

The 'Refugee Crisis' On Facebook

Karin Andén

Lund University
Department of Political Science
Master of Science on Global Studies

Master Thesis SIMMV10 (30 credits)
Supervisor: Catarina Kinnvall
Spring 2016

Abstract

This is an ethnographic study on how refugees and policies on asylum and immigration was debated on Facebook in Sweden during the so called ‘refugee crisis’. This study analysed the relation between the Facebook debate, and the way news media framed the ‘refugee crisis’ during three months in which Swedish asylum policy changed drastically: September 2015, November 2015 and January 2016. In September, the receiving of asylum seekers was primarily described as something positive in news media. Refugees were represented as suffering and in need of help. At this time, the engagement for refugees was very strong on Facebook, and a large number of users interacted with posts that expressed support to refugees and to a generous asylum policy. Among those arguing for a restrictive asylum policy, the most viral posts did also describe a will to help refugees in September. In November, receiving asylum seekers was primarily described as something negative in news media: since a large number of asylum seekers could harm Sweden’s system and that asylum seekers could be potential a security threat. Opinion leaders arguing for a restrictive asylum policy had a more aggressive rhetoric when news media to a larger degree described asylum seekers as a problem. Among opinions leaders arguing for a generous asylum policy, the level of user engagement decreased in November and January. During all three months there was a strong polarisation on the Facebook pages examined in this study and the ‘refugee crisis’ was perceived in two very different ways. Those arguing for a generous asylum policy meant that human beings were suffering and in need of help and those who argued for a restrictive asylum policy argued that immigration was expensive and that immigrants could pose a threat to Swedish citizens. There were also many contemptuous comments on foreigners and foreign cultures among people who were opposed to receiving refugees. Especially in September, there were many discussions between Facebook users with different opinions on Swedish asylum policy. However, deliberate discussions were rare between opponents, and most users seemed to prefer talking to those who shared their own opinion. In total the 165 Facebook posts analysed in this study received close to one million ‘likes’, indicating that Facebook is an important arena for political communication in Sweden.

Author: Karin Andén,

Supervisor: Catarina Kinnvall

Key Words: Political Communication, Social Network Sites, Facebook, Asylum Policy, Framing

Word Count: 19 872

Table of Content

Introduction	4
Media and Democracy	4
Aim and Research Question	6
Limitations	8
Definitions.....	9
Literature Review.....	10
Theoretical Framework	14
Viral Politics	15
Framing Theory.....	17
Making Sense of Politics	18
Methods	21
Ethnographic Content Analysis and Online Ethnographic Observation.....	21
Collecting and Analysing Material from Facebook	23
Collecting and Analysing News Articles	25
Empirical Findings	27
News Framing of the ‘Refugee Crisis’	27
The ‘Refugee Crisis’ On Facebook.....	33
Sweden Should Accept Refugees.....	38
Sweden Should Not Accept Refugees	43
Debates Between Opponents	52
Further research.....	57
References	59

Introduction

Media and Democracy

A legitimate democracy requires that citizens participate in public decision-making, and this requires that they have knowledge of politics and society. But there are different views on how much knowledge and participation that is required in the three different democratic ideal types that are most influential in modern time (Held, 1997), and there are also different ideas on what role social network sites can have in a democracy (Strömbäck, 2014, 2015, Dahlgren, 2010, Gustavsson, 2013).

Competitive elitism is the least optimistic about the possibilities of democracy, it claims that human societies always have - and probably always will be - characterized by hierarchical structures and elite rule (Held, 1997). The majority lack the knowledge and motivation to participate, and according to Schumpeter (1992) most people are motivated by personal benefits rather than the wellbeing of the greater society and advertisers and populist messages easily seduce them, and therefore politics should be reserved for a competent political elite. The role of the news media is primarily to provide citizens with information on general elections and on the political platforms of different parties (Dahlgren, 2009, Strömbäck, 2014). Nils Gustavsson (2013) has studied the impact of social network sites on participation from this perspective and he concluded that social network sites can create a new elite, but they will not lead to more profound changes in society; the ones who become influential in social media most often have higher education, higher socio-economic status and are already influential in other areas of society and in other forms of media.

In participatory democracy, democracy is seen as a process that requires active participation of the citizens in many aspects of society. Robert A. Dahl uses enlightened understanding as a criterion for an ideal democracy; all citizens should have equal opportunities to learn about policy issues and make choices that best serve their interests (Held, 1997). Accordingly, news media should provide citizens with information on current events, scrutinize public affairs and be a platform for dialogue and debate (Strömbäck, 2014). Studies from this perspective view social media positively and see social network sites as a tool that can facilitate participation.

For instance, studies have shown how social media can allow social movements outside party politics to push democratic issues (Dahlgren, 2009).

The third democratic ideal type, deliberative democracy, is based on Habermas' writings on the public sphere as a place where private persons can come together and discuss issues of common concern and reach mutual understanding. In the ideal democracy, citizens participate actively in public decision-making. From this perspective, citizens need to be willing to take part in deliberate discussions and to be open, sincere and prepared to change their opinion. News media should ideally provide balanced, fair and full information (Strömbäck, 2014). Studies on social network sites from this perspective have mostly been normative and concluded that social media can function as a 'virtual public sphere' for deliberate discussions (Dahlgren, 2009).

Aim and Research Question

In 2015, over one million refugees and migrants came to Europe (European Commission, 2016). There were large divisions among the countries in the European Union on how refugees fleeing countries such as Syria should be received and where they should settle (BBC, 2016). Like other liberal democracies the European countries have a double policy on asylum, on the one hand they have signed United Nations' Refugee Convention and they have laws that grant refugees the right to asylum and protection, on the other hand they do also have policies to prevent refugees from entering the country in order to apply for asylum (Gibney, 2004). The acceptance of refugees has varied over time and in different countries, and the policies have been influenced by factors such as foreign policy, national identity, the need of workers and public opinion on immigrants. Sweden was one of the countries that received most refugees' per capita in 2015 (BBC, 2016), but it was a year with unusual changes in the Swedish asylum policy, from one of Europe's most generous policies on asylum, to one of the most restrictive. There were also quick changes in the political rhetoric and in public opinion in 2015 (Brandel, Eriksson, Delling, 2015). The predominant trend the last decades are that Swedes have an increasingly positive attitude to receiving refugees (Demker 2014, 2015). However, there has been an increasing polarization in the public opinion the last years: One group becomes more positive and the other group becomes more negative towards receiving refugees. As in many other European countries there is a nationalist movement in Sweden where the question of anti-immigration is central (Hellström and Nilsson, 2010, Demker 2014, 2015).

This thesis aims to describe the intense debate amongst Swedish Facebook users during the so called 'refugee crisis'¹. Many researchers argue that the digital media landscape is characterized by convergence and that social network sites should be studied as part of a larger media system (Jenkins, 2004, Chadwick, 2013, Reese, 2010, Nisbet, 2010, Strömbäck, 2014, Shehata, 2015, Dahlgren, 2010, Shirky, 2008, Schwarz, 2015b). Therefore will this thesis investigate how news medias descriptions of the 'refugee crisis' influenced the debate on Facebook. The picture of Alan Kurdi is an example of the convergence between news media and social network sites. The image of a small boy, wearing jeans and red shirt and

¹ The period is also called 'Europe's Refugee Crisis', and 'Europe's Migrant Crisis'. This thesis will use the wording 'refugee crisis' as it was the most common description in Swedish news media in 2015.

lying lifeless in the water next to a Turkish police officer was first published in a Turkish newspaper, and then spread virally on social media. A Swedish newspaper editor explain in a radio show that they first decided not publish the picture because it would be against their ethical guidelines to publish an image of a dead child. However, when the image created such a debate on Facebook they decided to publish it anyway (Medierna, 2015).

One theory is that the social network sites and other digital media platforms will create polarization since they offer opportunities to find information and communities that confirms people's own opinions and preconceptions. In this context, the Swedish Facebook debate on refugees is an interesting example of a mainstream political debate on a social network site. Social media researcher Anders Olof Larsson (2014) writes that most research on political communication on social network sites has measured social media activity in conjunction with parliamentary elections, and the research on citizens' everyday online political conversations is rather limited. There is also a need for more research on Facebook, as the absolute majority of the research on political communication on social network sites is done on the microblog Twitter, a site that is public and programmed in a way that allows researchers to download massive numbers of Tweets. Research on political conversations on Facebook is more methodologically challenging, but equally important since Facebook is a dominant actor and social network site with most users in the world today (Larsson, 2015). Therefore, one objective of this thesis is to gather more knowledge on how the social network sites can be used in order to change attitudes and opinions in a democracy.

Research Questions:

- To what extent can social network sites, such as Facebook, be used to change opinions and attitudes in a democracy?
- How were refugees and policies on asylum and immigration debated on Facebook in Sweden during the so called 'refugee crisis' of 2015-16.
 - How did the debate relate to news media coverage?

This Study Will Examine Three Time Periods:

- September 2015, when the Swedish government expressed a strong support in favour the right to asylum and the Prime Minister spoke at the manifestation Refugees Are Welcome.
- November 2015, when the government declared that they will introduce temporary regulations to reduce the number of asylum seekers.
- January 2016, when the government stronger introduced border controls to reduce the number of asylum seekers by only letting people with identification apply for asylum.

Limitations

This is a case study of how the ‘refugee crisis’ was debated on four Facebook pages, and it can therefor not give a complete picture of how the refugee crisis was debated on Facebook. Facebook is as semi-private/semi-public social network site and most discussions and debates on the ‘refugee crisis’ took place in private conversations. Therefor, the opinions and statements expressed in this study are not representative for the general population, or for Facebook users. There are several reason to avoid politics discussion on social network sites, and a large share of the users of social network sites do not participate in discussions (Gustavsson, 2013, Schwarz, 2015).

This is a qualitative study and it does not claim to predict what effect social network sites can have on public opinion or on individual participants.

Definitions

Social network sites are sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, VK and Seina Weibo.

The influential social media researchers Danah Boyd and Nicole Ellison (2007) define social network sites as “web-based services that (1) construct a public or semi- public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.” (Boyd, Ellisson, 2007).

Social media is defined by Danah Boyd as an ‘umbrella term that refers the set of tools, services, and applications that allow people to interact with others using network technologies’ (Boyd 2008: 92). Example of these are social network sites, wikis, blog portals and video-sharing sites.

Internet is the global system of interconnected computer networks. Tim O’Reilly’s term Web 2.0 describes a cumulative shift in how more and more web pages are designed and programmed in a way that requires the active participation of the users. Many of the examples he uses are also included in Danah Boyd’s definition of social media (Gustavsson, 2013). Tim Berners-Lee, one of the inventors of Internet, criticizes the term Web 2.0 for exaggerating the static features of the early days of Internet (Kozinets, 2015). The Internet, online and the web will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

News media will be used to refer to serial publications of news stories from publishing houses, in the form of web pages, digital editions and print.

Literature Review

Both hopes and fears have been expressed in the academic discussion on what impact Internet, digitalization and social media can have on democracy. There is hope that the digital media techniques can strengthen democracy and lower barriers of political participation and there is fear that it can become a hotbed for conspiracy theories and fanaticism (Dahlgren, 2010, Strömbäck, 2014, Carlsson, Nilsson, Lindgren, 2015).

To answer the question – To what extent can social network sites like Facebook be used to change opinions and attitudes in a democracy? – This thesis will examine research and theories on the impact news media have on opinions and attitudes in a democracy and put it in a context of social media and social network sites.

One consequence of digitalization is that it is easier for people to seek out information and communities that confirms their own opinions. One theory is that this will create polarization, a divergence of political attitudes. Cass Sunstein (2011) claims that we risk ending up in “information cocoons” and “echo chambers” in which we only encounter information that confirms what we already believe and where we exclusively debate with others who share our opinions. This is mostly studied in the context of the United States (the US). Many studies have found that Democrats and Republicans tend to use different media. This is not believed to solely be an effect of social media; it is also related to commercial news media with political agendas (Dahlgren, 2009, Strömbäck, 2015). There are different opinions regarding the degree to which people seek out information that confirms their preconceptions on social network sites (Strömbäck, 2015). Also, the idea that people exclusively debate with others who share their opinions is also challenged. One large study with 3.8 million Twitter users found that people were engaging in cross-ideological dissemination and discussions, and concluded that previous work may have overestimated the degree of ideological segregation in social-media usage (Barberá et al, 2015). Dahlgren (2009) have also argued that the existence of digital political communities are not per se negative for a democracy, it is not democratic objective that all citizens should share the same opinion and it can be necessary for political movements to create communities. Previous research that is not related to digitalization have shown that people prefer information that fits their cognitive schemas (Shehata, 2015, Petersson, 2009), and that people most often does discuss politics with others

who have similar political ideas (Walsh, 2014) so it cannot be assumed that so called “information cocoons” and “echo chambers” is a new phenomenon.

The Swedish literature describes the risk that digitization may create knowledge gaps in society. Strömbäck (2015) writes that digitalization has made it easier for those who are interested in politics and society to find qualified information and receive news. It has also become easier for those who are not interested in politics and society to avoid the news media and news journalism. Some studies have found a growing difference in news consumption between people with higher and lower socioeconomic status and education, though political interest is still the strongest factor for news consumption (Strömbäck, 2014, Dahlgren, 2009). There is a vast amount of incorrect, irrelevant, old, fragmented and overly simplified information on the Internet (Strömbäck, 2014 Miles et. al., 2000, Del Vicario et. al, 2015) whereas the facts referred to in news media are usually controlled by journalists and editorial boards, even if there are cases when the control fails and instances when a political line determines how facts are presented (Strömbäck, 2014, Dahlgren, 2009). The information people see on social network sites may be correct and fact-checked, but not necessarily. It all depends on what norms individual users have in terms of fact checking before they share information. Del Vicario et. al (2015) have shown that information that disseminates scientific advances is spread in different social groups on Facebook than conspiracy theories that simplify causation and that are formulated in a way tolerates a certain level of uncertainty.

Compared to news medias, the laws that regulate the limits of freedom of speech are less important on social network sites. The owner of a platform does not have a legal responsibility for the content on the site; it is the individual users that are legally responsible for what they write and share under the laws of e.g. libel, defamation and hate speech (Polisen, 2016, Regeringskansliet, 2016). However, only a small number of cases where individual users express libel, defamation and hate speech have been brought to court. Facebook do have self-imposed ethical guidelines that decide what content that is allowed on the site. In Sweden Facebook is criticized by journalists for not removing death threats, rape threats and hate speech (Wiman, 2015, Werner, 2016).

Offensive behaviour is a common problem in online debates. So-called ‘trolls’ sometimes carry it out. The word comes from the fishing term trolling and means ‘to fish by trailing a baited line along behind a boat’. It refers to the act of knowingly writing something that

others within a forum will be provoked by (McDermott, 2012, Shachaf and Hara, 2010, Buckels et. al., 2014). Buckels et. al. (2014) define trolling as "the practice of behaving in a deceptive, destructive, or disruptive way in a social setting on the Internet with no apparent instrumental purpose". They argue that more research is needed on the phenomenon and on the reasons for it. Suler (2004) has argued that the process of communication through a computer makes some people act out more frequently or intensely than they would do in person, for reasons such as dissociative anonymity and invisibility. But other studies indicate that other psychological factors are important. One interview study with so-called trolls found that they took pleasure in repetitive, intentional, and harmful actions that could hurt the community and other people (Shachaf, Hara, 2010). In another interview study with people trolling on Wikipedia the participants showed traits of narcissism, psychopathy and sadistic personality (Buckels et. al., 2014). An expression in Internet discussions says, "Do not feed the trolls", i.e. arguments with people who write very provocative things will not lead anywhere (McDermott, 2012). Troll is not a scientific term and the word is also used to describe less offensive provocations, but it is a known phenomenon that people are very offensive to others in online discussions.

A large share of the users of social network sites does not participate in discussions (Schwarz, 2015). One reason is the harsh language in online political debates. Gustavsson (2010) interviewed young persons who had an interest in politics but were not active in any party or organisation. He found that they refrained from responding to political content in their Facebook feed for various reasons; to avoid the harsh language of online debate, to not show their political views to their employers or friends, because they did not see Facebook as an appropriate platform for political discourse and engagement, or they have a derogatory view of 'clicktivism'. Gustavsson writes that most participants expressed a resistance towards expressing political opinions on Facebook but that they still had taken part in off-line activities as a direct result of mobilisation using Facebook. They also reported that they were members of various groups on Facebook supporting political and social causes. Persons who were active in political parties or organisations used Facebook to communicate within their organisations and when they shared something with their network they choose content that they thought would engage their networks.

Anders Olof Larsson (2014) has studied Swedish and Norwegian Twitter discussions and he found that the Swedish discussions were more dominated by self-professed far-right

supporters. They were most willing to start conversations and they were dominating many of the discussions. Larsson writes that that studies in other countries also have shown that political groups that lack access to news media are more active on social network sites and concluded that it seems logical that that groups that lack access to traditional media outlets attempt to exploit free channels to a greater extent. Schwarz (2015b) found that the self-professed far-right supporters on Swedish Twitter are a smaller group of very active users. Discussions on issues related to migration and extremism were among the topics that created most engagement.

In the early days of Internet, studies found that it could have positive effects on democracy. These studies were criticized for using case studies to make technologically deterministic theories: That democratic advocacy groups had been successful in using social network sites is not enough to create a general theory saying that social network sites will have a positive impact on democracy. Instead, media technique should be understood as something that people choose to use in different ways. It can be used by organisations with democratic agendas as well as organisations with non-democratic agendas; it is a matter of how humans put technology to social use (Dahlgren, 2010). Digital media techniques have certain attributes that older techniques lack. For example, Internet allows the users to choose what information they want and when they want it and it makes it easier for lay citizens to express their thoughts publicly. Furthermore, social network sites are quick, free and people can share many different kinds of media content to their social group. However, it is a still matter of how humans put technology to social use. When a new media technique becomes a part of our everyday life it becomes invisible to us and we usually stop expecting the technique to have a strong effect in itself (Carlsson, Nilsson, Lindgren, 2015, Gustavsson, viral) – it is unlikely that anyone would write a thesis with the research question ‘To what extent can books be used to change opinions and attitudes in a democracy?’ When we are accustomed to a type of technology, it becomes clear that the skills different individuals or groups have when using the technology, is more important than the attributes of technology itself.

Theoretical Framework

Some researchers argue that the digital media system is so complex and multifaceted that theory on how mass media influence public opinion is outdated. Bennet and Iyengar (2008) writes that selective exposure is likely to decrease medias agenda-setting power and erode the influence of the tone or valence of news messages. Opponents have argued that a wider range of media choices have changed the dynamic of the media system and created more fragmented audiences, but that news media still influence which issues people see as important and how people perceive reality (Strömbäck, 2014, Shehata, 2015). Therefore, this thesis will investigate if and how news media influence political communication on social network sites.

The digital media system allows individuals to choose from a massive information output online and decide which news and opinions they want access. This makes it necessary to use theoretical models that acknowledge the activities of the audiences, and take a bottom-up perspective into account (Reese, 2010, Nisbet, 2010). This study will use a theoretical model that is used in ethnographic studies on how people relate to news stories (Walsh, 2004, Schrøder, 2013) together with a theory on how political content spread virally on social network sites.

Viral Politics



“When you take a great selfie, but remember that you have banned all social media”. This is an example of a so called ‘meme’, a small piece of entertaining information. They spread ‘like a virus’ when users of social network sites share them with their contacts.

A typical feature of social network sites is that it is easy to share media content. A common way to express a political opinion on a social network site is by sharing a piece of information that someone else has produced. Nils Gustavsson use the concept ‘Viral Politics’ to describe “the rapid sharing of evoking media content in social networks online in the realm of political and social activism” (Gustavsson, 2010). One reason that sharing political content has become a popular way to communicate a political opinion is because it quicker and easier to share a well-written statement than to write a one yourself (Schwarz, 2015). Social network sites are designed and programmed in a way that facilitates sharing of media content; it is easy to share media content and send it to a network, a contact or a group (Gustavsson, 2010).

The term viral was first used in studies on how a commercial message could spread to a large audience if individuals shared the message with their network. Henry Jenkins (2009) has argued that the metaphor of the virus implies that people are passive carriers of a piece of information and that it is not suitable as a term in social science. Instead he proposes the term ‘spreadable media’. Gustavsson agrees with Jenkins’ objections but argues that it is an advantage to use a term that is established in other fields of Internet studies. The word viral should not be interpreted literally; people make active choices when deciding what to share.

It is also common to change, remix or add a comment before forwarding the message on social network sites.

Gustavsson (2010) writes that when people share a political message to their social network, they do also “invest their personal status as an acquaintance - their ethos” and they therefore consider what the information says about them and how people will perceive them. The users are aware of their audience when sharing news or political information. Accordingly, they choose content that they believe that their network will find interesting and engaging. The sharing of media content gives social network sites the function of a social filter; people distinguish what sort of information that others in their social group find important from the vast amount of information that is available online. Many can see what sort of information their closest social group have shared, since social network sites are commonly used to maintain off-line relationship. But weak ties are also important on social network sites, and people also see content from distant acquaintances and from more temporary, social connections they find on social network sites.

One way that viral politics influence public opinion is by creating news stories in news media. The digital media system is characterized by convergence and social network sites are interconnected with news media in several ways. A substantial share of the content on social network sites originate from news media and events on social network sites can become news in news media (Jenkins, 2004, Chadwick, 2013, Shehata, 2015, Strömbäck, 2014, Dahlgren, 2009, Shirky, 2008). Political content that is spread virally on social network sites can become a story in news media and then it reaches a much larger audience and generates more attention and debate (Schwarz, 2015, Gustavsson, 2010).

Gustavsson (2010) used the concept ‘viral politics’ together with a concept called ‘temporal elites’ to describe how social network sites might provide a basis for a new type of political elite in competitive democracy. This study examines political communication, but not political mobilisation and participation. Therefore the concept of viral politics will be combined with theories from the field of political communication.

Framing Theory

“News is a window of the world. Through it’s frame, Americans learn on themselves and others, of their institutions and their leaders, and life styles and of other nations and their people. (...) But, like any frame delineate the world, the news frame might be considered problematic.”

(Tuchman, 1978)

Framing theory is one of the most important theories in the research of political communication today. The term was introduced by sociologist and ethnographer Edwin Goffman (1974). He defined a frame as a schemata of interpretation that individuals use to make sense their environment. Since then, the concept of framing has been used in different ways and in different fields of social science. In the field of political communication, the concept is used to study how news media describes policy issues and how these descriptions influence the public opinion. It is related to agenda-setting-theory that says that news media has the ability to influence the public agenda; issues that the news media focuses on will be seen as more important than other issues (Strömbäck, 2014, Shehata, 2015).

The theory departs from the notion that news media cannot mirror society in a completely neutral and objective way; myriads of complex events take place every day and it is not possible describe every event from every angle. Since journalists and editors have limited time and resources, they have to make priorities when deciding how to present the events. This is called framing. Gramson and Modigliani define a frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gramson and Modigliani, 1987, p 143). An example of this is that manifestations by controversial groups can be framed either as a question of freedom of speech or as a question of public order (Shehata, 2015).

Experimental studies have shown that framings influence which solutions people see as the most suitable to policy issues. For example, in Iyengar’s (1991) experiments two groups were shown news stories about criminality and unemployment. In one representation it was framed a social issues and in the other it was framed as results of individuals’ life choices. The representations had an effect on what people said were suitable solutions to criminality or

unemployment. Similar experiments have shown that framings that describe politics as a game or a sport make people trust less in politicians (Shehata, 2015). But there are different theories on why framings influence public opinion, how strong their influence is and on how a frame should be defined.

Framing consists of different approaches and there are several diverse, sometimes contradictory, theoretical understandings of framing within the field of political communication (Reese, 2010, Scheufele and Scuefele, 2010, Matthes, 2009, Shehata, 2015, Van Gorp, 2010). One approach study how advocacy groups and stakeholders try to influence journalists and make them use a framing that communicate their preferred meaning of issues and events. Another approach use narrative analysis to study how news stories use preconceived notions of how to order story elements and give these story elements meaning, here are frames seen as powerful units of discourse (Van Gorp, 2010). This thesis will use theories developed in qualitative studies on how news medias framings influence people's opinions and attitudes (Rose, 2012, Walsh, 2004, Schröder, 2013). This thesis will also use Robert Entman's definition of framing, which is frequently used in studies on how news framings influence opinions and attitudes. His definition is concrete and distinct: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p 52 – 53). This definition also captures the power dimension of describing and defining a policy issue.

Making Sense of Politics

On an individual level the psychological concept of 'cognitive schemas' is used to describe how individuals process information. A cognitive scheme can be defined as a cognitive representation of an object, or relations between objects, or as an outline of relevant attributes that helps us process information (Scheufele and Scuefele, 2010, Shehata, 2015, Walsh, 2004). The knowledge structure can be likened with a folder system; if we have given a certain topic a lot of thought it will have a well-organized filing system. However, a topic that we have not given much thought will be a thin, single folder (Walsh, 2004). When we encounter new

information we understand it as instance of a pre-existing category and we use previous knowledge to make sense of the new information. It is normal to be more willing to accept information that fits out preconceptions. This is called confirmation bias and comes from it being difficult to change one's cognitive schemes. To change a schema and accept contradictory information an individual must be motivated to do so. A person that lacks this motivation will handle contradictory information by ignoring it, treating it as an exception or altering it (Shehata, 2015).

One way to describe how news framing influences an individual's opinions and attitudes on policy issues is by saying that news framings makes different cognitive schemas relevant; they 'activate' certain thoughts. Scheufele and Scuefele (2010) use the example of terrorism to explain this. A terrorist schema is a cognitive representation of a terrorist and it could be connected to attributes like "Islamic background", "anti-Western" or "having military training". But we may also have a schema for causes of terrorism and measures against terrorism. Which framing the media uses will make some schemas more useful than others. If the media for instance uses a terrorist framing in a news story on the inhabitants of Gaza, some schemas will be more applicable and activate thoughts on how terrorism should be dealt with and what security we need, whereas a humanitarian framing would activate other thoughts. The framing does not change people's ideas; they make some ideas seem more relevant.

A framing must dominate the media to have an impact on the public opinion. It is most often the case that there are multiple framings insertion at the same time, even in one and the same news article. In these cases, the readers focus on the framing that suits their preconceptions (Shehata, 2015). There are different opinions on whether the frames influence an individual on a conscious or sub-conscious level. In this thesis, it is assumed that it is both. One one hand, an individual need to see news media as a reliable source to be affected by the framing used and a framing can also make a person want to actively seek out more information about a certain issue. On the other hand, the interpretation is shaped by the preconceptions a person has and they can be based on something learned a long time ago that he or she is not actively motivated to change.

No two individuals see the world the same way but many of our ideas and cognitive schemas are socially shared, according to ethnographer Katherine Walsh. Theories developed from

ethnographic studies of civic talk and qualitative studies on how audiences interpret news claim that different people interpret news events in different ways depending on the values and norms of their respective social groups (Walsh, 2004, Schröder, 2013, Rose, 2012). Walsh (2004) argues that psychological attachment to a social group affects how a person relates to news stories and politics. She further argues that socio-demographic variables, such as age, class, gender and ethnicity, are important for two reasons. Firstly because they influence what experiences an individual has had. Secondly, because they are important to the process of identification. Walsh (2004) uses the concept of perspective to explain why two individuals can interpret the same news story in two opposite ways. She describes perspectives as “the lenses through which people view issues. They are psychological knowledge structures that result from the interaction of identities, values and interests”.

When people express a political opinion they are aware of the social group they address and how they see them (Walsh, 2004). One way in which social network sites can influence people’s opinions is by creating new social groups where an opinion is socially acceptable. There is a debate in online ethnography if social identity online is different from social identity offline. Robert V Kozinets (2015) argue that online identities should be seen as fluid, flexible and temporary. He argues that the way people act in an online forum does not reveal how they act in other situations of their life. Others mean that social networks quickly have become part of our everyday social life. Garcia et al. argues that online and offline should be seen as one social world which is mediated by ‘traditional and technologically advanced modes of communication and sites of social activity’ (Garcia et al. 2009: 54). This study will follow Garcia et. al.’s definition. Firstly, because Facebook is commonly used to maintain social relations with families, colleagues and friends and people are therefore aware of these relations when they express themselves on social network sites (Gustavsson, 2013). Secondly, because the lives people have outside social network sites influence people’s experiences, conditions and social identity.

Methods

Ethnographic Content Analysis and Online Ethnographic Observation

This study will use two ethnographic methods to analyse the debate on Facebook and how it relates to news media. David Altheide's (1996) method ethnographic content analysis is an interpretive, qualitative approach suitable for large amounts of material, it will be used to analyse how news media framed the 'refugee crisis' and the posts that were virally shared on Facebook. The method ethnographic observation will be used to see how people debated the refugee crisis and how it was related to the news framings. The aim of an ethnographic study is to describe how people see the world and to give a detailed, thick and nuanced description of people's experiences, socially shared meanings and cultural context (Kozinets, 2015, Rose, 2012, Bertilsson, 2014, Beneito-Montagut, 2011).

The ethnographic approach implies that the analysis is merely an interpretation and not an objective description of reality. The ethnographer needs to use their own understanding as a tool to interpret a social environment and to understand how people see the world, and it is impossible to do so without using your own values and preconceptions. I have strived to follow the recommendations to be accurate, sensitive and reflexive towards the subject/object of analysis and to do a benevolent interpretation of the thoughts, feelings and opinions people have expressed (Beneito-Montagut, 2011, Kozinets, 2015).

There is no consensus on ethical guidelines for ethnographic observations on social network sites. The main conflict issue is whether social network sites should be seen a private forum that requires participants informed consent to the study, or as public forum (Bertilsson, 2014). There are several types of online forums on social network sites and Bertilsson (2014) recommends using three criteria from Eysenbach and Till (2001) to help researchers determine if the users consider a site or community to be private:

1. If a membership/registrations is necessary to be able to see the communication, the users probably see it as a private forum
2. The more members a site have, the more public it is considered
3. The rules, standards and purpose of a site determine if the users see it as private or public

Facebook requires registration and most users have a closed profile and share their communication with their connections, therefore the users are likely to see their profiles and their communication as private. However, in 2015, 70 % of the Swedish population were active Facebook users ('Svenskarna och Internet', 2015) and there are public groups and pages on the Facebook where the communication can be seen by all users, and these pages are likely to be seen as public. Posts from a public page are followed by discussions that can be seen by all users, and these discussions are shared repeatedly and publically. Since these discussions can be seen by anyone and are shared among a large number of users I have assumed that most users view them as public. Therefore, I decided to include discussions following posts from public pages, but to remove any data that can identify an individual user. I have not researched whether the comments are written by a so-called 'fake profile' because that is normally done by examining if a user has many Facebook friends, and if these connections are geographically clustered and connected to each other. When a comment is included as an example have I removed the name. I did include a parenthesis after the comment to mark if the commenter used a female (F) or male (M) name.

I took the role as a so called complete observer. This means that I have observed without participating myself and without conducting interviews with the participants. The advantage of this method is that it allows an observation of naturally occurring communication that is not disturbed or influenced by the researcher; the disadvantage is that interviews would have been helpful in developing the analysis (Bertilsson, 2014, Eksell, Magnusson, 2014). Observation requires the researcher to spend a great deal of time in the community to gain knowledge on people and their social world and to be able to describe it (Kozinets, 2015, Bertilsson, 2014, May, 2001).

An ethnographic content analysis aims to interpret the relevance, significance and meaning of symbolic representations (Altheide, 1996). A symbolic representation can be text and images or drawings, films, sound files, audio-visual presentations, links to websites, music and other digital artefacts (Kozinets, 2015). The analysis aims to understand contexts, underlying meanings, patterns and processes and it should not only capture what is written, but also the language's rhythm and style, the visual communication and the contextual nuances. Altheide writes that the method has an 'orientation toward constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings, and nuances' (1996).

The coder should have an inductive approach. An initial idea of relevant categories and variables may guide the coding but other categories and variables should be allowed to emerge throughout the study.

Collecting and Analysing Material from Facebook

This study examines posts from four public pages that represented strong opinions on whether Sweden should accept refugees or not, and the discussions that followed on posts from these pages. The arguments used and people's responses to them indicate how people debated the 'refugee crisis' on Facebook and how it related to news medias framings. In order to find Facebook pages that were representatives to common opinions, pages with more than 50,000 'likes' were selected. The 'like' is an expression of support or interest.

The view that Sweden should not accept refugees is represented by the party Sverigedemokraterna (SD) (109,207 likes) and their leader Jimmie Åkesson (109,415 likes)². SD's main political goal is to reduce immigration and their supporters are the most negative towards receiving refugees (Demker, 2012). The view that Sweden should accept refugees is represented by Malena Ernman (171,516 likes) and the party Miljöpartiet de gröna (MP) (64,872 likes). Malena Ernman is an opera singer who strongly advocates a generous policy on asylum and a humanitarian support to refugees. She is not affiliated with any political party (Ernman, 2015, Bjereld, 2015). MP advocates a generous asylum policy and their supporters are the most positive towards receiving refugees (Demker, 2012). MP was part of the government in 2015 but expressed strong adverse opinions against the government's decision to restrict the right to asylum in November.

The posts from Facebook and the number of likes and shares was collected between 8 April 2016 and 17 April 2016.

Facebook's search engine had to be used to find the majority of the posts, since Facebook hides most older posts. This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, Facebook's search algorithms are personalized. This means that my personal search history and the sites I have

² Some Facebook posts from Jimmie Åkesson's page are signed by Jimmie Åkesson and some refers about him in third person so I have assumed that SD's communications office also have access to this account.

visited affect my search results, and it is impossible for me to tell if this distorted the results. Secondly, Facebook's search engine does not accept alternative suffixes or compound words (which is common in the Swedish language). I initially searched for words that were common in news media, and then added words that were used in Facebook posts. I also search for nouns and conjunctions and they turned out to be the most useful search words.

- The following 36 search words were used (some of them are compound words in Swedish): *Asylum, refugee, refugees, refugee crisis, immigrant, immigration, mass immigration, inflow of refugees, migrant, unaccompanied, human, humans, Greece, Mediterranean Sea, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, September, November, January, the Öresund bridge, border, passport, control, passport control, help, to help, protest, to protest, refugee crisis, the refugee issue, a, an, and, it, but.*

The personalized search algorithms and the difficulty in matching the exact words used in the Facebook posts, make it difficult to tell if I have found all relevant posts. However, the aim of this study is not to recite every argument presented on these pages about the 'refugee crisis'. Finally, 166 Facebook posts matched the following criteria: To be posted in September 2015, November 2015 or January 2016 and to comment on one the following subjects: Refugees or the 'refugee crisis' and/or Swedish policies on asylum and/or other European countries policies on asylum.

Ethnographic content analysis was used to analyse the 165 Facebook posts. I did a close reading of the posts be able to give a description of the language's rhythm and style, visual communication and the contextual nuances. I coded which problem the posts described and what solution they proposed. I also coded if a post was complex and expressed several ways to interpret the 'refugee crisis' or Sweden's refugee policy. Regarding social identity, I examined if/how a 'we' was represented in the texts and how refugees were represented in relation to this. To see how the debate related to news media, I examined if a post commented on a news event and/or linked to in news media, and analysed if the problem definition and moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation news media presented was accepted, negotiated or rejected. I did also code the figures of likes and shares³. There is no numeric definition of what a viral post is. Also, Facebook does not release information on how many

³ A post can also be shared with a comment that rejects its content, but I have assumed that this is less common.

people have seen a post. Therefore, I choose to compare the 20% most shared and liked posts with the 20% least shared and liked posts. Each opinion and month was compared separately. To analyse the development of the debate was the 10 most 'liked' post per opinion and month also compared. It turned out to be better to compare 'Likes' than shares, since a number of posts had been shared from other users.⁴

Ethnographic observation was used to analyse the comments and discussions. To analyse the them, I read fifteen complete discussion threads and the most popular comments in the fifty most liked and shared Facebook post, that is in total around 6000 – 8000 comments, while taking notes to identify reoccurring issues and concepts (May, 2001). James Lull recommends interpreting the material by organizing it into internally coherent topics that can be used to illustrate conceptual points (Rose, 2012) and Kozinets (2015) and Bertilsson (2014) recommends that a hermeneutic reading where the researcher changes between closer readings of small extracts and and a reading of the full material. I used the dominant problem descriptions as topics and did a closer reading of comments and discussions where these topics were discussed. The discussion between opponents was examined by doing a closer reading of two discussion threads. Here did use the following guiding questions: What problems are described? What are the solutions? What is the tone of voice? How do people describe their opponents? How do people relate to news media?

Collecting and Analysing News Articles

News articles published in Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, Sweden's two most important quality newspapers and Aftonbladet, one of Sweden's most important tabloids (Shehata and Strömbäck, 2013) were used to see how the refugee crisis was framed in news media. Retriever Research, a database of newspapers, was used to run a full-text search for articles published in September 2015, November 2015 and January 2016 that used any of the

⁴ A number of the 165 post have been shared from other users, and then is the total number of shares displayed on Facebook. For instance, when Malena Ernman has shared a post from BBC do Facebook display that this post has been shared over 300 000 times in total, and not how many times it has been shared from Malena Ernman reposting. Therefor, comparing shares would be misleading, and excluding the shared posts would also be misleading, as some of the most 'liked' post is shared from other users.

words 'refugee', 'asylum' and/or 'immigration' as it is likely that one of these words were used at least once in relevant news articles. The search retrieved 812 news articles. More search words, such as 'migrant' and 'integration', and more newspapers would have given a richer material. However, it would have required more time to code and analyse. The aim of this study is merely to present a general overview of how the 'refugee crisis' was framed in news stories.

Initially, I read the headlines and introductions to determinate whether an article was relevant. I excluded doubles (a number of articles were featured on the front-page and therefor included twice) and irrelevant articles. Since this study focuses on news framings, political analysis, debates, letters to the editor and columns were discarded. 374 articles remained.

Robert Entmans's definition of framing was operationalized as two components: 1) problem definition and 2) moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation, and I made an initial exploratory analysis of a smaller sample and used headlines and introductions to identify a number of issue-specific framings. Five ways to frame the 'refugee crisis' emerged and they were used to code the other articles. I did mainly use headlines and introductions as a unit of analysis. One main framing was attributed to each article, to allow for a comparison over three months. Some articles used two framings and to determine the dominant framing I read the full article to decided on a dominant framing. There were some news articles that did not fit into either one of the five main framings and these were coded as 'other' to avoid going into too much detail on this part of the study. I also read a sample of full articles to be able to give a description of the language's rhythm and style, visual communication and the contextual nuances.

Empirical Findings

Many Facebook posts commented on news stories and provided an alternative way to interpret them, therefore the first chapter will present how news media framed the refugee crisis. The second chapter presents a general overview of the debate on Facebook. The third and fourth chapter present how each side understood the ‘refugee crisis’ and how they referred to media framings. The final chapter presents the discussions between people with opposite opinions.

News Framing of the ‘Refugee Crisis’

The table below displays the five main ways to frame of the ‘refugee crisis’ that emerged in the news articles.

TABLE 1

Problem definition <i>Framing</i>	Moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation
People are suffering <i>‘Humanitarian Framing’</i>	We have a moral obligation to help them
There are too many asylum seekers <i>‘Limited Resources Framing’</i>	We must protect our system and reduce immigration
Asylum seekers can be dangerous <i>‘Security Framing’</i>	We need to protect our society and our people
The refugees should be integrated <i>‘Integration Framing’</i>	Both society and refugees should contribute to this process
This is a European problem <i>‘European Framing’</i>	No actor was attributed with responsibility

The table below show the distribution of the framings in September, November and January.⁵

TABLE 2

Framing	September	November	January
'Humanitarian Framing'	93 (74%)	27 (19%)	29 (28%)
'Limited Resources Framing'	6 (5%)	30 (21%)	18 (17%)
'Security Framing'	0 (0%)	45 (31%)	17 (16%)
'Integration Framing'	6 (5%)	11 (8%)	14 (14%)
'European Framing'	13 (10%)	19 (13%)	16 (15%)
Others	8 (6%)	11 (11%)	11 (11%)
Total	126 (100%)	143 (100%)	105 (100%)

The 'Humanitarian Framing' - saying that refugees are suffering and in need of help - dominated in September, and receiving refugees was mainly described as something positive. In November, articles that portrayed a restrictive asylum policy as positive dominated; articles described that a large number of asylum seekers can harm Sweden's system or that asylum seekers are a potential security threat. There is more variation in January and no single framing dominated. Most articles used the 'Humanitarian Framing', the 'Limited Resources Framing' or the 'Security Framing', and news presented in these framings were also the most discussed on Facebook, therefor will I present them in more detail and describe 'Integration Framing' and the 'Humanitarian Framing' briefly.

⁵ As mentioned in the methods section, the ethnographic approach means that the analysis should be read as an interpretation, one main framing was attributed each article, some articles used two framings and it possible that another person would have done a different interpretation on the dominant framing.

The Humanitarian Framing

The main problem as described in the news articles in September was that refugees were facing an extremely difficult situation. It was often described as a humanitarian catastrophe similar to the refugee crisis after World War II. The articles described how people were dying in the Mediterranean Sea trying to reach safety in Europe. The newspapers published the image of Alain Kurdi and portrayed him as a symbol of the refugees who lost their lives on the way to safety. Refugees plights and their need to find a sanctuary was often illustrated with individual stories such as:

- My country is destroyed, every building in my town is destroyed
- We have been on the run for a long time and need to find a place to stay, for the sake of the children.

In September most articles framed European border controls as a problem for the refugees. A number of articles described how Hungary built fences and even used tear gas against refugees. It is described as a problem for the refugees and most often commented by refugees or refugee organisations. An example of a comment is a UNHCR spokesperson saying that "It is total chaos here; this is definitely no solution to Europe's refugee crisis." Xenophobia is highlighted in descriptions of other Europeans countries responses to the refugee crisis. One article about border controls in Slovakia has the title "They refuse to accept more" next to a large picture of three small children standing on a train station with teddy bears in their hands, smiling and waving to the camera. The image affects how you interpret a statement for a politician in Slovakia that they did not want "100,000 persons from the Arab world here". The countries that do not receive refugees are often described as xenophobic and uncaring.

The solution to the refugee crisis is that we help fellow human beings and that we have an asylum policy that gives people sanctuary. A major news topic in September is that the Swedish population want to help the refugees. This includes stories on manifestations, volunteers who help refugees, charity galas, opinion polls that show that more and more want to receive refugees and interviews with government representatives who pronounce that there should be more legal ways to enter Europe and seek asylum. Some articles present an image of Sweden as morally superior; they have highlight quotes were people in other countries say they wish their country was like Sweden and they are ashamed that it is not. There are also articles on how civil society in other countries are helping refugees and how Germany receives many refugees.

The 'Humanitarian framing' is also used in November and January. However, at that stage it is mostly used for articles on individual refugees who are in Sweden who explain what forced them to flee, or for individual refugees who are in Europe but cannot get to Sweden because of the new policy. The 'refugee crisis' is to a much smaller degree described as large humanitarian tragedy or catastrophe. In November and January there are also a number of news articles about refugees by human rights organisations, as well some politicians, who criticize the new asylum policies. These policies prevented refugees from seeking asylum, restricted the right to family reunion and made more difficult the integration due to the temporary residence permits.

The Limited Resources Framing

In early November the Swedish government presented a new policy to reduce the number of asylum seekers. The news media reported the Migration minister Morgan Johansson message: "Sweden's limit is reached". Most articles reproduced the wording and problem descriptions used by politicians from the government and the opposition (except SD). The main problem was that there were too many asylum seekers coming to Sweden and that the Migration Board cannot fulfil its mission and process the asylum applications and provide the asylum seekers with accommodation. Very few articles mention to the cost of receiving asylum seekers as a problem, it is more common to describe a threat to 'the system' or 'our system'. It is not specified if 'the system' refers to the welfare system or the system for receiving asylum seekers or something else. "We must take action to maintain the system we have," says Anna Kinberg-Batra the leader of the conservative party, otherwise the system will collapse. Sometimes a large number of asylum seekers are described as a threatening wave.

In this context, the solutions are measures to reduce the number of asylum seekers. Again, the articles present the proposals of the main political parties; the government presented two procedures aiming at reducing the number of asylum seekers in November, and proposed a set of policy changes that are described as the European Unions' minimum level. In January, a passport control at the Danish border is introduced. Articles also describe how the opposition demands a stronger border control and further restrictive asylum policy.

A number of articles describe how the police administered the border control. I included most of them in this framing because the border control is presented as necessary but not as

unambiguously positive; many articles mentioned that refugees are adversely affected and that there is criticism within the parties toward the new policies.

The Security Framing

"At least one of the suicide bombers in Paris is said to have come to Europe as a Syrian refugee through Greece." In mid-November 140 people were killed in Paris by terrorists from Daesh/IS. Afterwards, the security framing is more commonly used. There are articles on how militant jihadists are trying come as refugees into Europe and on the threat against Sweden. Some articles use a security framing to describe the Swedish border control. Later in November the security police raise the level of terrorist thereat against Sweden. The media reports that a terrorist is wanted. When he is caught, and arrested on suspicion of conspiracy to commit terrorist offenses, the newspapers named the suspected terrorist by name and there were large pictures of his face. After a few days many articles raised uncertainties. He was later released and the security police said they made a mistake.

"I saw with my own eyes how the foreign men were groping and touching the women", said a witness about reports that migrants have sexually harassed women in Cologne. In January there are several articles on Cologne and on how it has changed the debated in Germany. It may have affected the news stories in Sweden too because the security framing in January contains more graphic stories of violent asylum seekers. For instance, one article has a large picture from surveillance camera of a man who is beating a woman, and the article it says that he is an asylum seeker who was beating a woman in front of her children and that he bragged about it to fellow asylum seekers. The fact that he is a refugee is considered important in the context of the crime. It can be interpreted that being non-Swedish can explain these crimes. There are also articles on conflicts at accommodations for refugees, and on how the justice system has problems with criminal asylum seekers who claim to be underage.

The European Framing

In November and January there are more short articles describing refugees as a problem for the European Union that must be dealt with together with other member countries. It is described a political game where different political wills compete against each other. These articles do not give a representation of one opinion as better than another. Some news about border controls in Europe from January and November are included in this category because they describe border control as a problem for the European Union.

The Integration Framing

The ' Integration Framing ' describes integration as a process that can be problematic but that usually ends well. The problem is that the refugees are not integrated; that they do not learn Swedish and xenophobia in the Swedish society. Solutions are initiatives for integration. for instance, the football club AIK's decisions to bring together young persons, and that refugees take initiatives to quickly learn the language and get job and educations. Time is also described as a factor for integration. There are a number of articles with historical perspectives on immigration and emigration, for example, when many Bosnian Croat refugees came to Sweden and when more than a million Swedes immigrated to the United States at the end of the 19th century.

The ‘Refugee Crisis’ On Facebook

Political influence is a complex process and figures of ‘likes’ and shares alone cannot be said to signify successful political communication (Schwarz, 2015) but a message has to be seen to be able to influence someone’s attitudes and opinions. In this material some posts have reached a small audience and some have reached a very large audience; one post has been shared by over 20,000 persons and another post by 22 persons. However, the ‘refugee crisis’ did create a lot of attention on Facebook. In total, the 165 posts that Malena Ernman, MP, SD and Jimmie Åkesson wrote about refugees and asylum policy received close to one million ‘likes’. The table below shows the number of ‘likes’ per months.

TABLE 3

Total number of ‘likes’		
September	476 465 (50%)	MP and Malena Ernman
	140 938 (15%)	SD and Jimmie Åkesson
November	104 462 (11%)	MP and Malena Ernman
	93 120 (10%)	SD and Jimmie Åkesson
January	75 917 (8%)	MP and Malena Ernman
	69 546 (7%)	SD and Jimmie Åkesson
Total	960 448 (100%)	
Of which	656 844 (68%)	MP and Malena Ernman
	303 604 (32%)	SD and Jimmie Åkesson

The amount of ‘likes’ measure the level of engagement on Facebook and it does not represent the number of persons who support a certain opinion, the same user can ‘like’ several posts. More people interacted with posts about refugees and asylum policy in September than in November and January. The posts that expressed support to refugees have received around twice as many ‘likes’ than posts that expressed resistance to accept asylum seekers to Sweden, but the difference between the opinions is smaller in January compared to September. Facebook does not give any information about the number of times a post has been displayed, but the number is many times higher than the number of ‘likes’.

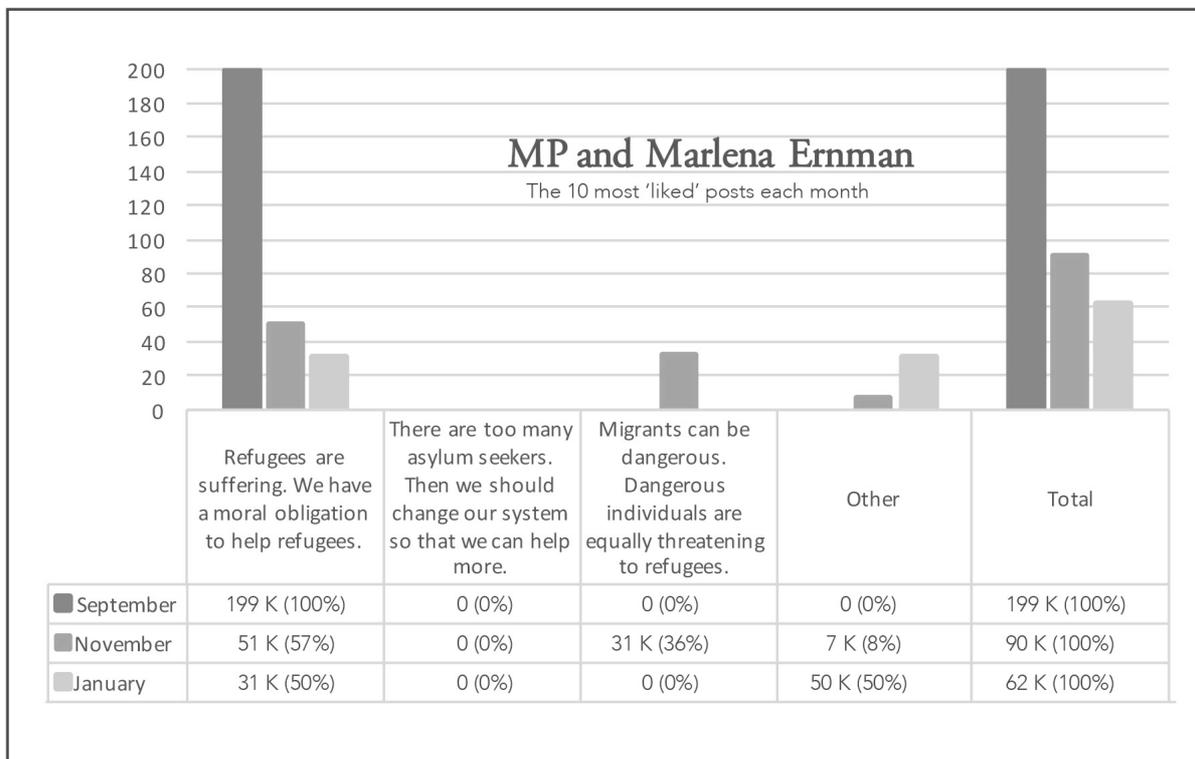
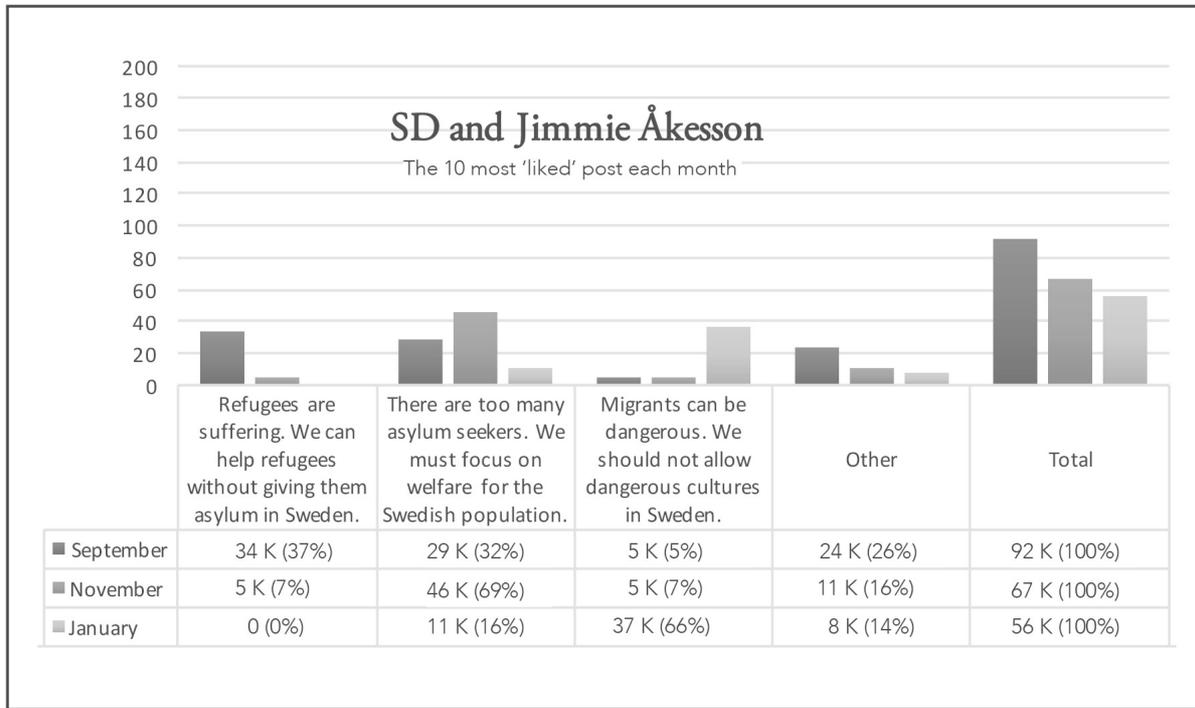
A large share of the Facebook posts comment on news events, and linked to news articles. However, it was common to refer to the problem news media described but to offer a interpretation in a way to suit a specific policy. For instance, the viral posts on terrorism could either say that we need to come together to grieve and not to respond with fear and divisions as the terrorists wants, or it could say that we need to protect ourselves from terrorism by reducing immigration. In many cases, the Facebook posts mention a problem that the news media described, but argued for a different moral evaluation and/or solution. The table below describes how the different sides negotiated news media's framings:

TABLE 4

Problem definition	Moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation
Refugees are suffering	<i>MP and Malena Ernman:</i> We have a moral obligation to help refugees
	<i>SD and Jimmie Åkesson:</i> We can help refugees without giving them asylum in Sweden
There are too many asylum seekers	<i>MP and Malena Ernman:</i> Then we should change our system so that we can help more
	<i>SD and Jimmie Åkesson:</i> We must focus on welfare for the Swedish population
Migrants can be dangerous	<i>MP and Malena Ernman:</i> Dangerous individuals are equally threatening to refugees
	<i>SD and Jimmie Åkesson:</i> We should not allow dangerous cultures in Sweden

This study used framing theory and not agenda-setting theory, but in this material, the power to set the agenda seem to be stronger than the power to advocate a specific moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. However, most people interacted with posts that expressed a will to help refugees in September when the humanitarian framing dominated. On the next page, two graphs show what issues Facebook engaged with each moth.

The two graphs below show the problem and solution mentioned in the ten Facebook posts most users have ‘liked’ each month. The figures represent the number of ‘likes’ these posts have received in thousands.



Amongst those arguing for a generous asylum policy, posts about helping refugees are the most 'liked' during all three months, but the engagement is lower in November and January. The most 'liked' posts arguing for a strict asylum policy vary more and are more connected to the issues news media bring up; different kinds of news are used to argue for a stricter asylum policy. Most people interacted with posts that expressed a will to help refugees in September 2015 when the 'Humanitarian Framing' dominated the news media saying that refugees are suffering and that we have a moral obligation to help them. Many Facebook users 'liked' Malena Ernman's posts to express their support to refugees in September. However, SD's supporters also reacted to the humanitarian framing. The two most viral posts in September (actually their most 'liked' posts during all three months) express that the SD wants to help refugees without giving them asylum in Sweden. In November, most of the supporters of SD liked post saying that there are too many asylum seekers and that Sweden should prioritize the Swedes. In January no framing dominated, but there were more graphic stories on asylum seekers committing crimes; the most liked posts from SD and Jimmie Åkesson were about asylum seekers committing crimes, as representatives of dangerous cultures. However, the methods used in this study can not determine to what extent the Facebook users were influenced by news media, and to what extent they were influenced by politics or events in society.

The comparison between the fifth most popular posts and the fifth least popular posts shows that the most popular posts allowed the audience to express their own thoughts or feelings on a policy issue. Many of the most viral posts evoked strong feelings such as anger, fear or sorrow, but they also have some positive elements. They were saying that something is wrong but that we can do something about it. Most of the viral posts expressed a will to create a positive change, and it was common to express an ethos that revolved around helping or protecting. But there were large differences in the descriptions of what the threat was and who was in need of help; for instance refugees could be seen as in need of help or as a security threat. A few of the most viral posts on news stories did not express will to create a positive change, some only described a threat of criminal asylum seekers, but in general most people were willing to 'like' and share posts that expressed a will to create a positive change in society.

Most viral posts commented on events that news media reported on; another type of posts were vivid stories that described a policy issue or society by telling a personal story or by

using an allegory, they were often shared from other Facebook users. A few jokes on xenophobia also become viral. In this material the most viral posts were written by individuals and not by organisations. There are eight posts that more than 20 000 persons have 'liked'; Malena Ernman has written seven of them and Jimmie Åkesson have written one (the posts they have shared from others are here excluded). Many who comment also write that they have warm and positive feelings for Jimmie Åkesson or Malena Ernman, that they are grateful for their existence, that they want to express their support and that they hope they are not concerned by the negative things people write to them.

The least popular Facebook posts, the ones that reached a small audience, were most often informative texts about the activities of an organisation. These posts did not give the audience anything that they could use to communicate their own opinions or feelings to their network. The least viral posts of SD describe their political ideas or activities in an informative way, for example information about an unknown politician holding a speech. MP produced the least viral posts in this material; none of the fifth most popular posts are written by MP. They are mostly writing about themselves in an informative way, such as: "We, the green, strive continuously in Sweden and in the EU to create legal ways to Europa and to give more people a change to a better life." Only 423 persons 'liked' this post and 35 shared it. The example is from September, so it is not a matter of MP's sympathizers being dissatisfied with the government's decision to reduce the right to asylum. It may be a strategic decision to use Facebook as a way to give balanced and factual information about the party's policy, but the rules Facebook have for creating viral content means that the audience need to interact with a post for it to spread virally. MP is aware of this, many posts end with a call to the audience to share or comment on the post, such as; "Do you agree? Share this image!" But the texts are not written in a way that engages their audience. Other studies have shown that SD has a less professional communication than other parties (Strömbäck, 2014), but compared to MP they have more knowledge on how to express themselves in a way that spreads virally.

That most viral posts express something positive be related to what ethos people want to express, but it is likely also related to Facebook having a 'like'-button as a way to express something at this time. That many viral post concerns news stories says something about media's agenda-setting-power on social network sites, but it also shows the value Facebook gives news articles in their algorithms. Since the algorithms are secret is it difficult to say how they influence what becomes viral and seen by a large audience.

Sweden Should Accept Refugees

Refugees Are Suffering. We Have a Moral Obligation to Help Refugees.

Those who support a generous asylum policy are often describing a common identification as human beings, and people often use words that unite people no matter what country they are from: words like humans, families, sons, mothers, daughters and fathers. An ironic letter to the editor becomes viral, in which a person writes that he is concerned that people have children because they take a lot of resources and it takes a number of years before they start paying taxes and contributing to society. When Swedish used as a common social identity it is done with a reference to Swedish ideals as humanitarian and egalitarian. Swedish is described as a social identity that include all people living in Sweden, and a person who come to Sweden as a refugee will become Swedish. Malena Ernman has a Facebook post that tells about how she is reading about a 19 years old boy who walks across a field in southern Serbia. "He dreams of being reunited with his Syrian family living in Strängnäs. 'They say it's cold in Sweden, but the people are kind' "The text continues with goes on that there is a large support for refugees in Sweden and Malena Ernman writes that the boy is a real friend of Sweden. A friend of Sweden ('Sverigevän') is a word used by the nationalist movement and the post reformulates it as part of an inclusive national identity. Nearly ten thousand people have 'liked' this post. A comment after this story that is an example of the quick connections social network sites can create, the boy's father responds: "Hey Malena ! (...) I can not find a word that can describe my feelings, and I do not know how I can thank you and your friends who comments here for your noble feelings, but I'm proud that I now live in the same country that you live in."

In November the singer Niklas Strömstedt writes on Facebook that the ability to identify with other human beings makes you wants to help refugees: "I am proud to live in a country where most people see it as indisputable that all humans are equal. But I am also scared. For the racism and hatred that make people put refugee camps on fire and say there is a "we" who have rights, and a "them" who have themselves to blame because they happened to be born somewhere else." Then he tells a story of how his mother let some displaced persons from India stay with them for a while, and that he as a child thought they were a bit strange at first but them became friends with them. He explains that he often thinks of this experience when he sees images of refugees "(...) every person we see on those pictures that flicker by is a human being like you and me, that we can learn from if we only dare to approach. A human

being full of thoughts, experiences, curiosity, fantasies, dreams and abilities". Malena Ernman has shared this Facebook post and in total over 100 000 persons have 'liked' this post and over 20 000 have shared it, so it describes feelings many people have. People who support accepting refugees express a will to help other human beings, and a fear of a stronger racism and hatred. Many who comment express dismay or shock at the strong resistance against the refugees; it is described as being heartless or as lacking the capacity and empathy.

“There are many heartless people in this country who pours their bile on the refugees – I met one a few hours ago that called them scum and wished that they would drown in the Baltic Sea. people are crazy :(“ (F)

Many of the Facebook posts Malena Ernman writes expresses feelings of anger and sadness on how refugees are treated. An example is a post from late September with an image of girl who has just stepped of a boat in the Mediterranean Sea, she looks scared and she looks at an official or functionary who is holding her hand. In the background there is a boat that other refugees are stepping out of and it is dusk or dawn because the sky is pink.

Malena Ernman A Syrian girl is reaching the shore in Greece. Yesterday was a 4 years old girl found dead on a beach in Turkey. Alexandra Pascalidou tells about a Syrian mother today who had to identify her three dead children. The youngest was 8 months. All had drowned. They did not create any headlines. They did not start any charity concerts. It happens every day... This have to stop now. How many more children must have to die?

This is an example of a Facebook post that evokes strong feelings such as anger, fear or sorrow, but that also has some positive elements. The positive elements in this example are that this girl on the picture has survived and the second is that there is a call that it is enough, this have to stop now. Many who comment do also express sorrow and anger on how the refugees are treated.

“I am ashamed to be a part of this Europe. People are drowning, people are met with violence, tear gas and closed borders. Where has humanity gone?” (F)

“It makes me cry when I read about this and think about what happens our fellow human beings who are fleeing. All these families who lose their children or a family member they love just

because we deny them safe way to travel. Moreover, all these idiots who are guarding their territory worse than animals.” (F)

“It is a world tragedy... So sad... “ (M)

“We will write about this in history books and say ... HOW THE HELL COULD THIS BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN!?” (M)

In a discussion after this post people discuss with each other about what could be done to help refugees, and to influence politicians and public opinions to promote better treatment of refugees. A topic is how different asylum policy could let refugees could come legally to Europe, so that they would not need to cross the Mediterranean Sea. People who have been refugees also participated in the discussion.

The most viral posts in September are positive, Malena Ernman express that there is a great desire to help the refugees, for instance: How people gather in Vienna to welcome refugees and that massive manifestations are held in Sweden and other countries. People comment that they feel hope when they see these posts:

“What a sight I will save this one to remember think of all the forces of good” (F)

“Great to see, we are many who are able feel empathy” (F)

“Sooo amazing, I am so touched by all this love and empathy.“ (F)

“There is still some hope for humanity! <3” (F)

In January does Malena Ernman still write about helping refugees, and she criticizes that people are still drowning on the way so safety in Europe, and that EU makes plan to prohibit charity organisations and volunteers from helping refugees in Greece. These Facebook posts do not become as viral as the posts about helping refugees from September when a humanitarian framing dominated in the news that media writes less about the refugee crisis as a humanitarian crisis can be a factor. The most viral Facebook posts in January are instead about helping the refugees to feel welcome in Sweden and to fight xenophobia and

nationalism. The risks of dehumanization are connected to the Holocaust, not having a common identity as human beings allows for killings and terror towards others.

There Are Too Many Asylum Seekers. We Should Change Our System So That We Can Help More Refugees.

The Facebook posts MP writes about the governments' decision to introduce a policy to reduce the number of asylum seekers is among the least 'liked' or shared posts in this material, "The government parties are that capacity in Sweden receiving system is unsustainable strained, and that the government has the responsibility to act on this". People who comment express that they are deeply disappointed with the decision. Malena Ernmans writes that we should be proud over having accepted so many refugees compared to other countries, but she also writes some post are critical to the term "system collapse" when it is being used in the news. For example, writing that "Europa is in top of the mountain of wealth – but almost no countries want to help..." and another Facebook post write that "the is a historic abundance of wealth. And a historic choice – WE CAN HELP". Some posts described the problem that Swedish system is not built for a large reception of asylum seekers, and that the regulations do not allow private persons to open their homes to refugees. But none of the posts that question the governments decision is among the most viral posts, so they attract a smaller audience. Those who comment agree with that there are resources and that the Swedish system could be changed, some compare the cost of receiving refugees with the figures for what the Swedish population annually spend on Christmas shopping or on travelling abroad, and they say that is a question of priorities, not of a lack of resources. There is a certain resignation when the Swedish policy changes and aims to reduce the number of asylum seekers.

Migrants Can Be Dangerous. Dangerous Individuals Are Equally Threatening to Refugees.

The Facebook posts that comment on terrorism do not see it as something caused by accepting refugees, but as see it as a threat to all humans and to all peaceful societies. Malena Ernman writes "We live in dark times and we are struggling to understand where the hatred comes from. Very many people are scared right now, and there are those who say that the hatred will win. But it will never happen for hatred can only hate. It can be nothing more. And we must never ever let fear and hatred take over for we so much greater than that." Over 30

000 persons have 'liked' this post. Those who comment express grief and they express support for peaceful and open society.

"We can not let hate and fear take over. Do not listen to those who advocate hatred. We must express our support to democracy and our fellow human beings." (F)

"We must never forget that the purpose of terrorism is to terrorize! That means to create uncertainty and fear that paralyzes an entire community." (M)

"We must stand united and strong in these difficult times , and let not the hatred prevail my thoughts go to Paris...." (F)

"It is more important than ever to distinguish between the religion of Islam from Islamist extremism. It does not lessen the disgust against this disgusting form of terrorism, but we can not and will not do all Muslims responsible for this terrible day, never ever." (M)

"The terrible happened in Paris is precisely what makes people fleeing inter alia, Syria right now. No one wants to live in fear." (M)

Many of the comments talk about not responding the way the terrorist wants us to do. People also express fear that the terrorist attacks will make it more difficult for refugees and that it will give raise to xenophobia and fear for Muslims. Terrorists are seen as a threat to normal peaceful humans, no matter where they originate from, they are not absolutely not seen as representative for refugees. It is more common to see terrorism as similar to the extreme right burns down refugee camps in Sweden and that also have a rhetoric that dehumanize certain groups. Another of the most viral posts in November say "There are refugees. And then there are terrorists. The former escapes from the latter."

Sweden Should Not Accept Refugees

Refugees Are Suffering. We Can Help Refugees Without Giving Them Asylum in Sweden.

In September, SD and Jimmie Åkesson write posts that express a will to help refugees without giving them asylum in Sweden. They said that if Sweden would stop accepting asylum seekers, the resources could help more refugees locally in their country of origin. The refugees that are close to conflict areas are described as human beings, as women and children severely affected by war and in need of help. People who are coming to Sweden or Europe to seek asylum are often described with words that refer to a situation: The uncontrolled flow of refugees, the migration, the mass immigration, the refugee crisis and the refugee situation. SD argues that very few of those who seek asylum are actual refugees: "Most of the boats do not come from Syria and a large percentage of the people on board are not fleeing from war, the boats are filled with people who, for completely comprehensible reasons, only want to escape poverty and misery, primarily in Africa, and to seek a better life in Europe."

The most viral post in September is an image where Jimmie Åkesson sits on his knees and talks to two small girls who are taken care of by a girl in blue UNHCR vest. Besides them stand two boys and there is a refugee camp and a desert landscape in the background. The text reads: "Last spring I visited the UNHCR refugee camp outside Amman in Jordan. It was an incredibly transformative experience to talk with people who have just lost their children, brothers, sisters and parents to war and terror. To see the mass of newly arrival - hundreds, maybe thousands - wait to register as refugees. Listening to the stories of the most horrific fates. It was impossible to hold back the tears." The text further explains that the journey strengthened him in the belief that contributions to areas close to war zones is the best way help as many refugees as possible. There are 60 million refugees and few of them can come to Sweden, therefore asylum is "ineffective and inhumane". All aid should be directed to the local area: "That is how we give effective help. That how we save lives." The text ends with a link to a UNCHR's fundraising for refugees. Jimmie Åkessons' text accepts parts of the problem definition that is presented in news media at the time: That many people have becomes refugees as a result of war and conflict, that they need help and support and that we as fellow human beings have a moral responsibility to help. But the text is negotiating the solution; a strong message is that our resources are not sufficient to both let asylum seekers

come to Sweden and to help refugees in refugee camps in the middle east. There is a tension in the text between a language that on the one hand humanizes by using words such as children, brothers, sisters and parents, and on the other hand talks about the mass of people. SD has also shared this post and nearly 26 000 people ‘liked’ it and over 4 000 shared it. Some of those who comment agree that refugees could be helped without coming to Sweden.

“I have given both clothes and toys to refugees. but I still feel that Sweden in the current situation do have not room for more. So until it is order here and we will help more there. Simple and logical.” (M)

“If the whole of Europe had jimmys refugee policy, we would also be able to help very poor people in Africa and not only refugees, do you get that or not?” (M)

However, most comments are not about helping refugees, so it is difficult to say if people have ‘liked’ the post to express a support to refugees, or to voice a disapproval against the general support for accepting refugees that is expressed in September in Sweden. Many write that it is impossible for Sweden to help 60 million refugees, and some argue that the support for refugees in news media and in public opinion is excessive and not in proportion to how other people are suffering; there are other children in world that are starving and being mistreated, and Swedes also have problems.

“The image of the little child laying drowned on the beach, was incredibly touching. No normal person could see the photo and not reacting with sadness and compassion. Without in any way neglecting or reducing the horror of the picture, I must say that this photo came as a godsend gift to the politically correct. Thousands of children die every day around the world for different reasons. War, famine, disease, etc. There are no photos of them. The photo of the little drowned the boy is now used by PK Media in a frivolous manner. The photo does not tell the truth about the mass immigration. How many % of the refugees coming to Europe are of his age.” (M)

It is common that people argue like in this example, and write that the image of Alain Kurdi does not symbolize the refugees because most people who come to Europe were not children. Many also argue that Sweden should help the Swedish population first, here is one example.

“Why is it always that we should be helping other people, there are poor Swedes without jobs, there are homeless Swedes without a home, we have Swedish elderly people who live in misery.

As long as this is going on in the country Sweden then all the tax money will go to fix this!
Only when we have solved our own problems, should we help others!” (M)

There are also some people who have the same opinion but also express a strong contemptuous attitude towards immigrants, and they are not affected by the humanitarian framing that dominate the news, here is one example:

“Ugh so much work this mass invasion creates. Think of how many mosques that have to be built, all shops to be selling Arabic food, all the baths that must be adapted so old hags can swim with their clothes on, all officials must to figure out all the welfare they should be given, all new buildings and all new correctional officers that needs to be employed etc. Yes the list could be longer, but for how long will we taxpayers accept this?” (M)

SD often describes asylum seekers as ‘men with relatively good resources’ (in Swedish: ‘relativt resursstarka män’). This description is first used in a debate article by Jimmie Åkesson called "Immigration Is Not Effective Help". A direct translation of the word for having resources would be “resource-strong”. It is a compound word that it used to describe middle and upper class groups and individuals who have money and other resources such as education or cultural capital. That *strong* is included in the word helps bring forward the following argument: People who come to Sweden to seek asylum are strong men who have money and other forms of resources, they do not need our help, the help should go to the vulnerable women and small children instead. The men, women or children are described as competing groups, and not as related or connected.

After September SD argue for assistance to refugees to a much smaller degree, and they also stop writing texts that express complexity and say that there are several different ways to see the ‘refugee crisis’. However, they maintain a connection to the UNCHR by taking photographs in front of their logotype when handing out leaflets that aims to discourage refugees to come to Sweden. When the humanitarian framing dominates SD and Jimmie Åkesson almost exclusively link to their own site, nationalist news sites and debate articles in news media, but when news media starts writing more about the problems caused by asylums seekers they mainly link to news media instead.

There Are Too Many Asylum Seekers. We Must Focus on Welfare for the Swedish Population.

What news media calls a threat to the system is seen as a threat to the welfare system by SD and their supporters. In November SD argued for a stronger policy than the one the government proposed: "What we need now is a total ban on asylum immigration, citing the serious conditions we face. Now it's time to prioritize jobs and welfare in Sweden!" That the system cannot tolerate more immigration and that more police is needed are often mentioned in the same sentences. "With increased resources to the police, they can begin the deportation of illegal immigrants and thus once again lay the foundation for a sustainable Sweden." Many posts express that the immigration will undermine welfare, and that immigrants should not have access to social resources and many who commented agreed. People also express their resistance to immigration in relation to welfare, they say that it is the social allowance that makes people come to Sweden and Europe, and this a way to take what belong to us who have worked and paid taxes. It is time to put a stop to immigration and to help our own kind. There are some discussions about whom amongst the Swedes should be given more resources. A man writes a post arguing that money should go to help Swedes like he himself who has gone astray and gotten in a bit of trouble, rather than to foreigners. After that follows a discussion between people who think that drug addicts and criminals have themselves to blame and should face the consequences of their choice and others who argue that there may be things in one's childhood that one cannot influence and that drug addicts and criminals should get more help from society. In all discussions people express that old age pensioners should get more resources, they have worked hard and paid taxes throughout their lives and they have built the welfare system.

When more news articles describe refugees as a threat to the system or as a security threat SD and Jimmie Åkesson use tougher rhetoric. They also link to news articles that describe problems with the large reception of asylum seekers.

In January SD publishes a post with the text "It's not fair that single women should have to provide for wealthy men from Syria" together with a picture of Jimmie Åkesson, wearing suit and looking resolute against a blue background. This is an example of the harsher rhetoric, now the asylum seekers are described as wealthy men instead of 'men with relatively good resources'. The most 'liked' comment under this post is a comment in which a woman says

that she has had large difficulties with her economy as a single mom and that it is unfair that “the newly arrived get everything”.

“I have been single for many years, have always have count every penny, got into a debt anyways of course because I had to choose between food or a bill I have four children (...) Sure as hell it is galling when the newly arrived get everything....” (F)

There are some similar comments in other discussions, were women describe that a low-paying job, being single with children, and seeing others getting allowances makes them oppose receiving refugees. Here is another example:

“I'm so tired of that as soon as a person express a will help our own or deal with our problems in Sweden, then people call you are racist... That is not the case. Of course we want to help, but do we have enough resources? There is also something to think about ... Someone commented that the Swedes who live in misery have chosen to do so, no, I do not think so... It you're a single mother and I work in, say, health care that is so brutally underpaid, then there will be not much money left, but no one chooses to live in misery... Neither job or accommodation grow on trees so you just have to work on and denying your children everything their friends get... Yes, I'm an assistant nurse and single. I have a lease that takes more than half of my salary but I have no choice ... Then you can get angry when you have neighbours who do not work but stay at home 24/7 and not born here and has both car, boat, mopeds and a quad bike.. I'm not kidding. And I'm not racist, just extremely tired to fight and get nothing for it... Do not worry about throwing shit on me and my comment, I'm not going to answer...” (F)

Among those who comment on SD's posts some write that they have jobs that are underpaid, or that they have seen how difficult it can be to live as an old age pensioner, and most people use a language that is associated with a lower education. The personal stories on not having enough money are most often written by women; it is unusual that men describe themselves as not having control over their economy.

Migrants Could Be Dangerous. We Should Not Allow Dangerous Cultures in Sweden.

The other main argument against receiving refugees is that they might be dangerous, or represent dangerous cultures. During all months SD and their supporter warn that immigration will lead to crime and terror and it comes as no surprise to them when news media report on

the terrorist attack in Paris, the sexual assaults in Cologne and on criminal asylum seekers in Sweden. SD shares many articles on the crimes immigrants commit and describe them as a consequence of accepting asylum seekers that support terrorism and represent a culture with a negative attitude towards women. People who comment often express that the crime is terrible, the only good thing about it is that those who propose accepting refugees will see proof of the negative consequences.

In November, when the security police raised the level of the security threat, SD's spokesperson for border control commented on the news: "It is time that the other seven parties and the media are listening to what we in the SD says, for the simple reason that the SD have proven to be exactly the right in everything we have said on immigration and the need for border controls." Many who comment write that it is not certain that the accused terrorist is guilty, but there are also many who assume that he is:

“hate to say/write this again, but ‘That's what we said!’“ (F)

“Whether this is true or not, there are certainly several hundreds just waiting to kill us.” (M)

“Yes, now it happens that we "pessimistic" has said all along would happen.” (F)

That people have a strong cognitive schema about a threat from terrorists can explain why many are convinced the accused terrorist is guilty. Many who made comments here expressed that they felt a strong threat. They experienced this threat as much more personal than the ones who argued for a generous asylum policy who see terrorism as a threat to an open and democratic society. Here the comments express that terrorists have targeted them and their social group - they want to kill us.

When the news media begin to write articles about criminal asylum seekers in January SD and Jimmie Åkesson link to some of these articles. They write that crimes committed by immigrants is a situation the state must handle better, especially that groups of immigrant boys and men commit sexual abuses of women. The most ‘liked’ post is when Jimmie Åkesson speaks out against the police not reporting if immigrants commit crimes. "Sweden now need an independent commission to sort out what is going on around Sweden when many of serious sexual molestation committed by large groups of immigrant men eventually

come to light." It is said that those who come to Sweden for asylum have foreign values that threaten society and especially women. Many comments expressed anger and sorrow that a safe and secure Sweden has disappeared and that immigrants are "raping our young Swedish girls". The sexual assaults become very strong symbolic questions, expressing that the people accepted as asylum seekers are not innocent victims, but perpetrators and a threat to our society and our women and girls. The SD also uses something that can be interpreted as a sexual language in other matters when they argue that "local government has the right to say no" to asylum seekers. In January do SD also share a post from the SD-politician Mattias Karlsson that describe a war-like situation. It is amongst the least 'liked', but the most shared (it includes shared from Mattias Karlsson's page) so it attracts a smaller audience:

“Right now are lots of children in the Third World dying because they do not have access to clean water, food and basic medicines. A significant part of the money we had set aside to help them is now thrown on young men with relatively good resources from the Middle East who murder, rape, desecrate and rob our people to an extent that we probably have never seen before (...) I ask myself if there is anything I could have done more or less of something I could have done differently to stop this ? I knew it would be like this. Why could I not get people to listen and to understand ? (...)”

The text says that many who come here might be good people but too many of them act like a victorious army, abusing a defeated population, then the text gives graphic descriptions of several violent crimes, such as a woman being raped by a group of immigrants. Mattias Hans Karlsson express an anger against the establishment which he sees as responsible for murder, rape, and dying children and the text ends with a quote from Churchill that encourages people to fight to win at any cost. It is the rhetoric that most resembles the more aggressive comments that are posted under the SD's posts.

Most of the posts on crime are followed by aggressive comments. It is often difficult to determine the comments are directed against the individual perpetrators, or if they are seen as representatives for a group of homogenous people that have values and opinions that cause criminality. Below are two examples of comments on Facebook post about the terrorist threat against Sweden in November.

“If I could have a say in this, they should close the borders so we do not get more idiots and send home those who are already here. Chase them out of the country.” (F)

“Get them in line and and shoot them!!!!” (M)

Many comment are written in a way that makes it difficult to tell what the anger is directed at; is it the terrorists or the immigrants should be chased out of the country or killed? Some comments use a derogatory language and express contempt and disgust against immigrants, and use words like the pack, the monkeys, those who makes our country dirty, and the bearded children. Some persons who comment use this kind of language, but most people do not. It is however very rare that someone objects to derogatory language or expressions of contempt and disgust against immigrants. Other Facebook users accept this language and it is also not subject to moderation. I only find one case were someone who seems to sympathise with SD protested against a derogatory language. The example below is unusually aggressive statement from a discussion thread on terrorism:

“Kill everyone who looks Arabic!” (M)

“Is this not tarring everyone with the same brush? You're no better than the terrorists with this idea...” (F)

“Muslim shit are tarring everybody with the same brush, that is why they kill everybody who is not following the Koran. I hope that you soon will become one of their toys when they perform their hobby: Rape.“ (M)

I do not interpret the woman who made this objection as someone who has come to SD discussions threads protest against their politics, because it likely that they would protest more against the aim to kill and less to the generalization. The responder might see her as a protester, because he talks to her in a way that is more typical for the ways discussion between opponents can look. This comment is unusually violent, but it is common with aggressive comments towards foreigners and asylum seekers.

People who comment often express that they are not racists, and that it not racism that makes them oppose refugees. Here is one example: "Now it is time for Sweden to wake up, I'm not a

racist, I have a foreign wife, but this will lead to the downfall of Sweden if it continues!" But some of the people who write that they are no racists also use a derogatory language and express of contempt and disgust against immigrants. A number of them write that they have been given "the racist-card" when they have tried to explain why immigration will harm Sweden. They mean that calling them racists is wrongful because they do not say that skin colour and genetics are important. As long as you say that a persons' culture or religion is the problem, and not the skin colour or genetics, the expression of disgust against a group of people is acceptable. One person writes: "It is not racism to hate all the foreigners, you are racist if you make a difference between people with different skin colour and genetics and see them as different then us, the Swedes."

Debates Between Opponents

The concern has been raised that people would only debate with other who share their opinion on social network sites. This was certainly not the case when the 'refugee crisis' was debated on Facebook - on the contrary, there are a lot of debates. But it is very rare with deliberate conversations, and in the 15 discussion threads I have read have no person expressed a modified opinion after talking to someone with another opinion. This can of course have happened in any of the other discussions, and it is not a goal democratic that all citizens should agree on all policy issues. But it is rare that people do express a further understanding of each others opinions and attitudes.

According to the theory of cognitive schemas do people need a motivation be willing to change their preconceptions. Here do most people join discussions precisely because they have a strong opinion on an issue, therefore is it not likely that they are motivated to change their understanding. None of these discussions took place on "neutral ground", they are all following Facebook posts that expressed a strong opinion on how the 'refugee crisis' should be handled. The persons who participate in the discussions on the one hand people who follow this person/organisation, and on the other hand, people have come to this discussion thread to express their support to a different policy. It is much more common to voice a protest, then to try to influence the opponents.

The debate is most intense in September. Then there are many more who comment on the opposing sides Facebook posts in September, there are more comments that protests and these comments have more 'likes'. To present examples of what the debate between opponents could look like have I mainly used two discussion threads that have been presented in earlier chapter. One discussion follows the post where Jimmie Åkesson writes about visiting a refugee camp in Jordan, and argues that Sweden should stop receiving asylum seekers and support refugees where they are. The second is a discussion that follow after a post Malena Ernmans writes about that children are drowning in the Mediterranean Sea. I have also used examples from other threads, and other months to describe how the discussion developed.

Malena Ernmans Facebook post on how children drown in Mediterranean Sea are followed by are many comments that seems to be written with provocation as their primary purpose, such as "When 'Swedish' Muslims stabs you in the back because you're a Christian infidel what do

you do?" or "EVERYONE to Sweden of course, the country with the best allowances 😊" or "Mm, no one feels sorry for the 6 Swedish children who drowned in August in Sweden." Many people who seek out the discussion writes that the refugees are a risk, an invasion or a conspiracy and that the ones who come to Sweden to seek asylum are a security treat. There are numerous discussions that start with a provocation. Here is one example.

“A mother and her son were murdered at Ikea (frown emoticon) Lisa Holm was murdered. A man in Derome was murdered. Etc. All of the non-Swedes. But it is not worth feeling sorry for their relatives. Or is it?” (F)

Responses

“What are the events to do with this? The difference between racists and humanists is that humanists feel sorry for all the people, while the racists just feel sorry for the "right" people.” (M)

“Should we let children die in the Mediterranean because someone from the Baltic States committed a crime?!?! You've lost me completely - what is the logic here?” (F)

“People fleeing war and terror, how is it related to these tragic crimes? Are you not seeing what is happening - adults and children risk their lives to escape terror – do you not have any empathy at all?” (M)

“The focus of the media is so distorted. I was close to dying last year because there there were competent staff at the hospital when I came in. But I guess that you do not care about if I live or die?” (F)

Here the discussion starter gets questions that are challenging her ideas, but they are not using a harsh language or offending her. She is not answering those questions but instead she changes subject and accuse the other of not caring that she was dying last year. There are remarkably many exchanges that looks similar to this one. They start with a provocation, ignores responding to questions, and instead adds new provocation. One person comments that Malena Ernman and Henrik Schyffert (a comedian who also expressed support for refugees) only want to advertise themselves. She is questioned, and people ask why celebrities should refrain from commenting on important social issues, and why she think people who want to help other have is a hidden agenda, but she reacts very strongly, and

accuse the others of bullying her. Many of those who protested against refugees behave in similar ways. Someone wrote a provocative comment saying that the celebrity elite ignore the homeless, then a few people answer that there also are also galas and volunteers to help the homeless, then the thread starter writes that the others are quick to judge him for his opinions and he writes "You have no idea who I am". A comment say that children drown in the Mediterranean Sea because their parents do not care about them, this is followed by criticism (which do get a bit offensive, and question how capable she is of taking care of her own children) and ends with the thread starter writes "What do you know about me? NOTHING!". It is not very substantive discussions on the refugee crisis. While most of the viral Facebook posts expressed a will to create a positive change and to help or protect, do many who protest against receiving refugees write things that not give any social status, such as to mock the parents who lost their children under a post about children drowning. If these commenters make strategic choices in which image they want to give of themselves on social network sites, they need to belong to an alternative social community were these opinions are socially accepted. It must also be that they do not feel they have anything to lose to express themselves in a way that is not accepted in the larger society. (They can also be hiding behind a fake account.) The aggressive and provocative comments are fewer than those that support refugees and expressing sadness or anger that children have drowned and discussing political solutions. But they still characterize the discussion climate.

People have also come to SD and Jimmie Åkessons' Facebook posts to to protest, rather than to discuss. People are writing slogans from demonstrations as "No racists on our streets" or "Protect the right of asylum! Open legal ways to Europe!" SD's sympathizers complain that leftists and trolls are trying to provoke them. But it is more common with specific questions, such as asking people to comment on that UNCHR have expressed rejected Jimmie Åkessons' statement that asylum takes resources from refugee camps, or to ask if the alternative budget proposals SD have made have made have given more resources to pensioners. Many with a background as refugees' protest against Jimmie Åkessons' argument that the best policy is to help refugees on the spot.

“It is difficult to get help on the spot if a group chasing you with weapons and write your name on a hit-list on the doorstep of a mosque. (This happened to me and my family). Then it probably does not matter how much "help on the spot" you get, you are going to escape like me and my family. Get asylum money that me and my family. Start a business like me and my

family, study to become civil engineer like me and my sister and pay back to society. So please try to use your imagination before you give this the dead 'help on the spot' argument." (M)

There are a number of similar comments about have come to Sweden as a refugee, and now having an educated and a good job. Many people say that I see myself as a Swedish and an asset to Sweden. To contribute financially to society and to not a be burden to society is central to the argument. There are also a number of discussions on who is Swedish, here are some responses to a person writing asking if Jimmie Åkesson see himself as more Swedish then a person with a foreign background.

"Quick question? Has Mr Åkesson has ever accused you of being less Swedish than himself? Or do you take it for granted because the media say so." (M)

"Swedish is not something you become, it's something you are born into. You can become a Swedish citizen but not ethnic Swede, just as I can be Kurdish or Thai." (F)

"27 years in Sweden but has not yet learned to spell correctly how can you be running a company.Hmmm I think you 're lying" (M)

"I must say that he wrote much better than many of the native Swedes who participate in these discussions. Additionally, who are you to throw stones in a glasshouse? You managed to do the three errors with puncturing in your short text." (F)

The last comment had 37 'likes', and it is common that witty comments about how SD's sympathizers that think they are better then people with a foreign background gets 'likes'. Often do these comments imply that those who support SD are stupid or un-educated. It is also an example of how other topics, here spelling, soon emerge in the discussions. When two people have a discussion here is also the case that others join in, and it is common to use all possible sorts arguments for or against receiving refugees: and the discussion takes very quick turns: someone say start talking about what is in the Koran, somebody asks about conversation starter ever have harmed a Swedish person, someone say that Christians do not follow everything in the Bible, someone say that her dad came to Sweden as an engineer from Germany and that there is better to have a job then to apply for asylum, someone says how that turkey received 2,4 million refugees, someone says that the conversation starter drain the

Swedish economy. Here is an example of responses to a comment arguing that Sweden should accept asylum seekers.

“(….)We can certainly take a lot more people, but under what circumstances do you think it would be? As I wrote so there is a lack of housing and jobs, as well as care for both physical and psychological symptoms, there is also a lack of resources in schools. Under which conditions should the refugees in Turkey do you think? We could help more here, but then it will be in much simpler forms.” (M)

“Are you saying that we should open the gates and take in 60 million to give them job training and housing? How is this possible we already have a housing shortage and a shortage of work in Sweden?” (M)

“Innocent people die in our country because we want to "help". Our culture and our traditions are criticized by those we have helped. Where's the gratitude??” (F)

This is a short extract of a discussion and the first person is an example of a someone who argues against receiving asylum seekers but is interested in having discussion and makes an effort to understand the people he is talking to. Then others join in, and express very strong opinions that all refugees will come to Sweden and the foreigners are bad or dangerous. On issues such as what it means to be Swedish, or if migrants are dangerous, do people have very different understandings. The discussions on economic consequences of immigration can sometimes stay on a factual level, here can people understand each other even if they do not agree.

When talking to people who have other opinions there are often, but not always, a harsh tone. One reason there is a very vocal group that express xenophobic opinions and use a very aggressive rhetoric, but those who protest against SD and Jimmie Åkessons' Facebook posts can also have a very condescending tone, and for example call their supporters idiots and retarded Nazis. When people are sharing content they may be aware of how it expresses their ethos and what signals it gives to their social group, but this might be less important for people who participate in discussions. Even if the discussions can be seen by anyone it is not given that their social network will see what they write. However, people can see that others who agree with them are reading the discussion, because protesting comments can get

a number of 'likes'. Therefore a driving force can be to express yourself in a way that others who agree with you will find appealing.

Further research

The Facebook debate on refugees is polarised. It is clear that the both sides have very different ways to see the 'refugee crisis' and that it is rare with deliberate discussions and exchanges between people with different opinions. But the method used in this analyse cannot tell if this is created or reinforced by social network sites. Further research is needed. As previously stated, digital political communities are not per se negative for a democracy, it is not a democratic objective that all people should share the same opinion. However, it is important to know if social network sites can create a more polarised politics.

It was rewarding to study the debate on Facebook in relation to news media; the debate commented on news event, there were connections between how news media described refugees, the level of engagement on Facebook and the tone of voice in the debate. However, the methods used in this study cannot tell if the Facebook users were influenced by news media, by politics or events in society. As the media landscape is changing, more research is needed on the relations between social network sites and news media. In this study, I saw that many users interacted with Facebook posts that accepted the problem news media described, but the given information was interpret in a way that suited a specific policy. It indicates that news medias agenda-setting power is important on social network sites. The strong support for refugees when a 'Humanitarian Framing' dominated, indicate that a dominant framing still has the power of influencing public opinion, even though people can choose from a massive information output online and decide which news and opinions they want to access. But the way political information on social network sites influence people's opinions and attitudes probably vary between between different groups of users, and one important factor is how people value news media compared to political information on social network sites.

Especially among the group of persons protesting against accepting refugees, many expressed distrust against news media, and some even called it propaganda. Compared to the Facebook post, news media gave a more complex description of the 'refugee crisis'. If one group rely on political information from social network sites, there is a risk they will find less many-sided and complex information on society (unless they have a very diverse social network).

In total, the 165 Facebook posts analysed have received close to one million ‘likes’. This shows that Facebook is an important arena for political discussions in Sweden. The fact that these discussions take place on a privately owned company’s platform has some negative consequences. It would be easier to gain knowledge on how social network sites were used to change people’s opinions and attitudes if Facebook would be more transparent and open to be researched, both when it comes to finding material and in stating how news and political information was valued in their algorithms. Private Facebook conversations should of course not be accessible for research, but it is problematic that we lack knowledge on large public discussions involving hundreds of thousands of citizens.

As we saw in the introduction, there are various ideas on what a democracy should be, and what role news media should play in it. When it comes to news media, there are a number of policies aiming to bring reality closer to those ideal. In Sweden we have the public service and economic support to the press, which aims to support citizens’ possibility to find news and information on politics and society, and we have laws and policies to prevent issues such libel, defamation and hate speech. On Facebook there is information that would not be allowed in news media, there are problem with threats, libel, defamation and hate speech and also with spreading of false and misleading information. At the same time, social network sites allow a public discussion on politics and society that ordinary citizens can participate in and this is, or could be, of great value for a democracy. An important area for further research is how policies and regulations could limit the negative sides of social network sites, and help contributing to making them more of an asset for a democracy.

References

- Altheide, D L. (1996). *Qualitative media analysis* [Elektronisk resurs]. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE
- Barberá, P., Jost, J.T., Nagler, J., Tucker, J.A. & Bonneau, R. 2015, "Tweeting From Left to Right: Is Online Political Communication More Than an Echo Chamber?", *Psychological Science*, vol. 26, no. 10, pp. 1531–1542.
- BBC. 2016. Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts. [ONLINE] Available at:<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>. [Accessed 20 July 2016].
- Beneito-Montagut, R 2011, 'Ethnography goes online: towards a user-centred methodology to research interpersonal communication on the internet', *Qualitative Research*, 11, 6, pp. 716–735 20p, CINAHL Complete, EBSCOhost, viewed 15 May 2016.
- Bertilsson, J (2014) 'Netnografi – en metod för att studera internetbaserad kommunikation' in Eksell, Jörgen & Thelander, Åsa (red.) (2014). *Kvalitativa metoder i strategisk kommunikation*. 1. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Bjereld, U, 2016, 'Om Malena Ernman och myten om vänstervridningen av SVT i juletid' <http://ulfbjereld.blogspot.se/2015/11/om-malena-ernman-och-myten-om.html>, viewed on 15 April 2016
- Boyd, D and Ellison, N (2007). 'Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), article 11.
- Boyd, Danah (2008b). *Taken Out of Context: American Teen Sociality in Networked Publics*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California–Berkeley, Berkeley.
- Brandel, T, Eriksson, G, Delling, H, (2015)' Från öppna hjärtan till gränskontroller', *Svenska Dagbladet*, 14 november 2015
- Buckels, E, Trapnell, P, & Paulhus, D 2014, 'Trolls just want to have fun', *Personality And Individual Differences*, 67, The Dark Triad of Personality, pp. 97–102, ScienceDirect, EBSCOhost, viewed 15 May 2016.
- Carlsson, E, Nilsson, B & Lindgren, S (red.) (2015). *Digital politik: sociala medier, deltagande och engagemang*. Göteborg: Daidalos
- Chadwick, A (2013). *The hybrid media system: politics and power*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Dahlgren, P (2009). *Media and political engagement: citizens, communication, and democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Dahlgren, P (2013). *The political web: media, participation and alternative democracy*.
- Demker, Marie (2015) *Mobilisering kring migration förändrar det svenska partisystemet i Annika Bergström, Bengt Johansson, Henrik Oscarsson & Maria Oskarson (red) Fragment*. Göteborgs universitet: SOM-institutet.
- Demker, M 2013, *Svensk migrationspolitisk opinion 1991–2012*, Available at: http://www.som.gu.se/digitalAssets/1467/1467499_svensk-migrationspolitisk-opinion-2.pdf [Accessed 16 July 2016].
- Entman, RM 1989, 'How the Media Affect What People Think: An Information Processing Approach', *The Journal of Politics*, 2, p. 347, JSTOR Journals, EBSCOhost, viewed 11 August 2016.

- Ernman, M, 2015, 'Är jag vänster' Available at:
blogg.amelia.se/malenaernman/2015/11/22/ar-jag-vanster, viewed 16 April 2016].
- European Commission. 2016. Refugee crisis in Europe. Available at:
ec.europa.eu/echo/refugee-crisis_en [Accessed 20 July 2016].
- Eysenbach, G, & Till, J 2001, 'Ethical Issues In Qualitative Research On Internet Communities', *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 7321, p. 1103, JSTOR Journals, EBSCOhost, viewed 16 June 2016.
- Gamson, W., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1–37. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2780405, viewed 16 June 2016.
- Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row
- Gustafsson, N 2013, *Leetocracy. [Elektronisk Resurs] : Political Participation, Social Network Sites And Inequality*, n.p.: Lund : Department of Political Science, Lund University, 2013 (Lund : Media-tryck), Library catalogue (Lovisa), EBSCOhost, viewed 13 February 2016.
- Gustafsson, N 2010, 'This Time It's Personal: Social Networks, Viral Politics and Identity Management', *At The Interface / Probing The Boundaries*, 69, pp. 3–23, Communication Source, EBSCOhost, viewed 3 May 2016.
- Gustafsson, N & Höglund, L, 2011, *Sociala medier och politiskt engagemang in Sören Holmberg, Lennart Weibull & Henrik Oscarsson (red) Lycksalighetens ö*. Göteborg: SOM-institutet, Göteborgs universitet.
- Held, D, 1997, *Demokratimodeller: från klassisk demokrati till demokratisk autonomi*. 2., rev. och utvidgade uppl. Göteborg: Daidalos
- Iyengar, S, 1991. *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Jenkins, H, 2004, 'The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence', *International Journal of Culture Studies*, vol. 7(1), , pp. 33–43.
- Jenkins, H, 2009, 'If it Doesn't Spread, It's Dead' Confessions of an Aca/Fan, 2009–02–16, viewed on 26 April 2016, <http://henryjenkins.org/2009/02/if_it_doesnt_spread_its_dead_p.html>.
- Larsson, A O (2015) *Gamla medier möter nya medier I Karlsson, Michael & Strömbäck, Jesper (red.) (2015). Handbok i journalistikforskning*. 1. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Larsson, A O 2014, 'Everyday elites, citizens, or extremists?', *Mediekultur: Journal Of Media & Communication Research*, 30, 56, pp. 61–78, Communication Source, EBSCOhost, viewed 18 July 2016.
- Luckersson, V, (2015) 'Here's How Facebook's News Feed Actually Works', *Time Magazine*, July 9, 2015. Available at: <http://time.com/3950525/facebook-news-feed-algorithm/> viewed on 21 July 2016.
- McDermott, IE 2012, 'Trolls, Cyberbullies, and Other Offenders', *Searcher*, 20, 10, pp. 7–11 5p, CINAHL Complete, EBSCOhost, viewed 15 May 2016.
- Medierna, 2015, *Sveriges radio P1*, 26 december 2015 Available at: <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/652669?programid=2795> (Accessed 20 May 2015)

- Miles, J, Petrie, C and Steel, M. "Slimming on the Internet." *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Medicine* 93, no. 5 (May 2000): 254–257 4p. CINAHL Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 12, 2016).
- Nisbet, M C (2010) 'Knowledge into action' in D'Angelo, Paul. & Kuypers, Jim A. (red.) (2010). *Doing news framing analysis: empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York: Routledge
- Reese, S (2010) 'Finding Frames in a Web of Culture' in D'Angelo, Paul. & Kuypers, Jim A. (red.) *Doing news framing analysis: empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York: Routledge
- Rheingold, H (1993). *The Virtual Community: Home–steading on the Electronic Frontier*. Reading, MA: Addison–Wesley Publishing.
- Schwarz, J A (2015) 'Hur flöden moduleras. Vad hamnar på agendan I sociala medier' I Carlsson, Eric, Nilsson, Bo & Lindgren, Simon (red.) (2015). *Digital politik: sociala medier, deltagande och engagemang*. Göteborg: Daidalos
- Shehata, A (2015) *Journalistikens dagordningar och gestaltningar*. I Karlsson, Michael & Strömbeck, Jesper (red.), *Handbok i journalistikforskning*. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Shirky, C (2008). *Here comes everybody: the power of organizing without organisations*. New York: Penguin Press
- Schumpeter, J A (1992). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*. New ed. London: Routledge
- Scheufele, B and Scheufele, D (2010) *Of Spreading Activations, Applicability, and Schemas: Conceptual Distinctions and Their Operational Implications for Measuring Frames and Framing Effects* in D'Angelo, Paul. & Kuypers, Jim A. (red.) (2010). *Doing news framing analysis: empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York: Routledge
- Shachaf, P, & Hara, N 2010, 'Beyond vandalism: Wikipedia trolls', *Journal Of Information Science*, 36, 3, pp. 357–370, Business Source Complete, EBSCOhost, viewed 15 May 2016.
- Strömbeck, J (2015) *Demokratin och det förändrade medielandskapet: Mot ökade kunskapsklyftor och deltagandeklyftor?*, Stockholm: Demokratitutredningen
- Strömbeck, J (2014). *Makt, medier och samhälle: en introduktion till politisk kommunikation*. 2. uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Sunstein, C R (2011) *Going To Extremes: How Like Minds Unite and Divide*. *Publishers Weekly*, 256, 11, p. 55, Literary Reference Center, EBSCOhost, viewed 18 May 2016.
- Titscher, S (red.) (2007). *Methods of text and discourse analysis*. London: Sage
- Tufekci, Z 2015, 'Facebook Said Its Algorithms Do Help Form Echo Chambers, and the Tech Press Missed It', *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly*, 32, 3, pp. 9–12, Political Science Complete, EBSCOhost, viewed 21 July 2016.
- Wiman, B (2016) 'Hatet på Facebook kommer att drabba oss alla' in *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 January 2016. Available at: <http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/bjorn-wiman-hatet-pa-facebook-kommer-att-drabba-oss-alla> viewed on the 21 July 2016.
- Wadbring, I, Ödmark, S, & Mittuniversitetet, F 2014, 'Delad glädje är dubbel glädje: En studie om nyhetsdelning i sociala medier', *DEMICOM Rapport*, SwePub, EBSCOhost, viewed 31 July 2016.