

“Don´t trust the media – it costs lives.”

A corpus linguistic study of the mainstream media criticism and deplatforming discussion in the Swedish far-right alternative media.

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Abstract:

This study investigates how the Swedish far-right alternative media's criticize the Swedish mainstream media and discusses the contemporary phenomenon of “deplatforming”. Deplatforming refers to when a user or uploaded content is banned from a social media platform. The study investigates linguistic features of these questions, through the method of corpus linguistics and the software *AntConc*. Altogether, 72515 tokens from four Swedish online far-right alternative media are analyzed, showing that the far-right alternative media criticize about the mainstream media in a highly politicized way, posing a binary antagonist relationship where power is a central theme. Regarding deplatforming, the study shows how the Swedish far-right alternative media focus on deplatforming especially when it regards far-right activists or politicians, and then have a jeering attitude towards the given reasons for the seclusion. The study also includes a theoretical discussion, wherein the chosen Swedish far-right alternative media showed an overestimation of the power and influence of the mainstream media (as theoreticized by Nick Couldy, 2014). Likewise, the scrutinized data showed signs or relational anti-systemness (as theoreticized by Kristoffer Holt, 2018).

Keywords:

far-right alternative media, mainstream media, media criticism, social media, deplatforming, “the myth of the mediated centre”, anti-systemness, public service, corpus linguistics

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction: A Conflictual Media Landscape

Looking at the online media world, it can sometimes appear as a battlefield, where actors fight to be given space. Some actors achieve dominance and acquire a hegemonic status, others presence is at best tolerated, or actively pushed away from the arena, and have their content removed.

This study will investigate a contested section of the media landscape; the far-right alternative media and its relation to other media, which is often conflictual. It is a common trait of the far-right alternative media to denounce the mainstream media, accusing them of being biased, leftist-liberal, belonging to the establishment, back-tied by political correctness and corrupt (Holt, 2018:50). An illustrative slogan of their attitude is seen in how some of them call the mainstream media *Lügenpresse*, “the liar press” (Haller and Holt, 2018:1) – a term stemming from the Nazi discourse in the 1920s Germany. In Sweden, the public service media is often accused by the far-right alternative media of avoiding reporting on problematic aspects of immigration (Holt, 2016:132).

However, while the Swedish far-right alternative media’s rejection of the Swedish mainstream media has been going on for years, the events of when the far-right alternative media’s affiliates, far-right activists or politicians, attempts to participate at mainstream social media platforms, is a newer situation to deal with. Embedded in a digitized media landscape that has emerged with the break of Web 2.0, wherein media and social media integrate to a large extent, the far-right alternative media have new media platforms to discuss, criticize and relate to, aside from the mainstream. Our contemporary, digitized media landscape has in many ways been beneficiary for the far right and their alternative media, which were early adopters to digitalization (Nicas and Alba, 2021). The far-right have created their own successful platforms such as *Parler* (US), *Whitestorm* (US), *Voorpost* (Belgium), understood the power of *memes* (a humorous picture with a political message, often written with a sarcastic tone, that is spread virally) (Kaati, 2017:11), and steadily grown. However, conflict seems to arise when far-right activists or politicians leave their own platforms and participate at mainstream social media platforms, as the far-right holds an ideology that may oppose the rules of the platforms. For example, the social media platform *Instagram* doesn't allow what they consider to be attacks on people based on their ethnicity

or religion (Instagram, 2021). As a result, conflicts of interest may emerge, and users and content can be removed or banned. Such happenings are referred to as *deplatforming*.

The matter of deplatforming is a new, contemporary target of criticism for the far-right alternative media, in addition to their older mainstream media criticism. With this conflictual area as a background, two of the studies research questions will focus on these two branches of criticism: the Swedish far-right media's criticism towards the mainstream media, as well as the matter of deplatforming. This will be looked upon from a linguistic perspective.

Added to this, it will be investigated whether the theories "the myth of the mediated centre", by Nick Couldry (2014) and *anti-systemness*, by Kristoffer Holt (2018) are applicable to the study's material. Couldry's theory refers to how society tends to overvalue media and its influence and power. This results in a common "myth" which regards the media as a centre of knowledge, value and meaning (Couldry, 2014:2). This belief has intensified along the mediation of society (ibid:3). Holt's theory acknowledges how the far-right alternative media's mainstream criticism tends to involve an attitude of anti-systemness (Holt, 2018:49). In short, the term anti-systemness means to take a stand towards the dominant system as a whole, in this case the media system which is seen as malfunctioning. Media holding such an attitude, tends to polarize the media landscape according to Holt (ibid:52).

The two theories will be subject to one research question each. Altogether, the study will provide deeper insights concerning the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media's online content and its linguistic characteristics. It also will provide a perspective upon the conflicts that emerge for the far-right alternative media within the web 2.0 media landscape, when not only mainstream media, but also mainstream social media, is a media one must relate to.

Lastly, the use of linguistics will contribute to the field of journalism studies, as this is an unusual focus.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of the study is to investigate Swedish far-right alternative media's criticism towards the mainstream media, as well as their discussion regarding deplatforming from a corpus linguistics perspective. By studying the language of the Swedish far-right alternative media websites *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt*, linguistic characteristics of the criticism and discussion concerning deplatforming, will be revealed and analyzed. It is commonly known that far-right alternative media are highly critical towards

mainstream media, but the specific Swedish context is less present within research, as well as the question of deplatforming. Meanwhile, Sweden is a country wherein the far right is growing. Altogether, this makes Sweden an interesting case to look at.

The study will attempt to achieve the research aim through the following four research questions:

RQ1: What are the linguistic characteristics within the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media's criticism towards mainstream media? What words are used and how?

RQ2: What are the linguistic characteristics within the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media discussion regarding the phenomenon *deplatforming*? What words are used and how?

RQ3: To what extent do the chosen Swedish far-right alternative media contain signs of anti-systemness, as the term is defined by Holt?

RQ4: To what extent do the chosen Swedish far-right alternative media display the mediated centre beliefs as theorized by Couldry?

The reason why the matter of deplatforming is chosen due to its immediacy and that it often occurs when the far-right alternative media and mainstream media collide or interact. For example, one typical deplatforming event is when far-right content is uploaded on a mainstream media's social media platform and removed due to its breaking the guidelines. Investigating how far-right alternative media discusses deplatforming, therefore adds a new and highly relevant dimension to the previous research on far-right alternative media and its media criticism. The combination also relates to the new media landscape, wherein social media and traditional forms of media, often intertwine (Couldry, 2014:4).

Altogether, the study will not be an attempt to find reason for anti-democratic opinions, but should rather be seen as an attempt to investigate Swedish far-right alternative media and some of the opinions that are taking place at their social media platforms. The timeframe for the material spans 1 February 2017 (when the first relevant article from 2017 was written, for the criteria of "relevance", see part 7.3 and 7.5) through to 13 April 2021 (when the data collection was finished in order to manage schedule). In this way, I aim to highlight a contemporary public media discussion through a linguistic perspective.

Corpus linguistics will be used both as a method and analytical tool. The theories of "the myth of the mediated centre" (Couldry, 2014) and *anti-systemness* (Holt, 2018) are

incorporated into the analytical part. The research design is therefore mixed, beginning with quantitative measures and working towards qualitative measures.

1.3 Structure of the Study

The thesis begins with an introduction that both views the study from a macro perspective and gives the reader a guide into the study. Next, a description of the media landscape surrounding my study follows, since it is crucial for the understanding of the research questions.

Then, the selection of material is explained carefully, as these might not be obvious. After that follows a literature review of previous research. Next, the theories that are used for the later analysis are introduced, followed by a brief explanation of what corpus linguistics is and how it is used. Then, the study reaches the operationalization stage wherein the corpus linguistics analysis is carried out upon the built corpora and analyzed and sorted through *AntConc*.

Lastly, the analytical part arrives which ties back to the research question and theories. The study closes with a conclusion and suggestion for further research.

1.4 Limitations of the Study

The data of the study only derives from Sweden, and previous research focuses on the Western perspective. This must be noted in order to not generalize concerning the far right on a universal scale, as the ideology and its media outlets may differ worldwide.

It also ought to be mentioned that far-right alternative media are not the only media genre to criticize mainstream media. In the previous research part, one can for example read Cushion et.al (2020), whose study includes far-right alternative medias mainstream media criticism, as well as a likewise media criticism from the far left. This study is limited to only analyze the far right though, due to both spatial limits and the interest motivated by the far-right alternative media's growth during recent years.

Even though the chosen media's self-description is playing a part in the analysis, the study's main focus is on linguistic characteristics within the media's textual content. Circumstantial factors such as distribution, audience and production, are therefore not taken into account otherwise than as background.

2. A Background to the Media Landscape

2.1 Different Kinds of Media

Media is a broad term and could literally refer to anything between radio, newspaper telephone, a movie or tv (McLuhan, 2013:23, 27). The media that is of interest for this study, though, is the news media, *i.e* the media that aims to provide the consumer with factual, often journalistic, reports regarding societal events. (but it could also cover culture, entertainment, sports etc.). Within this genre, there must be acknowledged that there are different kinds of news media. A news media in Sweden for example, might not be similar to the news media in Sri Lanka as the societies differ and factors such as politics, history and economy affect the media's status (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 85). Also, no media genre division itself is static as media is something created by humans, evolving and changing all the time.

Historically, alternative media has been especially hard to define by scholars, which could depend on its multifacetedness (Kenix, 2011:17). Hence, several different views and definitions coexist. In general, though, media genres seem to tend to be defined based on Gramscian analysis within scholars. Holt acknowledges this regarding the definition of specifically alternative media (Holt, 2018:3), but it is present in several of the scholarly analyses referred to throughout this thesis. (In short, "Gramscian" refers to the theoretical heritage of the Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. In his view, the power within society as unevenly distributed, wherein a cultural, capitalist elite is at the top. Its domination is accepted by the dominated classes thanks to the cultural superiority of the elite - *the hegemony*) (Ives, 2004:69-71).

According to Hallin & Mancini's influential conceptual framework that categorize media systems into three different models (2004), Sweden is placed within the category of *Northern European or Democratic Corporatist model* (ibid:67). This means that Sweden has a media system characterized by, inter alia:

- early development of mass-circulation press and a historically strong party press
- a high circulation of newspaper press
- leans toward an objective commercial press, "politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy"
- external pluralism, particularly in national press
- strong professionalization that is institutionalized and self-regulatory
- a strong state intervention that protects the press freedom

- press subsidies and a strong public service (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:67).

Measured by Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2020), through a survey including over 80,000 online news consumers, the mainstream media constituted the largest online media sector in Sweden (*Expressen, Aftonbladet, SVT, TV4* etc.). However, the far-right alternative media that are being scrutinized in this study (*Fria tider, Nya tider, Nyheter idag, Samhällsnytt*), can also be considered large (ibid). See picture 1, and picture 2 for the same studies measure of citizens trust within Swedish media.

Picture 1. Weekly reach for Swedish online media in percent

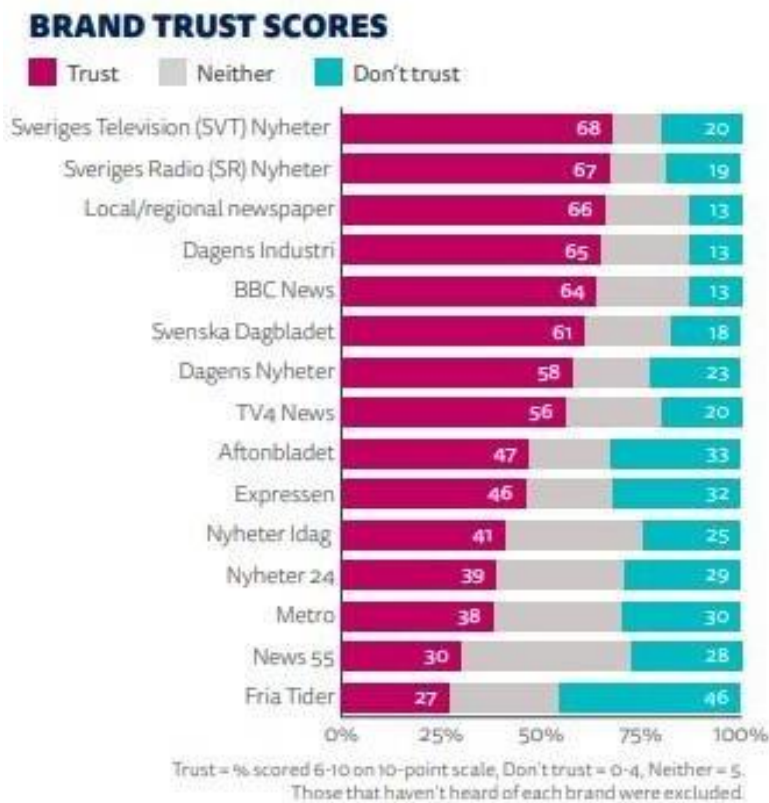
(Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020)



In general, the online media and TV were the largest source of news, compared to print which has decreased 15% since 2015 (ibid). Further on, a “general trust” in the media was acknowledged among four of ten Swedish citizens (ibid). The highest trust was in the public broadcasters and local newspapers, and the lowest was found within partisan brands and tabloids (ibid). See diagram 2.

Picture 2. Level of citizens trust within Swedish Media

(Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020)



However, this study scrutinizes two parts of the online media landscape. First, the relationship between the mainstream media and the far-right alternative media. Then, when social media and the far-right alternative media collide. Definitions and background to these two specific parts of the media landscape, will be presented below.

2.2 Mainstream Media

Mainstream media can be said, in general, to be the largest and most influential media within a society, often distributed by large distribution channels and/or a public service. If turning to the Cambridge dictionary, it is defined as “forms of the media, especially traditional forms such as newspapers, television, and radio rather than the internet, that influence large numbers of people and are likely to represent generally accepted beliefs and opinions.” (Cambridge, 2021).

From a power perspective, mainstream media be synonymous with social power as it is the dominant media in a society, representing conventional journalism (Kenix, 2011:21). One

should note that conventional journalism can also be practiced in alternative media, although it is more commonly associated with mainstream media (ibid).

Holt describes mainstream media as the established media channels that represent a dominant discourse in society (Holt, 2018:3). In alignment with this power perspective, there are also voices suggesting that mainstream media, by representing and addressing the elites, in fact forces alternative media to emerge, as minorities or suppressed groups would otherwise end up in the shadows (Chomsky, 1997).

A trend, worldwide as well as in Sweden, is that audiences increasingly turn to digital (e.g. social media, internet, mobile apps) rather than traditional media (e.g. printed newspapers, linear TV). This regards the mainstream media as well. Between 2009 to 2017, the number of Swedish people consuming online content from mainstream media daily increased from 25 to 51% of the population (Facht, Ohlsson, 2019:56).

2.3 Alternative Media

Alternative media is an often-self-imposed term, used by the media themselves (Kenix, 2011:17; Atton, 2002:9). However, as insinuated by the name, it could broadly be understood as media providing *other* content than the regular mainstream media. Even though this broad definition is somewhat agreed upon within research literature, the definition of alternative media is a highly discussed matter, wherein the meaning of the term is debated.

In 1977, the British Royal Commission on the press, outlined three criteria's that characterize alternative media; it regards the opinions of minorities, it expresses opinions that go in opposition with the generally held, and it regards topics that usually are not given space within the press (Atton, 2002:12).

Not all scholars agree on these three criteria. Chris Atton (2002) questions them, arguing with the example of how an alternative media for homosexuals cannot be said to represent a minority (ibid) and whether the opinions expressed in alternative media, are really not generally held (ibid:13). According to Atton, this kind of vagueness has played a part in the questioning of the term (ibid:14).

John Downing (2001) aligns with Attons criticism regarding the content criteria for alternative media. When looking into American magazines, Downing concluded that it is not only the content that decides whether a media is alternative or not, but also its production, distribution, social relations and communication processes (ibid:27). In this view, the media's position within the media landscape is also of importance. Further on, Downing prefers to call alternative media *radical alternative media*, since everything can be seen as an

alternative to something (ibid:4). The word radical, derives from how he associates alternative media with social movements, and his inclusion of what radical alternative media might be is wider than most scholars', as he takes also music, dance, graffiti, theater, film etc., into account.

This argument, in turn, is dismissed by Nick Couldry (2001), as he thinks the definition fails to acknowledge those media that are less political and closer to mainstream media, but still should be considered alternative (ibid:4).

Christian Fuchs (2010) introduces the notion of alternative media as critical media, characterized by critical content and form (ibid:179). This differ critical media from the mainstream, which in Fuchs' meaning, rather has an ideological foundation. The critical media is seen as an underdog voice which questions domination and represent the oppressed (ibid:173). The goal is to develop a more co-operative society (ibid:189). This activist perspective upon alternative media is also shared by Leah Lievrouw (2011), (even though Lievrouw use the term alternative media). In her view, the last decades of technical improvements have contributed to an upswing for alternative media (ibid:1). Since the entrance of Web 2.0, Lievruow claims that a tension between media systems has grown, wherein "Disputes about what new media are for, who gets to use them, and who decides have set the stage for the current rise of alternative and activist new media projects. "(ibid:3). The alternative media is then described as having a goal that aims for cultural, social, and political change (ibid:3

So, where does that leave the definition of alternative media? Clearly, it is a discussion that could go on for a long time. To settle with a more contemporary definition that also emphasize the Swedish context, one could turn to Holt (2018). As mentioned in part 2.1, Holt acknowledges how the scholarly discussion regarding how to define alternative media, has been influenced by Gramsci's idea of hegemony (Holt, 2018:50). In this scholarly view, alternative media is seen as an empowering, liberating force that gives a voice to marginalized groups within the dominant discourse of mainstream media (ibid).

Further on, Holt aligns with this Gramscian view wherein mainstream media is the dominant, large actor, while alternative media is a smaller actor on the side, trying to make its voice heard and provide alternative content. Although, Holt acknowledges that the meaning of the term has progressed from the liberating attitude, into something different. Holt means that within a Swedish context from the 2010's and forth, the term is almost

exclusively used when referring to the specific genre, far-right alternative media (ibid:53). This leads to the following part of the thesis, 2.4.

2.4 The Contemporary Far-Right Ideology

Defining the contemporary network of far-right alternative media is hard since the far-right ideology itself is large and differentiated. However, to understand this media, one ought to understand the ideology.

One compressed definition of the far-right's mutual goal could be the one described by Alexandra Cole (2005). When studying the growing far right in Western Europe, Cole investigates whether the movement should be defined as a manifestation of hard economic times (old right model) or as a continued political development of industrialized, Western countries (new right model)? In the end, Cole leans towards the new right model (Cole, 2005:203) and defines the main issues of the movement to be "...an increased emphasis on respect for authority, discipline and dutifulness, patriotism and intolerance for minorities, conformity to customs, and support for traditional and moral values..." (ibid:208).

Immigration criticism (in various forms) is another common feature of the movement (Holt, 2018:50).

Lisa Kaati (2017) explains how also nationalism is a part of the shared ideology for the Swedish far-right alternative media, which means a praise of solidarity based on ethnicity, values, or geographical borders (ibid:12). The term nationalism is complex and extensive and ought to be seen with its differences within, just like the term far right. For example, Kaati mentions that Swedish nationalism contains both the view that immigrants are welcome if they assimilate, the nationalist view that values culture above ethnicity, and as well the national-socialist view, that wants Sweden to be ethnically purely Swedish (ibid:12).

As one looks deeper into the contemporary far-right movement, one subcategory is the *alt-right movement*. The term *alt-right* was coined by the American white supremacist Richard Spencer in 2008, who founded the website altright.com and is the president of the US alternative white supremacist think-tank *National Policy Institute* (NPI) (Kaati, 2017:10). However, the alt-right movement did exist before Spencer labelled it, and many point to the internet forum *4chan* as its birthplace, where the political communication is happening through memes for example (ibid:11) (a humorous picture with a political message, often written with a sarcastic tone, that is spread virally). To sum it up, a simple description of the

alt-right movement could be a movement that shares ideology with the far right, but is mainly internet-based, using social media to spread their message (ibid:10).

As the far right ideology and its media outlets do have a lot of nuances and differences within, and one should avoid treating them too much as a coordinated entity (Holt, 2018:51). For example, not all far-right alternative online media are alt-right. The far-right and far-right alternative media should also be understood as larger than the European context. In the USA, for example, the far-right organization Proud Boys is a most recent example of a far-right movement.

2.5 The Swedish Far-Right Alternative Media

Holt means the former association of alternative media with a constructive force that improves democracy, to have shifted. Today the term *alternative media* within the Swedish public debate, almost exclusively refers to such alternative media that are far-right. Holt summarizes the characteristics of these media as an emphasis on immigration criticism, the view upon mainstream journalists as insufficient in their coverage of society (Holt, 2016: 416), and a general opposition towards the political and media establishment (Holt, 2018:52). In Sweden, the public service is often accused by the far-right alternative media for twisting the truth regarding consequences immigration has for Sweden, and for avoiding reporting on problematic aspects of immigration (Holt:2016:32). To criticize the public service for being biased is nothing new within the Swedish media landscape. A common allegation is that the public service has a left-wing bias, a criticism that may have peaked in the 1960's and 1970's (Pouresmaili, 2009:15). But the criticism claiming that public service hide the truth regarding immigration in Swedish, is a characteristic of the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media.

Kaati acknowledge the same pattern, and notice how the far-right alternative media outlets gain power and attention through the conception that the mainstream media hides the truth about the consequences of immigration (Kaati, 2017:12), an idea that is nothing new within far-right movements. As mentioned in the introduction (part 1.1), mainstream media criticism often takes the form in allegations of lies, with expressions such as *Lügenpresse_- the liar press*, a term that has a long history within political polemics in Germany, traced back to the 17th century but was invoked by the Nazis in the 1930's (Nesbit, 2016). Likewise, previous research has proven that common traits within the far right are accusations of the mainstream media's left and liberal bias, belonging to the establishment, corruption and their being backtied by political correctness (Holt, 2018:50). To note, is that

the mainstream media criticism has taken different forms within the far-right alternative media (see part 5),

The upswing of this media could have several explanations. Both Holt and Kaati see the advance of Web 2.0 that has changed the media landscape as one reason (Kaati, 2017:12; Holt, 2018:49). Since the break of the internet, “anyone” can go online and spread their message, since the internet is a lot cheaper than paying for a paper print or tv-time. Blogs, comments, and social media allow ordinary citizens to become writers, opinion makers or politically active online. Hence, alternative media including those with a far-right orientation can grow easier than before.

Holt also sees how the rise of far-right alternative media can be explained as a result of a growing political movement that acts embedded in the resurgent Western right and far-right ideology that contempt mainstream media and journalism (ibid:49). As an example, the far-right alternative media was embraced by former American president Donald Trump while he depicted and targeted mainstream media in 2016 (ibid:50). Likewise, the Swedish nationalist and right-wing populist parliament party *Sverigedemokraterna* also embrace this mainstream media-criticism, claiming that mainstream media conceals information that does not fit into the “politically correct” agenda (Holt, 2018: 51).

As the far right tends to embrace anti-democratic ideals (such as antisemitism, racism, misogyny, homophobia, or other minority discrimination, etc.) (Kaati, 2017:14), their online media content and/or account tends to be suspended from social media platforms if occurring there. This is since such content commonly breach the platforms community guidelines or user rules, (this is also a visible example of corporate control over social media). Such suspension is commonly referred to as deplatforming. As a result, but also as many movements prefer to do so, the far right create their own media platforms. The far right was an early adopter to digitization, as mentioned in the introduction, and today their own media platforms such as *Parler* (US), *Whitestorm* (US), *Voorpost* (Belgium), *Fria tider* (Sweden), etc, are of high interest within the public debate today. Some of these, such as *Parler*, have also become deplatformed from existing on the internet at all, due to their anti-democratic content (Nicas and Alba, 2021). The matter of deplatforming has also become a vivid discussion within public debate in general during recent years, not only within the far right. See for example Svt, 2019; Weissmuller, 2021; Singal, 2021; Fontevecchia, 2021; Dahl, 2021. One symbolic peak of the debate occurred when Trump supporters stormed the Capitol on 6 January 2021. Afterwards, Donald Trump, the president of America was permanently

banned from Twitter, and suspended from Youtube and Facebook. This deplatforming gained global attention, but regardless of President Trump, this was only one of many social media deplatformings in our contemporary digital era. (To note, is that deplatforming could be due to any kind of violating content, it doesn't have to involve specifically far-right content).

Holt claims the far-right alternative media to be of scholarly interest as they can affect “the public conversation and the rest of the media landscape and hence the conditions for opinion formation and news consumption” (ibid: 52).

3. Introduction to the material

3.1 Material Selection

The chosen sources of material demand an introduction, as they are still “alternative media”, and less known than what could be seen as “household names”. The media chosen are *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt*, since they all are large Swedish far-right alternative media. The media themselves might not label themselves as far-right, and a discussion exists concerning their exact position on the political media map. However, I will rely on *Expo*'s definition of them as far-right (*Expo* is a Swedish non-denominational and non-partisan journalist foundation that covers the far right, (Expo, 2021)), combined with underpinnings by scholars and other, mainstream media.

These media are all web-based, and only one of them (*Nya tider*), exists in more traditional paper form. They are therefore representative for new media formats, and contemporary opinions. The sampled texts were published between 1 February 2017 and 13 April 2021.

Holt describes *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt* as immigration-critical alternative media (Holt, 2016:120). This definition means for example that they are highly critical towards the current Swedish immigration policy and its consequences, as well as the “media establishment” (ibid). All the media are similar in their style and format, which is the one of a classic online newspaper (news, chronicles, articles).

3.2 *Fria tider*

Fria Tider was launched in 2009 and calls themselves libertarian conservative (Deland et al., 2013). According to the Swedish Media Council, *Fria tider* belongs to “the radical right-wing populist internet online environment” (Statens medieråd, 2013). *Expo* defines it as far-right (*Expo*, 2020). At the website's frontpage, the slogan says “*Ge Mediesverige en rak*

höger!” (Hit the Swedish Media with a jab!) (Fria Tider, 2021). Niklas Bernsand, researcher in European studies at Lund university, describes the media outlet’s purpose as to challenge the established media regarding “political correctness” (Bernsand in Hoffmann; Larsson, 2013).

In 2020, *Fria Tider* had an average weekly reach of 11% of the Swedish population (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020).

Fria tider is not affiliated with the Swedish press ethical system (a system with self-regulating authorities) but do have an editor in chief.

3.3 *Nya tider*

Nya tider was launched in 2012 and is described by Swedish mainstream media as right-wing extremist (Dagens Nyheter 2013; Sveriges Radio 2013; Journalisten 2021). When *Nya tider* received government funding in 2013, their founder Vávra Suk rejected the right-wing extremist labeling, with the comment: “We don’t withhold anything, we tell it like it is” (Sveriges Radio, 2013). Suk has a history within *Sverigedemokraterna* and *Nationaldemokraterna* (a former right-wing extremist nationalist party), and *Expo* claims the media to be far-right (Expo, 2020) with close connections to the Swedish Nazi organization *Nordiska motståndsrörelsen* (Expo, 2016a). However, *Nya tider* does not claim alignment with any political or ideological stance. Their self-description follows as a newspaper that scrutinizes the media elite, reports the most important news with unique information from the people’s perspective, and offers exciting, honest and politically incorrect content (Nya tider, 2021). They also claim one of their purposes to be providers of what the “old press” omit and what goes beyond the “corrected, hypocritical establishment press” (Nya tider, 2021).

In 2020, *Nya tider* had an average weekly reach of 6% of the Swedish population (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020).

Nya tider is affiliated with the Swedish press ethical system and have an editor in chief as well (Vávra Suk).

3.4 *Nyheter idag*

Nyheter idag was launched in 2014 and calls themselves independent and free from influence of any political parties, relying on a libertarian and liberal-conservative foundation (Nyheter idag, 2021). Meanwhile, the owners (current as well as former) are affiliated with liberal-conservative and national-socialistic parties. This regards Ilan Sadé, official leader of the Swedish political party *Medborgerlig samling* (Nyheter idag, 2021), Chang Frick who has a

history within *Sverigedemokraterna* (Fokus, 2018), and Kent Ekeröth who owned the website at its beginning, used to work for *Sverigedemokraterna* in the Swedish government (Riksdagen, 2021). These parties are described by Swedish media and researchers as immigration-critical, nationalist, right-wing populist and conservative (Rydgren, 2005; Sydsvenskan, 2018; DN, 2018). *Nyheter idag* is according to *TT Nyhetsbyrån* “harder to place than other alternative online media” as they are more nuanced (TT Nyhetsbyrån, 2017). However, *Expo* defines them as 2016b “högerpopulistiska och högerextrema alternativmedia” (right-wing populist and far-right alternative media) (Expo, 2016b). *Nyheter idag* claims its purpose is “to broaden the content as we grow” and their focus is on politics, gossip, social media and foreign news (Nyheter idag, 2021).

In 2020, *Nyheter idag* had an average weekly reach of 12% of the Swedish population (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020).

Nyheter idag is affiliated with the Swedish press ethical system and has an editor in chief as well.

3.5 Samhällsnytt

Samhällsnytt was launched in 2017 and is described by both Kaati (2017:13) and Holt (2018:54) as a large Swedish far-right alternative publication. Also, *Expo* defines them as far-right (Expo, 2020). According to the Swedish National Radio in 2020, *Samhällsnytt* is one of Sweden’s largest far-right alternative media, steered by an association that was founded by politicians from the Swedish right-wing and populist party *Sverigedemokraterna* (Sveriges Radio, 2020a). The association claims its purpose to be “to inform the public about anti-Swedish sentiment through opinion formation” and “study and map anti-democratic, left-wing extremist and anti-Swedish tendencies in society” (Sveriges Radio, 2020). The media outlet takes the form of a news website, intending to focus on areas where the establishment show omissions, and news journalism (Samnytt 2020). The media is often shortened to *Samnytt*, and some might still recognize it by its former name *Avpixlat*.

In 2020, *Samhällsnytt* had an average weekly reach of 9% of the Swedish population (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2020).

Samhällsnytt is affiliated with the Swedish press ethical system, and do have an editor in chief.

4. Previous research

4.1 Media Criticism Towards Mainstream Media

Much research has been done regarding media criticism, as well as from the perspective of how far-right alternative media criticize mainstream media. Much of the research has been of a qualitative kind (Cushion, et al.2020), identifying the content of the criticism, as well as the ideological stance the criticism originates from. In a study by Tine Ustad Figenschou and Karoline Ihlebæk (2018), the media criticism deriving from the Norwegian far-right alternative media, is analyzed through the angle of journalistic legitimacy. Drawing on a sample of 600 articles, the authors ask how the far-right alternative media claims authority as “media critics” and how journalistic authority is questioned. In the study, they found that most of the media criticism was frequently circulating around specific stories covered by mainstream media, wherein the journalists that produced the news, are viewed as biased, politically correct, leftist, elitist, and distanced from ordinary people (ibid:13). Overall, all of the studies medias (except one website) viewed themselves as victims of unfair treatment by the mainstream media, and at the same time, as having expert knowledge themselves and doing a very important job on their own far-right alternative media platforms (ibid:55).

When writing with Birgitte Haanshuss two years later, they summon it as:

“Far-right actors criticize the media from many angles, representing multiple perspectives on media and power, reflecting different degrees of anti-systemness.”

(Ustad Figenschou, Ihlebæk, and Haanshuus, 2020: 902).

Kristoffer Holt also acknowledges the matter of legitimacy when conducting interviews with editors of far-right alternative media in Sweden (2019). Here, the matter of their own journalist legitimacy was dependent on the mainstream media, in the way that the far-right alternative media editors saw their own job as a needed complement to the mainstream media (ibid:42). The need for a complement was based on the perception of professional mainstream media journalists deliberately avoiding reporting on problems concerning immigration (ibid:43). The criticism also concerned the quality of the mainstream journalists work. Cover-ups, boycotts of certain voices and factual inaccuracy were thought to be common among the mainstream journalists work, due to the mainstream journalists ideological stance (ibid:44).

Stephen Cushion et.al (2021) presents a study based on a content analysis of UK alternative media in 2015-2018. The study included both far-right alternative media, as well as far-left

alternative media, and found that they both posed similar criticism towards the mainstream media, but that the criticism became more frequent within the far-left media in 2016 (ibid). The criticism consisted of accusations of the mainstream media to be biased, propagandistic, that the public service *BBC* had a party-political agenda, and that the journalistic quality was poor (ibid).

Lee Taeku and Christian Hosam (2020) use the term “disbelief in mainstream media” and relate it to the rise of “fake news”. The authors used data from *the Voter Study Groups panel survey* to study the relationship between disbelief in mainstream media, political preferences and other social attitudes. The study found that since Trump won the American election in 2016, the belief in fake news among Americans increased (ibid:1). This public attitude towards fake news is, according to the authors, part of a larger change of attitude within the American society that goes along with hostility towards immigrants, gender equality, racial and religious minorities, and democratic norms and institutions (ibid). A praise of “America’s greatness” is often included as well. Altogether, the authors label the attitude as a populist, exclusionary variant of American conservatism, wherein a disbelief in media institutions is a key element (ibid).

Michael Fry studies the American alt-right movements online presence (2020), a movement he defines as a rebranded version of Hitler’s Nazi-ideology (ibid:4). Fry relates the growth of the movement to the politics of presidency of Trump and its effect on society (ibid:6). Next, Fry discusses the scholarly common perspective of how society handles alt-right media, but with the more unusual example of deplatforming and its effects. Fry concludes his study with a quite opinionated sentiment, objecting to deplatforming as measurement, due to his finding that the deplatforming of the alt-right in his examples led to a feeling of reinforced vigor within the alt-right movement that then embraced an image of martyrdom (ibid:27).

The mention of martyrdom leads the thought to the first research mentioned in this section, wherein Ustad Figenschou, Ihlebæk noted how the far-right alternative media saw themselves as “victims” of unfair treatment by the mainstream media (2018:55).

4.2 Filling the Research Gap

Swedish far-right alternative media’s criticism towards mainstream media has been researched upon before, as seen in the section of previous research, but not to a major extent. Also, it has not been studied in relation to the issue of deplatforming.

Research concerning deplatforming seems to be overall absent within a Swedish context.

For example, it is mentioned in the Swedish research report by Kaati (2017), but only shortly and stating that some want to ban anti-democratic content, and some not (ibid:55). Nothing is mentioned concerning the far-right's own thoughts and reactions, neither is the word "deplatformed" used. By focusing on these overlooked aspects, I intend to fill a research gap.

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1 Introduction to the material

The theories chosen both regard social attitudes towards the media. The theory by Couldry, gives an understanding of why media criticism even exists, and why it might be seen as crucial to scrutinize and question the media. The theory of Holt is helpful regarding how to analyze the far-right alternative medias mainstream media criticism, as his theoretical framework offers a detail suggestion of how to not generalize when doing so. Altogether, the two theories provide a macro perspective on media criticism, as well as a micro perspective.

5.2 The Myth of the Mediated Centre

Nick Couldry (2014) presents a theoretical framework regarding an attitude towards the media (that is somewhat supported by the media, too) that he acknowledges as problematic; "the myth of the mediated centre". This theoretical framework will be discussed in research question three and refers to the idea that the authority and status of media institutions has been overvalued during the last century. The idea begins with a sociological view of society as making sense of things based on assumptions that certain knowledge, information and expertise is more valuable than others (Couldry, 2014:2). This behavior is potentially existent in all parts of society, not only among "the elite", and results in a common production of a *myth* (ibid). As we organize our lives around the content from media organizations, we start to believe that society has a "center" of knowledge, value and meaning and that media institutions (especially mass media institutions) are the instrument that gives us access to this center (ibid:3). This production has intensified along the mediation of society, as media institutions have grown increasingly integrated with the language, organizational logics and practices of society (ibid:3).

The myth of the mediated centre results in beneficiary effects for the media institutions themselves as it strengthens their legitimacy, but also for governments for example, who need media to communicate with their population (ibid:2). However, Couldry argues that the transparency of when and why media communicate certain things, have increased since the entrance of digital media whereof the traditional media is exposed to larger competition and

need to fight for attention (ibid:4). Likewise, the entrance and importance of social media platforms, such as *Facebook* or *Twitter*, has added a new dimension to the myth of the mediated centre, resulting in that the media infrastructure and communication infrastructure, now intertwine and create a common myth (ibid).

5.3 Holt's Theory of Anti-Systemness

Holt (2018) argues that dominant theories concerning alternative media tend to be inadequate and not see alternative media as they actually are, especially since the emergence of alt-right media on the internet (ibid:50). He also mentions how the Swedish far-right alternative media that I am aiming to scrutinize within this study (*Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt*), tend to be generalized and seen as an entity, wherein their specific characteristics sometimes are overseen (ibid:52).

As consequence, Holt has developed an analytical framework that acknowledges the level of *anti-systemness*. In Holt's study (2018) of how the far-right alternative media criticize the mainstream media, he found the criticism to be dominated by an attitude of anti-systemness (ibid:49) (similar to the findings made by Ustad Figenschou, Ihlebæk, and Haanshuus (2020)). The term anti-systemness refers to taking a stand towards the dominant system. When outside journalism or media and communication studies, the term is usually applied when discussing the rise of populist political parties (both to the right and to the left), but can also be used when analyzing new alternative media with opinions far away from other media actors with a strong despise of the political establishment (ibid:52). Such media are also considered to be polarizing the media landscape and challenging the established political system (ibid).

Holt presents an analytical framework of how to approach the (frequently occurring) anti-systemness within far-right alternative media, which consists of a theory wherein the anti-systemness is measured and categorized. *Ideological anti-systemness* is one category, referring to a stance that repels the dominant media system as a whole and wants to replace it with a whole different media system. The antagonist position is strong and clear with for example repeated attacks upon mainstream media, and lacks any kind of hope for the remedy of the issues pointed out (ibid:53). According to Holt, this position is quite extreme (ibid). *Relational anti-systemness* refers to a less extreme form of anti-systemness. The attitude contains opinions that differ from those closest to them, which creates a distance that leads to a low potential for coalition and polarization of the media field (ibid:53).

The framework could be applied to different alternative media as well, regardless of its political orientation, but is derived from Holt’s studies of Swedish alternative media that are critical to Sweden’s immigration policy. When examining levels of anti-systemness within far-right alternative media, one ought to be open to the nuanced notion of **levels** of anti-systemness, as some media might contain strong characteristics (ideological or relational), some might contain vague characteristics, some both and some none at all (ibid:50,53).

		Relational anti-systemness	
		Yes	No
Ideological anti-systemness	Yes	Anti system alternative media	Irrelevant alternative media
	No	Polarizing alternative media	Not anti-system media

Picture 3. The Alternative Media Anti-systemness Matrix.

“Based on Capoccia’s (2002) typology of “anti-system parties”. The 2 × 2 matrix displays a typology of alternative media and their different forms of anti-systemness (or lack thereof) in relation to traditional media’s positions, norms and ways of working.” (ibid:53).

Holt’s analytical framework presents four potential categories of anti-systemness that an alternative media outlet can be placed into:

- If a media outlet contains features of both ideological and relational alternative media, it can be categorized as “**Anti-system alternative media**”. This media is probably receiving attention from mainstream media (and is a competitor to them) and affects the media landscape (ibid:54). The content from such media would probably be difficult to publish within mainstream media, due to its controversial nature (ibid).
- If a media only reveals ideological anti-systemness rather than relational, Holt suggests that one categorize them as “radical, antagonistic or hostile”, but mainly “**Irrelevant alternative media**” as this kind rarely receive mainstream media attention or influence the media landscape (ibid).

- If a media outlet only displays relational anti-systemness, it is categorized as “**Polarizing alternative media**”. This publication is not ideologically against the foundations of the established media but does ask for changes within it, and is openly antagonistic (ibid). This media could for example try to align with the media ethical system (even though they probably would interpret the rules and guidelines differently than other media and journalists, and might not be accepted), but their controversial content would not fit into the mainstream media, and they would rather work as a competitor towards them (ibid). Such media polarize the media landscape.
- If the alternative media do not meet any criteria’s of anti-systemness, but yet are seen as harmful and provocative by others, Holt defines them simply as “**Not anti-system media**” (ibid), and emphasize how a scholar needs to be open to this finding as well (ibid:50)

6. Methodology

6.1 Design of the Study

This study is centred on a corpus linguistic analysis of Swedish far-right alternative media online texts. The study is corpus-driven, meaning that a more inductive approach is used, wherein the found corpus-data itself serves as material. The patterns found in the corpus then constitute the basis for my analysis. The analysis is then performed with both the *AntConc*-tools and theories. Hence, the method is mixed, with a large amount of data as quantitative base whereupon a linguistic and theoretical analysis is performed. Therefore, the patterns found can be said to be more representative, than if solely doing a qualitative study, but also put into a more interpretive context than if solely doing a quantitative method. As mentioned in part 4.1 much of the research regarding alternative media has been of a qualitative kind (Cushion, et al.2020). Adding quantitative methods might expand the horizons.

6.2 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a mixed methodology, where a body of electronically coded text is created – a corpus (a quantitative approach) – whereupon an interpretation then is conducted (a qualitative approach). (Baker, 2006:1). In other words, the methodology can be described as a technique that enables a language analysis that reveals linguistic patterns (ibid). These patterns can then be used for different research purposes. In this way, corpus linguistics is not only a mix of a quantitative and a qualitative approach, but also contains a mix of different areas of linguistics.

The word *corpus* (singular) or *corpora* (plural) might not be known to everyone. It refers to the linguistic technique where one gathers texts from perhaps newspapers, documents, websites, or other text documents deriving from real life, and electronically encodes them (ibid:2). Commonly, massive amounts of data is collected within corpus linguistics, creating a corpus of millions of words, but for this study, the collection will be smaller, due to spatial and time limits, which functions as well according to Baker (ibid:28). For example, Baker mentions how a study made by Stubbs (1996) was conducted on only two short letters, summing up to approximately 880 words. The study was successfully carried out, showing that there were repetitive differences in how specific words were used (ibid:28).

The operationalization of corpus linguistics is mainly digital. When a corpus has been collected, it goes through an electronic coding program, and then, the found data can be analyzed in different ways with the software's different analytical tools. Lastly, as mentioned in part 1.4, one ought to mention that the production and reception of the texts is not included in a corpus linguistics (ibid:25). This suits my study well, as its purpose is to reveal linguistic characteristics and patterns within the text, not in its production or reception.

6.3 Corpus Linguistics – Criticism and Advantages

Corpus-based approaches sometimes receive criticism for being too broad as it does not focus on close reading of texts. As a defense, one could argue that it is rather shedding a kaleidoscope perspective upon text, revealing patterns that appear and then regress, leaving way for others (Kenny, 2001 in Baker, 2006:7).

As Baker suggests, myself as a researcher ought to analyze and be aware of my own position and bias (Baker, 2006:10). In accordance to that, I could mention that I work within Swedish mainstream media myself and dissociate from the belief of mainstream media being unsound and bogus. At the same time, I do want to highlight my personal interest in those who might oppose the mainstream, and my will to professionally scrutinize and study such opinions from a scholarly perspective. I also believe this study was carried out professionally and objective as my curiosity is large and the feeling of offence, low. I also consider my working experience from public service to be also advantage in one aspect, as I am familiar with the object for criticism (see part 8) and know about its eventual flaws.

I am also aware that the following research is constructed as all research is, but nevertheless, if carefully executed, research reveals a new perspective upon reality.

The digital aspect of corpus linguistics, how large amounts of data are stored on a computer and then encoded, is a big advantage of the method, as handling the same amount manually, would demand a much bigger effort and a lot more time (ibid:2).

6.4 Reliability and Validity

When conducting qualitative or quantitative research, the matter of reliability and validity is discussed, to consider the overall validity of the study. Reliability is mainly an issue connected to quantitative research, and concerns whether the results of the study are repeatable and consistent (Bryman, 2012:46). *I.e.*, if another scholar would conduct the same study, with the same structure, method and data, the results ought to be the same if the study has a high reliability.

The reliability of the quantitative part of this study can be considered high since if another scholar would insert the same corpora into *AntConc*, and apply the same program tools, the same objectified factors would appear. Hence, the data, on which the analysis is conducted, has consistency and can be considered reliable.

Another positive thing regarding the objectivity of the quantitative part of corpus linguistics, is that the researcher's cognitive bias is reduced as the linguistic patterns are found by digital technique, and not the researcher herself. In this way, corpus data can also reveal unexpected patterns and counterexamples, that stir away from the researcher's expected findings (and potential bias).

Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a study, usually discussed regarding both quantitative and qualitative research (ibid:47). In other words, one could say that validity depends on whether an indicator that is devised to measure a concept really measures it.

This study was conducted on a data set of 45667 tokens (characters). This is an amount that is sufficient to draw conclusions of, but as always, a larger number would create an even stronger validity. However, the study's method, corpus linguistics, extracts linguistic patterns, which meets the aim of the study which is to determine linguistic characteristics. Hence, the measurement generates valid conclusions. Furthermore, several linguistic patterns were digitally revealed and then highlighted in the study (frequency words, keywords, concordance and collocates). The use of several tools in order to find different linguistic patterns, helped to avoid the generalization that can appear when focusing too much on frequency words (Baker, 2006:47).

An additional way in which generalization was minimized was through re-entering *AntConc* when a linguistic phenomenon was to be interpreted, in order to read full sentences and grasp the context. In this way, interpretations were confirmed before being developed further.

The validity in this step can be considered strong as the data was digitally sampled and cross-validated through different tools, which strengthens the use of the word *characteristics* as multiple indicators are taken into account. Likewise, I sampled texts with high relevance for the study's purpose and research questions. This was made through searching for the texts at the media's websites, containing key words indicative of discussions of media and deplatforming.

The study's aim of finding linguistic characteristics was aligned with the corpus linguistics operationalized in the way explained above. However, theories were involved in the analysis to deepen it and increase the understanding of the characteristics (and thus further strengthen the validity). In this step, the researcher must interpret the data and draw parallels to the theories, a step in which subjectivity always could appear because a theory can always be interpreted in several ways.

Lastly, another way to determine validity is through what is called *ecological validity*. The term concerns whether the findings of the research are applicable to "what happens in people's everyday lives" (Bryman, 2012:48). This criterion focuses on the research's validity in relation to how well the studied objects' opinions, values, attitudes, daily life conditions and knowledge base, are captured by the study. If these criteria are captured by the study, the ecological validity can be considered high (ibid). As the data for this study consist of people-produced texts containing opinion, values, attitudes, and knowledge, and as the measured conclusions include these social aspects as well, the ecological validity for the study can be considered high.

7. Operationalization of the method

7.1 Building Corpora

Corpora can be created differently, depending on the research purpose. When carrying it out in order to suit a smaller amount of texts, Bakers suggests using one reference corpus, and two specialized (ibid: 30). The first one is representative of a specific language variety, in this case Swedish online news media, and the other two specialized ones consist of texts that

conform to the research questions, aimed to investigate the linguistic constructions of the subject (ibid:26).

7.2 Reference Corpus

A reference corpus was downloaded from *Språkbanken*, a research unit at Gothenburg university, Sweden, that develops technical language research tools and provides Swedish texts in digital format, aimed for research (Språkbanken, 2020). Through their research tool *Korp*, a corpus named *Webbnyheter 2001* was downloaded, based on the query term “media”. It consists of gathered news posted online in Sweden, from several websites, during year 2001. Altogether, it consists of 499073 words.

There is a similar corpus available at *Språkbanken*, from 2013, which I would have preferred since it is more contemporary. Unfortunately, it contains 22 000 000 words and therefore demands a very advanced computer and server (on the magnitude of a professional data researcher institution). Therefore, I settled with the 2001 version, which is suitable for a master thesis. Arguably the linguistic properties of Swedish media texts may not have changed so dramatically between 2001 and 2013 (the most recent corpus), or even 2021. However, names such as *Instagram*, *Youtube* and *Alex Jones* obviously did not exist then, as they entered the media landscape later. This ought to be acknowledged when the corpora are compared to each other.

The use of a reference corpus strengthens the validity of the study, as the results can be compared towards something general.

7.3 Specialized Corpus 1 (Mainstream Media Criticism)

My specialized corpus no.1 is based on the criteria of mainstream media criticism. The articles chosen are therefore based on articles found through the query terms *media* and *public service*, at the chosen media’s websites. The query term *media* was chosen due to the expectation of finding texts regarding media criticism, and *public service* due to that *media* did not give enough results and *mediakritik* (media criticism), none. However, when I tried *public service* as query term, lots of texts appeared.

The corpus includes all of the texts found on the chosen websites when entering these query terms to a maximum of 25 per website until the date of data capture (21 April 2021), but not older than from 2017, to keep the timeline contemporary. Then, only articles containing Swedish mainstream media criticism, written in Swedish and free to access, were chosen. The format of the texts is mainly articles, but some are chronicles written by notable

journalists for the media, such as editors-in-chief of the media. Also, some interviews are included, wherein the questions are clearly critical towards mainstream media (such as “So you really want to pay taxes for the left wing biased public service we have today?” etc.). Those texts that referred to the far-right alternative media themselves or foreign media, were excluded as this is not what I am investigating.

Not all websites had 25 articles containing criticism towards Swedish mainstream media, but as they were close (20 articles), I do not see it as a problem. Likewise, the query term *public service* generated slightly less results on the websites but can still be claimed to be properly included in the corpus. Lastly, some of the articles at *Nya tider* were only partly free (around two thirds of the article), and one had to pay if wanting the full article, which I did not do. Those were included anyway, as I do not aim to look at the composition of the articles.

This systemized collection gave me a corpus based on 20 texts from *Fria tider*, 25 texts from *Nya tider*, 20 texts from *Nyheter idag* and 25 texts from *Samnytt*. The texts were downloaded as text files into a separate document, as *AntConc* only works with plain text files. Photos, formatting styles and links to other articles, were removed in this step, leading to a document with pure text. The Swedish letters å, ä and ö were changed into aa, ae och oe as *AntConc* cannot handle these letters. In addition, the links to the texts were copied into a Google spreadsheet in order to keep track of which articles that had been used etc. See table 1 for an extract of the table, and the appendix for a full list of the used articles in specialized corpus 1 (and specialized corpus 2). Altogether, the texts of Specialized corpus 1 constitute 45667 tokens.

Table 1. Part of Google Spreadsheet of Specialized corpus 1. To see all articles, see appendix.

Table 1. Corpus 1 archive					
html	Website	Query term	No.	Published	Retrieved
https://www.friatider.se/svensk-media-b-rjar-rapportera-om-fsas-vergrepp-i-syrien	Fria Tider	media	1	2019-10-14	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/dagens-media-mattsson-flick-sparken-fr-n-expressen	Fria Tider	media	2	2019-08-16	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/google-betalar-loner-etablerad-media	Fria Tider	media	3	2021-04-06	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/domd-mordare-pa-rymmen-media-pixlar	Fria Tider	media	4	2020-07-24	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/sa-skonmalar-media-fortfarande-eliasson-och-federley	Fria Tider	media	5	2021-01-11	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/rapport-dyrkandet-av-tegnell-ingen-problem-trovardigheten-hos-svensk-media	Fria Tider	media	6	2020-08-02	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/vandningen-media-skriver-positivt-om-sd	Fria Tider	media	7	2020-01-28	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/media-m-rkade-fortyrd-d-mot-ungt-par-i-stockholm	Fria Tider	media	8	2019-12-09	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/sd-varnar-fr-fns-migrationsavtal-uppmanar-lill-statlig-styrning-av-media	Fria Tider	media	9	2018-11-30	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/islamistiskt-terrodd-i-sandviken-tystas-ner-i-media-skrek-allahu-akbar-och-knivh-gg-man-i-ansiktet	Fria Tider	media	10	2018-07-18	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/vansterjournalist-hangde-ut-svensk-privatperson-atalas-i-ungern	Fria Tider	media	11	2020-08-26	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/s-liuger-media-om-q-teborg	Fria Tider	media	12	2017-10-01	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/media-m-rkar-opcw-rapport-om-kemattack-i-syrien	Fria Tider	media	13	2018-07-15	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/v-nsterextrem-svensk-journalist-gripen-fr-turkisk-terror	Fria Tider	media	14	2017-08-09	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/blogg/eskilstunakuriren-snickrar-p-fler-falska-nyheter	Fria Tider	media	15	2017-03-09	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/blogg/op-sprider-grov-f-riai	Fria Tider	media	16	2017-05-01	2021-04-18
https://www.friatider.se/majoritet-utg-r-fr-n-alt-svensk-media-liuger-om-invandringen	Fria Tider	public service	17	2017-05-29	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/svensk-regimpress-fr-statligt-bidrag-fr-alt-bek-mpa-alternativ-media-i-valir-relsen	Fria Tider	public service	18	2017-10-30	2021-04-15
https://www.friatider.se/svt-utrikesfodda-kan-radda-arbetsmarknaden	Fria Tider	public service	19	2020-10-10	2021-04-18
https://www.friatider.se/lofven-sds-krav-holar-demokratlin	Fria Tider	public service	20	2020-02-22	2021-04-18

7.5 Specialized Corpus 2 (Deplatforming)

In this corpus, the criteria were wider than in the specialized corpus 1, as I am interested in how the far-right alternative media discuss deplatforming in general, not only when a deplatforming is settled in Sweden. I chose the query term *avstängd* (shut off/suspended) and *blockerad* (blocked) as these are words commonly used when discussing deplatforming in Swedish. I did try with entering *deplatformering* (deplatforming directly translated to Swedish), but with no results. When entering the query term *avstängd* at the chosen medias websites, many articles regarding people being suspended from work or likewise, showed up but were not included, since I'm focusing on deplatforming on digital platforms. Others implemented restrictions were that the articles needed to concern when users (individuals as well as organizations and companies) or content have been blocked/suspended/deplatformed from a digital platform (*Twitter*, *Facebook* for example). Note that I did not include articles wherein the user was banned from following a personal account, as that is another matter. Similar to specialized corpus 1, chronicles were included if they were written by a prominent person within the media, as well as the partial articles from *Fria tider*. Also, the Swedish letters å, ä and ö were changed into aa, ae och oe.

Akin to the specialized corpus 1, only articles from 2017 until the date of data capture (22 April 2021) were included, in order to keep the timeline contemporary. The number of articles from each media turned out more "uneven" than in specialized corpus 1, since the query terms received fewer results than those regarding media criticism. As *Fria tider* and *Nyheter idag* gave a smaller result, I included more articles than 25 from *Nya tider* and *Samhällsnytt*, with the acknowledgment that these media constitute a bigger part of the

results. In total, the systemized collection gave me a corpus with 13 texts from *Fria tider*, 25 texts from *Nya tider*, 14 texts from *Nyheter idag* and 26 texts from *Samhällsnytt*. In total, the corpus consists of 26848 words.

7.6 *AntConc* and Corpus-based analysis

When the corpora were gathered, they were put through electronic coding. Here, I used the software called *AntConc* made by Anthony Lawrence (2014). *AntConc* is “a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis” (Lawrence, 2014). The software offers several analysis tools and I chose to look at Frequency, Word List, Keyword List, Concordance, and Collocates. What this means and how the analysis was carried out will be explained below.

8. Results

8.1 Calculating Frequency and Keywords

Baker states that Frequency is a great starting point for corpus analysis, as it is one of the most basic tools for the method (Baker, 2006:47). To note, is that one should use it with sensitivity, as it otherwise can be generalizing (ibid). Likewise, it should not be the most prominent measurement tool in the analysis. With this in mind, and if used right, frequencies can tell of interesting linguistic trends though. Language is in this matter seen as having sociological and ideological underpinnings, which can be revealed through studying frequencies. As quoted by Stubbs, “no terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position” (ibid). For example, if the writer uses the phrase *child murder*, instead of *abortion*, that tells of an ideological stance, whether it is consciously or not.

Hence, the first step of the operationalization was to apply the *AntConc* **Word List tool**, in order to find the most frequently used words in the corpora. See table 2 for the results.

Table 2. The total number of words within the corpora, and the most frequently used words within the corpora, found by the *AntConc* Word list-tool.

Corpus	Total amount of words	The most frequently used words	English translation
Reference corpus	499073	<i>och, i, en, som, att, är</i>	<i>and, in, a/an/one, as, to, is</i>
MSM-criticism (specialized corpus)	45667	<i>att, i, och, som, det, är</i>	<i>to, in, and, as, it, is</i>
Deplatforming (specialized corpus)	26848	<i>att, och, som, i, av, på</i>	<i>to, and, as, in, of, on</i>

As one can see, grammatical words were the most common in all corpora (top six). This is expected as language consists of many grammatical words and patterns like this are

commonly found when calculating word frequency within a corpus (Baker, 2006:53). These grammatical words can also be referred to as “function words” and seen as a closed group of words, mainly consisting of prepositions, pronouns, determiners and conjunctions) (ibid). In this case, they also tell me that the specialized corpora are no different from the reference corpus in this sense.

In order to make the data more sensible before moving forward, I converted all of the words that appeared as the top six most frequently used into percentages as well. See table 3 for the results.

Table 3. The most frequently used words within the corpora, found by the *AntConc* Word list-tool, in percentage.

Table 3. Frequency words in percentage			
Word	Reference corpus	Msm-criticism (SC 1)	Deplatforming (SC 2)
<i>att (to)</i>	3,27%	3,46%	3,73%
<i>i (in)</i>	3,25%	2,85%	2,08%
<i>och (and)</i>	2,84%	2,79%	2,35%
<i>en (a/an/one)</i>	2,40%	1,74%	1,50%
<i>det (it)</i>	2,20%	2,12%	1,65%
<i>som (as)</i>	2,04%	2,22%	2,10%
<i>är (is)</i>	1,78%	1,78%	1,44%
<i>av (of)</i>	1,08%	1,29%	1,74%

The same pattern appeared when all the words were counted in percentages, and the differences between the corpora were so small I found them insignificant. As a summary, the most common words existed to less or more to the same extent in the corpora.

I proceeded to the next step, to look at the most frequent words apart from grammatical ones (nouns, verbs, adjectives). In this step, I also attempted to leave the “function words” behind me in this step, as lexical words (nouns, adjectives, verbs and lexical adjectives) are known for giving better contextual insights (ibid:54). Hence, I gathered the top twenty most frequent **lexical words** in each corpus in this step, as, lexical words give a better idea of what the text is really about. Words that belong to the same major word class but differ in inflection or spelling, such as *media* and *medias*, were put together. Among the most frequent lexical words, verbs appeared such as *said*, *is*, *has*. Since these rather work as function words, I

decided to focus on the more describing words, as suggested by Baker (2016:55). Se table 4 for the results.

Table 4. The top twenty most frequent words within the reference corpus, the specialized corpus 1 and the specialized corpus 2.

Table 4. Top twenty most frequent words, all corpora								
Reference corpus	Ranking	Frequency	Msm-criticism (SC 1)	Ranking	Frequency	Deplatforming (SC 2)	Ranking	Frequency
betyg <i>grade</i>	87	487	svt <i>swedish national tv</i>	24	205	facebook <i>facebook</i>	15	256
liv/livet <i>life/ the life</i>	101/181	424/231	public <i>public</i>	30	158	twitter <i>twitter</i>	25	120
svenska/ svensk swedish	110/253	398/168	service <i>service</i>	31	157	trump <i>trump</i>	36	80
bok/boken <i>book/ the book</i>	113/128	392/359	sverige/svenska/svensk/sveriges <i>sweden, swedish</i>	32/45/134/84	155/97/36/58	sociala <i>social</i>	40	72
barn <i>children</i>	142	314	media/medier media/ <i>medias</i>	37/42	135/111	avstängd <i>suspended</i>	42	70
människor <i>people</i>	157	267	sr <i>swedish national radio</i>	82	59	sverige/svenska sweden/ <i>swedish</i>	43/95	70/34
gamla <i>old</i>	159	264	sd <i>swedish democrats (parliamental party)</i>	86	55	bort <i>away</i>	46	63
vatten <i>water</i>	165	260	skriver <i>writes</i>	88	54	inlägg <i>post/posts</i>	48	61
handlar <i>shops/acts</i>	175	245	regeringen <i>the government</i>	93	51	robinson <i>robinson</i>	51	51
världen <i>the world</i>	179	234	nyheter <i>news</i>	101	46	youtube <i>youtube</i>	53	56
författare/författaren writer/ <i>the writer</i>	185/216	229/200	medierna <i>the medias</i>	111	42	google <i>google</i>	60	51
musik <i>music</i>	198	216	politiska <i>political</i>	112	42	medier <i>medias</i>	61	51
kvinnor <i>women</i>	210	203	tv <i>tv</i>	114	42	konto/konton account/ <i>accounts</i>	69/83	48/40
skär <i>cuts/ pink</i>	217	199	usa <i>usa</i>	120	40	konservativa <i>conservative</i>	86	39
historia <i>history</i>	222	196	samhällsnytt (<i>name of a swedish far right media</i>)	122	39	samhällsnytt (<i>name of a swedish far right media</i>)	90	36
hand <i>hand</i>	227	191	journalister <i>journalists</i>	127	37	regeringen <i>the government</i>	93	35
verk <i>work</i>	241	176	expressen (<i>name of a swedish media</i>)	139	34	usa <i>usa</i>	96	34
bästa <i>the best</i>	244	172	radio <i>radio</i>	144	34	donald <i>donald</i>	97	33
ord <i>words</i>	248	171	eu <i>european union</i>	149	33	följare <i>followers</i>	98	33
väg <i>road</i>	250	170	gammelmedia " <i>old media</i> "	158	32	censur <i>censorship</i>	101	32

*the names are written in lowercase letters in the table, as this is how they appear in *AntConc*.

When comparing the most frequent words in the specialized corpora, with the reference corpus, I only find one word that appears in all three of them: different varieties regarding Sweden (*sverige, svensk, svenskar*). Otherwise, the specialized corpora regarding mainstream media criticism and deplatforming, differ from the reference corpora regarding top twenty most frequent lexical words.

The next *AntConc-tool* that I applied was the **Keyword List**. The tools allow a comparison between the reference corpus, and the corpora that I have created in order to extract the

words that differ the most between the specialized corpora and the reference corpora, with the focus on frequency. Hence, the most characterizing words for the corpus – those with the *highest keyness* – become illuminated. Picture 4 and 5 show the found keywords.

Picture 4. Keyword-list of Corpus 1

Keyword List Results 6

Keyword Types: 409 Keyword Tokens: 14996 Search Hits: 0

Rank	Freq	Keyness (LL4)	Effect (DICE)	Keyword
1	205	+ 995.02	0.0089	svt
2	158	+ 762.69	0.0069	public
3	157	+ 742.12	0.0069	service
4	155	+ 732.29	0.0068	sverige
5	135	+ 634.11	0.0059	media
6	111	+ 516.54	0.0048	medier
7	1580	+ 306.86	0.0547	att
8	59	+ 292.58	0.0026	sr
9	58	+ 287.62	0.0025	sveriges
10	55	+ 272.74	0.0024	sd
11	132	+ 253.86	0.0057	s
12	49	+ 233.35	0.0021	idag
13	85	+ 199.55	0.0037	aar
14	39	+ 193.39	0.0017	samhaellsnytt
15	51	+ 187.62	0.0022	regeringen
16	46	+ 180.66	0.002	nyheter
17	34	+ 168.59	0.0015	expressen
18	40	+ 167.83	0.0018	usa
19	33	+ 163.63	0.0014	samtidigt
20	32	+ 158.67	0.0014	gammelmedia

The keyword-list shown in **picture 4**, shows those words that are significantly more frequent in the specialized corpus 1, than in the reference corpus, i.e. those words with the *highest keyness*. For the next step, *public* and *service* are summoned together as they were assumed to arrive together as they constitute the term *public service*. (This assumption was confirmed through reentering *AntConc* and look at their contextual appearance). Likewise, *Sverige* (Sweden) and *sveriges* (Sweden's) were summoned together.

Picture 5. Keyword-list of Corpus 2

Keyword List Results 8

Keyword Types: 450 Keyword Tokens: 11186 Search Hits: 0

Rank	Freq	Keyness (LL4)	Effect (DICE)	Keyword
1	256	+ 1525.54	0.0189	facebook
2	120	+ 714.52	0.0089	twitter
3	80	+ 476.23	0.0059	trump
4	70	+ 391.97	0.0052	avstaengd
5	70	+ 385.97	0.0052	sverige
6	58	+ 335.19	0.0043	robinson
7	61	+ 333.45	0.0045	inlaegg
8	56	+ 333.31	0.0042	youtube
9	51	+ 303.55	0.0038	google
10	48	+ 285.68	0.0036	konto
11	51	+ 275.29	0.0038	medier
12	1002	+ 263.14	0.0522	att
13	40	+ 238.06	0.003	konton
14	72	+ 237.78	0.0053	sociala
15	36	+ 214.25	0.0027	samhaellsnytt
16	33	+ 196.39	0.0025	donald
17	33	+ 196.39	0.0025	foeljare
18	33	+ 187.47	0.0025	idag
19	39	+ 180.57	0.0029	konservativa
20	34	+ 173	0.0025	usa

The keyword-list shown in **picture 5**, shows those words that are significantly more frequent in the specialized corpus 2, than in the reference corpus, i.e., those words with the *highest keyness*. The difference between the corpora is reasonable due the contemporariness of the most frequent words in specialized corpus 2. However, they are still interesting to analyze.

8.2 Concordance and Collocates

These keywords form **the base for the further analysis**, as they tell of the text's characteristics. Hence, they are the ones upon which the *AntConc*-tools concordance and collocates are conducted.

The **concordance** words are named KWIC (Keyword in context) in *AntConc* and can tell of how words and phrases usually are used in the corpus, in a contextual, sequential way (Laurence, 2014b:2). Similar to before, words interpreted as functions words were removed for further analysis in this step, even though they appeared in the keyword-list.

The following 12 keywords were selected for further analysis:

- svt
- public
- service
- sverige/sveriges
- media/medier
- sr
- samhällsnytt
- regeringen
- nyheter
- expressen
- usa
- gammelmedia

Table 5. Concordance hits for specialized corpus 1

Table 5.		<i>words with * means the word appears in different grammatical forms</i>
Keyword SC1	Concordance hits	Top concordance
svt	205	åsiktskorridoren, vilseleder, asylinvandrarerna, bluffade, kulturradikal, arrogansen, skattebetalarna, identitetspolitiskt, omskrivningen, principiella, yttrandefriheten
public service	315	riksdagen, aborträtt, demokratiska, samhället, skenbart, egentligen, rödgröna, opartiskt, roten, uppdraget, värd, återhämtat, regimkritisk, partidistrikens, styrelser, debatt, krav
sverige/sveriges	257	befolkning, behöver, ändrat, reglerna, "hjärntvättat", "oberoende", diktaur, rättstat, underrapporterade, åsiktskorridor, annonsörflykt, demokratifråga, kritikerna, corona-strategi, politiska, opartisk, dödstal
media/medier	246	ansvariga, attacker, bevakar, påståendet, fake news, ovilliga, tortyren, kristna, kyrkor, "kulturkamp", alternativ/alternativa, bekämpa,

		växande, örebropartiet, valrörelsen, framväxten, vänsterliberala
sr	59	Aftonbladet, Ekot, anklagas, Expressen, Samhällsnytt, statliga, miljoner, vänstervridet, politiskt, Dagens nyheter, illa, SVT, Studio ett, ansvarig utgivare, Bonnier, Schibstedt
samhällsnytt	39	avslöjat, Ekot, försökt, ringt, ihjäl, ansvarig, riksdagsledamoten, uppmärksammat, gammelmedia, Kazastan, migrationsliberala, åsikter, kritik, motbevisas, SR, Stockholm, skarp
regeringen	51	agerar, bestämde, anser, bestämde, förklarar, västerländsk, FHM, olämpligt, utmärkt, hävdar, kräver, islamister, "tillförlitlig journalistik", Moderaterna, Riksdagen, myndigheter
nyheter	46	Aftonbadet, avslöjat, Expressen, alternativa, Chang Frick, Khamenei, Eliasson, sprids, framträder, faktum, "faktagranskning", Erik Ohlsson, undersökning
expressen	34	Aftonbladet, Svt, Svt, DN, Andreas Ericsson, Thomas Mattsson, -chefen, Karom Olsson, Liberalerna, knäpptyst, SR. Gp, Sydsvenskan,
usa	40	modern, tid, avfyrrar, händelserna, maktskiftet, svarta, våldsbrotten, vänner, uppenbart, skyldiga, 28 juli 2983, lågkonjunktur, dödade, orosmoln
gammelmedia	32	propaganda, snyftreportage, konflikt, Lind, dubbla, måttstockar, rapportering, kritiska, Lamotte, plu-gin, rensar, favorisera, innehåll, "tillförlitlig journalistik", kostar, liv, förminskar, attackerna, Lamotte, sommarlovsprogram, inte, sanningseligt, vänsterliberal, Samhällsnytt

Regarding the specialized corpus 2, the following 16 keywords were selected for further analysis:

- facebook
- twitter
- trump
- avstängd
- sverige
- robinson
- inlägg
- youtube
- google

- konto/konton
- sociala medier (put together due to their affinity)
- donald
- följare
- konservativa
- usa

Table 6. Concordance hits for specialized corpus 2

Table 6		<i>words with * means the word appears in different grammatical forms</i>
Keyword SC2	Concordance hits	Top concordance
facebook	356	"åsiktsavstängning", "rasism", tyvärr, Joakim Lamotte, avslöjade Breitbart, kontrollerar flöden, Raheem Kassam, Sverige, blockerat/blockerat, censur/censurerar, stänga, sluta, Janouch, konservativ
twitter	120	blockera*, förbjuda, radera, Alex Jones, Mark Rutte, Tommy Robinson, Vox, Hopkins, Hillary Clinton, krävt, lagar, nedstängning, lagar, varnat, medie-jättarna
trump	80	meddelade, stängs*, nedstängning, Instagram blockerar, permanent, poströstning, tyst, Alex Jones
avstängd	70	censurera*, konservativa, regelbrott, "vänstermänniskor", Facebook, Hanif Bali, Aron Flam, Katerina Janouch, näthat, Trump, medborgarjournalist
sverige	70	facebook, "åsiktsavstängning", drabba, Alternativ för Sverige, Granskning Sverige, Stå upp för Sverige, Annika Strandhäll, förklarliga skäl, ledande socialdemokrater, Nordkorea, Erik van der Heeg, Youtube
robinson	58	är kritisk, besvarade the sun, blev känd, blev nedstängd, blev permanent avstängd, blockerade intäkter, brittiska medborgare, avslöjat, dokumentär, filma, smutskasta, falska anklagelser, svartmålningen, privat film, februari, grooming-gång, högerextrem islamofob, Daily mail, Kent Ekeroth
Inlägg	61	Jonas Andersson, censur, raderade, bort, spanar, äntligen, Maria Robsahm, bortplockat, bryter mot "communityreglerna", självutnämnd, kritiserar*, borgmästare Sadiq, Black lives, Youtube-profilen Angry Foreigner, släpptes, Lamotte
youtube	56	granskning Sverige, återkopplar, drevet, överlägset, radera, stänga av, censurera Alternativ för Sverige, borta, äger, "hets mot

		folkgrupp", google, organisation, medborgarjournalister, släcktes ned, policy, Pakistans lagar, Jeff Ahl, avstängda
google	51	ägare, svenska journalistförbundet, avkastning, avstängda, protestform, avböjde, inget svar, bort, AdSense, klippet, övervaka, Sverige, medborgarjournaliseter, amazon Corner, Appstore, itunes, behandlar sina kunder, bokstavligen blockerar miljoner, censurerar även sökresultat, motarbetar, drog in, Epstein, förnekar,
konto/konton	88	kraftigt begränsade, avstängd*, innebär, därefter, Parler, BLM-anhängade, blockera*, Twitter, drar in reklammöjligheter, Project Veritas, brutit, facebook kontrollerar flöden, röster, välkända aktörer, släcktes flera andra, mediajätten, man bekämpar "falska konton", Marcus Follin, Rabani, Potus, VK, Jan Sjunnesson
sociala medier	123	alternativ, upplevelser, impopulär, permanent avstängd, Trumps avstängning, tidens deplatformeringar, samhällskritiska höger röster, Donald Trump Junior, censuren av journalistik, känslöstyr, Tommy Robinson, masscensurerad, stora plattformarna, popularitet, tysta den sittande presidenten, Kasaam, drabbat, borgerliga, motiverar, Wilders
donald	33	populära, använder uttrycker "American Patriots", avstängd permanent, censuren av konservativa, Junior, orädd islamkritikern, posta material, "våldglorifieringspolicy", uppmuntra pedofili, stark kritik, distributörer, USA:s folkvalde president, avågende, Boulevard
följare	33	Mark Rutte, Markus Follin, Zayera Khan, Yaxley-Lennon, Hopkins, Donald Trump, USA, konton med miljontals, 80 miljoner, många, över en miljon, stort antal, MeWe, uppmande, Nederländerna, Expressen, överlevt, träningsgurun,
konservativa	39	åsikter, Tommy Robinson, Watson, konservativ aktivisten Candace Owens, presidentvalet, spanska valet, journaliströster, kolumnisten och kommentatorn, Katie Hopkins, nyhetsaktören Politicalite, alternativa röster, Donald Trump, censur, systematisk censur, Mastercard, Europaredaktören, avstängd
usa	34	invandringskritiker som Katie Hopkins, Sadiq Khan, demokratiska partiet, nästa presidentval, FN-ambassadör, blockade, folkvalde president Donald Trump, "anti-trust laws", libertarianen Ron Paul, konservativ organisation censureras, godtyckligt

Table 5 and 6, gives an idea of what kind of context the keywords commonly appear in (concordance). Discussion and analysis of these findings, is presented in part 9.

In the next step, **collocates** were investigated. This means that the *AntConc*-collocate-tool distinguishes words that regularly appear together, non-sequentially (Laurence, 2014b:2). See the results in table 7 and 8 below.

Table 7. Top Collocates for Specialized Corpus 1 (Mainstream Media Criticism)

Table 7	<i>words with * means the word appears in different grammatical forms</i>
Keyword SC1	Top collocates
svt	visselblåsare, lömskt, islamism, coronavaccinering, vänstervridet, visselblåsande, vinstmaskin, vilseleder, valdebatten, västerbotten, vänsterforskare, vänsteråsikter, väder, vaccineringen, utsände, utrikeskorrespondent, utopisk, uthängd
public service	slutbetänkande, hållas, granskaren, kommitténs, service, verkliga, värdesätter, värd, vänstervridningen, vänsterut, välkända, uthängning, utformar, ursprungliga, uppdraget, ungdomsprogrammen, tystnaden, tillfredsställande, systemtrogna, svidande
sverige/sveriges	kännas, hemland, borta, bakvägen, systemkritiker, övervakar, television, visum, vistas, vidkommande, verkställes, verkligt, världspresident, värdefullt, vänsterliberalat, välutbildade, vacker, världköerna, utredarens
media/medier	tillämpar, grips, eko, fokuserar, bevakar, sociala, ytterligheterna, ytterkantshögern, vidtar, vardag, valurnorna, växande, västerländsk, världsuppfattningen, världsbilder, världsbild, väntat, vänsterjournalisten, vänsterextremister
sr	underhållning, tryggad, tillsättningen, sympatiserar, sydsvenskan, studio, sport, spelades, smickrande, skenbart, skenbar, schibsted, realpolitiskt, rättare, podd, placera, opinionsmätning, olle, omvandlar, omger
samhällsnytt	telefonintervjun, statens, tove, spårbytare, selektiva, rullas, ringt, recensionerna, recensioner, publiceringschef, överklagat, norr, motbevisas, migrationsliberala, mejladress, mediejättens, lyssnas, livesändningar, länken, igår
regeringen	olämpligt, västerländsk, utses, utmanas, uppmaningar, tillsagd, tillkännagivanden, tillkännager, styrelse, strösslat, stiftelse, skänker, silkesvantar, säkerhet, rycker, rimmor, rättsväsende, presenterade, ohållbart, officiellt
nyheter	värnamo, uppstickare, underkuvad, torra, tillrättalagda, tillbakavisar, snickrar, smålänningen, sedvanlig, redogjorde, plattform, pensioneringen, nyårsafton, nödvändigtvis, neutrala, mottagande, manus, krönikör, kosta, journalistisk
expressen	vetande, valrörelser, vänsterprofilen, utsago, sydsvenskan, sammanlagt, ryter, rymmen, rapporterades, praktikant, pixla, pensionär, påstods, offentliggjort, mörkande, medarbetaren, kvällstidningen, kvällstidningar, kvällstidning, kommissariatet

gammelmedia	visavi, väntat, tesen, sommarlovsprogram, slapp, skänker, sanningsenligt, rensar, regel, ointresserade, oemotsagda, normal, nedtonad, myten, misstänks, måttstockar, måndagens, konflikt, ihållande
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Table 8. Top Collocates for Specialized Corpus 2 (Deplatforming)

Table 8	<i>words with * means the word appears in different grammatical forms</i>
Keyword SC2	Top collocates
facebook	medierapportering, kontrollerar, guardian, frihetsberövande, flöden, exponerats, alternativt, medvetet, kafkesque, miljontals, videoreportaget, vicedirektör, veckovisa, varefter, vann, växlar, vänliga, välkända, utspelar
twitter	syftar, polistweets, pakistans, visades, virala, vikit, vidta, varningstexter, varningsflagga, vansinne, vänliga, uttrycket, utrensningssaktion, tyler, twitrare, twitterkontot, tweetsen, trollkontona, träffade, tolererar
trump	ökade, markant, hårdhandskarna, följarskara, webbsidan, vinna, vänliga, våldsglorifieringspolicy, uttrycket, utrensningssaktion, uppgett, undertecknade, tweetats, systemsajten, synnerhet, strömningstjänst, stormade, spritt, sprids, specialbevakar
avstängd	vänstermänniskor, utrensningssaktion, traditionellt, ton, wdr, tjänstefel, temporärt, svaromål, strömningstjänst, stött, profil, parlamentarikern, mediehajpade, meddelades, lynchbetende, kroatisk, kommentatorn, kolumnisten, journaliströster, hälsosajt
sverige	yttrandefrihetssituationen, varefter, vänstervridet, vänsterfäste, väg, väckt, våldsamma, utrymme, utbredd, upprepas, uppkommande, upphovsrättsskyddade, ungdomar, torgmöten, tidningarnas, svarsalternativen, statssanktionerad, startats, ställdes, socialminister
robinson	islamofob, högerextrem, bokad, pund, whole, vinklad, videoreportaget, vändning, väggen, uppfattar, tystas, tillbringade, taxichaufför, svartmålningen, suns, stött, stephen, smutskasta, sekvenser, samnytt
inlägg	virala, varningsflagga, valuta, utgjorde, uppmätta, upphävde, titulerat, tillbakavisade, tillåtna, talad, täckte, synes, styrande, sprids, spanar, socialisterna, släpptes, skriva, skolbarn
youtube	videotjänsten, väsentliga, utah, uppmärksammades, twitrare, trender, tillförlitliga, tester, superstjärnor, startats, spel, slag, sharia, sammankomst, samhällsfrågor, reklamöjligheter, publicist, pakistans, oppositionella, överlägset
google	klippet, webbsidor, verktyget, vare, uppnått, uppkomna, ultimatum, tillgå, things, stifta, spridare, skrida, reklamkonto, proteststorm, positioner, play, övrebys, nyheten, motsvarande, manipulerat
konto/konton	weme, vidtar, välkända, uttalad, upplevs, trenden, träningsgurun, tjänstens, talande, täten, systemkritiska, strida, startat, special, spärrat, släckts, släcker, skaffade, skärmdump, skälig
sociala medier	veckans, varmed, utrensningen, utrensning, upplevelser, trafik, tidens, stundtals, språngbräda, smyga, skidmore, sanktioner,

	rasar, provocerar, produkt, pressbild, popularitet, podcasten, peking, orättvisa
donald	jr, webbsidan, varningsflagga, våldsglorifieringspolicy, uttrycket, utrensningssaktion, uppgett, undertecknade, tweetats, sprids, son, riktat, reagerat, presidentskap, populära, orädda, öppna, juniors, hårdhandskarna, fundera
följare	tidningars, special, sammanlagt, rutte, premiärminister, ofrivilligt, överlevt, nederländernas, narratives, miljontals, massanmält, lennon, kvarts, döma, direktkommunikation, borttaget, ägda, miljon, nästan, varav
konservativa	webbsidan, voltaire, valrörelsen, växlar, vänliga, uteslutande, tystas, tvingat, trycker, systematiska, ståndpunkt, såsom, reklamöjligheter, raheem, pressar, plattformarnas, parlamentsval, motarbetas, mastercard, massblockering
usa	fox, utrensningssaktion, uppemot, skrattar, skärmavbild, säkerhetsrådgivare, sågar, pressbild, presidentval, ovanligt, otaliga, obegränsat, nationella, moderater, mjukvaran, mellanval, märks, laws, krig, konkurrenslagar

In **table 7** and **8**, the collocates for the corpora are shown. Discussion and analysis of these findings is presented in part 9.

9. Analysis and Conclusion

9.1 A Brief Summary of the Results

This study has examined textual content from Swedish far-right websites with the purpose of identifying what linguistic characteristics appears when criticism towards the mainstream media is held, what linguistic characteristics appears when the phenomenon deplatforming is discussed, and whether the content contains indicators of overestimation of the media influence (as described by Couldry, 2014), anti-systemness (as the term is presented by Holt (2018)). The study has investigated 45667 tokens from the Swedish far-right online media's *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt* (with slightly more content from *Nya tider* and *Samhällsnytt*), with the help from the corpus linguistics method and the *AntConc* software, focusing on linguistic patterns.

Overall, function words such as att (to), i (in), och (and), en (one/a/an), det (it), som (as), är (is), av (of), were the most frequent words in both the reference corpus, as well as in the specialized corpus 1 and 2. However, these were not be analyzed further as they do not tell anything in relation to the research questions. However, one could mention that this similarity between reference corpus and the specialized corpus 1 and 2, implies that they all

consist of similar genres of texts (Swedish online news). This strengthens the reliability of the reference corpus.

Regarding the most frequent lexical words and top keywords, both specialized corpora differed clearly from the reference corpus, a difference that is also explained by the different times of the texts within the corpora being written (2001 vs. 2017-2021). This regards especially corpus 2, whose most frequent words included contemporary names of people and social media.

The specialized corpus 1, which consists of articles concerning mainstream media criticism, has a high frequency of words regarding other media, such as *svt*- the Swedish national tv, *public service*, *sr*- the Swedish national radio, *expressen*- the name of one of Sweden's biggest mainstream media newspapers. As well, more general media-related terms such as *gammelmedia* ("old media"), *journalister*, *radio*, *tv* were frequent. The corpus also has a high frequency of political words such as *eu* (short for European Union), *sd* (short for *Sverigedemokraterna*), *regeringen* (the government). Beyond that *usa* (the US) appears as an interesting characterizing word.

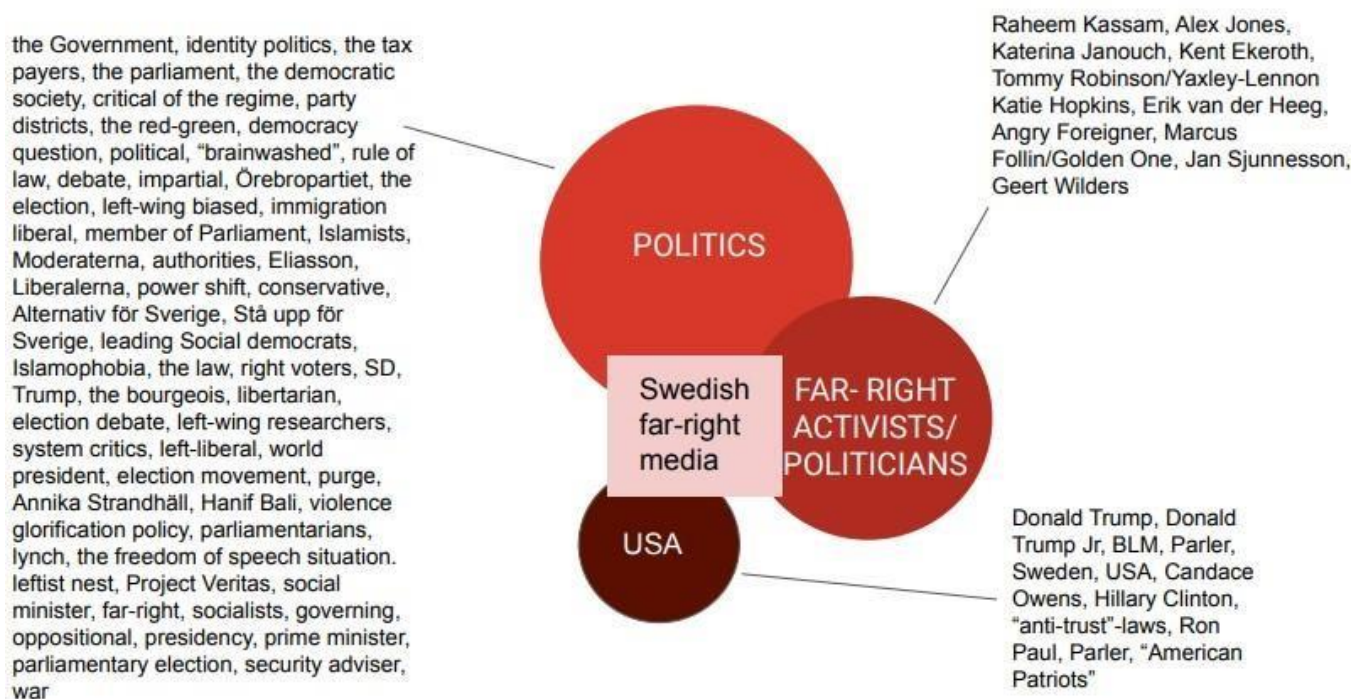
The specialized corpus 2, which consists of articles concerning deplatforming, has a high frequency of political words as well, such as *conservative*, *regeringen*, and *Donald Trump*, *robinson* (when reading the full sentence this name appears in, I can see how it refers to the British far-right activist Tommie Robinson who has been deplatformed several times), *konservativa* (conservative). Further on, many words refer to names of social media platforms and general social media related terms, such as *facebook*, *twitter*, *inlägg* (post), *youtube*, *avstängd* (suspended), *google*, *medier* (medias), *konton* (accounts), *social* (sociala), *följare* (followers). Similar to corpus 1, words related to the US have a high frequency in this corpus as well; *trump*, *donald*, *usa*.

9.2 The Omnipresent Finding: Party politics and Governance

A few interesting general themes appeared when looking at concordances and collocates of both corpora together. Many of the words were either **political, naming far-right activists/politicians** or concerning **the USA**. These themes consist of words that stood out more than for example *media*, *followers*, *social media* and so on, since these are expected words to appear when hitting the chosen query terms. The three themes words also appeared frequently in both specialized corpus 1 and 2, but less in the reference corpus, and can therefore be called traits of characters regarding both corpora, and research question 1 and 2.

See picture 6, for the specific words, sorted into themes.

Picture 6. Figure of Omnipresent Findings



9.3 Discussing the Findings in Corpus 1

Regarding the linguistic characteristics within the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media's **criticism towards mainstream media**, some names of mainstream media are frequently occurring; *svt*, *public service*, *Sr*, *Expressen*.

Svt (short for *Sveriges Television*), and *Sr* (short for *Sveriges Radio*), are the two grand public service companies in Sweden (another smaller one called *Ur* exists as well). Therefore public service can be said to be the most frequently mentioned media within the mainstream media-criticism corpus. Looking at the concordance and collocates for these words, several are negative descriptions of the media, accusing them of being insidious and misleading for example. One ought to bear in mind that negative words by themselves are nothing controversial or unexpected, since it is criticism, we are talking about (even though the examples above can be considered quite harsh). What stands out is the strongest common thread that is associations between *svt*, *public service*, *sr*, *expressen* and left-wing opinions. This is manifested through words such as *vänstervridet* (left-wing biased), *vänsteråsikter* (left-wing opinions), *vänsterut* (to the left), *vänsterforskare* (left-wing scholars), *rödgröna* (the red-green, a leftwing/center coalition in the Swedish parliament).

At a brief look, this coincides with the previous research made by Ustad Figenschou,

Ihlebak (2018), Holt (2019), Ustad Figenschou, Ihlebak and Haanshuus (2020) and Cushion (2020), who acknowledge how the far-right accuse the mainstream media for being left-wing biased. To confirm this idea, I reenter *AntConc* to see full sentences.

My ideas turned out validated as the associations were negative accusations of the public service and *Expressen* being left-wing biased, formulated with sentences such as;

“*Mainstream medias strutsbeteende har gått så långt att de inte ens kallar extremvänstern för extremvänster, utan endast “motdemonstranter”* (The mainstream media's evasive behavior has gone so far that they do not even call the far left the far left, but only "counter-protesters”

“*Detta belyser hur viktigt det är att förstå att mainstream media har en politisk agenda*”.

(This highlights how important it is to understand that the mainstream media has a political agenda.)

“*Många av deras “journalister” står väldigt långt till vänster och reportagen blir därefter*”.

(Many of their "journalists" are very far to the left and the reports then become the same.)

Further on, *media* is a keyword itself in corpus 1. Looking deeper into the context of this word, it is varied, but the accusations of left-wing bias remains, although to a smaller extent than the examples concerning public service and *Expressen*. However, regarding the word *media* it appears words such as *vänsterliberal* (left-wing liberal), *vänsterjournalisten* (the left-wing journalist) and *vänsterextremister* (left-wing extremism). Similar to before, I reentered *AntConc* to look at the specific context these words appear in. Hence, I could assure the idea of an accusation of left-wing bias, as it for example appeared as;

“*...det vänsterliberala medieetablissemanget*” (the left-wing liberal media establishment).

An interesting notion here is that *skattebetalarna* (the taxpayers), *miljoner* (millions) and *vinstmaskin* (money machine), appears as concordance and collocates to the keywords *Svt* and *Sr*. These economic words, combined with the fact that these are public service companies, funded by the citizens' taxes, could indicate an economic reason to why public service is the main target. In the end, the far-right alternative media pay for the public service (other media receive governmental press support but not full funding).

Lastly, I found the word *gammelmedia* (old media) to be an interesting keyword within this corpus. As the word implies, something must be old, and something must be new. What media that is seen as what, is then of interest. Reentering *AntConc* for full sentences, the

word refers to a wide scope. It is used when discussing the governmental funding the media industry received in 2020 due to covid-19, *svt*, *dn* (one of Sweden's largest morning papers), the media that receive aid from the state, *kvällstidningarna* (the evening papers) and *svd* (also one of Sweden's largest morning papers), *expressen* and *aftonbladet* (also evening papers). It is referred to as something negative, with accusations of cover-ups, biasness and a reporting that please an elite;

“*gammelmedia mörkar*” (the old media cover up).

“*gammelmedia tiger*” (the old media keeps silent)

“*Gammelmedia rapporterar också som regel väldigt ängsligt, återhållsamt och pliktskyldigt om sådant som verkligen är känsligt för medlemmar av makteliten, i synnerhet de högst upp i hierarkin.*” (Old media usually report very anxiously, restrainedly and dutifully on things that are sensitive to members of the power elite, especially those at the top of the hierarchy.)

The term is also used as an opposition to the term *alternative media*, such as “*gammelmedia visavi alternativmedia*”. Hence, one could interpret that the alternative media is seen as a new kind of media, that is more correct and reliable in contrast to other old and defective media.

Another peculiar finding in corpus 1, is in the last citation above, (Old media usually report very anxiously...). This indicates a similar view on society as the Gramscian one. Hence, the scholars studying these media, and the persons producing the media, might have a similar view on societal structures?

Lastly, little immigration criticism appears within corpus 1, which goes against much of the previous research and the description of immigration criticism being a core discourse in Swedish far-right alternative media. On the other hand, one should not go as far as saying that it is not a characteristic within the chosen media as a whole, just that it is not substantially represented within this specifically chosen sample focused on the media. Likewise, it could exist but to such a low frequency that it does not appear as the most frequent lexical word, collocate or concordance. Likewise, accusations of liberal bias are absent.

9.4 Discussing the Findings in Corpus 2

Regarding corpus 2 and the linguistic characteristics when the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media discuss **deplatforming**, the most striking pattern is similar to corpus

1; names of subjects are frequently recurring as keyword. In this corpus, it mainly regards names of social media platforms. Especially *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *Youtube* are mentioned (also *Google* but it cannot be called a social media, yet it is big-tech). When looking into the concordances and collocates of these words, together with the keywords that are more general media terms, such as *inlägg* (posts), *konto* (account) *avstängd* (excluded/shut off), *följare* (followers), *blockerad* (blocked), *förbjuda* (forbid), *radera* (delete) and *nedstängning* (suspension) – an interesting pattern is revealed: names of **far-right activists/politicians** are given.

The far-right activists/politicians are mentioned in the context of having been deplatformed or exposed to likewise kinds of social media exclusions. The names are Raaheem Kassam, Markus Follin, Alex Jones, “Angry-foreigner” and Tommy Robinson. When reentering *AntConc* to see the full sentences, many of the given reasons for the deplatforming or exclusion are written within quotation marks, which signals an ironic or jeering attitude towards the motivation.

“...på Facebook blev Janouch sjaelv avstängd för ”regelbrott”.” (On Facebook, Janouch herself got excluded due to “breaking the rules of conduct”).

“...kanalen skulle ha gjort sig skyldig till ”hets mot folkgrupp”, återigen utan att detta förklarades närmare”. (the channel would have been guilty of “incitement against ethnic groups”, again without this being explained in more detail.)

“...att ta bort det man menar är ”hat” och ”rasism””. (...to remove what one understands as "hate" and "racism").

Altogether, one could interpret it as if the far-right alternative media do not consider the reasons for deplatforming or other kind of social media exclusion to be sufficient or serious. It is also interesting how only deplatforming of the far right is mentioned, not when other content or accounts are removed. As mentioned by Baker, what is not said can be more important than what is actually said (2006:182). The silence regarding other deplatformings events might not be *more important* in this case, but can tell of a biased focus.

There are also other activists mentioned in the concordances and collocates regarding the social media platforms. In the Swedish debate they are often referred to as far right but who might not call themselves so. These are for example, Joakim Lamotte, Candace Owens, Kent Ekeroth, Erik van der Heeg, Katerina Janouch, Jeff Ahl, Donald Trump Jr, Jan Sjunnesson,

and Jonas Andersson. A few other politicians, who are not far-right or even right wing, are mentioned as well such as Mark Rutte, Hillary Clinton and Annika Strandhäll.

Having established that a lot of personal names frequently occur when social media platforms and deplatforming is discussed (often the names of people somewhere on the far-right spectrum), a similar tendency is seen in how *Donald, Trump* and *Robinson* are frequently occurring. This is to such a large extent, they make up keywords themselves. When Donald Trump is mentioned, lots of the concordance and collocates concern when he was deplatformed from different social media platforms in 2021, but many words also regard American politics in a more general sense. When Robinson is mentioned, lots of the concordance and collocates concern the case when he was deplatformed as well, but here, more words occur again with quotation marks:

“Han har samtidigt blivit avstängd fraan Facebook, Instagram, Twitter och Snapchat som bland annat ska ha hänvisat till brott mot ”användaravtalet” medan Robinson och många andra kallade det censur.” (He has also been suspended from Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Snapchat that, for instance, have referred to violations of the “user agreement” while Robinson and many others called it censorship.)

Hence, the same jeering attitude as recently mentioned, appears here as well, wherein the motivation for deplatforming is dismissed.

It is also interesting what central role Donald Trump (and the USA, which also has its very own keyword) are given. On the other hand, this is nothing unique for the politically interested, as the USA is a superpower, given a lot of attention within the Swedish media in general. Likewise, the deplatforming of Donald Trump was a historical event, and its presence within the corpus is not that surprising.

The power theme that is mentioned as an *omnipresent finding*, is also present regarding the social media platforms. The corporates often appear together with words regarding seclusion, censorship and power, as well as descriptive names of how big the corporates are, such as “the media giants”. This tells of a view of the social media platforms as powerful media institutions.

Lastly, there is one keyword within the specialized corpus 2 that caught my interest; *conservative*. The concordance and collocates surrounding this word concern far-right activists or politicians (Tommy Robinson again, and the right-wing commentator Katie Hopkins), as well as the American conservative politician Candace Owens and Donald Trump. Regardless of whether they are far-right or conservative, the far-right alternative

media refer to all of them as conservative, which I interpret as an attempt to avoid the term *far right*.

Words in the context of conservative, also regard different kinds of elections and deplatforming-related words such as *massblockering* (mass blocking), *tystas* (silenced) and *systematisk censur* (systematic censorship).

The appearance of *conservative* as a keyword is also interesting as it adheres to the finding of how party politics and governance permeates both corpora and is a central theme.

Likewise, in corpus 1, little immigration criticism appears within corpus 2. However, the often favourable focus on far-right activists/politicians can be seen as a positioning that embraces immigration criticism, since it is a core of the far-right ideology. Likewise, it could exist but to such a low frequency that it does not appear as a frequent lexical word, collocate or concordance. However, it should be clear that immigration criticism is not present within this specifically chosen content.

9.5 Discussing the Levels of “the Mediated Centre” Beliefs

When studying overvalued beliefs in the mediated centre to the extent that the belief takes form of a “myth”, one needs to distinguish criticism from when the criticism is entangled with a belief in unrealistic effects of the media’s potential outcome. However, the *high* occurrence of a mainstream media criticism could also tell of such, as the criticism is regarded as urgent. And this can for certain be said to exist, as mainstream-media criticism was noticeable at all of the chosen websites. Further on, what tells of its considered urgency, is at the website’s own descriptions of themselves, where they position mainstream media as an antagonist. This tells of seeing mainstream media as powerful, even to the extent that it is a reason to why the far-right media must exist. Mentioned in part 3.2, it is written at *Fria tider* online frontpage, “*Ge Mediesverige en rak höger!*” (Hit the Swedish Media with a jab!) and *Bernsand* means the media’s purpose is to challenge the established media (Bernsand in Hoffmann; Larsson, 2013). Likewise, *Nya tider* claims one of their purposes to be providers of what the “old press” omit and that goes beyond the “*corrected, hypocritical establishment press*” (Nya tider, 2021). Similarly, *Samhällsnytt* intends to focus on areas where the establishment show omissions (Samhällsnytt, 2020). If the mainstream were not considered as very powerful with harmful consequences, the statements mentioned above would be unnecessary.

A nuance, though, is that *Nyheter idag* do not express a challenge to the mainstream media specifically, and the establishment that *Samhällsnytt* wants to “complement” tells of a less radical attitude.

Regarding overvalued beliefs in the mediated centre *within* the texts, one ought to find descriptions of harmful effects of the mainstream media, or specific descriptions of their strong power. This can be said to be less prevalent but they do exist. It is found when the word *hjärntvättat* (brainwashed) is used which is followed by a description of how Swedish journalists are trying to brainwash the population into a political correctness aligned with the agenda of *Sr/Svt*. This notion would imply a massive power if it were true. Further on, *Svt* are referred to as *mediajätten* (the media giant), and one sentence goes:

“*Lita inte blint på gammelmedia – det kostar liv*” (Don’t trust the old media – it costs lives)

Otherwise, no overvaluation is clearly articulated within the texts. “The myth of the mediated centre” can therefore be confirmed by the very existence of these media, as perceived correctors to a dominant and powerful system, and less within their own written articles.

9.6 Discussing Levels of Anti-Systemness

Regarding the level of anti-systemness, the far-right alternative media scrutinized within this study repeatedly “attack” the mainstream media, with the frequent accusations of mainstream media being inferior and foul. Repeatedly attacking the media system is a criterion for *ideological anti-systemness*, however there is no proof of the other criteria, which is a wish to replace the whole media system, and that there is no hope for remedy. Scrutinizing the content, there are no exhortations to overthrow the current media system. The closest thing is the frequently harsh criticism towards the mainstream media, with prompts to not trust the mainstream media due to their many inaccuracies. But no “revolution” seems to be planned.

As the chosen media and their content position themselves as a necessary alternative to the biased and corrupt mainstream media, are openly antagonistic and contain content that would not be published within the mainstream media (such as many of the accusations, for example how Swedish journalists are trying to brainwash the population), *relational anti-systemness* seems to be a more accurate definition of the level of anti-systemness. Likewise, some of the media (*Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt*) are affiliated with the Swedish press ethical system, which is possible within this category. These media also receive attention from the society and the mainstream media and cannot therefore be called *irrelevant*.

One interesting notion that I would wish to consider is that the media criticism goes hand in hand with general criticism towards the government and political status of Sweden (see part.8.4). Even though this is another kind of anti-systemness, it could be an interesting parameter to incorporate into Holt’s theoretical framework (2018), as it does say something

about the media's attitude towards society. In the same manner, words such as *systemtrogen* (faithful to the system) and *etablissemang* (establishment) reoccur.

Lastly, it ought to be acknowledged that this study does not correspond to Holt's desire of how the far-right alternative media ought to be analyzed separately, in order to distinguish their specific characters and to not generalize concerning their characteristics (Holt, 2018:51). Even though Holt's point is valid, the aim for this study is to find common characteristics. The categorization of the media as containing *relational anti-systemness*, is therefore **general**. Perhaps, in a larger study, the far-right alternative media could be handled both separately and comparatively, in order to discern differences between them as well.

10. Conclusion

The textual content from the far-right alternative media sites *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt* published between 1 February 2017 and 13 April 2021 (with slightly more content from *Nya tider* and *Samhällsnytt*) showed linguistic characteristics that tell of a highly politicized view upon mainstream media, where the matter of power is put in focus and viewed as unfairly distributed. An *us vs them* rhetoric takes a certain form, wherein *us* (the far-right alternative media) are portrayed as disempowered and *them* (the mainstream media and the social media platforms) holds a lot of power. The far-right alternative media therefore embrace a traditionally left-wing rhetoric. The previous research based on the Gramscian idea of hegemony proves correct thanks to using the concept of power as a focal point.

Furthermore, what is seen as a remedy for this problematic situation is the very existence of the far-right alternative media (the same idea that Holt acknowledged when doing interviews with the far-right media editors in 2019) that also represent a *newer* kind of media, compared to the mainstream media that are called *gammelmedia* (the old media). The mainstream media are also seen as reporting inadequately in several ways, especially the Swedish public service companies.

The far-right alternative media in this sense, view the relationship to the mainstream media as a binary-antagonist one, in which they are to be preferred.

In comparison to the reference corpus, which was a sample of Swedish online news articles during 2001, the linguistic characteristics differed. This is seen in how the textual content from the far-right alternative media sites had a higher frequency of words regarding other media, media-related terms, political concepts, names of social media platforms and social

media related terms. This tells of how politics and other media receive larger attention within the chosen far-right alternative media compared to other online news media. However, the entered query terms are also a reason to the differentiation, which needs to be taken into account when drawing the conclusion that the content within the chosen far-right alternative media has a large focus on media.

Further on, the politicization of the media is present in several ways. One of them is the high frequency of political concepts, along with names of far-right activists or politicians and words regarding the USA (especially in a political context or regarding Donald Trump). These three themes appear in both corpora and can therefore be seen as key characteristics that were new findings in comparison to the previous research.

Regarding research question 1, the linguistic characteristics within the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media's criticism towards mainstream media had a high frequency of words related to politics, names of other media and media related terms. Hence, the politicization is present here as well.

Looking further into the criticism, another new finding compared to the previous research is found: especially the Swedish public service companies are accused of being left-wing bias. This accusation is frequently occurring and hence, a strong characteristic. The evening paper *Expressen* is also a target of this accusation, however *Sr* and *Svt* belong to the same media house (public service), and therefore constitute a majority in this case. These media are also ascribed other negative attributes, such as being misleading and insidious, covering up things and having a general poor quality in their reporting.

The reason why especially public service is a main target for this criticism could be economic reasons. *Svt* and *Sr* appear in the corpora together with economic words and are funded by taxes. In the end, the far-right alternative media, like the rest of the societal taxpayers, are funders of the public service. Hence, a dissatisfaction could be more provocative as you involuntarily support it. This economic presence within the criticism, is a new finding, compared to previous research.

Lastly regarding research question 1, immigration criticism does not appear as a strong characteristic within the mainstream criticism. However, as the far-right alternative media seem to be in favor of far-right activists and/or politicians in corpus 2, immigration criticism can still be a core discourse of these media as whole, but that needs further scrutiny to determine. Likewise, it could exist but to such a low frequency that it does not appear as a

frequent lexical word, collocates or concordance. The finding therefore is not necessarily questioning the studies made by Holt (2018) and Kaati (2017), but what can be said though, is that it is not a top, strong characteristic within the chosen far-right alternative media's mainstream media criticism. Likewise, liberal-bias, which according to Holt otherwise is a common accusation from the far-right media towards the mainstream media (Holt, 2018:52), proved absence.

Regarding research question 2, the linguistic characteristics within the contemporary Swedish far-right alternative media discussion regarding the phenomena *deplatforming*, the first characteristic is similar to the findings regarding research question 1; names of subjects, in this case social media platforms and far-right activists and politicians. *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *Youtube* are the most frequently mentioned social media platforms. These are seen as powerful media institutions, attributed with a lot of power.

Next, the political theme continues in this corpus, as far-right activists and politicians are in focus. These are mentioned in the context of having been deplatformed (or exposed to other similar social media seclusions), wherein the reasons of deplatforming is framed in an ironic or jeering style. The far-right alternative media therefore gives the impression of not considering the reasons sufficient, hence questioning the motivation for the deplatforming of the far-right activists or politicians. Further on, deplatforming is mainly discussed in relation to far-right activists or politicians, not other political affiliates. This tells of a higher interest regarding specifically deplatformings of the far-right, and together with the jeering attitude towards the motivations for the deplatforming, a posture that the deplatforming of the far-right is wrong and unnecessary, reveals itself. This could also tell of more discreet immigration criticism, but to large conclusions shouldn't be drawn.

The USA has a prominent presence within the data, which mainly tells of the country's role as a superpower but is also new in relation to the previous research. However, it is logical as the far right and deplatforming have become connected in an American context in recent years, and especially in 2021. In the corpus 2, the USA is often linguistically connected to the deplatforming of Donald Trump, which was a historical event and probably extensively covered in other online media as well.

Another interesting finding is that within this part of the corpus, the word *conservative* is used as an ideological description, instead of *far right*. This tells of an intention to detach from the term *far right*, which could be a strategic move.

Further on, both theoretical strands presented in this study can be seen in the chosen far-right alternative media. However, more on a macro level than within the content itself. Regarding “the myth of the mediated centre”, as presented by Couldry (2014), an overestimation of the power and influence of the mainstream media can be seen in the very purpose of these alternative media, as perceived correctors and alternatives to the mainstream media. The far-right alternative media describe the mainstream media to be so inadequate that their own existence become a necessity. Similarly, the level of anti-systemness is present in the media’s mere existence, as they perceive themselves as a remedy to a broken system. This puts them in the antagonist position mentioned earlier. Different from “the myth of the mediated centre”, signs of anti-systemness are present within the content itself as well, categorized into *relational anti-systemness*, as described by Holt (2018). This definition is also supported by how the chosen far-right alternative media contains some content that would not be able to publish in the mainstream media (such as harsh accusations that lack evidence), and that some of the media are affiliated with the press ethical system.

As Holt’s theory means that *relational anti-systemness* within media has a polarizing effect on the media field and public conversation and affects the conditions of news consumption and opinion formation (2018:52), this would then apply to this study’s chosen articles from *Fria tider*, *Nya tider*, *Nyheter idag* and *Samhällsnytt*. Taking the media’s contemporary status into account, this effect could be even further reinforced, since they have a large audience and seem to be growing.

Regarding the effects of the “myth of the mediated centre”, as expected by Couldry (2014:2), I do not align with the idea of the myth’s potential beneficial effects for mainstream media, given the example of this study. Perhaps, a strong belief in the mainstream media in another context would strengthen their authority. But as in this case it results in harsh criticism full of accusations and mistrust, I would believe the opposite to happen – a shrinking trust.

At last, an interesting idea is that the media criticism within the chosen far-right alternative media is incorporated into a general criticism towards the government and political status of Sweden. This would be an interesting parameter to incorporate into Holt’s four kinds of anti-systemness, as it does say something about the chosen far-right media’s (negative and suspicious) attitude towards society.

10. Suggestions for Further Research

This study is conducted upon 45667 tokens deriving from four different Swedish far-right alternative media. This was sufficient for drawing conclusions within the frame of a master thesis, but as mentioned regarding validity in part 1.5, the validity would increase if even more articles would be included. Building corpora to the size of millions of words, based on more articles derived from even more different far-right media, would be an interesting study. If doing so, with articles from all of Swedish far-right media, the characteristics found could then be even more reliable and said to represent the Swedish far-right media in general. The research design from this study could remain in such a study, except for including larger corpora.

Added to this, could be a comparison to Swedish far-left alternative media. Does the criticism towards the mainstream media differ between the two? What are the characteristics for the two types of media? And do the Swedish far-left alternative media mainly discuss when far-left activists or politicians are deplatformed, as the Swedish far-right media mainly discuss deplatforming when it concerns far-right activists or politicians, or are they more balanced in their focus?

Another interesting study would be an investigation of Gramscian analysis within the far-right media. Through corpus linguistics, or content analysis, one could ask the research questions; is the idea of an unequal society, as theoreticized by Gramsci, a common outlook on society within the far-right media? If, then who represents the hegemony, and who is seen as dominated by the elite? And what is the desired remedy?

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Appendix A. Articles used for specialized corpus 1.

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<https://www.friatider.se/dagens-media-mattsson-fick-sparken-fr-n-expressen>

<https://www.friatider.se/google-betalar-loner-etablerad-media> <https://www.friatider.se/domd-mordare-pa-rymmen-media-pixlar> <https://www.friatider.se/sa-skonmalar-media-fortfarande-eliasson-och-federley> <https://www.friatider.se/rapport-dyrkandet-av-tegnell-inget-problem-trovardigheten-hos-sven-sk-media>

<https://www.friatider.se/vandningen-media-skriver-positivt-om-sd>

<https://www.friatider.se/media-m-rkade-tortyr-d-mot-ungt-par-i-stockholm>

<https://www.friatider.se/sd-varnar-f-r-fns-migrationsavtal-uppmanar-till-statlig-styrning-av-media>

<https://www.friatider.se/islamistiskt-terror-d-i-sandviken-tystas-ner-i-media-skrek-allahu-ak-bar-och-knivh-gg-man-i-ansiktet>

<https://www.friatider.se/vansterjournalist-hangde-ut-svensk-privatperson-atalas-i-ungern>

<https://www.friatider.se/s-ljuger-media-om-g-teborg>

<https://www.friatider.se/media-m-rkar-opcw-rapport-om-kemattack-i-syrien>

<https://www.friatider.se/v-nsterextrem-svensk-journalist-gripen-f-r-turkisk-terror>

<https://www.friatider.se/blogg/eskilstunakuriren-snickrar-p-fler-falska-nyheter>

<https://www.friatider.se/blogg/gp-sprider-grovt-f-rtal>

<https://www.friatider.se/majoritet-utg-r-fr-n-att-svensk-media-ljuger-om-invandringen>

<https://www.friatider.se/svensk-regimpress-f-r-statligt-bidrag-f-r-att-bek-mpa-alternativ-media-i-valr-relsen>

<https://www.friatider.se/svt-utrikesfodda-kan-radda-arbetsmarknaden>

<https://www.friatider.se/lofven-sds-krav-hotar-demokratien> <https://www.nyatider.nu/?s=media>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/bulletin-nar-etablissemanget-vill-leka-alternativmedia/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/pinsamt-medialt-forsok-att-avleda-uppmarksamheten/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/tio-ars-arbete-i-alternativmedia-en-ringmur-av-tystnad/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/medialogner-leder-till-mord-kaos-och-fornedring-av-vita/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/lakare-manniskor-kvavs-av-varden-och-media-morkar/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/systemmedias-makt/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/disneys-fd-vice-ordforande-domd-for-pedofili-media-tiger/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/efter-nya-tiders-avslojande-systemmedia-vaknar-om-nationalsangnen/> <https://www.nyatider.nu/det-svenska-politiska-kommissariatet-gar-till-aktion-mot-alternativmedia/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/sweden-rock-far-kritik-av-systemmedia-95-procent-av-artisterna-arman/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/systemmedias-indoktrinering-2/> <https://www.nyatider.nu/ett-nytt-kapitel-i-mediakriget-kan-borja/> <https://www.nyatider.nu/alternativmedia-banar-vagen/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/mediala-logner-om-taltande-nyanlanda-i-solna/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/stasi-vibbar-nar-public-service-avslojar-regimkritisk-debattgrupp/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/public-service-ska-vara-till-for-folket/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/public-service-ar-inte-i-publikens-tjanst/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/sveriges-radio-overvakar-systemkritiker/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/svt-hanger-ut-visselblasare/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/lita-inte-blint-pa-gammelmedia-det-kostar-liv/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/svt-vanstervridet-och-partiskt-enligt-ny-studie/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/svt-vagnar-svara-pa-fragor-om-vm-invigning/>

<https://www.nyatider.nu/svt-ljuger-rakt-ut-nar-nya-tider-fragar-om-forsvunnen-enkat/>
<https://www.nyatider.nu/systemmedias-indoktrinering-2/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/rostami-svenska-politiker-och-media-far-inte-lata-sig-luras-av-den-iran-ska-regimen/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/det-blir-inte-mer-sant-for-att-gammelmedia-skriver-om-det/>
<https://nyheteridag.se/tv4-falls-for-brunsmetning-media-ska-inte-syssla-med-den-har-typen-av-asiktsfortryck/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/magnus-hansson-alan-kurdi-och-medias-inkonsekvens-om-morden-i-ma-rocko/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/hellre-swishjournalister-an-gammelmedias-stoldjournalister/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/springare-om-orebropartiet-och-alternativ-media-dar-gamla-aktorer-ka-pitulerat-fran-ansvar-maste-nya-aktorer-ta-vid/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/sifo-etablerad-media-bevakar-politiska-skandaler-mest/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/svt-om-valrorelsen-vaxande-alternativ-media-kommer-bli-det-stora-problemet/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/pataglig-vanstervridning-i-public-service-enligt-opinionsmatning/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/debatt-var-ar-public-service-i-fragan-om-eus-skuldpaket/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/debatt-lat-public-service-utbilda-i-yttrandefrihet-publicera-karikatyrenna/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/fransson-och-kinnunen-sd-sd-behover-en-vassare-public-service-politik/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/reportrar-utan-granser-varnar-public-service-har-blivit-propagandaorgan-i-andra-lander/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/billstrom-star-bakom-40-oreskritiken-tyst-om-miljarderna-till-public-service/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/darfor-kommer-inte-public-service-overleva-sig-sjalva/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/dn-sprider-falska-pastaenden-i-artikel-dar-public-service-anklagas-fordesinformation/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/karlsson-sd-det-ar-sandningstillstandet-det-ar-fel-pa-inte-public-service-som-ide/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/svt-vilseleder-om-israels-coronavaccinering/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/svt-sprider-s-bild-av-migrationspolitiken-valdigt-stram-flyktingpolitik/>

<https://nyheteridag.se/har-ger-ambassadoren-svt-svar-pa-tal-om-islamism/>

<https://samnytt.se/ar-det-media-och-makten-som-utgor-de-storsta-hoten-mot-demokratien/>

<https://samnytt.se/studie-om-svensk-media-lojalitet-med-makten-istallet-for-kritisk-granskning/>

<https://samnytt.se/staten-forklarar-krig-mot-alternativmedia/> <https://samnytt.se/paludan-gripen-i-tyskland/>

<https://samnytt.se/bildextra-torget-fullt-ljog-media-nar-lofven-besokte-brottstygnd-forort/>
<https://samnytt.se/media-alltmer-ovilliga-att-publicera-namn-pa-valdsbrottslingar/>
<https://samnytt.se/media-morkar-sds-framsynthet-gallande-villkorlig-frigivning-lyfter-upp-soch-m-istallet/> <https://samnytt.se/regeringen-skanker-200-miljoner-till-gammelmedia-for-tillforlitlig-journali-stik/>

<https://samnytt.se/eus-miniminiva-falsk-propaganda-fran-gammelmedia/>
<https://samnytt.se/plug-in-rensar-bort-gammelmedia-och-propaganda-i-sokresultat/>
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