Struggling nation

Baltic refugees in the Swedish party press, 1906

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Abstract

In 1906 groups of Baltic refugees were arriving in Stockholm, fleeing repression after popular uprisings against the nobility and the Russian tsar in the Baltic provinces of the Russian empire. Their arrival coincided with major social transformations in Swedish society, where groups whom were denied to participate in Swedish politics called the concept of nationhood into question. At the same time the Swedish press market was expanding in an unprecedented rate, with a rich supply of politically engaged newspapers. Where earlier research has shown how more recent depictions of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press tend to suffer from a democratic shortage of voices and perspectives, little is still known of the ways of representing during the Baltic refugees’ arrival. The intention of this study is to explore and problematize the room for political antagonism, in relation to national consensus, in the Swedish press market of the early 20th Century. The study analyzes and compares the representation of Baltic refugees, during March in 1906, from three politically diverse newspapers with distribution in the Stockholm area. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the representation is studied in relation to the ongoing social transformations in Swedish society at the time. Special attention has been devoted to how class, gender, and ethnic relations are actualized in the relations between newspaper, intended audience, and the represented refugees. The results are then recontextualized in relation to the Swedish suffrage struggle. A key argument is that the representations were subordinated to different nationalist discourses that brought the concept of nation into political antagonism, and allowed for a variation in the social relations that were actualized in the representations.

Keywords

Nation, nationalism, Sweden, party press, democracy, journalism, immigrants, refugees, representation, class, gender, ethnicity, Critical Discourse Analysis
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Introduction

During the spring of 1906 groups of Baltic political refugees arrived in Stockholm via Helsinki. They fled from repression by the Russian imperial army and the Baltic nobility, directed in response to the popular uprisings that had spread through out the Russian empire beginning with the revolution in 1905. At the time the Russian empire included present-day Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Compared to the groups of refugees whom today flee from Syria, or earlier during the 1990s from the war torn Balkans, the Latvian and Estonian refugees of 1906 arrived to a significantly different Sweden.

The geographical territory of Sweden had recently decreased considerably in size as a result of the union dissolution with Norway in 1905. The power between Swedish inhabitants was greatly imbalanced between classes and genders, where women and the Swedish labor movement still struggled for full and equal suffrage (Blom 1995; Eduards 2012; Johansson 2000). At the time of 1906, the immigration to this unequal class society was but a small fraction of the great numbers of Swedes who instead chose to emigrate, chiefly to North America, in search of a better life. Still, the arrival of the Baltic political refugees did not go unnoticed by the Stockholm newspapers (Hammar 1964: 27, 97-98).

From a Swedish press historical perspective the arrival of the Baltic refugees coincides with a period characterized by an unprecedented political diversity in the supply of newspapers (Tollin 1967; Löfgren 1993; Hadenius and Weibull 1991). It is therefore not for nothing, this period is usually referred to as the days of the Swedish party press (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994; Lundström 2001; Hadenius and Weibull 1991; Hadenius, Weibull, and Seveborg 1968). Earlier research about the representation of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press (Brune 2004; Hultén 2006; SOU 2006: 21) has shown a significant lack of diversity in the representation – where these groups often are represented as an ethnically foreign ‘them’, in relation to an ethnically homogenous ‘us’. Unfortunately the party press has not been devoted the same attention as later periods in this research. Thus the ways of representing immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press during the arrival of the Baltic refugees remains largely unknown.

With the intention of exploring the width of political diversity in the Swedish party press, this study analyzes and compares representations of the Baltic refugees in three politically opposed newspapers, distributed in the Stockholm area. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the study specifically considers how the power imbalances between classes and genders in Swedish society during 1906, were actualized and recontextualized in relation to ethnicity. It will be argued that the
newspapers’ representations were subordinated to different nationalist discourses, which brought the concept of nation into political antagonism, and contributed to make room for variation in the representations.
Aim and research questions

The arrival of Baltic political refugees to Stockholm in 1906 coincides with a period in Swedish history characterized by fundamental political antagonism between classes and genders (Blom 1995; Johansson 2000; Löfgren 1993; Eduards 2007). In addition the Swedish press market at this time was expanding with a steady increase of politically opposed publications. The period is commonly referred to as the days of the party press (Tollin 1967; Löfgren 1993; Rydén 1981; Lundgren 2001; Hadenius and Weibull 1991). Research into later periods of the Swedish press has shown how the depiction of immigrants and refugees has become increasingly characterized by a homogenous representation. Where press, audience, and the represented immigrants and refugees, are fixed in an increasingly predictable relationship of “us” and “them”, with little room for variation (cf. Brune 2004; Hultén 2006). Critics have feared that this development may put the room for diversity in Swedish democracy at risk (SOU 2006:21).

The intention with this thesis is to explore and problematize the power of Swedish nationalism, in terms of how it contributed to discursively determine the space for political antagonism in the Swedish party press. The aim is to analyze and compare the representation of those Baltic refugees that arrived in Stockholm in 1906. The study is limited to a selection of articles published in March 1906, which has been sampled from the liberal Svenska Dagbladet, the conservative Stockholms Dagblad, and the Social Democratic Social-Demokraten. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the representation has been analyzed with particular consideration to how class, gender, and ethnicity were actualized in the relationship between newspapers, intended audiences, and the Baltic refugees. The aim of the study is captured in two research questions:

*How are class, gender, and ethnic relations between newspapers, their intended audiences, and the Baltic refugees actualized in the representation?*

*How did Swedish nationalism contribute to enable and disable these relations?*
Earlier research

The literature review of this thesis will cover a range of works from distinct yet significantly related disciplines. The review is intended to give an understanding of earlier research about the historical development of the Swedish press, together with its implications for the representation of immigrants and refugees in Swedish society. This research will then be problematized and discussed in relation to literature concerning nationalism and power.

The historical transformations of the Swedish press

During the course of the 20th century the Swedish press has undergone several transformations. Comparing the beginning with the end of the century, Ekecrantz and Olsson (1994) suggest that the Swedish press has gone from serving as a platform for political antagonism, into becoming an institution of objectivity in Swedish society. As much as this transformation has been the result of dynamics within the press, it has also been contingent upon historical circumstances outside of it (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994; Olsson 2002). The Swedish 1930s makes a good illustration of this circumstantial exchange.

The 1930s marked the beginning of a period in Swedish history characterized by a relative political consensus. Where a more equal suffrage, an established model for collective bargaining between industry proprietors and trade unions, as well as a national welfare program, contributed to the reduction of political tensions between classes and genders in society. Ekecrantz and Olsson summarize these processes as a “harmonization” (1994: 193, my translation) between the political power, the financial market, and, the media (cf. Johansson 2000; Löfgren 1993). The Swedish press became a part of this harmonization by decreasing the political agitation and focus more on referring and disseminating the progress of society. Non-partisanship and reliability became key words that helped to redefine the role of the Swedish press, both towards politics and towards its audiences, as a socially responsible institution. By leaving the antagonism behind, and reduce it to political commentary in editorials, newspapers could now cater to larger audiences that previously had been considerably more divided by political affiliation (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994: 175; Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 31 ff.).

In the decades following the 1930s, the institutionalization of the Swedish press was further recognized by government subsidies and the implementation of a government sanctioned journalist...
school. Olsson writes: “In this context, a formula for the assignments and functions of journalism has crystallized. Journalism is to provide: Information, Scrutiny, Commentary and A forum for communication between different groups” (2002: 72).

This development is not wholly different from Schudson’s (1978) historical overview of the early makings of modern American journalism. Only that the standardization of its aims and elements began much earlier, following the political reforms by president Andrew Jackson in the 1830s and “the Age of Egalitarianism”. Schudson argues that the distinguished newspapers of this time were “the Penny press” papers. He writes: “There were party papers, there were socialist papers and labor papers, there were business papers, but, again, the papers to which modern journalism clearly traces its roots were the middle-class penny papers. These papers, whatever their political preferences, were spokesmen for egalitarian ideals in politics, economic life, and social life through their organization of sales, their solicitation of advertising, their emphasis on news, their catering to large audiences, their decreasing concern with the editorial” (ibid: 60). The comparison with the United States is telling, but even in an international comparison, the Swedish press distinguishes itself for its late change from party press to objective news journalism (Lundström 2001: 49).

In retrospect, the institutionalization of the Swedish press has not been unproblematic, especially when it comes to the representation of Swedish society. As the political agitation has had to stand back for the sake of objectivity and reliability, sources within society have become hierarchized (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994: 252). Where experts and representatives within government, agencies, and the finance world, often are privileged before other members of society in the production of news (cf. Allan 2010: 81 ff.). Compared to before when the press had “no self-evident place” (Olsson 2002: 73), it can now, as a result of the exchange of legitimacy with other institutions, exercise a form of normative, or homogenizing, power in Swedish society (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994: 251 ff.; Löfgren 1990: 117).

**Immigrants, refugees, and the Swedish press**

There is a fairly rich body of both Swedish and international research into the representation of immigrants and refugees in the media. \(^1\) This study being mainly concerned with the Swedish press, it will refrain from making comparisons between ways of representation internationally. Instead it will focus on the works of two Swedish scholars whom have focused on the representation in the Swedish press from a historical perspective, Brune (2004) and Hultén (2006). Some of their research has also

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\(^1\) Please see Hultén (2006) for an extensive overview.

\(^2\) Even though the refugees mainly came from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, they were many times referred to as “Russian refugees”, since the Baltics still formed part of the Russian empire in 1906.
been included in a Swedish government official report (SOU 2006: 21) about discrimination in the Swedish media sphere.

Brune (2004) and Hultén (2006) have explored the representation of immigrants and refugees in regional and national tabloids and dailies during the second half of the 20th Century. Brune has compared the representation between three years, 1976, 1993, and 2000, in the major Swedish daily and tabloid newspapers (2004). Where as Hultén have done a longitudinal study comparing the representation of immigrants and refugees in and between 1945 and 2000, in a number of regional and national newspapers (2006). Their findings are very much in line with the overall conclusions from Ekecrantz and Olsson’s (1994) study about the historical transformations of the same press.

Both scholars emphasize the almost uncritical reproduction of government elite discourses on immigration to Sweden, where immigrants and refugees often are left as mute objects of government practices in the reporting. Furthermore Brune suggests that this tendency of privileging certain sources before others in the representation, had increased in 1993 compared to 1976 (2004: 119). This was evident not only in the selection of sources, but also in how the different journalistic genres had become more restrictive and standardized, both stylistically and in terms of who’s perspectives were included.

Hultén (2006: 217) argues for a strong correlation between the ways of reporting about immigrants and refugees, and the political consensus that with a few exceptions has persisted regarding Sweden’s immigration policy. In spite of the 60-year time span, and selection of different newspapers, making up her study, there is a striking absence of clear objections or problematizations of Swedish immigration policy. This relation has arguably worked as an exchange of legitimacy where Swedish immigration policy has been uncritically adopted as an objective part of reality (ibid.).

The problem here is that, by virtue of its claims on objectivity, together with the exchange of legitimacy from other privileged institutions in society, the Swedish press reproduces a normative understanding of immigration, where alternative representations are marginalized. As Brune and Hultén argue, the press in doing so, also reproduces a boundary between its intended audience (us) and the depicted “immigrants” (them), where descent becomes a relevant category of distinction.

Given the historical transformation of the Swedish press, where political antagonism was left aside in favor of a new objective standard on the one hand, and participation in the consensus between politics and business on the other; the representation of immigrants and refugees evidently reveals the limits of that consensus (cf. with Johansson 2000; Elefsson 2007). It is perhaps therefor that Hultén (2006: 211
ff.) and Brune (2004: 335 ff) do not shy from the assertion that the representation of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press, in fact is a means to reproduce the boundaries of an ethically homogenous national community.

Even though there has been done some research into the representation of “the Other” in the early 20th century Swedish press (Westlund 2002; Ekecrantz 2003). These studies lack a systematic comparison between newspapers, and thus give a rather incomplete understanding. This thesis will thus attempt to complement the understanding of how immigrants and refugees were represented in the beginning of the 20th century.
Historical background of the study

The historical background to this study could by no means be considered an exhaustive account of all those processes that shaped Sweden during the early 20th century. That is not its purpose either. The purpose is rather to give an idea of how the nation was challenged and transformed politically in Swedish society at the time of the Baltic refugees’ arrival in 1906. Particular focus has been aimed towards the suffrage movement since it so clearly illustrates the imbalances of power between classes and genders in Swedish society during this time, and how those imbalances were being transformed.

When the Baltic political refugees were arriving in Stockholm in the spring of 1906, Swedish territory had recently decreased significantly in size after the union dissolution with Norway in 1905. While the land was diminishing, so was the population, by large groups of less wealthier Swedes who chose to emigrate, mainly to the United States, in search of a new life (Löfgren 1993). Wealth and access to political power was significantly imbalanced between classes and genders at this time (Löfgren 1993; Johansson 2000; Eduards 2006; Stenlås 2001). Women could not vote at all in parliamentary elections, and although it is difficult to say with certainty how many of the grown men that could participate in elections, one man’s vote was valued according to income and property holdings (Stenlås 2001). As a result, a rich minority of male industry proprietors and landowners held sway of Swedish parliament (Stenlås 2001; Johansson 2000).

Where Swedish nationalism during this period often has been described in terms of how parts of Swedish culture and traditions were objectified to define and represent the nation as a whole (cf. Hylland Eriksen 2003: 109; Johansson 2000: 293), it also became a means to question and transform relations between Swedes politically. The growing movement for full and equal suffrage is a good example of such a political contestation. The suffrage movement united both socialists, liberals, and the women’s rights organization LKPR (Landsföreningen för kvinnans politiska rösträtt) (Stenlås 2001), against those groups of politically conservative land and industry owners, who were in control of parliament, and who would not give up their political privileges willingly (ibid.).

The fact that “Swedes” lived under fundamentally different conditions, yet increasingly were being represented as one single nation, evidently exposed a social contradiction. Ethnic origin, or being “Swedish”, became a politicized argument in the suffrage movement (all Swedes should be entitled to vote) (cf. Blomqvist 2006: 376).
At the same time Eduards (2012) makes a distinction between nationalism and democracy in her analysis of the Swedish women’s suffrage struggle. She suggests that there was a significant difference between struggling for equal suffrage for all Swedish social classes, and equal suffrage for all Swedish genders. Meaning that “Swedishness” not necessarily helped women, the same way it helped the male lower classes in their argumentation for equal suffrage against the male upper classes. On the contrary women also had to struggle against a conception of ethnicity, where unequal gender relations were objectified as part of Swedish tradition (Eduards 2012: 70; cf. Yuval-Davis 1997: 47). As a consequence the Swedish women’s rights movement LKPR, had to fight against a conception of Swedish nationhood where un-equal gender relations were normative, and for a conception of nationhood where all Swedes would be entitled to vote (Eduards 2012: 253).

Similarly it is difficult to decide with certainty to what extent ethnic origin was a fundamental principle in the Social Democratic suffrage struggle during the same period. Even though the suffrage struggle was a national matter, the socialist class struggle was, in principle, an international matter (cf. Blomqvist 2006; Löfgren 1993). Blomqvist (2006) argues that in spite of working class internationalism, socialists both in Sweden and Europe, during this time accepted the immediate political reality that the nation state made up, rather than loosing the possibility of gaining influence in national parliaments. The Swedish Social Democrat party is a good example. This did not suggest however that they i.e. came to share the same definitions of, for instance, “race” and “nation” with other groups in Swedish society. Rather they accepted the political challenge of arguing for political rights to become a characteristic of Swedish national community (ibid: 383-384).

The point with these nuances is to show that nationalism together with class, gender, and ethnic relations took on different meanings, in different instances, in the political transformation of Swedish society during the arrival of the Baltic refugees.

In an attempt to capture these characteristic differences in Swedish nationalism at this time, Johansson (2000: 293) distinguishes between civic and ethnic nationalism. The former denotes an understanding oriented towards the Enlightenment and the French revolution, where the social contract, democracy, equality, and universalism are seen as the essential content of a national community. Where as the latter – ethnic – denotes an understanding emphasizing history, tradition, genealogy, and particularism as the core of a national community (ibid: 323-324; cf. Brubaker 1992). Important to remember however is that these forms of nationalism not necessarily had to be practiced mutually exclusive of each other. They should rather be considered two sides of the same coin that could be activated at different instances in the transformation of Swedish national community, social group not withstanding (cf. Hall 2000: 218).
About the Baltic refugees
The Russian revolution of 1905 where peasants, students, and workers revolted against the Czar and the Russian nobility, had effects throughout the Russian empire. At the time the empire included the Baltics and the contemporary states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. The revolution raised hopes of national independence as well as socialist revolution in these states. However, as the revolt successively was repressed, several revolutionaries were forced to flee due to persecution. Several of these came to Stockholm in 1906 (Hammar 1964: 72; Svanberg and Tydén 1992: 251 aa.).

About the Swedish party press
Towards the end of the 19th Century the Swedish press entered an expansive period where the amount of local newspapers with different political affiliations increased significantly (Löfgren 1993: 193; Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 9). This expansion continued into the beginning of the 20th Century and reached its height in 1919, when a total of 235 newspapers were published in Sweden (Hadenius, Weibull, and Seveborg 1968: 24). Hadenius et al. (1968: 25) suggest that one reason for this major increase were the relatively low costs of printing newspapers at the time. Another reason was most certainly the profound political antagonism that permeated Swedish society (ibid.).

A lot of the new publications entering the press market at this time were funded and produced by the Social Democratic party and the Swedish labor movement (Hadenius et al. 1968; Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 9; Lundberg 2001). These newspapers distinguished themselves from their more liberal and conservative contemporaries, not only in their content but also in their organizational aim. Rather than revenue, the message to party members and sympathizers stood in focus (Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 9). Hadenius et al. suggest that the supreme aim can be described as political agitation (1968: 104). This did not mean that the liberal and conservative newspapers lacked opinion, rather that their proprietary structures looked different (cf. Lundberg 2001: 50), often with private individuals or groups of proprietors. Also the production and organization of these newspapers had a more sales oriented aim (Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 17).

The perhaps most obvious difference between the party press and later press historical periods is the indistinctive classification of news, commentary, and editorial content (Hadenius and Weibull 1991: 27; Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994: 175; Lundberg 2001: 59). Meaning that politics and opinion were not
necessarily contained in particular genres but found throughout the newspaper. Put differently, the purpose of informing did not necessarily exclude the purpose of agitating.
Theoretical framework

Media, power, and representation

To study and describe traditional print and broadcast mass media in terms of power, can be done from different theoretical perspectives (cf. Allan 2010: 8 ff.). From a political economical perspective, for instance, the power of media have been studied in terms of how markets, the supply of content, and audiences are affected by structures of ownership within the production and distribution of media content (cf. McChesney 2001; Herman 1995). Ekecrantz and Olsson (1994) have focused on how the Swedish press has managed to build legitimacy and accountability within Swedish society by developing a more standardized practice of objectivity in the news production, and by increasingly soliciting the expert knowledge of elite sources.

The possession of mass media outlets, and the choices behind who will get to speak and say their piece in front of possibly millions of listeners, viewers, and readers; are two very material practices of exerting a form of, direct and indirect, influence. Yet there is arguably more to a message than who said it and where it was said, that could contribute to that influence as well, such as, for instance, representational practices.

The British sociologist Stuart Hall refers to the *symbolic power* of representation (Hall 1997: 259). Meaning how people, places, and practices are subordinated to different representations or signifying practices in, for instance, mass media. Hall writes: “Power, it seems, has to be understood here, not only in terms of economic exploitation and physical coercion, but also in broader cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way – within a certain ‘regime of representation’” (ibid.). He draws on Said’s concept of Orientalism and Foucault’s concept of discourse to suggest that knowledge – how we know and describe reality – and the exercise of power are closely related.

According to Said (2003/1979), European imperialism in northern Africa and the Middle East during the 19th century, coincided with, and was enabled by, the creation of a whole new body of European science, art, and literature about these territories. He labels this body of knowledge as Orientalism and the geographical place it concerned as the Orient. Rather than suggesting that Europe exerted dominion over the Orient, Said suggests that the Orient was constructed through Orientalism and thereby became legitimate and possible to be dominated. He writes: “There is a rather complex
dialectic of reinforcement by which the experiences of readers in reality are determined by what they have read, and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers’ experiences … Most important, such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe” (ibid: 94).

The concept of discourse becomes key in understanding how this “dialectic of reinforcement” (Said 2003/1979: 94) works. Both Hall and Said draw on Foucault when defining discourse (please see Methodology section for a more detailed definition). It is a complex concept but really involves a critique against essentialism, where practices and identities are defined by a set of inherent characteristics. On the contrary Foucault (2002) argues that practices and identities are not defined by what they are, but by the historical context of knowledge that enables them. A discourse then, is the combined historical context of knowledge that enables, as well as limits, different practices and ways of being. Instead of speaking of inherent characteristics, discourse opens up for a discussion of norms that constitute practices and identities.

The key argument that Hall infers from Said and Foucault is that the way reality is represented, does not necessarily reflect reality as much as a version of reality which enables and justifies certain relations between people, places, and practices. Another important observation to be made here is that the symbolic power of representation lays not so much in being coercive or exploitative, as being normative. Thus symbolic power, or discursive power, thus works by establishing limits for what is possible, rather than overtly force people into certain ways of being.

In an attempt to operationalize the concept of discourse into a critical analysis of power and language in society, the British linguist Norman Fairclough (2003) has contributed to develop a method known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The method will be explained in further detail in the Methodology section, a few key components will here however be briefly mentioned so as to complement the discussion of power and representation. Fairclough supplements the concept of discourse by drawing on the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, and including the concepts of hegemony and ideology (ibid: 45 ff.). He emphasizes how representations of reality necessarily are characterized by continuity and change, reflecting the ideologies of factions competing for hegemony in society. Hegemony is here used as a concept to explain how a particular group with a particular ideology, manages to achieve a universal consent among other groups in society for its particular view or perspective. An ideology could be considered as more or less hegemonic to the extent it is universally adopted and becomes a normative point of departure for how reality is and should be organized (cf. Berglez 2010: 267 ff.). Within CDA, the concept of discourse is used to analyze and
explain in more detail how certain ideologies and hegemonic orders are reproduced and transformed in society, by practices of representations.

Nationalism: imagined and contradictory communities

One of the perhaps most central concepts in studies of nationalism is the “imagined community” of Benedict Anderson (1993). It captures the gradual change of what had formerly been subjects of dynastic monarchies, into citizens of the new nation states in 18th and 19th century Europe. The printing and circulation of newspapers was one of the new and major technological advances contributing to this change. It allowed for closing the gap between formerly local communities and uniting them in a continuous stream of events being reported from near and far away, as well to facilitate the development of a more standardized language. A sense of homogenous and empty time (ibid: 36) made it self known, where all of a sudden people and events separated by hundreds of miles could be imagined and shared in imagined communities.

With the publication of Banal Nationalism in 1995, Billig wanted to remind the world that nationalism still mattered. He criticized postmodern globalization theorists for discarding nationalism as something obsolete, practiced only by peripheral extremists and separatists. Twenty years later, with 9/11 and the surge of rightwing populism in national assemblies allover Europe, it is hard to think of any one doubting him.

Still, Billig is not concerned with the exaggerated expressions of nationalism, something he refers to as “hot nationalism”. Rather he emphasizes its banal presence in everyday life. Similar to Anderson, Billig argues that the press continues to play an important role in perpetuating nationalism. It dose by contributing to establish the national as an inevitable framework of interpretation, Billig writes: “The homeland is made both present and unnoticeable by being presented as the context. When the homeland-making phrases are used with regularity, ‘we’ are unmindfully reminded who ‘we’ are and where ‘we’ are. ‘We’ are identified without even being mentioned. In this way, national identity is a routine way of talking and listening; it is a form of life, which habitually closes the front door, and seals the borders” (ibid: 109).

Although Billig agrees with the idea that “we” in this case are an imagined community, he adds that “we” at the same time should be considered as an ideological, or “‘interpretative community’” (ibid: 70) as he puts it, drawing on Edward Said. The reason for this, Billig argues, is that historically the construction of national communities has not necessarily come about out of a shared sense of belonging, as much as a hegemonic struggle between particular views trying to establishing
themselves as universal (ibid: 71). He writes: “Different factions, whether classes, religions, regions, genders or ethnicities, always struggle for the power to speak for the nation, and to present their particular voice as the voice of the national whole, defining the history of other sub-sections accordingly. ‘The voice of the nation’ is a fiction” (ibid: 71). Thus rather than being shared, the national identity according to Billig could be considered a hegemonic construction.

The important contribution to the understanding of nationalism from Billig, is how national identity not necessarily should be considered as the identity, but rather one form of identification among others. But also how it could be considered ideological, in the sense that it orders groups in society into a hegemonic constellation where certain stories are suppressed in favor of one particular.

Class, gender, ethnicity, and the Nation
In addition to Anderson and Billig, other scholars have problematized nationalism and the concept of national community in terms of how it affects power relations between groups within society. The French philosopher Étienne Balibar has for instance problematized the concept of nationhood in terms of class, ethnicity, and race (Balibar 1991b). Balibar questions the idea of ethnicity being a legitimate social category of identification and argues that the construction of what he refers to as a “fictive ethnicity”, has worked to relativize and undermine class struggles. He suggests that historically it is the capitalist bourgeoisie that has benefitted from and used ethnicity as a means to achieve political domination.

This process involves establishing a shared language, as well as the notion of belonging to a similar race. It should be noted here that Balibar departs from a rather wide definition of what he considers as racism and racist practices (see Balibar 1991a: 44 ff.). He does so as a critique against how Nazism and the holocaust have come to serve as an “alibi” (ibid: 45) for xenophobia in general. With that said he sees racism as a constitutive element of nationalism. He writes: “… whereas the language community can only create equality between individuals by simultaneously ‘naturalizing’ the social inequality of linguistic practices, the race community dissolves inequalities in an even more ambivalent ‘similarity’; it ethnizes [sic] the social difference which is an expression of irreconcilable antagonisms by lending it the form of a division between the ‘genuinely’ and the ‘falsely’ national” (1991b: 99-100).

The Swedish political scientist Maud Eduards has pointed to how Swedish women historically have had to struggle against the notion of nationhood and national community to achieve political rights (2012). Eduards argues that there is a conflict between democratic diversity and national community,
in that the latter tend to restrain and limit the possibilities of the former (ibid: 23). Similar to Balibar she suggests that gender relations have been difficult to politicize and change in Sweden since they historically have been reproduced as part of the national narrative. Women have been objectified as national symbols of family and motherhood, whereas men legitimately could claim to be public actors (ibid: 41).

Thus rather than stopping at the notion of imagined communities, nations could also be viewed as hegemonic constellations of genders, classes, and ethnicities. Whether these differences be fictive or not they still have real implications, for instance in how people, places, and practices are represented in the press (cf. Brune 2004; Hultén 2006; Billig 1995). Furthermore, rather than just relativizing differences, nationalism could be considered an ideology that constitutes differences, both internally (between classes, genders, and ethnicities) and externally (between “races” and ethnicities), by objectifying and naturalizing them.

Both Swedish mass media and other societal institutions have been criticized in a series of Swedish Government Official Reports (SOU 2006: 21; SOU 2006: 37) for failing to recognize how stale and prejudiced conceptions of national community, contribute to marginalize immigrants within Swedish society. Not wholly different from the experiences of Swedish women and the working class before the attainment of equal suffrage in the early 1900s (cf. Eduards 2012). This does not only cause problems for particular groups within Swedish society who seek to live just and equal lives, it also restrains democracy from being an emancipatory and decisive force within Swedish society. De Los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) have therefore suggested that Swedish citizenship would be better understood in terms of a “conditioned citizenship”.

Towards a conclusion

One of the purposes with viewing the representation of immigrants and refugees in Swedish press from an ideological and discursive perspective has been to make room for an analysis and problematization of representation in terms of power. Another purpose have been to show how nationalist conceptions of “us” and “them” are historical, rather than natural, constructions, which begs the question if, and in that case, why things could have been different. To quote the Swedish media historian Tom Olsson: “One of the merits of a historical approach ... lies in its ability to denaturalize our normative viewpoints. It is especially important to do this in regards to media, as so much energy goes into thinking of media as part of democracy, and more bemoaning its inadequacies for the task” (2002: 75).
Methodology

The aim of this study comprises an area of inquiry that goes beyond the immediate empirical material. It will therefore be methodologically necessary to position the sample of articles within a context where the Swedish party press, the political antagonism, and the representation of the Baltic refugees can be included and studied together. Such a limitation has been realized through the use of a critical discourse (CDA) according to Fairclough (2003). Before presenting the operationalization of this CDA in further detail, a few ontological and epistemological premises will be necessary to lay bare.

Discourse

A just definition of discourse arguably becomes difficult without reference to Foucault (2002). To Foucault one of the intentions with the concept is to problematize the occurrence of objects, relations, and practices that form the reality for groups and individuals in society. It entails to move away from an essential, inevitable, or natural perspective on these occurrences, and studying them from a relative perspective instead. The meaning and understanding of an occurrence (a book, a social relation, an action etc.) thus cannot be reduced to the occurrence itself, nor can it be reduced to the intentions, or the material means necessary to produce that occurrence. Foucault instead suggests that the meaning of an occurrence is determined by conditions prior to and beyond the occurrence. This makes the subject, the intentions, and the means to produce an occurrence, superfluous to the understanding of its meaning (Foucault 2002: 138 ff.).

Foucault describes these prior conditions as a definite multitude of earlier statements that have accumulated over time. The statements exist autonomously of their potential actualization in an occurrence, and can be described in groups which form rules that condition the production of occurrences. What can be described as a discourse or a discursive formation is a group of such statements, which together form a set of constitutive rules for the production of occurrences (ibid: 151). In terms of practice – the actualization of these constitutive rules in the production of occurrences – it is possible to speak of discursive practices.

Foucault used the concept of discourse to study the historical production and dissemination of science, which is also perhaps why the definition of discourse can be perceived as rather abstract and hard to grasp in itself. Still his theory can arguably be considered an immense scholarly contribution to a range of humanist and social scientific disciplines, not least critical discourse analysis. Mainly because it offers a possibility to perform a critical analysis of systems, institutions, power relations, and so forth, and to approach them as relative to a historical context, rather than inevitable or essential.
In Fairclough’s (2003) model of critical discourse analysis, the legacy from Foucault can be traced in the relational perspective on the process of meaning-making, or *semiosis* (Fairclough et al. 2010). Suggesting that the meaning of a text (a news article for instance), cannot be reduced to the text in itself, but rather is relative to a whole network of other relations. From the style of language to the genre of a text; from the writers of texts, their intentions, beliefs, practices, and social environment, to the readers of the same texts. The meaning of a news article is thus considered to be produced in relation both to an interior network of relations, such as how the language in the text is organized in relation to genre and style, and to an exterior network of relations, such as how genre and style correspond to material conditions of production (i.e. the social environment of a newsroom, intended audience, size of daily edition, structures of propriety, and so forth).

Fairclough distinguishes between these different instances of meaning making in terms of *social structures*, *social practices*, and *social events*. Texts form examples of social events that are both constitutive of and by the structures and practices that enable them. Meaning that a news article is a news article in relation to the practices of journalism and structures of propriety that constitute the terms of its existence, but at the same time those same structures and practices are reconstituted by the news article (Berglez 2010: 272-273). To describe and analyze this network of relations, Fairclough uses discourse: “I see discourse analysis as ‘oscillating’ between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I call the ‘order of discourse’, the relatively durable structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices. Critical discourse analysis is concerned with continuity and change at this more abstract, more structural, level, as well as with what happens in particular texts. The link between these two concerns is made through the way in which texts are analyzed in critical discourse analysis” (2003: 3).

Both Fairclough and Foucault limit their definition of discourse by contrasting it in relation to the material reality. They both agree that discourses exist prior to and thereby condition real occurrences. They do differ however on the question to what extent a discourse determines real occurrences. Foucault argues that personal intentions and material means necessary for producing an occurrence are less important when trying to understand the meaning of that occurrence. Since the discursive practice exist prior to its realization in an occurrence (cf. Foucault 2002: 150 aa.). Fairclough on the other hand argues that means and intentions are conditional as well, and cannot be disregarded in a proper analysis. He writes: “… we may textually construe (represent, imagine, etc.) the social world in particular ways, but whether our representations or construals have the effect of changing its construction depends upon various contextual factors – including the way social reality already is, who
Fairclough’s distinctive definition of discourse can also be explained by his emphasis on the causality of texts (ibid). As suggested in the quote above, that causality is relational and contextual, and does not necessarily produce regular correlational patterns of cause and effect. This is perhaps one of the most fundamental ontological premises within CDA, which entails that the meaning produced in a text and the social structures and social practices that they may be constitutive of, are enforced through a network of material and abstract relations, and not through a simple cause and effect pattern (Fairclough 2003: 8 ff.; Fairclough et al. 2010; Ekman 2010: 115 ff.).

**Ideology and the “critical” in CDA**

The process of constructing a text will inevitably entail selections, selections of certain definitions before others, inclusion of certain events and not others, and so forth. The motivations behind these selections may be more or less accounted for in the text, but can also be completely omitted. A consequence here is that certain perspectives may outbalance others, and thus exercise a form of control and power over how reality is represented (Fairclough 2003: 14; Berglez 2010: 265 ff.; Ekman 2011: 17). The critical intention in CDA thus entails to be sensitive to and aware of how this selection process works, and what relations of power it may entail.

In order to describe and analyze how power relations are produced and transformed discursively by and within texts, Fairclough uses the concept ideology (2003: 9). The concept is used based on the assumption that the meanings produced in a text are always produced in opposition to other meanings, which may be included or excluded in the text. From this perspective the meanings produced in texts can be considered hegemonic – they are produced in resistance to other potential meanings. The very same meanings can be considered ideological to the extent that they exclude other meanings – to the extent that one perspective is allowed dominance over other included or excluded meanings (Fairclough 2003: 58; Berglez 2010: 267 ff.). A relevant example could be a text about income gaps between different groups in society. Different meanings can be produced about the gap in the text, it can for instance be considered as unfair, or necessary in order to maintain competition and growth within the business sector. A text producing the former meaning arguably challenges the occurrence of the income gap and could, in relation with other practices and structures, contribute to change the material shape of that income gap. The former meaning does the opposite, in relation to other practices and structures, the text contributes to sustain the income gap by making it appear as normative.
The critical intention in CDA does not entail to stop at a descriptive analysis of these texts, but in trying to reveal and capture the network of power relations that they contribute to produce or transform. To avoid a critical discourse analysis “overdetermined” by text, the textual analysis must thus be combined with relevant social theory where the results can be explained and recontextualized in relation to for instance class relations, gender relations, and so forth (Fairclough 2003: 9; Berglez 2010: 277 ff.; Ekman 2011: 114 ff.).

CDA and genres, discourses, and styles

The analysis of texts within CDA entails that a text must be described and divided into a set of fundamental elements that can be used as a general scheme to compare it to other texts. To understand how two texts about the same thing (as with the income gap example), manages to produce two completely different meanings, the analysis requires some sort of generalizable categories to study how and why the texts differ. Fairclough suggests that a critical discourse analysis of texts, therefore, should consider their genres, discourses, and styles (2003: 26). Genres, discourses and styles are realized lexically, semantically and grammatically in texts. In relation to each other they distinguish themselves for their different functions, or meanings, in a text (ibid: 26 aa.).

Genres, for instance, contribute to create interaction between reader and writer in that it positions them in a relatively conventional relation of mutual expectations. An audience arguably consumes news and poetry with different expectations on the textual content. A journalist and a poet arguably have different intentions towards their audience.

Discourses entail the elements used in texts to represent reality. What knowledge, assumptions, and perhaps hopes, of the world that are employed in the text. Describing a person as hero or villain, are two different ways of representing that person. In the combination of genres, discourses, and styles, discourse is distinguished from its more abstract definition as an element of social practices (ibid.). In the detailed text analysis it takes on a more concrete meaning and comprise lexical preferences for instance.

Styles entail the space left for the writer of a text to identify with the discursive representations presented in the text, as well as its generic conventions. To write “the sun is out” and “I think the sun is out” are two different ways of identifying with a statement about reality. The possibility for a writer to do so in a news article, and a poem, are different in relation to genre conventions (i.e. audience expectations), yet arguably not determined by those conventions.
Evidently genres, discourses, and styles are difficult to define without reference to each other, but also without reference to their *exterior* social context. They can therefore be considered as concrete building blocks in the text, as well as *social elements*, which make it possible to study the text in a network of both *interior* textual relations and *exterior* discursive relations in the meaning-making process (ibid: 37). Fairclough emphasizes that genres, discourses, and styles are not mutually exclusive analytical categories. They are rather dialectically related to each other in the meaning making process (2003: 28).

**Operationalization**

Fairclough lists a wide range of linguistic features that can be used to operationalize an analysis of genres, discourses, and styles in texts. For instance in how clauses and sentences are semantically related to achieve certain purposes (2003: 89); how choice of vocabulary and semantic relations between words (hyponymy, synonymy and antonymy) enable certain interpretations (ibid 129 ff.), how depicted events are recontextualized in different circumstances through *presence, abstraction, arrangement*, and *additions* (ibid: 139); how actors are represented and referred to through *name/classification* (ibid: 145); how the writer is committed to the statements in the text through *modality* and *evaluation* (ibid: 165 ff).

The employment of these different features in the analysis has been made in consideration of the empirical sample size (see Material and selection), as well as the aim of this particular study. This means that the concepts of genres, discourses, and styles in Fairclough’s (2003) CDA contain more linguistic features than have been possible to include in the analysis. The selection of considered linguistic features and how they relate to genres, discourses, and styles will be presented below. The concepts have been employed simultaneously in the text analysis and are further accounted for through out the thematic analysis.

**Genres**

To begin with the empirical sample of articles has been categorized and quantified according to a rudimentary genre distinction of traditional journalistic genres. These include *debate column, news item, review*, and *other* (pls. see Material and selection). At the same time these distinctions have not been unproblematic since a majority of the articles are very similar in that they contain explicit evaluative statements. Still they can differ significantly in size, and between the other categorical features of discourses and styles, which in spite of their similarities have motivated a genre distinction. In order to construct a more reflexive and relevant categorization of genres a theoretical and literary approach have been combined with classifications from earlier press historical research.
Fairclough (2003: 70) initially offers a very general definition of genre as the purpose of a text. In a newspaper for instance, a news article could arguably be considered to have the purpose of informing, whereas a debate column having the purpose of arguing for or against something. But what if an news article did both, and what would that mean for the relationship between newspaper and audience? In response Fairclough uses the concept *genre mixing* (ibid: 34), suggesting that a text may perform several purposes at once, perhaps hierarchically ordered and/or explicit and implicit. Another way of putting it could be that texts and their purposes do not necessarily belong to particular genres, as much as they participate in them (Frow 2006: 17 ff.). Thus let it be said that any singular definition of genre will always be “unstable” (ibid: 28), yet at the same time the nuances of a text are not necessarily indefinite. Furthermore, in relation to its immediate, and remote, context, there is arguably a significant generic difference between texts. Where their purposes become distinguishable, and meaningful as well for that matter.

As pointed out in Ekecrantz and Olsson (1994) the generic structure of articles have changed over time in Swedish newspaper journalism, which arguably makes it difficult to use contemporary genres to categorize a historical material. Hadenius, Weibull, and Seveborg (1968) made a quantitative content analysis of the division of content in Swedish newspapers with affiliation to the Social Democratic party, between 1899 and 1909. In their analysis they distinguish between editorial (the first commentary column in the newspaper), other article with commentary (other article with evaluative commentary from the editor, including poems), announcements (news and reportage without commentary), and ads (1968: 183 ff., my translation). The overall definition of genre that they use is “… the editorial formulation of a message to the reader” (ibid., my translation). At the same time Hadenius and Weibull (1991: 27) state that what particularly characterized the Swedish party press was that news was not free from political commentary and evaluation as it would be in later periods.

The descriptive genre distinctions used to categorize and quantify the sample of articles in this study are inspired by Hadenius et al. (1968). In the more qualitative thematic analysis, the nuances and similarities that in some ways contradict these distinctions have been considered with the overall purpose of studying their implications on the relationship between newspaper and audiences. As a result the genre distinctions have been defined accordingly:

*News items* include articles that present news, with or without evaluation; *debate columns* include articles that comments on already known events; *combines* include articles divided into one explicit news segment and one explicit comment segment; *reviews* include critique and summaries of events; *background* include reportage-like background stories; *other* includes less frequent articles such as
Discourses
In the analysis of genres, discourses, and styles, discourses have to do with representation. For this study representation entails how events, actors, actions, and so forth are recontextualized (Fairclough 2003: 139 ff.) in the articles. Recontextualization is used in a very broad sense, but can be concretized into a set of principles regarding the presence, abstraction, arrangement, and additions in the representation of events, actors, and actions. Fairclough writes: “Elements of social events are selectively ‘filtered’ according to such recontextualizing principles (some are excluded, some included and given greater or lesser prominence). These principles also affect how concretely or abstractly social events are represented, whether and how events are evaluated, explained, legitimized, and the order in which events are represented” (2003: 139). The lexical preferences used when describing events and actors have also been particularly considered in the analysis (ibid: 129, 146).

The purpose with these considerations has been to study how newspapers and audiences are associated or dissociated with the represented events, actors, and actions, depending on how they are filtered.

Styles
In the analysis of styles particular attention has been paid to modalizations and evaluation (Fairclough 2003: 164 ff.). Modality signals commitment and identification with statements in texts. A clear example can be the difference between “I know what time it is” and “I should know what time it is”. The example illustrates how the subject “I” can signal a different degree of certainty by modalizing the verb knowing. For this analysis modalization has been used as a category to study how the newspapers articulate themselves as grammatical subjects, such as “We think …” or “We should …”. Fairclough refers to this as a form of modalization called activity exchange that signals commitment to obligations or necessities stated in texts (ibid: 168). The purpose here is not only to study how the newspapers relate to their statements, but also how they relate to their intended audiences.

Evaluations have both been categorized quite simply based on the use of adjectives and adverbs in the analysis. But also more nuanced and implicitly in terms how lexical preferences and ways of recontextualizing may contribute to evaluations. The occurrence of evaluations has also been studied in relation to genre in order to capture nuances and particularities in the audience address.
Disposition of the analysis

In preparation of the text analysis the sample of articles has been categorized and quantified according to newspaper, genre, and date. The results can be found in the Material and selection part. The presentation of the text analysis has then been divided into three steps. The first entails a more descriptive analysis of the genres, discourses, and styles used by the newspapers in their representation of the Baltic political refugees. Here the presentation has been organized thematically (cf. Hultén 2006; Ekman 2011; Fairclough 2003: 240) where the newspapers and their representations are compared according to each theme. The purpose here have been to bring order to the presentation, as well as to establish some common points of departure in the sample and create a foundation for a comparative analysis of genres, discourses, and styles. The respective themes are presented in the Analysis part.

In the second part of the analysis the results from the thematic analysis are summarized for a closer discussion regarding how the employment of genres, discourses, and styles actualizes social relations between newspapers, audiences, and the represented refugees, and how these relations can be described in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity.

The third part entails to explore and explain how the actualization of class, gender, and ethnic relations in the representation relates to the historical context of political antagonism within Swedish society at the time of the Baltic refugees’ arrival. What must be remembered is that the meaning of the texts is not something that can be explained by studying the texts alone, they do not carry the entire answer themselves. The knowledge produced about the representation in the thematic text analysis, is therefore recontextualized in a different yet discursively related social context (cf. Ekman 2011: 114 ff.; Berglez 2010: 273 ff.). The meaning of the representation and the social relations it actualizes between newspapers, audiences, and the Baltic refugees, is here specifically explored and explained in relation to Swedish nationalism and the symbolic production of national community.

Validity and reliability

The scientific validity of a qualitative critical discourse analysis, stand in relation to how well theory and method manage to capture the research problem of the study (cf. Ekman 2011: 117). In practice this entails to find a balance between theory and the empirical material (Berglez 2010: 285), to avoid only looking for proof, and remain sensitive to contradictions in the analytical synthesis. Furthermore, the analysis of the network of relations actualized in the process of semiosis will always stand in proportion to the applied analytical framework (Fairclough 2003: 16). Meaning that an analytical framework can never be exhaustive and sensitive to all potentials of a text. It is therefore, once more
important to emphasize that the choice of analytical framework is motivated by the actual research problem (cf. Ekman 2003: 118). To make sure that the framework actually measures what it is suppose to measure.

The reliability of a qualitative analysis will be determined by its transparency (cf. Ekman 2003: 18; Berglez 2010: 286). It is here necessary to make sure that all analytical deductions are carried out clearly and with reference to the actual empirical material. Both to make sure that the analysis is understandable, and to make sure that it can be questioned and criticized.
Material and selection

The empirical material for this study has been sampled from three Stockholm newspapers: the Social Democratic Social-Demokraten, the conservative Stockholms Dagblad, and, also to the right but more liberal, Svenska Dagbladet. At the time of 1906 the newspapers’ distribution was restricted to the Stockholm area (Lundberg 2001: 27). Lundberg suggests that the total supply of newspapers on the Stockholm market during this period amounted to eleven publications (2001: 27). Social-Demokraten and Stockholms Dagblad had a daily edition that, according to Tollin (1967), barely reached half of Svenska Dagbladet's (see Table 1 below). Unlike the other two newspapers, Svenska Dagbladet had declared itself as independent from any particular party affiliation. Where as Social-Demokraten was owned and run by the Social Democrats, and Stockholms Dagblad openly sympathized with the loose formation of conservative MPs who in 1904 created Almänna valmansförbundet (Lundberg 2001).

Table 1: Print and publishing information about the selected newspapers in 1906, collected from Tollin (1967) and Lundberg (2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Social-Demokraten</th>
<th>Svenska Dagbladet</th>
<th>Stockholms Dagblad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Periodicity</td>
<td>6 days/week</td>
<td>7 days/week</td>
<td>7 days/week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily edition</td>
<td>14 000 copies (1905)</td>
<td>32 000 copies (1905)</td>
<td>14 000 copies (est.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>Social Democratic</td>
<td>Moderate liberal</td>
<td>Moderate conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor-in-chief</td>
<td>Hjalmar Branting, member of Swedish parliament from 1897-1925, for the Social Democrats.</td>
<td>Carl Gustaf Tengwall and Helmer Key.</td>
<td>Karl Hildebrand, member of Swedish parliament from 1907, for the conservative party Almänna valmansförbundet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection of newspapers has primarily been made out of consideration for the political affiliation. To achieve a variation that at least to some extent reflects the political diversity on the Swedish press market at the time. Apart from their editorial positions all newspapers argued differently in the question of equal suffrage (Lundberg 2001). To grasp all of the nuances and suggestions in the political debate concerning Swedish suffrage is beyond the scope of this study (for a more comprehensive account pleas see Stenlås (2001)). Yet to give an idea, conservative Stockholms
Dagblad argued for a limited reform that would not risk “radicalizing” (Lundberg 2001: 63, my translation) the Swedish parliament. Svenska Dagbladet took a more liberal position, closer to Social-Demokraten and the Social Democrat party who argued for a substantial reform, moving away from a graded voting scale (ibid: 51).

The newspapers have been accessed at the National Library’s microfilm collection in Stockholm. As of yet the library has only digitalized the complete publication of two newspapers, namely Svenska Dagbladet and Aftonbladet. This has seriously affected the possibility of drawing a representative sample from a key word-compiled population of articles. In stead the sample has been drawn from a particular period in 1906. The period has been established based on a digital search for the key words “ryska flyktingar” (Russian refugees) ² in Svenska Dagbladet (the only digitalized newspaper in the selection). The search revealed that a significant number of articles were published in March 1906. The articles spanned from short pieces of news to longer debate columns. The compilation of the total sample was then performed by manually browsing all publications from Svenska Dagbladet, Social-Demokraten, and Stockholms Dagblad during March in 1906.

All articles, except ads, with explicit or implicit reference to Russian refugees have been included. The sample has been categorized and quantified according to variables such as date, newspaper, and genre. Please see chart below for the total amount of sampled articles, spread over the three selected newspapers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Social-Demokraten</th>
<th>Svenska Dagbladet</th>
<th>Stockholms Dagblad</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categorization of genres is described in further detail in the Operationalization section. To recapitulate a brief description follows: News items include articles that present news, with or without evaluation; debate column include articles that comments on already known events; combines include articles divided into one indicated news segment and one indicated comment segment; reviews include critique and summaries of events; background include reportage-like background stories; other includes less frequent articles such as announcements and background stories.

² Even though the refugees mainly came from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, they were many times referred to as “Russian refugees”, since the Baltics still formed part of the Russian empire in 1906.
As is evident in Table 3 (see below), *Social-Demokraten* distinguishes itself for its large amount of background articles. These articles consist of a five-piece background story, divided between five days and published on the front page, concerning the historical background of the uprisings in the Baltic provinces. In addition the newspaper also has several articles categorized as other, these consist of a number of announcements concerning fundraising events dedicated to the care of the refugees.

Table 3: Articles sorted according to genre and newspaper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Social-Demokraten</th>
<th>Svenska Dagbladet</th>
<th>Stockholms Dagblad</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News item</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debate column</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No pictures or illustrations related to the articles were found whatsoever. Almost none of the articles had by-lines or signatures, therefore these have not been considered in the analysis.

**Limitations of the study**

Since the selection of material for the analysis is limited to three newspapers and one month, it will be problematic to generalize the results as representative of the entire party press system at the time of 1906. This limitation certainly raises questions concerning the validity of this study. To what extent will the results correspond with the stated aim? Therefore this study could by no means be considered an exhaustive analysis of the representation of the Baltic refugees in the Swedish party press. Still, what is relevant for this study is not the party press in the shape of all published newspapers during the press historical period known as the party press days. It is rather the particular forms of relationships between newspapers and audiences that this historical period entailed. It is not the representation in the party press that is the object of inquiry for this study. It is rather the implications of the relationships
Martin Karlsson

between newspapers and audiences, characteristic of the Stockholm party press days, in the representation of the Baltic refugees.
Analysis

By employing different genres, discourses, and styles, *Social-Demokraten, Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Stockholms Dagblad*, all try to answer the same five fundamental questions of who, what, when, where, and why, concerning the Baltic refugees’ arrival to Stockholm. At the same time these actions actualize a set of social relations between the intended audience, the newspaper, and the depicted refugees, which can be described in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity. Following the first research question: *How are class, gender, and ethnic relations between newspapers, their intended audiences, and the Baltic refugees actualized in the representation?*; the analysis will begin with a more detailed investigation of how these relations are actualized through the use of genre, discourse, and style, in the articles.

In order to present this investigation in a clear and comparative fashion, the sample of articles has been divided into three thematic distinctions. These include the *arrival of the refugees*, the *care of the refugees*, and their *encounter with Swedish law and order*. The themes unite, while at the same time divide the representations of the Baltic refugees in the three different newspapers. Some articles deal with only one theme, while others address several at once. The latter particularly goes for the editorials, and the former for the shorter news items. This means that some of the articles are referred to on several occasions in the analysis. The thematic distinctions thus structure the first part of the analysis. It should also be clarified that, since all articles are published in Swedish, all quotes have been translated.

Following the second research question: *How did Swedish nationalism contribute to enable and disable these relations?*; the second part of the analysis explores how the representations’ interior network of relations relates to a more abstract exterior network. The representations are here recontextualized in a historical context of Swedish nationalism, as it was actualized in the Swedish suffrage struggle.
Thematic analysis

The care of the refugees

The care of the refugees is one of the themes that occur frequently in the sample of articles, particularly during the beginning of March. It mainly concerns their housing and income, during the time of stay in Stockholm. Compared to each other, the newspapers’ representations produce different meanings of this care, ranging from their burden to our solidary responsibility.

*Social-Demokraten* for instance, takes an active role in pleasing to their readers, and organizations within the labor movement, to raise funds and contribute to the support of the refugees. As illustrated by the examples below these pleads occur both in shorter news items and in commentary:

“The Russian *comrades* are impoverished and need all the help they can get” (*Soc-Dem 0303, short news item, my italics*).

“We urge once more for compassion and solidarity with the Russian *brothers*” (*Soc-Dem 0703, short news item, my italics*).

“Could not the associations, here and there, during their meetings please set aside something and send to the party secretary, for the refugees from the east?” (*Soc-Dem 0603, combined news and commentary item*).

The generic structure in the quoted articles from *Social-Demokraten*, evidently contains more than just news and commentary. There is also room for direct pleads that are realized through the use of stylistic *modalizations* (ibid: 165 ff.) such as “We urge” and “please”. As well as through the discursive *lexical classification* of the refugees (ibid: 129 ff): “comrades” and “brothers”. Here a relation is actualized between “us” the audience and newspaper, and “them” the refugees. Where the care of them arguably becomes our solidary responsibility (newspaper and audience), due to our shared experiences of class struggle as “comrades” and “brothers” (newspaper, audience and the Baltic refugees).

Instead of using lexical classifications to relate with the refugees, *Stockholms Dagblad* use them to dissociate their readers from the refugees, as well as the Swedish Social Democrats. This can be exemplified with the headline: “The socialists’ guests” (*StD 0703, headline for short news item*). The socialist care of the refugees is further ridiculed by means of sarcasm. Such as in this small news item regarding the Social Democrats fundraising for the refugees: “It gets to be expensive for Hinke” (*StD*...
Another example can be found in a review of a fundraising event arranged by the Social Democrats: “… one certainly has to make an effort, if enough funds are to be raised for their proper and carefree stay” (StD 0903, review of fundraising event).

Apart from just reporting on the events pertaining to the care of the refugees, Stockholms Dagblad also marks a distance to them, as well as their Swedish socialist “hosts”, by use of stylistic evaluations (Fairclough 2003: 171 ff.) such as “It gets to be expensive” and “… carefree stay”. Thus Stockholms Dagblad and its audience are distinguished from the socialists, the refugees, and the burden of providing for their “… carefree stay”.

Svenska Dagbladet does not include the Social Democrats, or the use of class classifications, to the same extent as the other two newspapers do in their depictions. In this short news item, for instance, referring to a hearing of the refugees that was performed by local authorities, Svenska Dagbladet states: “… they were given help by their more fortunate comrades living here” or from “… relatives and friends in the home country” (SvD 0803, short news item). Here the Social Democratic involvement, together with the evaluations and urges in Social-Demokraten and Stockholms Dagblad are completely absent.

When Svenska Dagbladet actually does comment on the Social Democrats’ care of the refugees in a debate column, there is a significant difference in how it assesses their role, compared to Stockholms Dagblad. This nuance can be illustrated by comparing two debate columns. The first published on March 6th in Stockholms Dagblad with the subheading: “The invasion of Russian refugees”. The second published in Svenska Dagbladet on March 7th with the headline “The foreign invasion”. Stockholms Dagblad writes:

“We have first seen how our socialist youth and Social Democrats have done everything in their power to surround these welcomed guests with a halo of martyrdom, as shiny as possible. As well as to financially pave their way as smooth as possible. Is it not obvious how all of these Latvians and Estonians, really are used as some sort of agitation material, and that their stay here, under the protection of the Socialist state power, cannot be considered as particularly constructive for the uncritical audience, that our workers in many cases really are” (StD 0603).

Where as Svenska Dagbladet writes: “Here in Stockholm they have been received by the youth socialist party”. Commenting on hearings with the refugees, performed by Swedish authorities, Svenska Dagbladet then writes: “As was expected, these measures on the authorities’ part, have upset the Social Democrats”, and “The Swedish state has, as mentioned above, no responsibility to increase
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an already heavy burden by supporting foreign subjects, that in great numbers are flowing into the country. To leave the solution of this economical question to the Social Democratic party would be too sad" (SvD 0703).

The telling difference between these examples is how Svenska Dagbladet, unlike Stockholms Dagblad, refrains from using such strong evaluative classifications as “Socialist state power”, “uncritical audience”, and “our workers” (StD 0603). Instead Svenska Dagbladet states that the measures taken by Swedish authorities “upset the Social Democrats” and that it would be “too sad” to leave them responsible for the care of the refugees. Thus even though they are questioning the involvement of the Social Democrats, Svenska Dagbladet avoids dissociating itself and its audience from the Social Democrats, the same way they dissociate the refugees. Thus the line is not drawn, at least explicitly, between “our workers” and us, but between “the foreign subjects” and us.

The arrival
The arrival of the refugees is a very broad thematic distinction. It is intended to capture the newspapers’ representations of the events, reasons, and intentions, which brought the Baltic refugees to Sweden. Here social events and social relations from two different parts of the world (the Baltic provinces and Sweden) are brought together and recontextualized (Fairclough 2003: 139) through genres, discourses, and styles. In many aspects these recontextualisations become a struggle concerning the legitimacy of the refugees’ reasons and intentions for coming to Sweden. To legitimate can be considered an intentional action, revealing a purpose in the text. Apart from informing and arguing, texts can also legitimate. Fairclough therefore sorts legitimization as a generic feature of texts and distinguishes between four types of legitimation that are characterized by different types of referring (2003: 98):

Authorization: “Legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and of persons whom some kind of institutional authority is vested” (ibid: 98).

Rationalization: “Legitimization by references to the utility of institutionalized action, and to the knowledges (sic) society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity” (ibid.).

Moral Evaluation: “Legitimation by reference to value systems” (ibid.).

Mythopoesis: “Legitimation conveyed through narrative” (ibid.). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 110) also make use of Mythopoesis in their CDA and emphasize that this way of argumentation entails that: “One story or event is taken as evidence for a general norm of behavior”.

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On March 7th Social-Demokraten publishes the first part of a five-piece background story about “… the Latvian peoples movement’s reasons, developments, first victory and the following, still ongoing, brutal repression” (Soc-Dem 0703). It is titled “The Revolution in the Baltic sea provinces” and is accredited to an anonymous writer who is described as “… completely trustworthy and knowledgeable”. The article is printed on the first page and starts with a brief introduction from the editor: “We start today with an account of the events, which are positioned so close to us, yet on the whole are little known to the Swedish public”.

With this stylistic use of personal pronouns – “We” and “us” – Social-Demokraten explicitly commits itself to the proximity of the events taking place in the Baltic provinces. As well as pleading to its readers – “us” – to recognize this proximity. This commitment is achieved through modalization (Fairclough 2003: 170 aa.), where the explicit grammatical subject “We” and indirect object “us” contribute to frame the introduction. Further on in the introduction the Baltic uprisings are tied together with the recent political development at home concerning the refugees:

“We therefore ask of our readers for their particular attention to these articles, which have double urgency by the fact that several right wing papers have started to shout for, that the same Sweden who in 1863 willingly and unafraid offered a sanctuary for numerous Polish refugees, now in 1906 so cowardly should submit to the assumed wishes of a fundamentally shaken Tsarist empire” (Soc-Dem 0703).

Here the lexical classifications “right wing papers” and “Tsarist empire” are clearly dissociated from “We” and “… our readers”. At the same time “Sweden” is included, or rather Sweden from “1863” who is not the same as now in “1906”. Thus a historical distinction between now and then is also established. Arguably these different types of distinctions can be interpreted in different ways. What is clear however is that Social-Demokraten implies an idea of what Sweden should do, while at same time marking a distance between itself and its readers on the one hand, and the “right wing papers” and “Tsarist empire” on the other.

In addition a new front-page story about the conditions in the Baltic provinces is run on March 26th in Social-Demokraten. This time with the headline “The rule of fear in the Baltic provinces”. Here Social-Demokraten refers to statistics to illustrate the width of the destruction of public buildings and executions in the repression against the Baltic revolutionaries, by the Baltic landowning classes and Russian military.
By referring to the authority of statistics and a “… completely trustworthy and knowledgeable” writer, Social-Demokraten arguably makes use of authorization in its recontextualization of the events and reasons that brought the Baltic refugees to Sweden. By pleading to the audience, criticizing the right wing papers, and implying how Sweden should act against the Tsarist empire, the newspaper also employs moral evaluations. Thus apart from legitimizing the reasons for the arrival of the refugees, Social-Demokraten also charges these reasons with political and moral relevance for its Swedish audience.

Stockholms Dagblad also makes use of authorization in a debate article discussing the political events in the Baltic provinces published on March 22nd. Unlike Social-Demokraten, Stockholm Dagblad refers to a “prominent” member of the Baltic nobility. The person is reported to have sent a letter to Stockholms Dagblad, which “… reinforces the accuracy of this opinion”. In the same debate article this “accuracy” is also combined with statements more grounded in mythopoesis, facts and fiction combined:

“With knowledge of the events in Russia and particularly the dreadful happenings in the Baltic sea provinces last fall, when the raw, uneducated Latvian and Estonian population, encouraged and lead by socialist revolutionaries, left the provinces in ashes and committed the most dreadful murders and acts of violence, one has all reason to ask, what kind of people it really is, that by such means has come over here, and why they have ‘fled’ from their homeland”.

This mythopoesis arguably reoccurs in Stockholms Dagblad’s variety of lexical classifications used for the refugees. Where facts about their identity are combined with assumptions:

“… really two nationalities” (StD 0103, short news item)
“Some were Jews” (StD 1003, short news item)
“… Russians or, more accurately, Latvians and Estonians” (StD 2203, debate column)
“strangers” (StD 0703, short news item)
“unpleasant guests” (StD 0903, short news item)
“revolutionaries” (StD 0903c, part of headline in summary of fundraiser)
“The socialists’ guests” (StD 0703, headline for short news item)
“‘refugees’ “ (StD 0603, debate column)
“A band of murderers and arsonists?” (StD 2203, subheading in debate column)

Svenska Dagbladet is much more limited than Stockholms Dagblad in how it classifies the refugees and mostly sticks to “refugees” and “foreigners” in its news items. The reasons and intentions of the
arrival are in fact largely absent in all of Svenska Dagbladet’s articles. The newspaper does, however, publish one debate article addressing the arrival of the refugees on March 7th. Rather than referring to noblemen or statistics, the newspaper appears to employ implicit authoritative references to itself such as: “… Russian subjects sought their way to Sweden, and particularly to the capital, where their numbers according to performed calculation should amount to 4000, men and women” (my italics). Here the “performed calculation” lacks a subject – also a form of modalization – and the credibility of this information is just assumed.

In the same debate article a combination of mythopoesis, moral evaluation, and rationalization is employed in an argument for “quarantine measures”. The argument suggests that if the refugees would have had participated in the uprisings in the Baltics, then this would follow:

“We neither can, or want to suggest, that the arrived refugees have participated in these excesses. Still there is all reason to be cautious, and thereby also every reason to submit the mystical immigrants to closer scrutiny. One needs not to be an enemy of freedom to argue, that quarantine measures are necessary in order to stop the societal life from being infested by spiritual plight, from foreign elements of violence and unrest”.

In a combined comparison the newspapers do not necessarily differentiate in their formal use of authoritative, rational or morally evaluative legitimation. It is rather how the newspapers choose to achieve these different forms of legitimation that distinguishes them. What is interesting here is that the newspapers do not seem to share a conception of hierarchy between sources, for instance when seeking authoritative legitimation. Noblemen, statistics, anonymous sources, or implicit assumptions as in the case with Svenska Dagbladet’s information about the amount of refugees, would perhaps not be credible for all audiences, but for specific audiences they apparently are considered relevant. The variation of sources is also matched by a variation of lexical classifications of the refugees. This arguably makes the identity of the Baltic refugees, as well as their reasons, and intentions, a politicized issue, relative to the different newspapers and their audiences.

The arrival of the refugees and their subsequent care is also cause for several fundraising events, arranged by the Swedish Social Democrats. One of these events is reviewed in all of the newspapers. The event featured folk songs performed by the refugees and a lecture about Baltic folk music. What is interesting about these reviews is that they slightly deviate from the lexical preferences used in the short news items and debate columns. Especially when comparing Social-Deomkraten and Svenska Dagbladet. This can be illustrated by comparing three paragraphs:
Svenska Dagbladet uses the headline “The party of the Russian refugees” and writes:

“On the little stage a number of men made their entrance and offered a peculiar sight. They were of the most different types, from the distinguished Russian of Gorki-type with dark, long hair, eyeglasses and a Russian blouse, to the dark polish Jew or the large blond man … of real Scandinavian appearance” (SvD 0903).

Social-Demokraten also uses the headline “The party of the Russian refugees” and writes:

“The interest of the audience was at an unusually high tension rate during the entire evening, and this interest was as much of an ethnographical and political, as of a musical nature. Because it was interesting to see and hear these refugees sing their folk songs and liberation songs, and the ear was caressed by the beautiful melodies, that were very well performed. These Slavs and Finns sing well, sing with an ensemble and nuance like old, accustomed choir members” (Soc-Dem 0903).

Both newspapers use ethnic references, such as “Russian blouse” and “… their folk songs”. Social-Demokraten even prefers to discard the national reference to Latvians and Estonians, and instead use Slavs and Finns. But Svenska Dagbladet, is even more explicit and comments on the physical appearances of the performers in what could definitely be considered a racist manner. Possibly the review as a particular form of genre enables a different form of representation. Where cultural traits or traditions become actualized in a different manner compared to news or political debate columns. Here the ethnical, or, in the case of Svenska Dagbladet, the “racial” difference, matters.

Stockholms Dagblad however, is perhaps least deviant from its ordinary use of classifications: “The entrance fee was 35 öre and a bunch of people had deposited this small sum in the box office, in order to enjoy the pleasant sensation, that the sight of a revolutionary can provide. However, a lot of them got particularly disappointed, since the persons who performed on stage did not look terrible enough” (StD 0903).

Law and order

In February, 1906, perpetrators with suspected ties to the Baltic liberation movement committed a bank robbery in Finland’s capital Helsinki. In March the following month, the Finnish police issued warrants for the arrest of some suspected individuals, who are assumed to have escaped to Stockholm in company with the refugees. This event in particular triggers the actualization of a law-and-order theme in the representation of the Baltic refugees. Apart from casting further doubt on the true reasons for their arrival, the role of Swedish authorities is also actualized. Law and order seems to be considered a matter of principle for all of the newspapers, but they distinguish themselves by how they assign the roles of perpetrator and victim.
Even before the arrest warrants are known, *Stockholms Dagblad* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, use the bank robbery as a pretext for suspicion and accusations against the refugees.

On March 6th *Svenska Dagbladet* publishes a rather uncharacteristic piece of news. It is far more assumptive and propositional than the newspaper’s usually very strict news items. Under the headline: “Are they sent back to Russia?”, the article begins: “A company of longhaired and strangely dressed men and women with baskets and bags were escorted by police, from their accommodation by Österlånggatan and its alleys, to the detective police station”. This illustrative account is followed by: “One assumed, that they were Russian refugees who had come here”.

Without any prior mentioning or explanation, the bank robbery in Helsinki is implicitly related to these events by means of semantic contrast (Fairclough 2003: 89): “The hearings that were ongoing all yesterday morning have, however, had no relation to the bank loot in Helsinki”. Here the coherence, both between the two clauses in this sentence, and between the last clause and the rest of the article, is stretched to an extent where it almost appears illogical. The bank robbery has most likely been mentioned before in the newspaper, and the semantic coherence assumed to be implicit.

In a debate article published the following day with the title “The foreign invasion”, *Svenska Dagbladet* is more explicit in its suspicions and accusations: “These murders and bank lootings, perpetrated by Latvians and Estonians, have been pure banditry, and their perpetrators do surely not deserve a halo of martyrdom reserved for freedom fighters” (*SvD 0703*).

Here the bank robbery in Helsinki is not specifically referenced to, nor are “the perpetrators” necessarily all of the Latvian and Estonian “freedom fighters” that have arrived to Stockholm. Still their nationalities are considered relevant, implicating: what is not known about the Baltic refugees, can be suspected. The same debate article also states:

“International law also recognizes in principle every sovereign state’s right to offer asylum to political refugees, who have entered within its borders. But, on the other hand, according to the same international law, a sovereign state has no responsibility what so ever to keep within its border, no less support, foreigners who are, or can become troublesome. The care of a good societal order demands, that a bunch of loose people from a foreign state cannot flood the land and there become an annoyance and burden” (*SvD 0703*).
The editorial published on March 7th is not that different from the news item published on the 6th the day before. In both articles the bank robbery in Helsinki, and the arrival of the refugees, are arranged together. Where there is yet no explicit evidence tying these events together, *Svenska Dagbladet* implies a semantic relation between them. Moreover, by use of the classifications “foreigners”, “loose people”, “the societal order”, and “the land”, *Svenska Dagbladet* not only dissociates the Baltic refugees from the societal order, but also marks the border between Sweden and “foreign” states.

Rather than just incriminating and distancing itself to the refugees, *Stockholms Dagblad* also makes explicit calls for the attention of Swedish authorities. In a debate article dealing with the accommodation of the Baltic refugees, published on March 6th with the subheading: “The invasion of Russian refugees”, *Stockholms Dagblad* suggests that the accommodation poses a threat to the societal order:

“It can thus be questioned, whether one could not expect from our authorities that they make sure, that this, particularly by socialist means, supported colonization by Russian refugees, is stopped to the extent that is necessary for the care of a sound societal order. It must not be a question of by any means persecuting political refugees, in their capacity as such. The authorities have only before them to make sure that we do not have to suffer the consequences, of indifferently have letting surrounded ourselves by a bunch of loose people ” (*StD 0603*).

Once again the refugees are associated with the socialists. Similar to *Svenska Dagbladet*s distinctions between “freedom fighters” and “loose people” (*SvD 0703*), *Stockholms Dagblad* also makes a distinction between “political refugees” and “loose people” in their editorial. Failing to seriously consider this difference will have “consequences” for the “societal order”. This *mythopoetical* (legitimation by narrative, see Fairclough 2003: 98) play with classifications, and the *moral evaluation* (ibid.) of the “societal order”, is later wrapped up as cause for explicit expectations on the authorities: “We have sought, by means of a conversation with the civil secretary, to gain knowledge about whether from the government one could expect satisfying actions in the matter” (*StD 0603*).

What happens here is that both *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms Dagblad* recontextualize some events as threats or problems. For example, the arrival of the refugees is metaphorically re-evaluated as an “invasion” and a “flood”. Leaving the “societal order” at stake. Whether the refugees actually have done something that would “damage” or “become an annoyance” to “our country” is not relevant here because “either way” they already “are, or can become troublesome”. The difference between the newspapers is arguably the emphasis on borders and foreigners in *Svenska Dagbladet*, and the parallel criticism of the Social Democrats in *Stockholms Dagblad*. 
Later in the month after the warrants have been issued from the Finnish police, *Stockholms Dagblad* continues in the same vane, stating in a debate column that the warrants give “... reason to suspect the worst” (*StD* 2203). In the same debate article, the newspaper concludes with reference to the arrests that it “... did not come as a surprise”. Furthermore, the arrests are put in relation to the refugees in general by use of the headline “The Russian refugees in Stockholm”, and the subheading “Who are the others?”. Semantically this function can be referred to as *meronymy*, where a distinctive part of something, gets to represent the whole (Fairclough 2003: 23). These insinuations are then used to motivate why “... one has reason to suspect the worst”.

*Svenska Dagbladet* does not devote any further commentary or evaluations of the subsequent arrests, but reports about them in shorter news items.

*Social-Demokraten* defends the Baltic refugees against the allegations presented in the right wing press. In a combined news and commentary column published on March 15th, *Social-Demokraten* writes: “... to investigate what can be related to the bank loot, that, one must consider natural and in its order ...What is worse is that these actions of the police will further intensify the shameful witch hunt against the refugees, carried out by the right wing press and to which even a paper like Svenska Dagbladet is committed to. They do not shy from openly demanding, that the ones who are fleeing their homes from executioners, should leave our ‘hospitable’ country within short”.

Instead of recontextualizing the refugees as suspected perpetrators, threatening the societal order, *Social-Demokraten* here represents them as victims of a right wing press, who supported by *Svenska Dagbladet*, threatens to violate the right of asylum by demanding their expulsion.

The same type of defensive argumentation can be found in other articles. Referring to an inspection at the refugees’ accommodation site by local authorities in a news item, *Social-Demokraten* writes: “... the refugees were not at all unwilling to provide the information that was required” (*Soc-Dem 0703*). Following the arrests of a few suspects among the refugees, *Social-Demokraten* writes in a debate article: “Everything really hinges upon the loose information ’they have been recognized’ as the bank robbers. By whom?” (*Soc-Dem 2103*).

In the same debate article published on March 21st, *Social-Demokraten* explicitly implies that the Swedish police have acted on request by the Russian police, which again threatens to jeopardize the validity of the Swedish asylum right:
“If our police, as we still believe, have acted blind and arrested perfectly innocent persons on request, this would be the most dreadful scandal to our country. Then the Swedish asylum right only remains valid until a simple Russian accusation brought those whom had fled to our jails”.

The right to asylum reoccurs throughout Social-Demokratens argumentation as something in need of protection and respect. Already before the arrests have begun, the newspaper marks its position towards the chief-of-police in a debate column on March 6th: “… Mr. Stendahl appears to want to give an authority to the government that it cannot be in right of. In fact it should be clear that we by tradition and way of seeing things in this country, have the right to provide asylum” (Soc-Dem 0603).

In a debate column published on the 23rd of March, Social-Demokraten even affords to be sarcastic against the Swedish authorities: “… while in Copenhagen mayor Jensen shows them the city hall, in Stockholm Mr. Stendahl shows several of them the interior of our jails … But, then again, our Swedish ‘national’ culture is far more superior than the Danish”.

Class, gender, and ethnicity in the representation of the Baltic refugees

The themes actualized in the coverage of the Baltic refugees evidently unite and divide the newspapers in their representation. Moreover, through the use of genres, discourses, and styles, the representations become relative, not only to the different newspapers, but also their intended audiences and the Baltic refugees. Meaning that, while some social relations are enabled between newspaper, intended audience, and the refugees in Social-Demokraten, those same relations may be disabled in Stockholms Dagblad and Svenska Dagbladet.

Here the differences between the newspapers found in the representation through the thematic text analysis are summarized and described in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity. This part of the analysis necessarily must take place on a more abstract level, where the differences are generalized and discussed with regards to each social category, rather than departing from each theme.

Class
A basic yet relevant question to begin asking is whether any of the articles published in Social-Demokraten about the Baltic refugees, would have been possible to publish in Stockholms Dagblad or Svenska Dagbladet? Another more specific question: Would any of the news items published in
Social-Demokraten have been possible to publish in the other newspapers? Probably not. Why? Because comparatively the discursive representation and styles employed in the articles are not subjected to genre as much as to the particular newspaper. As a result not only the debate columns, but also the news about the Baltic refugees, look different in the different newspapers.

Social-Demokraten and Stockholms Dagblad distinguish themselves particularly in this regard. The explicit evaluative style dominates to an extent where the generic classification becomes almost redundant. The lexical representation and the recontextualization of the Baltic refugees, the Swedish authorities, the Baltic uprisings, as well as the right wing press and the Social Democrats, are thus constantly weighed in relation to a particular intended audience in both newspapers. To use an illustrative metaphor, class arguably becomes a scale, which balances the relation between the refugees and the intended audience in Social-Demokraten, perhaps most evident in the lexical use of “comrades” (Soc-Dem 0303) and “brothers” (Soc-Dem 0703). Yet at the same time it imbalances the relation between the intended audience and the refugees in Stockholms Dagblad, where the interests of the refugees are outweighed by the Baltic nobility’s (StD 2203).

In Svenska Dagbladet the style is significantly more subordinated to genre. Evaluations are more or less restricted to the debate column. The more sensitive employment of style arguably contributes to targeting, if not the entire, so at least parts of the newspaper to a wider audience. Unlike Social-Demokraten references to the right wing press in the recontextualization of events and actors are completely suppressed, while the involvement of the Social Democrats is backgrounded in comparison to Stockholms Dagblad. Overall the national divide between classes in Sweden is unarticulated in Svenska Dagbladet’s representation of the Baltic refugees. As a result the significance of the refugees’ social class, fails to be a scale balancing or imbalancing the relation between refugees and the intended audience. Instead their social status becomes little more than an indication of poverty and needs, which should not be the responsibility of Swedish authorities (SvD 0603).

Ethnicity
Where the class perspective nuances the representation of the Baltic refugees in Stockholms Dagblad and Social-Demokraten (i.e. letting them be something more than just Baltic refugees), the absence of class in Svenska Dagbladet arguably increases the significance of ethnicity in its representation. This does not suggest that ethnicity is irrelevant in the representations of Social-Demokraten and Stockholms Dagblad. On the contrary, Social-Demokraten was evidently not shy about making reference to “Sweden”, “we”, and “us” (Soc-Dem 0703). Only that time the use of such lexical classifications was recontextualized in relation to the historical background of Sweden in 1863. Who then willingly had offered asylum to Polish refugees. Thus, not only is the ethnic difference between
Swedes and the refugees nuanced by a class perspective, the ethnic community between Swedes is also problematized internally in the question of how it should act towards people of different descent (by for instance offering asylum).

The differences in terms of ethnicity do not really outweigh the class perspective in Stockholms Dagblad to a significant extent either. The newspaper clearly dissociates itself, and indirectly its audience, from both the Swedish socialists and their “guests” (StD 0703). Although the Swedish “societal order” (StD 0603) is threatened, that threat seems not to be made out by the Baltic refugees alone, but also by the “… uncritical audience, that our workers in many cases really are” (StD 0603). The societal order seemingly becomes a euphemism of class privileges, which perhaps does not exclude the possibility of being an ethnic community as well, but one where people should know their place.

In the absence of class, or any other relative perspective on ethnic community for that matter, Svenska Dagbladet is short on alternatives in their representation of the Baltic refugees. The nuance that can be found is rather how their ethnic origin is represented in terms of genre. Where the predominant use of “Russian refugees” in news items can be stretched to an occasional “foreign spiritual plight” (SvD 0703), used in the one and only debate column published in March. Ethnic origin thus takes precedence in Svenska Dagbladet, not only in how the refugees are referred to, but also in how they are valued. Unlike Stockholms Dagblad, the dissociation between refugees and audience is not articulated in terms of class, but in terms of ethnicity.

**Gender**

Gender relations are more or less completely suppressed in the entire sample. Where the newspapers differ in terms of class and ethnicity, the absence of gender seems to be the one similarity they actually share in their representation of the Baltic refugees.

**Power, nationalism, and the Swedish press in 1906**

Fairclough describes the configurations of genres, discourses, and styles as *orders of discourse* (2003: 26). These orders can both be seen as *performative*, in that they are realized as social practices such as journalism; and *constitutive*, in that they can re-create, but also transform, social structures and social meanings. The differences between Social-Demokraten, Stockholms Dagblad, and Svenska Dagbladet are quite discernable by the different discursive orders that are employed in the representation of the
Baltic refugees. As has been shown these discursive orders both enable, and disable, certain relations between newspapers, their intended audiences, and the represented Baltic refugees.

Based on the results from the thematic analysis of the representation, the actualized relations have been described in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity. Although the discursive orders employed in the representation, provide certain knowledge about the relationship between newspapers, the intended audiences, and the Baltic refugees, they do not explain alone why these relations were actualized the way they were. To reach a more comprehensive understanding, the knowledge produced about the representation from the analysis, must necessarily be combined with knowledge about the historical context of the representation. Before delving deeper into the differences, the similarities in the representations will be recapitulated and developed.

Initially the combined representation was divided into three shared thematic distinctions: the care, the arrival, and law and order. Apart from being descriptive distinctions of the combined article sample, these themes also recreate a common space that arguably all newspapers and their intended audiences recognize and are familiar with. Meaning that the themes in the representation, are not only actualized by the Baltic refugees, but also by the fact that the refugees arrive in, are cared for, and subject to the law and order of, that same space that newspapers and audiences are familiar with. It would not make sense to use the lexical classifications such as “Sweden” (Soc-Dem 0703), “the societal order” (StD 0603), and “the societal life” (SvD 0703), in the representation of the refugees, if not their presence somehow was related to the land, the order, and the life of Swedes.

What happens here is that the discursive orders employed in the representations contribute to constitute the relation between audience and territory as normative. Put differently, the depicted reality becomes subject to a “‘regime of representation’” (Hall 1997: 259) where audience and territory are made inseparable. Like Billig (1995: 109) writes: “The homeland is made both present and unnoticeable by being presented as the context”. The connection between land and people contributes to orientate the discursive orders employed in the representation within the same ideological perspective. The nation-state form becomes hegemonic.

Yet while the land and people connection orders the representations, the representations become conflicted when the community that makes up the nation is supposed to be imagined. In a combined comparison of the newspapers’ representations, the class and ethnic differences between the intended audiences and the refugees, hinder the formation of a hegemonic Us-and-Them-constellation. Together the newspapers instead offer a variety of Us-and-Them-constellations, where ethnicity and class are valued differently. Similar to Billig’s analysis (1995: 71), different factions are drawn into a struggle.
of who will get to represent the whole of the national community. This not to say that the struggle between the forms of representation concerns whether the refugees are entitled membership in the national community or not; it is the question of what treatment and rights they should be offered by the community that are at conflict, and here notions of class and ethnicity take on different meanings. These differences become particularly clear when comparing how the newspapers perceive how the refugees have actualized a threat against the national community:

The relative limitation of Social Democratic involvement in *Svenska Dagbladet’s* recontextualizations of the care and the arrival of the refugees, together with its more restrictive style, contribute to a clearer ethnic distinction. The newspaper and its intended audience form an “Us”, and the Baltic refugees a “Them”. This distinction arguably subordinates relations between classes and genders, to that of ethnicity (cf. Balibar 1991b). Meaning that class differences between Swedes are not relevant in relation to foreign subjects. *Svenska Dagbladet* thus produces a conception of an ethnically homogenous nation, threatened by “The invasion of foreigners” (*SvD 0703*).

The relationship between newspaper, audience, and the represented refugees is arranged differently in *Social-Demokraten*. The class inspired lexical preferences, together with the clear emphasis on class struggle in the recontextualization of the arrival, creates a surface of identification and solidarity with the Baltic refugees. Furthermore, the explicit modalizations and *Social-Demokraten’s* emphasis on its own position on the asylum right, different from the right wing press, articulate a fear of exception from rule of law. Class solidarity is not suspended on account of ethnical differences, but class or ethnic differences should not suspend the national rule of law either. Meaning that, although the class solidarity could be interpreted as an expression of internationalism, or cosmopolitanism, a lot of *Social-Demokraten’s* argumentation is still anchored in a conception of how *Sweden* should respond to the arrival of the refugees. *Social-Demokraten* thus produces a conception of Swedish national community as threatened by privilege and exception rather than ethnical impurity.

Quite the opposite *Stockholms Dagblad* mobilizes its intended audience against the Baltic refugees and their association with the Swedish Social Democrats. Here both the refugees and the “uncritical masses that our workers really are” (*StD 0603*), together seem to pose a threat to the societal order, the same way it did towards the nobility in the Baltic provinces. Unlike *Svenska Dagbladet*, ethnicity does not take precedence in the distinction between audience, newspaper, and the Baltic refugees, instead it is relativized by class. Thus the meaning of national community produced in *Stockholms Dagblad* is arguably a hierarchical order between classes, which may risk collapsing on account of socialist revolution, Baltic or Swedish not withstanding.
The differences between these interpretations, at least partially, bear resemblance to those forms that Johansson (2000) refers to as ethnic and civic nationalism. Where the former emphasize history, genealogy, and particularism, as the core ingredients of national community; the latter leans towards a more political definition, emphasizing equal rights, citizenship, and universalism (cf. Brubaker 1992). The same way as these forms of nationalism were actualized in the suffrage movement, and made it possible to problematize and redefine class and gender relations between Swedes (Johansson 2000; Eduards 2012); the newspapers’ representations of the Baltic refugees, could be considered as yet another attempt to problematize and transform the relations between Swedes. Especially when it comes to Svenska Dagbladet and Social-Demokraten.

What is important to remember here is that although the liberal Svenska Dagbladet and the socialist Social-Demokraten, stood relatively close to each other in the question of how Swedish democracy should be reformed (Lundström 2001: 51, 65), their representation of the Baltic refugees reveals the limitations of that relationship. Where the class perspective in Social-Demokraten becomes a reason to question inequality, at home and abroad, as well as to express brotherhood with the refugees; the backgrounding of class struggle becomes a reason to emphasize national cohesion in Svenska Dagbladet. Both newspapers arguably present a vision of homogeneity, only, one in terms of classlessness, and the other in terms of ethnicity. Still these distinctions must be considered in relation to each other, and to Stockholms Dagblad for that matter as well. Social-Demokraten does produce ethnic distinctions in their representation as well, but in relation to Svenska Dagbladet they are of minor significance. To sum up, compared to each other Social-Demokraten arguably employs more of a civic nationalist discourse in their representation, and Svenska Dagbladet more of an ethnic discourse.

Stockholms Dagblad deviates from both of these distinctions, since their vision of a Swedish nation more seems to be about preserving the hierarchical order between classes in Sweden. Ethnicity seems to be of minor importance here compared to the threat posed by a socialist revolution. Perhaps the concept of conservatism is key in understanding Stockholms Dagblad’s representation. Unlike Svenska Dagbladet and Social-Demokraten, the newspaper arguably addresses the classes that benefitted from the existing order. Almost like le ancien régime of an absolute monarchy, where peasants and the bourgeoisie had no say in the political affairs of a country (cf. Stenlås 2001).

The point with these comparisons is to emphasize that in spite of their different party affiliations, what really united and divided the representations were different concepts of the Swedish nation. Put differently, all the representations were discursively subordinated to a conception of the Swedish nation. Only the nation, was not fixed, shared, or an objectified part of reality. It was contested,
protected, and persevered by different nationalist discourses. Thus, rather than explaining the differences in the representations by the fact that the press was politicized, they should also be understood in relation to the fact that the nation was politicized and under transformation. Meaning that, even though the borders of the homeland made out a shared and uncontested context, the imagined communities were not one, but several and oppositional.

At the same time all newspapers in that regard seems very successful in excluding gender relations in their representations and in the meanings of national community that these entail. The gender perspective, it seems, does not contribute to nuance and problematize the ethnic homogeneity the same way as the class perspective does. This absence is noteworthy since, together with class, gender relations formed the core in the overall transformation of power relations in Sweden at the time. Still, the patriarchal structures were not as easily politicized as class relations in the political transformations of Swedish society around 1906 (cf. Hirdman 1992; Kyle 1984; Eduards 2012), and a politicized press market did evidently not change that either, at least not necessarily.

Another important remark is that in their attempts at speaking for the nation, the newspapers arguably vary in their success. Going back to Fairclough’s definition of ideology (2003: 9), the “truth” of a representation stand in relation to the extent that it manages to exclude or achieve hegemony in relation to other representations. In the case of Social-Demokraten and Stockholms Dagblad, their attempts at speaking for the nation, are always interrupted by their constant politicizing of events in news and debate columns alike. Their representation thus always becomes relative to their particular audience, even when they attempt to invoke the nation. As a result their symbolic power (cf. Hall 1997) to represent reality is balanced by a clearly articulated sender perspective. Svenska Dagbladet’s representation on the other hand is projected against a more harmonious background where the ethnical difference can thrive and is not interfered with by class struggle. The newspaper does not so clearly claim to speak for a particular group in society, and its representations therefore seems stated without contestation.
Concluding discussion and future research

In the closing chapter of this study the results from the analysis will be discussed in relation to earlier research about the representation of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press. The purpose of this discussion is to reconnect with the intention of problematizing the tension between democratic antagonism and national consensus in the representation of immigrants and refugees. The discussion departs from the words of the Swedish media historian Tom Olsson: “One of the merits of a historical approach … lies in its ability to denaturalize our normative viewpoints. It is especially important to do this in regards to media, as so much energy goes into thinking of media as part of democracy, and more bemoaning its inadequacies for the task” (2002: 75).

To speak of the results from this study as being representative for how immigrants and refugees were represented in the Swedish party press would not be possible. The study neither gives a representative account of all newspapers that were distributed during this period (only Stockholm had eleven different dailies by the turn of the last century (Lundberg 2001: 27)), nor does it cover a particularly representative time span. At the same time the study has arguably produced results that seem to be comparable to earlier research about the Swedish party press (cf. Ekercrantz and Olsson 1994; Hadenius et al. 1968; Hadenius and Weibull 1981). There is no doubt that a lot of the features earlier used to characterize the journalism of the Swedish party press, also characterize the representation of the Baltic refugees. The representation in Stockholms Dagblad and Social-Demokraten particularly seem to have this quality, where as Svenska Dagbladet’s representation more seem to resemble that of later professional journalism.

In a historical comparison with earlier research about the representation of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish press, there are arguably both differences and similarities. Although a substantial comparison could suffer from combining results generated from different studies using different methods, a more general comparison will here at least be attempted. Instead of viewing the distinctions produced in this comparison as finite, they would probably be more useful considered as suggestive points of departure for future research.

press. This development seems to include both national and regional newspapers (Hultén 2006), as well as broadsheet and tabloids (Brune 2004). What is characteristic in this development is how an elite discourse, where alternative voices are marginalized in favor of government and authority sources, becomes a normative standard in the representation of immigrants and refugees. Moreover the lexical term “immigrant” appears to have become an almost mandatory prefix when people from an ethnic minority are depicted in the Swedish press. The audience whom has followed the coverage over the last decades has become familiar with a society where “immigrants”, “immigrant suburbs”, and an “immigrant culture” have taken place among, “us”. “We” seem to, in shortage of a, at least, vibrant class struggle, have become an “ethnic” majority population. Sweden and the Swedish nation seem to have found peace in a conception that to large extent is reproduced without contestation.

The representation of the Baltic refugees in the beginning of the same century also contains attempts at constructing a national community. Yet at the same time the representations pull in different directions and can hardly produce a consensual image of the nation or the refugees. The ideological or objective knowledge (cf. Fairclough 2003: 58; Berglez 2010: 267 ff.) produced in the representation is most often interrupted by the newspapers’ explicit individual agitation. It fails to make itself normative, and instead becomes relative to each newspaper. Even though Svenska Dagbladet seemed to be leading the way towards the coming future of Swedish journalism, Swedish newspaper journalism was not yet professionalized in 1906 (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994). It could not speak in the same objective and institutional manner as it would decades later (ibid.). Most likely because it had “no self-evident place” (Olsson 2002: 73), but rather formed a visible participant in those political efforts that tried to shape and re-shape politics in Swedish society during that time. The nation was not left outside of that agitation.

More research is needed into the representation of immigrants and refugees in the Swedish party press. It is not enough to study one isolated event in a limited number of newspapers to achieve a complete understanding. As Blomqvist (2006) has pointed out, the Swedish labor movement did, for instance, not always act in compassion with their foreign comrades at the turn of the last century. There was also room for what today may have appeared as contradictory responses. Responses that must be further examined and accounted for in order to understand how nationalism worked to reproduce and transform social relations in Swedish society, and the Swedish press during this period.

A lot has happened in Swedish society since 1906. A lot of the inequalities and conflicts characterizing life then have been possible to transform and resolve by democratic means. At the same time a minority of Swedes has been growing in the margins of this nation, who does not seem to have an as evident place within this “we”, and whom instead have had to suffice with a “conditioned
citizenship” (De Los Reyes and Mulinari 2005; SOU 2006: 21; SOU 2006: 37). The Swedish press has also changed during this period (Ekecrantz and Olsson 1994), and along with it, so it seems, the possibilities to seriously challenge and problematize this democratic shortage. When historically it has been necessary to challenge the shape of the Swedish nation (Eduards 2012; Johansson 2000; Löfgren 1993), in order to expand and safeguard democracy, the question is where the preconditions for such a challenge can be found in today’s media landscape.
References


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