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1. Introduction and Background

“Naturally, we are thinking about her and her family and our staff. And not least, even if it might sound secondary, do we think about the wolves and their brand. We realise that this will affect the wolf debate and the wolf politics, and that we are responsible for that.”

- Zoological manager Mats Höggren, at the first press conference after a keeper was killed by wolves at Kolmården in 2012 (Berge, 2018)

1.1. Introduction

This thesis will focus on the Swedish wolf debate, and how it is connected to the issue of political alienation and the conflict between rural and urban areas. The divide between rural and urban areas is a growing issue in Sweden as well as other countries. A dissatisfaction with the establishment has resulted in the rise of right-wing nationalistic forces, which are strongest in rural areas (Bjerke & Mellander, 2017; Mellander, Ömer & Norman, 2014). This dissatisfaction is part of a phenomenon called political alienation, meaning that individuals and certain groups in a society feel left out from the political system. Political alienation can be rooted either in not having any direct political representation, or in a sense of not sharing the values and attitudes of the ruling powers in society (Eriksson, 2017).

Conflicts between rural and urban areas exist in various forms around the world. Recent examples include the election results from the Brexit referendum as well as the American presidential election of 2016. Both results showed a clear divide between the votes of people living in rural and urban areas. Most of the major cities in the United Kingdom voted for remaining in the EU, while the rural areas voted for leaving and won. The same pattern can be found in the presidential election in the United States, where Hilary Clinton won in all the big cities, often with a huge margin, but Donald Trump still managed to win the election thanks to a massive support in the rural areas (Rachman, 2018).

Both the campaign of the leave side in Brexit, Take Back Control, and the one of Trump in the American presidential election, Make America Great Again, relies on emotions rather than

facts, and have created strong myths surrounding their main messages. They hint at a past when things were better, and the possibility to go back to that (Ball, 2017; D'Ancona, 2017). This rhetoric is used in similar campaigns across the globe, where nationalistic forces are calling for closed borders, less international cooperation and a return to the nation state (Rachman, 2018). The rural-urban divide also reflects the level of education, where an urban educated elite rule over a less educated rural majority. Rural areas are struggling with a shrinking and aging population, and a general feeling of powerlessness (Eriksson, 2016; Rachman, 2018).

In Sweden the trend can be observed in debates about the gas price and the tax on flying, which rural areas consider a threat against their existence. For a person living in a big city with a developed system for public transport it is not a very big issue if the gas price goes up, but for someone in a sparsely populated area the car is an essential mean of transportation. Likewise, air traffic is vital for remote areas of the country to be able to stay connected with the rest of Sweden and the world (Laneby, 2019; Nilsson & Eriksson, 2017).

The conflict between rural and urban areas is also closely related to the national wolf debate, one of the most heated and controversial topics in Sweden (Eriksson, 2016). The question of the future of the Swedish wolf population divides the country broadly into two camps, both with strong arguments based on science, economic factors and psychology (Berge, 2018; Herlitz & Peterson, 2011). The first group includes people fighting for the survival and rights of the wolves, claiming that they are an important part of the Swedish fauna and nature. In their view, the wolf is not very different from a dog and hence poses no threat to humans. People with this opinion tend to live in the urban areas of the country and have very rarely had any contact with wild wolves (Eriksson, 2016). The second group includes people who believe that the wolf should not be part of the Swedish wildlife as they are a threat to humans as well as wild and domesticated animals. This group has their stronghold in the countryside, especially in the so-called wolf area in the regions of Värmland, Dalarna and Närke (Eriksson, 2016). They feel steamrolled by the parliament and the administrative authorities, such as the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, in Stockholm and the European Union in Brussels. In these two cities, politicians and officials who may not have any direct connection to the concerned areas are the ones who make decisions that affect the everyday lives of the

people living there. One of the main demands of this group is for these decisions to be made on a local level instead (Bjerke & Mellander, 2017).

The main reason for having a negative attitude towards wolves is fear, a feeling that easily turns into hate. The fear of the wolf has three main causes; the wolf as a threat to cattle, a threat to hunting game and a threat to humans. The last one is the hardest one to handle and solve since it has been inherited for generations and is part of the common knowledge in Sweden, as will become evident in later chapters (Eles, 1986). A wolf attack on a keeper at a Swedish zoo gave new life to this old fear and hatred (Berge, 2018). This debate played out mainly in media, where journalists, politicians and private people had the chance to share their opinion with the masses. In order to study how the image of the wolf differ between rural and urban areas, this study will focus on newspaper articles from that time.

1.2. Background

1.2.1. The History of the Wolf

For most of the Swedish history, it has been part of common sense to hate wolves and wanting them extinct. In the old farmer society, the loss of cattle meant the difference between life and death for a family. Due to their hunting instincts, the wolves would often kill more cattle than they could eat, resulting in a murderous image (Berge, 2018). The earliest provincial laws from the Middle Ages states that it is every man's duty to hunt the wolves, in order to protect their village. These laws thoroughly describe how many wolf pits and wolf yards each village has to have, how much net is needed, and how much a person should pay if they fail to fulfil their duty (Ekman, 2010). A reward for shooting a wolf was introduced in 1648 and was not abolished until 1964 (Ekman, 2010).

The wolf population in Sweden reached its peak at the beginning of the 19th century, when many areas observed an unusual high number of wolves. This was the result of two things coinciding. Firstly, a fast-growing human population had turned more and more wood areas into cultivated land forcing the wolves to live closer to both humans and other wolves. Secondly, at the end of the 18th century king Gustav III had torn up the previous law stating that only the noble class was allowed to hunt. This meant that the population of wild animals was shrinking, while the wolf population grew thanks to no longer being the lone focus of the

hunt. As a result, the cattle became a more precious food source than ever for both humans and wolves (Ekman, 2010). This in turn led to an intensified hatred for the wolves, and the hunting increased massively. Between 1830 and 1840, 6 700 wolves were hunted and killed which equals almost 700 wolves per year. In 1856 the wolf was extinct in almost all of Sweden (Berge, 2018; Ekman, 2010).

In 1965, the wolf along with other big predators became protected by Swedish law (Eles, 1986). In 1971, Project Wolf was initiated by the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation to reintroduce the wolf in Sweden. Project Wolf aimed to restore the Swedish wolf population and change the attitude of the public through education and information (Berge, 2018; Projekt Varg, 1976). One of the main ideas of Project Wolf was that Swedish zoos should breed the foundation for a new Scandinavian wolf population, which would then be released into nature. A report from 1976 explains this plan in detail and points out certain areas of the country that would be fit for wolves to live in (Projekt Varg, 1976). The report was strongly criticised by both experts, hunters and other groups, claiming that it was unrealistic and unwise to disturb the eco system. The plan was therefore never carried through (Ekman, 2010; Eles, 1986). It did however give rise to multiple conspiracy theories as the wolf did return to Sweden, in the areas that Project Wolf had pointed out. People claimed that they had seen cars and staff from the zoos in the woods in the concerned areas, and that the project had been continued in secrecy (Berge, 2018; Eles, 1986). This has been proven wrong with the help of DNA tests showing that the wild wolves have no relation to the ones in the zoos. Nevertheless, the conspiracy theory lives on (Berge, 2018).



Figure 2. Map of Sweden, including parts of Finland (East) and Norway (West). The dashed area shows the Swedish "wolf area" in which the majority of the Swedish wolf population is located.³

Source: Eriksson, 2016

The most recent inventory of wild wolves in Scandinavia was performed during the winter of 2017/2018 and showed that there are roughly 305 wolves living in Sweden today. This is a slight decrease compared to earlier years. The Swedish wolf population is located in the south of the country, mainly on the west side in the regions Värmland, Närke and Dalarna (Rovdata & Viltskadecenter SLU, 2018).

The current Swedish wolf policy follows the directions of the EU commission to protect the local predators, and the national hunting act. These two state that the wolf is an endangered part of the Swedish fauna and should not be hunted. Protective hunting, i.e. shooting a specific animal that is causing big damage on cattle or pets, has been allowed since 2008 but only after getting permission from the county administrative board. There is also a possibility for license hunting, where the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency makes a decision concerning how many wolves can be killed every year based on the latest inventory.

According to the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation it is hard to estimate how many wolves are needed for the species to no longer be considered endangered, but the Swedish wolf population does need a bigger gene pool to be able to survive. The natural way in for new blood would be from the wolf population of Finland and Russia. This is however made difficult by the fact that the way into Sweden from the east goes through Sámi land, where wolves are hunted in order to protect the reindeers (Ekman, 2010; Naturskyddsföreningen, n.d.; Naturvårdsverket, n.d.)

1.2.2. The Symbolism of the Wolf

The Swedish word for wolf, *varg*, is a symbol in its own. It is a *noa* name, a name used when the real name is too powerful and dangerous to say. The actual word for wolf is *ulv*, an old Indo-European word for predator related to the English wolf (Ekman, 2010.) The word *varg* means stranger, killer or prowler in old Swedish (Berge, 2018; Herlitz & Peterson, 2011).

Swedish folklore is filled with tales of the big, bad wolf. These have low credibility but have nonetheless shaped the modern view of the wolf as they live on in the common conscience (Eles, 1986). Wolves were said to possess a certain kind of magic, which made it possible for them to paralyse hunters so that they could not fire a single shot. Other stories claimed that they could make a man hoarse or put him to sleep (Ekman, 2010; Eles, 1986).

Many of the old stories about wolves feature the element of women, and how they are particularly endangered by the wolf. Wolves are said to feel when a woman is pregnant or on her period, and to be able to rip the baby out of the womb if they get the chance. A woman was only truly safe with a man by her side. According to old folk belief, a pregnant woman could crawl through the foetal membrane of a horse to get an easier birth as horses were said to give birth without pain. But as the bible states that children should be born through pain, this was not approved by the church. It was therefore stated that the punishment for trying to escape labour pains would be that the child shall become a werewolf. These stories reflect the gender roles of the time, and the Christian values that controlled society (Eles, 1986). After the wolf attack in 2012 at Kolmården, it did not take long before rumours started circulating saying that the woman had been pregnant or menstruating, as it was a known fact that such a

thing could lead to a wolf attack. This later proved to be false but showed that these old beliefs still live in our time (Berge, 2018).

Like in many other cases, problems in 16th century Sweden were blamed on the outsiders. In this case, it meant the immigrated Finns and the Sámi people. These two groups were minorities, and just like the wolves they came from the north where all evil things were said to stem from. People believed that these groups possessed magical powers and were able to control the wolves and command the animal to attack anyone who had done them wrong. Many folk tales feature the element of a hunted wolf taking shelter in the home of a Finnish or Sámi woman (Eles, 1986). In some parts of Sweden, mainly in the region of Värmland, the existence of Finnish people coincided with the occurrence of wolves which strengthened the belief further. Locally, the wolves were known as finnodogs. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the Finns lived and worked in the woods and kept their distance from society. The locals were just as hostile towards them as they were to the wolves (Ekman, 2010).

1.2.3. The attack at Kolmården

In June 2012, Sweden experienced their first deadly wolf attack on a human in almost 200 years. The attack took place at Kolmårdens Djurpark, situated outside the city Norrköping in the region of Östergötland. It is the biggest zoo in the Nordic countries and the victim was a 30-year old female animal keeper. Kolmården had kept wolves ever since they first opened in 1965, the same year the wolves became protected by Swedish law. Given that the north of Östergötland is part of the wolf area, Kolmården felt a responsibility to create a more positive attitude towards the animal among the local population (Berge, 2018; Kolmården, n.d.-a) Kolmården lists protection, education and research as the three main pillars of their business, and states that they have contributed with 200 000 SEK to the national Swedish wolf programme to improve the tracking of the wild wolves (Kolmården, n.d.-a; Kolmården, n.d.-b).

In 2012, Kolmården had a pack of wolves known as the SÖKA-pack. The SÖKA-pack consisted of nine three-year old male wolves brought together from different zoos to form a pack that would never exist in nature, as wolves tend to live in nuclear families where the pups leave their parents as they become sexually mature. These wolves were socialised

wolves, meaning that they had been taken from their parents to be handfed and made to imprint on humans. This was something that Kolmården had done since the early 1980's, to be able to show the visitors that wolves did not pose a threat to humans. As the pack grew older, they moved into a chute at the zoo but were visited daily by their keepers who treated them like big dogs, who were lively and rough but not dangerous to humans. Visitors could pay 1000 SEK to visit the pack in an experience called Närkontakt Varg [Close Contact Wolf]. Approximately 1000 people did this every year, generating a big income for the zoo. The 30-year old female animal keeper had worked with the pack since they were pups, and her colleagues called her the mum of the wolves. (Berge, 2018)

On the 17th of June 2012 the female wolf guide was found dead by one of her colleagues in the chute, stripped naked and with bite-marks all over her body. The incident was investigated as a workplace accident and the court found the zoo guilty of failing safety routines. The woman went into the chute alone without any means of communication, and there was no surveillance of the area. (Berge, 2018)

The handling of the wolves of Kolmården was based on their own experience and ideas, rather than scientific research. The wolf guides were encouraged to build a strong relationship with the wolves and act as part of the pack. As part of this, they were taught to never back down in a confrontation with the pack as this would signal to the wolves that they had won, and the pack was not likely to let that person back into the chute. This approach was very different from other zoos which stressed the difference between animal and humans in their handling of the wolves. (Berge, 2018)

A wolf pack has a strict hierarchy where individuals advance through violent fights which sometimes have a deadly outcome. If the wolf guides really did succeed in their wish to become part of the pack and being viewed as leaders, it is very possible that it was one of those fights that took part on the 17th of June resulting in the death of the female keeper. The police report would later state that the pack had been disharmonic in the weeks leading up to the attack. After the incident, the hierarchy changed and the lowest ranked wolf who had previously been the bully victim of the group was accepted back into the pack again. (Berge, 2018)

As the zoological manager predicted on the 17th of June at the very first press conference, the attack at Kolmården got plenty of media coverage both on national and international level. American CNN, British the Daily Mail and German Der Spiegel were some of the newspapers which reported about the attack at the Swedish zoo (CNN Wire Staff, 2012; Oliver, 2012; Siu/Dpa, 2012).

In Sweden, the attack gave new spark to the wolf debate, which was played out in media and especially in the newspapers. In 2012, 69% of the Swedish population aged 9 to 79 stated that they read the newspaper every day and 80% said that they read it weekly. This means that newspapers played a role in shaping people's opinion (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2017; Nordicom, 2013). Old myths and folk belief were used as evidence, and both traditional media and internet forums were overflowing with theories of what had really happened. At the core of it all was the age-old question; should the wolf be allowed to live in the Swedish nature or not? And who should make that decision?

2. Aim and research questions

2.1. Problem Formulation

As will become apparent in the chapter about previous research, the wolf is the most debated and controversial animal in Sweden. The debate divides the population into two opposite groups which both have strong arguments for how they believe the wolf question should be handled. The hate for wolves in Sweden dates back hundreds of years but has during the last decades become a symbol for the divide between rural and urban areas, and the feeling of political alienation in the rural areas.

As in any debate media plays a role in the wolf issue. It provides both sides with an arena to share their opinions, but it also plays an active role by choosing how to portray the wolf. By portraying certain topics in a certain way, it affects what people talk about and how they talk about it. This is especially true in a country such as Sweden, where traditional media still holds a strong position. In 2012, 69% of the Swedish population aged 9 to 79 stated that they read the newspaper every day and 80% said that they read it weekly, according to Nordicom.

2.2. Aim

The aim of this master thesis is to investigate how the image of wolves is presented by Swedish newspapers, using the articles from the time of the wolf attack at Kolmården as a case study. The study will compare articles from newspapers from a rural part of the country with articles from a newspaper from an urban part of the country. The result will then be related to the tension between rural and urban areas, analysing how this is expressed in the articles.

2.3. Research Questions

1. How is the wolf constructed as a controversial issue in Swedish urban newspapers?
➔ How is this done on a textual, discursive and social level?
2. How is the wolf constructed as a controversial issue in Swedish rural newspapers?
➔ How is this done on a textual, discursive and social level?

3. Previous research

The search for previous research concerning the topic of the wolf was conducted both in Swedish and in English. The first step was taken by searching for the keywords such as wolf/varg, wolf hate/varghat in Primo, the database of Jönköping University Library. This resulted in multiple books and articles, of which the books were mainly written in Swedish, while the articles tended to be written in English. The literature list at the end of each work referred to further research, which helped providing an overview of the field. A careful analysis of the material indicated that the issue of the wolf in Sweden is connected to the urban-rural divide and the issue of political alienation, leading to further research on those terms.

Further searches were performed in the databases Communication Source and Scopus, this time searching only in English. The keywords used were the same as previously mentioned, as well as framing, nature, attitude, relations, wildlife, wild boar, and bear, to get a wider perspective of the issue of the wolf. Searches for political alienation and urban norm were also done.

Through the analysis of the literature, three categories became visible in the material. These categories have been used to organize this chapter. The *first* part is an overview of how the wolf has been politicised in Sweden during the last decades. The *second* part contrasts the Swedish relationship to the wolf with the one in other countries. The *third* part concerns how other potentially dangerous animals are portrayed in media.

3.1. The Politics of the Wolf

Eriksson (2016) has investigated the attitude of Swedish people towards wolves. The study spans over ten years and consists of three surveys conducted in the years 2004, 2009 and 2014. Each survey consisted of a national sample of 1067 respondents and a series of municipal samples of 150 respondents each. Statistics Sweden, the official registry of Swedish statistics, was used as a sampling frame to minimise the risk of errors. During the study the Swedish wolf population grew in size, resulting in human interaction with wild wolves becoming more common. In 2004, 32% of the participants answered that they had seen a wolf or wolf tracks, while in 2014 the number had risen to 46%. During the same time,

the support for a more restrictive wolf policy rose from 30% to 35%, and according to the author this is a number that will keep rising. The study found a polarisation based on geography, where people living on the north-east coast are the least likely to support a more restricted wolf policy while the south-east parts of the country are the most likely to do so. This reflects the urban-rural divide, as the north-east coast is more urbanised than the inland areas. The south east is also the part of the country where the Swedish wolf population lives. (Eriksson, 2016)

According to Eriksson, the wolf debate is not actually about the wolf, but rather about the uneven power balance between urban and rural areas. The rural areas are struggling with aging population, depopulation, and a general feeling of powerlessness. They experience a feeling of political alienation, and the wolf becomes a symbol for their discontent as the national government and institutions in Stockholm makes decisions that influence their lives (Eriksson, 2016). It does not matter if the wolf is actually dangerous or not, what is essential is whether people perceive the animal as dangerous or not. It is also of utmost importance how the authorities deal with their fear and complains. If people do not feel like they are taken seriously the wolf hate will continue to grow stronger (Eles, 1986).

The wolf debate follows the political debate and climate. When people were still living mainly in rural areas, the wolf was a very real threat and it was common sense to think that all wolves should be killed. At this time, folk belief was still seen as a valuable source for information and facts (Eles, 1986). Then came the industrialisation when people moved into the cities, and a new common sense evolved where nature and wildlife needed to be protected. This view grew particularly strong in the 1970's when the wolf became protected by law (Berge, 2018). During the same time, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency was founded, the first in the world of its kind (Eriksson, 2016).

Today the major political parties in Sweden all have policies for hunting, and wolf hunt in particular. The left wing is closest to the opinion of the environmentalists, and advocates for protecting the wolves. The further right the parties are on the scale, the more in favour of a more restrictive and locally based wolf policy they are. In the election of 2006, the wolf was one of the main issues and the conservative block promised an introduction of licensed hunting. This helped them gain votes in the rural areas and win the election (Ekman, 2010).

The wolf is also used by the nationalistic party Sverigedemokraterna to attract voters in the rural areas. Their website states that “some areas of Sweden have a remarkably high concentration of wolves” and that they want to abolish the influence of EU as well as “small environmental organisations” in hunting right questions (Sverigedemokraterna, 2019). People living in the rural areas of Sweden tend to be male, older, have an interest in hunting and a lower level of education. All of these factors correlate with the demography of the people who vote for Sverigedemokraterna as well as with having a negative view on wolves (Eriksson, 2016; TT, 2018).

Almost half of the total wolf mortality is made up by poaching. As hunting takes place in remote places, far away from the institutions that control them, it is relatively easy for the poachers to do this in peace. Research suggests that the most effective way to regulate this is through social pressure. A fear of getting reported by one’s peers is more effective than the threat of a distant institution. Besides getting rid of an animal that is viewed as a threat, poaching is also a symbol for political resistance. Changing this behaviour would therefore require efforts to make alienated groups feel like part of the political system again (Peterson, von Essen, Hansen & Peterson, 2019). Meanwhile, environmental NGO’s are doing everything they can to protect the wolves. They are working to stop any deregulation of the wolf policy and attempts to place the decision making on a local level. This in turn confirms the opinion among the anti-wolf groups in the rural areas that it is impossible to change anything from within the system (von Essen & Allen, 2017).

3.2. The Wolf in Other Countries

Sweden share their wolf population with Norway, and the annual inventory is done in cooperation with the Norwegian authorities. Norway does however have a more restrictive policy and a population of less than 100 wolves. The main reason for this is that Norway has more than two million sheep on pasture (Ekman, 2010; Rovdata & Viltskadecenter SLU, 2018). The Norwegian wolf debate is very similar to the Swedish one, as the two countries share history and culture. A study from 2018 shows that people in urban areas have a more positive attitude to wolves than people in the rural areas, and that the population is split in half concerning whether they want wolves in Norway or not. Most negative are older men with a

low level of education, who live in the rural areas and are positive towards hunting but mistrust authorities (Krange & Skogen, 2018).

Finland and Siberia share the Scandinavian view of the wolf, which makes them the part of the world with the highest tension between wolf and humans. Other European countries consider the wolf to be a threat only to cattle, not humans. For them the wolf is just another animal, not the symbolic beast it has become in northern Europe. The Mediterranean countries seems to have the most relaxed attitude in Europe towards wolves, and a study from Italy in the 80's showed that the people there were more afraid of wolves the further they lived from them. Farmers in the countryside did not consider the wolf to be a threat, while restaurant keepers in big cities were the group which was most afraid of wolves (Eles, 1986).

3.3. Wild Animals in Media

The search of the academic literature led to surprisingly few studies concerning the portrayal of wild animals in media and how they are constructed as an issue. However, according to Mörner & Olausson, the field has grown in recent years. This is the result of a bigger interest in the area of sustainability and the need for humans to exist in harmony with nature (Mörner & Olausson, 2017).

A study from 2017 shows that hunting videos on YouTube follow the classic idea of man's fight against nature, where it is impossible for the two to coexist. Nature and wildlife are often portrayed as something that needs to be defeated, consumed, or dominated. Mankind is assumed to be the superior party with the right to dominate nature and other species (Mörner & Olausson, 2017). This view is reinforced through media, for example in tourist information. In a world where the urban lifestyle is the norm, "nature" and "wildlife" has become buzzwords in marketing campaigns. The city is a product that needs to be sold and contradicting enough this is done by emphasising the nature in it. Nature and animals are packaged as parks and zoos, contained in a confined area and controlled by humans (Uggla & Olausson, 2013).

3.4. Rural versus Urban

Today 85% of the Swedish population lives in urban areas and the rural areas are facing the consequences of a shrinking and aging population (Bjerke & Mellander, 2017). The urban lifestyle has become the norm, and the rural is considered “the other.” It is the cities that represents the future, with universities, big companies and innovative solutions (Uggla & Olausson, 2013). These institutions attract young and creative people, resulting in an even wider gap between rural and urban (Mellander, 2008). Moving away from a small settlement in the rural area is seen as a win and staying is considered to be a failure. Many young people believe that there is no way of succeeding in life if they do not move to one of the bigger cities. The ones who stay behind feel like they are not wanted by the local and national politicians, as they do not contribute to society (Svensson, 2006).

This trend is not unique to Sweden but can be found globally and is also reflected in the political environment. The right-wing nationalistic forces are strongest in the rural areas and are often fuelled by discontent with the establishment and the feeling of political alienation (Bjerke & Mellander, 2017; Mellander, Ömer & Norman, 2014, Stoker & Evans, 2014). This is also reflected in the wolf debate, as the animal is now a symbol for the urban versus the rural areas.

3.5. Lessons learnt from the literature

The review of previous research has shown that there is a long tradition of wolf hate in Sweden, connected to living in rural areas close to nature. The will to protect the wolves has a much shorter history, starting when people moved into the cities and became urbanised. Wolves are part of the Swedish culture and occur in many of the old folk tales, used as a symbol for all things evil (Ekman, 2010; Berge, 2018). According to research, people who have come into contact with wolves tend to have a more negative attitude towards them than people who have not. This means that the wolf areas, Värmland, Närke and Dalarna, are the ones with the most negative attitudes towards the animal, and that the urban areas surrounding the big cities have the most positive attitude towards them (Eriksson, 2016).

As the wolf issue reflects the divide between urban and rural, it has become a symbolic question. People living in rural areas are unhappy with the fact that decisions about their lives

are made by politicians who may not have any direct connection to the concerned areas. They do not feel like part of society and the political system, resulting in political alienation. (Eriksson, 2016).

The review has also shown that there is a gap in the previous research concerning how media portrays the wolf. None of the reviewed studies used content analysis to examine the medial image of the animal, as this study aims to do.

4. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based primarily on Critical Discourse Analysis (which is also used as a method, see chapter 5). Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach that stems from critical linguistics, which aim to show how grammar and language can be used to convey an ideology. Critical linguistics was however not sufficient to explain the connection between language, power and ideology, which is why Critical Discourse Analysis was developed. The aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to highlight the political and ideological practices and conventions that can be found both in the actual text and the context it was created in. The theory is “openly committed to political intervention and societal change.” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 4.)

In order to narrow it down and focus on the particular issue of the tension between rural and urban, *centre-periphery theory* and the concept of *political alienation* are used to complement Critical Discourse Analysis. Centre-periphery theory is used to explain how the tension came to be in the first place, while political alienation explains the issue further.

4.1. Centre - Periphery Theory

The centre-periphery theory describes the unequal relationship between a developed centre and its less developed surroundings in a system. For example, the relationship between rural and urban areas of a country. The theory has its roots in Marxist studies of imperialism at the beginning of the 20th century, and was established during the 1950's. It aims to explain the uneven relationship and development of different parts of a country, where the centre tends to develop faster (Centre-periphery, 2002). Shils (2015) states that all societies have these centres, and each citizen's relationship to that centre is what defines their societal membership. The centre has very little to do with the geography and geometry of the society but is rather an abstract idea of where the power centre of the society is located. It is the centre that sets the so-called central value system for the society, which is the official norm that the periphery then has to adapt to.

Centre-periphery models often focus on the imbalance of power, as the centres for communication, culture, industry and other institutions tend to all be located in a few

locations within an economic system. This creates a distance between the people living periphery and those who live in the centre (Centre-periphery, 2002). The elite in the centre generally have more resources in the form of education, money and power, which makes it possible for them to govern over the periphery. This is based on a certain level of appreciation for the central institutions. The periphery might be unhappy and complain about the unequal relationship with the centre, but nonetheless confirm to the idea of them being in power. Without this appreciation the societal system would crumble (Shils, 2015).

4.1. Political Alienation

Political alienation is defined as attitudes of estrangement from the political system. According to Olsen (1969), it contains two broad categories, political incapability and discontentment. Political incapability is forced upon the individual by the surrounding environment, while discontentment on the other hand is a choice made by the individuals themselves (Olsen, 1969). People who experience political alienation are often minorities in society and lack power in the form of social resources. Political alienation can be rooted either in people not having any direct political representation, or in a sense of not sharing the values and attitudes of the ruling powers in a society (Eriksson, 2017).

The most classic and most studied form of political alienation is estrangement. Estrangement is a perceived fundamental division between an individual and the polity. Despite being born and raised into a political system, the individual feels as an outsider and unrepresented in the political process. This often leads to isolation, where citizens chose to withdraw from the political system (Eriksson, 2017; Schwartz, 1976).

Political alienation can also take the form of negative evaluation of the political system and public affairs. This means that the individual feels alienated from the actors rather than the polity itself. This negative evaluation might concern both the competence and the motives of the actors. Politicians are perceived to not understand or live by the same rules as common people. The citizens know what is right, but their politicians seem to be unaware or ignoring the common sense of right or wrong (Schwartz, 1976; Stoker & Evans, 2014). In these cases, the individual might find other, alternative sources for information and representation. These people might describe themselves as anti-establishment (Ball, 2017).

Political alienation might result in a rejection of the institution of elections, where elections are perceived as providing no real choices and that a single vote does not make a difference. In a democratic society where the political system is legitimised through procedural rather than substantive terms, this poses a threat to democracy. (Schwartz, 1976)

The level of political alienation grows with the distance from the political centre, meaning that it is stronger in rural than urban areas. This is a result of rural areas being subordinate to urban areas and urban living becoming the norm (Stoker & Evans, 2014; Eriksson, 2016). Political alienation has been proven to affect the attitude towards certain policies, strengthen group identity and increase resistance towards groups perceived to be in power. Social mobilisation in rural areas is often driven by political alienation (Eriksson, 2017). In those cases, political alienation often increases the political participation. However, it is more common that it decreases the political participation as individuals chose to opt out of the political system. As a result, the political system will represent an even smaller part of the population (Schwartz, 1976).

As political alienation is an issue of power and ideology, it fits as a complement to CDA. Since language is a reflection of a person's ideological standpoint, according to Machin and Mayr (2012), it is where signs of political alienation can be found. It is also an issue of urban versus rural, making it suitable for an analysis of the wolf debate.

News media has the possibility to strengthen this feeling of political alienation depending on which topics they cover, and how. According to McCombs and Valenzuela (2017), and Weibull, Wadbring and Ohlsson (2018), media has an influence on how and what people think and talk about, and how they perceive society and their role in it. If media portrays an issue in a certain way, it will affect the common view of that issue. This is true both for the content produced by the journalists themselves, and for texts written by others that the paper chose to publish (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2017).

4.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a cross disciplinary approach often used within social sciences and the humanities. The theory has its roots in the beginning of the 20th century, as a reaction to the rise of neoliberalism and the social and economic changes at the time. Fordist mass production turned into flexible accumulation in the post-industrial area, resulting in a growing interest in the importance of a critical perspective on language. CDA is motivated by the wish to make people aware of what is, how it has come to be and what it can become instead (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007). Before any change can be made, it is necessary to understand the current situation (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

4.2.1. Language, Discourse and Power

According to CDA, language and society influence each other equally. Which language is being used in a certain situation depends on the societal context, while the language simultaneously influences how society is viewed and what is understood to be natural and common sense. Studying language will reveal signs of ideology and power, as it is a reflection of the ruling common sense and the author's worldviews. (Machin & Mayr, 2012)

The main difference between CDA and semiotic analysis is that language is not viewed as a system but as a set of resources. If a communicator is aware of how words and visual elements affect others, they can use these resources in different ways to get their message across. These choices do not happen by accident, but are active decisions reflecting the ideology and political interest of the communicator. (Machin & Mayr, 2012)

The social practice which determines how language is used is called discourse. Different discourses will come into action depending on the context (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007). Which discourse is active in a text will determine which ideologies are highlighted and which are downplayed. This in turn decides how people and events are represented, which shapes the common world view and what is viewed as natural and common sense. A discourse is never natural but always constructed and depending on the context (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Structures created by people can also be changed by people (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007). Different discourses represent the interests of different groups, which is why power and ideology are two core concepts of CDA. Power is defined as access to social resources, such

as education and wealth, which results in authority, status and influence. People with power can dominate and control people without power. Language is used to reproduce this societal order and legitimise the dominance of the rulers (Machin & Mayr, 2012). By presenting man-made structures as natural and unchangeable, unequal power relations are mystified and can remain in place (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007). Ideology is defined as a shared set of ideas about the workings of the world, and values influenced by those ideas. The dominating ideology in a society reflects the interests of the people in power (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

CDA is typically used to analyse news texts, political speeches and advertisement, to show that what at first appears to be normal or neutral is in fact rooted in ideology (Machin & Mayr, 2012). As this study focuses on texts from newspapers about an issue connected to a political and societal issue, CDA provides a fitting framework.

5. Method and material

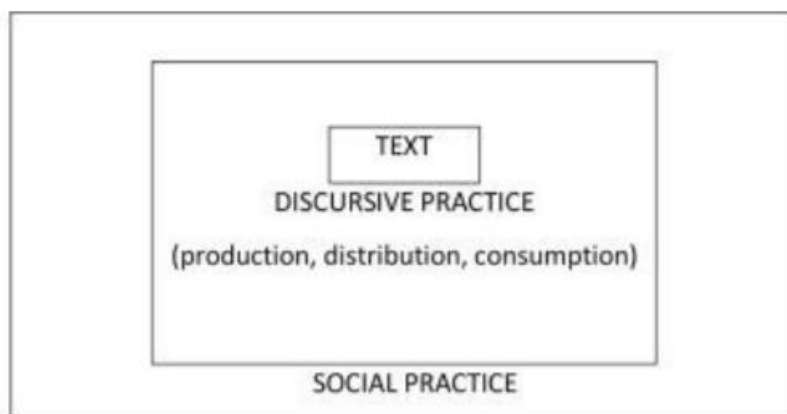
5.1. Method

5.1.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

This study will be performed by doing a Critical Discourse Analysis to uncover the hidden discourses in the selected texts. CDA combines linguistics and the study of language with social science, resulting in a method that focuses on the written texts but adds a further dimension by studying the context the text was produced in. This includes for example the author, the time and the location (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007). Anything that the text presents as natural or to be taken for granted should be questioned and analysed (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007; Machin & Mayr, 2012). No text is produced in a vacuum but is the result of the structures that the author is part of and is related to multiple other texts in a system of intertextuality (Bryman, 2011). This means that every word or image used in a text is the result of a choice made by the author. The choice might be unconscious, but it does not happen by accident (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2007; Machin & Mayr, 2012). This is why CDA does not only analyse the text, but also the structures and surrounding context to find the cause of these choices. These might be things such as where the text was published, during which time and by who it was written. This study will take the context into consideration as it is important in order to be able to understand why the texts were written in a certain way. A text is not a reflection of the world, but a constructed image, and that construction has been made for a reason (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

5.1.2. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Fairclough is one of the founding fathers of CDA, and his line of study is called textually oriented discourse analysis. In his book *Discourse and Societal change* (1992) Fairclough introduces a three-dimensional model to explain how a text is related to discursive and societal practice. The image below illustrates the dimensions and how they are related to each other.



The three-layered framework of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

The first dimension is the text, the object of analysis which might be verbal, written or an image. This first step is a text analysis where the focus is on describing what the text says. The second dimension is the discursive practice, which is the process in which the text is produced, distributed and consumed. The third dimension is social practice, which puts the texts into a bigger context. In this final step, a social analysis is performed which aims to explain why the text has been produced and what role it plays in society (Fairclough, 1992). Completing this last step would require a study of the receivers of the texts, which will not be done in this particular study but could be an idea for further studies. In this study, the third step will only contain speculations.

5.1.3. Concepts

Within CDA there is a toolkit of concepts (see Machin & Mayr, 2012, page 30, for further details) which are tools to use in the first step of Fairclough's model when analysing the text itself. After having carefully considered the material sampled for this study, the following concepts were chosen to help fulfil the aim of this study i.e. how the wolf is constructed as a controversial issue in urban and rural newspapers. These three were deemed to focus on what is essential for this study.

Lexical choices are the choices made consciously or unconsciously by the author to influence and convince the reader. Depending on which words are used, an event or an individual can be presented in a different light. For example, "youths attack local building" vs "youths attack family home" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 32). The lexical choices also set the tone of the text

which in turn shapes the relationship between the author and the reader. The more informal a text is, the more intimate does the relationship become (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This will help categorise the sampled articles and review how they describe wolves and the issues connected to them.

Presuppositions are the things that are considered to be common knowledge, and something everyone agrees with. They vary between different groups, as they usually have a deep ideological and contextual connection. If someone does not agree with these views, they are not considered part of the group. (Machin & Mayr, 2012)

Pronoun versus noun focus on how the author makes use of the “us” and “them” narrative to make the reader agree or disagree with a certain discourse. This is often used to put different groups against each other and create a divide (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Looking at the presuppositions and the use of pronoun and noun in the sampled articles will help identify how the tension between urban and rural areas is constructed.

5.1.4. Critique of the Method

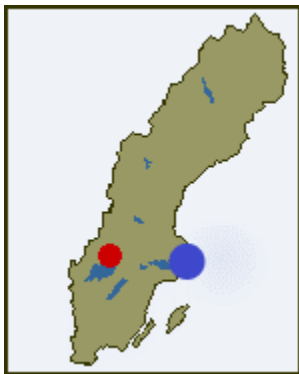
One of the main critiques of CDA is that the authors' own ideology will be reflected in the analysis. The method itself states that no person is truly neutral but always affected by the context they work in, and this must then apply also to researchers. It might be difficult for the researcher to be critical of a text that presents a point of view that they agree with. This also concerns the selection of texts. As CDA studies are qualitative they will only study a few texts, and not a representative sample. By choosing particular texts, the researcher has already taken a stand and made the study more value-driven than theoretically driven. Critiques claim that the researcher is able to choose a material that resonates with their own views to get a result that fits their agenda (Bryman, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012). In order to prevent this, I have taken special care to show the reader every step of the selection process.

5.2. Material

5.2.1. Choice of Newspapers

This study aims to investigate how urban and rural newspapers differ in their portrayal of wolves. As the biggest city and urban area in Sweden, Stockholm has been chosen to represent the urban part of the country. The city has just above a million inhabitants, which is 10% of the total population in Sweden. It is also the country's political and economic centre as it is the location of the government and the majority of the administrative authorities such as the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency.

The criteria for choosing a rural area was that it had to be a region that is part of the wolf area, which narrows it down to Dalarna, Närke and Värmland. Out of these three, Värmland is the area with the biggest wolf population. It is a region on the west side of the country, next to the Norwegian border. The region has 280 000 inhabitants, of which most live in the city of Karlstad (Regionfakta, n.d.).



Map of Sweden with Karlstad marked in red, and Stockholm in blue

When choosing newspapers, the criteria was that it had to be a daily newspaper covering the whole region. In Stockholm the two biggest newspaper which fit the criteria at the time were Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet, of which Dagens Nyheter was the biggest (Presstödsnämnden, 2013).

Dagens Nyheter (DN) was founded in 1864 and claims to be the most read morning newspaper in Sweden, reaching more than one million swedes everyday via web and print (Dagens Nyheter, n.d.-b). The newspaper is distributed seven days a week to all of Sweden, but the content is mainly focused on Stockholm (Dagens Nyheter, n.d.-a). 2012 was the same

year that Dagens Nyheter, along with other big newspapers, stopped declaring their circulation numbers. However, data from 2011 states that Dagens Nyheter had a circulation of 285 700 (Presstödsnämnden, 2012).

The two daily newspapers published in the region of Värmland are called Nya Wermlands-Tidningen and Värmlands Folkblad. In 2012 the circulation of Värmlands Folkblad was 19 400, while Nya Wermlands-Tidningen had a circulation of 144 400, which is half of Värmland's population. That number made Nya Wermlands-Tidningen one of the biggest rural newspapers in Sweden (Presstödsnämnden, 2013). NWT is distributed six days a week and is the most read newspaper in Wermland. NWT was founded in Karlstad in 1837 as Wermlands Tidningen. (Nya Wermlands-Tidningen, n.d.-a; Nya Wermlands-Tidningen, n.d.-b)

5.2.2. Sampling of Texts

The sample for this study was retrieved from Retriever Mediearkivet, the biggest archive for newspapers and magazines in the Nordic countries. The archive contains articles published both in print and online.

A choice was made to study articles from the time of the wolf attack at Kolmården as that gave new spark to the debate in media. This debate was likely to show the two sides that previous studies indicated. As the attack at Kolmården took place in June 2012, the search was limited to the time between June 1st to December 31st, 2012. The sampling was done by searching for the words varg, meaning wolf, and Kolmården in the archives of both the printed and online editions of DN and NWT. This search resulted in 70 articles from DN and 61 articles from NWT. The articles from the first part of the timeline mainly focus on the attack at Kolmården, but over time the topic changes to wolves in general. A decision by the EU to not approve of any license hunting in the winter of 2012 causes a stir in November-December.

These articles were then categorised based on their length and content. All short press releases from the national news agency TT, mainly reporting the killing or sighting of wolves in different parts of the country, were excluded as they were very short and not relevant for the study since they do not reflect the discourse of DN or NWT. A travel report and debate

articles of just 4-5 lines were excluded as well. After this first selection there was 17 articles left from DN and 26 from NWT. These were mainly news articles by the papers' own reporters, but also debate articles from journalists as well as readers and politicians.

Among the articles it was possible to distinguish three different types; debate articles, news about Kolmården and other wolf related news. As debate articles are where opinions are presented, it is those that will be thoroughly analysed for this study of how the wolf is constructed as an issue in Swedish media.

Following from the sampling procedure described here, the final data set consists of 11 debate articles, four from DN and seven from NWT. For a list of the articles (titles, authors, date of publication), see appendix A.

Here the articles are introduced as snapshots, with a very short description of what each article focus on before proceeding to the analysis. They all come from the printed editions of the newspapers, but some have been published online as well.

Farligare på zoo

Vilda vargar är normalt rädda för människor. Men om vi vänjer dem vid vår närvaro kan de förlora sin rädsla och bli riktigt farliga.



Kommentar
Karin Bojs
Veterinärredaktör

Nästan ingen fråga i Sverige är så infekterad som den om vargarna i skogen. Majoriteten vill att de ska finnas där. Men en röststark minoritet vill att alla vargar ska bort – åtminstone i deras egna hemtrakter.

Det handlar om får- och hästägare som är oroliga för sina djurs säkerhet. Det handlar om jägare som mår av sina hundar och om viltet som de vill skjuta för egen del, inte se som byte åt vargen. Men det handlar också om människor som på fullt allvar är rädda för sitt eget eller sina barns liv. Händelsen i Kolmården kommer säkerligen att spå på den rädslan. En redan infekterad debatt kommer att få nytt bränsle.

gar. Det hände på 1820-talet. Nio personer, de flesta små barn, döddes under en vinter i Gästrikland. Ytterligare några personer blev angripna men klarade sig. Framåt våren sköts en varg och attackerna upphörde. Det visade sig att vargen måste ha varit den så kallade Gysingevargen – en liten unge som togs om hand av människor och hölls i hägn på Gysinge herrgård. Efter några år rymde den eller släpptes fri. Då hade den alltså förlorat den rädsla för människor som är vargens naturliga instinkt. Den hade blivit livsfarlig.

Samma mönster går igen när historier kommer från olika delar av världen om vargar som attackerar människor. De angreppen utförs inte av vilka vilda vargar som helst, de utförs av vargar som av olika skäl har vant sig vid människor.

Mot den bakgrunden kan man bli mycket tveksam till vildmarksromantik som manifesteras i att människor ska "dansa med vargar" eller "klappa vargar".

Vargar är inte som våra hundar – som följt människor i tusentals år och under hela denna tid är avlade på anlag som går ut på att de ska vara snälla mot oss. Vargar är vargar. De är rovdjur med förmåga att jaga i flock och döda stora byten.

Behöver vi ha vilda djur bara för nöjes skull?

• "Större, starkare, vildare... även tyrt på Kolmården!" – så lyder reklamen i tidningar, på bussarnas "aktrar", lite överallt, och vad betyder det? Uppmanar det till att lära sig något om vår omvärld och natur och miljö? Våra djur? Inte särskilt mycket, däremot appellerar det till det så att säga sämsta hos människan; lusten att uppleva sensationer, spänning, gärna otäckta saker – fast bara lite, lite.

Nyligen besökte jag Nordens Ark (i Västervik) och det var härligt att där få bli bekant med de olika djuren som i stora hägn gavs möjlighet att totalt strunta i oss människor/åskådare och gömma sig – tj fick vi, kanske. Helt okej. Vi är besökarna som där får "undervisning" i djurens liv och livsförhållanden,

hur man där på Arken föder upp djur som senare kan sättas ut igen i naturen. Knappast någon upphetsande reklam heller typ "kom och se", "större, starkare, vildare". Även om Kolmården på olika sätt – har jag tyckt förr – varit intressant så har detta hemska nu hint, att en skötare dödade av sina skyddslingar vargarna. Vad stridsroten nu ska ljuda!

För många år sedan var familjen på Kolmården och när vi åkte förbi varghägnen såg jag dock något

dråpligt – en varg som kälade på ett vitkålshuvud. Kan det stämma? Jag tyckte att det var schyst.

Folk ska inte gå in till rovdjur, tycker jag, åtminstone ska de då vara flera. Jag tänker också på den unga kvinnliga kriminalvårdaren som slogs ihjäl av en intern för inte länge sedan. Hon skulle inte ha varit ensam med internen. Och ensam ska man inte gå in till rovdjuren heller. De är ju rovdjur! Och de kan faktiskt i sitt begränsade habitat reagera oväntat, med aggressivitet. Denna olycka är mycket sorglig.

Behöver vi över huvud taget djurparker? Behöver vi exponera djur, djur som underhållning, entertainment? **Hildegard Trinkies, Gustavberg**

Folk ska inte gå in till rovdjur, tycker jag, åtminstone ska de då vara flera.

More dangerous at zoo, Bojs, 2012

This article argues that wild wolves are not dangerous to humans, but domesticated ones at zoos are.

Do we need wild animals just for fun?, Trinkies, 2012

This article questions the existence of zoos in order to entertain people.

Krönika

Möte med vargen, på vems villkor?

Är man se dem i ögonen?
"Javisst", sa skötaren, en ung kvinna.

Så jag tog en bakom öronen, så där som jag gör med vår labrador Rufus, och tittade honom i ögonen och sa något i stil med "du är en vacker varg du, lille vän".

Så där gjorde vi allihop, vi som var inne i hägnet i Kolmården den där söndagen i april i år. Samma hägn som den kvinnliga skötaren dödade i i veckan. Vi umgicks med vargarna på människors vis. Vi kliade dem på rumpen, vi kliade dem på skinkorna.

En lade sig på rygg precis som Rufus gör när han vill bli kliad i ljumskarna. Vi tittade fascinerat på tänderna. På de skarpa kindtänderna och jag sa till en skötare: "Visst är det samma uppsättning tänder som en hund har?"

Sedan frågade jag om skötarna brukar kasta pinnar med vargarna som man gör med hundar?

Hade man gärna velat göra, tänkte jag. Gå ett steg längre och leka och brottas med vargarna och inbilla sig att de är ens vän. Så tänker vi gärna, vi som kallar oss djurvänner. Som har flera katter i trång lägenhet trots att forskarna säger att det är det värsta en katt kan vara med om. Som stänger in kaniner i bur fastän de helst vill springa fritt, så läser in fåglar i bur fastän de helst vill flyga.

Vi vill så gärna göra djuren till våra vän-



"Du är en vacker varg, du". Susanne Hobohm besökte Kolmården i april i år.

ner. Tämja dem, kontrollera dem, klappa dem när vi behöver känna deras värme.

För vi behöver dem i våra liv, livet blir så mycket roligare när vi har dem att kommunicera med.

Men på vems villkor? Det sägs att chihua-

Foto: Privat

hua blivit en populär hundras för man kan träna den att bajs i låda inomhus om man inte har tid att rasta den.

Det lär till och med finnas upptagna människor som har sin hund på hundpensionat i veckan och hämtar ut den till helgen.

Och lika förvånade blir vi varje gång djuren inte uppför sig som vi hade tänkt oss.

Som hon i teve sa till hundpsykologen: "Jag förstår inte varför min hund verkar så frustrerad och aggressiv, jag som går ut runt kvarteret med den flera gånger i veckan."

Djurliv på människans villkor. Djurliv på djurens villkor – hur skulle det se ut?

Susanne Hobohm är frilansjournalist.

Hon har hund, har haft katter, vandrande pinnar, guld fiskar och guldhamster. Och har fortfarande ärr på armarna efter katten som blev tokig av att åka bil.

Meeting with the wolf: on who's conditions? Hobohm, 2012

This article questions the keeping of wild animals at a zoo, and the human need to tame wild animals.



The success story of the wolf, Wolodarski, 2012

This article gives a short overview of the history of the wolf in Sweden and criticise those who do not believe that wolves should be allowed to exist in Swedish nature.

Nya Wermlands-Tidningen



Provide facts about the wolf, Johansson, 2012

This article asks for “real facts” about wolves, instead of the lies the Swedish people are being fed by the government, media and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency.

Det är klart att rovdjuren är farliga

ALLMÄN DISKUSSION. Frågan används som synonym med frågan om huruvida vargen bör få leva eller inte. För vargen inte leva ifall den är farlig? För farlig, det är den!

Får ingenting som kan skada människor existera överhuvudtaget? I torsdagens NWT kunde vi läsa om en kvinna som misstänks ha slagit spädbarn. Samma kvinna ska tidigare ha misshandlat en sexårig pojke.

Ska kvinnor få leva överhuvudtaget ifall de är benägna till sådant? Och Hitler, han var ju man, ska vi utrota alla män också? Vargen skapades inte för att sitta och vara söt på ett zoo, den skapades för att finnas för sin egen skull.

Vargarna har, såvitt jag vet, inga överläggningar om ifall de bör utrota människor eller inte, vilket kanske borde vara en mer aktuell fråga med tanke på hur stor del

av deras otroligt lilla population vi har haft ihjäl de senaste åren. Det som hände på Kolmården är en tragedi och ett bevis på att vargar, liksom människor, är farliga.

Vi bör inte döda dem, utan respektfullt undvika dem, och absolut inte placera dem som prydningssaker i en nöjespark.

Ett annat farligt djur



Vargen är skapad för att leva fri.
FOTO: PORTUS STENBERG / SCANPIX

Of course predators are dangerous, Anonymous, 2012

This article argues that humans are just as dangerous as wolves, and that being dangerous does not mean that a species should not be allowed to exist.

VARG Antiklimax för besöksjaktstater

Löshundsjakten hotad

NWT hade tidigare ett stort reportage om löshundsjakten i Värmland. För många människor i USA, Norge och Sverige, som har blivit sociala, miljömedvetna och ekologiska aspekter.

Den traditionella löshundsjakten har i stort sett försvunnit i Värmland. Den har blivit en aktivitet för få människor. Det är inte längre en aktivitet som kan skada människor. Det är inte längre en aktivitet som kan skada människor. Det är inte längre en aktivitet som kan skada människor.



Vargen kommer att försvinna från jaktstaterna i Värmland, men inte från jaktstaterna.

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The hunt with loose dogs is threatened,

Anonymous, 2012

This article explains how wolves threaten

the hunt with loose dogs, and how that affects

the whole society in Värmland.

DEBATT Rovdjurspolitiken

Regeringen vill ha vargjakt i vinter

SVERIGE. Vår ambition är att en vargjakt ska kunna bedrivas kommande vinter i syfte att begränsa tillväxten i genetiskt svaga revir, skriver miljöminister Lena Ek (C) och tre andra företrädare för Alliansen.

Alliansens regering har tagit tydliga ställningar till att alla våra stora viltbestånd ska bevaras. Viltbestånden är en del av vår natur och de har en stor betydelse för oss som människor. Det är därför viktigt att vi ser till att de bevaras.

Regeringen vill ha vargjakt i vinter i syfte att begränsa tillväxten i genetiskt svaga revir, skriver miljöminister Lena Ek (C) och tre andra företrädare för Alliansen.



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under 2013 med förslag till lagstiftning om vargjakt i vinter, hösten, ja, och även.

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Fel siffror om hur många vargar som behövs

ÅTERVÄNDSGRÄND. Ingen av de planerade vargutsättningarna har lyckats. Att påstå att 380 vargar skulle vara en livskraftig stam är att mer än lovligt tänja på sanningen, menar **Roger Olsson.**

Svar till Lena Ek med flera (NWT 7/11)

Ministern och föresättningsrådet för allianspartier fortsätter att sprida dimndiåder som bara kan leda till att Sveriges vargpolitik hamnar ännu längre in i den återvändsgränd där den sedan flera år befinner sig. I en debattartikel i Nya

Wernlands Tidningen skriver de att vargstammen kan nå gynnsam bevarandestatus vid 380 vargar under de förutsättningar som råder idag, eller vid 180 vargar, om invandringen av obesläktade vargar ökar. De hävdar att den bedömningen görs av Naturvårdsverket.

gener. Den högre siffran, 380 vargar, förutsätter att de planer för utsättning av varg som tidigare beslutat genomförs, det vill säga att 20 vargar sätts ut fram till 2014.

Därefter behövs tillskott av sju vargar per decennium, vilket är mer än tre gånger så mycket som den effektiva invandringen på två vargar de senaste tio åren. Effektiv invandring är djur som reproducerar sig. Invandringen just dessa tio år har varit exceptionellt hög i förhållande till den totala invandringen under de senaste 30 åren på sammanlagt fem vargar.

Av de 20 planerade vargutsättningarna har som bekant ingen enda hittills kunnat genomföras

framgångsrikt. Att påstå att 380 vargar skulle vara en livskraftig stam "under de förutsättningar som råder idag" är med andra ord att mer än lovligt tänja på sanningen.

Allianspolitikerna hävdar också att Sverige levererar allt som EU-kommissionen efterfrågat för att lägga ner övervakningsnätet mot den svenska vargjakten. Underförstått bör det nu vara fritt fram för jakt igen. Ett av de krav som EU-kommissionen varit mycket tydlig med kan i korthet formuleras så här: Genomför genetiska förstärkningsåtgärder först, jag sedan. Det är ett logiskt krav, eftersom Sveriges argumentation gått ut på att jakten är ett sätt att få acceptans för

utsättning av vargar. Två licensjakter har genomförts, men däremot inte en enda åtgärd för genetisk förstärkning av vargstammen. Vad har Sverige levererat, mer än vargakt och praf?

Menar man allvar med att Sverige ska ha en livskraftig vargstam måste de lagstifta för genetisk förstärkning som utlovar i årtal genomföras, och möjligheterna till naturlig invandring norrifrån säkerställas. Först då kommer vi så småningom att få en livskraftig stam som också till att jagas.

Roger Olsson
Ordförande
Svenska Rovdjursförbundet

Wrong numbers of how many wolves that are needed, Olsson, 2012

This article criticises the Swedish government for using wrong numbers when talking about how many wolves are needed for a sustainable wolf tribe in Sweden.

Nej till frilevande varg

Vargstammen har fått det som de vill. Åk stammen har minskat, på en del områden mycket kraftigt, det är nog inte många jaktlag som ett vargrevir som inte har minskat detta. Vi finner många kadaver av vargslöddar. Sedan får man arbeta i jaktens gång på gång på grund av att varg finns i såren. Det finns ingen hundägare som vill ta risken att hundens ska bli anfärlig och dödas av varg. Hundens är ju en familjemedlem och en djuking. Jakthund besitter även ett stort ekonomiskt värde. Detta med löshundsjakt är smitt ett minne borta.

Efter den tragiska olyckan i Kolmårdens djurpark, där en ung kvinna dödades av vargar, begärde Arbetsmiljöverket att åtal skulle väckas mot djurparken. Efter mycket prut och blö- veristad hamnade ärendet hos riksenheten för miljö- och arbetsmiljö i Jönköping där frågan skulle utredas som ett arbetsmiljöärende, men sedan lades locket på mycket snabbt. Man kan fråga sig varför.

Jag har läst i pressen att regeringen anslagit 420 000 kronor till en utredning, i samråd med Finland och Ryssland, om hur man ska kunna befri från en invandring av varg till Sverige från dessa båda länder.

Totalkostnaden för vad allt



Vargar i hägn – här på Järvsö i Järvsö – kan gå an, enligt småntarskribenten, men inte några vilt levande djur.

FOTO: YVONNE BJÖLLING/ANITA

detta vårdande av vargstammen kostar oss skattebetalare för vi aldrig reda på – även då läggert myndigheterna locket på – men det finns de som anser att det kanske ligger runt 100 miljoner kronor. Tänk om dessa pengar istället

hade använts till exempelvis sjukvård och äldreomsorg, vad mycket mer nytta de skulle ha gjort. Vi får hoppas att regeringen och övriga myndigheter tänker om i vargfrågan. Norge har en annan syn på vargen och dess hållning-

ar. Centerpartiet, som där är ett landsbygdsparti, väntar verkligen om djurägare och boende på landsbygden. De har samma syn på vargen som rikspolisstyrelsen har här. Nej till frilevande varg. En som jagat med hund 15 år

Mer krävs för att hantera vargpopulationen

AVLAGSNA. Man bör även se över möjligheten att ta bort hela revir i län med stor vargaktighet, skriver **Jan-Evert Rådström** och **Bengt-Anders Johansson.**

Nyligen presenterades en rapport gällande gynnsam bevarandestatus för varg för att säkerställa en vargstam med god genetisk variation. Rapporten finns två alternativ, ett alternativ innebär 380 vargar under förutsättning att det kommer in en ny varg i populationen varannat år. Det andra alternativet innebär 180 vargar under förutsättning att det kommer in en ny varg i populationen varje år. Alternativen valde att gå mot alternativ två. Det är ett mycket klokt val, men vi anser att det finns fler åtgärder som borde införas.

För det första måste vi istället komma en inventering som alla berörda parter känner till till. Därifrån måste det vara klart och tydligt hur inventeringen går till och människor ska lätt kunna vara delaktiga. Vi föreslår därför att medlemmar från miljöorganisationer och jägargrupper

gemensamt medverkar i varg- inventeringar tillsammans med länsstyrelserna och viltförvaltningsdelegationerna. För det andra måste skydds- jaktbeslutet ej vara godtyckliga beroende på länsstyrelse. Det bör tas fram tydliga kriterier för att få tillstånd en skyddsjakt och samt en maximalt inom vilken besked om skyddsjakt ska tas. Man bör även se över möjligheten att ta bort hela revir i län med stor vargaktighet samt göra en översyn huruvida skyddsjakt på eget initiativ ska falla under grovt jaktbrott eller ej.

För det tredje bör viltförvaltningsdelegationerna få ett utökat mandat. Vi anser att det ska prövas på vilka områden dele- gationerna kan bli direkt beslutande och att länsstyrelserna utövar samliga medlemmar en grundläggande utbildning utifrån rapporten i delegationen. För det fjärde anser vi att det ska finnas ett samlat myndighets-



Det måste vara klart och tydligt hur inventeringen går till och människor ska lätt kunna vara delaktiga. Skriver **Jan-Evert Rådström** och **Bengt-Anders Johansson.**

FOTO: JACQUES WALLAND/ANITA

och regeringsansvar för förvalt- ningen av vilda djur. Idag råder ett delat ansvar mellan miljö- departementet och landsbygds- departementet gällande förvalt- ningen. Denna splittring kan upplevas som ineffektiv och kan skapa en svårnad av koordinat- ion. Vad gäller myndighetsnivå bör ett samlat ansvar ligga på Skogsstyrelsen för att ge bästa möjliga förutsättningar för en

samlad, hållbar och ansvarsfull förvaltning.

Sverige kan nu presentera en förvaltningsplan för varg och uppföljare varje punkt som EU-kommissionen inkräkt. Därifrån ska det inte finnas någon fortsatt anledning för EU att driva denna fråga. Vad gäller framtiden för den svenska vargen så välkommar

vi beslutet om att gå mot 180 vargar i Sverige men anser att de fyra punkter presenteras ovan även bör införlivas.

Jan-Evert Rådström (M)
Riksdagsledamot för Västernorrlands län,
vice ordförande i trafikskolekommittén
Bengt-Anders Johansson (M)
Vice ordförande i miljö- och jordbruksutskottet

No to wild wolves, Anonymous, 2012

This article argues against wild wolves in the Swedish woods, and criticises the government for how the handling of the wolf issue.

More is needed to handle the wolf population,

Rådström & Johansson, 2012

This article praise the government for taking action regarding the wolves, but says that a more detailed plan is needed.

6. Analysis and results

This chapter will analyse the eleven debate articles from DN and NWT, following the three-dimensional model of Fairclough; the text, discursive practice and social practice. The aim of the analysis is to understand how the wolf is constructed as an issue in one rural and one urban Swedish newspaper.

6.1. The Text

This is the first dimension of Fairclough's model which focuses on the text itself. The concepts lexical choices, presuppositions and pronoun versus noun, explained in chapter 5.1.3., are used to analyse how the texts are constructed and why.

6.1.1. Lexical Choices

The level of formality in the texts differs quite a lot. The least formal language can be found in DN, *Do we need wild animals just for fun?* (Trinkies, 2012). This article uses everyday language, and the author uses a lot of questions and exclamation marks. She starts with introducing the reader to the slogan of Kolmården "bigger, stronger, wilder" and questions what it really means. "Is it encouraging us to learn? (...) Not so much". Trinkies consider it to "rather appeal to the so to speak worst sides of humans; the lust to experience sensations, suspension, preferably horrid things – but just a little, little bit." She contrasts this with Nordens Ark, another Swedish zoo, where it was "lovely to become acquainted" with the animals and it was "totally okay" that some of them hid from the visitors. She refers to the attack at Kolmården as "terrible" and says that "now the war cries will sound!" But Trinkies also establish her own opinion, "people should not go in to the predators, I think, and then they should at least be more than one." She ends the article with two questions, "Do we even need zoos? Do we need to expose animals, animals as entertainment?" [sic]. Her intention seems to be to make the reader think about the ethical consequences of keeping animals captivated. Trinkies does not refer to any facts or scientific reports, her article consists of her own thoughts.

The article *Meeting with the wolf: On who's conditions?* (Hobohm, 2012) from DN is also written in a personal tone but the language is more formal. The article starts with a short

anecdote of how the author visited the wolves at Kolmården two months before the attack. She mentions an animal keeper, “a young woman”, which suggests that it could have been the very same woman that was later killed. Hobohm repeatedly talk about how the wolves in the chute were treated as dogs, by both the keepers and the visitors. “I took one by the ear, like I do with our Labrador Rufus”, “one laid on his back just like Rufus does when he wants to be scratched.” She then starts to question this behaviour, both in herself and others, where we consider all animals “to be our friends.” The humans need to “tame them, control them, pet them when we need their warmth.” And then “we get just as surprised every time they do not behave like we expect them to.” The tone is calm and collected, with an undertone of sadness for the human treatment of animals.

On a semi-formal level, there are two different articles in DN; *More dangerous at zoo* (Bojs, 2012) and *The success story of the wolf* (Wolodarski, 2012) from DN.

Bojs (2012) argues that wolves are made dangerous by humans, saying that “wild wolves and zoo wolves that have been made accustomed to humans are two completely different things.” She uses the example of the Gysinge wolf from the 1820’s, a wolf that was kept by humans as a pup and then released into the wild when it got older. As the wolf was semi-socialised it could not catch prey and was not afraid of humans, so it turned to eating children. “Wolves are not dogs (...) wolves are wolves.” The tone is calm and collected, but the article is an accusation of humans romanticising the wild. In the final sentence Bojs hopes that “the debate that now flare up will be able to keep apart wild wolves and wolves in the chutes of man.” The justification in this text is not scientific but based on a historic event and the authors feelings.

Wolodarski (2012) also uses history to justify his arguments, by giving a short recap of the history of the wolf in Sweden. He ends this with “That’s what happened, when just and necessary hunt, aiming to limit the damage of the wolf, derogated into brutal extinction of a fascinating species with a long Swedish history”, making his own position in the debate clear. When he mentions that hundreds of wolves were killed every winter during the 19th century, he says that “the thought of these juicy hunting numbers might make the mouths water of some trigger-happy wolf antagonists.” According to him, the Swedish wolf tribe is “far from stable” and there are mainly two causes for this. One is the Sámi people who do not want

wolves close to their reindeers, an issue he does not delve any further into. The other one is the “attitude from the past” that wolves should not exist in Sweden. “Loud groups of organised hunters” are making politicians “sway remarkably.” Wolodarski criticises the government, and the environmental minister in particular, for letting this happen. “(...) the decision should be based on the strict criteria of natural conservation – not to calm down a wolf-hostile opinion.”

Of course predators are dangerous (Anonymous, 2012) is the least formal of the articles in NWT, where the argumentation is driven by feelings and personal opinions rather than science. The keyword in this article is “dangerous.” “Can the wolf not live if it is dangerous?” the author asks in one of the first sentences. They then argue that the wolf is far from being the only dangerous creature. “What happened at Kolmården is a tragedy and proof that wolves, like humans, are dangerous.” The author also wonders what it would be like if the same argumentation was used in other cases. “Hitler, he was a man. Should we exterminate all men as well?” Later in the text the author says that it would be “more reasonable” if the wolves decided to make humans extinct, “considering the fact that we have killed such a big part of their small population in recent years.”

The other side of the debate, which is less positive towards wolves, is also represented in this category of emotionally driven argumentation. They do however actively take a stand against scientists and the establishment. *Provide facts about the wolf* (Johansson, 2012) in NWT says that “never before have so many experts on wolves aired their opinions as after the accident at Kolmården” and that it is time for people to find out “what really happened.” According to Johansson, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency spends “millions every year to prove that the wolf is harmless” and organisations and scientists have been granted “huge contributions” to “propagate” for the wolf. Even the parliament and the government are “controlled by this agency.” “The truth is” that people need to hunt the wolf “to be able to survive.” Johansson refers to an interview he has heard on the radio with the manager of Skansen, another Swedish zoo, and calls his explanation of the attack “frightening”. A person “in his position” should be more objective “instead of covering up all the intermezzos involving humans.” The tone in this article is very emotional and upset, and Johansson does not provide any proof or sources for his arguments. He is very critical of the establishment in the form of politicians, officials and the media, and instead provides the readers with a link

where they can find the truth “instead of being forced to listen to the directions from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency.”

The same attitude is reflected in *No to wild wolves* (Anonymous, 2012), also from NWT. According to Olsson, “friends of the wolves” have gotten what they want, a growing wolf population which has resulted in a shrinking moose population. He claims that “there are not many hunting parties within the wolf areas which have not noticed this”, referring to when a hunting day is forced to an end because of wolf sightings. “Hunting with loose dogs will soon just be a memory” according to him. After the attack at Kolmården, the author states that it has been “all talk and no action”, and that “the lid was put on quickly, one might ask oneself why.” The author also writes that “we taxpayers will never know the true cost of the wolf, the lid is put on (...) But there are those who estimate it to be around 100 million crowns.” The author does not tell us where that number comes from but believes that the money should be used for healthcare and elderly care instead, “imagine how much more useful that would have been!” The article ends with stating that “we must hope” that the government and the rest of the establishment will reconsider the question of the wolf. The author encourages them to look to Norway, which has a different view of the wolf and its “havocs.” “Centerpartiet [The Centre Party], which there is a rural party, really care for the animal keepers and the rural population” is a sneer at Swedish politicians. Sweden also has a party called Centerpartiet which describe themselves as the alternative for rural people, but the reader does not seem to think that they live up to this.

On a semi-formal level, there are two different articles in NWT; *The hunt with loose dogs is threatened* (Anonymous, 2012) and *Wrong numbers of how many wolves that are needed* (Olsson, 2012).

The hunt with loose dogs is threatened (Anonymous, 2012) argues that the hunt with loose dogs which is a beloved Swedish tradition, is now threaten by the rising number of wolves in Värmland. We are now “facing a change of trend, some might even call it a catastrophe.” The author gives a romantic, vivid description of hunting with a loose dog and “waiting with rising pulse for something to happen.” But “long gone is the time” when that happened, as “no one wants to risk getting their dogs torn apart by blood thirsty wolf jaws.” The dog is not just an animal, it is “a dear hunting companion.” The loss of hunting with loose dogs would

also result in a loss of hunting-tourists from Denmark and Germany. This would result in a lost income for local business owners, in a rural area where “every crown makes a difference between shutting down or being able to continue.” The author says they are neither a hunter nor a business owner but sees “a growing problem” for “the sparsely populated” areas of Värmland “if we are not allowed to strongly reduce the wolf population.” “Allowed to” implicates the control of others over their lives, hindering them from earning enough to survive. The text is emotional, using examples from real life to show how a whole community is influenced, not only hunters and animal keepers.

Wrong numbers of how many wolves that are needed (Olsson, 2012) takes a stand against the government and how it handles the wolf issue. Olsson is however positive to the existence of wolves but thinks that the politicians are just “getting further down a one-way street” concerning them. According to him, the government is “claiming” that the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency has said things that they have not. They are “spreading smoke screens” and false numbers based on “absurd assumptions.” “If they are being serious” about Sweden having a healthy wolf tribe, they have to deliver more than “just wolf hunts and talk.” Olsson’s own view is based on the same report by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency as the government refers to, but he interprets it in a different way. All of his arguments are however based on official numbers.

The two articles that are most formal are both published in NWT, *The government wants a wolf hunt this winter* (Ek, Johansson, Brodén & Oscarsson, 2012) and *More is needed to handle the wolf population* (Rådström & Johansson, 2012). They both use a very correct and formal language, with arguments based on science and research. The texts refer to a report by the organisation Skandulv, which Ek, Johansson, Brodén and Oscarsson call “the finest experts from both Norway and Sweden.” The authors of both texts seem to have big trust in both Skandulv and Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and do not question their authority.

The government wants a wolf hunt this winter (Ek et. al., 2012) starts with a strong headline that right away defines the message of the whole article. It then goes on to state that the government has a “clear position” in the wolf debate and wants a strong and healthy tribe. They say that the evaluation by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency is “welcomed” and

based on “years of research” by Skanduly; “which gathers the finest experts from both Norway and Sweden.” The article states that the government is aiming for a “viable population in the natural areas of the species” but also for the decisions to be made “in close cooperation with both administrative authority and individual landowners and hunting right owners”. It is stressed that this means “a limited wolf population”, aiming for “the lower part of the range” and “less wolves.” The ambition is to have a plan ready next winter, which would in turn lead to an end to the EU commission’s involvement, as the case could be considered closed. “Thereby Sweden could get their acting space back.” The article thereby manages to target the two main aspects of the wolf debate that the rural areas are concerned with; a reduction of the tribe and the possibility to decide over their own lives. Yet, it does not propose any concrete changes.

More is needed to handle the wolf population (Rådström & Johansson, 2012) praises the government for having made “a very wise choice” by choosing a more restricted wolf policy based on the numbers presented by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency. But they call for more; “we believe that more measures need to be taken.” They then suggest four steps that should be taken to turn the words into action. These are presented in a clear structure, making it easy to follow and see the connections to the statement from the government. Words as “cooperation”, “clear plan”, and “trust” are at the core of their argumentation. Just like Ek et. al., (2012) Rådström and Johansson (2012) stresses the importance of Sweden being able to present the solution to the EU commissions to be able to make their own decisions from now on.

6.1.2. Presuppositions

The main presupposition in all the articles is that the wolf debate is a sensitive issue in Sweden, with Bojs (2012) stating that “almost no other issue in Sweden is as infected as the one of the wolf in the woods”, Trinkies (2012) prediction of “war cries” and Wolodarski (2012) saying that “the anger and disappointment will be big” following the decision to not allow for license hunt during the winter of 2012.

The presupposition in the articles from the Stockholm-based DN is that the wolf is an animal in need of protection. It is humans rather than wolves that are the problem. Bojs (2012) says

that “wild wolves are normally scared of humans. But if we make them used to our presence, they may lose that fear and become really dangerous”. Trinkies (2012) state that the keeper should not have entered the chute alone as “they are wolves!”, and Hobohm (2012) says that what we currently have is “wildlife on human terms”. Wild animals should live in the woods and not in small chutes for the pleasure of humans. Bojs is the only one of these three that consider the possible conflict about territory between wolves and animals, but she states that it is “a small majority” that does not want wolves. Wolodarski (2012) shares the same view, calling the wolf “an exciting animal” and stating that anti-wolf movements have “attitudes from the past.” All four agree that nature and the animals living in it should be protected and conserved.

Most of the articles from NWT argues that the wolf is an intruder on human territory. They threaten the hunt, which is viewed as a right and something that is necessary for the people of Värmland to survive. Johansson (2012) says that the reason for hunting wolves in the first place “was to be able to survive”, and the anonymous author of *The hunt with loose dogs is threatened* (2012) calls the threat “a catastrophe”. The anonymous author of *Of course predators are dangerous* and Olsson (2012) do however not seem to agree with this, but instead share the view of the Stockholm based authors who believe that the wolf should be protected. *Of course predators are dangerous* does however differ slightly from Olsson and the articles in DN, as it acknowledges that the wolf might be dangerous for humans. But it argues that this is not a reason for not letting them live.

A sub-genre of the articles from the rural area is the one believing that the establishment, in the form of EU and the Swedish government, are conspiring against the people of Sweden and hiding numbers and facts from them. Both Johansson (2012) and the anonymous writer of *No to wild wolves* talk about how the government and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency are “putting the lid on”, “controlling the people” and “propagating” for the survival of wolves. In their view the establishment cannot be trusted, and they are a good example of political alienation as they do not feel like part of the system.

6.1.3. Pronoun versus Nouns

All articles provide examples of the “us” versus “them” narrative, where urban and rural areas consider their counterpart to represent the other. Bojs (2012) refers to the people with a negative view of the wolves as “a loud minority” of animal owners, hunters who want the prey to themselves, and people who are genuinely scared of wolves. It is clear that she does not consider herself to be one of them, and that she considers their fear unwarranted since wild wolves would not hurt a human. The same is true for Wolodarski (2012), stating that there will be “disappointment and anger (...) in some places.” He also refers to people with a negative attitude towards the wolf as “trigger-happy.” Both Bojs and Wolodarski are on the side of the wolves and seem to view anyone who does not as less intelligent for not understanding that the animal needs to be protected.

For Trinkies (2012) and Hobohm (2012) it is the human race that is the us, “do we need wild animals for fun”, “we want to make the animals our friends.” Hobohm (2012) narrows it down slightly by talking about “us animal lovers” and thereby placing herself among them. This makes her critique more justified as she as a member of the group is assumed to know what she is talking about. The same justification is done by Trinkies as she positions herself as a zoo visitor and thereby criticise a group she too is part of.

In the articles from the rural areas, the urban is mainly represented by the government and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency. Johansson talks about how Swedish Environmental Protection Agency controls both the government and the parliament and thereby the whole Swedish population. It is time for the truth instead of “forcing us” to listen to their lies. The anonymous author of *No to wild wolves* mentions “us taxpayers” as an opponent to the government. The politicians do not work for them, but against them.

The articles in NWT also have a strong sense of community, referring to the people of Värmland as one group. The anonymous author of *The hunt with loose dogs is threaten* discusses how the wolf politics will have consequences for the whole region and the author of *No to wild wolves* refers to “friends of the wolves” as the cause for the downfall of the rural areas.

6.2. Discursive Practice

The articles in this study are from two different newspapers, both with a large number of readers. As discussed earlier, the fact that DN is an urban newspaper and NWT is a rural newspaper provides the main discursive context for the articles.

As they are debate articles, the texts are written by people with different backgrounds which have influenced their take on the wolf debate. In DN, the debate articles are generally written by professional journalist. As DN is an elite newspaper, it is very prestigious to write for them and the majority of people in the media business will read your work. It can therefore be assumed that these writers also have to take into consideration what other journalists will think about them and their text.

Bojs, Hobohm, and Wolodarski are all part of this journalistic elite. Both Karin Bojs and Susanne Hobohm are journalists and writers, born in Gothenburg, the second biggest city in Sweden. In her signature of this particular article, Hobohm lists all animals she has had which further establishes her as an animal lover. The fact that they are both female, highly educated and live in an urban area makes confirms the stereotype of a person who is pro-wolves as opposed to the males in rural areas with a low level of education who tend to be anti-wolves (Eriksson, 2016). Peter Wolodarski is male but born and raised in Stockholm and highly educated.

Trinkies differs from the other authors of the texts in DN. The signature states her name and the suburb of Stockholm she lives in. She represents the people on the street and has a view of the attack at Kolmården that many people living in the urban areas probably share with her, as they often lack experience with wild wolves. What she presents is her own thoughts without any obvious agenda, making it easy for the reader to take it in.

In NWT none of the sampled articles are written by a journalist. It is instead politicians, private individuals and spokespeople for different organisations who have written the texts. Worth noting is that three of the seven authors have chosen to be anonymous, which is something that does not occur in the articles from DN. This can be assumed to be the result of the fact that the wolf debate is more intense in Värmland than in Stockholm, as it is part of the wolf area. Having an opinion that does not agree with the common view might lead to an

individual being left out from the group. As Värmland has a smaller population than Stockholm, the probability of people recognising you would be bigger there.

Both Johansson and Olsson are chairmen of organisations that are either strongly in favour of or against the wolf. Their texts reflect the views of their respective organisations, and the language they use are in line with the style of all communication from the two organisations. In 2012, Inge Johansson was the chairman of Folkaktionen ny rovdjurspolitik [The people's demonstration for a new predator policy]. The aim of the organisation is to organise the people in Sweden affected by wolves, influence the politicians and create an international network. They are very critical of the government, EU and the establishment. They are still active in 2019 and have 18 000 members (Folkaktionen ny rovdjurspolitik, n.d.). The website he refers to in the article, www.vargfakta.se, is a private collection of articles about wolves from media across Europe. The aim is to show the "true image" of the wolf. The website has however not been updated since 2015, as the author felt hopeless and not listened to. In his last entry he writes that he feels like the politicians do not care about the rural area (Vargfakta, n.d.). Roger Olsson is also the head of an organisation, called Svenska Rovdjursföreningen [The Swedish predator association]. This is an NGO working for the acceptance of predators in Sweden, wolves in particular. Their work is similar to that of Folkaktionen ny rovdjurspolitik and aims to influence the attitudes of both the public and politicians. They work together with the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency as well as the county administration boards (Svenska Rovdjursföreningen, n.d.).

Two of the articles from NWT are written by politicians. The first is by Lena Ek, environmental minister, Bengt-Anders Johansson, vice chairman of the environmental and agricultural advisory group of the parliament, Anita Brodén, environmental spokesperson, and Irene Oskarsson, environmental spokesperson. The four represent one party each from the conservative alliance which at the time was governing the country. Lena Ek belongs to Centerpartiet, a party that profiles themselves as the rural party who cares for people living in the countryside. She spent the whole fall of 2012 debating the wolf issue in the EU and arguing for the commission to let Sweden handle the question locally. 2012 was right in between the two elections of 2010 and 2014, and it seems like this article is an attempt to satisfy the voters in Värmland. It is no coincidence that this was published in NWT and no other Swedish newspaper.

The article generated replies, mostly in the form of short posts. Some were accusing Ek, Johansson, Brodén and Oskarsson of vote-catching, and others were cheering them on and praising them for their work.

Soon after the publication of *The government wants a wolf hunt this winter* came another article, again from Bengt-Anders Johansson but this time written together with Jan-Evert Rådström. In 2012, Rådström was one of Värmland's MPs as well as the vice president of the traffic advisory group. Johansson lacks the local connection of Rådström but is a hunter and was the spokesperson in question of hunting and fishing for his party Moderaterna. This makes them more approachable for the target group of people from Värmland, and less of representatives for the establishment in Stockholm. In combination with their concrete suggestions for how to improve the wolf policy, *More is needed to handle the wolf population* can be assumed to attract more votes than *The governments wants a wolf hunt this winter*.

The three articles with an anonymous author are *Of course predators are dangerous*, *The hunt with loose dogs is threatened* and *No to wild wolves*. They are instead signed with signatures reflecting their stand in the debate.

Of course predators are dangerous is the only article in NWT that defends the wolf, and has a standpoint that would be more expected to find in an urban newspaper. The signature is *Another dangerous animal*, referring to the part of the text where the author states that humans are dangerous too. This opinion does not fit the common sense in Värmland, and it can be assumed that the author would risk being excluded and maybe even threatened if they were to sign the article with their name.

The author of *No to wild wolves* might want to remain anonymous for a similar reason, as their opinion is a bit extreme. The text is very critical of both the government, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and Kolmården. Even if the common sense is to have a negative view of the wolf, this person takes it further than others by suggesting a conspiracy of "the establishment" against common people. This view is probably a bit too extreme for the author to feel comfortable going public with it. Instead they have chosen to sign with *One who has hunted with dogs for 55 years* indicating that this is a person who know what they are

talking about as they have experience. The signature also makes it very hard to identify the author, as there is a multitude of people in Värmland who would fit this description.

The author *The hunt with loose dogs is threatened* lacks an obvious reason for choosing to remain anonymous. The article is not controversial, the fear of losing a dog is one of the main reasons that people are scared of wolves. As the author brings in other groups than hunters, this might be the article with the most multi-dimensional analysis. It is well-balanced and based on facts rather than emotion, except for the part about blood thirsty wolves ripping apart hunting dogs. And yet the author has chosen to sign with *Canis lupus – no thanks!* rather than their own name. Using the Latin name for wolf enhances the idea of the author as educated and well-read. It is possible that their negative view of wolves is not accepted in their own social context, and that they have therefore chosen to remain anonymous.

6.3. Social Practice

The eleven articles in this study are from two newspapers which at the time were the most circulated in their own categories. It is therefore possible that the articles influenced the opinion of several people either by strengthening their presuppositions or by challenging them. This study does however not focus on the readers, and it is therefore only possible to speculate about how the texts were received. It is worth noting that not everyone in Stockholm and Värmland reads DN and NWT, and not everyone reads everything in a newspaper.

All articles in DN are written by Stockholm-based journalists for Stockholm-based readers. The narrative is based on the idea of the urban norm and that having a negative attitude to wolves makes you part of a minority. Bojs (2012), Hobohm (2012) and Trinkies (2012) all agree that wild wolves belong in the woods, not in the captivity of humans. “Wild wolves in the woods and zoo wolves who have been made used to humans are two completely different things” according to Bojs (2012), and Trinkies (2012) is wondering “do we even need zoos at all?”. This reasoning does however lack any reflection of how the woods might be where humans live as well. Based on their texts it seems like there is a clear divide between where animals and humans live, which might be the case in urban areas but is not true for the rural parts of the country. This makes their argumentation one-dimensional as it is only based on

their own experience and does not consider the fact that there are people living in a different context.

The same is true for Wolodarski, who dismisses people with a negative attitude towards wolves as “trigger happy” and refers to the wolf as a natural part of the Swedish nature. If this text was published in a rural newspaper, there would probably be an outcry from the local population as they are portrayed as somewhat dumb for not understanding that the wolf is not dangerous to humans. Wolodarski, a man living in Stockholm, gives himself the right to tell people in the rural areas how it really is.

This wish to tell things like they are is even more visible in the articles from NWT. Johansson and the anonymous author of *No to wild wolves* both call for the government and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency to give the people the real facts, instead of feeding them lies about everything from the actual danger of wolves to the cost of protecting them. Olsson accuses the government of not telling the truth about how many wolves that are needed to reach a healthy population. This distrust of institutions is something that does not exist in the articles from DN and is part of political alienation.

Five of the seven articles from NWT are written by people living in the wolf areas, who have experiences that justify their opinion on the wolves. They have the personal experience that the politicians in Stockholm and Brussels are assumed to lack.

Most of the articles follow the narrative suggested by previous research, that the urban view is that the wolf needs to be protected and the rural view is that they are dangerous and pose a threat to people’s everyday life. The rural view has clear indications of political alienation, such as scepticism of the establishment and the feeling that politicians do not care about them. Meanwhile, the urban view tends to dismiss people in the countryside as old fashioned and less educated for not understanding that the wolf needs protection.

The anonymous author of *Of course predators are dangerous* (2012) and Olsson (2012) is the only one who do not follow the expected narrative. They present a view that would be more expected in an urban newspaper than in a rural one, where the wolf is to be protected from humans.

Looking beyond the articles analysed in this study, the sampling made it clear that the wolf issue is relevant for both urban and rural newspapers as they both published a lot of articles about it. It does however seem like DN was more interested in the attack at Kolmården, as most of both their news articles and debate articles had a connection to the incident. They had a peak in articles during the months after the attack, while NWT had a more even spread during the chosen time frame.

As mentioned in chapter five, the first search resulted in 70 articles from DN and 61 articles from NWT. After the removal of short notices and press releases from the national news agency TT, these numbers were however lowered to 17 articles from DN and 26 from NWT. This shows that NWT produces more articles about the wolf on a local level than DN does, as they have a higher interest in the issue. This proves the part of media logic that states that the closer something is geographically; the more media will write about it. Besides reporting about Kolmården, the articles in DN mainly reported about a wolf who wandered into Riala, a community roughly 60 kilometres from Stockholm. This wolf was only mentioned in short notices in NWT.

Regarding the news articles, the reporting in NWT was more personal than that in DN. In NWT the topic was often an interview with a person who had an interaction with a wolf. For example, an incident where a woman's dog was attacked resulted in an interview where both the owner and the dog were mentioned by name in the article. This makes the reporting in NWT more emotional than the one in DN. In DN people remained anonymous and were talked about rather than talked to.

7. Conclusions

7.1. Conclusions

This study has investigated how the wolf is constructed as an issue in Swedish newspaper.

The overall conclusion of this study is that rural and urban newspapers tend to approach the wolf issue differently. This difference has been found to be closely related to the issue of political alienation, a fact that agrees with the previous research presented in chapter three.

It should be noted that neither the readers of DN nor or NWT are a homogenous group. The centre-periphery aspect appears within those groups as well, as there are rural readers of DN and urban readers of NWT. In the context of Värmland, the city of Karlstad represents the urban centre while the surrounding cities and villages become the rural periphery. However, in this particular study the two newspapers have been chosen to represent two sides of a debate and the conclusions will focus on a higher level of centre-periphery where the capital is the centre.

Both the urban DN and the rural NWT adhere to the classic idea of what their coverage of the wolf should be. The dominating narrative in DN is one of wolves as a fascinating animal which is an essential part of the Swedish fauna. The animal is believed to need protection from humans, especially the hunters in the rural area of the countries. In NWT the wolf is instead presented as a threat to both humans and animals. It is viewed as a threat to people's way of living and is an enemy that needs to be conquered.

This stereotypical reporting about the issue may make the question even more infected, as people's opinion are only strengthened and not questioned. Instead of challenging the views associated with urban and rural areas, the articles enforce them.

The wolf attack at Kolmården was approached differently by the two newspapers. In NWT the discussion used the attack as an argument for wolves being dangerous. The attack fits into a narrative of the animal as a threat to humans. Most articles mentioned it at the beginning

and then returned to the point they wanted to make, whether it was that the hunt was threatened or that the government were spreading propaganda. This further establish the wolf as a symbol for a bigger conflict. In DN the debate focused mostly on zoo and the keeping of wild animals in captivity. It became an issue of animal rights and man's will to conquer the wild. Perhaps the reasons for this is that those questions are more relevant to the urban population than the issue of whether wolves should be allowed to live freely in the Swedish woods or not. Their experience with wild wolves is very limited and the animal does not pose a threat to them or their animals. Zoos are however something they have gotten into contact with. The urban articles seem more willing to forgive the wolves than the rural articles do. The attack is seen as a tragic consequence of conditions created by humans, rather than a demonstration of the wolves' true nature.

The traditional view of the wolf as a representative of all things evil still seem to live on in the rural parts of Sweden. As stated by Ekman (2010), back then this fear was justified, as the wolf did pose a threat against cattle which meant the difference between life and death for a family. Today the loss of cattle might not have as dire consequences, but it is still an economic loss for a farmer. Similarly, the loss of a hunting dog would affect the hunter on both an emotional and economic level. As pointed out by the anonymous author of *The hunt with loose dogs is threatened*, it would not only affect single individuals but society as a whole. The hunting is not only a hobby, but also provides and income for the whole neighbourhood in the form of tourism. It might be easy for urban people to dismiss the fear of wolves as irrational and old fashioned, as wolves are not part of their everyday life, but for some people it is a very real threat.

A common opinion in the articles from NWT is that the politicians work against them rather than for them, which is a sign of political alienation. People feel like they are living in a different world than the people in power, who do not know and do not care about the everyday life of the people in Värmland. The government and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency are portrayed as the enemy, working together to make the population believe that the wolf is harmless. This fits the nationalistic forces very well, as their rhetoric is built on the idea that the establishment is failing the people (Bjerke & Mellander, 2017). As mention by both Eriksson (2017) and von Essen & Allen (2017), this growing issue of political alienation risks undermining the political system and society as a whole.

The narrative of the wolf is often very black and white, where both the animal itself and the people partaking in the debate are either bad or good. There is no middle ground or neutral standpoints present in the sampled articles.

The analysis reveals two main traits visible in all the articles, regardless of whether they are from DN or NWT. The first one is a lack of understanding for the other side of the debate. The *urban* articles dismiss people in the rural areas as trigger happy hunters who have an old-fashioned view of the world, still holding on to old fears. From this point of view, the fear of the wolves is not based on any reasonable ground but rather the result of lack of education and information. This can be applied to other conflicts between rural and urban areas as well, where urban people tend to view themselves as an educated elite with the right to make decisions for others who lack their level of education. This confirms the theory of centre-periphery, where a powerful centre governs over a distant periphery.

Meanwhile, articles from the *rural* newspaper refer to institutions, politicians and journalists based in urban areas as clueless and out of touch with reality. Some go as far as accusing them all of being part of a conspiracy. Strong feelings are shown through angry words and a harsh tone, showing that these are people that are tired of being overruled by politicians in Stockholm and Brussels. Politicians and officials are viewed as the enemy, who live in a world isolated from theirs and do not show any signs of understanding them. These are all signs of political alienation.

There does not seem to be any wish at all to deepen this one-dimensional image or get a deeper understanding from either of the two sides. Interestingly enough, the rural idea of urban people as distant and uninterested in their lives is further established by the how the urban articles talk about the rural population.

The other main trait is that both sides in the wolf debate position themselves above nature and animals, believing that it is the right of humans to decide whether an animal should exist or not. The group of people with a positive attitude to wolves seem to believe that it is their duty to protect the animals. Neither side seems willing to just let nature be, an attitude which is reflected in the wolf hunt of the 19th century as well as in the work of Project Wolf in the

1970's. This human wish to conquer the wild is the very same that Mörner and Olausson (2017) refer to in their study. It seems like it is part of human nature to dominate and control the world around us.

7.2. Further Research

All knowledge presented in this study is built upon the research of others, and hopefully it will in turn work as a steppingstone for others. The results presented here can be further expanded upon, either by going into more depth or by adding a wider perspective of the issue. Political alienation and the urban-rural divide are two topics that are highly relevant and most likely will continue to be so even in the future. It is important to understand the phenomenon in order to be able to prevent it.

First of all, it would be of interest to complete the third level of Fairclough's three-dimensional mode, social practice. This could be done by in-depth interviews or focus groups with representatives from both rural and urban areas in order to understand how the texts were received by the readers.

As the material of this study only consists of a small sample for two different newspapers, it would be interesting to study the issue of the wolf in a wider perspective. Adding more newspapers from other parts of Sweden would help deepen the knowledge and would result in a stronger analysis. It would also be interesting to compare different countries to each other, to investigate how the views of the wolf differ in different parts of the world.

The same study could also be conducted in another country, using another symbolic question. What issue is their equivalent to the Swedish wolf, what is the history of it and how is it presented today?

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Appendix A

Sampled Articles

Dagens Nyheter

	Headline	Author	Date
1.	Farligare på zoo [More dangerous at zoo]	Karin Bojs	2012-06-18
2.	Behöver vi ha vilda djur bara för nöjes skull? [Do we need wild animals just for fun?]	Hildegard Trinkies	2012-06-21
3.	Möte med vargen: På vems vilkor? [Meeting with the wolf: On who's conditions?]	Susanne Hobohm	2012-06-24
4.	Vargens framgångssaga [The success story of the wolf]	Gunilla Herlitz	2012-10-11

NWT

	Headline	Author	Date
1.	Fram med fakta om vargen [Provide facts about the wolf]	Inge Johansson	2012-06-28
2.	Det är klart att rovdjuren är farliga [Of course predators are dangerous]	Anonymous	2012-07-06
3.	Löshundsjakten hotad [The hunt with loose dogs is threatened]	Anonymous	2012-07-29
4.	Regeringen vill ha vargjakt i vinter [The government wants a wolf hunt this winter]	Lena Ek, Bengt-Anders Johansson, Anita Brodén and Irene Oskarsson	2012-11-07

5.	Fel siffror om hur många vargar som behövs [Wrong numbers of how many wolves that are needed]	Roger Olsson	2012-11-09
6.	Nej till frilevande varg [No to wild wolves]	Anonymous	2012-12-07
7.	Mer krävs för att för att hantera vargpopulationen [More is needed to handle the wolf population]	Jan-Evert Rådström and Bengt-Anders Johansson	2012-12-22