



# Linnéuniversitetet

Institutionen för kulturvetenskaper

## Examensarbete

# Development of National Identity

The *Kalevala* and the Finnish



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*Kurskod:* 2HIÄ06

Title: Development of National Identity: The *Kalevala* and the Finnish  
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Semester: HT18  
Subject: History  
Level: Kandidatnivå  
Course code: 2HIÄ06

## Abstract

Forming an identity or a national identity is a long process every country in the world has gone through. The purpose of this research paper is to investigate how the Finnish identity has been portrayed in media between the years 1836-1893. The aim is to uncover how the Finnish epic, the *Kalevala* has influenced the creation of a Finnish national identity, which will be done through discourse analysis of five newspaper articles published over a timespan of about 60 years. The results showed that there were some changes over time in how the Finnish are portrayed in relation to the *Kalevala*. However, this difference was not applicable to all the studied categories. In conclusion, identity is something individual and through the individuality a common identity could be formed in Finland in the 1800s.

Swedish title: Utvecklandet av en nationell identitet: *Kalevala* och finländarna

Key words: Identity construction, Nationalism, Culture.

Thank you

I would like to thank my instructor Marie Bennedahl for her help during the writing process.

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## 1.0 Introduction

Forming a national identity is a process that takes many years, and it is a process all countries all over the world has gone through. In Finland the process of creating a national identity started in the 1800s with the rise of nationalism. In the case of Finnish identity creation, the people sought approval from outside the nation's borders to ensure who the Finnish people are.<sup>1</sup> The *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, has been made into a book by Elias Lönnrot in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century. Lönnrot travelled through Karelia and collected and noted the stories of *Kalevala*. With the spread of Christianity, the oral tradition of the *Kalevala* was deemed heathen and with that the interest for the tradition was reduced among the people.<sup>2</sup> Until Elias Lönnrot started to investigate the Finnish folklore and specifically the *Kalevala*. Today, however, when talking about the *Kalevala* it does not only refer to the national epic, but to everything that is related to the epic such as, art, jewellery, and the development of a Finnish identity.<sup>3</sup> In the approximately 200 years that has passed since Lönnrot first published the *Kalevala* until today something has happened, which has made the *Kalevala* into a part of being Finnish and has a central role in creating a Finnish identity, but this all started in the 1800s along with the nationalistic movement.

## 2.0 Aim

Many researchers have previously analysed the *Kalevala*, but what distinguishes this paper from theirs is the focus of the research. Earlier studies have the content and story of the *Kalevala* in the centre of the research while in this study it will be in the background. Instead, this paper aims to uncover how the national epic influenced the Finnish identity since its publication in 1835. To answer this question an analysis of five newspaper articles from late 1800s in Finland dealing with the *Kalevala* will be done. The primary questions to be answered are; how the Finnish identity has been portrayed in articles published in Finland in the 1800s in relation to the *Kalevala* and what similarities and differences can be found between different newspapers.

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<sup>1</sup> Bosworth, R.J.B. *Nationalism*. New York: Pearson Education Limited. 2007. p.11.

<sup>2</sup> Pentikäinen, Juha. Y. *Kalevala Mythology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. P.ix.

<sup>3</sup> Stenberg-Gustafsson, Nanna, and Björkstrand, Sixten. "Kalevala lade grunden för finländsk kultur." *Svenska Yle*. 2016-02-25. Accessed December 21, 2018. <https://svenska.yle.fi/artikel/2016/02/25/kalevala-lade-grunden-till-finlandsk-kultur>.

### 3.0 Background

Creating a Finnish identity was a slow process. Scholars argue for the Finnish to have migrated to Finland in 700 A.D., a time long before Swedish rule.<sup>4</sup> According to, the historian, Derek Fewster this early migration was important in creating a national identity. Finland had been a part of the Swedish realm from about the 12<sup>th</sup>-century until 1809 when the Russians took over.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the shift from Swedish rule to Russian Finland had at first more control over its own nation, but this came to change in 1890 when the Russian government started to fear the Finnish nationalism and its increasing development. This led to among other things censored newspapers, Russian resolutions of standardisation and decrees where issued, and Finland was controlled from the point of view of the empire and not the grand duchy itself. The long-time of Swedish rule had set its mark on Finland and had resulted in the academic elite speaking Swedish. Fewster argues that nationalism started with Johan Ludvig Runeberg's publication of *The Elk Hunters* in 1832 in Finnish, which gave the people of Finland an existence. The switch in linguistics from Swedish to Finnish and the change in literature from kings to heroes in the oral traditions gave way for new developments.<sup>6</sup> Fewster argues for the *Kalevala* to play a crucial role in the development of a Finnish nationalism because the *Kalevala* created a Finnish heritage. Furthermore, a national heritage started to form with Lönnrot's creation of the *Kalevala* in the beginnings of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, according to Fewster.<sup>7</sup>

A vast folklore collection has been going on in Finland since the 1800s and has resulted in the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*.<sup>8</sup> The epic is a symbol of Finnish nationhood being one of the first texts written in the Finnish language when first published in 1835.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it offered the people of Finland a sense of something of their own, something that creates a stronghold for what is Finnish. The *Kalevala* gave Finland its demigods and heroes, which represented the own people in a way other works had never done before.<sup>10</sup> However, the *Kalevala* is not a traditional epic since it is neither oral nor literary alone. It belongs among the tradition-oriented epics, such as, *Iliad and Odyssey*, *Beowulf*, the *Eddas*, and the

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<sup>4</sup> Fewster, Derek. "Braves Step out of the Night on the Barrows': Regenerating the Heritage of Early Medieval Finland," in R. J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States History Nationhood, and the Search for Origins*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian. 2015. p.35.

<sup>5</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.32 and 45.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p.37.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p.38.

<sup>8</sup> Jauhiainen, Marjatta. *The Type and Motif Index of Finnish Belief Legends and Memorates*. Pieksämäki: Kirjapaino Raamattutalo. 1998. p. 13. and Pentikäinen. 1999. p.ix.

<sup>9</sup> Jauhiainen. 1998. p.ix.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.ix.

*Nibelungenlid*.<sup>11</sup> The epic was written by Elias Lönnrot who travelled around in the western parts of Finland and collected runes from oral traditions and songs.<sup>12</sup> Lönnrot was an academic scholar at the University of Turku and was not the first to collect runo-songs from Karelia. His predecessor Zachris Topelius started the collection and after his death in 1831, Lönnrot felt that he needed to finish what Topelius had started and took responsibility for the publication of the old runes. Lönnrot's motif of collecting the old runes was not for the archives, but for publication.<sup>13</sup> Elias Lönnrot lived during the Romantic movement in Finland and pressures of his time led him to search for an epic comparable to the *Eddas*.<sup>14</sup> Although Elias Lönnrot collected the runes, he did not create the *Kalevala* himself, but merely put it in writing. The *Kalevala* has an old story, and it is said to have begun with the Finnish southwestern grandees. The grandees hired poets to sing about their glorious ancestors, which brought the demigod Väinämöinen, the hero Lemminkäinen, and other mythological creatures to life.<sup>15</sup>

The first version of Lönnrot's *Kalevala* was published in 1835 and was received enthusiastically by the Finnish people, among other things because of the epic being written in the Finnish language.<sup>16</sup> However, there had been earlier publications of the *Kalevala* long before Elias Lönnrot published his two versions, the old and the new *Kalevala*.<sup>17</sup> These earlier publications called the proto-*Kalevala* and the Cycle *Kalevala*, are not as long as Lönnrot's versions and only included Lemminkäinen's stories, Väinämöinen, and various wedding songs.<sup>18</sup> Even though, the *Kalevala* is an epic, and the norm for epics is that when published it is finished, the *Kalevala* was not finished when published and new versions have been published later on. This is possible because the *Kalevala* is oral poetry that has been written at a later point, which means that it is often changed and edited time and time again.<sup>19</sup>

## 4.0 Previous research

It is important to acknowledge that there are many previous studies done about the *Kalevala*, but few of them are directly connected to identity or the forming of a Finnish identity. The main aim of previously done research is the *Kalevala* and analyses of the epic itself in relation to

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<sup>11</sup> Honko, Lauri. "Foreword The Kalevala on the world epic map." In *The Kalevala and the World's Traditional Epics*; Lauri Honko (red.); Tampere: Tammer-Paino Oy, 2002. p.9.

<sup>12</sup> Pentikäinen. 1999. pp.17-19.

<sup>13</sup> Honko, Lauri. "The *Kalevala* as performance." In *The Kalevala and the World's Traditional Epics*; Lauri Honko (red.); Tampere: Tammer-Paino Oy, 2002. p.17.

<sup>14</sup> Honko. "The *Kalevala* as performance." 2002. p.18.

<sup>15</sup> Collinder, Björn. *Kalevala*. Svensk översättning. Uddevalla: Bohusläningens AB. 1970. p.8.

<sup>16</sup> Pentikäinen. 1999. p.1.

<sup>17</sup> Honko. "Foreword The Kalevala on the world epic map." 2002. p.9.

<sup>18</sup> Honko. "The *Kalevala* as performance." 2002. p.13.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*. p.13.

identity. I have not come across a study where the researcher includes media into the analysis of identity and *Kalevala*, which is what I am doing. The previous research presented below will be about identity creation, nationalism, myths, and national consciousness, which will be presented with connections to Finland and its national epic.

Identity is something different for everyone. Patrick Colm Hogan, Professor of English and Comparative Literature, argues that a national identity should be understood as a way of life.<sup>20</sup> However, there are issues with defining national identity as a way of life, because no nation or society has one single way of life, according to Hogan. What he gets at is that there are people in a society or nation who are of different ethnic, religious, and so forth groups and have, therefore, different loyalties.<sup>21</sup> According to Hogan it is crucial to understand these different labels people have in order of understanding national or any other group identification.<sup>22</sup> Hogan also discusses issues these different labels can create, for example, Hogan stresses that all people have one nationality, one religion, and one racial category. With the exception of dual citizenship, which would mean that a person belongs to two nationalities, but this would be, according to Hogan, accidental.<sup>23</sup> These different categories exist in every human and they can come in conflict with each other because your national identity might not be the same as your religious identity or even ethnic identity.<sup>24</sup> In order to remove the issue of belonging to several conflicting categories, Hogan proposes two ways of how this could be done. The first is about preventing discontinuities by paralleling all categories, which would lead to a nation where everyone shares ethnicity, religion, language, and so forth. The second way of preventing conflict is by changing people's categories, this is also called elective alignment. Changing people's categories only work with elective categories, such as, religion, but not with non-elective ones, such as, race and ethnicity.<sup>25</sup> Hogan's study of national identity is interesting to use because it shows how identity can be created and how to unify the identity of a nation. Unification of a nation's identity is specifically interesting when researching the creation and development of a Finnish identity in the 1800s.

Construction of a national identity is based on nationalistic views. Nationalism, according to the political scientist Andrew Heywood, is the belief that the nation is the central

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<sup>20</sup> Hogan, Patrick Colm. *Understanding Nationalism: On Narrative, Cognitive Science, and Identity*. Ohio: the Ohio State University. 2009. p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Hogan. 2009. p.23-24.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p.25.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p.54.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p.54-55.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p.55.

principle of a political organisation and for this to be the case there are two core assumptions being made, (1) all humans are naturally divided into distinct nations, and (2) that the nation is the most appropriate and legitimate unit of political rule.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Heywood argues that a nation is a phenomenon consisting of three factors, the cultural, political, and psychological. The cultural factor is about a group of people being bound together by a common language, religion, history, and traditions. The political factor states that there is a natural political community among the people in the region. Lastly, the psychological factor is about being able to distinguish the group from others by a shared locality and affection, often shown as patriotism.<sup>27</sup> Earlier there were no national identity, but an identity formed by allegiance to a ruler or rulers. This came to change in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century when a wave of nationalism spread across Europe as an aftermath to the French Revolution and the new phenomenon of national identity was formed.<sup>28</sup>

Nationalism spread over Europe and developed into several different subcategories. Heywood discusses cultural nationalism, which suits the purpose of this paper because we are looking at the development of a Finnish culture separate from the Swedish in a time before Finland was an independent country. Cultural nationalism focuses on the ‘mystical’ and is based on a romantic belief of the nation as a unique historical and organic whole. According to Heywood, cultural nationalism is closely linked to popular traditions, rituals, and legends rather than on an elite and recreation of itself.<sup>29</sup> Cultural nationalism was developed by the German philosopher Johann Herder, and he argued that every nation possessed a Volkgeist. A Volkgeist is the spirit of the people and is mainly revealed in the culture and language. Furthermore, the spirit of the nation is found in songs, myths, and legends.<sup>30</sup> An example of cultural nationalism and the Volkgeist can be found in Germany and their creation of awareness and appreciation of their national traditions and collective memories through The Brothers Grimm’s revival of folk traditions and rediscovery of German legends and myths in their stories.<sup>31</sup>

Newspapers provide us with a window into the past. They have been a regular part of the Nordic countries since the 1600s.<sup>32</sup> Britt Hultén, senior lecturer of journalism,

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<sup>26</sup> Heywood, Andrew. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. London: Palgrave. 2017. p.163.

<sup>27</sup> Heywood, Andrew. *Global Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian. 2014. p.162.

<sup>28</sup> Heywood. 2014. p.162.

<sup>29</sup> Heywood. 2017. p.174.

<sup>30</sup> Heywood. 2014. p.164.

<sup>31</sup> Heywood. 2017. p.174

<sup>32</sup> Gustafsson, Karl Erik. *Dagspressen i Norden Struktur och Ekonomi*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 1996. p.9.



discusses the importance of being able to analyse texts to understand hidden messages and their meaning. Furthermore, Hultén argues that media is directly influencing the reality it is a part of.<sup>33</sup> Norman Fairclough, Professor of Linguistics and English Language, agrees with Hultén's idea of media being a part of the society it is created in.<sup>34</sup> However, he also argues that media texts always include construction of identities and relations. Moreover, he claims that media discourse can be seen through interaction between three categories, which are, reporters, audience, and third parties.<sup>35</sup> In addition, Fairclough argues that relations between journalist and reader are influencing construction of identity and that media is shaped by how society works. Daniel A. Berkowitz, researcher of social and cultural approaches to the study of news, also claims that journalists work within the frame of the culture that represents key values of the society they live in. In addition, Berkowitz argues that news organisations produce texts that are an artefact of the culture and society they represent.<sup>36</sup> What these different researchers are saying is that no matter what country we are talking about; media will always be influenced by that specific countries society.

The historian Gérard Bouchard studies the concept of myths in identity building in nations across the world. He argues that myths can be both constructed as false and dangerous, as well as, as noble ideas of equality, freedom, and democracy. Myths are, according to Bouchard, connected to reality and are conveying an array of meanings, beliefs, set of ideals, and values, which are all expressed in symbols.<sup>37</sup> Bouchard argues that myths are created to allow people to make sense of their past and present, and maintain hope for the future. Furthermore, Bouchard describes myths to have a set of common figures, which are; the protecting mother, heroic beginnings, the nations as a living body, rebirth, family, pure race, the sacrificed people, the exodus, and the common or external enemy often known as the "Other."<sup>38</sup> Bouchard's studies will be useful since they give a background to what the *Kalevala* might convey and therefore what the newspaper articles might be aiming at.

The national consciousness has gone through several phases in the past in Finland. The national enlightenment in Finland was about convincing the people of their lost unity and

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<sup>33</sup> Hultén, Britt. *Journalistikanalys: En Introduktion*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2000. p.5.

<sup>34</sup> Fairclough, Norman. *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder Education. 1995. p.51.

<sup>35</sup> Fairclough. 1995. p.125.

<sup>36</sup> Berkowitz, Daniel A. "Introduction: From Sociological Roots to Cultural Perspectives," in Daniel A. Berkowitz (ed.), *Cultural Meanings of News*. London: SAGE Publications. 2011. p.xii.

<sup>37</sup> Bouchard, Gérard. "National Myths: An Overview," in Gérard Bouchard *National Myths Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.277.

<sup>38</sup> Bouchard. 2013. p.277.

slumbering potential.<sup>39</sup> In order to convince the people they had to remember the sacrifices generations before them had been forced to make in defence of their national survival, according to Fewster. In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century the nationalists developed an extensive imagery of what they considered to be the original ethnicity and national history.<sup>40</sup> The region known as Finland has been a part of the Swedish realm from the 12<sup>th</sup>-century until 1809 and then remained under Russian rule until the Finnish independence in 1917. Fewster argues that a national identity needs and uses myths of ethnic descent to develop.<sup>41</sup> From the 18<sup>th</sup>-century until early 19<sup>th</sup>-century a phase of patriotism run through the country and the first exposition of Finnish nationalist sentiments were published.<sup>42</sup> It was also the earliest construction of a Finnish national entity and the presentation of the Finnish as a conceptual “we” and not as a part of the Swedish or Russians.<sup>43</sup> According to Fewster, the construction of a Finnish identity could only be achieved by the people living in the region, regardless of ancestral origins.<sup>44</sup>

## 5.0 Theoretical framework

The main aim of history is to tell us who we are and how we came to be the way we are.<sup>45</sup> The historian, Klas-Göran Karlsson argues that life needs history to work. What he is aiming at is that history gives us the opportunity to gain knowledge about the past and implement it on the present.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, Peter Aronsson, Professor of History, argues that history no longer belongs to the scientist, but that it belongs to everyone and more, and more people are creating history. This development indicates, according to Aronsson, that the terminology, such as, historical consciousness and use of history has to broaden in its meaning in order for us to be able to understand our place in history.<sup>47</sup> The meaningful history is created through meaning, legitimacy, and handling of change of ourselves and reality, according to Aronsson.<sup>48</sup> History creates meaning through chronological stories in specific contexts. These stories also create eternal life for the people in the stories through remembrance and rituals. In addition, Aronsson argues that these stories create myths for the future and gives knowledge of long forgotten pasts

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<sup>39</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.31.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p.31.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p.32.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p.33.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p.33–34.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p.34.

<sup>45</sup> Aronsson, Peter. *Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2004. p.13.

<sup>46</sup> Karlsson, Klas-Göran. *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2009. p.57.

<sup>47</sup> Aronsson. 2004. p.13.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p.57.

and societies.<sup>49</sup> What Aronsson is describing is the existential use of history, which Karlsson and, the historian, Ulf Zander claim is for everyone and that it is about remembering what has been.<sup>50</sup> In addition, Aronsson's way of viewing how to use history is compelling in the way that he sees possibilities for everyone to use history and not only for a selected few, which has been the case in the past. Aronsson has opened the history subject to everyone and argues for everyone to know their history.

Aronsson discusses the core of mythology as the official description of reality. According to him there are four ways of how mythology can be used in history. Mythology is a story that means something for the individual in relation to its entirety, as stated by Aronsson.<sup>51</sup> The first use of mythology in history is mythology as untrue, which means that mythology argues for things that are not true and cannot be controlled or verified through science. The second way of how mythology can be used in history is that mythology is used within religious ideas. In the third way mythology is long stories about our ancestry regardless of religious, cultural, and scientific relations. Lastly the fourth way of using mythology in history is about making a framework for reality through mythology.<sup>52</sup> For the purpose of this paper, the third way of how mythology can be used in history is relevant because it highlights the formation of identity through ancestry and connections to the past.

Furthermore, Aronsson argues that stories, which become national stories are not restricted to reference kings or glory and such, but that the stories give us a look into the past, which shows us history through descriptions of reality as it was seen in the past.<sup>53</sup> Karlsson argues for other ways of using history and in the book *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, he writes about several ways of using history and one of them, the existential use of history, is relevant for the purposes of this paper, because it is about remembering or forgetting, as well as it is about creating stability in the society.<sup>54</sup> This way of using history can be a tool to increase the nations legitimacy and strengthening the identity of a specific society.<sup>55</sup> In order of establishing the use of history in the chosen newspaper articles the theory and method discourse analysis will be applied alongside Aronsson's theory of use of history. There

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<sup>49</sup> Aronsson. 2004. p.57.

<sup>50</sup> Karlsson, Klas-Göran, and Zander, Ulf. *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*. p.72.

<sup>51</sup> Aronsson. 2004. p.88.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. pp.88-89.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. p.89.

<sup>54</sup> Karlsson. 2009. p.60.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p.61.

is a reason why the *Kalevala* is mentioned and used in the articles in the way that it is, and that use might be changing overtime, which is the reason why we need to apply the theory of discourse analysis as well.

How history is used in texts is one way of interpreting the past; another is through discourse analysis, which would give us a more profound view of the Finnish society in the 1800s. In general, discourse analysis is about, according to, the historian, Anna Nilsson Hammar, how texts communicate pictures of reality and what consequences this might have had, but also a way of analysing the past through linguistic leavings.<sup>56</sup> Discourse analysis within history is about putting systems of social, political, and academic positions in relation to each other in order of interpreting meaning. It is not about the text, but about specific dictums, which are repetitive throughout the text itself and about finding patters in the texts, according to Nilsson Hammar.<sup>57</sup> With discourse analysis the researcher investigates the language of history, but also the history of language and how these two are connected and that it is impossible to study one without studying the other. Furthermore, language is always changing and therefore it is also influenced by the context in which it is used and affected by time and space.<sup>58</sup> Because of language not being constant, it is affected by the historical context, which consequently depicts how reality is perceived at a given time. Discourse analysis is not only about the text itself but also about relations to social establishments and relations, which are a part of creating and constructing the reality, which are described in the text.<sup>59</sup>

## 6.0 Methodology and material

### 6.1 Method

The two methods used for this paper are critical discourse analysis (CDA) and a quantitative method. Discourse analysis has been around since the 1970s and has, throughout the years become a more common method in research, according to the discourse analyst Ruth Wodak et. al. In developing the method of CDA several British researchers, such as, Norman Fairclough, Roger Fowler, and Gunther Kress, for example has drawn upon Foucault's theory of discourse.<sup>60</sup> Discourse is a central concept in Michel Foucault's, the father of discourse,

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<sup>56</sup> Nilsson Hammar, Anna. "Diskursanalys," in Martin Gustavsson and Yvonne Svanström (ed.) *Metod Guide för Historiska Studier*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 2018. p.133.

<sup>57</sup> Nilsson Hammar. 2018. p.134.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p.133.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p.137.

<sup>60</sup> Wodak, Ruth. *The discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2009. p.7.

analytical framework. According to, the sociologist, Stephen J. Ball, Foucault explains discourse as what can be said and thought, as well as, about who can speak, when and with what authority. Furthermore, Ball argues that discourse embodies social relationships and meaning and constitutes power relations.<sup>61</sup> Fairclough discusses CDA not only to be language studies, but to be including an analysis of the state of language and discourse. What he means is that language changes depending on when it has been used and those changes is what CDA analyses.<sup>62</sup> According to Fairclough, discourse has an important role in the constitution of power relations and social identities and is, therefore, a working method of this paper.<sup>63</sup>

Critical discourse analysis is a way of developing language analysis techniques, according to Fairclough. Fairclough claims there are three basic properties to CDA: (1) relational, which focus on social relations rather than on individuals or entities, (2) dialectical, which is relations between objects, that are different from each other, e.g. relations of power and discourse, i.e. state and representatives, and (3) transdisciplinary, or interdisciplinary, which is about combining two or more academic fields.<sup>64</sup> Fairclough is connecting his interpretation of discourse to Foucault's and claims that CDA is not an analysis of discourse, but an analysis of dialectal relations between discourse and other objects, such as, elements or moments.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Fairclough argues, much like Wodak, that CDA has become a more respectable methodology as it has spread to new areas of the world and to several new disciplines and areas of study.<sup>66</sup> However, Fairclough claims that not everything counts as CDA and lists a few points that needs to be fulfilled in order of counting as CDA: firstly, the analysis is not only an analysis of a text, but it is a part of a transdisciplinary analysis between relations of discourse and other elements, secondly, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts, and thirdly, the analysis addresses social wrongs and possible solutions to them.<sup>67</sup>

CDA is a qualitative data analysis and the main aim is to deconstruct the target text in order to reveal hidden messages.<sup>68</sup> Martyn Denscombe, an expert at research methods, claims that in order of implementing CDA as a method the researcher must be able to read

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<sup>61</sup> Ball, Stephen J. "Introducing Monsieur Foucault," in Stephen J. Ball, *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge*. New York: Routledge. 2010. p.2.

<sup>62</sup> Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman. 2010. p.96-97.

<sup>63</sup> Fairclough. 2010. p.97.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p.3-4.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. p.4.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. p.10.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p.10-11.

<sup>68</sup> Denscombe, Martyn. *The Good Research Guide: For Small-scale Social Research Projects*. Glasgow: Bell and Bain Ltd. 2014. p.288.

between the lines, as well as bring outside factors into play.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, he argues that in order of being able to read between the lines the researcher needs to use an existing background knowledge about the society, culture, politics, etc. because CDA adds a political aspect to the approach. In addition, the researcher has to rely on political, economic, and social ideologies as a frame of reference in order of understanding the hidden messages of the targeted text.<sup>70</sup> What I will be looking at in the different news articles are (1) references to self, for example, us, we, Finland, Finnish, (2) description of people, objects, and processes, (3) culture and cultural nationalism, including references to language, history, religion, traditions, legends, and rituals, and (4) politics with references to power, economy, social classes, society and so forth, and (5) how these different categories are related to the *Kalevala*.<sup>71</sup> This approach to the newspaper articles will aid me in uncovering how the Finnish identity has been influenced by the *Kalevala*, as well as, through the political perspective expose how *Kalevala* has been spread across the world and how this has influenced identity creation in Finland.

The second method that will be used is the quantitative method which is, according to Denscombe, about basic aspects of presentation and analyses of statistics. Furthermore, Denscombe argues it is possible to use statistics in a restricted way and use it as a tool to describe findings of a research, explore connections, and both summarise and display findings.<sup>72</sup> In this paper statistics will be used to display findings of the analysis.

## 6.2 Source material

The source material used for this paper will be newspaper articles. There will be five articles from four different newspapers published in Finland during the years 1836-1893. The reason why these articles from this specific period were chosen is because of the publication of the first *Kalevala* was in 1835 and started to be known across the country during this time. Furthermore, Finland became independent in 1917, which was a result of the nationalistic movement, that developed during this time in the country.<sup>73</sup> Four of the articles have been published in the capital, Helsinki and one was published in the town of Vaasa. Even though, the newspapers are published in Finland three of the newspapers *Aftonbladet*, *Dagbladet*, and *Helsingfors Morgonblad* are written in Swedish while *Waasan lehti* is the only one published in Finnish. The Finnish article is written in old Finnish and with an old font, which could result

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<sup>69</sup> Denscombe. 2014. p.288.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p.289.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p.290.

<sup>72</sup> Denscombe. 2014. p.249.

<sup>73</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.32.

in some difficulties in reading and translating the text. In addition, due to the Finnish and Swedish language being different from each other, there might also be linguistic differences between the two languages resulting in slightly different analyses of the articles. Furthermore, it is not known who has written the different articles, but only who is the editor-in-chief of the newspapers. Even though, this is the case the newspapers are still relevant to use as the source material because they give a view of how the Finnish people was depicted in Finnish media during the said time. Moreover, the five articles are of various lengths from the shortest of about 200 words two the longest on approximately 1400 words and the remaining three are about equally long, approximately 500 words.

Limitations done for this paper are the focus on late 1800s and restricting the research to include only five newspaper articles while there are a lot more written about the subject. Analysing only five newspaper articles are enough for this research because it the chosen articles are spread out over a longer time-period and they have been published in different newspapers with different aims, which would give different perspectives on the *Kalevala* and the Finnish people. Moreover, the online version of the National Library of Finland has not made all material public, which results in difficulties in finding relevant material. Even though there are limitations to what has been made public the chosen articles stretch over a period of 60 years at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, which gives us an opportunity to see how the attitude towards the *Kalevala* changes over time. Furthermore, the articles are also limited to only include those published in Finnish newspapers and not articles from newspapers in other countries, which might have included a view of the Finnish people from another perspective. This perspective has not been included because it is not interesting to the scope of this research, since the aim of this research is to understand how the Finnish people understand themselves and how they are creating a national identity through depiction of themselves in their own newspapers.

## 6.2.1 News papers

### 6.2.1.1 *Helsingfors Morgonblad* – “Några ord om *Kalevala*,” December 16th, 1836

*Helsingfors Morgonblad* was produced by J.L. Runeberg, who was the editor-in-chief between the years 1832-1837. During this time in Finland it was prohibited for newspapers other than *Finlands Allmänna Tidning* to publish political foreign news. This led to the other well-established newspaper *Helsingfors Tidningar* to concentrate on national news and was at the time the largest newspaper for national news in the capital. Because of these circumstances Runeberg decided to aim his newspaper for the academic commonality i.e. academics, priests

and other office-holders.<sup>74</sup> *Helsingfors Morgonblad* was published twice a week, on Mondays and Fridays.<sup>75</sup>

The first article “Några ord om Kalevala” is about the heritage of the *Kalevala* and how that has affected the Finnish people. The writer claims that collection of national hymns and songs is something typical for Germanic nations and that it is a way for them to highlight the nation. The *Kalevala* is a collection of the oldest memories of the Finnish nation, and is known all over the country, according to the writer. Furthermore, the article discusses a battle between heretics and Christianity.<sup>76</sup>

#### 6.2.1.2 *Dagbladet* – “Kalevalas ursprung,” January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1888

*Dagbladet* was a newspaper that was published daily in Helsinki in the year 1888. The publisher of the newspaper was Anders Herman Chydenius. Chydenius fought for his liberal ideas in his newspaper mostly when it came to language because *Dagbladet* was a Swedish newspaper in Finland and was aimed for the Swedish speaking community.<sup>77</sup>

The article “Kalevalas ursprung” discusses the ongoing debate about the ancestry of the *Kalevala*. The author of the article highlights several scholars and their opinions. However, A. Ahlqvist is given most space because the article is a review of his book *Kalevalan Karjalaisuus*. According to the writer some scholars argue for the *Kalevala* to have its roots in the northern parts of Asia because of the similarities between the *Kalevala* and songs that were still sung in the area. On the other hand, Lönnrot, who wrote the *Kalevala* argued for it to come from the coast of the White sea and the river North Dvina. Opponents to Lönnrot’s idea of the heritage of the *Kalevala* claim that the national epic derived from the people of Finland and not from a specific part of the country. Ahlqvist argues in his book for Lönnrot’s position in the debate. Lastly the writer of the article claims that Ahlqvist’s work is not only for scholars, but for the ordinary people as well.<sup>78</sup>

#### 6.2.1.3 *Waasan lehti* – “Tapahtumia kotimaassa,” January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1890

*Waasan lehti* was a newspaper appearing in the town of Vaasa from about 1880-1893. The publicist of the newspaper was Karl Alfred Lundqvist. The newspaper was delivered twice a

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<sup>74</sup> Forsell, Pia. *Johan Ludvig Runeberg 200 år*. Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland. 2004. <http://www.sls.fi/sites/default/files/pdf/1690.pdf>. p.25.

<sup>75</sup> Forsell. 2004. p.26.

<sup>76</sup> Runeberg, J.L. ”Några ord om Kalevala.” *Helsingfors Morgonblad*. Helsinki. December 16th, 1836. p.2-3.

<sup>77</sup> Lindberg, Johan. ”Chydenius, Anders.” *Uppslagsverket Finland*. 2011. Accessed December 5, 2018. <https://uppslagsverket.fi/sv/view-103684-ChydeniusAnders>.

<sup>78</sup> Chydenius, Anders Herman. ”Kalevalas ursprung.” *Dagbladet*. Helsinki. January 25th, 1888. p.2.



week in the city of Vaasa in Finland, on Wednesdays and Saturdays.<sup>79</sup> The newspaper has a section where they state their purpose, where it says that *Waasan lehti* will be delivering the same opinions as previously and that the paper is for the Finnish people and no one else. The people should not worry that the paper would publish other opinions other than equality of the Finnish. It also says that the paper will publish things related to the city of Vaasa and the east of Pohjanmaa, but also include other important information from other parts on Finland and abroad.<sup>80</sup> In other words *Waasan lehti* is a nationalistic newspaper with a nationalistic perspective on its articles.

The article “Tapahtumia kotimaassa” talks about cultural developments in Finland during the previous year, 1889. The developments of culture focus on international development and translations of many Finnish authors works into languages such as, German, Russian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. In the article it also says that the *Kalevala* has been printed in its third English edition. In addition, Finland has started to be known abroad and the article talks about an exhibition in Paris where Finland participated. The focus of the article is to pinpoint all exposure Finland had during the previous year and the importance of Finnish art and literature spreading outside the country’s borders.<sup>81</sup>

#### 6.2.1.4 *Aftonbladet* – “Finland i utlandet,” January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1893

*Aftonbladet*, a newspaper that was first published in 1892 in Helsinki and the editor-in-chief was Victor Pettersson. The newspaper was written in Swedish and therefore it was aimed at the Swedish speaking community in Finland. Furthermore, the newspaper was published six times a week.<sup>82</sup> The description of *Aftonbladet* is lacking because there is not much information about the newspaper available.

In the article “Finland i utlandet” the writer comments a speech made by Herman Sudermann. Sudermann compared Danish and Finnish authors and artists and claimed the Danish to be more artistic, but the Finnish to be more well-travelled and thus having more world knowledge. Furthermore, Sudermann claimed Finnish writers to be close to nature and referred

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<sup>79</sup> Lundqvist, Karl Alfred. ”Tapahtumia kotimaassa.” *Waasan lehti*. Vaasa: Lakiasiaain toimisto. January 1st, 1890. p.1.

<sup>80</sup> Lundqvist. 1890. p.1.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p.2.

<sup>82</sup> Finlands nationalbibliotek. ”Aftonbladet.” *Fennica Finlands nationalbibliografi*. Accessed, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2018.

<https://fennica.linneanet.fi/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=1506&recCount=10&recPointer=2&bibId=360185>.

to the *Kalevala* as the reason why. According to Sudermann, the *Kalevala* was the reason behind Finnish authors being gentle and emotional in their works.<sup>83</sup>

6.2.1.4.1 *Aftonbladet* – “Engelskt arbete om Finland,” January 31st, 1893.

The last article “Engelskt arbete om Finland” is a review of a book with the title *People of Finland in archaic times* written by dr. Brown. The book included extracts from the *Kalevala* among other Finnish works. According to the writer dr. Brown described the Finnish people as a poetic, ancient nation with its hymns in the *Kalevala* being nature oriented. However, the writer criticises dr. Brown’s ideas about the *Kalevala* being written in 100 A.D. and that the epic was written by someone else than Elias Lönnrot. Furthermore, the writer claims that dr. Brown has had old data at hands when writing the book, resulting in errors in his claims.<sup>84</sup>

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This description of the four different newspapers in which the five articles are published is relevant since it gives a picture of what perspective the different newspapers have. The different newspapers have different backgrounds and publishers, which affects the content of the newspapers and what kind of articles are published. By giving a brief history of the newspapers we learn different things, for example, *Waasan lehti* reassuring its readers of its nationalistic perspective.

Furthermore, comparing these four newspapers and their articles to each other is interesting since three of the newspapers are published in the capitol Helsinki, but gives different views and include different things. The fourth newspaper, *Waasan lehti*, is published in the town Vaasa, which is located farther north and might be giving a completely different view of happenings in Finland than the other three newspapers. The four newspapers are in some ways developing a Finnish identity, but three of them are written in Swedish and published in the Finnish capitol, while one newspaper is published outside of Helsinki and is published in Finnish.

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<sup>83</sup> Petterston, Victor. “Finland i utlandet.” *Aftonbladet*. Helsinki. January 27th, 1893. p.2.

<sup>84</sup> Petterson, Victor. “Engelskt arbete om Finland.” *Aftonbladet*. January 31st, 1893. p.2.

## 7.0 Analysis

### 7.2 Analysis

#### 7.2.1. The Finnishness of words

This first stage of the analysis is about looking at in what ways the people of Finland are referred to and how often throughout the articles. The five articles all have a connection to the *Kalevala* and, therefore, they should also mention the Finnish in one way or another. The most common way of referencing the Finnish in all five articles combined is “våra” meaning ours. Even though, it is the most common way it is only used 10 times in the five articles and when used it is often used together with *Kalevala* or references to *Kalevala*, such as, our old runes. Furthermore, *Kalevala* is also used when referencing the Finnish people for example, “Den i vårt epos besjungna strider mellan Kalevala och Pohjola är enligt hr Ahlqvist ett i folketsmedvetande hägrande minne om en förgången hård, men segerrik kamp mot ett norrom dem boende folk, som ofta i runorna kallas ”Lappalaiset”.”<sup>85</sup> In this one sentence the journalist references the Finnish people as “our” but also “Lappalaiset”, which is a word used for the people living in the north. In the *Kalevala* as the article says the people of the north were an enemy of the Karelian, yet they are still a Finnish people. The *Kalevala* does not only tell the history of the Karelian people, but also includes other Finnish people, spread across the country.

Furthermore, words connected to Finland, which are used more than once throughout the articles are as follows, Finland, our/ours, Western Finland, Finnish, the Finnish people, us, Finnish, our country [authors translation].<sup>86</sup> These words can be put into two categories, words connected to the country and words not connected to the country. In Figure 1., you can see the percental allotment between words connected to country and those, which are not connected to the country. Words that has been included in those connected with country are, for example, Finland, fatherland, motherland, Finnish, [authors translation]<sup>87</sup> and so forth. In the second category words, such as, ours, ancestors, our people, we [authors translation,]<sup>88</sup> and so forth are included.

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<sup>85</sup> “According to Mr. Ahlqvist, the battle between Kalevala and Pohjola is in our epic a reminiscent of a past hard, but victorious struggle against a people living in the north, who are often called “Lappalaiset”.” [authors translation] Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

<sup>86</sup> Finland, vår/våra, Västra Finland, Finnarne, Finska folket, oss, finska, vårt land.

<sup>87</sup> Finland, fosterland, fädernesland, finsk.

<sup>88</sup> Våra, förfädern, kansamme, vi.

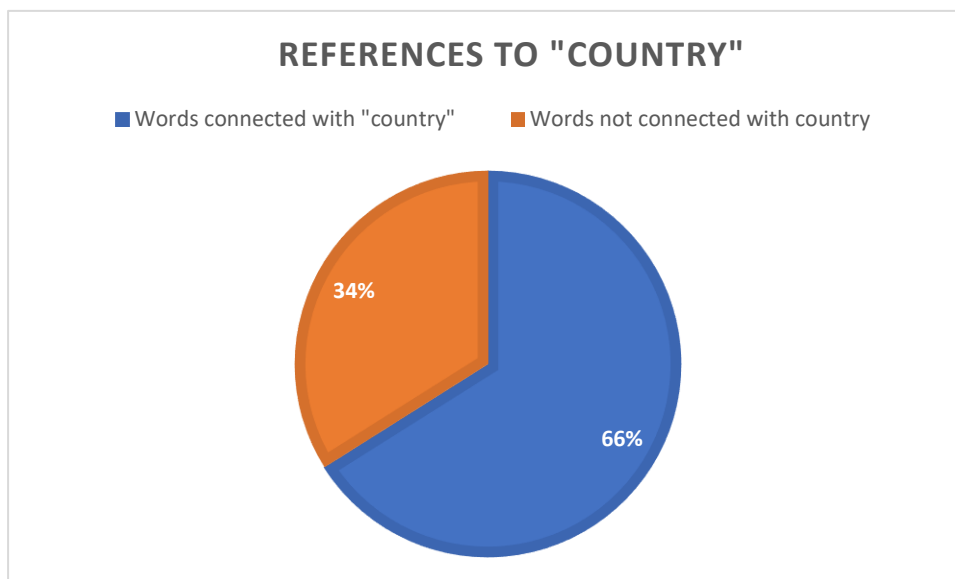


Figure 1. Rate of words connected and not connected to “country” throughout the articles.

The diagram above shows that it is more common for words connected with the nation to appear in the articles than it is for words not connected to Finland. More vague words for referencing Finland appear less often throughout the articles and in some cases those kinds of words do not appear at all. For example, in the article “Engelskt arbete om Finland” there are no words used that are not connected to the nation when referencing it or the people. Instead, the journalist has chosen to write “det finska folket.”<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, the news article “Kalevalas ursprung” uses vaguer words when referencing the nation more often, for example, “[...] såsom det rätta hemmet för våra Kalevalas sånger.”<sup>90</sup> In this sentence the journalist has chosen to use the word “våra” when referencing the epic and hence being more vague about mentioning the Finnish, but still making a reference to the Finnish and *Kalevala*. Even though the writer uses these vague words for referencing the Finnish it is still more common to use the words connected to the nation than those which are not. Overall, throughout the five articles most of the words used to name Finland are in some way connected to the country. Furthermore, when looking at the development over the years there is no change over time in how often words connected to country is used, but they occur almost equally as often in the articles.

### 7.2.2 Descriptions of the nation

The next category of analysis is the one of descriptive words. The analysis consists only of descriptions of Finland and its people. Furthermore, descriptive words can be found in all five of the articles to some extent. They are more evident in the longer articles, such as, “Några ord om Kalevala” and “Kalevalas ursprung,” than in the shorter one, “Engelskt arbete om Finland.”

<sup>89</sup> “The Finnish people.” [authors translation] Petterson. “Engelskt arbete om Finland.” 1893. p.2.

<sup>90</sup> “[...] such as, the right home for our Kalevala songs.” [authors translation] Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

Looking at descriptions of Finland and its people gives way for many kinds of words mainly adjectives. The words that are used can be divided into three categories, positive, negative, and neutral. Not taking in account how many times a specific word has been used, but what kinds of words has been used. Overall one can see that the words used to describe the Finnish people, objects, and processes connected to Finnish development are mainly positive. Out of 31 words that describe the country, the people, or objects fifteen of them are positive, five are negative, and the remaining eleven are neutral.

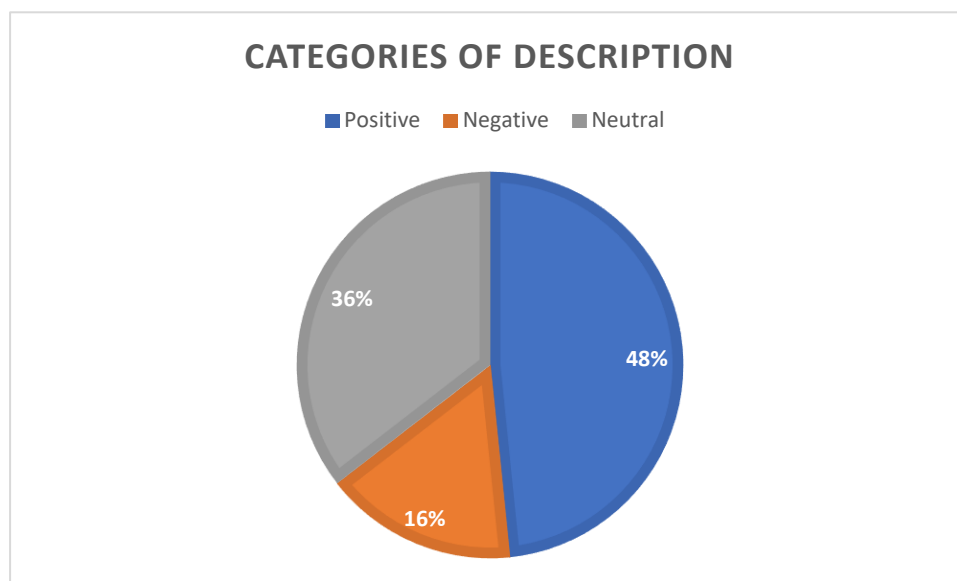


Figure 2. Three categories of description of the Finnish people in the five articles.

As can be seen in Figure 2. 48% of the descriptive words are positive while only 16% are negative. Words that are included in the positive category are words, such as, refinement, worthy, noble, freedom-loving, poetic, [authors translation]<sup>91</sup> and so forth while in the negative category the words are unfamiliar, weak, feeble, misuse, [authors translation]<sup>92</sup> and so forth. In the neutral category, which is the second largest category with 36% of the descriptive words, words like old, nature contemplation, character, pictorial nature, [authors translation]<sup>93</sup> and so forth are included. These words are in the neutral category because they are neither positive nor negative in the way they are used in the articles, for example, in the article “Kalevalas ursprung” it says, “Fjerde kapitlet egnar förf. utteslutande åt naturbetraktelser från ryska Karelen och finner dem i allt slå in på de skildringar våra runor gifva om skaplynnnet af naturen i Kalevala och Pohjola.”<sup>94</sup> In this sentence the journalist uses both the words “naturbetraktelser” and

<sup>91</sup> Förädling, värdigare, ädla, frihetsälskande, poetisk.

<sup>92</sup> Obekant, heiko, vekare, missbrukade.

<sup>93</sup> Gamla, naturbetraktelser, skaplynnnet, naturmåleriska.

<sup>94</sup> “The author devotes the entirety of the fourth chapter to contemplating on nature in Russian Karelia and finds them all in all depictions of our runes given character of the nature in Kalevala and Pohjola.” [authors translation] Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

“skaplynnnet,” which are neutral in the sense that they do not give the *Kalevala* a good or bad review, but simply describes what is included in the chapter.

Furthermore, descriptions directly aimed at the epic are different from those aimed at the people. It is not possible to divide the descriptions of the *Kalevala* into the same categories as the people, since all the descriptions are neutral. In *Helsingfors Morgonblad* it says “Företeelsen af Kalevala, denna dikt af århundraden, [...]”<sup>95</sup> The mentioning of *Kalevala* in this case does not give the reader a positive or a negative view of the epic, it only informs us that the epic is old. When continuing reading the same article there are several neutral descriptions of the *Kalevala*.<sup>96</sup> However, the tone changes in the article “Finland i utlandet.”

Hos finnarne vibrerar ett finare känslolif, deras intryck af lifvets händelser äro vekare, och det är egendomligt att i denna analysens och de sociala frågornas tid, till hvilken de ändock i alla afseenden höra, lyssna huru den ur Kalevalas runor kända naturkänsla hos dessa moderna författare oemotståndligt bryter fram, mjuk och sorgbunden i detta missbrukade ords sanna och djupa bemärkelse.<sup>97</sup>

In this example there are not only references to the *Kalevala*, but also descriptions of Finnish authors. The writer has included the *Kalevala* into his description of the authors, how the feeling for nature, which is present in the *Kalevala* can also be found in the words of the Finnish authors of the time. The article “Finland i utlandet” was published in 1893 about 60 years after the publication of the epic and the journalist claims that the authors, even though they have become more modern, have kept the feeling for nature and how this is shown through their humble words.<sup>98</sup> The journalist has put emotion into his description of the authors by describing them through the view of the *Kalevala*. Between the two articles “Några ord om Kalevala” and “Finland i utlandet” there has also been a change in remarking the *Kalevala*. The first article “Några ord om Kalevala” was published in 1836, one year after the publication of *Kalevala*, while the other article was published about 60 years later. Between the publication of these two articles, the language people used to describe the epic has changed. In the earlier article the language was more neutral while later it becomes more positive and injected with emotion. Essentially, there is a change in how the *Kalevala* is discussed in mid 1800s and late 1800s.

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<sup>95</sup> “The phenomenon of Kalevala, this poem of centuries, [...]” [authors translation] Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>96</sup> Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>97</sup> “In the Finns, a finer emotional life vibrates, their impressions of the events of live are worsening and it is odd that in the time of this analysis and the time of the social questions, to which they still in all respect belong, listen to the natural feeling known from Kalevala’s runes by these modern authors irresistibly break out, soft, and sorrowful in the true and profound sense of this abused word.” [authors translation] Pettersson. ”Finland i utlandet.” 1893. p.2.

<sup>98</sup> Pettersson. ”Finland i utlandet.” 1893. p.2.

### 7.2.3 Culture and cultural nationalism

Cultural nationalism is about the mystical and the romantic belief in the nation being a unique historical and organic whole. Furthermore, Heywood talks about traditions, rituals, and legends being important aspects of recognising national development.<sup>99</sup> Looking at the aspect of culture and cultural nationalism in the newspapers, it is evident that it is more common in the earlier years. In *Helsingfors Morgonblad* the aspect of culture is impregnated throughout the whole article, which is also the case for the article published in *Dagbladet*. However, these two articles are published almost 60 years apart, but still they concentrate on culture almost equally. Even though, these two articles are filled with cultural aspects it has declined in the last three articles published in 1890 and 1893. The cultural aspect is still there in these later articles, but there are not as many references to culture as in the first two.

The cultural aspect is divided into several categories, such as, religion, history, and language. The religious aspect is only evident in two of the five articles, “Några ord om Kalevala” and “Engelskt arbete om Finland”. The religious aspect is referred to in different ways in the two articles. The first encounter with religion in the article “Några ord om Kalevala” is when the journalist talks about religious notions in relation to the *Kalevala*.

Företeelsen af *Kalevala*, denna dikt af århundraden, hvori allt förefaller oss så bekant och förtroligt, men som dock ständigt påminner oss om en aflägsen forntid, hvori det ursprungligt egendomliga uti Finnarnas national-karakter återfinnes jemte det äldsta af deras religiösa föreställningar.<sup>100</sup>

This example highlights the religious notions, as well as, how the Finnish were addressed as was pointed out previously. Moreover, this sentence also gives the *Kalevala* a meaning in the life of the Finnish. The role of the *Kalevala* is stated, it is a part of the Finnish history and can be found in the oldest religious notions of the nation. Furthermore, in the article “Några ord om Kalevala” the journalist also discusses a battle between Christianity and heretics and how this battle is portrayed in the *Kalevala*. “Men i synnerhet är sista sången uti Kalevala i detta hänseende märkvärdig. Här visar sig spår till striden mellan Hedna och Christna läran [...]”<sup>101</sup> The author highlights this struggle and uses it to show what the *Kalevala* should mean to the people. The very last verses of the epic tell about a struggle between the heretics and the

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<sup>99</sup> Heywood. 2017. p.174.

<sup>100</sup> “The phenomenon of Kalevala, this poem of centuries, where everything seems so familiar and intimate to us, but which constantly reminds us of a distant past, in which the original peculiarity of the Finns national character is still found in the oldest of their religious beliefs.” [authors translation] Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>101</sup> Notably the last song in Kalevala is in this regard, particular. Here, traces of the battle between the heathen and the Christian doctrine are shown.” [authors translation] Runeberg. p.3.

Christians and how the demigod Väinämöinen chooses to give his people to Christ. According to the writer this shows that the folk belief in Finland was closely connected to what is told in the *Kalevala*.<sup>102</sup> The article “Engelskt arbete om Finland” gives a different view on the struggle between heretics and Christians and the *Kalevala*. The journalist writes about dr. Browns claims that the author of the *Kalevala* was a person close to God and divinity, because many songs in the *Kalevala* are like many biblical stories, according to dr. Brown.<sup>103</sup> “Den märkliga likheten som jämt påträffas mellan dessa gamla sägner och de bibliska berättelserna, [...]”<sup>104</sup> According to this article the *Kalevala* would have been written by a Christian and that the epic is nothing more than moral teachings.

Returning to the article “Några ord om Kalevala” the author makes many references to folk belief and how *Kalevala* was a part of it and not only made up stories, but that Väinämöinen was a divinity that the people believed in and not only a hero. “Var han en gud eller hjelte, eller, för att utvidga frågan, består Kalevala af traditioner som hvila på historisk eller mytisk grund?”<sup>105</sup> The writer of the article includes *Kalevala* in his reasoning about religion. Since, as he stated previously, the *Kalevala* contains religious notions of the people of Finland before the spread of Christianity and he asks himself if the *Kalevala* is historical or mythical. These two articles, which include the religious aspect, are published approximately 60 years apart. Even though, they are published in different times they still convey similar messages. The *Kalevala* is Finnish folk belief and part of what the Finnish people believed in before the spread of Christianity.

The historical perspective is in one way or another distributed throughout most of the articles. The joint words used for historical references are heritage, origin, and yore [authors translation]<sup>106</sup> among others. In two of the articles, “Finland i utlandet” and “Tapahtumia kotimaassa”, there are no historical references at all. In the other three articles there are, on the other hand, many historical references. The focus of the historical references is that the past is a part of the present and that it is needed in order of understanding the present and moving forward into the future.

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<sup>102</sup> Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>103</sup> Petterson. ”Engelskt arbete om Finland.” 1893. p.2.

<sup>104</sup> ”The remarkable similarity that is constantly encountered between these ancient sermons and the biblical stories [...]” [authors translation] Petterson. ”Engelskt arbete om Finland.” 1893. p.2.

<sup>105</sup> “Was he a God or a hero, or, to expand the question, does the Kalevala consist of traditions which rests on a historical or mythical base?” [authors translation] Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>106</sup> Arv, härstamning, forntid.



Om man ville förespå Finland en framtid, då dess söner, livvade af sann fosterlandskärlek, i stället för att omfatta en främmande kultur, skulle erkänna endast *den* för sann, som uppvuxit från deras eget andliga lif och verksamhet, skulle man i Kalevala kunna söka ett stöd för dessa förhoppningar.<sup>107</sup>

In the article, "Några ord om Kalevala" there are several cultural references in both the religious and the historical aspect. The example above shows on the belief of a future the past can give the people. This belief can be found in the *Kalevala*, which indicates its importance for the Finnish people. The article was published in 1836, in a time when Finland was not yet a country, but a part of Russia.<sup>108</sup> Through the common history of the nation, which could be found in the *Kalevala*, the people also had a future.

However, in the article "Engelskt arbete om Finland" history is used in a slightly different way. The historical aspect is presented in a way of establishing how wrong dr. Brown is in his book about the Finnish people. The journalist claims that dr. Brown's data is outdated and therefore the historical references are wrong. Furthermore, the criticism of dr Brown's book is directed mainly to the historical references, but also to the means of collection of data where the journalist clearly states that it was done by both Topelius and Lönnrot and not only Topelius. The journalist criticises this statement because the father of the epic is Lönnrot, who did several trips to Karelia to collect the songs and hymns and later published these.<sup>109</sup>

The last aspect, language, is mostly included in the Finnish article "Tapahtumia kotimaassa" and in the article "Kalevalas ursprung". These two articles focus on various Finnish authors and developments of the language. The main aim of the Finnish article is not the *Kalevala*, but Finnish authorship and literary and artistic development during 1889. The author talks about how many Finnish authors works have been translated into several European languages and how the *Kalevala* has been printed in its third edition in English. Furthermore, the article includes the 1889 Paris Exposition where various Finnish artists were showcased. "Se se varmaankin on suuren suuressa määrässä saattanut maattamme ja sen rientoja tunnetuiksi maailman juurille."<sup>110</sup> The exposition was greatly important for Finland because the value of the Finnish rose abroad during the year and brought Finnish craftsmanship to the light in Europe. Furthermore, the article focuses on the spread of Finnish culture abroad and highlights how the

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<sup>107</sup> "If one wanted to predict Finland a future, when its sons, lived of true motherland love, instead of embracing a foreign culture, would recognize only that of true, who grew up from their own spiritual life and activity, one could seek in Kalevala support for these hopes." [authors translation] Runeberg. 1836. p.3.

<sup>108</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.32.

<sup>109</sup> Pentikäinen. 1999. pp.17-19.

<sup>110</sup> "Surely it has made a great deal of our country and its races known to the roots of the world." [authors translation] Lundqvist. 1890. p.2.

spread of for example, *Kalevala* has given a positive view of Finland in Europe. The second article, which highlights language development is “Kalevalas ursprung.” This article published in 1888 focuses on language development in the sense of loanwords from other Scandinavian countries as well as from Estonia. The author claims that many of the more uncommon words in the *Kalevala* have been borrowed from the Estonian language, while A. Ahlqvist maintain that it is only a few.<sup>111</sup>

I andra kapitlet polemiserar författaren mot hr *Krohn* och hans påstående, att „största antalet af de sällsyntare orden i Kalevala förekommer i estniskan och endast genom detta språk få sin rätta förklaring”. I motsats härtill söker hr *Ahlqvist* bevisa, att endast ett ringa fåtal ovanliga ord från Kalevala igenfinnas i estniskan likasom äfven, att Kalevala också eljest i språkligt afseende innehåller vare sig vestfinska ordformer eller uttryckssätt.<sup>112</sup>

The aim of the article “Kalevalas ursprung” is to showcase the development of Finnish culture and history. The writer pulls out ideas and concepts from Ahlqvist’s book to show the development of the language, which has been criticised by other researchers. The journalist discusses that some researchers argue for some of the words used in the *Kalevala* to come from the Estonian language and therefore for the epic to have been developed in that area, which is the second point being criticised by Ahlqvist. Even though, the epic does have loanwords from other languages it still develops the Finnish language.

Furthermore, on the aspect of language, there is another thing to consider. Out of the five articles only one has been written in Finnish, the other four are written in Swedish. In addition, the four articles, which has been written in Swedish are all published in the capitol Helsinki while the Finnish article has been published outside of the capitol in the town Vaasa. Moreover, the Swedish articles are printed in a typewriter styled font while the Finnish article has kept this old looking font. What language is being used in the newspapers does not change over time since the first and last article that are being analysed in this research are both in Swedish.



Pic. 1. Extract from *Waasan lehti* showing the text font. Lundqvist, Karl Alfred. *Waasan lehti*. 1890.

<sup>111</sup> Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

<sup>112</sup> “In the second chapter, the author contends against Mr Krohn and his assertion that “the greatest number of the rare words in Kalevala occur in Estonian and only through that language get their proper explanation”. In contrast, Mr Ahlqvist seeks to prove that only a small number of unusual words from Kalevala are found in Estonian as well as, that Kalevala also contains, in linguistic respect, neither Western Finnish word forms nor expressions.” [authors translation] Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

#### 7.2.4 Politics, power, and economy

The fourth perspective of the analysis is politics and economy. The article that gives the most information about politics, economy, and so forth is the article, “Tapahtumia kotimaassa.” Since the article is about what has been going on within Finland’s borders during the year 1889, it includes changes within the senate and economic developments. In the article we find out who has taken over in the senate, but also who has become governor over what area.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, there has been changes in economy, which has been a positive thing for Finland. The prices of tar and wooden products have increased, which has resulted in more job opportunities and less people having to immigrate to America in search for jobs.<sup>114</sup> What differentiates this article from the others is that it focuses on political and economic changes in the present while, for example, the article “Kalevalas ursprung” focuses on political and economic happenings in the past. In “Kalevalas ursprung” we can read about disputes with Russian tribes and how the Finnish has been traders and traded goods with both Norway and several tribes in Russia.<sup>115</sup> “Om deras makt vittna äfven de hårdnackade strider, som ryssarne måste föra, innan de kunde underkufva detta frihetsälskande, handelsidkande folk.”<sup>116</sup> The journalist highlights these combats between the Russians and the Karelian people, which suggests that the Karelian were a people of freedom who fought for what was theirs. Furthermore, the important aspect of this claim is the trading. The Finnish was a people who traded with other nations and built their economy around trade. In addition, this trading resulted in developments of the Finnish language, which was discussed above. In the other articles the political or economical aspect is not as evident, but both articles published in *Aftonbladet*, refers to contemporary relations in the country. Both articles highlight the importance of development of society. However, the political and economic aspects do not have any clear connection to the discussion of *Kalevala* in any of the articles, but the political development is more connected to the society and nation of present-day Finland.

## 8.0 Discussion

The aim of this paper was to discover how the *Kalevala* has been influencing the Finnish identity, as well as, how this has been portrayed in newspapers during late 1800s. Looking at

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<sup>113</sup> Lundqvist. 1890. p.2.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. p.2.

<sup>115</sup> Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

<sup>116</sup> ”Bear witness of their power and the headstrong battles that the Russians had to fight before they could subjugate this freedom-loving, trade-promoting people.” [authors translation] Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

newspaper articles spread across a timeframe of about 60 years should perhaps have given a more different view of Finnishness than it did. There is a slight difference in what kinds of words are used when referencing the Finnish, if they are directly connected to the nation or not. As stated above 66% of the words used were connected to the nation in one way or another while 44% were more vague words. The difference over time was insignificant since the spread across the newspapers is almost equal. Moving on to the description of the Finnish in the five different articles, the descriptions are mainly positive. Only 16% of all descriptions in the five articles are negative in some way while 48% are positive. Neither in this category is there any significant changes over time, but the descriptions of the Finnish have a similar tone throughout the five articles, and that tone was positive in 1836 and was still positive in 1893. When it comes to the cultural aspect, there are differences between the early articles and the later ones. In the two articles published in 1836 and in 1880, the cultural aspect is more evident and is the focus point of the article. In the article published in *Waasan lehti* the cultural aspect is more in the background, but it is still there. The cultural aspect is disappearing more in these later articles published in 1893, but this could be because these articles are significantly shorter than the first two articles. The shortest article is one of the later ones while the longest is the first one. The length of the articles does matter when looking at the content since it is easier to include more background information about history and religion in an article of 1400 words than it is in an article of 200 words. Lastly, the political aspect of the article is almost only included in the article “Tapahtumia kotimaassa”. It is barely included in the first two newspapers *Helsingfors Morgonblad* and *Dagbladet*. However, it is included in both the articles published in *Aftonbladet*. The political aspect seems to become more important in the 1890s than it was in 1836 and in 1888. This might be a result of the loss of autonomy from Russia in 1890 when the administrative pressure increased from the Russian government.<sup>117</sup>

Conclusions drawn from the analysis are that the *Kalevala* has been used as a tool of developing a Finnish identity in a time when Finland was not its own nation, but a part of Russia.<sup>118</sup> During this time Lönnrot started the collection of the runes and created the *Kalevala*.<sup>119</sup> Since Finland was not its own nation when Lönnrot started the collection of the runes or even when the *Kalevala* was published the people of Finland might not yet have had a common label as Hogan is debating in his research.<sup>120</sup> In addition, Hogan discusses belonging

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<sup>117</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.45.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p.45.

<sup>119</sup> Pentikäinen. 1999. p.ix.

<sup>120</sup> Hogan. 2009. p.25

to several nationalities and how it would have been accidental to belong to more than one.<sup>121</sup> In this time when the five articles were published Finland belonged to Russia, but the academic elite spoke mainly Swedish and the long-time of Swedish rule might have affected loyalties, which might have affected the Finnish people to identify with the Swedish, the Russian, and/or the Finnish. In order of creating a Finnish identity, all the people in Finland would have had to identify with the nation, which they might have done due to them having a common language, religion, and history. This is also something Heywood points out is important for a nation to be a nation in the cultural aspect.<sup>122</sup>

Regarding a common language, one might ask if that was the case since four of the articles are written in Swedish while only one is written in Finnish. The Finnish language has not always been the official language of Finland and in the 1800s the first books and works were published in Finnish. In creating the conceptual “we”, which Fewster is talking about, one of the steps in reaching that state is to have a common language and in the 1800s authors and writers took the first steps in spreading the common language across the nation.<sup>123</sup> *Kalevala* was not the first book published in Finnish, but it was among the first when published in 1836. The newspapers *Dagbladet*, *Aftonbladet* and *Helsingfors Morgonblad* all have one thing in common, they were all published in the capitol Helsinki, which to the day is still bilingual. *Waasan lehti* was published in the town Vaasa, which is in the northern parts of Finland outside of the capitol where the claim of the Swedish would have perhaps been weaker. However, *Waasan lehti* have also kept the old and still used an old font for the articles, while the other three newspapers had updated to a typewriter-looking font. Due to the newspapers using different languages in late 1800s, even though, one might expect that the journalist would speak both languages. Since the articles discuss the *Kalevala* and several of them discuss works written in Finnish, which would indicate that the journalists speak both languages.<sup>124</sup> Even though, the journalists speak both Swedish and Finnish there evidentially is a need of newspapers published in Swedish in Finland. Nevertheless, most of the words used in the five articles are in some way connected to the nation and distinguishing the Finnish from the Swedish and Russian. This indicates that the people identify themselves with a nationality separate from the Swedish and the Russian. Throughout the five articles there are no significant differences in referencing the nation with words connected to the country. As shown in the

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<sup>121</sup> Hogan. 2009. p.54-55.

<sup>122</sup> Heywood. 2014. p.162.

<sup>123</sup> Fewster. 2015. p.33-34.

<sup>124</sup> Chydenius. 1888. p.2.

analysis 66% of all words connected to Finland in any way were words directly connected to Finnishness. From this information one can conclude that the journalists of these five articles all have chosen to show the Finnishness in their texts.

Continuing the discussion of the cultural aspect of nation creation, which Heywood talks about with the common language, religion, tradition, and history, one can draw the conclusion from these five newspapers that the Finnish has a common history and tradition.<sup>125</sup> All five articles discuss *Kalevala* in the past and its importance for the present. This aspect does not change over time even though it is less present in the articles “Tapahtumia kotimaassa” and “Finland i utlandet”. These two articles are published in early 1890s and are at the end of the time spectrum that is being looked at. Even though, the historical aspect is missing from these two articles it is present in the other three. There is a reason why history is used in the way that it is in these three articles. Karlsson and Zander discusses the existential use of history, which is about remembering the past.<sup>126</sup> Remembering the past is what the three articles are doing. They are using the past to shape the future. *Kalevala* is the national epic and is a part of the present when the articles were written, but the way that the journalists uses the *Kalevala* highlighting it as the nation’s history and not only as an epic or story, but that it is a tool in retelling the history of the Finnish people. The *Kalevala* creates the unique history of the nation and makes Finland into a historical and organic whole.<sup>127</sup> Being an organic whole includes having a people, a tradition, a history, it means Finland is a nation and by being a nation it also has a natural political community, which Heywood claims is important for a nation.<sup>128</sup>

For future research on the topic *Kalevala* and Finnish identity, it would be interesting to broaden the perspective. With a broader perspective the researcher could include several newspapers from around Finland during the 1800s and look at how *Kalevala* is depicted over the country, if there are significant differences between newspapers published in Finnish and in Swedish. A perspective, which is not applicable to my research since I only had one article written in Finnish, which would not give a fair view. Furthermore, it could also be interesting to look at articles published for one year and not over a longer time-line as I have done. This would give a view of the Finnish society in a specific time instead for showing

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<sup>125</sup> Heywood. 2014. p.162.

<sup>126</sup> Karlsson, and Zander. 2014. p.72.

<sup>127</sup> Heywood. 2017. p.174.

<sup>128</sup> Heywood. 2014. p.162.

changes over a longer period. Moreover, another perspective, which would be interesting to investigate is the *Kalevala* abroad, what foreign newspapers says about the *Kalevala* and the Finnish? Are they included at all and in what light are they included? In addition, another interesting focus point for a future research would be to analyse the many paintings done by example Akseli Gallen-Kallela and Robert Whilhelm Ekman. Two Finnish painters famous for their *Kalevala* paintings. Including other aspects of the *Kalevala* and not only the epic itself in the creation of a Finnish identity would be interesting since it would give other perspectives. *Kalevala* is written by Elias Lönnrot, but the paintings are interpretations of his words made into pictures and thus tells another story. Additionally, paintings also tell something about the society they are created in in the same way that media is influenced by the society in which it is created.<sup>129</sup>

## 9.0 Didactic perspective

Students in upper secondary school are expected to learn about changes over time in a society. They are to develop and deepen their historical consciousness, as well as, develop their ability to use history among other things.<sup>130</sup> In order of being able to learn these things the students need to practice and develop their skills. It is up to the teacher to make sure that the students get to practice what they need to practice and create fun and knowledge providing tasks and activities. Students do not like to only read in their text books and have the same kind of lecture every lesson. They enjoy change and to learn in new ways. Giving the students a task where they get to work with authentic source material would be beneficial since it would give the students the opportunity to work with different kinds of source materials which are included in the core content for History 1b.<sup>131</sup> Using authentic newspaper material from 1800 Finland might be a difficult task, therefor, it would not be required for the students to find the material themselves, but they would be given the articles written in Swedish. The Finnish article would be omitted from the task due to the language. It is not required for upper secondary school students to be fluent in Finnish. However, they should be able to interpret and analyse the Swedish newspapers even though they are written in an older language than the students are used to. Furthermore, the core content states that the students should work with how both groups

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<sup>129</sup> Fairclough. 1995. p.51.

<sup>130</sup> Swedish National Agency for Education. *Läroplan, Examensmål och Gymnasiegemensamma ämnen för gymnasieskola 2011*. Stockholm: Edita, 2011. Accessed February 11, 2019. p.66.

<sup>131</sup> Swedish National Agency for Education. 2011. p.73.

and individuals have used history in their civic life and political, as well as, understand the importance of history in forming of identities.<sup>132</sup>

## 10.0 Conclusion

This research concludes that identity creation through newspapers is influenced by the society in which the newspaper is published. The journalists are products of their time and therefore the articles are portraying then contemporary ideas and beliefs. Analysing five articles from four different newspapers gave us some answers to how the *Kalevala* influenced the creation of a Finnish identity. All the five articles deal with the *Kalevala* in one way or another. The use of history in the articles is an existential use of history were the journalists establishes an identity for the nation and does this by using the *Kalevala* in different ways. The main difference concerned the political aspect, which was not as evident in the early articles as it was in the later ones. Why this change came to pass is something the articles does not say, but due to societal circumstances one could assume it would have been a result of the political climate changing and the Russian government starting to take more control over Finland.

Furthermore, identity is something interchangeable and fluid. Ones identity does not have to stay the same from the day you are born until the day you die. It changes over time, who you are changes according to having a family, your religion and so forth. However, one thing that will not change who you are is your history. Your history will always be your history, and no one can take that away from you. For the Finnish they received a common history and tradition with the publication of *Kalevala* and it was bound to give them a common identity, a national identity. The creation of a common identity for a nation takes time and has several steps. In this paper I researched how a Finnish identity was formed using *Kalevala* in newspaper articles in late 1800s. Acknowledging that it is only one perspective of identity creation in Finland and not the whole answer.

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<sup>132</sup> Swedish National Agency for Education. 2011. p.73.



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### 11.3 Figure references

Figure 1: Rate of words connected and not connected to "country" throughout the articles.

Figure 2: Three categories of description of the Finnish people in the five articles.

### 11.4 Picture references

Picture 1: Extract from *Waasan lehti* showing the text font. Lundqvist, Karl Alfred. *Waasan lehti*. 1890.