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Anti-Semitism, Securitization and the Media

Analyzing the role of media in relation to the increasing notion of
anti-Semitism in Sweden – An issue for Securitization?

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Abstract

This paper has examined the potential power of media in relation to ‘security’ for the Jews in the Swedish society. My intention was to find out whether media constitute a risk for the increasing notion of anti-Semitism which also enhances the threat for the Jews in Sweden to become a security matter and therefore result in a need for securitization. The analysis has been done partly through presentation of material which gives us the understanding that anti-Semitism is spreading in Sweden in relation to escalations of conflicts in the Middle East. A critical discourse analysis of two Swedish newspapers has been made, in order to see whether these papers did present a biased view over the ‘Cast Lead’ offensive in Gaza from Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 18, 2009 which eventually results in these negative notions against Jews in Sweden. The critical situation for the Jews has then been placed in relation to security where the paper looked closer upon whether the situation for the Jews has become severe to the extent that it is in need of a securitization act in order to protect the Jewish minority group in Sweden.

Key words: Anti-Semitism, CDA, Media, power, social constructivism, Securitization, SvD, Aftonbladet

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1. Introduction

Media has always been a powerful and influential tool to disseminate knowledge in the society. One of its influences has to do with how society creates knowledge of situations through presentation. The media is a tool which has the power to affect people's opinions and beliefs; they have the power to produce 'knowledge' through facts and fictions by deciding on what people ought to focus their attention on.

In the ongoing debate concerning the negative trend of increasing anti-Semitism there are positions that claim media has an essential role in the spreading of anti-Semitism in Sweden. After the second intifada in 2001 and onwards, there has been evidence showing that when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is escalating it contributes to the intensification of anti-Semitic notions towards the Jewish society in Sweden. Videlicet these two events, the conflicts in Israel and intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden are linear with each other. This thesis will investigate the role of Swedish media when it comes to the spreading of anti-Semitism in Sweden. In order to analyze the possible role of media concerning the intensification of anti-Semitism I have decided to investigate the media discourse concerning the military offensive 'Cast Lead'.

The Israeli offensive 'Cast Lead' against Gaza during the time of Dec 27, 2008 to the time of official cease-fire Jan 18, 2009 has been an offensive which dominated the Swedish media. Many news reports in print media, radio and on TV spent much attention on the conflict in several ways. In this massive flow of information, there have been a lot of outspoken words, written texts etc made by people with different types of realities, colored by their own experiences or understanding. The different ways media is presenting reality is something we see daily and is nothing new. However, the way media portray news items determines how readers learn to understand what is going on in the society and the outside world, so the power of presenting 'knowledge' is basically in the hands of the media. This later becomes a gauge for how people tend to look at the Jews in the Swedish society.

Because of the intensification of anti-Semitic notions in Sweden I believe Jewish society in Sweden is living under a threat and therefore is in need of security. If there is and will be an even stronger intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden I believe it might be time to take some actions against this trend since it is not only a threat towards the Jewish society in Sweden but also a threat towards the whole Swedish society. Securitization theory emphasizes how different discourses transform issues to become a

threat. So the threat is constructed through speech acts. Securitization is legitimizing the use of extraordinary measures in order to prevent the threat to escalate. I therefore want to investigate whether there is a need for securitizing measures to protect the Jewish minority from threat in Sweden.

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

What I wish to investigate in this paper is the potential power of media in relation to 'security' for the Swedish Jews in our society. I intend to find out whether media is a potential tool which intensifies anti-Semitism in Sweden and enhance the situation for Jews to become a security matter that might lead to securitization act.

To get a better idea of the role of media I will do a critical discourse analysis (CDA) on the reporting of the latest conflict in Gaza. The CDA will involve two newspapers in Sweden *Aftonbladet* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, where my focus will be to look at how the newspapers are portraying the conflict as well as focusing on the different actors in the conflict. This is done in order to see whether they might have contributed to anti-Semitic notions in the Swedish debate by the way they have done their reporting. The analysis will involve the time frame of Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 17, 2009 which respectively represents the official date for the start of the Israeli offensive and the day before the official date for cease-fire. The assumption here is that biased reporting can present a wrongful image of the conflict which also generate anti-Semitic notion in Sweden. My research question is:

What is the role of media in the intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden and has anti-Semitism reached the level of when security measures needs to be taken under consideration?

In order to answer this question I have used the securitization theory as well as the CDA so that I can present an example which investigates the focus of how the newspapers have presented the different actors in the conflict. In addition to the CDA and securitization theory I have also used a social constructivist theory as a point of departure where I wish to emphasize that we are dealing with social constructions of realities and therefore is changeable attitudes depending on how we chose to see the reality.

1.2 Outline of the Paper

The paper is divided in four main sections. The first part is looking at the theoretical and methodological approaches which include social construction theory, securitization theory and CDA which is serving as both theory and method. It will also present the empirical material which I will use. The second part will bring up the situation of the Jewish society in Sweden as well as the power of media. After that I will present the CDA which is the third part, followed by the last part which looks at how the issue could be placed in a Securitization act. This will all be explained more thoroughly in the methodological part.

1.3 Delimitations

I am aware that much more can be said, argued and more thoroughly investigated concerning these subjects. I am also aware that media is just one out of several actors that is argued as reasons for the intensification of anti-Semitism but for this paper I have chosen only to look at the media aspect. I also need to add that the CDA became very limited in the sense that I only used one conflict to measure and also that I only used two newspapers to analyze. But considering the circumstances surrounding time and space I made the decision of only focusing on one particular media event. I also understand that the two newspapers that I analyzed cannot serve as representatives for the whole Swedish media but I argue that they can stand as examples and show tendencies of how things might look in the Swedish media since they represent two different ideological positions and also are two of the leading newspapers in Sweden. This opens up for further investigations, involving other media and other events or conflicts which might have affected the anti-Semitic currents in Sweden, which can complement this analysis. Finally I also need to add that the newspapers I have analyzed are newspapers written in Swedish and the translations made for this paper are done by my self.

2. Theory

The theoretical framework for this paper will be divided in three parts. First I wish to use Social constructivist theory as a point of departure and as a comprehensive theory for the whole paper. Second I will look at the middle range theory known as securitization theory which is mainly looking at media as one entity of creating a securitization problem. In order to conceptualize this I will use a CDA which is mainly my methodological framework but also has some theoretical stands and therefore should be understood as a theoretical entity. Finally I combine the theories.

2.1 Social Constructivist Theory

The role of the social constructivist theory will mainly be an overview theory and since my empirical data are made of material from news papers to be analyzed I have decided to use this theory to really emphasize the issue of how the social world, our way of thinking and how our knowledge of reality are constructed. In addition to that CDA and Securitization theory is both coming from a background of constructivism; it is a theory which shares the basic presumption about ontology and epistemology together with CDA. They also share an interest in identity and importance of language which are similar and these are important features in applying the theories.

2.1.1 Social Constructivism

Constructivism is a concept which is used in many disciplines. Virtually, everybody is a constructivist in some sense. Today it is almost universal to believe that facts about the social realm like, social institutions, languages, classes, legal systems etc, are constructed and becomes what they are by our own actions, beliefs and interactions (Kukla 2000: 24).

The reality that we study is a social product of institutions and interactions which already exist (Flick 2006:78) and according to constructivism the reality is understood differently depending on every individual's way of looking at it. The constructivists consider that since we are living together in this world we also communicate with each other and therefore construct a common picture of the world. They social constructivist claim and believe that everything is included in a social coherence, which indicates that you are never really by yourself. Identity is the most vital for people, which is not naturally created in the system, so when you are in 'the game' you get shaped by it, and it is not just a place where you compete, it is also a place where you are creating or developing constructively (Burchill 2005:202-203). A more radical form of constructivism even claim that there is no objective reality; objectivity is an illusion, and knowledge is there to fit the experiential world of the one who claims to know (Glaserfeld 2001:36).

The focus for social constructivists lies both on the society and the individual, and is about how the actors understand, interpret and construct the knowledge they receive and have learned, depending on what type of belief system or ideology they formed within themselves (Delanty 1997:112). Social constructivism goes one step further than constructivism by incorporating the role of the other actors and culture in development. Social constructivists do not hold onto the idealist idea, that reality is the creation of the mind, but that reality can only be known through our cognitive structures (Delanty 1997:112). The social world is an inter-subjective field which means that it is meaningful to people since *the people* made it and understands it. The social world is also in part construction of physical entities. But it is the way we look at those entities which are more important, like what do the entities signify in the minds of people (Jackson & Sorensen 2006:165). Media for instance, consist of editors, cameras, papers, printers, televisions etc. but it is the ideas and understandings according to which those assets are conceived, organized and used, in a news event, that is the decisive and most important. Everything physical is there but it is not until the thoughts comes where the physical can become useful, so without the intellectual component there is not much to do.

2.2 Securitization Theory

The securitization theory was mainly developed by Ole Waever and his colleague Barry Buzan from the Copenhagen school after the end of the cold war. The main argument for the development of the theory was to argue against the view that the core of security is war and force. On the other hand, they wanted to construct a more radical view of

security studies by exploring threats to referent objects, and the securitization of those threats that are nonmilitary as well as military (Buzan et al 1998:4). Other scholars in this field are Booth (1991) and Jones (1995) who both comes from the Welsh School and origins from a tradition of Critical Theory which claims that realism can no longer explain the complex web of world politics due to post-Cold war changes. In the sub-discipline of security studies, security is seen as a contested concept due to the fact that security is not ontological specified but is changeable over time, given that the concept differs for every school. “Security’s meaning is dependent on questions of epistemology, ontology and methodology underlying the respective school of thought.” (Floyd 2007:333).

For the Copenhagen School, the securitization theory’s main argument is “...security is a (illocutionary) speech act, that alone by uttering ‘security’ something is being done. ‘ It is by labeling something a security issue that it becomes one’.” (Floyd 2007:329). If an actor claims a particular ‘object’ to be threatened, the actor also claims that extraordinary measures should be done in order to assure the objects survival. This makes the security problem become a political issue over the normal standards of rules and policymaking and instead it becomes anything a securitizing actor says it is (ibid) since the securitization theory is a speech act.

2.2.1 Security

The Copenhagen School has broadened the concept of security and does not only include the military threat but goes beyond the state. Security is not only to understand the threats which are obvious around us, the pre-existing threats, but also to distinguish the assumed threats like some performative activity that makes certain issue visible as a threat. The Copenhagen School defines security in five general categories: Military security, environmental, economic, societal and political (Buzan et al 1998:21). In all, security refers to how a society is deciding something to be a threat or not deciding something as a threat. The analysis will only look at the societal security since the focus is to look at the collective identity issue of how Jews are being treated in Swedish society.

The Copenhagen school claims that security is about survival and security concern must be articulated as an existential threat. The security threat is something which is related to politicizing an issue and is seen as a stronger version of politicization (Buzan et al 1998:23). From being a normal politicized issue it will now become something securitized due to the security question.

2.2.2 Actors, Objects and Audience

The dynamic of each security category are determined by securitizing actors and referent objects. The *object* are those who are threatened, the victims in the issue who possess a legitimate claim to survival. The objects can be individuals and groups like refugees, ethnic minorities which in this case refers to the Jewish society in Sweden. It can also be issue areas like the state, national sovereignty, ideology and economy which are considered a more traditional object (Buzan et al 1998:36). The *actors* in securitizations are those who perform the security speech act. It can be expected to be political leaders, bureaucracies, government, lobbyist and pressure groups etc (Buzan et al 1998:40). By stating that an object is threatened in its existence, the securitization actor then claim that there should be an extraordinary measure in order to ensure the objects survival. This brings the issue out of the normal politics into the realm of emergency politics. Outside the normal politics the issue can be dealt with in a way which stands outside the law. This also means that it no longer have a preexisting meaning but becomes what ever the securitizing actor says it is (Taureck 2006:55).

In order to get the best impact to identify a security threat, it is important and required to get a certain level of support from the society, an *audience*. Also political groups should be willing to secure the threatened objects through the securitization process. There needs to be at least two sides in order for a security threat to exist, the security actor and an audience. Through the warning of danger and existential threat the security actors justify their act to the audience, so that the actors can use all necessary ways to eliminate the threat. Therefore this can not be decided alone by the securitizing actor but needs to be agreed upon from the audience, which is the society (Buzan et al 1998). Security is an inter-subjective construction which indicates that there is a shared agreement of people concerning security threat so what is needed is to understand the cultural process of securitization where actors are constructing the threats to security (Vultee 2009:3).

2.2.3 The Way to Securitization

There are three criteria or steps which help to measure whether there is a security issue or not. The first one is to identify the existential threats, second is emergency action, and the last is effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan et al 1998:6). The first step towards a successful securitization is called a *securitization move*. In theory it is open to any unit to do a securitization move since the actor has to convince an audience for the legitimate need to go beyond the normal politics in order to get securitization

(Taureck 2006:55). The second part which is *emergency action* is done through the speaking. The speech act is defined as a discursive representation of a certain issue as an existential threat to security. So by expressing the existential threat in language they can persuade the audience of the immediate danger (Emmers 2007:113). The last part is the *breaking free of rules*. When there is a definition of security threat it implies an act from the state to use methods to protect citizen from such threats, something which is called extraordinary measures. Extra ordinary measure is expected to respond to the issue of the potential threat. The performance of the extraordinary measure is there to tackle the urgent need. What type of measures which needs to be taken depends on the actual threat and its context (Emmers 2007:114).

But it is also important to understand at this stage that security is sometimes perceived as something negative. It is considered to be a failure not to deal with the issues in normal politics. There can also become an abuse of the securitization to legitimate or empower the role of the military or special security force in civilian activities. It can lead to power abuse like for instance to change laws, curtail civil liberties, impose martial laws or detain political opponents etc (Emmers 2007:115).

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As for the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’, they are vigorously contested concepts. The field of ‘discourse analysis’ is very diverse both methodologically, theoretically and analytically (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006; Weiss & Wodak 2003; Blommaert 2005). The concept is a well-used in the academic world and there are many different ways of defining what discourse is and how it ought to be used. Norman Fairclough is one of the famous scholars who attended to the issue of CDA, it is said that his approach is one of the most sophisticated framework for analysis of the relationship between language uses and societal practices in general (Fairclough 2003: 89; Richardson 2007).

CDA starts from the perception of discourse, which is language (also visual images) as an element of social practice. Social questions about power relation of media’s influence for instance are questions about discourse. The main aim of CDA is to explore the links between language use among individuals, institutions and the social practice (Richardson 2007:26). CDA is both a method and a theory and the two can not too easily be separated. As a method CDA need to link the theoretical and practical concerns together with the public sphere and the analysis should contribute to the development of

the theoretical construction. The theoretical constructions of discourse which is used by CDA can come from various disciplines. This is called 'operationalization' to work transdisciplinary where the logic of different disciplines can be understood and developed in another discipline (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999:16).

2.3.1 CDA as Theory

CDA is a form of practice which constitutes the social world. It is constituted by other social practices which indicates that it does not only contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social constructions but also reflects them (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:62). What CDA does is to offer interpretation of the meaning of texts, it argues that textual meaning is constructed through and interaction between producer, text and consumer instead of only being understood, in a common way, by the reader (Richardson 2007:15).

In a discourse, power is important and CDA mean that discourses contribute to both creation and reproduction of unequal power relation between the social groups, like men, women, ethnic minorities and the majority, in the society. This effect is interpreted as an ideological effect. The aim for CDA is to reveal the role of discourse practices in the social world which also includes the social relations that involve unequal relations of power (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:63; Titscher et al 2000:146). Concerning objectivity or neutrality, CDA is neither, since it is 'critical' and aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the social world and contribute to social change. This also includes the unequal power relations, that is to say, to work for more equal power relations in the society. CDA take the sides of oppressed social groups and the critique aims to uncover the power relation and the role of discursive practice (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:64).

2.3.2 Power Relation, Ideology/Hegemony

Power relation has to do with discourse (Richardson 2007:27). Some discourses have a stronger impact on mass media than others. Power is in a sense responsible for the creation of the social world, it is also responsible for the particular way in which the world is formed and is talked about (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:15).

The society is more or less controlled by a dominant discourse but that does not mean that all discourses are equally situated. To better understand the relation of power between different discourses it is important to look at the ideological and hegemonic background. Hegemony is seen as a contributor of maintaining and transforming the power relation. With hegemony the leading power can easily apply its own values and

institutions which by time equate to unequal class relations. Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony is probably the most productive theory in this field, especially concerning the distinction between force and approval. For ideology, it is seen as a construction of meaning that contribute to the production, as well as the reproduction and transformation of domination. In other words ideology does not only stand for a system of ideas of beliefs but also a process of social interaction and the constant change in the society. (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:75).

There is also an idea of the common sense, drawn from Gramsci's, which allows people to be positioned in different ideologies since our common sense tells us so, which then creates complications when analyzing a texts. This power relation is a very important aspect for journalist since they use their own realities and reproduce it in the text that they write. This is many times made in the unawareness of it, whiles sometime it is used as an authoritative tool for spreading a particular agenda.

2.3.3. What is Discourse

Discourse analytical approaches mostly start with the claim of structuralism or post-structuralism that the way to reality is through language. Language present realities that contribute in constructing realities and it also create reflection of pre-existing realities. Meanings and representations are real as well as physical objects but they only gain meaning through discourse (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:9).

This also goes to the representation of social identity and social relations. Thus if there is a change to the discourse there will most likely be a change in the social world and from there also the reproducing of the social reality (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:9). Fairclough also talks about a discourse as a way of signifying how we experience ourselves from a particular viewpoint in an ongoing discourse. Thus we can express ourselves from the perspectives of conservative or socialism etc, and therefore it is also possible to distinguish different types of discourses from each other (Fairclough 1995b: 135).

The way we understand a discourse is partly by making unconscious guesses, which usually is based on knowledge. In order to make a text understandable, journalist, in this case, need to assign sense. The word in themselves needs to be fixed given that a single word can mean many things (Richardson 2007:24). In their way of trying to make sense they use many different types of words which also has different meaning and also is interpreted differently due to the person reading and previous conditions and social structures which the person has been influenced by.

2.4 Combining the Theories

In order to turn the three theories, securitization, social constructivism and CDA basic idea into a framework which can be applied I believe I need to conceptualize their general ontological and epistemological similarity. All theories are interpretive theories and as explained earlier, from the ontological standpoint constructivism means that social actors are creating the social world and that the world is not absolute but exists in a constant change (Bryman 2001:33). From the epistemological point of view constructivists mean that knowledge of the social world is not objective but changeable, it is constructed by people and not something which is originated from the world. These fundamental ideas about social constructions and constructed knowledge exists both in the CDA where both the text (articles) that are being analyzed are constructed as well as the interpretation of them. The Copenhagen School regards security as a socially constructed concept implying that they also share a constructivist idea. The constitution of the existential threat is seen as a subjective matter which means that it depends on the shared understanding or knowledge of what is a danger to security or not. The principal actors like the state and other groups are also socially constructed. The knowledge of the social world is not objective but is changeable (Emmers 2007:284).

Another common denominator for CDA and social constructivism is the use and role of language and how it is used in discourses and texts, since the use of language brings knowledge and understanding depending on how it is used. This is important for securitization theory as well especially where the use of language is one of the important variables in creating a securitization process. What is necessary is basically for a person in authority to speak the language of security and from there demand the adoption of emergency measure for the securitization act to become reality. Again, language brings knowledge and understanding, in this case, concerning the threat.

Social constructivism, which is the more comprehensive theory, will both function as an overlapping theory but also as an overview theory like a reminder that the social world, newspapers, security matter, knowledge and language etc is and will be something which is constructed by the society, journalist or people in authority etc. This also implies that everything is changeable; the society we live in today is not the same as our lives tomorrow.

In the last part I will mainly use the securitization theory in order to argue that the role of media is participating in creating a security matter. The securitization can only be answered in how we study the process and can only be given by analyzing narrative. Narrative provides the vital hermeneutic which links definition and practices, meaning

and actions. In this sense I believe that CDA will provide an analytical tool for analyzing material that generates issues of why there is a need for securitizing. The way to study securitization is to study discourse that generates in to creating social consequences which result in securitization matter.

3. Methodology

The methodological approach that will be use is a CDA which is a well used method in media studies. Within CDA there is more than one way of conducting a study and Fairclough has developed several different methods over the years. In order to make the analysis more suitable for this research question I therefore need to conceptualize CDA. What comes first is an explanation of Fairclough's three dimensional models for empirical research, followed by a thorough explanation of what type of tool particularly I wish to use in this research¹. After that I will explain how to operationalize the different notion in the paper.

3.1 CDA as Method

Fairclough's three dimensional models is an analytical framework to describe discourse for empirical research on communication and society. The model provides an analytical framework for discourse analysis since text cannot be analyzed or understood in isolation (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:70).

In each text there is always simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations and system of knowledge and belief. Depending on the text these have different importance but in general they are all in working progress in some degree. For describing the discourse process Fairclough uses this three dimensional model as a framework: the first dimension focuses on how language is used as social practice- *Text*. The second focuses on the language used within a specific field like a social discourse or a political discourse etc - *Discursive*. The third dimension refers to a certain way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective, like other types of discourses such as liberal discourse, constructivist discourse etc – *Social practice* (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:67; Fairclough 1995a:59).

¹ Other scholars as well as Fairclough himself has conducted other types of models than this but whiles working with this model I find it very suitable for this research.

3.1.1 Text

The text analysis is concentrated on characteristics such as grammar, interactional control, wording, metaphors and ethos. It also includes analysis of textual organizations above the sentence, like how the sentences are connected together or the overall structure of a newspaper or article (Fairclough 1995b:57). The linguistic gives an insight into the way the text has been treated in social relations and social identities. Two important grammatical elements according to Phillips and Jorgensen (2006) are Transitivity: this focus on how events are connected or not with subject and object; and Modality: this focuses on the speaker's similarity with or relationship to the written statement. Modality can also be seen as the relationship which exists between author and representation, what authors consider being truth or necessity. Problem with media for instance is that they many times present interpretation as if they were facts and this is partly done through the use of categorical modalities, objective modalities or subjective modalities (Ibid 2006:84). CDA is assuming that every aspect of textual content is there because of a choice which was made by the/a journalist.

3.1.2. Discursive Practice

The discursive stage is where the analysis becomes more like a discourse analysis than a text analysis. What is interesting here is to find out what kind of processes and changes the text goes through before it is printed. Maybe the text is part of an intertextual chain where the 'same' text can be seen in a range of different versions. By analyzing the intertextual chains it is easier to see how structures and content are transformed. Intertextuality of a text is the element of other texts in the text written and is related to dialogues in various ways. Intertextuality is about unraveling the various genres and discourses. Consequently, the question is then from what genres or discourse it was drawn upon in order to produce the text, and what are their traces in the text? Basically, what is said in a text is said in the background of another text (Fairclough 2003:39-40,218; Fairclough 1995b:61). Intertextuality is in general more interpretive than just simple text analysis. Textual analysis is more close to what is on paper whilst intertextual analysis is more dependent on social and cultural understanding. So intertextuality could be explained as a bridge between text and discourse (Fairclough 1995b:61).

3.1.3. Social Practice

What is important here is to explore the relationship between the discursive practice and its order of discourse, like to what network does the discursive practice belong. The next thing is to map the ‘*social matrix of discourse*’ (Fairclough 1992: 237) which explains how to untangle the underlying social and cultural relations and structures that constitute the general part of the text. What is needed is to investigate what the text says about the society in which it was produced and the society it was produced for. It also looks at what is the possible impact or influence of the text in the society etc. What this social practice does is to bring the textual analysis and discourse analysis and expand it so that it can be viewed in relation to the wider society. When this is done accurately it will then lead to a subjective discourse of ethical and political critique which challenge the features that contributed to the construction of the text which for instance can maintain power abuse and information which is social wrongs (Richardson 2007:42). This analysis is not done only with the help of a discourse or text analysis but actually need another theoretical background, like socialism, liberalism or securitization theory, in this case, in order to expose wrongs such as power abuses or social wrongs etc. It is in the realm of social practice we can see how the text has been affected or will affect the wider society.

3.2 The Methodological Process

The first thing to do is to present the Security matter or the present situation for the Jewish society in Sweden. I will argue in this paper that the Jewish society in Sweden suffers the risk of becoming a securitization risk partly due to the media’s role. This will be done through the presentation of news material as well as surveys and analysis. I also believe it is important to explain the concept of anti-Semitism as well as the definition of *power*² which I use recurrently in this analysis.

The second part will be the CDA which presents an examples of how media, in this case the two newspapers, Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet, presented the ‘‘Cast Lead’’ offensive in Gaza. I will first analyze the material more thoroughly by conducting the textual analysis as well as the discursive analysis. The reason why I present the

² Not the power use which is already defines in the CDA but rather the power use of media.

textual and discursive dimension together is basically because it is easier to grasp and to focus on what I believe is the essential parts of these articles. For this analysis to be as focus centered as possible I have decided to delimit the choice of tools which are available in Fairclough toolkit for CDA. This has been done deliberately in order to better answer the underlying causes for this research. The first thing will be to look at the representations of social events like what social events is the text a part of, whether the text is related to a chain or network of texts, what aspects are included or excluded, is the representation abstract or concrete (Fairclough 2003:191-194). Second is to investigate the intertextuality of actors, who are included in the articles. Thirdly will be a focus on metaphors and how they are being used in order to explain the actors. Finally I will look at modality which looks at whether the authors commit themselves to the truth in the text or in terms of obligations and necessity. To grasp the essential parts of the text I will use four questions as guidelines and the questions are:

What are the common discourses in the articles?

In what way is the newspaper presenting Israel, Hamas and the Palestinians in the conflict?

What kind of metaphors and choice of vocabulary is being used and why?

How much are they referring to the truth in the sense of modality?

The third part of the analysis is the last part of CDA where I will place the discourse in a social practice since the relationship between discourse and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations needs to be examined (Richardson 2007:45), but foremost how the discourse can be understood in the wider society. Here I will make a short presentation of the two ideological standpoints the two newspapers presents. In this part I will also account to social constructivist theory again since discursive analysis alone cannot provide any good answers at this point. The way I will look at possible impact of influences of the text in the society will be done through placing the result of the analysis back into the context of securitization theory. But before that I will present some examples of how easily media can be used in presenting inaccurate information which indicates a tool for propaganda and power use.

This brings us to the forth and last part of the paper where I will try to expand the securitization discourse in relation to the wider society by looking at the result of the analysis and place it in the context of news information as a tool for intensifying anti-

Semitism in Sweden. Accordingly, what I argue here is that due to the way media has portrayed the war in Gaza combined with other events, the consequences could be seen as a security risk for the Jewish society in Sweden and therefore become a securitization matter.

4. Empirical Material

In order to present the security matter I will start by doing a presentation of the current situation for Jews in Sweden or the anti-Semitic actions that has been practiced with negative consequences for Jews in Sweden, on which I will use material in form of newspapers, surveys and analysis made by The Living History Forum (Forum för levande historia) and National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet - BRÅ) as well as one from European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA).

To present concrete examples of how the media has acted I will do a CDA which will involve two newspapers; Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) and the articles published concerning the conflict which erupted between Israel and Hamas on Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 18, 2009. Maybe someone would argue that comparing Aftonbladet and SvD is like comparing apples and pears due to their differences in reporting. However my reason for using two different newspapers is due to the different ideological stands which these two newspapers represent. It provides a wider audience, besides the main focus is not the newspaper per se but the result which assumable will contribute to securitization issues here in Sweden.

I have chosen to use articles which were only published within the mentioned time since the media surveillance was very intense and generated a huge amount of published articles. I will go through most of the published material concerning the conflict but in order to be as accurate and thorough as possible I need to limit the amount of articles for the analysis. In view of that I will mainly concentrate on editorials, analyses and chronicles written by the newspapers own journalists that are open, subjective and state their political stand. This will make an interesting input for ideological or political discussions. I will also look at the articles where the journalist share information and reflections they have gathered themselves. I will avoid articles which only present an interview or quote some statements for instance, without adding any reflections. I will not look at images, headlines and articles which are directly taken from other sources³. Neither will I look at radio, blogs or chats which have been available. All this material that I exclude has of course provided a lot of information which will be lost and this evidently reduces the level of validity in the analysis. There have also been some articles that I consciously ignored due to lack of relevance for this analysis. Nevertheless, to

³ When I say other sources I mean news agencies like Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT), Reuters or Agency France Press (AFP) for instance.

make this analysis as accurate as possible and considering circumstances some delimitation has to be done and since my main focus is not to do a media representative analysis but rather present this material in a securitization discourse I therefore believe that the delimitations will not be too problematic. In total there will be around 83 articles that I will analyze.

4.1 Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet

Aftonbladet is the biggest metropolitan evening papers in Sweden with about 1, 4 million readers and 388 700 circulations (TS 2008). Aftonbladet is a social democratic independent print media which can be seen in the editorial page. Each reporter should openly stand for their opinions and therefore all comments are personally signed (Aftonbladet Concern 2009). The largest owner (share holder) is the Swedish trade union confederation called LO as well as a Norwegian media group called Schibsted (Bengtsson 2006:60).

Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) is a metropolitan newspaper, the third largest morning newspaper in Sweden and reaches over 500 000 readers, 195 200 of them are circulations (TS 2008). The stated position of the editorial page is independent moderate which means it is conservative liberal in their editorial page but otherwise there are no political tendencies (SvD 070928). The owner of SvD is also the Norwegian media group Schibsted (Bengtsson 2006:60)

4.2 Summary of the ‘Cast Lead’ offensive from Dec 27, 2008 to the Jan 18, 2009.

During the days of Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 18, 2009, the offensive “Cast Lead” took place. It was an offensive carried out by the Israeli army with the aim to make it difficult for Hamas, to destroy the infrastructure which is used for terrorism and to change the situation in southern Israel (Aftonbladet 081230a; SvD 090104a). The attack was launched after recurring warnings from the Israeli government that Hamas have to stop their rocket attacks towards southern Israel. Hamas did not want to prolong the cease-fire which ended in December 2008 and instead intensified the firing of rockets. Only during Christmas Eve did Palestinian groups shoot over 80 rockets and grenades at Israel (SvD

081227a). The Israeli president Ehud Olmert issued a last minute warning and to everyone's surprise, Israel started the offensive which lasted for 23 days. The conflict has been classified as probably the worst since the six day war in 1967 (Aftonbladet 081230a). The violence and shooting was intense during these days and around 1'300 people died. The pressure on the international society and UN to gain cease-fire was very intense, which also resulted in several failed attempts. Finally on January 18th a temporary cease-fire came to pass (Sydsvenskan 090119). Israel withdrew, both parts claimed to be the winner of the conflict. After the cease-fire Hamas is still launching their rockets towards the Israeli society and Israel answers by shooting back (Haaretz 090204). Both Israel and Hamas is accused for breaking international law during these attacks. Severe criticism has been directed towards Israel and their actions in this conflict, particularly concerning the number of civilian deaths and casualties but also the unproportional violence against the Palestinian people.

5. The Present Situation for Jews in Sweden Today

During the 21st century there has been an increasing growth of anti-Semitic disturbances all over Europe. The image is not consistent everywhere but from more regions in Europe there are reports mentioning the increasing attacks against Jews and their institutions (Bachner & Ring 2005:13). Several studies also tell us that the anti-Semitic stereotypes as well as myths of Jews, in both media and official debates are occurring more clearly, likewise the increasing anti-Semitic propaganda from extreme groups in Sweden is not an exception but has also been affected by this trend (ibid). If the trend escalates measures might be needed, like securitization matters, which will be discussed later, to secure the situation for the Jewish minority in Sweden.

In this section I will commence reasons for why anti-Semitism is spreading in Sweden, secondly I will introduce some incidents against Jews and the Jewish society in Sweden during the time of the offensive. Finally I will use the material in the context of securitization since my argument is that the Jewish matter could serve as a securitization issue where the Swedish media has an important role in the negative spiral and the growth of anti-Semitism. But before that I urge the importance of first explaining the concept of anti-Semitism, there are many people today who stress that people uses the concept anti-Semitism wrongly. I will also give the definition of *power*, a concept that will be used throughout the paper.

5.1 Anti-Semitism

The European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) (which is now called European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)) (Bergman, Wetzel 2003) made a comprehensive study concerning anti-Semitism in 2003 that involved the former fifteen member states in EU. This also resulted in a comprehensive definition of what anti-Semitism is so that it could be easily accessible and used in the same way by law enforcement, justice and government officials, NGOs and others who use the definition in their activities. Whiles doing this definition they also emphasized it were

important to point out that criticism towards Israel which is similar to criticism against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic. The definition of anti-Semitism was launched in 2005 and contains several of points which explain the criteria's for anti-Semitism. The definition is as followed:

Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities. (European Forum on Antisemitism 2008)

The European Forum on Antisemitism explains the definition more thoroughly⁴. Here are just some examples of what is considered an anti-semantic act with regards to the State of Israel and Jews as individuals:

- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews. (European Forum on Antisemitism 2008)

5.2 Definition of Power

Since my aim with this analysis is to look more thoroughly at the role of media it also inquires the access to power. Therefore I believe it is needed to clarify the definition of *power* and its meaning in this context. Firstly, I will state that it has nothing to do with

⁴ The whole definition which explain the anti-semantic actions can be found at <http://www.european-forum-on-antisemitism.org/working-definition-of-antisemitism/english/>

physical power like force, or material power like rewards, but more the symbolical power which is persuasion and has for long been a object for discussion (Thompson 1995:13-14). This power use is mostly considered to be a more 'soft' form of power use; it is like the third dimensions where the control over our awareness, ideas and understanding is in focus and affect us daily. According to John B. Thompson this symbolic power is mainly constituted by cultural institutions like churches, schools, university and media. These institutions create images, knowledge and information of the reality which we carry with us. Phillips and Jorgensen (2006) write that power is always restraining and is used by fixed interest groups and is a burdens objects or people who are passive.

Jesper Strömbäck (2000) reiterates that the concept of power belongs to the social science most debated concepts. There are several suggestions and most of them has in common that power is about accomplishing something which otherwise would not have been accomplished. This mean that power is about the ability to change, compared to how things would have been if nothing was done. But all change is not intentional some might actually be unintentional; it can also be coercion involved or even the free will (Strömbäck 2000:52). Van Dijk takes the power use even further and talks about power use in the form of manipulations as one crucial notion in discourse analysis (Van Dijk 2001). The type of manipulation is not the kind use in physics, medicine of computer science but merely 'symbolic' forms of manipulation like political or media manipulating voters or readers which comes through some kind of discursive influence (Van Dijk 2006:380).

By this I will not say that all power use is manipulative but I wish to highlight that the use of power, even if it is considered to be 'soft' can still be, and still is something negative and the media surely contains aspects which can use the power for manipulative purposes. Even if one wish to live in some kind of celibacy towards media and news influence, it is basically impossible to avoid because of the way it has expanded over the years (Nord et al 2004:12). Media is the source of information and it is mainly through media where we can receive and present our ideological believes (ibid 15). But when the information becomes something which is to control or manipulate, then it becomes something totally different.

5.3 Factors That Make anti-Semitism Spread in Sweden.

In 2005, two organizations, BRÅ and The Living History Forum made an analysis which investigated the Anti-Semitic attitudes and conceptions in Sweden⁵ (Bachner & Ring 2005). They argue that there are several of factors which need to be considered while looking at the growing trend of anti-Semitism. The fundamental reason for anti-Semitism is the one which origin from historical and cultural roots which has ravaged for centuries. The latent anti-Semitism is the one which awakens when political, social or economical development occurs and the present anti-Semitism comes in relation to the Middle East conflict and particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is based on the fact that anti-Semitism escalates parallel with intensification of conflicts in that region (Bachner & Ring 2005:14; Bergmann & Wetzel 2003). In a report made by Human Right first, they even call this phenomenon “new antisemitism” (McClintock & Sunderland 2004:29). It mean that Israel as a country and its politics constitute a catalyst for anti-Semitism in Sweden and also the rest of Europe even though Jews from Europe including Sweden, do not have any particular relation with Israel what so ever. Werner Bergmann and Juliane Wetzel (2003) write that the traditional anti-Semitism has now been transmitted to the state Israel. So what ever Israel does, the Jewish societies will suffer as a consequence. In their survey they also state that according to an Anti-Defamation League survey, made in 2002, almost two-thirds of Europeans (62 percent) believe that the outbreak of violence against Jews in Europe is due to anti-Israel sentiment (Bergmann & Wetzel 2003:20).

Other factors which are used to spread anti-Semitic propaganda are through conspiracy theories, like that Jews are responsible for the attack 9/11 or that the Jews are responsible for the financial crisis etc. these conspiracies intensifies the global trend of anti-Semitism, particularly when literature like the “Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion”, which describes how Jews hold the thread of world politics in their hands (Bergmann & Wetzel 2003:23, se also McClintock & Sunderland 2004). We can also see a negative democratic development with extremist parties which concern minority groups, immigrants and political values very negatively. In this context there are not only anti-Semitic accounts but also islamophobia and hostility towards other minority groups. The difference is that these groups are mainly attacked by extremism or right-populist movement’s while anti-Semitism attacks also by left-wing extremism as well and anti-Israeli and anti-American movements (Bachner & Ring 2005:16).

⁵ This analysis has been criticized by Peter Esaiasson, a professor in Political science at Göteborg’s University. He claims the investigation to be a bad way of doing research and mainly criticize the amount of participants. Hendrik Bachner and Jonas Ring however mean that it is correctly done, they used a normal method which is used to measure attitudes and argue that the result present tendencies of the reality.

Another factor which is important when discerning the growth of anti-Semitism in Sweden is also the role of immigrants who has been born and raised in Arabic countries which is spreading anti-Israeli propaganda and among these immigrants there are radical Islamists and young Muslims who spreads anti-Semitic information (Bergmann & Wetzel 2003). This has also been confirmed by several Swedish Muslims and teachers where some even express their worry that anti-Semitic prejudice are being spread among the Muslim minority (DN 031220). Within the Muslim societies who are influencing the opinion against Israel right to exist, there is a lot of anti-Semitic propaganda being used⁶. These propaganda features all over the world and most likely also in Sweden. This mean that many people are being influenced by these anti-Semitic concepts in their criticism towards Israel, particularly if that has been a common way of looking at Israel in their home countries. Furthermore this also implies that other groups who join these groups also affiliate the anti-Semitic conception which contributes in the spreading of such anti-Semitism in non-Muslim circles.

In many of these factors which are part of the increasing anti-Semitism, media play an essential role. In most of the examples just mentioned media has an essential role to play in how they produce information about the various conflicts, prejudice and negative assumptions. In the analysis made by BRÅ and The Living History Forum, they stated that the anti-Semitism in Sweden could partly be connected to the way media and the official debate articulates anti-Semitic conceptions (Bachner & Ring 2005). Bergmann and Wetzel state in their report that the impact of anti-Semitic notion is not generated by the content of single reporting but rather the massiveness of the overall media coverage. This intense focus on events thus has a clear affect on the opinion (Bergmann & Wetzel 2003:29).

This indicate that participator in the official debate has the responsibility not to create myths and lies which can generate aversion or hate towards other group of people since this easily can escalate and even become, as I argue, a security matter. If media can proceed the way they do this implies anti-Semitism to become a security threat for the Swedish society. The role of media when it comes to racism and xenophobia, I argue is here considered as relevant.

I must emphasize that criticism towards Israel and its politics does not necessarily mean that the critique is anti-Semitic on the contrary; everyone has the right to criticize a nation state for its actions. It is very important to distinguish between prejudice and justifiable criticism toward Israel. But what can be seen in the media today is that people has problem to distinguish between criticism towards Israel politics and the Jews in

⁶ Examples of how the Muslim societies use anti-Semitic propaganda can be found in *Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the European Union* (Bergman & Wetzel 2003).

general and therefore talks about them as one entity which then brings the anti-Semitic notion into the picture. Another problem is that hat crimes against Jews is strongly underreported, in fact most European governments does not even provide basic reporting of crimes which makes Jewish societies in Europe to live in fear (McClintock & Sunderland 2004:11).

5.4 Attacks on Jews and the Jewish Society in Sweden

In places all over Europe we can read about an increasing level of anti-Semitic actions towards Jews who lives in our societies and Sweden is no exception. Jews all over Sweden have been exposed to all kind of threat, harassments and hate crimes. Stores have been destroyed and people have been assaulted, anti-Semitic scrawl has increased all over the country. Jewish synagogues has been damaged (more than usual), Jews has been insulted officially in public places and threatened over the phones or Internet (SvD 090121b). Swastikas has been painted in several places and in demonstrations against the war in Gaza some even exchanges the Star of David to a swastika in Israeli flags, later burned them and walked over them (Sydsvenskan 090228). Even though the threats and damages have not yet lead to serious consequences in Sweden as in other parts of the world (McClintock & Sunderland 2004) there is still anxiety and fear among the Jewish people and many do not want to participate in Jewish activities any longer. Kristian Gerner, professor in History writes in an article in Newsmill that this has been the worst crisis for Jews in Sweden since the Second World War⁷ (Newsmill 090306).

Parallel to the conflict in Gaza this year there have been several demonstrations all over Sweden who has demonstrated against Israel and its attacks on Gaza. Politicians like Mona Sahlin, Lars Ohly or Jan Eliasson, churches, non-profit organizations and people in general have all actively participated (Aftonbladet 090112a). But among these people there have also been people who deny Israel's right to exist and Israel's right to defend their citizens. Denying Israel its right to exist is directly anti-Semitic. In addition to that flags has been used which symbolize terrorist organizations that clearly state that Israel and the Jews should be exterminated from Israel, as well as flags with swastika. All people demonstrating was probably not sympathizing with Hamas but it clearly indicate a position in the debate and when important political people like Mona Sahlin for instance

⁷ Read more about anti-Semitism in Sweden in: Bachner & Ring (2005). *Antisemitiska attityder och föreställningar I Sverige*; www.expo.se; Henrik Bachner (2004), "Återkomsten. Antisemitism i Sverige efter 1945"; Bergmann & Wetzel (2003) *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002–2004*; Löw (2004) "Durban och terrorattackerna mot USA – antisemitismen förenar"; McClintock & Sunderland (2004) *Antisemitism in Europe: Challenging Official Indifirencies*.

stands together with these groups it looks very bad and might effect Sweden not only national but also internationally (SvD 090113c).

The demonstration against the yearly tennis game Davis-Cup, which was held in Malmö this year, was not only a forum where people agitated against the fact that Sweden was playing against Israel. Nor was it only a place where they could express or abhor against Israel, it was also a place for Anti-Semitic voices to be heard and strongly expressed. Some of the demonstrations walked under the green flag of Hamas and shouted anti-Semitic words which directly were aimed at Jewish people and not Israel as a country (SvD 090311). The left party leader Lars Ohly made a speech before the demonstration and pitied those who accused the demonstration to be anti-Semitic. But the character of the demonstration proved the accusers who warned for anti-Semitic notions, to be right.

In January this year there was a pro-Israeli solidarity manifestation in Malmö which demonstrated peace in Israel and the right for Israel to exist. But this manifestation had to abort because of the violent attacks against them and the police could not secure their safety. Many of the people attacking the manifestation used anti-Israeli slogans and abusive words against individuals. Words like “Israel murderer” and “death to Israel” (Sydsvenskan 090126). The solidarity manifestation was some weeks later implemented but this time with huge police protection which involved around 200 policemen and not even at that time was the people manifesting safe. Items were thrown and fireworks displays was shoot and the atmosphere very menace (Sydsvenskan 090208).

Every year on the 27th January there is an International Memorial Day for the victims of the Holocaust in 1945. But this year things was different, people like the previous bishop KG Hammar among others refused to participate due to the conflict in Gaza (SvD 090306). The question is why, since the holocaust does not have anything to do with Israel as a state. The holocaust went on before the declaration of the state of Israel. The only reason for this must then be the fact that the majority of the casualties of the Holocaust were Jews and Jews lives in Israel. This is also an act which is connected with anti-Semitism and this behavior does not look good for a representative of the Swedish church.

5.5 Issues for Securitization

The threat and number of Anti-Semitic incident in Sweden increased radically during the time of the Gaza war according to the Jewish assembly and the Swedish police. These threats have resulted in a bigger need for securing the Jewish institutions and activities,

which in turn has lead Jewish central council to request that the government should help to pay for the security, writes Daniel Poohl, responsible publisher of expo in an article⁸ (Expo 090309). He point out that, eleven anti-Semitic incidents in twenty-two days has been reported, which means that there has been anti-Semitic incidents every second day during that time period which was linear to the time of the conflict in Gaza, Poohl also affirm that the scope is much bigger than that. Cecilia Wikström a Swedish parliament member wrote in an article in Dagens Nyheter in 2005 that 25 percent of the members fees in the Jewish assembly in Sweden is going directly to security matters (DN 051003). (These numbers probably look different today). She also emphasize that according to the Council of Europe and their Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities which was launched in 1995 and ratified by Sweden in 2000, Sweden is obliged to take action in order to protect people who has been exposed for threat or violence as a consequence to their ethnical, religious, cultural or linguistic identity (Council of Europe 1995). This was argued a couple of year ago but is just as relevant today considering the intensification of the situation.

In the survey made by BRÅ and The Living History Forum they stated that around 36 percent of the asked, which include a significant group of people, has an ambivalent attitude towards Jews (Bachner & Ring 2005:8). According to an American survey which was made in 2005, 15 percent in Sweden consider anti-Semitism to be a very serious problem in Sweden today. Whiles 58 percent consider it to be something like a problem. Totally 73 percent consider the prejudice and hostility against Jews to be a problem in Sweden (American Jewish Committee 2005). Even if the result should be carefully considered they still indicate that anti-Semitism is understood as a social problem in Sweden today.

These are all some examples that indicate that the anti-Semitic notion should be taken more seriously, arguably to the extent that it might become a securitization matter. Next I will focus on the power of media as indicator of this threat. This part will also be like a point of departure for the next chapter which is the CDA. After the analysis I will again return to the issues of securitization.

5.5.1 Power of the Media

The role of the media has been debated for generations and questions concerning media's level and possibility to affect people's behavior and thoughts have for long been central

⁸ Expo is a newspaper with the fundamental idea of informing the public people about racism and xenophobia in Sweden. It was founded in 1995. Se www.expo.se

for the media and communication science. Different theory-buildings are used to better understand and questions media's possibilities for mind-control and symbolic power (Nilsson 2004:344). *The agenda setting, priming and framing* theory is one of the theories which has made a lot of observations, they argue that scientific work could not establish a measurable effect, however they noticed that even if *they*, the media, were not successful in telling people what to think, they still are able to tell the reader what to think about (Nilsson 2004:349). Walter Lippmann, one of the most quoted authors in books concerning the public opinion, claimed that it is the image of reality and not the reality in itself which is the foundation of our actions (Lippmann 1929:9).

Another theory building is the one that looks at *power over conversations – media text and discourse studies*, which has the starting point that our step into reality goes through our language. By studying the use of language in the text we can get an understanding of how symbolic power can be expressed in the media range (Nilsson 2004:359). Within this theory we find the critical discourse analysis and the strength of a discourse analysis since it is looking at a better understanding of how the society is handling and defining different questions (ibid 362).

A common idea among journalists, particularly, is that media only present the reality as it is, which is only a metaphor and is not at all supported by science around media rather the contrary:

Mass media content is a socially created product, not a reflection of an objective reality. Although the stimulus for a story might be a real-world event or problem, measurable through other sources of social information, there are many factors that determine what will be transmitted and how it will be reported. (Shoemaker & Reese in Strömbäck 2000:156).

Several of Swedish scientists have studied politics in media and how it is being framed. They have established that media focus more on the conflicts and game aspects rather than the informative debate. This indicate that media is more focus on what is exciting for the audience rather than what is informative and important, which is a way of maintaining the audience attention (Strömbäck 2000). This is also one reason why conflict and war are important news scope. It is exciting and horrific in the same time, it feeds the audience with what is considered desirable and the more excitement the better is the news.

There is without doubt aspect which proves that media do have a role in the spread of anti-Semitic ideology. As just mentioned, by studying the use of language in a text we can get an understanding of how power can be expressed in the media range. And in order to argue for my cause that media has an important role in the spreading of anti-

Semitism I will therefore do an analysis which strengthen this idea. The next chapter will maintain a CDA of the news reporting from two newspapers in Sweden, regarding the offensive “Cast Lead” against Gaza in the end of 2008. The purpose of my CDA was not an attempt to find anti-Semitic propaganda or defame any particular media but merely to look at whether the newspaper has presented biased information against Israel which then later influence the debate that also generate in anti-Semitic accounts.

6. CDA of Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet

This part of the paper will present CDA which will be used as a tool to exemplify media's role in influencing anti-Israeli accounts which also affects the intensification of anti-Semitism in the Swedish society and thereby also create a security threat. But before starting it is essential to point out that this analysis only look at Aftonbladet and SvD and can therefore not serve as a representative analysis for the whole Swedish media reporting. The analysis is concentrated around subjective choice of material and should therefore be understood in that context. But I argue that it can be placed as an example of how media is portraying Israel and can in some extent present tendencies enhanced by most Swedish media today.

It is also essential to note that all the articles which is analyzed is not a homogeneous entity but differs depending the journalist's own opinion and knowledge of the matter since the newspapers want to be critical investigating, which therefore allows the journalist to be independent in their own reporting. This takes us to the notion of critical social construction where the constructions of knowledge around us, form us to see and believe in a certain way which also obviously affects the journalist. Nevertheless, what this analysis will contain is a generalization of the articles I analyzed more thoroughly. This means that even if most of the articles analyzed support my arguments there might still be articles which contradict my conclusions. But my focus here is not single opinions but rather the recurring context in total, presented by the articles.

This chapter will answer the questions that I asked while doing the analysis and was presented in the methodological part of this paper. In some of the questions I will start by looking at one newspaper and then move on to the next and conclude by comparing the articles character from the different newspaper, but in other questions I will simply present the two newspapers linear since I find it more suitable for that particular type of question. In the concluding part I will round up the third level, *social practice* in Fairclough's CDA model where I look at the ideological background the power relation the newspapers has as well as social conditions.

6.1 The Common Discourses

As written earlier a discourse is the way we present the world as it is and in the discourse we can distinguish from where the journalist is drawing their material from. There are several discourses which can be found in these articles but due to limited space I have decided to highlight the most common discourses. The way to distinguish what type of discourse that has been used is done through looking at what kind of clauses has been used which can be seen in the intertextuality of the articles, videlicet what is the article made of and where it comes from. It is apparent that a lot of the text is part of an intertextual chain where the same text is seen and re-written in different versions and is very common for this type of news reporting (Fairclough 2003:39). That is clearly seen when comparing the two newspapers since both of them uses the same type of material occasionally⁹.

Moving to the discourses we can discern an obvious discourse in these articles which is evidently *conflict* discourse considering that the articles write about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, therefore I do not think it is necessary to look more thoroughly at that one. But another discourse which is very interesting and recurring in the articles is the *power* discourse. This appears differently depending on the article but for most of the articles there is a *power* discourse which looks at Israel as the strong power and Hamas as the weak. Israel and its military are seen as the ones who have the chance to do anything about this situation since they are the strong high technological power whiles Hamas is the weak group who only defend themselves (e.g. SvD 090102a). But this *power* discourse is not only presented in the military activities or the amount of casualties on each side, it also appears in the high politics where both Hamas and Israel is showing their own power by ignoring the superpowers and UN appeal for cease-fire. Not even a UN resolution convinces the parties to stop the attacks (e.g. Aftonbladet 090110a; SvD 090110b). The power in this case lies with both Israel and Hamas whiles UN and the rest of the world stands totally powerless, incapable of doing anything to solve the conflict¹⁰. Some articles accused and criticized particularly UN but also EU and USA for being

⁹ As for intertextuality in the sense of where the article is coming from, both Aftonbladet and SvD use material from several of news agencies, particularly TT and Reuters. But also newspapers like the Israeli Haaret'z, The Gardner and BBC among others. In addition to that they also use their own correspondent which has made personal interviews or reports; they are also pulling from historical event related to this conflict.

¹⁰ Concerning UN and the International society, there is also a *high politics* discourse which is comprehensive in many of the articles. This discourse is very interesting and could probably constitute a whole analysis by itself but since the focus is not on the role of the international society but merely on Israel, Hamas and the Palestinians I therefore will not go much deeper in analyzing the role of the international society but believe it is important to mention that they are of great importance in this conflict.

toothless¹¹. Another part of the *power* discourse is the way that Israel is ‘controlling’ the media. Some articles highlight the issue of Israel’s power use to forbid international media to enter into Gaza¹².

There is also a *criminal act* discourse which is consistent in the articles both from SvD and Aftonbladet. Israel is accused considerable times of committing crime against the International law¹³. It is reported that Israel has used an unproportional violence against the Palestinian people and that it is a crime against humanitarian law (e.g. Aftonbladet 090112a). Israel has also been accused for firing at UN schools and hospitals, UN warehouse and media centre which is categorized as war crimes¹⁴. Israel is also being accused of hindering aid workers and closing the borders for humanitarian aid to come in to Gaza¹⁵. As for Hamas role in performing criminal act, there is on the other hand very little focus on.

Casualty discourse is also a very strong and recurring discourse. Daily there was a focus on the casualties of the offensive. The counting of the dead has been very detailed, the amount of dead has been divided into Israeli and Palestinians, into civilian, women and children. Especially the focus of murdered children has been emphasized very strongly¹⁶. There are some articles which also accuse Israel of collective punishment against the Palestinians¹⁷ and that Israel is not attacking Hamas but the Palestinian people without exceptions. In addition to that there is also a focus on Israeli killing influential members in Hamas¹⁸.

The final discourses I will touch upon are the *peace* discourse which is very essential in this case. The various peace talks for the Israel-Palestine conflict have been countless over the years; there seem to be no end in sight. Even though many articles express disappointment over the international society and its lack of action, there is still a demand that they have to do something to gain peace. But as for Israel and Hamas, there seemed

¹¹ Around four articles from both news papers accused UN and the International society for being ‘toothless’ (e.g. Aftonbladet 090111b; SvD 081230b).

¹² Around eight articles from both newspapers issued the fact that Israel did not allow international media to enter Gaza (E.g. SvD 090110a; Aftonbladet 090108a).

¹³ There were around twelve articles from both newspapers which indicated assumed or even accused Israel for breaking the International laws, Geneva conventions as well as the humanitarian laws (e.g. Aftonbladet 090101a; SvD 090108d).

¹⁴ Around twenty-nine articles from both newspapers mentioned Israeli attacks on UN buildings, schools, Mosques and hospitals (e.g. Aftonbladet 081228d; SvD 090116b)

¹⁵ Around then articles from both newspapers brought up that Israel hindered aid workers or aid equipment to enter (e.g. SvD 090109a; Aftonbladet 090101a).

¹⁶ There were over thirty articles from both newspapers which talked about dead children, killed by Israelis (e.g. Aftonbladet 090117a).

¹⁷ Around seven articles from both newspapers mentioned collective punishment made by the Israeli towards the Palestinian people (e.g. Aftonbladet 081230a; SvD 090108a).

¹⁸ Twelve articles from both newspapers mentioned Hamas members getting killed (e.g. Aftonbladet 090104d; SvD 090102b).

to be no attempts to gain peace during this offensive, instead both groups accused each other for not wanting peace.

6.2 How are the Newspapers Presenting Israel, Hamas and the Palestinian People

Here I will look at how the newspaper has presented Israel, Hamas and the Palestinian people and the reason why these three groups are interesting is because of their importance in distinguishing how the newspaper has focused their news. I will divide the three entities and also look separately at how the two newspapers are identifying and conceptualizing these three groups.

6.2.1 Aftonbladet's Presentation of Israel

The general image which Aftonbladet uses to present Israel is the one of an aggressor; videlicet Israel is the perpetrator who is responsible for the attacks and the murdering. This point of view is very strong in the editorial articles but also among the foreign correspondents who give the changes of expressing their point of view. Comprehensively, the majority of articles are looking at Israel negatively. Israel is being accused of breaking the international laws, the humanitarian laws and the Genève Conventions. Israel is being accused of collective punishment and that the attacks are not against Hamas but against the Palestinian people (e.g. Aftonbladet 090101a).

In the beginning of the conflict there was an exclusive interview with Israel's foreign minister Tzipi Livni where she said that Israel want peace but the attack is a necessity, they have no intention of controlling Gaza but Hamas gives them no choice (Aftonbladet 081229a). In addition to that there are very few who are defending or talking in favor of Israel in the articles from Aftonbladet apart from some 'objective' reports and interviews from Israeli living in the areas where Hamas rockets are falling¹⁹. These interviews are also the little focus on Israel as victims in the conflict. On the other hand, there are double as many Jews from newspapers, humanitarian organizations or just individuals

¹⁹ Around three articles from Aftonbladet uses interviewed Jews from Israel (e.g. Aftonbladet 090107b)

which, both in Israel and abroad, have been quoted and interviewed whiles condemning the attacks²⁰.

Some of the article also claim that the attack was a political move made by the ruling party Kadima, in order to win votes for the upcoming election (Aftonbladet 081228a). Israel is also being accused of hindering aid-supplies to enter into Gaza, they are being criticized for their blockade on Gaza and condemns for all the attacks on UN buildings, schools and personnel etc (e.g. Aftonbladet 090101a). Many help organizations and politicians are also accusing Israel of un-proportional violence (e.g. Aftonbladet 090104c).

6.2.2 SvD's Presentation of Israel

SvD is also very interested in reporting the various accusation of Israel concerning un-proportional violence, crime against international law, the Genève Convention and so forth from both the International Society and as well human rights organizations like Amnesty International (SvD 090116b) and the Red Cross (SvD 090109a). But compared to Aftonbladet, SvD is more careful in choice of vocabulary and clauses. Their accusation is mostly used in the informative or 'objective' articles whiles Aftonbladet is not late of using it as argumentation when they share their personal opinions.

One thing which is seen occasionally in the articles from SvD is that they focus on the Israeli 'military-success' telling us that Israel strike rocket ramps; weapon storage and smuggling tunnels and also kills members of Hamas²¹. In general there is more times where Israel leader and military has been quoted in SvD than in Aftonbladet²².

SvD also focus on the media shadow over Gaza since Israeli military do not allow international media to enter²³. One article focuses on the role of media in the offensive and brings it further by saying that Israel has taken the control and partly manipulate information to win the 'media war', despite that Israel do not win the media war due to the amount of casualties on the Palestinian side (SvD 090110a). Even though most of the focus of Israel is negative also in SvD, there are still articles which decide to look at the

²⁰ Around six articles from Aftonbladet mention Jews that are critical towards the attacks (e.g. Aftonbladet 090112d).

²¹ Around six articles from SvD mentioned the different military-success made by Israel (e.g. SvD 090111a), whiles Aftonbladet only had around four articles (e.g. Aftonbladet 081229a).

²² Around fifteen articles in SvD has quoted or interviewed Israeli leaders or military, whiles Aftonbladet only had around eleven articles.

²³ Around six articles in SvD brought up the issue of media shadow in Gaza (e.g. SvD 090107a).

‘good’ things Israel does, like opening the borders for food and medicine and taking care of wounded Palestinians²⁴.

6.2.3 Aftonbladet’s Presentation of Hamas

The way Hamas is portrayed in the articles from Aftonbladet is very vague. Hamas does not seem to be an interesting focus and they are being related in negative clauses only about half as much as Israel. And these negative clauses are not even close to the level of harsh accusations as the once about Israel. In addition to the lack of attention on Hamas there is also modest information about them in the articles. The recurring context is that Hamas is shooting their missiles and rockets over to the societies in southern Israel²⁵ but there is hardly any reflection about it. One issue which places Hamas in a different light is that Hamas did not want to prolong the cease-fire. The reason for that is divided. One journalist writes that Hamas did not see any reason to maintain cease-fire since Israel did not cancel the blockade of Gaza (Aftonbladet 081228b).

Some articles talks about the issue that the international society do not want to negotiate with Hamas whiles other articles emphasize the necessity of negotiating with Hamas since non-negotiations result in more extremism, besides Hamas won the democratic election in Gaza and therefore should be legitimized (e.g. Aftonbladet 090108c). One journalist mentions that Hamas probably wanted this attack to come and that is why they proceed with the bombardment against the southern part of Israel (Aftonbladet 090104b).

6.2.4. SvD’s Presentation of Hamas

SvD on the other hand, gives another more balanced picture over the situation according to my opinion. Hamas is mentioned more often as an actor in the conflict, in addition to that SvD also present more thoroughly information about Hamas and their actions. One article even focuses only on Hamas role and situation in the offensive (SvD 090107b) which is not done by Aftonbladet. SvD I also more active in the reporting of Hamas attacks and there is more reflection around the attacks²⁶. SvD compared to Aftonbladet

²⁴ Five articles from SvD is mentioning positive things Israel does in the conflict (e.g. SvD 081230a), compared to Aftonbladet who only had around two articles which mentioned that (e.g. Aftonbladet 090107a).

²⁵ Around fourteen times is Aftonbladet mentioning Hamas rocket attacks (e.g. Aftonbladet 090107b).

²⁶ SvD also has around fourteen times when they mention Hamas (e.g. SvD 090104a), the difference is the reflection and comments which is given whiles reporting.

have articles mentioning that Egypt's President Mubarak as well as the Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmud Abbas has more or less silently agreed with Israel to attack Gaza²⁷. One editorial in SvD emphasize this issue and writes that Fatah, Egypt and Saudi Arabia has given Hamas the main responsibility of why the cease-fire was not prolonged (SvD 081230a).

The difference between SvD and Aftonbladet is basically that SvD focus more on Hamas as one important part of the conflict whiles Aftonbladet has a much lower focus on Hamas in general and the impression is that many article in Aftonbladet look at Hamas as an organization which is simply defending their existence from the *real* threat which is Israel²⁸.

6.2.5 Aftonbladet's Presentation of the Palestinian People

As for the Palestinian people, they are referred to as victims, the casualties of the conflict. One of the most recurring reporting for this conflict is the one which focus on Palestinian casualties²⁹. What is also notable is the focus of killed children in the articles³⁰. While numbering the casualties they also mention the small amount of casualties from Israeli civilians and soldiers. One journalist even does his own mathematic, "*For each innocent killed in Israel there are 105 civilians Palestinians which lives has been taken*" (Aftonbladet 090110b). In addition to this, Palestinians are also placed in relation to people who live in an open prison with no way to escape the bombings and attacks from Israel (e.g. SvD 090115a). There is recurring reporting of the shortage of electricity and water supplies which is being done by Israel³¹. The hospitals are overcrowded, the lack of equipment and personnel in the hospitals are severe (e.g. Aftonbladet 090101a) there is also a focus on the lack of food and that many people can only eat once day (e.g. Aftonbladet 081229a). Many articles argue that the blockade which has been there for a long time is one of the reasons for the severe suffering³².

²⁷ There are around eight articles in SvD which brings this argument across that Arabs like Mubarak and Mahmud Abbas silently agrees to the Israeli attacks (e.g. SvD 090115a) whiles Aftonbladet did not mention it once.

²⁸ Only one article in SvD and Aftonbladet mentioned that Hamas is breaking international laws. Only two times did SvD mention that Hamas hindering wounded people to get help, whiles Aftonbladet had none such allegation against Hamas.

²⁹ Around twenty-six articles in Aftonbladet counts the dead Palestinians (e.g. Aftonbladet 090116a)

³⁰ Around twenty articles in Aftonbladet mention dead Palestinian children (e.g. Aftonbladet 081228c).

³¹ Over eleven articles in Aftonbladet mentions the lack of electricity, water and food.

³² There are around eight articles from Aftonbladet mentioning the Gaza blockade (e.g. Aftonbladet 090114b).

6.2.6 SvD's Presentation of the Palestinian People

A similar presentation like Aftonbladet is also visible in SvD. The focus of Palestinian casualties is constant³³, as well as the focus of dead children³⁴. There are interviews from Palestinians talking about how they lost their children, the pain and the suffering (e.g. SvD 090110a). Children are being traumatized (e.g. SvD 081230b) and the circumstances of livelihood is being mentioned as horrible, electricity is cut as well as water³⁵. People are not able to charge their phones, they cannot go out on the street and rescues people since it is too dangerous (SvD 090109c). Houses are being demolished and mosques attacked (ibid). In one article the journalist concentrates on the weakness of Palestinians as a small underdeveloped country which does not even get support from the Arab countries around (SvD 090102a). Accusations against Israel, as I mentioned earlier is common and their way of dealing with Palestinian, the way Israel uses not only “un-proportional” violence but also “collective punishment” (e.g. SvD 081231a).

So in general both SvD and Aftonbladet are sharing the same type of view of information in this aspect. The most obvious difference was that SvD did not focus as much as Aftonbladet on the Palestinian suffering. In addition to that SvD more often mentioned the amount of dead Hamas members and did not as often focus on the casualties of children, women and civilians as Aftonbladet recurrently did. Despite that it was still very clear that both of them looked very negatively at the consequences for the Palestinian people.

6.3 Use of Metaphors and Vocabularies

A lot of the texts that I read pervade words and vocabularies which are very strong. Most journalists want to use strong words in order to explain the suffering and pain from the horrific incidents partly since that is a selling concept (Johansson 2004: 224). The use of particular metaphors is also a way for the journalist to explain its own standpoint. In these articles we can see that the use of strong words intensifies over the days and the reason for that is most likely the increasing number of casualties but also the fact that there seem

³³ There are around twenty-one article in SvD who has counted the killed Palestinians (e.g. SvD 090115a).

³⁴ Thirteen of the articles in SvD mentioned dead Palestinian children (e.g. SvD 090116b).

³⁵ Around eleven articles in SvD mentioned the lack of water, electricity and food (e.g. SvD 081227a).

to be no end of the attacks. It is not only the journalist own expression when writing the story, they are also quick in quoting harsh comments from citizen, politicians and world leaders³⁶. Many times the quotations from human rights organization and other actors in the conflict are used which strengthens the reliability for the article and if it is strong words it gives better effect. For instance, words that focuses at Israel's *war crime, crime against human law* and breaking the *Genève convention* (e.g. SvD 090116b; SvD 090109a; Aftonbladet 090110a).

6.3.1 Aftonbladet's use of Metaphors and Vocabulary

Aftonbladet has an aggressive approach towards Israel when they present the offensive but it also needs to be considered that strong words and sensational headlines is one important tool for their type of newspaper format, tabloid, and is decisive when selling single copies. As said before there is very few times where strong vocabularies are used to explain the rockets attacks or other things which is done by Hamas but one comment made by one journalist is very persuasive though not too common "The fact that Hamas has committed war crimes is crystal clear." (Aftonbladet 090116b). Compared to that, there are recurring metaphors and vocabulary which is used to present the pain and misery which is done by Israel. We can read words like *death, blood thirsty, bloodiest ever, massacre, brutal, starvation, collective punishment* and many more connected with Israel in the articles.

Another thing which is also recurring is the focus on the individual casualties and children which is a way to create the strongest empathy and understanding for the victims. This is for instance being captured by one journalist when he explains his own feelings about the attacks "For a moment I try to erase all the images from my eye of tormented bodies and mothers screaming of sorrow." (Aftonbladet 090110b). "Black smoke and *desperate screams* filled the streets when people were buried under houses [...]" [emphasis added] (Aftonbladet 081228a) is another strong sentence. Also the emphasis on the suffering of children are recurring as I mentioned "One million children *confined in the horrifying Gaza*...at least 346 children has been killed." [emphasis added] (Aftonbladet 090117b), "346 children killed, 1709 children wounded, 50 000 children is starving. Many children are apathetic "(Ibid). The constant, daily reporting is creating the image of Israel as a killing machine. This is partly Israel's own responsibility since they themselves has created a *pr-catastrophe* as one journalist mention (Aftonbladet

³⁶ Over thirteen articles from both newspapers writes about how nations and UN condemns Israel's attacks (e.g. Aftonbladet 090116a; SvD 090104a).

090116b). “The mathematic in the war is not only horrible. It is *extremely uneven*” [emphasis added] (Aftonbladet 090110b).

The focus of the Israeli military warfare is very expressive and is explained to be *increasingly brutal* (Aftonbladet 090114b). One journalist say that the Israeli military “[...] continuing their senseless massacre” (Aftonbladet 090112a) and “Brutality and coldness...well planned... awakes abhorrence” (Aftonbladet 081230a) are other words used to explain the attacks. When the editor is saying “the killing in Gaza has prolonged for three weeks [...]” (Aftonbladet 090116c), it easily gives the indication that the offensive was launched only for reason to kill people. “[...] rockets rained over Gaza strip” (Aftonbladet 081228a) focus on the massive amounts of the ammunition. One talks about Israel war methods as *barbaric* (Aftonbladet 090101a), the same journalist also talks about Israel’s *cruel irony* when the military attacked the aid ship called Dignity (Ibid). At one place the Israeli journalist is quoted as saying that the Israeli government is “incapable of thinking of other things than ‘death and starvation’” (Aftonbladet 090105a).

6.3.2 SvD’s use of Metaphors and Vocabularies

The reporting from SvD is also intense and since there are strong personalities presented, supporting both parties, in the opinion articles SvD therefore also present very strong accusations. Probably the most appealing was the one that was written by Shai Hermesh, member of parliament in Israel and Khaled Mashaal chairman for Hamas political bureau. Hermesh used vocabularies as “[...] Israel has done everything to reduce the suffering for the Palestinian population.” (SvD 090109c) He meant that the neighborliness ended as a result of the second intifada, and goes on by saying “The Islamic organization has without lack of judgment fired *over 8000 missiles*, rocket and grenades against civilians the past eight years” [emphasis added] (ibid). As for Mashaal, he uses strong words by saying that Gaza is the biggest prison in the world. He, as well as other focuses on the amount of casualties “[...] whole families have been massacred” (SvD 090108a) “The truth is that Israel is striving for *a one side cease-fire* which will be maintained of my people only, exchange against besieges, starvation, bombings, murder, trespassing and colonial settlements. *Israel wants a free cease-fire.*” [emphasis added] (ibid) “Our *simple homemade rockets* are our only cry for help to the world” [emphasis added] (ibid).

Again the strongest focus is on the bombardments from Israel and the suffering of Palestinians and in SvD there are recurring metaphors like *bloodiest, bloodstream, fanatics, murdered, starving, attacking innocent* etc when talking about Israel. Yet this is

probably not so weird considering it is a conflict and people are dying daily. SvD just as Aftonbladet also counts the casualties daily and compare the casualties between Israeli and Palestinians. But there is also focus on the small numbers of dead Israeli throughout the years and one journalist says “The amount of dead from the Israeli side is thirteen. It can be compared with the *seventeen civilians* who have been killed by rockets from Gaza during the seven year before the war this winter” [emphasis added] (SvD 090115a). Again the focus on children as casualties is not unusual “[...] four starving children who sat with their dead mothers” (SvD 090109a). These vocabularies or the use of children are truly an emotional bomb and is common to use when the worst kind of scenario is being pictured.

SvD also focus on the democratic election and that Hamas is the elected political party in Gaza, chosen by the people and needs to be acknowledged. One article says; “[...] the Palestinian election 2006, which was won by Hamas, was the most just election held in the Arab world.” (SvD 090108c). One journalist attack the settler in Israel and calls them *militant* and *fanatics* who believe they are doing the work of God (SvD 090116a). He even uses words as *Jewish Taliban’s* when he explains the complexity of Jewish people in Israel (ibid). Another journalist is not so keen in Israel either when he calls them to have an *Israeli state terrorism* which is “*ten times as death bringing* as Palestinian resistant movements and their desperate acts of violence.” [emphasis added] (SvD 090102a) He quote a Israeli newspaper mentioning that the military has as *routine* to kill children, women and other unarmed people.

But there is also one journalist who questions the accusations on Israel and calls Hamas *Islamic fundamentalist* and claim that “Hamas has put Israel in a hopeless situation” (SvD 090109b) “despite all the unproportional in Israel’s defense Hamas is being responsible for the tragedy which is going on in Gaza” (ibid).

So by looking at the focus of metaphors and choices of strong words we can see that Aftonbladet is much more biased in their general view of this conflict. SvD on the other hand present more variety from both sides of the conflict which also indicate a more neutral reporting. Nevertheless there are still more substance in the articles which is critical towards Israel and less substance of articles that talk in the favor of Israel. There is also more negative reporting on Israel are highly represented compared to the negative reporting on Hamas, this not only seen in Aftonbladet but also in SvD.

6.4 How much are the Articles Referring to the ‘Truth’

This type of analysis which looks at the text modality is in fact a very time taking and an in-depth type of analysis. Even though it would have been interesting I must see my limitation in this which means that I cannot go too deep into the text but merely see the general features. As I mentioned in the methodological part, media has the tendency of presenting interpretations as if they were facts (Philips & Jorgensen 2006:84) It can easily be so, given that the journalist makes the decision or has the power to decide of what is relevant or not. This part where I will glance at the level of ‘truth’ will be divided in two. First I will look at the actual texts to see whether they are truthful or obligated, while the second part is looking at the truthfulness in the primary sources, *videlicet* where the information is coming from and if that source is reliable.

6.4.1 Reliability in the Texts

The features of the articles are mainly hard news³⁷ and informative genres with elements of recurring persuasive genres which results in low levels of truth in those types of articles (Fairclough 1995b:72). The reason is that journalists usually use their authoritative possibility in writing what they consider desirable or good in order to make their point of view. This is more common in articles which are written by the editor or opinion since they can share their ideas more freely and use the text as a mirror of their own sympathies. Aftonbladet for instance has comprehensively more articles which focus on Israel as the perpetrators and the emphasize lies at what Israel *is doing* towards the Palestinians people, while the other party in the conflict, Hamas, is not necessarily as important. SvD has a very mixed group of opinion writers where some very clearly uses their authority by favoring one party and see no obligation in neutral reporting. Some articles are even considered as propaganda due to their very aggressive approach (e.g. SvD 090109b).

For the article which is mainly informative they would be considered highly truthful, with high level of obligations since an informative article is usually considered neutral and has the obligation to look at the situation more objective without bias. The level of truthfulness also increases when the journalist is using ‘direct reporting’ which is direct quotations instead of ‘reported speech’; when the direct quotations are not very clear, or

³⁷ Hard news has the structure of a ‘nucleus’ consisting headline, a lead paragraph, a series of ‘satellite’, paragraphs which elaborate the story in various directions. Finally a ‘wrap up’ paragraph which gives a sense of resolution to the story (Fairclough 1995b:72)

‘indirect reporting’, which is more like a summary of someone’s quote (Fairclough 2003:49; 1995b:72). But neither of these can guarantee a non-biased report.

Another important factor when looking at the modality is to look whether the intertextuality in the article is attributed, which means whether the person that the journalist comments on actually has a chance to be heard in some way (ibid). When going to the articles I could see a clear pattern that the majority (not all) of articles written by editorial, opinion articles and the newspapers foreign correspondent, had a lower level of ‘direct speech’ but rather made a ‘reported speech’. They also had a higher level of not-attributed material. Whiles the other articles, the more informative, was more careful in quoting and used ‘direct reporting’ and applies to both of the newspaper despite the fact that they have different format of the papers and dissimilar ways of presenting their news. This also brings us to the second part since the result of an article is not only the clauses written by the journalist but also which sources they have used.

6.4.2 Reliability in the Sources

The collection of sources is extensive when combining all these articles. Therefore I will not go through them one by one but just mention the general ones. In conflict reporting it can be very sensitive and complex depending on where the information is being taken from. Since the matter of truth is divided and each party has their own version of truth this can really bring diffusion in what is true or not. Some articles from both news papers mentioned the comprehensive control Israel has over the media reporting since they did not allow all international media to enter into Gaza. This is a very strategic move from Israel and might have resulted in a very ugly and controlled news flow. Ironically, most of the material in both Aftonbladet and SvD did not come from Israel and their well organized Foreign Press Association (FPA), but came from sources inside Gaza, videlicet the few journalist which was there, doctors, UN personnel and other NGOs as well as civilians. So even if Israel wanted to control the media flow, they did not succeed. Aftonbladet even had a correspondent living in Gaza which could bring them new information daily (e.g. Aftonbladet 090104a). There has been less reporting from the Israeli side in general from Aftonbladet and the modest information that has come has been taciturn. SvD on the other hand has had more interviews and updates on the activities from the Israeli side (e.g. SvD 090114a).

Many times media text is part of intertextual link which goes into a chain that consist of previous coverage of issues but since this conflict is very complex and is strongly connected to previous conflicts between Israel and the Palestinian people, the journalist do not only present news from the intertextual chain concerning the conflict but also from

earlier conflict and historical events related to the conflict. Considering the fact that this conflict was a consequence of earlier aggression it is also desirable to look at previous events. This mostly strengthens their arguments but also strengthen the level of truth in the article. The sources of information are extensive and the way historical event has been interpreted also varies among the parties, but just as many other things the historical events were mostly used to look at the Israeli failure³⁸.

Finally I will mention the role of news agencies like Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT), Reuters and Agency France-Press (AFP). These agencies provide newspapers with the latest news and have correspondents all over the world. As I mentioned before I have tried to avoid articles which is written by these kinds of news agencies, but the material is still used by the journalist, videlicet most of the information given to journalist are secondary material taken from either news agencies or other media sources. This is also an important stage in the matter of getting as accurate information as possible. And depending on the ideological background of the news agency and journalist that cover the story, much information can be filtered and ignored. I will not go through each news agency and look at their background but I believe it is important to mention the actual role it can play and only because these news agencies distribute information to other media it does not necessarily mean that they are more accurate in their reporting. For instance both Aftonbladet and SvD have used information from TT who referees to the Health ministry in Gaza (e.g. SvD 090116b; Aftonbladet 090118) which is run directly from Hamas, without stating that in their text and without questioning it. This can be verified by Reuters who wrote in their article that the source was the “Hamas-run Health ministry” (Reuters 090121). But when the information comes from Israeli sources, the newspapers tend to be very accurate in stating it (e.g. Aftonbladet 090107b; SvD 090104a).

6.5 Social Practice

In this concluding part of the CDA I will both look at the social role partly in form of ideological background. I believe that some of the social practice has already been done in the previous part of the analysis but I also think it is essential to present the ideological stands that are presented by the newspaper, concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and

³⁸ There where over ten articles from both newspapers that looked at the conflict historically critical towards Israel while only three articles from SvD looked at the conflict historically critical towards the Palestinians.

position the articles in relation to that. As written earlier this analysis needs to be placed into the context of a theoretical background and depending on what type of theory applied also determines the result. The ideological backgrounds of the newspaper is one way of putting the text in a context but since my focus is to look at the power of media and the intensification of anti-Semitism, I therefore also will place this analysis in the context of securitization.

6.5.1 The Newspapers Ideology

One of the underlying reasons why I decided to use Aftonbladet and SvD in my analysis was partly because of their different ideological standpoints. Both parties stand independent from political parties³⁹ but Aftonbladet is social democratic and SvD is moderate or conservative liberal and I am convinced that this ideological differences is one important factor when looking at how the articles was outlined since there are still a strong ideological commitment in the articles which are presented, particularly by the editorials.

The ideological background is very clear in the articles from Aftonbladet who has a very pro-Palestinian approach which is also what is in line with the social democratic movement and was mainly shaped during the days when Olof Palme was the Swedish Prime Minister in 1969. In 1982 he expressed a clear criticism towards Israel and invited the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to Sweden the year after⁴⁰. In the last “Cast Lead” offensive the current social democratic leader Mona Sahlin made it very clear that she did not tolerate Israel’s attacks against the Palestinians and “condemns the outrage and the ground-offensive” (SvD 090108b; Socialdemokraterna 2009). The social democrats with their allies emphasize that Sweden should put pressure on EU to suspend the trade agreement with Israel because of Israel’s offensive against Gaza (Aftonbladet 090114b).

As for the moderate stand they have a more positive attitude towards Israel and focus on the fact that Israel is the only democratic country in the region which needs to be supported⁴¹. There is in general a more liberal view concerning the conflict where the

³⁹ Independent from political parties means that they are not controlled by the party even though they share the ideological standpoint and therefore do not have any obligations to the parties (Nord 2000:12-15).

⁴⁰ There has been some ambition to strengthen the relation with Israel from the previous Prime Minister Göran Persson in the nineties and also in earlier stages when Tage Erlander was in power. But the war in 1967 made Sweden rethink their Middle East politics and started to criticize Israel’s occupation politics and Israel’s rejection to admit national rights to the Palestinian people (Newsmill 081228).

⁴¹ They believe it is important to strive for peace between the two parties. The moderate are active in trying to build a democratic and functioning Palestinian state and also emphasize the importance of the neighboring countries support to achieve that (Moderaterna 2009).

moderate are careful in blaming and expressing anger towards anyone. Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt has been taciturn concerning the issue. He even criticized those who wants the government to take a stand in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since he believe it will be a risk of becoming a part of the ideology of violence if they take a particular stand (Aftonbladet 090114b). Most comments from the government has come from the foreign minister Carl Bildt who generally has been very diplomatic in his statements and accuse both parties in the conflict (SvD 090109d), but has also criticized Israel and maintain that Israel makes it difficult to create a political solution (SvD 090108b).

As clearly mentioned neither of the newspapers has any political obligations towards the political parties but the similarity was convincing. The most important factor in this case, I believe is also from where the news flow has come just as I mentioned earlier. One thing which is very common among media studies, which I have not yet mentioned, is to look at the aspect of money since the social practice also determines by the economic reason for how to present articles which should not be neglected⁴². Another issue which is needed to be mentioned as well is the power aspect of the newspapers owners which in both cases are Schibsted⁴³. These two are important actors in how the news reporting is presented but due to limited space I will not go deeper into that.

The next chapter which looks at securitization is also a theoretical tool for the outcome of the social practice. It is from that theory we can see how the text is part of shaping the society, but before that I will just present the concluding result for the CDA.

6.6 Discussing the Concluding Results of CDA

When looking at the interdiscursive mix of the discourses which have been distinguished in the analysis; power, criminal act, casualties discourse as well as historical, security and peace discourse. We can see that there is a clear division where Israel stands for the

⁴² In this case I do not think that the economic aspect is the most important factor but I believe it is still very relevant and particularly when looking at the clear distinction between SvD and Aftonbladet and their way of creating headlines that usually contribute as an efficient tool to sell. This is Aftonbladet's greatest income compared to SvD who focuses mostly on subscriptions and is probably the strongest reason why Aftonbladet uses charged and controversial headlines.

⁴³ An important aspect in this is the power of the owners. In this case both Aftonbladet and SvD are owned by the same company, Schibsted. In many media analysis there is a focus of the role of this owner but the reason why I have decided not to put any effort into this aspect are twofold ; First I need to consider the lack of space; second I personally believe that Schibsted has not used their influence to interrupt and change the written text. This I base on the result of what the newspaper produces but also the fact that Sweden is country where freedom of expression is very strong and not to 'controlled' as other European countries like Italy or France for instance (Esposito 2008).

power and criminal act discourse while Palestinians present the casualty discourse but also the historical one since most of the historical perspective tend to consider the 'Palestinian version' of the conflict at least in Aftonbladet's articles, SvD was more neutrally oriented.

There is an over negative attitude towards Israel and their attacks which can be seen clearly in the articles, Israel is the stronger power and therefore has to take the responsibility. This is probably not too complex to agree on since Israel in fact was the one attacking Gaza; they are also the ones who has killed over thousands of people in less than a month. On the other hand Israel gave several of warning and begged Hamas to stop the rocket attacks in southern Israel before the offensive was launched, which Hamas did not.

SvD is more careful in their accusations and has a more neutral role with focus on both Hamas and Israel as perpetrators. Without exaggerating there is on the other hand clear focusing from Aftonbladet that Israel is the responsible actor. The lack of focus on Hamas attacks an aggression testify that Aftonbladet had no plans to place Hamas as responsible for the attacks. The source of information which shaped the articles also tells us that there are recurring more people from Gaza who are being interviewed and presented⁴⁴. Only few Israeli victims are being mentioned and interviewed with little additional, detailed explanations. The interviews made from Gaza on the other hand are more provoking in the sense that they detailed focus on pain and suffering and particularly casualties who are children. In addition to that there is also an overall lack of reporting from people who actually give Israel 'support' in the sense of Israel's right of self defense. Instead there is an overflow of people condemning Israel and their actions. Another interesting thing was that most people that were killed were members of Hamas so in that sense Israel did 'succeed' with their task but this is not evident at all, in most articles. SvD was better at mentioning the Israeli 'successes' which concerns the Israeli military goals (e.g. SvD 090102b) than Aftonbladet who barely mentioned it. There is also more reflection of how Israel is reacting to accusations and also more occasion when Israel was given the chance to answer why they did what they did in SvD compared to Aftonbladet (e.g. SvD 090107b).

The way of counting casualties which has been done almost daily in both newspapers is very intense and detailed at times. It is not only that people died but also how they died, why they died and who died. Another peculiarity in this is the lack of focus of Hamas war-strategies which is very controversial and strictly contradicts international law. It has been mentioned few times in SvD and even less in Aftonbladet. For instance it

⁴⁴ There were over twenty interviewed Palestinians from both news papers, excluding politicians and Hamas members and only around seven Israeli, excluding politicians and Israeli military.

has been argued many times over the years that Hamas uses the Palestinian people as living shields, so that the casualties would increase, but this strategy is not been mentioned in the articles I analyzed, it was briefly mentioned two times in SvD but without putting any focus on it (SvD 090108b; 4a). If Hamas is using their own people as shields and hinder their own people to get to hospitals in other countries (SvD 081230b), will not that together with the fact that they are hiding among civilians become one important aspect when looking at the number of casualties in the war?

One last thing I wish to stress is the accusations that Israel has broken so many laws. Many actors out in the field are very careful in stating it as a fact that Israel has broke any law whiles other are fast at making those accusations as facts (e.g. SvD 090116b). UN has accused Israel for breaking the international law (e.g. Aftonbladet 090116a) but UN knows that these accusations needs to be thoroughly investigated before it can be stated as truth but because of the recurring information this has already been stated as a ‘truth’ among the reader which is a clear example of how powerful the words from the newspapers can be. When the journalist is able to pick and choose what type of material they will use and not use in their articles, they use their authoritarian position. This is a kind of power use which would not be too severe if there was an opposition. But since there is a clear criticism towards Israel whiles on the other hand the opposition is very careful in expressing themselves the criticism will grow even stronger among the circles that are against Israel.

I do not think I exaggerate when I say that most people abhorred the shooting of innocent. It is a fact that Israel warfare in Gaza has killed civilian people and that the inhabitants in Gaza are suffering severely from the isolation of the enclave. But all this do not justify biased reporting which create more aggression against Israel. The next part will highlight some examples of how these two newspapers has reported information which later has been declared as incorrect.

6.6.1 Inaccurate Reporting

One good part in analyzing or writing about a military offensive in the aftermath is that there is more comprehensive information to get hold on which can give us a more modified version of the news flow and also discern incorrect information which has been reported. I do not have the intention of finding all mistakes which has been done in reporting about the Gaza offensive, but I just wish to highlight some few examples, to point out the danger of using sources which is not reliable or accurate. Obviously this is

difficult to avoid, even though media knows about the ‘halo effect’⁴⁵ they still choose to use that effect which more or less stops the notion of media’s investigating. This also tells us how important it is to be careful in how we consume news reporting.

One episode which resulted in huge criticism towards Israel was the shooting on one of UNRWA’s schools where it was said that 43 people died due to Israeli attacks (e.g. SvD 090108c; Aftonbladet 090107a). This has later been backtracked by a UN commission which has investigated it thoroughly. The accusations were based on misunderstandings and unconfirmed information, the attack was actually outside the school (Haaretz 090302; Globeandemail.com 090129). What is peculiar with this is that neither SvD nor Aftonbladet has mentioned these reported mistakes even though they wrote about the event numerous times using the event to present how ‘horrible’ the Israeli attacks was (e.g. Aftonbladet 090112c; SvD 090116b).

Another issue which I find remarkable is the wrongful use of civilian and children casualties. Both SvD and Aftonbladet have been using TTs figures of casualties which say that around 437 children died in the attacks (e.g. Aftonbladet 090117b; SvD 090116b). But the real number is in fact around 288 which can be verified by both Amnesty international (Amnesty International 090223), the Palestinian human rights organization PCHR (PCHR 090312) as well as the Israeli military IFDs counting and registration of casualties (Jerusalem post 090215). All of them present different numbers but yet stays less than 300 dead children⁴⁶. This means that the casualties has been exaggerated with about a third which is a very severe news mistakes particularly since the focus of casualties has been huge and the number of casualties has been currently quoted by a lot of people all over the world, Swedish politicians like the social democratic Ilmar Reepalu for instance (Sydsvenskan 090220). Later SvD did use the ‘more’ correct number of casualties (SvD 090312) but did not correct previous mistakes⁴⁷.

In addition to ‘wrongful’ reporting there has also been lack of reporting in certain areas. For instance, there has been information featuring that Hamas has killed Palestinians and Fatah members during the conflict, but as far as I have seen there has been very little or no information at all referring to that information. Recent published report from Human Rights Watch verify this accusations and state that Hamas participated in killing Palestinians during the offensive. In total there are around 32

⁴⁵ The halo effect is the extension of an overall impression of a person or one outstanding trait to influence the total judgment of that person/trait. So even if there is only on good trait said, the person can still be seen as a reliable source on everything else (Thorndike 1920)

⁴⁶ In an article from BBC News (BBC 090326) we can read the latest figures from both official Palestinian sources which are put in brackets, as well as the Israeli military. Palestinians killed during Israeli military offensive in Gaza, 27 Dec to 18 Jan: Total dead: 1,166 (1,434), Fighters: 710-870 (235), Non-combatants: 295-460 (960) Women: 49 (121), Children under 16: 89 (288)

⁴⁷ Ironically is that SvD even writes in an article that the Red Cross committee (ICRC) requests to be careful with numbers of dead and wounded (SvD 090108d) since the numbers is not verified.

Palestinians that has been killed by Hamas during the offensive and some time after. The majority of them have been executed for being accused of collaborating with Israel but also members from Fatah have been assaulted. Severe physical abuse has also been done by Hamas on several Palestinians (Human rights watch 2009).

More reports have been done concerning inaccurate reporting but I have to limit myself also in regard of space. Inaccurate reporting generally comes in the form of lack of knowledge or just ignorant reporting and some times even as a tool for manipulation by journalists and are not too unusual, however the consequences of it can be severe⁴⁸. It is also important to understand that the truth for one person can become a direct lie in another ones opinion. Videlicet the knowledge and understanding of my reality can look totally different when looking at it from another perspective. In all this there is the aspect of the social construction where we all reflect our reality different and who is 'more' right in its reflection is very difficult to say. As it is said "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter".

I believe that these articles are part of shaping the society, the way we choose to look at *the reality*. Most of us have been formed by the news concerning this conflict as well as previous knowledge and understanding of the Israel-Palestinian conflict whether we think so or not. This analysis per se can not distinguish the whole media flow in Sweden as written before since one or two single paper cannot create such reaction but when the massive media coverage is following the same trend, then it is alarming.

My point here was simple to critically investigate and analyze the articles in order to see if they are part of shaping the anti-Semitic notions in Sweden, which I believe they do after doing this analysis. As written before, in a critical discourse analysis there is nothing called *objectivity* but the analysis will focus on the *subjective* matter of the pressured part in the text (Phillips & Jorgensen 2006:64). The next chapter will look at the securitization act and how anti-Semitism in Sweden can be applied in it. This analysis will be used as a reference which state that the media reporting was biased. That together with the information from the fifth chapter tells us that media is part of intensifying anti-Semitic notion in Sweden.

⁴⁸ There has probably been wrongful reporting which has been negative against the Palestinians and maybe also Hamas too, my aim is not to partially blame the media for being biased in only one direction. However since this paper is looking at the media's role in creating a securitization matter due to anti-Semitic notion I have deliberately only looked at errors made against Israel

7. Securitization

When looking at the material presented; both the present situation for the Jews in Sweden; as well as the CDA which analyzed how two newspaper presented the conflict in Gaza in a biased way and eventually also affects the Jewish society in Sweden, it tells us that anti-Semitism is not decreasing in Sweden, on the contrary it shows that it is advancing. There are three important factors in this correlation; the increasing anti-Semitic notions in Sweden, the growing tensions in the Middle East, together with the biased media attention. As explained in chapter 5 the correlation of the first two factors, the conflicts in the Middle East and increasing anti-Semitic notions is already established by other research. The last factor, that media present biased information, is the result of the CDA in the previous chapter. The power of media is underestimated and can bring forth the most devastating ‘lies’ or constructed realities. With this information in mind I wish to move on to my final conclusion. Due to the threat upon the Jewish society in Sweden I believe it falls in the context of being securitized. The last part of this paper will therefore more thoroughly present the securitizing act and place anti-Semitic issue in the context of securitization.

7.1 Framing the Securitizing Issue

The Copenhagen school’s securitization which I am to use here rests upon two central concepts, this was partly mentioned in the theoretical part but I believe it is necessary to repeat some of the important features. The first is three components of securitization which is the speech act, the securitizing actor and the audience. The second concept is three facilitating factors which are affecting the success of a securitizing move which include: the identification of existential threats, emergency action, which implies that something needs to be done in order to meet the need. The last step is the legitimization of the taken measure even if it needs to break free from norms and normal rules (Taureck 2006:55). Only when these measures are being met, a security act has the potential of being successful.

The Copenhagen School also argues that there are three stages of securitization. First we have the non-politicized issue when the problem is not a matter of state action and is not included in the public debate. Then we have the politicized issue which means that

the problem is part of a public policy, that require government decision and resource allocations or some other form of communal governance (Buzan et al 1998:23). The final issue is the one which requires the need of emergency actions beyond the state's standards political procedures, a securitized move. The act of securitization is when the issue goes from the politicized to the securitized one where there needs to be more measures taken under consideration which goes beyond the law (Emmers 2007:111).

If a securitizing move is being successfully done it will move the issue from the realm of normal politics to a world of existential threats that demand extraordinary measures (Vultee 2009:4) but this can only be done if actors and audience are noticing the issue and expresses the speech act. So in fact 'security' is thus a self-referential practice since it becomes a security issue when it is *talked* about as a threat and not necessarily because a threat exists (Buzan et al 1998:24). This is where the social construction enters in. What *we*, people believe and have the knowledge of determines our decisions. Knowledge is constructed in process of social interchange and has its foundation in language and the role of the language. Depending on the use of language will also determine the way knowledge is being produced (Cardellini 2006:131; se also Glasersfeld 1988). Traditional security studies are usually objective in the sense that it tells what the real threat is and how to deal with it. This is not applicable for the securitization since they claim that there is no objective reality, 'security' is made an issue by the acts of securitization (Buzan et al 1998:203).

To conceptualize this we first need to identify the different roles that are played. In this case the existential threat is the threat over the Jews in Sweden, which then becomes the *objects*. The fact that they are threatened and are not able to live in the Swedish society as normal people due to the fear and anti-Semitic accounts is the fundamental issue. The *speech act* requires two sides, the *actor* and the *audience*. The audience in this case would be the Swedish society while the actor in this case are the ones who will secure the situation of the Jews, as mentioned before usually it is the state or the military but also civil society (Emmers 2007:111). However the securitization act is still considered to be a process dominated by leaders and powerful actors in the long run, which often happens to be the state and its elite (ibid) which is not too peculiar considering the fact that a securitization could result in norm and law changes. The audience is highly necessary since their justification is needed in order to use all means to eliminate the threat; they also have their saying whether there is a security issue or not since the actor cannot decide it alone (Buzan et al 1998). So the actors need to convince the audience of the need to secure.

The main argument for securitization theory is that security is a *speech act*. This mean that in order to get the issue to become a securitization problem there needs to be a recurring invocation of the word 'security' due to the threatening nature that invokes the

negative trend which could happen if security is not present (Weaver 1995:61). The speech act which is the foundation of securitization does not only negotiate but also mediated the situation of the Jews (Emmers 2007:113). It is important to add that the speech act which is a persuasive act is just as other speeches and language act of power which means that this matter just as other are part of social constructions of reality⁴⁹.

7.2 Extra Ordinary Measures

At the moment the Jewish situation is a politicized matter. Some of the threats and vandalism exhorted against Jews are treated by the legal system videlicet the police who are using their resources in the way it is possible. But since this threat is not a regional threat but a national, and since the threat is not situated against some particular people but to a whole 'ethnic' group, or the Jewish society, this threat should be treated as a securitizing matter and it is arguable that extraordinary measures needs to be imposed.

As explained in chapter 5 there are many different actors involved to enhance the securitization issue, but my claim is that the role of media as a tool for growing anti-Semitism is very essential particularly since it enhances the awareness and partly verify most of the other actors prejudice, when media has a free 'playground' to express biased information without reflecting upon it. Neither SvD nor Aftonbladet did present any obvious anti-Semitic propaganda in their articles (except one articles⁵⁰), however the biased information flow did present a wrongful image of the conflict since a lot of the focus was on Israel as the only perpetrator whiles Hamas was seldom mentioned, particularly in Aftonbladet. The intense and strongly painted image of Palestinian casualties was also something which overshadowed the newspapers and the reason for the attacks was therefore forgotten. In addition to that the very limited space that was given Israel and their version made the information lean and considerably unequal. The result of the CDA gives the indication that securitization is reinforced in the media due to

⁴⁹ In this context, just as in other situation, people need to be persuaded to believe in the existential threat which results in extraordinary measures. It is probably clear that even the Copenhagen School regard security as a socially constructed concept. So the whole process is basically dependent on the shared understanding of what constitute danger to security (Emmers 2007:113).

⁵⁰ One article did present anti-Semitic in my opinion. It was an article written by Torsten Kävlemark (Aftonbladet 090104c) where he used sources which is also used by people who wants to spread anti-Semitic information. When he says that the book is full of *insightful* information he indirectly agrees that the holocaust is used as a purpose to manipulate which the author Avraham Burgers indicate. Another thing is the image he used which could be questionable. It is a image illustrated together with the article that views one Palestinian man next to a photo from Auschwitz in 1945.

biased news reporting which later generates criticism towards Israel's politics and also Israel as a country which then result in criticism towards Jews as a people. This calculation might seem far-fetched but considering the presented reports from BRÅ and FRA, together with the recent attacks in 2009 against the Jewish society in Sweden which is mentioned in chapter 5 together with previous attack in relation to Middle East conflict⁵¹, I argue that there is a correlation between the media reporting of Israel and anti-Semitic intensification in Sweden. My argument is that depending on how the media choose, or are persuaded or bluffed into choosing, a certain way of presenting the news (Vultee 2009:5), this is a prior condition for securitization.

In order to start the whole process actors needs to perform the *speech act*; this is done when leaders, people in power or movements actively talk about the need of security for the objects. This has been done occasionally at this stage, by the Jewish society itself but also in form of news articles written by politicians or others (e.g. Newsmill 090306; DN 050310) or organizations like Svensk Israel-Information (Svensk Israel-Information 2006). Nevertheless it has not yet been argued on a higher level or among people in power which is a condition for the securitization act to be successful. So the first step in the right direction is to highlight the issue even stronger so that this matter becomes an issue also for people in power. This is assumable in just a matter of time because if the situation for the Jews in the Swedish society intensifies, it will eventually lead to consequences. But I hope it will not have to reach a stage when someone needs to die before actions are taken.

When the *speech act* comes to past, the next step is to inform the Swedish society concerning the security matter so what needs to be done is to convince them about the need for securitization. Since there has been no appeal for securitization at this stage there has neither been a need to convince the audience. But if the society also fears the intensification of anti-Semitism, which is a violation of human rights something Sweden strongly has worked for in decades (McClintock & Sunderland 2004:iii), and then I also believe that people are ready to act on the call for a securitization act.

According to the Copenhagen School the extraordinary measures, which is the next step to imply if the audience agrees, that are to be made to respond to the specific threat is not something which is written in advance. The measures that need to be adopted will depend on the circumstances of the threat that ought to be dealt with. Videlicet there is no pre-assumed list of what type of measures could be used, each case is unique and each case needs its own measures (Emmers 2007:114). Since I argue that media and its power is one of the essential factors for the growing threat it would be assumable that I urge for

⁵¹ Also the report made by Human Rights first present information which verify the relation between the intensification of anti-Semitic notions in relation to the Middle East conflict (McClintock & Sunderland 2004:29-31)

a change in media's right to freely report, basically a change in the law which contains *the freedom of expression*. However this is not at all my want, my aim is not to change any law but rather to highlight the danger of absorbing all kind of information that media produce. My idea of presenting Jewish situation as an existential threat that *needs* extraordinary measures is because the securitization process brings the Jewish situation up on a higher level of relevance.

In order to create a securitization matter, it is only required to transform an issue to become a security question with the help of the audience. It is not required to adopt the extraordinary measures, meaning that the extraordinary measures do not have to be adopted for a matter to become securitized (Buzan et al 1998:25). The reason why it is better to make an issue a securitized matter, rather than just letting it stay a politicized or political matter is basically because a securitization provides some tangible benefits which include a more efficient handling of complex problems. It also contains more resources and mobilization of popular support for policies when it is called a security matter and the achievement would probably not be obtained if the same problem were regarded as only a political problem (Emmers 2007:115). A better awareness also put pressure towards politicians and powerful people to take measures which is already situated in the law, namely the obligation Sweden has to act in order to protect minority groups, according to the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, given out by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 1995). This means that media will become an important source for creating this social awareness. Videlicet media who has been part in creating intensification of anti-Semitism will now also help to 'restore' the matter once anti-Semitism is considered to be a security matter.

Another thing which this securitization act can achieve, due to the awareness of social problems, is to change 'wrongful' norms in the society, which indirectly has given us the right to treat people differently due to their background. That can also bring us a step further to erase prejudice and suspicions in the society. I am aware that these things do not change just because of a securitization act. However, at present a public awareness of racist violence and hate crimes, which anti-Semitism contains, can be the first step in re-constructing the *reality* for this people. Then there are possibilities to change norms and prejudice, and this can only be done through the help of institutions like media who possess that type of *power* (Thompson 1995).

What we can see from all this is that the whole society needs to be engaged in this matter before a securitization act can be made. For that to happen I believe that anti-Semitic accounts needs to become more severe and recurring in order to make the society/audience and government/actors to react. At the moment the intensity of anti-Semitism has not come to the level where the Jews need a permanent security. My

argument is that actions need to be taken under consideration if or when anti-Semitic notions prolongs and intensify to alarming levels in Sweden. The first step is therefore to introduce the matter in the public debate. I believe that the Jewish situation needs to be taken much more serious and by taking the matter up to a securitization level it truly highlight the issue. From there it is not essential to put any extraordinary measures in practice but merely to make sure that the situation for the Jews are taken more serious in the society and obligations to protect minority groups, which are already implemented by the Council of Europe, are correctly followed in order to protect the Jewish minority in Sweden. This will result in better conditions with less fear and harassments for the Jews in Sweden but it can also be one step in changing 'wrongful' norms which has given us prejudice and a condemning nature against particular groups of people (Crandall et al. 2002). If it is true that 73 percent, according to the American survey (American Jewish Committee 2005), consider the prejudice and hostility against Jews to be a problem in Sweden, then there would most likely be an interesting start⁵².

⁵² A further step in this is also the potential aim of creating a securitized place for Jews not only in Sweden but also in Europe. As we read in the report by Bergmann and Wetzel (2003), as well as McClintock and Sunderland (2004) anti-Semitism is spreading all over Europe and is a global pattern of discrimination (2004:iii). If one country starts to highlight a securitizing matter, it could result in a spillover effect (Buzan et al: 1998:203) which also might affect the other countries in the European region. This however will be a case for further studies and is not applicable for this paper.

8. Conclusion

This paper has examined the potential power of media in relation to ‘security’ for the Jews in the Swedish society. My intention was to find out whether media constitute a risk for the intensification of anti-Semitism which also enhances the threat for the Jews in Sweden to become a security matter and therefore also result in a need for securitization. In order to do that I first presented material which gave us an insight of the present situation, the escalation of anti-Semitic notions which has been seen in relation to the military offensive in Gaza between Dec27, 2008 to Jan 18, 2009. I also looked at statistic and journals written about anti-Semitism in both Sweden and Europe who both claimed that the conflicts in the Middle East actually are an important factor that has enhanced anti-Semitism in Sweden. The material gave me the insight that these anti-Semitic notions actually has increased due to the conflict.

The next step was to look at media’s role in this situation, where I first presented the power of media followed by a CDA over the two newspaper in Sweden, namely Aftonbladet and SvD. Both newspapers presented a rather biased situation where Israel was perpetrators with a lot of focus on ‘un-lawful’ acts and unproportional violence while the Palestinians were seen as the victims, which is probably not too weird considering that Israel launched the attacks. However the focus was more in favor of the Palestinian and the information was very detailed compared to the more shallow reports given from the Israeli side. Also the use of Palestinian sources, which was not questioned while the Israeli sources was used with hesitation, also gives us an idea about the biased reporting. Even though the two news papers shared some common characteristic, they still distinguished considerably. SvD showed a more neutral approach where it gave time to present both parties more accurate partly by looking at Hamas as an important perpetrator for the conflict as well, compared to Aftonbladet, who did not give Hamas any particular critical attention in general.

Despite that, the conclusion was that these two newspapers actually are part of the negative shaping of the view of Israel and therefore also shapes the view of Jews in the Swedish society. After wrapping up the CDA I then turned to the matter of securitization. My argument was that due to the role of media in relation to the intensification of anti-Semitism which is and becomes an even stronger threat to the Jewish society in Sweden, measures needs to be taken. The speech act which is the first step in securitization has already started but needs to intensify considerably in order to get an effect. This is mainly

done through people in power, videlicet politicians or strong movements. This in turn also involves the audience which is important for the securitization act to be accepted. When both actor and audience agrees extraordinary measures can be made.

My conclusion for this analysis was that securitization needs to be implemented but extraordinary measures in not the aim. What is needed is merely to highlight the issue and create a debate which makes people more aware of the situation. From a new awareness, measures can be made which is not directly above the law but actually is already implemented in the law. For instance, a securitization act will open the awareness of the Jewish situation so that Sweden takes actions which are in accordance to the Council of Europe and their *Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities*.

Since we are living in a social reality which is formed and re-formed by our awareness of it, we also have the possibility to change notion like discrimination, racism and even anti-Semitism. This can be made through norm building and other means that will change the perspective of how the society is seen as. With the help of securitization there are not only hopes that the Jewish situation becomes more noticed, there is also possibilities to start changing the 'wrongful' norms which 'allow' people to have condemning attitudes and prejudice towards particular people, this is also possible since we are constructed by the social reality we live in. People mostly shaped by the society and can therefore become re-shaped in the same way. We are a product of what we learned to believe, the construction of our social awareness and what is important is to be careful of what *we* allow our self to absorb, media is not an ultimate possessor of the *truth* and neither are *we*.

9. Executive Summary

Media has always been a powerful and influential tool to disseminate knowledge in the society. One of its influences has to do with how society creates knowledge of situations through presentation. In an ongoing debate concerning the negative trend of increasing anti-Semitism there are positions that claim media has an essential role in the spreading of anti-Semitism. After the second intifada in 2001 and onwards, there has been evidence showing that when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is escalating it contributes to intensification of anti-Semitic notions towards the Jewish society in Sweden. Videlicet these two events, the conflicts in Israel and intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden are linear with each other. In order to analyze the possible role of media concerning the intensification of anti-Semitism I decided to investigate the media discourse concerning the military offensive 'Cast Lead'.

The Israeli offensive 'Cast Lead' against Gaza during the time of Dec 27, 2008 to the time of official cease-fire Jan 18, 2009 was an offensive which dominated the Swedish media during that time. Many news reports in print media, radio and on TV spent much attention on the conflict in several ways. In this massive flow of information, there have been a lot of outspoken words, written texts etc made by people with different types of realities, colored by their own experiences or understanding. The different ways media is presenting reality is something we see daily and is nothing new. However, the way media portray news items determines how readers learn to understand what is going on in the society and the outside world, so the power of presenting 'knowledge' is basically in the hands of the media. This later becomes a gauge for how people tend to look at the Jews in the Swedish society.

Because of the intensification of anti-Semitic notions in Sweden I believe Jewish society in Sweden is living under threat and therefore is in need of security. If there is and will be an even stronger intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden I believe it is time to react against this trend since it is not only a threat towards the Jewish society in Sweden but also a threat towards the whole Swedish society. Securitization theory emphasis how different discourses transform issues to become a threat. So the threat is constructed through speech acts. Securitization is legitimizing the use of extraordinary measures in order to prevent the threat to escalate. I therefore decided to investigate whether there is a need for securitizing measures concerning this issue. What I did was to look at the potential power of media in relation to 'security' for the Jews in the Swedish society. My intention was to find out whether media constitute a risk for the intensification of anti-Semitism which also enhances the threat for the Jews to become a security matter and therefore also result in a need for securitization.

My research question was:

What is the role of media in the intensification of anti-Semitism in Sweden and has anti-Semitism reached the level of when security measures needs to be taken under consideration?

The theoretical framework for this paper has been in threefold. First I used a social constructivist theory which I used as an overview theory that has embedded the whole work, second was the Securitization theory and third a CDA which also serves as my methodological framework. All these theories are interpretive theories and functions well together since all of them see the world as a constructed entity and they all share similar ontological and epistemological standpoints.

In order to answer the research question I first presented materials which gave an insight of the present situation, the escalation of anti-Semitic notions which has been seen in relation to the military offensive in Gaza during the time of Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 18, 2009. I also looked at statistic and journals written about anti-Semitism in both Sweden and Europe who both claimed that the conflicts in the Middle East actually are an important factor for the enhanced anti-Semitism in Sweden. The material gave me the understanding that these anti-Semitic notions actually has increased and do increase due to conflicts and particularly due to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The next step was to look at media role in this situation, where I first presented the power of media followed by a CDA over the two newspapers in Sweden, namely Aftonbladet and SvD. The reason I chose these papers was mainly the range of the newspaper but also the different ideological background. The analysis was based on the newspapers reporting over the military offensive in Gaza and the articles were taken from the time of Dec 27, 2008 to Jan 17, 2009. I emphasized that this analysis could not stand as representatives for the whole of Swedish media but merely as an example where tendencies can be found.

Doing the analysis I deliberately limited the choice of tools for the CDA in order to better answer the underlying causes for this research. I looked at social events, intertextuality, metaphors and modality and to better grasp the essential part in the text I used four questions as guideline. Those questions where:

What are the common discourses in the articles?

In what way is the newspaper presenting Israel, Hamas and the Palestinians in the conflict?

What kind of metaphors and choice of vocabulary is being used and why?

How much are they referring to the truth in the sense of modality?

By analyzing the answers to this questions from all articles in both news papers the result gave me the result that media in fact is part of creating anti-Semitic notions. Both newspapers presented a rather biased situation where Israel was seen as perpetrators with a lot of focus on ‘un-lawful’ acts and un-proportional violence, while the Palestinians was seen as the victims. This is probably not too weird considering that Israel launched the attacks. However the focus which was un-proportionally more in favor of the Palestinian made the whole image more complex. The information from the Palestinian side was very detailed compared to the more shallow reports given from Israel, as well as the lack of people who was not given a chance to speak in favor of Israel compared to all those who was mentioned in favor of the Palestinians. Also the use of Palestinian sources, which was not questioned while the Israeli sources was used with hesitation, also gives us an idea about the biased reporting.

Even though the two news papers shared these characteristic, they still distinguished considerable. SvD showed a more neutral approach where it gave time to present both parties more accurate partly by looking at Hamas as an important perpetrator for the conflict as well. Aftonbladet on the other hand, occasionally seem to agree that Hamas was responsible but did not put any particular focus on that and instead even seemed to defend Hamas at times. SvD did mention Hamas war strategies which in many ways where inhuman and illegal while Aftonbladet barely mentioned it at all. There were clear distinctions between the two newspapers in that since and even though SvD had biased reports it was not far as partial as Aftonbladet.

All these examples round up for a conclusion that Aftonbladet and SvD did use their influence to present biased information about the ‘Cast Lead’ offensive which also affect the minds of the readers. What is alarming is that a conflict taking place in another part of the world actually affects people in our country negatively, just because they share the same Jewish identity.

After wrapping up the CDA, I then turned to the matter of securitization. My argument was that due to the role of media in relation to the intensification of anti-Semitism which is and has become an even stronger threat to the Jewish society in Sweden, measures needs to be taken. The speech act which is the first step in securitization has already started by people who highlight the matter in the society, but it needs to intensify considerably in order to get a desirable effect. This is mainly done through presenting the matter for people in power; videlicet politicians or strong movements for instance, called *actors*. These actors need to convince the *audience*, the citizens of Sweden, that there is a need for a security act in order to protect the Jewish society in Sweden. The audience is important for the securitization act to become

functional. When both actor and audience agree that the Jews are threatened and actions need to be made, then extraordinary measures can be taken into practice.

The conclusion I have drawn from this analysis is that extraordinary measures is not the aim for the securitization act but merely to highlight the security issue and create an awareness of the Jewish situation which is full of fears, something no one in our society should have to live in. From a new awareness, measures can be made which is not measures above the law but actually already implemented in the law. For instance a securitization act will open the awareness of the Jewish situation so that Sweden takes action which for instance is in accordance with the Council of Europe and their Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. According to this framework Sweden is obliged to take action in order to protect people who have been exposed for threat or violence as a consequence for their ethnical, religious, cultural or linguistic identity (Council of Europe 1995), hopefully a securitization would take these frameworks more serious.

Since we are living in a social reality which is formed and re-formed by our awareness of it, we also have the possibility to change notion like discrimination, racism and even anti-Semitism. This can be made through norm building and other means that will change the perspective of how the society looks at *the reality*. With the help of securitization there are not only possibilities to create awareness but also to change the 'wrongful' norms which allow people to have condemning attitudes and prejudice towards particular people or groups. This is possible due to the reality of social construction we are living in, the fact that we can change our own realities. People mostly follow norms and norms are created by the society and can therefore become re-created in the same way. We are a product of what we learned to believe, what is important is to be careful of what we allow our self to absorb, media is not an ultimate possessor of the *truth* and neither are *we*

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