

The digital threat against public libraries: results from a netnographic pilot-study on digital information activities of the radical right

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Abstract

Introduction. This paper reports initial findings from a research project focusing on how information activities of the radical right, promoting ideologically motivated pressure and threats against public libraries, develop, spread, and unfold, the logic governing these attacks and how they affect libraries and librarians.

Method and analysis. The project employs a netnographic approach. The paper outlines the project and reports the outcomes of a small-scale pilot study using data-driven digital methods and content analysis to analyze digital interactions from a Swedish radical right media outlet.

Results. The findings from the pilot study indicate that online information activities of the radical right display a view of public libraries as leftist and as potential threats to the nation, echoing ethnic nationalism and authoritarian views commonly associated with the radical right.

Conclusion. Digital technologies are mediating the interactions that are the object of the inquiry, but they are also important actors in the netnographic research process. The pilot-study reflects how quantitative procedures are necessary for the analysis of large amounts of data, but the functionality of the digital methods need to be tested and adjusted according to context, and qualitative approaches are necessary for a nuanced and contextual understanding.

Introduction

The growing influence of the radical right have turned libraries into political symbols in an emerging 'culture war' (Harding, 2022; Usherwood and Usherwood, 2021). Conflicts associated with the 'culture war' are related to the international phenomenon that Inglehart and Norris (2016) describe as a cultural backlash where conservative voices react against and challenge progressive cultural change. Previous research shows how information activities of the radical right on digital forums and social media play a significant part in orchestrating the threats and confrontations centered around cultural and sexual diversity that libraries are currently facing (Carlsson, Hanell & Engström, 2023). Such digitally mediated threats may obstruct the statutory mission of libraries to promote democracy by contributing to the transfer of knowledge and the free formation of opinions (Carlsson, Hanell & Hansson, 2022). Despite this, knowledge about how these threats develop and unfold, as well as the relations between online information activities and offline events, is largely lacking (cf. Scrivens, Davies & Frank, 2020). This prompts an investigation of the digital environments where supporters of radical right ideas interact, share and construct information, build collective identities, and coordinate actions towards libraries. In this study, these interactions are empirically framed as information activities, that is information-related social activities shaped by specific norms (Lundh, 2011).

This paper reports initial findings from a planned research project designed to provide rich insights into how information activities promoting ideologically motivated pressure and threats against libraries develop, spread, and unfold, the mechanisms governing these attacks and how they affect libraries and librarians. In this context, the librarian constitutes an example of a public servant tasked with upholding and promoting certain aspects of the democratic society. By studying information activities that question and attack this profession, as well as the relation between digital and non-digital interactions, the project aims to provide knowledge that contributes to research and practice within the library sector as well as other public institutions that uphold and promote democracy.

Methodologically, the project employs a netnographic approach. The primary objective of this paper is to present and critically examine the use of this approach for exploring online information activities of the radical right related to libraries. For this we draw on previous research and the outcomes of a small-scale pilot study using data-driven digital methods and content analysis. Two research questions guide the inquiry:

1. How can a netnographic study be designed for studying digital information activities of the radical right and their effects on the democratic mission of public libraries?
2. How can digital information activities of the radical right inform our understanding of how public libraries are understood and constructed in radical right-wing rhetoric?

In answering these research questions, the paper will contribute to digital method development and increase our understanding of radical right information activities focusing on libraries, and their implications. The paper proceeds with an outline of the netnographic research project before results from the pilot study are presented. The paper concludes with reflections on possibilities and challenges for further studies.

Outline of research project

Netnography is a research field and a methodology with specific methods for doing ethnographic internet research (Kozinets, 2020). In this project, we apply the netnographic approach as it provides coherent directions for doing qualitative studies of social interactions online while also

providing strong connections between quantitative and qualitative approaches (see Hanell & Severson, 2023). Netnographic material is produced in several ways: from social media traces, interactions, interviews, and researcher experiences. Kozinets (2020) describes three main procedures for data collection: *investigation*, *interaction*, and *immersion*. *Investigative data-collection operations*, the process of selectively saving online traces from social interactions, is combined with *interactive data-collection operations*, the result of interactions between researcher and participants, and *immersive data-collection operations*, recording comprehensive descriptions and reflections in fieldnotes. Combining these procedures, the project is operationalized through a netnographic study in three stages.

Stage 1 focuses on investigative data-collection operations. Traces from social interactions are collected from multiple digital venues to explore and analyze radical right information activities connected to public libraries. Sentiment analysis (SA) and topic modeling (TM) are used to analyze large quantities of interactions offering broad understandings of the activities. The documented researcher experiences, including detailed descriptions and reflections recorded in fieldnotes by the researchers, complement the quantitative data with qualitative and reflexive data. In Stage 2, the netnographic data from Stage 1 is used to produce a content analysis of selected radical right information activities concerned with public libraries. The material and insights from the analysis are used to guide the selection of public libraries in Stage 3.

Stage 3 is focused on interactive data-collection operations. Building on results from Stage 1 and 2, traces from digital information activities are collected from social media accounts of selected public libraries. The selected libraries will represent libraries in urban and rural settings, and with different experiences of digital threats and confrontations from the radical right. Participants from the selected libraries are followed online and offline through several brief visits to the field during a longer period (cf. Jeffrey & Troman, 2004). Pride week, in June, constitutes one temporal period of the study.

Results from the pilot study

The pilot study applies a data-driven approach informed by SA and TM based on BERT (Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers) models. Following previous studies of user comments on online news websites (Landert, 2014), the dataset of the pilot study was created in August of 2023 and contains 561 comments taken from 138 different articles published between 2019 and 2023 on the SamNytt website, the main media outlet for the Swedish radical right (Palmgren, Åkerlund & Viklund, 2023). The articles were selected by using the search term “bibliotek” in the site’s search function. The comments were made by 338 different user accounts, with a low number of individual accounts making more than 5 comments. The quantitative analyses, reflecting the data-collection operations of Stage 1 described above, were then followed by a small-scale content analysis (cf. Stage 2). In this analysis, the comments from the most commented article were structured in themes through a conventional qualitative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Adding confidentiality for users (Franzke *et al.*, 2020), all quotations have been translated to English.

In the following, we present some key-findings from the pilot study that indicate both challenges and opportunities of the selected approaches. While it is important to emphasize that the data and analyses are tentative, as accurate results with BERT require several iterations including manual assessment, the preliminary results still provide interesting findings as well as pointing to several issues in need of further attention.

| Topic | Title | Preamble |
|-------|---|---|
| 0 | Malmö's government refuses to comply with the obligation to report illegal immigrants | The government and the Sweden Democrats announced this week that they are moving forward with the proposal to require authorities and municipalities to report illegal immigrants, and no exceptions will be made. In addition, they are investigating possible measures against those who refuse to follow such a law. In a press release, Malmö's government made it clear that it will not comply with such an obligation. [...] |
| 1 | Liberal promised to crack down on gangs - now dresses up as a drag queen | Prior to last year's election, he was identified as "the gangs' worst enemy" by the Liberals. Now he dresses up in women's clothing and heavy makeup to promote drag queens who read stories to young children. It was in September 2022 that the Liberal Party's campaign ad was spread on Stockholm buses. "This is what he looks like. [...]" |
| 2 | Sweden Democrat wants to ban story hour sessions with drag queens for children | For some time now, Swedish municipalities have adopted the controversial American phenomenon of so-called drag queens, men who dress up as women, holding story hour sessions for children. A Sweden Democrat believes this is inappropriate and wants to stop more children from being exposed. At Kalmar City Library, "Lady Busty" and "Miss Shameless" hold story hour sessions for children [...] |

Table 1. Topic, title, and preamble of most commented articles (translated from Swedish)

Table 1 shows the three most commented articles, attracting 37 – 38 comments each. The most commented article (Topic 0) concerns how leading politicians in Malmö have requested that professions that work in healthcare, schools, libraries, and social services should be excluded from the nationally proposed law that would require all public servants to report illegal immigrants to the authorities. Table 2 shows the BERTopic key with the generated topics and their representations, and the number of comments. The TM shows that several relevant descriptive words have been identified, but additional work is needed to create stable topic categories based on both the terms included in each topic as well as the articles indicated as representative for each individual topic.

| Topic | Count | Name | Representation |
|-------|-------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 0 | 38 | 0_man_kommer_sådan_anmälningssplikt | ['man', 'kommer', 'sådan', 'anmälningssplikt', 'efterleva', 'eventuella', 'dessutom', 'dem', 'går', 'åtgärder'] |

| | | | |
|---|----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | 37 | 1_han_ut_2022_kraftigt | ['han', 'ut', '2022', 'kraftigt', 'bussar', 'fiende', 'fjol', 'gängens', 'värsta', 'valreklam'] |
| 2 | 37 | 2_håller_sagostunder_barn_amerikanska | ['håller', 'sagostunder', 'barn', 'amerikanska', 'företeelsen', 'anamat', 'kalmars', 'tillbaka', 'tid', 'utskällda'] |

Table 2. BERTopic Key, key terms in Swedish

Table 3 shows the most upvoted comments per topic (Topic 0 – 2), showcasing what comments have received the most tangible positive feedback from other users of the comment section of the respective article.

| Topic | Comment | Upvotes |
|-------|---|---------|
| 0 | Ok? I think that it is unethical to pay such high taxes...Can I then just skip paying them? Would be nice! MP [The Green Party] a party for idiots led by idiots! | 9 |
| 1 | When reality surpasses fiction. How the h*** can any normally functioning person in Sweden vote for the Liberals? No, I thought so. But there are apparently about 4 percent mentally retarded people who think it's a good idea to vote for these freaks of politicians. | 9 |
| 1 | I expect him to go to the suburbs dressed up and “educate” the newly arrived Swedish children in LGBTQ tolerance. | 9 |
| 2 | Children should not be subjected to sexualization at all. | 8 |

Table 3. Most upvoted comments per topic (translated from Swedish)

In Table 4, the SA of user comments for Topic 0 is shown, with the strongest positive sentiments first and the negative sentiments below. This analysis, utilizing the KB Lab Megatron zero-shot model (Sikora, 2023), indicates that the model suffers from a lack of contextual understanding associated with previous lexicon-based approaches such as VADER or AFINN. For example, the comment “If you have certain values then it is apparently something positive to break the law” is assigned the sentiment ‘positive’ with a very high probability. Irony and sarcasm, that appear frequently in the material, prove difficult to the BERT model. The top three positive sentiments are all assigned to comments thematically categorized as *Irony* (see below).

| User_code | Comment | Sentiment_label |
|-----------|--|-------------------------------------|
| User 32 | ”Victory is Here” says Stefan the Ass !!! hohohoho | ('positive', 0.9880883097648621) |
| User 38 | Open your hearts and don't build any walls around Sweden ! Immigrants enriches Sweden and raises Sweden's standard and economy. | ('positive', 0.9095330238342285) |

| | | |
|---------|--|----------------------------------|
| | <p>Everyone who has immigrated to Sweden are well-educated and create new jobs.</p> <p>It has never been more safe living in Sweden than now.</p> <p>Regards</p> <p>The Politically Correct Elite.</p> <p>The batik witches</p> <p>The idiots</p> | |
| User 15 | If you have certain values then it is apparently something positive to break the law. | ('positive', 0.8953573107719421) |
| User 20 | <p>Let's withdraw all the equalization subsidies to Malmö.</p> <p>Then they can rely on themselves.</p> | ('positive', 0.812720775604248) |
| User 10 | A striped blimp and a pink cloth sheet are pining after young immigrant boys or what? | ('positive', 0.72750324010849) |
| User 36 | One exception after another for mena [Middle Eastern and North African] people. Why not skip laws also for us Swedes? | ('positive', 0.6458326578140259) |
| User 28 | Perhaps Malmö wants more equalization subsidies from the state. | ('positive', 0.6160332560539246) |
| User 30 | <p>I don't feel like financing Malmö and other "do good" municipalities through the tax sheet.</p> <p>Since Malmö does not "want to" approve the new law I suppose it is OK if I deduct 5 - 10 % as tax deduction for things I don't "want to" pay!</p> <p>Or another sum that is waaaaay higher that is about financing the oo so cherished multiculturalism.</p> | ('positive', 0.59110426902771) |
| User 27 | Then we'll just have to bring out the boots in Malmö, boot them out, there are lots of people who can replace this cadre. | ('positive', 0.5768081545829773) |
| User 2 | <p>Sweden should be a decent country, the MP-politican says.</p> <p>Out with illegal immigrants perhaps would be a route to try then.</p> | ('positive', 0.5206326842308044) |
| User 21 | Now the shamed big driveller Stjernfeldt Jammeh is at it again. It is not reporting crimes/illegal immigrants that increases the shadow society, it is the pouring-in | ('negative', 0.9636296033859253) |

| | | |
|---------|--|-------------------------------------|
| | politics in Sweden and Malmö that increases the shadow society. Without the pouring-in we wouldn't have had any illegal shadow society. As long as the formerly Swedish city Malmö is led by the law-rattling, enemy to the people, and islamist activist Katrin the city will bathe in social misery, crime, Islamism and antisemitism. | |
| User 14 | All of Malmö is an asshole that really would need to be cleaned up from all the shit but instead the leaders want to do the opposite and at every cost remain a slum city. | ('negative', 0.9629205465316772) |
| User 18 | If Malmö was a flowering city with law and order and low criminality then they would maybe have a point with their soft method, but Malmö is the direct opposite to good order, a shocking example plain and simple. | ('negative', 0.9592908024787903) |
| User 32 | Then just GETINTO THE UNEMPLOYMENT LINE !!! FIRE THEM AT ONCE, refusal to work !!! Without any f*** severance pay or similar parachutes | ('negative', 0.9540340304374695) |
| User 9 | All these d**** values-women... So d**** inadequate for the task and lost in historyless, crackpot ideas of the day. Appearance, idiocy, and treachery to the nation. | ('negative', 0.9473562240600586) |
| User 17 | Malmö is the stronghold of criminality and rabble You know the reason That's right quisling parties rule | ('negative', 0.9468349814414978) |
| User 23 | And then these parasite politicians/people ask why the situation and state of Sweden is as it is. | ('negative', 0.9417688846588135) |
| User 5 | Put them in prison so they can think about their crimes, I believe these people are dangerous for Sweden and the Swedes | ('negative', 0.9165231585502625) |
| User 3 | Childless ugly women who believe refugees are their children. | ('negative', 0.9134753942489624) |
| User 24 | No, they certainly don't have to!!! Not a penny in equalization subsidies!!! | ('negative', 0.887950599193573) |
| User 7 | But then it's just a matter of locking them up for disobedience and betraying our country! | ('negative', 0.8879429697990417) |

| | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------------------|
| User 34 | Malmö wants more money from other municipalities. Can a municipality be declared bankrupt or under guardianship, the current government apparently does not have what it takes | ('negative', 0.8579277992248535) |
| User 13 | Build a wall around Malmö, it's already like a third-world country... | ('negative', 0.8512347936630249) |
| User 16 | If it doesn't suit you to follow Swedish law, then you can go with those whom you so eagerly want to protect, WHEN WE SEND THE SCUM HOME. | ('negative', 0.840070903301239) |
| User 11 | Sweden cannot continue on the same path with incompetent politicians who are out of touch with their voters. Politicians should not be allowed to obstruct law and order by helping illegal immigrants in the country to stay and hide in Sweden. If they cannot handle the task, they need to resign, like Åsa Romson. | ('negative', 0.8290839791297913) |
| User 6 | But Jammeh, no one should have any kind of work relationship with an illegal immigrant? A trust relationship should not even be able to arise? Only the apprehension of the person concerned and guidance during the deportation process can involve law-abiding Swedes. | ('negative', 0.808050811290741) |
| User 29 | [The liberal party], aren't they in the government? Don't they have a party leader who can tell how things should be done? | ('negative', 0.7992346286773682) |
| User 25 | For Malmö's socialist leadership, "multiculturalism" is much more important than Swedish senior citizens. This is evident when they, despite the fact that the municipality is actually bankrupt, repeatedly spend millions on various Muslim cultural projects!!! Then economically prosperous and well-managed municipalities are forced to pay for Malmö's multicultural excesses!!! | ('negative', 0.7756912708282471) |
| User 37 | Ok? I think that it is unethical to pay such high taxes...Can I then just skip paying them? Would be nice! MP [The Green Party] a party for idiots led by idiots! | ('negative', 0.757798969745636) |
| User 26 | No wonder Malmö would rather take care of the crap from MENA than Swedish senior citizens in need. For crying out loud, the chairman of the municipal board | ('negative', 0.7526752352714539) |

| | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------------------|
| | herself has brought home a ----- from Ghana or wherever she found the sorriness. | |
| User 22 | Why doesn't the police authority stop reporting crimes as well, then they save some money so they can hire more staff. Alternatively, evict a few thousand cellmates. | ('negative', 0.6925574541091919) |
| User 8 | Fire the batik witches, they have destroyed Sweden enough. | ('negative', 0.6610947251319885) |
| User 12 | Form a ring of armor around Malmö. Cut off all economic aid. No one in, no one out. | ('negative', 0.6454769372940063) |
| User 19 | An illegal immigrant does not belong to the weak in society, he does not exist in society. | ('negative', 0.6361880302429199) |
| User 33 | Very simple, fire all the communists that refuse to follow the law. | ('negative', 0.6219813227653503) |
| User 31 | OTC Some people write books, while others burn books. August wrote The Red Room. Fjodor wrote The Dead House. So what? I don't know... | ('negative', 0.5626118183135986) |
| User 35 | In Malmö's case, the answer is simple: reduce the municipal equalization. Every fourth crown comes from somewhere else, they can afford an opera house for a billion, unicorns for 300,000. The list can be made long. | ('negative', 0.5285810828208923) |
| User 4 | I think more than half of Malmö's population should be reported. | ('negative', 0.5120136141777039) |

Table 4. Megatron model sentiment analysis of user comments for Topic 0 (translated from Swedish).

Despite the considerable advancements that BERT models have brought to natural language processing tasks, applying them to informal and colloquial language found on social media and online discussion forums poses significant challenges, as indicated above. Models like BERT, primarily trained on formal and grammatically correct text, may struggle to appropriately interpret and extract meaning from informal and dynamic language. In the present case, additional challenges are presented by the scarcity of models trained on Swedish. To address these issues, it is necessary to incorporate robust post-classification analysis, to identify and rectify misinterpretations or misclassifications. Post-classification analysis may involve the integration of additional layers of context-specific fine-tuning or the implementation of

ensemble techniques to enhance model performance in capturing the intricacies of colloquial expression.

Moving from quantitative procedures to qualitative, the content analysis of the pilot study (see Appendix I) is focused on the comments from the most commented article (Topic 0) and serves to complement the quantitative analyses with a qualitative sample of how radical right information activities concerned with issues related to public libraries unfold. Table 5 shows an overview of the identified themes, indicating different types of information activities.

| <u>Theme</u> | <u>Number of comments</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Law and order | 18 |
| Malmö as a symbol | 14 |
| Critique of 'mainstream' politics | 11 |
| Resentment against politicians | 10 |
| The cost of immigration | 9 |
| Irony | 7 |
| Penalize public servants | 5 |
| Nationalism | 4 |

Table 5. Overview of identified themes.

Given the topic of the article, it is not surprising that the themes collecting the highest number of comments are *Law and order* and *Malmö as a symbol*. In the comments, Malmö, a city with a large part of the population having immigrant background, is often used as a symbol for what is believed to be wrong with Sweden today and the comments categorized as *Malmö as a symbol* are in most cases also categorized *The cost of immigration*. *Critique of 'mainstream' politics* is another theme collecting high numbers of comments, and the theme often overlaps *Resentment against politicians* and *Law and order*. The most upvoted comment (see Table 3) combines these three themes, as well as *Irony*:

Ok? I think that it is unethical to pay such high taxes...Can I then just skip paying them? Would be nice! MP [The Green Party] a party for idiots led by idiots!

Penalize public servants is the theme that most clearly relates to public libraries, as librarians is one of the professions discussed in relation to the proposed legislation, something that has been criticized by both professional organizations (DIK, 2023) and researchers (Engström, Olsson Dahlquist & Rivano Eckerdal, 2022). Not surprisingly, the theme collects comments that also are labeled *Law and order*, as exemplified in the following comment:

Very simple, fire all the communists that refuse to follow the law.

In this comment the common trope that librarians, as well as other professions associated with the welfare-state, are left-leaning is echoed (see Carlsson, Hanell & Engström, 2023). For some comments, the theme *Penalize public servants* also overlaps *Nationalism* as shown in this example:

Put them in prison so they can think about their crimes, I believe these people are dangerous for Sweden and the Swedes

Concluding remarks

Digital technologies mediate the interactions that are the object of our inquiry, but they are also important actors in the netnographic research process. Several methodological issues remain to be solved, for example the issue of how BERT models can be applied to Swedish data comprising rapidly evolving and informal internet language. Ethical issues warrant consideration, for example the collection and analysis of digital interactions and the confidentiality of participants. However, we argue that an investigation concerned with how digitally mediated hatred and threats against public libraries interact with public librarians' work to promote democracy call for netnographic procedures combining data-driven digital methods and qualitative case-studies of selected libraries in their specific local settings, dealing with specific issues, such as promoting the rights of minorities.

The findings from the pilot study indicate that online information activities of the radical right display a view of public libraries as leftist and as potential threats to the nation, echoing ethnic nationalism and authoritarian views commonly associated with the radical right (Rydgren & Van der Meiden, 2019; cf. Inglehart & Norris, 2016). Taken together, the pilot-study reflects how quantitative procedures are necessary for the analysis of large amounts of data (Kozinets, 2020), but the functionality of the digital methods need to be tested and adjusted according to context, and qualitative approaches are necessary for a nuanced and contextual understanding.

About the authors

After acceptance, author information will be placed here. Name of first author and information about the author. Do not forget to include your email at the end.

Repeat the structure of the first author for all authors if there is more than one.

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Appendix I: Conventional qualitative content analysis of comments from Topic 0

| Theme | Comment | Sentiment_label |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| Resentment against politicians; Irony | "Victory is Here" says Stefan the Ass !!! hohohoho | ('positive', 0.9880883097648621) |
| Critique of 'mainstream' politics; Irony | Open your hearts and don't build any walls around Sweden ! Immigrants enriches Sweden and raises Sweden's standard and economy. Everyone who has immigrated to Sweden are well-educated and create new jobs. It has never been more safe living in Sweden than now. Regards The Politically Correct Elite. The batik witches The idiots | ('positive', 0.9095330238342285) |
| Law and order; Irony | If you have certain values then it is apparently something positive to break the law. | ('positive', 0.8953573107719421) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration | Let's withdraw all the equalization subsidies to Malmö. Then they can rely on themselves. | ('positive', 0.812720775604248) |
| Resentment against politicians; | A striped blimp and a pink cloth sheet are pining after young immigrant boys or what? | ('positive', 0.72750324010849) |
| Law and order; Irony | One exception after another for mena [Middle Eastern and North African] people. Why not skip laws also for us Swedes? | ('positive', 0.6458326578140259) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration | Perhaps Malmö wants more equalization subsidies from the state. | ('positive', 0.6160332560539246) |

| | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; Law and order | I don't feel like financing Malmö and other "do good" municipalities through the tax sheet. Since Malmö does not "want to" approve the new law I suppose it is OK if I deduct 5 – 10 % as tax deduction for things I don't "want to" pay! Or another sum that is waaaaay higher that is about financing the oo so cherished multiculturalism. | ('positive', 0.59110426902771) |
| Law and order; Penalize public servants | Then we'll just have to bring out the boots in Malmö, boot them out, there are lots of people who can replace this cadre. | ('positive', 0.5768081545829773) |
| Critique of mainstream politics; Law and order | Sweden should be a decent country, the MP-politican says. Out with illegal immigrants perhaps would be a route to try then. | ('positive', 0.5206326842308044) |
| Resentment against politicians; Critique of mainstream politics; Law and order | Now the shamed big driveller Stjernfeldt Jammeh is at it again. It is not reporting crimes/illegal immigrants that increases the shadow society, it is the pouring-in politics in Sweden and Malmö that increases the shadow society. Without the pouring-in we wouldn't have had any illegal shadow society. As long as the formerly Swedish city Malmö is led by the law-rattling, enemy to the people, and islamist activist Katrin the city will bathe in social misery, crime, Islamism and antisemitism. | ('negative', 0.9636296033859253) |
| Malmö as a symbol | All of Malmö is an asshole that really would need to be cleaned up from all the shit but instead the leaders want to do the opposite and at every cost remain a slum city. | ('negative', 0.9629205465316772) |
| Malmö as a symbol; Law and order | If Malmö was a flowering city with law and order and low criminality then they would maybe have a point with their soft method, but Malmö is the direct opposite to good order, a shocking example plain and simple. | ('negative', 0.9592908024787903) |
| Law and order; Penalize public servants | Then just GETINTO THE UNEMPLOYMENT LINE !!! FIRE THEM AT ONCE, refusal to work !!! Without any f*** severance pay or similar parachutes | ('negative', 0.9540340304374695) |

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| Resentment against politicians; Critique of mainstream politics; Nationalism | All these d**** values-women... So d**** inadequate for the task and lost in historyless, crackpot ideas of the day. Appearance, idiocy, and treachery to the nation. | ('negative', 0.9473562240600586) |
| Malmö as a symbol; Critique of mainstream politics | Malmö is the stronghold of criminality and rabble You know the reason That's right quisling parties rule | ('negative', 0.9468349814414978) |
| Resentment against politicians; Critique of mainstream politics; | And then these parasite politicians/people ask why the situation and state of Sweden is as it is. | ('negative', 0.9417688846588135) |
| Law and order; Penalize public servants; Nationalism | Put them in prison so they can think about their crimes, I believe these people are dangerous for Sweden and the Swedes | ('negative', 0.9165231585502625) |
| Resentment against politicians | Childless ugly women who believe refugees are their children. | ('negative', 0.9134753942489624) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; | No, they certainly don't have to!!! Not a penny in equalization subsidies!!! | ('negative', 0.887950599193573) |
| Law and order; Penalize public servants; nationalism | But then it's just a matter of locking them up for disobedience and betraying our country! | ('negative', 0.8879429697990417) |

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| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; | Malmö wants more money from other municipalities. Can a municipality be declared bankrupt or under guardianship, the current government apparently does not have what it takes | ('negative', 0.8579277992248535) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; | Build a wall around Malmö, it's already like a third-world country... | ('negative', 0.8512347936630249) |
| Law and order; nationalism | If it doesn't suit you to follow Swedish law, then you can go with those whom you so eagerly want to protect, WHEN WE SEND THE SCUM HOME. | ('negative', 0.840070903301239) |
| Critique of mainstream politics; Law and order | Sweden cannot continue on the same path with incompetent politicians who are out of touch with their voters. Politicians should not be allowed to obstruct law and order by helping illegal immigrants in the country to stay and hide in Sweden. If they cannot handle the task, they need to resign, like Åsa Romson. | ('negative', 0.8290839791297913) |
| Resentment against politicians; Critique of mainstream politics; Law and order | But Jammeh, no one should have any kind of work relationship with an illegal immigrant? A trust relationship should not even be able to arise? Only the apprehension of the person concerned and guidance during the deportation process can involve law-abiding Swedes. | ('negative', 0.808050811290741) |
| Critique of mainstream politics; | [The liberal party], aren't they in the government? Don't they have a party leader who can tell how things should be done? | ('negative', 0.7992346286773682) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; Critique of mainstream politics | For Malmö's socialist leadership, "multiculturalism" is much more important than Swedish senior citizens. This is evident when they, despite the fact that the municipality is actually bankrupt, repeatedly spend millions on various Muslim cultural projects!!! Then economically prosperous and well-managed municipalities are forced to pay for Malmö's multicultural excesses!!! | ('negative', 0.7756912708282471) |
| Critique of mainstream politics; | Ok? I think that it is unethical to pay such high taxes...Can I then just skip paying them? Would be nice! MP [The Green Party] a party for idiots led by idiots! | ('negative', 0.757798969745636) |

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| Law and order; Resentment against politicians; Irony | | |
| Malmö as a symbol; Resentment against politicians; | No wonder Malmö would rather take care of the crap from MENA than Swedish senior citizens in need. For crying out loud, the chairman of the municipal board herself has brought home a ----- from Ghana or wherever she found the sorriness. | ('negative', 0.7526752352714539) |
| Law and order; Irony | Why doesn't the police authority stop reporting crimes as well, then they save some money so they can hire more staff. Alternatively, evict a few thousand cellmates. | ('negative', 0.6925574541091919) |
| Resentment against politicians; | Fire the batik witches, they have destroyed Sweden enough. | ('negative', 0.6610947251319885) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; | Form a ring of armor around Malmö. Cut off all economic aid. No one in, no one out. | ('negative', 0.6454769372940063) |
| Law and order | An illegal immigrant does not belong to the weak in society, he does not exist in society. | ('negative', 0.6361880302429199) |
| Penalize public servants; Law and order | Very simple, fire all the communists that refuse to follow the law. | ('negative', 0.6219813227653503) |
| Irony | OTC Some people write books, while others burn books. August wrote The Red Room. Fjodor wrote The Dead House. So what? I don't know... | ('negative', 0.5626118183135986) |
| Malmö as a symbol; The cost of immigration; | In Malmö's case, the answer is simple: reduce the municipal equalization. Every fourth crown comes from somewhere else, they can afford an opera house for a billion, unicorns for 300,000. The list can be made long. | ('negative', 0.5285810828208923) |

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| Malmö as a symbol; Law and order | I think more than half of Malmö's population should be reported. | ('negative', 0.5120136141777039) |
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