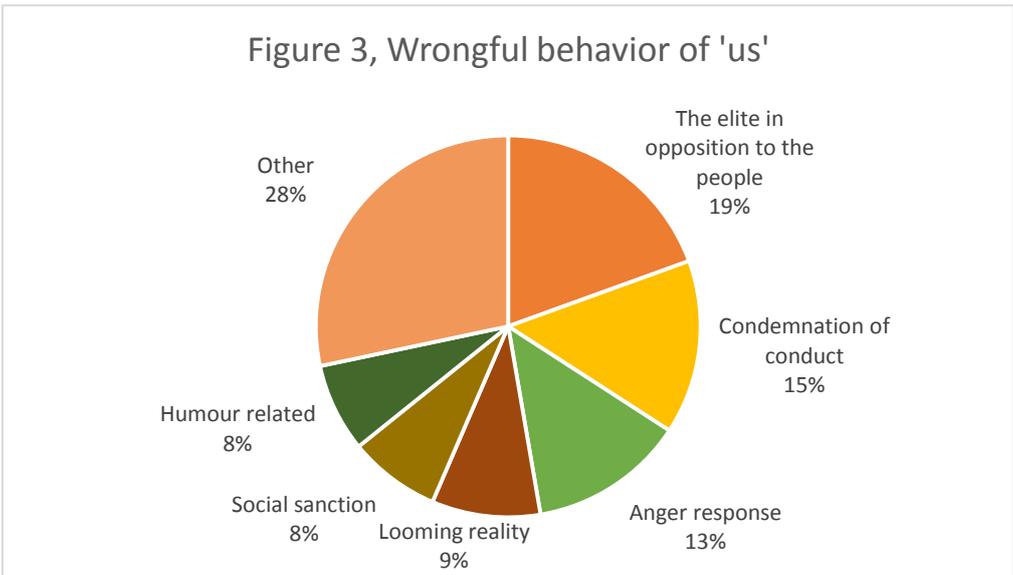
4.1 The Santa post

The first post, hereinafter referred to as the Santa post, contains an image of a dark-skinned mannequin on which a Santa Claus costume is on display. The post does not contain any reference to Islam or Muslims but is rhetorical in the sense it may be referring to perceived shared feelings about a dark-skinned mannequin displaying a Santa Claus costume. There are nearly 1400 coding instances for the 767 comments to the Santa post. This includes codes from the initial data-driven coding and codes from the theory-driven coding. However, the results chapter will focus on the data-driven codes and categories while the analysis chapter will get more into more theoretical detail about similarities and differences between the results and Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) six discourses of otherness. Figure 2 illustrates how large each category is in relation to the other categories. It shows that comments are either about the "Wrongful behavior of 'us'", at 50%, or focus on "them" by being "Race related", at 34%. The code "Response to response to conduct", at 8%, is coded for comments that in some way challenged previous comments, such as questioning the logic of arguments.

Figure 2: Santa post - Categories

- Other 8%
- Response to response to conduct 8%
- Wrongful behaviour of us 50%
- Race related 34%
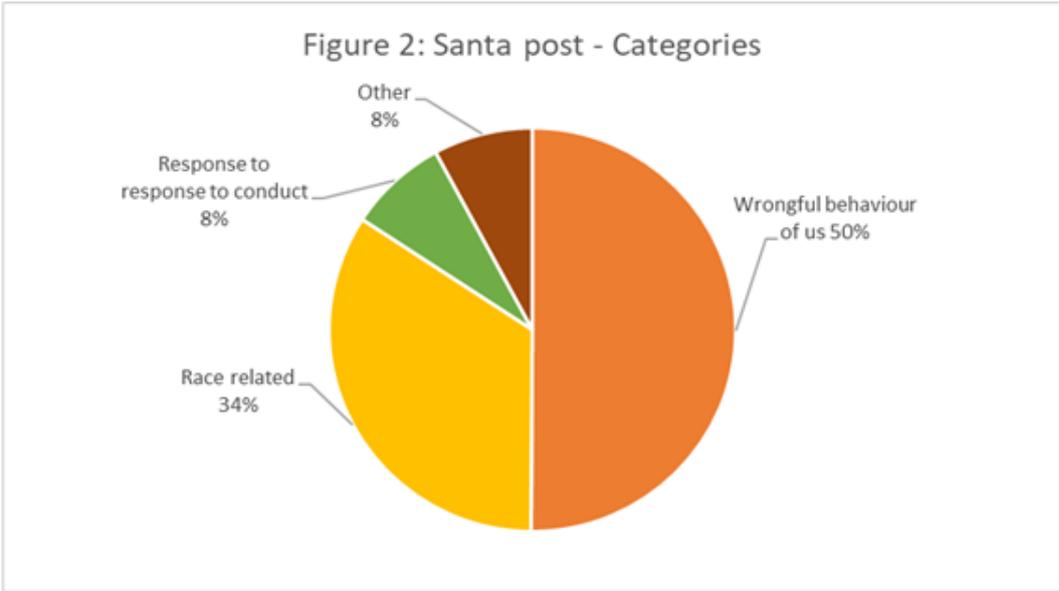
4.1.1 Inner enemies

4.1.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us

The most common code in this category is "The Elite in opposition to the people", at about 19% (Figure 3). Expressions with this code depicts an "elite" comprised of "government", "media", "leftists" and people who support political correctness. The wrongful behavior is associated to this elite by being influenced by or a product of it. It may take the form of suggesting that "the elite" intentionally are provoking "the people": "They're just trying to provoke us". Other times it is illustrated by a comparison to other behaviors allegedly banned by the elite, for example: the gingerbread-costume during Lucia: "The gingerbread man is banned but somehow this is fine".
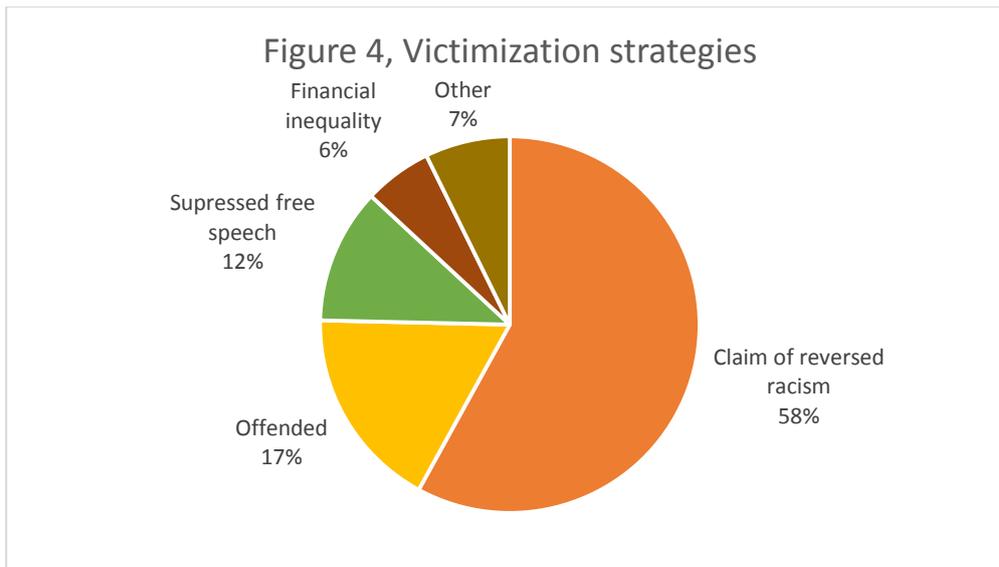

Figure 3, Wrongful behavior of 'us'

- Other 28%
- The elite in opposition to the people 19%
- Condemnation of conduct 15%
- Anger response 13%
- Looming reality 9%
- Social sanction 8%
- Humour related 8%

Condemning behavior, such as "that's wrong" and expressing anger, such as "What the f***", are the second and third most common codes in the category "Wrongful behavior of 'us'", at 15% and 13% respectively (Figure 3). The fourth most common code is "Looming reality" at 9% and include comments such as "where are we heading?". Codes at less than 4% are included in "Other" (Figure 3)

It should be noted that the category "wrongful behavior of 'us'" contains codes that could qualify as relevant for other categories as well, such as "Looming reality" which is both about "the wrongful behavior of 'us'" but also about the behavior in relation to some ongoing negative process, illustrated by "last year there was no Christmas music in the stores … it doesn't say Merry Christmas anymore, it says Happy Holidays" and "… there are foreigners everywhere now".

**4.1.1.2 Victimization Strategies**
The category "Victimization strategies" is closely related to several codes in the "wrongful behavior of 'us'" category. Despite an apparent lack of accusations of racism, comments are still constructed as if there is an unspoken accusation of racism. This may take the form of an argument about "suppressed free speech", the third most common code in the category "Victimization strategies" at 12% (Figure 4). However, at 58%, the most common victimization strategy is "claim of reversed racism", followed by "offended", at 17%. It should be noted that the code "the elite in opposition to the people", in the category "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" (Figure 3), may also be considered part of a larger victim narrative as the commenter is exclusively positioned as part of the people and never part of the elite. Additionally, it may imply an unspoken and continuous accusation of racism by "the elite" aimed at "the people". For example, by referring to things or behavior allegedly banned for being racist, such as "the gingerbread-costume". The merger of the category "Victimization strategies" with codes from other categories, possibly part of a larger victim narrative, would significantly increase the presence of victimization strategies in anti-immigration discourses.

Figure 4, Victimization strategies

- Financial inequality 6%
- Other 7%
- Supressed free speech 12%
- Offended 17%
- Claim of reversed racism 58%

4.1.2 Deviant group of people

4.1.2.1 Race related

The second most common category for the Santa post is "Race related" at 34% (Figure 2).
These are overt comments related to the "skin color" of the mannequin. At 42% the most
common race-related code is "Humor response" (Figure 4). "Humor response" entails an
attempt to make a racial joke, such as "has there been a fire?" (which would explain why
Santa is dark-skinned) and "now I understand why it is called Black Friday". Previous
research, on racism and anti-immigration discourses, did not pay much attention to humor. As
such, the prevalence of this code in the "Race related" category is unexpected and may
deserve a revisit.

Figure 5, Race Related
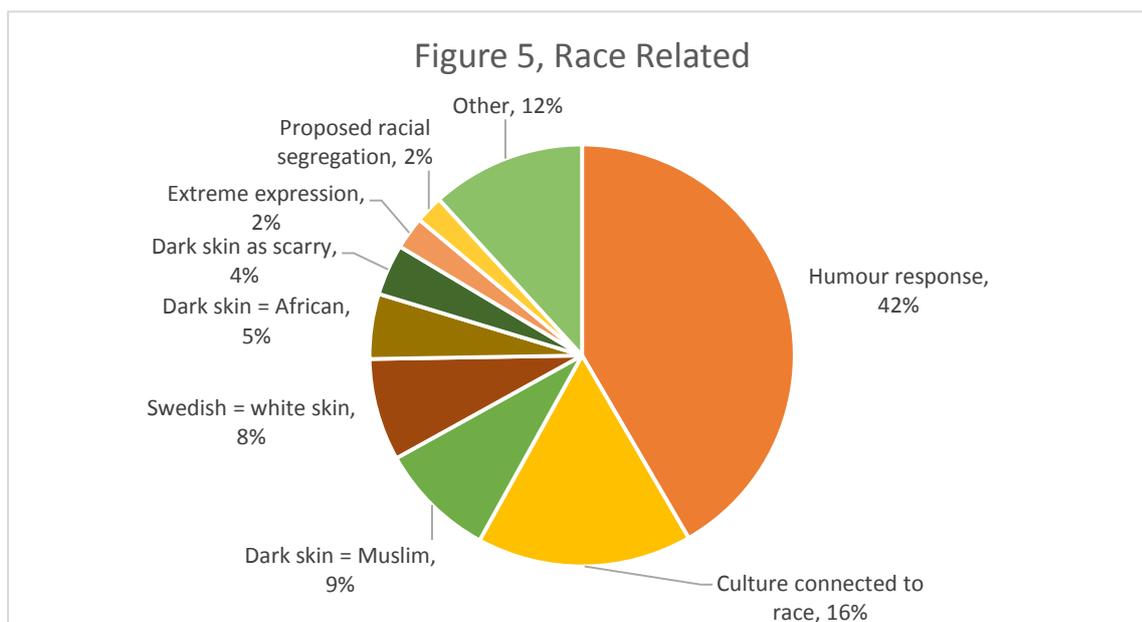
4.1.2.2 Culture connected to race

The second most common code in this category is "Culture connected to race", at 16% (Figure 4). Examples include rhetorical questions such as "do they celebrate Christmas in Africa?" and "they don't know what Christmas is". Comments with this code may simultaneously be coded as "Dark skin = Muslim". This is because this code also connects culture to race but does it specifically regarding Muslims. Results indicate that "culture connected to race" is often about Muslims (Figure 4).

4.1.2.3 Dark skin equals Muslim

As illustrated previously, the third most common code, at 9% (Figure 4), is "Dark skin = Muslim". This is coded for comments that assume that the dark-skinned mannequin is Muslim, such as "Muslims don't celebrate Christmas".

The assumption of the mannequin being Muslim is almost exclusively made without any explanation. The comments simply address Muslims as a response to the perceived problem with a dark-skinned mannequin. Comments construct an image of dark-skinned people as Muslim and/or African, neither of whom celebrate Christmas. No response considered that a person may be Swedish regardless of skin color and religious belief. Instead, 8% of the codes are different attempts at emphasizing their otherness by portraying "Swedish citizens" or "Swedish people" as "white" (Figure 4). Taken together 22% of the codes are directly about constructing skin color as characteristic of different groups of people, both "us" and "them" (Figure 4). Particularization is used by specifying country of origin and

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generalizations portray everyone in the country of origin having similar skin type. An additional 4% of the codes, construct dark skin as scary (Figure 4). This is for example done by stating that "the children will be terrified".

4.2 The Prayer post

The Prayer post is about an article describing the desire of Muslims to get permission to have calls to prayer (Adhan) at Mosques and it includes a hyperlink to the article. The post makes a brief ironic introduction but does not contain any other rhetorical devices. In the article, a representative of the church presents a positive stance about calls to prayer and Muslims right to practice their religion, primarily based on values of toleration.

Coding for this post starts with the set of codes developed during coding of the Santa post. Given the differences between the posts, additional codes and categories are added when needed. For example, the category "Islam" is introduced for this post, with subsequent sub-categories. Excluding gender codes, there are 900 coding instances, out of which 69% are in the category "wrongful behavior of 'us'". The second most coded category is "Islam", at 10%. This category is for codes about Islam as a religion, unlike the category "Muslims" which is the third most common code, at 7% (Figure 6).

Figure 6, Prayer post: Categories
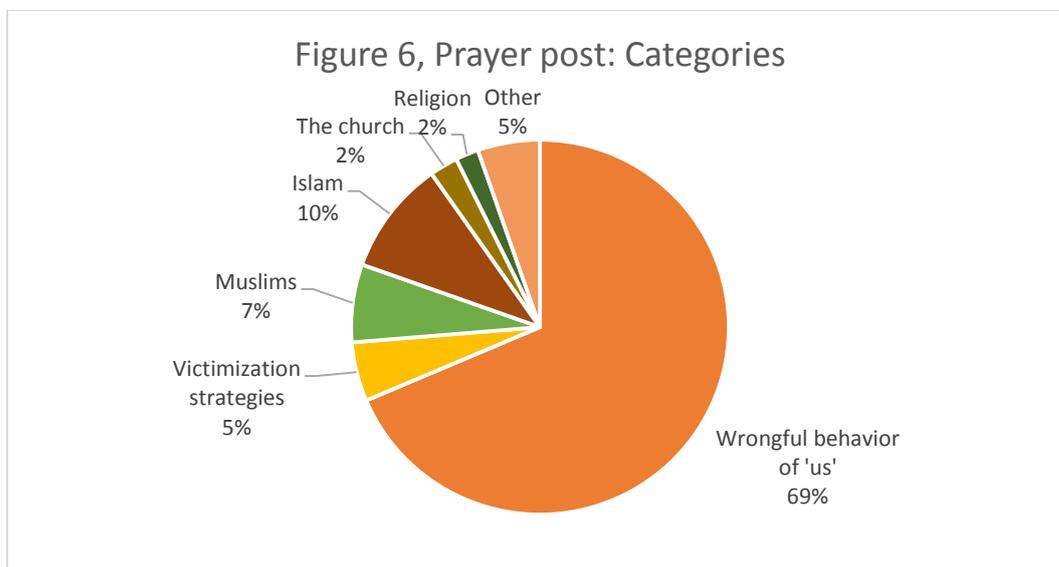
4.2.1 Inner enemies

4.2.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us
In the category "wrongful behavior of 'us'", "Do not tolerate the intolerant" is the most common code, at 18% (Figure 7). It is in the "wrongful behavior of 'us'" category because it is constructed to describe what is wrong and what behavior is unwanted by the ingroup. It

connects to the ingroup's shared moral compass which informs ingroup members of how the concept of toleration should be interpreted and counters alternative interpretations of toleration. However, it should be noted that it simultaneously constructs Muslims as intolerant. The code holds that "we" cannot tolerate "them" because of their intolerance. The code includes statements such as "tolerance cannot be one-sided"; "it must be mutual" and "they would not tolerate us if it was reversed". Most comments with this code are based on that tolerance is only awarded likeminded others, making tolerance a prerequisite of tolerance, something that can only be given once it is received.

"Looming reality" is the second most common code, at 14% (Figure 7). It is presented in this category because of connections made between "the elite" or "the tolerant" and a "Looming reality". It is about the degradation of society for which "the elite" is responsible. However, despite being in this category the "Looming reality" code still includes comments about Islam and Muslims. Exemplified by "<u>when they are</u> in power they will forbid Christianity", which connects to Islam and/or Muslims being intolerant. Additionally, the use of "when" rather than "if" increases the urgency of the message. Another illustrative example shows the relevance the "wrongful behavior of 'us'": "will [they] still be tolerant when the church is rebuilt into a mosque". It refers to those of "us" with a misinterpreted concept of toleration while illustrating a looming Islamization of Sweden.
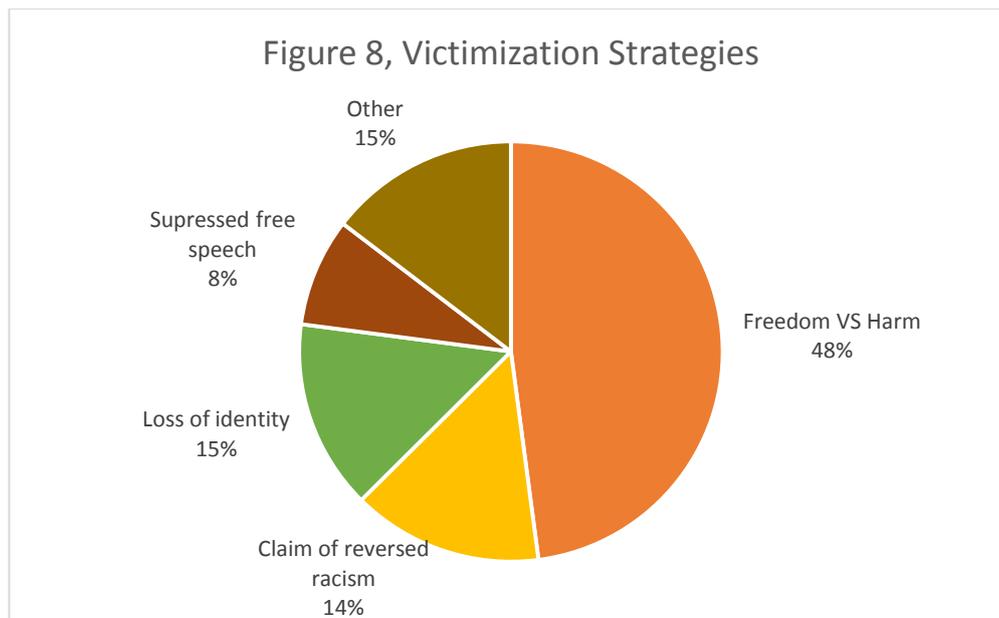
The third most common code is "Personal insult", 13%. Followed by "Social sanctions", 10% (Figure 7). The latter is almost exclusively for statements such as "leave the Swedish church" or "who can remain a member of the church now", these refer to a retaliation against the church. Codes lower than 2,5% are represented by "Other" (Figure 7).

Figure 7, Wrongful behavior of 'us'
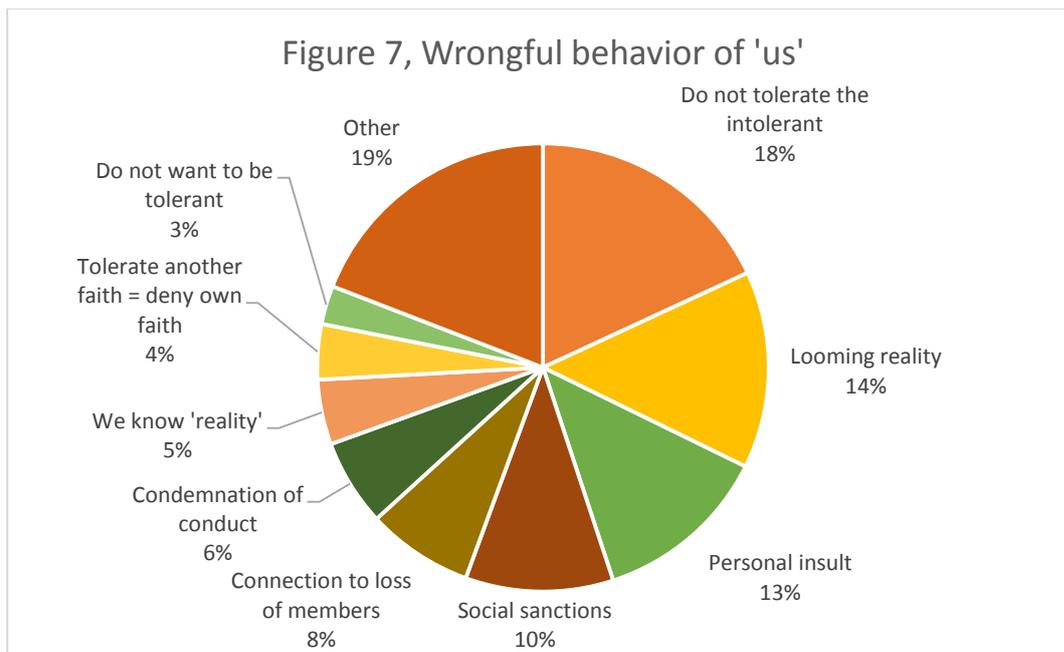
4.2.1.2 Victimization Strategies

The most common victimization strategy in the Prayer post is to construct an image of "the people" suffering harm because of freedoms awarded to Muslims. Exemplified by "fun for those working the nightshift…" and "why should [people] be forced to listen to their mantra?" The code "Freedom VS Harm", at 48% (Figure 8) connects directly to the harm principle and other liberal arguments. Thereby, it is related to a certain interpretation of the concept of toleration and the code "Do not tolerate the intolerant" (4.2.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us; Figure 7). An important aspect of the "Freedom VS Harm" argument is that it connects directly to "the elite" by portraying that their motivation for betraying the people and allowing calls to prayer is based on that they are not affected by it, illustrated by: "[Muslims] can have the calls to prayer at [the Elite's] residence".

The second most common victimization code is "Loss of identity" which is often direct: "We are losing our identity in our own country" and "Sweden is becoming the new Lebanon". This code connects strongly to "Looming reality" since a loss of national identity is constructed as part of a looming reality. The third most common victimization code, "Claim of reversed racism" (Figure 8), may be exemplified by "immigrants who don't want to adapt and integrate are racist against the people", in this example the immigrant are the racists but "the elite" are depicted as the racists in other comments, such as "anti-racist equals anti-white" which suggests that antiracism is racism against white people.

Figure 8, Victimization Strategies

- Other 15%
- Supressed free speech 8%
- Loss of identity 15%
- Claim of reversed racism 14%
- Freedom VS Harm 48%

4.2.2 Threatening ideology

4.2.2.1 Islam

In the category "Islam", the second most common category for the Prayer post, the code "Intolerant" dominates at 77% while no other code in this category reaches 4%, making a graphic illustration unnecessary. The code "Intolerant" is used to describe what Islam is, usually in a straightforward manner stating that "Islam is intolerant" or by phrasing it as a rhetorical question "and how tolerant is Islam?". Additionally, some comments compare Islamic countries, for example Saudi Arabia, with Sweden. This can for example be done by rhetorically asking "are we allowed to go to their countries and build churches?" or "go "[there] and build a church and you will see how tolerant they are". As mentioned earlier (4.2.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us), this connects to "do not tolerate the intolerant".

4.2.3 Deviant group of people

4.2.3.1 Muslims

In the category "Muslims" there is more divergence (Figure 9). The most common code is "Violent", at 41%. The code includes comments such as "they decapitate people" and "they burn churches". It is followed by the code "Go home", at 21%, and "Terrorists", at 13%. "Violent" and "Terrorists" aim to portray what Muslims are while "Go home" refers to that Muslims should leave the country. This code is usually affiliated with some remark about how Muslims either accept the way it is in Sweden or they can go back to "their countries". The portrayal of Muslims as "Terrorists" is made to appear factual by reference to recent

attacks in Sweden: "the attack on Drottninggatan [Queen street] was a sign of love and respect". This increases the relevance and urgency. It also counters notions of Muslims as worthy of love and respect, connecting to "do not tolerate the intolerant" and reinforced using irony. Codes with less than 4% are included in "Other" (Figure 9).

Figure 9, Muslims

Other 17%

The enemies 8%

Terrorists 13%

Go home 21%

Violent 41%
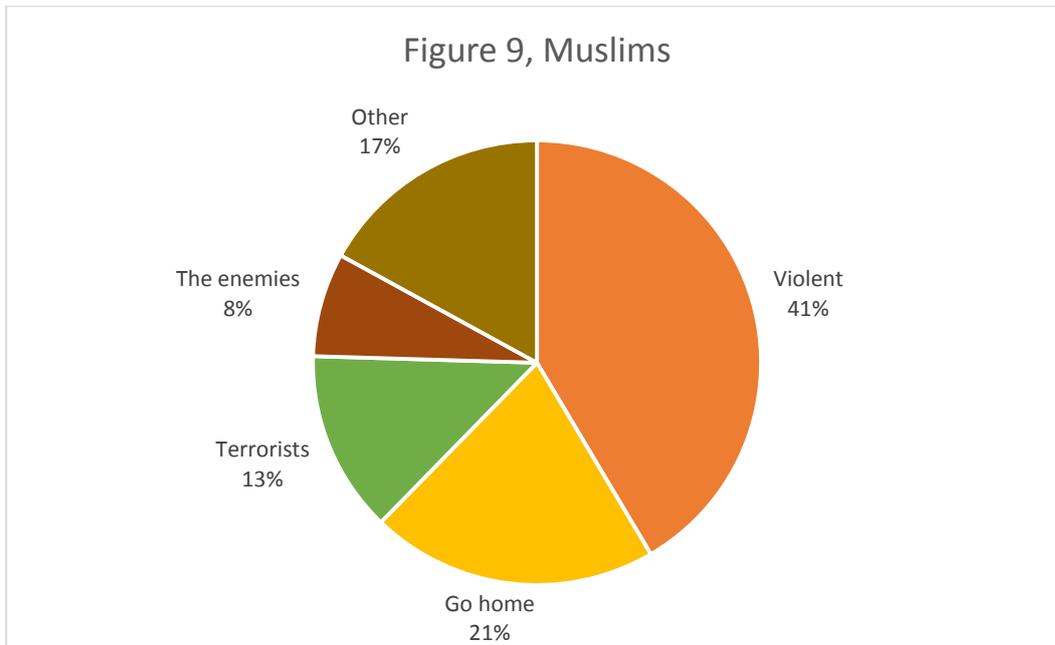
Chapter 5 Analysis

5.1. Analysis

This chapter brings in a theoretical focus by following the deductive direction, outlined earlier (Theoretical working method; Figure 1). For structural reasons the primary organizing principle is the same as the results chapter, the origin of the data. Thereafter, the analysis is organized in terms of analytic focus areas: situated; action oriented and constructed, followed by the analytic questions. These are answered with a focus on Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) three representations of otherness with subsequent six populist radical right discourses. This makes the interplay between different discourses within the order of discourse a focal point in the analysis. According to Jörgensen & Philips (2002, 145), it is in this interplay that social consequences become most noticeable. Additionally, comments will be gender-coded into male or female.

5.1.1 The Santa post

The Santa post contains no reference to Islam, or Muslims. The lack of such a rhetorical device in the original post complicates the organization of information into Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) discourses. To minimize the risk of misrepresenting the data, additional discourses are added with a number 2, after the original name (Figure 10). These have the same features as the original discourses except for lacking reference to Islam or Muslims. However, they may still focus on "the outsider" as an ethnic minority.

The chart below (Figure 10) illustrates the prevalence of each discourse among 315 coding instances for 767 comments. 59% of the comments are made by men. Among the original discourses only "Conquering force" got more than 4%, the rest are represented by "Original discourses excl. conquering force". This means that the typology, without adaption, may be problematic in certain contexts.

Figure 10, Santa post: six discourses of Otherness
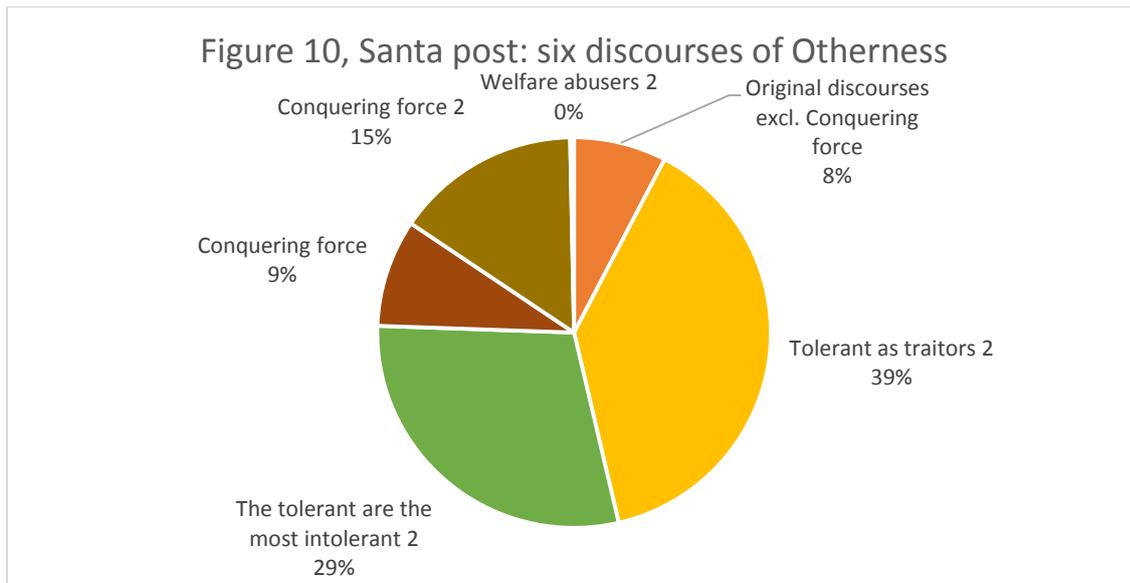
5.1.1.1 Situated

How is the Muslim other, the elite and the ingroup made relevant?

According to Sakki and Pettersson's (2016, 157) the elite are "insiders" or "inner enemies" which also consists of political opponents; liberals; anti-racists; people with a multicultural agenda. This fits well with the initial data-driven coding since these are all established as part of "the Elite". According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 157), "outsiders" are ethnic or religious minorities, often Muslim. From the data-driven coding 50% of codes are primarily about describing the "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" compared to 34% primarily focusing on outsiders through the code "Race related" (Figure 2). However, viewing the data through Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) discourses increases the emphasis on "inner enemies", "insiders" constituting 68% (Figure 10). Focus is on the wrongfulness of "our" behavior rather than any wrongdoings perpetrated by "outsiders".

Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) two discourses for constructing "Inner enemies" are "The tolerant are the most intolerant" and "Tolerant as traitors". "Inner enemies" are portrayed as enemies by describing their behavior as intolerant or treasonous. Both discourses involve a construction of the wrongful behavior of some of "us" against the rest of "us" (Figure 2; Figure 3). According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 157), this type of category distinction is a typical strategy for creating common enemies along with generalizations. It makes the ingroup relevant by comparison to "the Elite", the ingroup are those not deviating from the group prototype. In social identity terms (Tajfel 1974), the ingroup becomes the ingroup in relation to relevant outgroups (the elite) in a given environment (*social comparison*). This distinction along with a desire for a positive self-presentation

(*psychological distinctiveness*) provides anti-immigration advocates with positive attributes in relation to the negative attributes of "the elite". "The tolerant are the most intolerant" primarily positions the ingroup as victims (Sakki and Pettersson, 2016, 164-165). It connects to the taboo against racism (created by the elite) and discursive strategies aimed at adding non-prejudiced to the positive self-presentation. It is primarily achieved through "reversal" (coded as: Claims of reversed racism, see: Figure 4), which is the strongest type of denial of racism (Van Dijk, 1993 in Sakki and Pettersson 2014, 164) and a key strategy in "the tolerant are the most intolerant" discourse (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 164-165). This allows for different types of xenophobic views to be expressed despite the taboo against racism (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157). Despite the lack of normative relevance to the initial post, it makes "the Muslim other" relevant as part of "non-racist" explanations of why the dark-skinned mannequin is unwanted, the rhetorical removal of race. "Culture connected to race" frames the threat or deviation in terms of religion or culture rather than skin color which enables continued denial of racism and thereby what Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 157) call a positive non-prejudiced self-presentation.

Additionally, the larger victim narrative created by the distinction and comparison between the ingroup and "the elite", such as the portrayal of "the elite in opposition to the people" (Figure 3; 4.1.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us) or the "Tolerant as traitors" (Figure 10) makes a distancing from racist labels possible (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157). According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 165), the "Tolerant as traitors" position the ingroup as defenders of the nation rather than victims. Both constructions have inherent functions (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 167) or action-orientations. "Tolerant as traitors" connects to codes calling for immediate action in response to the wrongful behavior, such as "Social sanction". It creates positive group characteristics, such as courageous and righteous. On the other hand, the victimization central in "The tolerant are the most intolerant" (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 165) primarily focuses on a non-prejudiced self-presentation, as mentioned earlier.

In short, members of the ingroup are victims because of oppression ("Claim of reversed racism") by the main perpetrators, "the Elite". The dark-skinned mannequin is simply a symptom of continued immigration, one of the main wrongdoings perpetrated against the ingroup, the people (see: "The elite in opposition to the people"). It is constructed as a type of racism against the people (Van Dijk 1993 in Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157).

How are claims about Islam and "the elite" constructed to counter alternative versions?

The focus on the skin color of the mannequin (Figure 2; Figure 5) work to reinforce the image of skin-color as part of a "Norm breakers" discourse. Part of "A deviant group of people" representation of otherness (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 161). In terms of offensive rhetoric, Potter and Edwards (2001) point out that when dark skin is noteworthy, in the context of Christmas, it portrays an image of dark skin as deviating from social norms regarding Christmas. A deviation that is further reinforced by constructions of "Culture connected to race" and "Dark skin = Muslim" (Figure 5). These make additional factual enhancing devices relevant. Thereby, the otherness of Islam in the Santa post context is constructed through the racialization of Christmas. This runs contrary to anti-immigration arguments building on a process of discursive deracialization.

In terms of defensive rhetoric, it undermines alternative versions (Potter and Edwards 2001, 104) by constructing Christmas as a sacred tradition which is both "white" and "Christian". This excludes people with other religious and cultural backgrounds as well as non-white people.

The prevalence of "Humor related" comments in the "Race related" category (Figure 5) makes it necessary to point out the "…the key social function [*and power*] of humor in facilitating social affiliation and social distance…" (Pérez 2017, 959). In the context of the Santa post this means that it may work to discursively reproduce, circulate and reinforce racial stereotypes (Pérez 2017) and the racialization of Muslims. Additionally, Perez (2017, 962) points out that racist jokes described as "just jokes" works to distance oneself from accusations of racism and when challenged the accuser may be portrayed as having no sense of humor. This connects to "Wrongful behavior of 'us'", "The elite in opposition to the people" (Figure 3) and Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) discourses "The tolerant as traitors" and "The tolerant are the most intolerant" (Figure 10). These categories illustrate how anti-immigration advocates manages to portray themselves as "the people" in relation to "the oppressive elite", constructed as "inner enemies". This directly counters alternative versions by framing an attack on the anti-immigration advocates as an attack on the people. It works to disqualify alternative versions from anyone not part of "the people", specifically versions constructed by political opponents or the media, both part of "the elite" and accused of oppression and discrimination (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163-164).
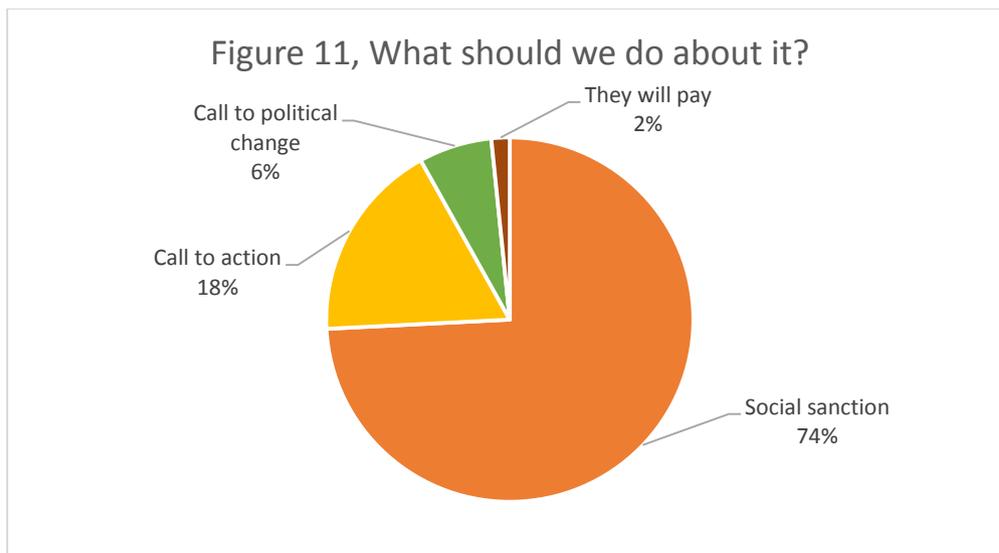
5.1.1.2 Action Oriented
How do personally held attitudes about the "Muslim other" and "the elite" turn into factual reality?

Opinions about the treasonous or intolerant insiders are predominantly constructed using rhetorical questions, often containing comparisons between different wrongful behaviors (5.1.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us). According to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 161), rhetorical formulations imply consensus. The anti-immigration context may also signal the possibility to participate in collaborative meaning-making which works to reinforce the image of a mutual understanding (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 164). Less commonly used devices for the Santa post include: metaphors; images; hyperlinking; and reiteration, all used to make opinions appear factual.

Unlike Sakki and Pettersson's (2016, 161) findings about invoking detail, statistics and expert knowledge, opinions about "Outsiders" are predominantly made as common sense or matter-of-fact statements, such as the statements about Africans and/or Muslims not celebrating Christmas (4.1.2 Deviant group of people). Similar to the function of rhetorical questions about "the elite", these imply consensus and refer to a shared knowledge (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 158). Such expressions are no longer personally held opinions but rather a part of a common understanding of the world among like-minded others.

What actions do these realities call for?

For clarity this question may be divided in an overarching action-orientation of the dominant discourses and a more specific and overt action-orientation. The latter is illustrated by grouping codes that answer the question: -what should we do about it? "Social sanction" is the most common action (Figure 11). It is primarily directed at the store displaying the dark-skinned mannequin, but it is constructed as a reprisal against "the elite", ultimately responsible by implementing a multicultural agenda and betraying "the people" for "the Muslim other".

Figure 11, What should we do about it?
- They will pay 2%
- Call to political change 6%
- Call to action 18%
- Social sanction 74%

The construct that "the elite" may be held responsible for most wrongful behaviors (Figure 3) indicates that the overarching action-orientation is political. Political opponents are part of "the elite" and accused of discrimination and oppression (Sakki and Petterson 2016, 164). The category "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" and the code "The elite in opposition to the people" suggests that "the people" are seeking political change as a result of these "wrongful behaviours" and the victimization. Furthermore, the context provided by the order of discourse, "non-racist and anti-immigration", is by itself action-oriented in support of an anti-immigration narrative.

5.1.1.3 Constructed
What particulars are established as relevant to different discourses within the "non-racist and anti-immigration" order of discourse?

The dominant category concerning "insiders" from the data-driven coding is: "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" (Figure 2). Several codes within this category (Figure 3) include comments that try to establish what is right and wrong for the ingroup, the ingroups' prototype or moral character. It connects to scapegoating "inner enemies" and "The tolerant are the most intolerant" (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163-164) because the wrongfulness of the behavior is that it discriminates against the ingroup. The relevance of the victimization of the ingroup is further illustrated by the code "Claim of reversed racism". Attention is also devoted to establishing "the elite" as ultimately responsible for the wrongdoings against the people: "the elite in opposition to the people" (Figure 3). However, the code "the elite in opposition to the people" may contain either of Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) "inner enemies" discourses: "Tolerant as traitors" and "The tolerant are the most intolerant" (Figure 10). There is a slight advantage to "Tolerant as traitors" (Figure 10). This would suggest that the self-

representation as patriotic defenders of Swedish society is somewhat more common than the self-presentation as victimized martyrs (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 165-166).

In terms of "outsiders" the discourse "Conquering force" dominates (Figure 10), in Sakki and Pettersson's (2016, 163) original discourse this would be focused on the ongoing process of Islamization. However, since the original discourse was adapted to fit the context of the Santa post, the focus is instead on the ongoing process of multiculturalism constructed to include the process of Islamization. It changes the relevance of "Muslims [intentions] to Islamize Europe" (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163). Instead, it establishes a greater relevance of "Inner enemies". This is also apparent when considering that the dominant category for "Outsiders" from the data-driven coding is "Race related" (Figure 2). The focus in several codes is on establishing the relevance of skin color in the context of Christmas using straight forward arguments and racial jokes, coded as "Humor response" (Figure 5).

5.1.2 The Prayer post

As described in the results chapter, the Prayer post is specifically about calls to prayer at Mosques in Sweden (Adhan). The chart below illustrated the prevalence of each of Sakki and Pettersson's discourses among 573 coding instances. For the Prayer post, roughly 72% of the comments are made by men as compared to the Santa post's 59%. The chart (Figure 11) shows that Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) typology (Figure 1) is appropriate for the Prayer post where all the original discourses are represented.

Figure 12, Prayer post: six discourses of Otherness
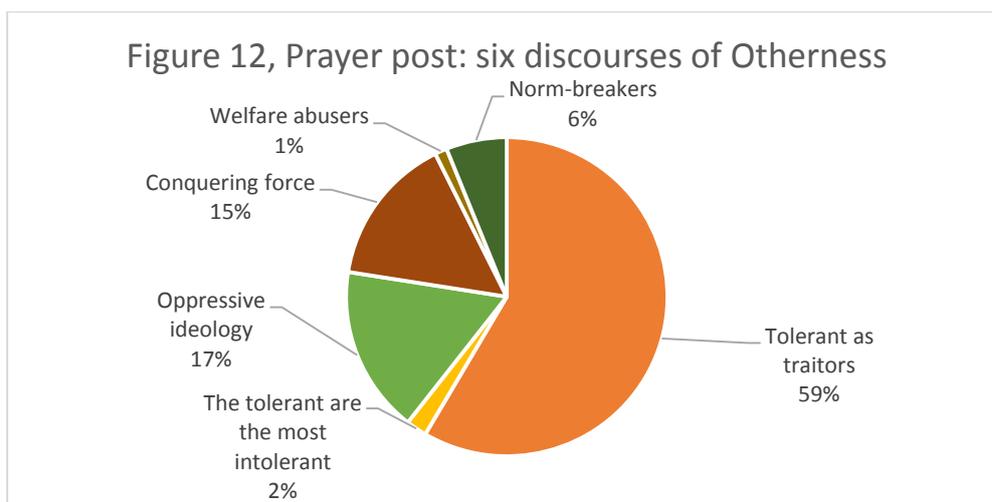
5.1.2.1 Situated
How are the Muslim other, the elite and the ingroup made relevant?

In terms of how "the elite" is made relevant, "Tolerant as traitors" and "The tolerant are the most intolerant" are the two discourses within the theme "Inner enemies" (Figure 1). The chart above (Figure 12) shows the dominating prevalence of "tolerant as traitors", at almost 60%. This discourse positions the ingroup as defenders of the nation rather than building on a victimization narrative (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 166). The data-driven coding resulted in nearly 70% in the category "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" with "Do not tolerate the intolerant" being the most common code. Given that Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) discourse "The tolerant are the most intolerant" is almost nonexistent in the Prayer post, it indicates that a larger victimization narrative, such as the one present in the Santa post, is not a priority in the Prayer post (Figure 10). Considering the occasioned feature of discourse (Potter and Edwards 2001, 104), the original article portrayed a representative of the church advocating for calls to prayer, increasing the normative relevance of the traitor narrative rather than a victim narrative. Additionally, it addresses the increased prevalence of Islam and Muslims.

In the Prayer post, Islam is frequently made relevant in terms of the discourses "Oppressive ideology" and "Conquering force" (Figure 12). The dominant way of describing Islam is characterized by the code "Intolerant" (4.2.2.1 Islam) which may have a high normative relevance because of the article's interpretation of the concept of toleration. The "Intolerant" code is part of a discourse portraying Islam as an "Oppressive ideology" (Figure 1) that violates fundamental social norms (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 162).

By comparing Islamic countries and Western countries the relative intolerance of Islam is emphasized while own intolerance is downplayed (4.2.2.1 Islam). This connects to a discourse of orientalism, positioning the individual, or the ingroup, as part of "the civilized West" while placing "the Muslim Other" as part of "the barbaric Islamic world" (Jörgensen and Philips 2002, 111). It is further reinforced by making violence a characteristic of Muslims (4.2.3.1 Muslims; Figure 9) like Sakki and Pettersson's (2016, 161) example of the racialization of criminality. The comparison of Muslim and Western countries makes Islam incompatible with western society, western values and may strategically be used to enhance the sense of threat (Sakki and Pettersson 2016). This constructed incompatibility simultaneously work to reinforce that the "wrongful behavior of 'us'", accepting the "intolerant" Islam, amounts to treason (Figure 12).

Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 161) describes attempts at differentiating between Islam as an ideology and Muslims as a people. However, in the Prayer post an abstract ideological threat of Islam is made less abstract both by the operationalization of it to an identifiable group of people (4.2.3.1 Muslims; Figure 9), but also through the "Conquering force" discourse in which the immediate threat is made visible (Figure 12). It connects to notions of Muslims intention to Islamize Europe and motivates actions against it (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163). Given these intentions created by the intolerant basis of Islam and the violent nature of "the Muslim Other", it provides a tangible villain, making each individual Muslim accountable for all acts in the name of Islam. The constructed accountability of Muslims also makes it easier to continue spreading racist and other xenophobic expressions.

How are claims about Islam and "the elite" constructed to counter alternative versions?

Focus is on liberal arguments as rhetorical resources (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163), such as re-evaluation of the concept of toleration. It is offered as a counter (Potter and Edwards 2001, 104) to the original evaluation of the concept. The original evaluation of the concept is used to legitimize claims in the article hyperlinked in the original post, subsequently comments focus on delegitimizing this evaluation to delegitimize the claim itself. The re-evaluation of the concept is most clearly illustrated by the code name: "Do not tolerate the intolerant". This code relates to notions of cultural essentialism (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163) because it refers to "us" as part of "liberal Westerners" who generally are tolerant and "them" as "oppressive Muslims" who are intolerant and can therefore not be tolerated.

5.1.2.2 Action Oriented
How do personally held attitudes about the "Muslim other" and "the elite" turn into factual reality?

Presenting something as counter to one's bias may help to construct the positive non-prejudice self-presentation described by Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 157). In the context of the Prayer post, this includes agreeing with freedom of religion, the harm principle and other normative principles considered fundamental for a liberal society. Such arguments carry the added benefit of not needing justification, the liberal concepts are rhetorically self-sufficient and part of shared knowledge (Wetherell and Potter 1992 in Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 163). However, these liberal concepts are open for re-interpretation and the freedom versus harm argument is often used to limit freedoms with vague definitions of harm (4.2.1.2

Victimization strategies; Figure 8). Additionally, the constructed incompatibility of Islam and Western values represents Islam as the opposite of liberal principles and human rights.

A factual reality is also constructed by using historical references of Muslims persecuting Christians and different types of expert knowledge about the Quran, the law or the Bible, according to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 163) these strategies can give authority and make a threat more concrete. However, these obvious fact constructions are relatively few. Instead, it is more common to state one's opinion as a matter of fact statement about the wrongfulness of "our" behavior, the violent nature of Muslims and the intolerance of Islam (4.2.1.1 Wrongful behavior of us; 4.2.2.1 Islam; 4.2.3.1 Muslims). Referring to the readers' shared knowledge is common in the Swedish radical right context, according to Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 161).

What actions do these realities call for?

The most important aspect of these comments, regarding the support of certain forms of social organization, are contained in the discourses "Tolerant as traitors" and "Conquering force" (Figure 12) along with the category "wrongful behavior of 'us'" (Figure 6) with the codes "Do not tolerate the intolerant" and "Looming reality" (Figure 7). Even though "the Elite" is not specifically addressed in the code names, as it is in the Santa post, Sakki and Pettersson (2016 157, 166) describe that the "Tolerant as traitors" discourse may represent the ingroup as ordinary people or as defenders in contrast to the traitors. Thereby, motivating actions against "the elite", the tolerant traitors. The treason may imply that political opponents, "the elite", are acting to destroy their own people (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157) and therefore they need to be stopped. Such a reality is constructed to encourage political change, transferring power from the political elite to the ordinary people. It is the only way to avoid the "Looming reality" (Figure 7) and the "Conquering force", for which "the elite" are responsible, that "we" can see ("We know reality", Figure 7) but "the elite" cannot. It is up to the ingroup to defend Swedish values and traditions (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 165-166).

"Social sanctions" alone represents 74% among codes grouped to answer the question -what we should do about it? (Figure 11). It is another form of noteworthy social organization and taken together with "Connection to loss of members", which is closely related, the two constitute 18% of all codes in the "Wrongful behavior of 'us'" category (Figure 7). It is constructed as reprisals against the elite for betraying "the people" for "the

Muslim other". It is a way for ingroup members to get closer to the group prototype that Sakki and Pettersson (2016, 165) call "defenders of the nation".

5.1.2.3 Constructed
What particulars are established as relevant to different discourses within the "non-racist and anti-immigration" order of discourse?

One of the more noteworthy aspects are connections made between "the elite" and Muslims. A reality is constructed where "the elite" prefers Muslims to own citizens, illustrated by Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) discourse the "Tolerant as traitors" (Figure 12). While the Elite is constructed as the cause, Muslim immigrants are primarily constructed as the effect, following a principle of causation.

How is the moral character of these different versions of the world formulated?

The moral character in all the presented anti-immigration discourses draw on cultural essentialism, based on ideas about incompatible cultural differences (Sakki and Pettersson 2016, 157). The ingroup is merely responding to the threat posed by "the Muslim Other". Swedish morals are superior and similar to "Western" morals while the real moral character of the "Muslim-world" is described as "intolerant", "ignorant" and "undeveloped". Our advanced society is also perceived as the reason why people from the "Muslim-world" want to come in the first place. However, as they are not in possession of the same moral character. They are likely to misuse the system, either out of personal greed or out of some larger attempt to spread the moral values of Islam. Highly incompatible with the "Western" moral values held in Sweden. For different reasons, often constructed as ignorance and/or popularity, "the elite" is either encouraging misuse of the system or they are the ones misusing it for the benefit of immigrants. Despite "the people" being aware of what is going on, as compared to the elite who are not, the actions of "the elite" are still constructed as actions done for popularity, to please the rest of "the elite".

5.2. Conclusions

Research Question One

What are the dominant rhetorical resources used to construct an "us and them" dichotomy and how are these resources used?

Partly explained by normative relevance for the Prayer post, the dominant rhetorical resource for constructing "us and them", in terms of *citizen versus asylum-seeker*, is cultural comparison constructing cultural incompatibility. This is for example illustrated by connecting culture to race and making comparisons between countries. It is based on cultural essentialism which positions the ingroup with the "civilized west" and immigrants with "the intolerant and oppressive Islam". However, the most notable "us and them" construction is not *citizen versus asylum-seeker*, it is *the elite versus the people*. Even when the "intolerance of Islam" or the "violence of the Muslim" is used to describe "A threatening ideology" or the "Deviant others" it functions to illustrate the wrongfulness of "our" behavior.

Research Question Two

How are threats to ingroup related to notions of: a threatening ideology; deviant others; and inner enemies?

These three representations of otherness are all present in the data to varying degrees. However, despite change in significance between "Tolerant as traitors" and "The tolerant are the most intolerant", the analysis shows that the category "Inner enemies" is portrayed as the primary threat to the ingroup, to the people and to Swedish society. Furthermore, findings indicate that, "Inner enemies", often referred to as "the Elite" in the category "Wrongful behavior of 'us'", is portrayed as the "real" problem. The importance of this should not be understated. It carries significant weight that the seemingly unfiltered expressions of hatred on anti-immigration pages on Facebook are more concerned with what "we" are doing wrong rather than what is wrong with any "deviant others". It is more about an internal clash of moral compasses than it is about a supposed clash of civilizations. "Deviant others" are yet another sign of a society in decay. Unlike popular belief, this means that immigrants, and more specifically "the Muslim Other" are not portrayed to be the cause of what is wrong with society today. Instead, they are portrayed to be one of the effects, one of the symptoms of the ill-functioning and outdated machine that is "the elite" or "Inner enemies".

Research Question Three

Why do "nonracist racists" position themselves as they do?

Variations in code occurrence between the two posts, indicate that the Santa post which makes skin color more relevant, produces a relatively larger victimization narrative. This is done through the codes "The elite in opposition to the people" and "Claim of reversed racism" as well as the discourse "The tolerant are the most intolerant" referring to the intolerance of "the elite" towards the ingroup. This could possibly be explained by the taboo against racism, since the Santa post makes skin color unavoidably relevant for those who feel they need to comment on it. Victimization thereby becomes rhetorical resource for achieving a non-prejudiced self-presentation. However, the large amount of "Race related" codes and racial jokes, coded as "Humor related", from the inductive coding, indicate that the taboo against racism is not very suppressing in this context. Instead, "The elite in opposition to the people" indicates that the victim narrative may be adhered to because of some sense of unescapable multiculturalism which leaves the ingroup powerless against "the elite". This is reinforced by the adapted "Conquering force 2" discourse which places emphasis on an ongoing process of multiculturalism.

From the onset, the Prayer post makes religion and culture more relevant. It is also less concerned with victimization of the ingroup and more concerned with the motivating actions against "the elite" in different forms of defending the nation against traitors. This is probably caused by the perceived "treason" perpetrated by the representative of the church. Findings indicate that the occasioned feature of discourse, and normative relevance, may play a significant role in explaining why "nonracist racists" for example position themselves as victims or defenders.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 Empirical Reflection

There are some noteworthy differences from previous research. Along with cultural threats, financial concerns and security threats are often considered the main articulated concerns of anti-immigration advocates, sometimes used in a process of discursive deracialization. Surprisingly, this study shows very few direct security concerns, few connections to terrorism and few financial concerns. Even when these are brought up they are merely additional evidence of a looming reality, for which "the elite" is accountable. However, cultural threats are commonly occurring. But, not sufficiently to claim that cultural threats should be considered a primary concern of anti-immigration advocates. That would be to misrepresent the data gathered for this study. This needs to be considered with the fact that the Prayer post specifically makes religion and culture relevant. Instead, "the elite" or "inner enemies" is by far the biggest concern, as the illustrative charts show. These elements are often lacking in previous research where readers are asked to simply trust that something is common or frequent.

This study contradicts Awad's (2013) claim that the actual problem is a fear of religiosity rather than a fear of Islam or Muslims. Very few comments displayed any problems with religion in general. Additionally, the primary concern with "the elite" suggests a problem with authority rather than a problem with religion.

The prevalence of "The elite in opposition to the people", shows the potential of the anti-immigration narrative as a larger anti-government discourse. The question is how much weight to place on the action-orientation feature of discourse.

Razmyar's (in Nordiska ministerrådet 2015) argument that hate is becoming more open and accepted, correlates with the results of this study rather than Hughey and Daniels (2013) argument of the opposite.

Bloom et al. (2015) recommend that those trying to gain support for immigration policies from liberal constituencies should emphasize values of compassion and caring while highlighting any similarities between immigrants and members of society as their key values. The results of this study indicate that such a strategy may not be very successful given that

the article in the Prayer post followed these recommendations. However, it is likely relatively better than more suppressing strategies, as discussed in previous research.

6.2 Contributions

While previous research primarily highlights the dichotomy between citizen and asylum-seeker, findings indicate that "The elite versus the people" is the dominant "us and them" dichotomy in anti-immigration discourses. Additionally, that immigrants are *not* portrayed to be the cause of what is wrong with society today is noteworthy. This is not to say that immigrants are not the target of hateful comments. Rather, the larger context in which these hateful comments are expressed need to be considered if they are to be understood and subsequently dealt with. Immigration is one of the effects, one of the symptoms of the ill-functioning and outdated machine that is "the elite". Along with the occasioned feature of discourse, this partly explains why "nonracist racists" for example position themselves as victims or defenders.

The focus in much of previous research is on the specific words or expressions used for- or against immigration or asylum-seeking. Often part of discourses on opposite ends of a spectrum. In these studies, a connection to wider society is sometimes lost. It should be noted that research on populism and nationalism may be more revealing in this sense but that such studies do not pay similar attention to the particulars of "the nonracist racist" in everyday interactions.

Additionally, this study has shown that there is value in adding quantitative and illustrative elements in discourse analysis and that the social identity perspective may beneficially be combined with discursive psychology as they both build on similar functions.

6.3 Theoretical Reflections

The situated, action-oriented and constructed features of the above analyzed anti-immigration discourses illustrate that comments to a high degree are oriented toward the original post. This should be thoroughly considered before selecting posts and comments for research as it has the potential to influence all results. Sakki and Pettersson's (2006) typology is appropriate to use when analyzing online anti-immigration discourses. It encapsulates many important patterns in the anti-immigration context. However, the theoretical framework (Figure 1) used for this study which combined Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) typology with Potter and Edwards' (2001) theoretical features of discourse, may be too large

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an undertaking when analyzing this amount of data. It is probably worthwhile to consider streamlining the theoretical framework in some way, for example by focusing only on certain theoretical or contextual elements. Another viable alternative could be not to do both an inductive- and a deductive coding but instead focus only on a theory-driven deductive coding process.

6.4 Methodological Reflections

The whole plan to code and re-code all data several times to increase reliability and to combine an inductive coding and deductive coding in one approach worked and I find quantification a breath of fresh air in the field of discourse analysis. However, the amount of time that needs to be dedicated to the coding procedure is unfathomable. Therefore, this type of all-inclusive coding should perhaps only be considered for larger research projects. As always with coding of data, codes can be divided differently, represented in alternative categories and by re-coding the material other things may be found using a different theoretical framework. Regarding the validity criteria (3.1.3 Validity), I consider the illustrative raw-data examples to be sufficient for the reader to form an opinion of how and why a certain code was developed. However, given that this is a form of discourse analysis I must acknowledge that some may prefer more raw-data extracts. This was a space saving decision as well as an ethical consideration (3.1.2 Ethical considerations). The relatively strict ethical guidelines made it necessary to carefully consider exactly what kind of information could be presented in the form of raw-data.

6.5 Concluding Reflections

It is worth pointing out that the reality of "the nonracist racist" is one filled with inconsistences. In terms of rhetoric the most striking is the paradoxical use of liberal arguments, such as the concept of toleration and the harm principle. Liberal arguments used both to justify intolerance against others and condemning intolerance against the ingroup.

"Inner enemies", "The elite in opposition to the people" and "Looming reality", connects to discussions about contemporary populism and nationalism. Populism as a vehicle of Xenophobia is a concern, but so is the great divide between a perceived self-serving elite and the suffering people. The elite is not only portrayed as "traitors" and "intolerant" but also in terms of a deep and severe moral deviation, something that attempts to construct irreparable damage to the moral character of the elite. At this point it becomes crucial to

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consider that compared to the populist radical right, the inclusively constructed elite consists of a far greater number of citizens, thus should not be able to contrast the term "the people". However, for the "nonracist racist" in Sweden, "the elite" would include everyone not voting for the Sweden Democrats, or similar political parties, which also reveals a great deal about the action-orientation of these anti-immigration discourses and the power struggle they are made part of.

The above mentioned should be considered with the normative relevance of comments (6.3 Theoretical Reflections). That comments to a high degree are oriented toward the original post is not necessarily a bad thing. It opens the possibility to explore if, when and why comments are not oriented toward the original post, in the context of anti-immigration- or populist radical right discourse. The importance of which is that it could provide a better understanding of the occasioned feature of certain discourses and to what degree the context may predict (not determine) the normative relevance of comments. This would also be useful to be able to distinguish better between occasioned features and action-orientation. Any future research endeavors along the lines of this study could try to make internal comparisons more rewarding by including comments from posts that are selected because of the normative relevance they provide. This could also function as an additional data-triangulation by for example adding a political post and comparing its comments with comments to a religious post and a racial post.

Summary

Immigration and asylum-seeking have been a frequent topic in public debates for years. The number of refugees making their way from war-torn regions of the world to Sweden makes the citizen versus asylum-seeker dichotomy highly relevant for social psychology research about discursively constructed identities. Today, public opinion is largely produced online, this makes it possible to explore the motivations, strategies and goals of "the nonracist racist" on Facebook. This study utilizes a dual-edged approach in that coding is done both from an inductive- and a deductive direction. It adheres to a discursive psychology approach and follows Potter and Edward's (2001) situated, action-oriented and constructed features of discourse. These theoretical features inform the deductive coding and are contextualized using Sakki and Pettersson's (2016) three representation of otherness with subsequent six discourses produced by the populist radical right.

Findings indicate that cultural comparison constructing cultural incompatibility is the main rhetorical resource for constructing the citizen versus asylum-seeker dichotomy. However, this dichotomy is not the most dominant "us and them" construction by the "nonracist racist". "The elite versus the people" is the most common "us and them" construction. It carries significant weight that the seemingly unfiltered expressions of hatred on anti-immigration pages on Facebook are more concerned with what "we" are doing wrong rather than what is wrong with any "deviant others". It is more about an internal clash of moral compasses than it is about a supposed a cultural clash of civilizations. Along with the occasioned feature of discourse, this partly explains why nonracist racists for example position themselves as victims or defenders.

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