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EDITORIAL FRAMING

Critical Discourse Analysis of Swedish Editorials

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I have conducted a critical discourse analysis of four editorial texts, published in the newspapers Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen and Svenska Dagbladet. Drawing on theories about media discourses (Fairclough 1995), agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw 1972) and framing (Goffman 1974), I have examined how the findings of Bolin et al (2016) correlate with discursively framed representations in these texts, in regards to negative, positive or neutral framing of border controls, immigration and the connection made to political parties during the first week of January 2016, when the Swedish temporary border controls were introduced.

The results showed both consistencies and inconsistencies in regards to framing, where the liberal newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Expressen’s editorials were less negative towards the border controls and expressed more negative and stereotypical framings on refugees and migration than expected, whereas the independent social democratic Aftonbladet expressed the assumed negative framing on border controls and the Social Democrats, and positive framing on migration. The most unexpected findings was Svenska Dagbladet that contrary to the previous findings in Bolin et al’s study framed migration positively and took the most explicit stand against the border controls. The findings may indicate a political and cultural change due to the change in directions in the Social Democrats migration politics.
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INTRODUCTION

When the Swedish TV-program Agenda in the election year of 2012 aired a party leader debate and built parts of the debate around the question “How much immigration can Sweden handle”, the formulation immediately received massive criticism for adapting a specific framing of a question used by xenophobic groups. The fact that Agenda asked that question was, claimed many critics, a sign of cultural change in society towards a more racist and small-minded social climate. “It's like asking if someone has stopped hitting their wife” wrote columnist Marcus Priftis in Dagens Arena (2012-10-08), and continued:

It’s a question so xenophobic in its construction that you can’t answer it without at the same time confirming no less than three racist untruths:

1. Immigration is an encumbrance for Sweden.
2. It is possible to decide on a max limit of immigrants for Sweden, in a way similar to the limit of people that can fit into an elevator.
3. We are close to reaching that limit (since it’s a current issue).

Jimmie Åkesson [party leader of the Sweden Democrats] does not even have to take part in the debate to win it under those conditions. Agenda has already decided it for him.

In the week after the program was televised, the radio program Medierna i P1 made a radio piece about the issue on media reporting on migration issues, and they too received criticism about promoting racist agendas. In 2012, this was a very sensitive question, and there were no consensus whether the media reported too much or too little about immigrations issues (Schwarz & Truedsson 2016).
Against that background, the Institute for Media Studies in Sweden released a book in the spring of 2016, with the intention to dig deeper into the questions of journalism and debate about migration and integration in the latest years, consisting of both essays and research studies. One of these studies, called *Immigration on editorial pages in Swedish national daily press 2010-2015*, investigates in a quantitative study on over 1000 editorial texts found in four of Sweden’s biggest newspapers, how much they write about immigration and integration, what political parties are discussed in connection to these topics, and if the texts frame the topic in negative, positive or neutral ways (Schwarz & Truedsson 2016).

A quantitative study has its advantages in terms of producing valid statistics and the possibility to uncover macro connections and patterns over time and across many platforms, and the findings in the above-mentioned study is intriguing in many ways. The limitations of quantitative studies is, however, a lack of deeper understanding as to how e.g. the topic of immigration is framed negatively or positively, or how the connections to the political parties are constructed, not only if. In combining the results of quantitative studies with qualitative, one can reach further knowledge than when only using one. Thus, the modest intention of this thesis is to contribute to the contemporary research on media and migration in Sweden with a small supplementary qualitative study on editorials and their role in mediating between the public and the private, the politics and the people.

One of the suggestions of further studies proposed by Bolin et al mentions investigating how editorial pages reported on and about the changes in Sweden’s migration politics that was introduced during the fall of 2015 (Bolin et al 2016). One of the most exceptional implementations of these politics was the introduction of the temporary border controls towards Denmark and Germany, which was the given topic for editorials all over the press the first week of January 2016. Given the unique nature of that event, regarding politics as well as issues of immigration and the full coverage on the editorial pages, the introduction of the border controls will
serve as the common theme in the samples chosen for analysis in this study.

Drawing on theories about media discourses (Fairclough 1995), agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw 1972) and framing (Goffman 1974), I aim to examine how the findings of Bolin et al (2016) in regards to negative, positive or neutral framing of immigration and the connection made to political parties are constructed and discursively framed in editorials published during that first week of introduction of border controls. This will be done through the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2010).

Based on the 3-dimensional methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis and the questions asked in Bolin et al’s study, the research questions for this thesis are formulated as such:

1. How does the editorial texts frame the subject of border controls in discursive constructions in regards to positivity, negativity or neutrality?

2. How does the texts connect the subject of border controls to political parties, participants, and processes in positive or negative ways?

3. How do the constructions of the issue of border controls in regards to positive/negative framing correlate to the findings of Bolin et al?
CONTEXT

This section will present a brief background of relevant context for understanding the settings surrounding the study’s topic: Editorials as journalistic genre and the introduction of the Swedish border controls.

Editorials

An editorial can in short be described as a piece of frequently reoccurring opinion journalism that express the ideological or political standpoint of the newspaper or tabloid it is published in and are by tradition unsigned, contrary to debate articles or columns that are signed by specific individuals or named groups, in order to enhance the message that this text does not have one author, it is produced by the editorial staff together to present the common opinion of that newspaper.

In recent years though, the trend has turned towards more and more signed editorials (perhaps as a consequence of the ‘click-baiting’ of Internet, as implied by Michael Krona (Journalisten, 2015-02-11), but the authors of those signed texts are still mostly a permanent part of the editorial team and the texts are still meant to express the general opinion of the paper, just as the unsigned ones. This is the biggest difference between editorials and other opinion journalistic pieces that appear in any given newspaper; the editorial writer is free to write what they want - as long as it fits inside the ideological and political framework that signifies the papers point of view (Nord 2001).

There are many variations regarding how newspapers choose to structure their editorial pages in Sweden nowadays, post party press, and what they choose to call them. Some call the unsigned editorials “head editorials” and the signed ones “editorials”, some call the unsigned “editorials” and the signed ones “signed”, and some, like the free news paper Metro, have chosen to remove the
editorials completely and only publish columns. A third variation that many newspapers have, in addition to the unsigned and signed editorial texts, is “editorial blogs” or “editorial columns” (sometimes called op-eds, meaning “opposite the editorial page”), which gives the editorial staff writers and guest writers more freedom to express their own opinions without having to remain as strictly within the ideological framework of the paper.

As an example, Johannes Åman, political editor and editor-in-chief of the Swedish daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter’s editorial board explains what the difference is between the three categories on their editorial pages; editorials, signed, and columns:

The difference between signed and unsigned editorials is primarily that the signed texts provide a form where the author can express an “I”. It also gives more space to emphasize differently than would be possible in an unsigned editorial. So even though the writers are formally part of the editorial staff even when they write under their own names, there is a slightly greater degree of textual freedom in that form.

Columns are not written by editorial writers, but by people who are more or less loosely tied to the editorial staff. They get to decide both the content and conclusions, so these may well differ from the views held by the editorial office. The Swedish columnists are individually contracted and frequently reoccurring. They are selected because they are judged to be interesting and can provide width to the material published on the editorial pages by adding other experiences, tone of voice and opinions.

But a liberal editorial office does not in practice contract writers with completely different views on fundamental issues of democracy, human rights and market economy. So there is still some values-based connection between the editorial board and the columnists published on the editorial pages (Johannes Åman, mail conversation 2016-08-04).

In the material chosen for analysis in this thesis there are unsigned as well as signed editorial articles, but no editorial columns or other op-ed texts. This choice would imply a slight difference in regards to tone between the unsigned and signed texts, but since the
focus of the analysis is not on identities but rather on discursive framing, this should not impose a problem.

**The Border Controls**
The 12th of November 2015, the government of Sweden introduced temporary border controls on cars, busses, ferries and trains that entered Sweden from Germany or Denmark. The control were to be carried out by Swedish police at the Öresund Bridge Toll station, the train station in Hyllie, and at all the ferry terminals. The reason for this action was, according to the press release published on regeringen.se:

> More people then ever before are now coming to Sweden to seek refuge. The migration brings possibilities for Sweden, but also great challenges. The government’s overall assessment is that it is necessary to reintroduce [temporary] internal border controls since the current situation poses acute challenges for important functions in society (regeringen.se 2015-11-12).

Not even two months later, at the 4th of January, Sweden also introduced the so-called carrier’s liability for every company that by bus, train or ship transports people from Denmark to Sweden. The carrier’s liability means that it is the transporters responsibility to ensure that all travelers seeking to enter Sweden carry a valid passport, driver’s license or ID card that meets the Swedish police’s demands. If anyone without a valid ID is found on the bus/train/boat to Sweden, the transportation company must pay a fine of 50 000 Swedish crowns per person.

This carriers liability rule had as a direct consequence that DSB and Skånetrafiken introduced ID check points for all passengers traveling towards Sweden at the train station at Copenhagen Airport in Kastrup, Denmark, while HH Ferries put up similar ID

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1 Own translation, original in Swedish.
check points in Helsingør for all passengers on their way to Helsingborg by ferry. The ferry between Bornholm and Ystad and the shuttle bus companies operating that route has been forced to introduce ID checks (Øresundsinstituttet, 2016).

That same day, Denmark introduced ID-controls on the border to Germany, as an immediate response to the Swedish decision, but also the earlier Norwegian and Finish implementations of ID-checks and transportation liability (press meeting 2016-01-04).

On June 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2016, the Swedish government decided to extend the internal border controls until November 11 2016 (regeringen.se 2016-06-02).
THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW OF EXISTING RESEARCH

Background Study: Niklas Bolin, Jonas Hinnfors och Jesper Strömbäck (2016)

This recent study with the title *Invandring på ledarsidorna i svensk nationell dagspress 2010–2015 (Migration on editorial pages in the Swedish daily press 2010-2015)*, which will act as the immediate background and comparative tool for my findings, is part of an analogy on the topic of migration in the media generally, called *Migratonen i medierna – men det får en väl inte prata om? (Migration in the media – but we’re not allowed to talk about that, are we?)* (Schwarz & Truedson 2016), published by the Institute for Media Studies in Sweden.

The study aims to investigate how the editorial pages in four of Sweden’s biggest daily papers have written about migration and integration in the latest years. They ask three main questions: 1. In what extent do they write about migration and integration? 2. What political parties are discussed in connection to migration and integration? 3. How do they frame the topic – positively, negatively or neutrally?

The four newspapers they have chosen for their study are Aftonbladet (unbound social democratic), Dagens Nyheter (independent liberal), Expressen (unbound liberal) and Svenska Dagbladet (unbound moderate), and the editorial texts range from 2010 to 2015. The selections include both morning and evening papers, and represent different ideological and political alignments. They have included both unsigned and signed editorials in the analysis, and the empirical material consists of over 1000 texts. The texts were then systematically coded in regards to framing and connection to political parties.
The first question is based on previous research regarding connections between the occurrence of media texts on migration and people's attitudes towards it (Boomgarden & Vliegenthart 2007, 2009; Kokkonen 2013) as well as the theory about medias agenda-setting function and influence regarding what topics the citizens find important (McCombs 2014; Strömbäck 2014). The result showed differences between the papers in regards to how many editorial texts about migration and integration had been published during the five years, where Dagens Nyheter has published the most (34%), twice as many as Aftonbladet (17%) and the other two papers lie in between (SvD 23%, Expressen 27%). An especially interesting trend though is that SvD increases their amount of editorials on the subject with more than double during 2014 and 2015, and had by then become the newspaper that wrote the most about it, and accounted for more than a third of all editorials in the sample papers about immigration and integration during those years.

The second question leans towards the theory of framing, that emphasizes that media content should be seen as reflections of reality in the way they frame and construct agents, issues and processes (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010; Entman 1993). In addition, there are recent studies that show that the framing of media influences the citizens’ view on immigration (Schemer 2012; Schlueter & Davidov 2013). In this part of the study, the analyze focuses on how migration and integration is connected to the various political parties in Sweden. The result shows that there is no clear connection to any party in 71% of the articles, while there is a connection made to the Sweden Democrats in 15%, the right bloc in 10%, and the left bloc in 5%. Again, Svenska Dagbladet is the newspaper that stands out, in that it connects the questions more to the right bloc (15%) than to the Sweden Democrats (4%).

As for the third question, also drawing on the theory of framing, it takes on the issue of positive, negative or neutral framing of migration and integration. The background for this question is accusations made against the media that it applies a way to positive or way to negative (depending on the accusers opinions on the topic
of course) framing to issues of immigration. The result shows that most of the texts were neutral, 79%, while 17% were negative and merely 3% were positive. Noticeable is that the amount of negative articles in Expressen increased by 50% in 2015, and by 42% in Svenska Dagbladet. Dagens Nyheter however decreased their amount of negative editorial text that same year. Also worth noting is that 30% of Svenska Dagbladets editorials framed migration and integration in a negative way, while the corresponding figure for Aftonbladet was 3%. The main findings can be summarized as most editorials use a neutral framing, but that the negative framings clearly dominate over the positive, and that the negative has increased during the last year.

The conclusions drawn in this study are that migration and integration issues have increased in importance, especially in regards to asylum seekers, and that the editorial pages has a central role in the general debate. There is nothing that support the notion that the media does not cover issues on the topic of migration - on the contrary, the topics have always been highly present and has also been given more space over time - nor is there anything that implies that the media would promote a positively biased picture of migration issues, rather the opposite. There is also a great variation in regards to how much and in what way the different papers highlight the topic, and a clear connection in regards to their political and ideological standpoints, that follows a left-right line rather than a liberal-conservative one. SvD has gone from being the newspaper that writes the least editorials on the topic to becoming the one that writes the most, and is also the paper that writes most negatively about it, followed by Expressen. Another pattern is that the Sweden Democrats has been the political party that has dominated the textual connection, but it’s a pattern that is broken in 2015 when the right bloc is the most connected.

Using this study as background, the interest for my analysis lies in the lack of knowledge the findings produce in regards to how the connections between the framing and the political parties are articulated; does a negative article about immigration connect the polit-
ical parties to the problem, or to the solution? Do they reproduce or transform power relations in regards to migration politics? In comparing the result of my study with these findings, I hope to unravel the order of discourse and cultural and political changes in power relation struggles of the social structure.

**Theoretical framework**
The main framework chosen for this thesis consists of Norman Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (CDA henceforth), as it is a transdisciplinary form of analysis that offers a useful combined structure for both theory and method, with a supplementary focus on the specifics of media communication. The theoretical aspects and key concepts of CDA will be presented in this section along with the theories of media discourse, agenda-setting and framing. The methodological aspects of CDA will be further explained together with the review on empirical data in the method section.

**A social constructionist research approach**
Social constructivism or social constructionism (used here as synonyms with support from Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:11) belongs under the research paradigm umbrella of interpretivism, putting emphasis on the positivism-critical standpoint that truth, reality, and knowledge are at the same time depending on and created by as well as shaping the social practices that give objects meaning. “All things depend upon humans to create meaning about them” (Collins 2010:40). The way constructionism perceives culture, as a “lens through which we view phenomena” (ibid), recognizes that the specific culture any communication is produced and consumed in affects the possible interpretations one can draw from it about the societal, or the possible consequences the text could have in regards to cultural change (Collins 2010).

Winther Jørgensen & Phillips (1999) as well as Joye (2009) put forward the social constructionist research approach as the only really applicable research paradigm for discourse analysis, and refers it not only to Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (1992, 1995) but also Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory (1985) and
Potter and Wetherell’s discourse psychology (1987), emphasizing that the common premise for these three is a view of language as biased by default, and that language alone can not be used to analyze discourse:

Discourse theorists within this school thus consider language to be both constitutive of the social world as well as constituted by other social practices (Phillips 2006). This implies that discourse should not be reduced to language alone. Henceforth, social constructionist approaches require that discourse should be empirically analysed within its social context (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002); text analysis alone is not sufficient (Joye 2009:49).

According to Fairclough, performing a CDA also needs a critical realist stance, meaning a recognition of and/or claim that there is a ‘real world’, a natural world, that exists regardless of whether we understand it or not. The social world however, included in the natural world as it may be, is socially constructed and dependent on social and human actions to exist. The tension between the natural and the social world and the non-discursive and the discursive, lies within the constructing effects of discourse: the representations of the natural world that is being constructed in the social world can affect aspects of the natural world and transform it. This makes critical discourse analysis, in Fairclough’s own words, “a ‘moderate’ or ‘contingent’ form of social constructivism” (Fairclough 2010:5).

Theory of critical discourse
The theory of critical discourse that Fairclough operates with aims to combine the insights of social theory with linguistic theory to make them analytically operational by constructing a useful and dialectic theoretical and methodological model for research on language use as social practice (Fairclough 1995, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 1999).

It is important to note that CDA makes no claim of being without a political agenda (as e.g. objectivist research claim to be) - there is
a clear ideological purpose behind it: to reveal and survey unequal power relations in order to contribute to social change towards more equality in communication as well as in society at large. The ‘critical’ part of the theory thus refers to Marxist theorists such as Bourdieu, Althusser and Gramsci, and points to the recognition that we, as people, are mostly not aware of the connection between language and power, yet language is a vital part of the exercise, upholding, and possible alteration of power relations, which CDA aims to uncover (Fairclough 1995, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 1999).

All social practices, be it a consultation between a doctor and a patient (one of Fairclough’s most commonly used examples) or - as in this thesis’ case - editorials in newspapers, are structured by a large set of commonly accepted assumptions about relationships, identities, rights and knowledge, that shape what possibilities in language use are available for understandable communication, i.e. the hegemony. These assumptions are in turn based on already existing power relations between groups, thus the social practice of communication help to sustain or transform these power relationships in the way they conform to – or not - the often invisible or ignored structures of ideological assumptions (Fairclough 1995, 2010).

Thus, the theory on discourse that Fairclough brings forward is two-sided and considers discourse as being both constitutive and constituted of the social, and by analyzing language use as a form of social practice, we can make visible the power relations that surround the discourse (Fairclough 1995). Critical Discourse Analysis is thus actually not an analysis of discourses at all, but rather an analysis of the dialectic relationship between discourse and other elements, and also an analysis of what Fairclough calls the “internal relations” of discourse, the interdiscursivity (Fairclough 2010).

**Key concepts and structure of CDA**
The main concept of CDA is, of course, ‘discourse’. Fairclough uses the term in two ways; to describe language use as a social prac-
tice as mentioned above, which aim to explain the constituting and constitutive aspect, but also to describe language as particular way of constructing a particular social practice that can be differenti-at- ed from other discourses, such as a liberal discourse, a consumer discourse, and so on.

To properly perform a CDA and to analyze any discourse, Fairclough argues that one must alternate focus between two complementary perspectives; the particular communicative event and the general order of discourse. Both these concepts then contain other key concepts that must be considered in various degrees in order to research the relations between them (Fairclough 1995). For the sake of lucidity and brevity, in spite of the complex net of concepts Fairclough brings to the table, I will present the most important ones below in an index-like order.

1. Communicative events – “the particular”, specific cases of language use, e.g. news articles, music videos, conversations, or as in this study, editorials. When performing a CDA on a communicative event, it is a matter of researching the relationship between three dimensions; text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice (Fairclough 1995):

   a. Text – traditional forms of linguistic analysis, e.g. grammar, vocabulary, semantics, ethos, but also textual organization and connections between sentences. In short, analysis of both form and meaning. Fairclough sees texts as multifunctional, with three main categories of function that are at the same time constitutive and constituted and of which I will focus on the first (Fairclough 1995):

      i. Representations – how social practice are represented and retextualized.
ii. **Relations** – constructions of relation between writer and reader.

iii. **Identities** – constructions of identities of writer and reader, e.g. status, role, personality aspects.

b. **Discourse practice** – the processes of text production and consumption, i.e. editorial procedures or television watching. This dimension is mediating between the text and the sociocultural practice, in the sense that sociocultural practice forms the texts in an indirect way, by shaping the discursive practice in which the text is produced, which in turn reproduces or transforms the order of discourse. Fairclough talks about three main processes possible to analyze here, where the first and the second one if of main interest in this thesis (Fairclough 1995):

i. **Discourse processes** – textual transformations through the process of production and consumption.

ii. **Institutional processes** – editorial procedures, media economics, television watching, etc.

iii. **Interpretative processes** – how people interpret the text, psychological or cognitivist approach.

c. **Sociocultural practice** – the wider social and cultural context that shapes discourse practices in essential ways, and at the same time is shaped by them. Sociocultural practice contains elements of both discursive and non-discursive sorts, e.g. power
relations such as those based on class, gender, race, etc (Fairclough 1995, Kolankiewicz 2012). Fairclough highlights three especially important aspects to pay attention to in this dimension, of which this study will be mainly concerned by the second:

i. **Economic** – commercialization and market issues.

ii. **Political** – power and ideology issues.

iii. **Cultural** – value and identity issues.

2. **Order of discourse** – “the general”, a structure or system that consists of all the discourses and genres available within a social institution or domain, e.g. the media, and thus sets the ‘rules’ for what can be said and in what way, or in other words, “domains of hegemonic struggle within institutions […] as well as within the wider social formation” (Fairclough 2010:28) The communicative event should be seen as a part of the order of discourse, and as a social practice that shapes the order of discourse by either reproducing or questioning it (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000). Theoretically, the order of discourse could consist of endless combinations of discourses and genres, but is limited by hegemonic relations and conflicts in both the specific domain and the general (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000, Kolankiewicz 2012).

a. **Discourse** – use of language - spoken, written, images, non-verbal communication (gestures, body language) – that represents social practice from a particular point of view (e.g. academic, nationalist, feminist, liberal, and so on) (Fairclough 1995).

b. **Genre** – use of language associated with and constituting part of some particular social practice struc-
ture, e.g. an interview genre, an entertainment genre, or a news genre (Fairclough 1995, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000).

c. Hegemony – drawing on a Gramscian definition of hegemony, Fairclough sees hegemony as power and dominance where domination is achieved through consent instead of coercion. Through this concept, discursive practice can be perceived as an aspect of hegemonic struggle that reproduces or transforms the order of discourse it is a part of and thus also the existing power relations connected to it (Fairclough 2010, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000).

d. Interdiscursivity – a form of intertextuality, a concept that represents the condition that all communicative events must build upon other events, one can never avoid it. Thus, interdiscursivity describes the articulation of different discourses used in a communicative event. By looking at a text's intertextuality i.e. the genres and discourses that are articulated in it, especially regarding the manifest intertextual transformation from source text to target text, one can unravel hegemonic aspects of the discourse practice (Fairclough 1995, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000).

The main question for the CDA then is how the communicative event and the order of discourse overlap – if the communicative event draws on the order of discourse in a normative or creative way, and what effects that could imply on the order of discourse, that is, whether it helps reproducing restrictions, power relations and social structures, or if they reorganize them (Fairclough 1995).

Social Theory of Media Discourse
Mass communication through media differs from other communication in a number of ways, and thus Fairclough provides a specific
theory of media discourse to understand and explain the mediated representations of the world through CDA. Media texts act as a sort of barometers of cultural change, where the media must be considered to play a significant role in both reflecting, diffusing, and stimulating change in social structures (Fairclough 1995).

One of the most distinctive traits of media discourse is, argues Fairclough, the mediating function between the official and the private. Mass media is performing an act of translation of official sources into colloquial discourse, in a field where the discursive practice is immensely afflicted by capitalism, commercialism and competitive economic conditions. Media discourses can influence the private domains discourse practices in terms of distributing topics for conversations between people, and depending on a media text’s use of discourse in reporting on e.g. political decisions, academic studies or law regulations, they can help legitimate official sources and political positions with their audience. The concept of legitimation is one of importance for this thesis, since the topic of the texts is a specific political decision (Fairclough 1995).

**Theory of Agenda-setting**

The theory of Agenda-setting was introduced by McCombs & Shaw (1972) in their paper *The Agenda-setting Function of Mass Media*, where they aim to investigate the hypothesis of media influence on what the audience finds important, rather than how the media influence the opinions of said topics, neatly formulated by Cohen as “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (McCombs & Shaw 1972:177). To examine this hypothesis, they performed an interview study where they let the respondents answer questions regarding what questions they found most important in the upcoming election. The answers were then compared to the media content during the same period, which showed strong correlation between topics in media and what topics the respondents found important.

In short, the data suggest a very strong relationship between
the emphasis placed on different campaign issues by the media (reflecting to a considerable degree the emphasis of the candidates) and the judgments of the voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics (McCombs & Shaw 1972:181).

The theory of the media agenda-setting function has become central in modern media research, as it had developed as a reaction to the unsatisfactory results of research on media's effect on attitudes (Nilsson in Nord & Strömbäck 2004). The theory of agenda-setting has of course its own flaws, and when connecting it to CDA the questions of dialectic relations, production processes and the mediating effects between public and private are perhaps the most immediate; the politicians have their agenda to set, the media chooses which of these they report about in a social practice where they must consider both the public good of the reports but also the commercial value of the topic to attract the audience, who might or might not be interested in some questions but more of others, which then would presumably influence the continuance of media text of those topics, and then in turn influence what questions the politicians choose to highlight. But, states McCombs & Shaw drawing on Bernard C. Cohen, the people who actively search for and read about topics they are genuinely interested in are quite a small portion of the overall audience – most just acquire news and topics without much effort, through media exposure (McCombs & Shaw 1972). The agenda-setting theory of media should thus be carefully viewed in relation to the discourse and social practices regarding both what topics are being mediated, but also of what topics are left out and, most importantly for this thesis, how they are being framed.

Theory of Framing

The second level of agenda-setting theory is the theory of framing. The concept of framing derives from Ervin Goffman's book Frame Analysis (1974), and has since become one of the most used theories in mass communication studies (D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010). The concept describes both how the media constructs different as-
pects of reality and places them in a context that is familiar (i.e. intertextuality), and adapts them to “latent structures of meaning” (i.e. the order of discourse), and the process in which the audiences’ frames of reference and understanding are affected by the versions of reality presented to them by the media, the ways people construct their opinions, and the way they discuss the world. As an example, the anti-abortion movement frames their agenda on the medical procedure of an abortion as “pro life”, while the movement for abortion right frames their agenda as “pro choice”. Framing effects can be found in words, but also in perspectives, choice of facts presented, and connections between events, issues and agents (Bolin et al 2016).

Some frames become especially connected to certain new events or topics or issues (D’Angelo & Kuypers use “war on terror” as an example), which then works as primers for further language and becomes “truths”. The theory of priming is not of specific relevance for this thesis though, and the concept of primers will thus only be mentioned circumferentially.

**Editorials as research subject**

To further understand the specific genre of editorials in the field of media research, I will make present of a selection of previous studies and findings that are relevant for the analysis in this thesis. Note that the Swedish research presented below should not only been considered as related previous research, but may also be perceived as a review of changing media discourse practices and political development chains that will function as background for the production and consumption processes in play during the analysis.

**Van Dijk (1995)**

The previous international research on the specific genre of contemporary editorials has not been as extensive as one could perhaps expect. Back in 1995, van Dijk notes the lack of research attention given to editorials as communication genre in his study *Opinions and Arguments in Editorials* when he, almost surprised, states that
Given the prominent function of editorials in the expression and construction of public opinion, one would expect a vast scholarly literature on them. Nothing is less true: There are virtually no book-length studies, and rather few substantial articles, on the structures, strategies and social functions of editorials. They are taken for granted as so many of the ordinary types of text and talk in society and culture (van Dijk 1995:1).

In lack of established theories on editorials to draw on, van Dijk aims in his paper to contribute to the understanding of one specific feature of editorials, namely the formulation of opinions and the expression of ideologies in editorial texts, explicitly “the discursive properties of the manifestation of evaluative beliefs of newspaper editors” (ibid).

van Dijk’s view on editorials is that they play a role in the formation and change of public opinion both as agenda-setting and in the way they “influence social debate, decision making and other forms of social and political action”, much as Fairclough’s theory of media discourse does. Especially the role of the editorial writers are being emphasized by van Dijk, as editorials are produced by writers who are not only professional, but also always members of other social groups, e.g. in regards to gender, race, political views etc, and thus their expressed opinions in editorials must be seen not only as a parts of the newspapers discursive and social practice but also as a reproduction of institutional and intergroup interaction.

This is not surprising when considering van Dijk’s extensive work on racism in media communication, and even as van Dijk works with another model for discourse analysis than will be used in this thesis, I find the recognition of the writers social positions a useful addition to the already presented theoretical framework since there is little focus on social positions of the writers in Faircloughs CDA.

Le (2010)
A more recent addition to the international research on editorials of interest for this thesis is found in Editorials and the Power of
Media: Interweaving of Socio-cultural Identities by Elisabeth Le, which investigates political roles played by media through their editorials. This is done by “looking at media socio-cultural identities through the analysis of editorials’ genre from the perspective of (linguistic) discourse analysis and political communication” (Le 2010:1). Le argues that the theory of agenda-setting, priming and framing has been mostly applied to news reports at large, which include editorials, but that editorials deserve to be studied as their own specific genre, since they are the “most obvious, most overt manifestations” of said theories.

Le studies editorials in the news paper Le Monde during the period of 1999-2001, and through methodological discursive communication identity framework, reaches the conclusion that the editorials in Le Monde functions as argumentative acts of speech where they first state how something is, then expresses negative evaluation, and lastly provides a directive. They are mainly addressed to national and international political actors, and have a persuasive effect in two ways; by openly providing directives of actions to institutions of power, and covertly by the agenda-setting affect of the media on the audience. Editorials that regard issues far away from France tend to be more negative and have fewer directives.

Le Monde’s editorials manifest the newspaper’s individual identity as a committed member of French society. In this regard, editorials embody and transmit the newspaper’s personal interpretation of French cultural values (“Liberté, égalité, fraternité”), of their general significance, and of their practical applications in specific cases. In addressing institutional actors on the international, European and French political stages, Le Monde’s editorials purport to show the world’s, European, and French powerful the newspaper’s own interpretation of what “French” means in practice. The editorials’ persuasive strength partly stems from an “invisible” pressure upon the addressees that is produced by a complex but smooth and powerful interweaving of individual and collective identities at different levels of the argumentation (Le 2010:186).
These findings adds an interesting point to the production-consumption aspect of the discursive and social practice; even if the texts are seemingly aimed at politicians or political parties, they are leaning on the agenda-setting effect of the public to afflict pressure on the political level. It will be used as backdrop to examine tendencies towards differences in negative framing and political directives in my material, and to connect the ideological and political standpoints of the newspapers to the discourses of identity and value they use to build their texts.


The interest in editorials as research subject, especially in a Swedish context, has not been very big either; the merely nine lines long paragraph ‘previous research’ on editorials in Lars Nord’s dissertation *Vår tids ledare (Leaders of our time)* from 2000, seems symptomatic in it’s briefness and lack of sources. But the absence of previous research in this area emphasizes at the same time the academic importance of more research, argues Nord.

Even though Nord’s study *Vår tids ledare (Leaders of our time)* is 16 years old at the time of writing, it is still the most referred to research on editorials and their social and political implications that has been carried out in Sweden so far. The study aims to discuss the role of editorials and their political opinion making in a time where the political party press has been abandoned in favor for independent press. To do so, the study consists of quantitative analysis in three parallel parts; the production conditions, analysis of the content in the editorials, and the role editorials play in (local) democracy (Nord, 2000).

For the first part, the production conditions, Nord has conducted a survey among Swedish editorial writers, asking them about their working conditions. 82 editorial writers responded, answering questions that would help the researchers “gain greater understanding of the distinguishing characteristics of contemporary edi-
torial writers and discover their perceptions of tasks and production conditions” (Nord 2000:238).

For the second part, the content analysis, Nord has taken a quantitative approach towards the text material rather than a qualitative. A quantitative and systematic tactic used on the content would presumably enable the same results to be found regardless of whom conducts the analysis, argues Nord. With this approach, Nord has been able to collect a much bigger number of editorials to analyze than would have been possible with a qualitative method, ending in 552 in all. The editorial texts have then been categorized by a system of different codes, depending on how much party loyalty the individual editorials demonstrated.

For the third part, the role editorials play in democracy, the research perspective was focused on the dynamics and tensions between the editorials and the audience. Another survey was conducted, this time aimed at citizens (3700 respondents), journalists (300 respondents) and politicians (900 respondents).

The result of the study implies, according to Nord, that the editorial pages has developed far away from the earlier party press, and that party loyalty is now less commonly occurring as well as not highly favored by either the editorial writers or their sub-audiences. The editorial pages are going through a sort of post-part press identity crisis, from which it may never recover, suggests Nord.

**Nord & Stúr (2009)**

In a later study, *Tyckandets tid (Time of opinions)* (2009) Nord and Elisabeth Stúr state that “the identity crisis of the editorial pages is probably a contributing factor to the increased investment in more independent and less ideologically grounded comments in the daily press, on opinion pages as well as on news pages” (Nord & Stúr 2009:10).

The study aims to describe the political commentary as a journalistic genre in the Swedish election movement and discuss the driv-
ing forces behind them, plus the consequences of the now stronger position of the commentaries in the Swedish media system. This has been done through a content analysis of media materials from the election years of 1998, 2002 and 2006. The study combines a quantitative analysis of all material with a qualitative analysis of commentaries regarding political debates and questionings of party leaders in television.

The conclusions drawn from the study implies that the commentaries now has developed in a more interpretative way, and that the main narrative is one inspired by gaming; especially in the sense that the politicians are portrayed as winners and losers. This label tends to follows the politicians throughout the rest of the election period which support agenda-setting, framing and priming theories.

**Viktor Almqvist and Siri Steijer (2013)**

This study, named *Vår tids ledare 1993 och 2013 – en uppföljning av Lars Nords studie av svenska ledarsidor (Leaders of our time 1993 and 2013 – a sequel to Lars Nords study of Swedish editorial pages)* is a Bachelor Thesis in Journalism studies, conducted at Södertörn University in 2013. The thesis aims to follow up on the findings in Nords first study by repeating parts of it and comparing them to their own results, and focuses on questions about the characteristics of editorial writers, the production conditions, and the relations to political parties. It also examines how editorials deal with national and international topics, plus the occurrence of unsigned texts, signed texts, and signed texts in combination with a byline picture.

Through a survey similar to the ones North conducted, as well as two different analyzes of leadership texts, the study investigates what has happened on the editorial pages since 1993. The results showed that there are some obvious changes. The ties to the political parties have decreased, likely because there are a significantly lower proportion of newspapers today that are owned by the par-
ties. In addition, significantly fewer editorial writers engaged in political parties.

Editorial writers in 2013 value current news related topics more than in 1993, and have a greater individual freedom to choose topics according to their own interests. There is a much higher amount of signed editorials and editorials with byline pictures, and the authors refer to themselves as individuals to a greater extent. The study concludes that even if editorial texts in their form have approached the genre of columns, the strong political profile is still the main characteristics for editorial pages that set it apart from columns.

These three studies show the development of the form and status of newspaper editorials over the last two decades and provide a useful background regarding the transformation of the production- and consumption processes in the post-party press era. I will use these findings mainly to compare the political framings of my material to the timeline of changing conditions in political alignment of the press.
METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Data selection
In order to compare the results of this analysis with the study made by Bolin et al, I have chosen to use editorials from the same newspapers that they examined, namely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Press category</th>
<th>Location and year of foundation</th>
<th>Reach(^1)/day including print and digital</th>
<th>Political and/or ideological view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aftonbladet</td>
<td>Evening newspaper</td>
<td>Stockholm, 1830</td>
<td>3,487,000</td>
<td>Unbound Social Democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagens Nyheter</td>
<td>Morning newspaper</td>
<td>Stockholm, 1864</td>
<td>1,088,000</td>
<td>Independent Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressen</td>
<td>Evening newspaper</td>
<td>Stockholm, 1944</td>
<td>2,422,000</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svenska Dagbladet</td>
<td>Morning newspaper</td>
<td>Stockholm, 1884</td>
<td>801,000</td>
<td>Unbound Moderate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection provides two main advantages except for the comparison aspects:

Political/Ideological aspects. One of my research questions regards the difference in discursive framing towards political parties as well as migration in accordance to ideological and polit-

\(^1\) All numbers found through Orvestos räckviddsraport 2016.
ical standpoints of the newspaper the text is published in. According to the results in the study of Bolin et al (2016), Svenska Dagbladet shows the most critical attitude towards migration and refugees, where Aftonbladet has a much less critical approach, and the liberal papers lie in between. There are also differences in regards to what political parties they connect the question with that must be seen as a result of the ideological standpoint and political alignment of the papers.

**Discursive practice aspects.** The selected newspapers needed to be somewhat similar to each other in regards to pressing and amount of readers, since the critical discourse analysis would risk too great inconsistency if the discursive practices of production and consumption differed too much between the samples. A small socialist newspaper would probably not expect to be read by many who do not share their political view, where the bigger newspapers must expect to be widely shared on social media and read by audiences with many ideological views. Aftonbladet is the biggest newspaper in Sweden with its almost 3,5 million readers every day, followed by Expressen at 2,4 and Dagens Nyheter with a little over 1. The free daily paper Metro lies on the same level as Dagens Nyheter but is naturally excluded due to their decision to not have editorial pages at all. Svenska Dagbladet is in place five. Thus, the chosen samples are gathered from the four most read editorial pages in Sweden.

However, the selection also imposes a problem in regards to geography and the media logic of distance. The subject of the border controls is very specifically located in the south of Sweden, which could cause the subject to be less written about or treated in a different and more distant way in Stockholm-based papers, as they all are, than in Malmö-based. Thus, I considered to add Sydsvenskan as an additional sample, but finally decided not to, as it has significant lower reach, would be the only one with local aim, and would add yet another liberal standpoint. A study on geographical differences in reports should rather be carried out with a more suitable
collection of samples, e.g. local papers in Malmö, Gothenburg, and Stockholm.

**Data samples**

Another issue to consider was the one regarding the amount of texts to analyze, and the period of time to choose from. Initially, I wanted to include a higher amount of editorials, gathered from November – when the decision to introduce the border controls was made official by the government, January – at the time of the introduction, and April – during the discussions on the potential continuance of the temporary controls. When reading through that material though, the inconsistencies regarding intertextuality due to the lack of a specific extraordinary event to base the analysis on made the larger selection a less suitable choice for a thorough qualitative discourse analysis.

Thus, the text material analyzed in this thesis consists of only 4 editorial articles, one from each newspaper; all published on the 5th of January 2016, the day after the introduction of the border controls in Kastrup, Copenhagen. Of the selected material, 2 were signed and 2 unsigned. Of the two signed, one was a man and one a woman.

**Data collection**

The articles where found partly via the media archive Retriever Research, and partly through regular search engines online, since the media archive turned out to have it’s flaws both regarding not actually containing all of the articles that had been published online, but there were also some inconsistencies in regards to the headings and texts found in the Retriever data base and the same articles found online, probably due to later changes from the printed to the online version. This was done during the phase were the expected material would consist of many more text sample; the four finally chosen editorials did not have any discrepancies in regards to data base text and online text. In the Retriever database I have used the search words “gränskontroll” (border control) and “ID kontroll” (ID control).
Methodological use of CDA

As stated in the theory section, a critical discourse analysis aims to analyze the intersection of the order of discourse and the communicative event, which in turn consists of text, discourse practice and social practice. All three dimensions of the communicative event should, according to Fairclough, be considered while performing a critical discourse analysis, to ensure that the multiple interpretations of the text are kept related to the conditions of the discursive practice, and in order to uncover possible consequences and/or effects the communication could have on the established order of discourse.

Opinion journalism mediates official sources into very obvious colloquial discourse and by doing so not only sets the agenda for what topics should be discussed, often based on what other news are picked up in their paper, but might also help legitimize official or political issues, decisions or changes in power relations that gets reproduced through textual constructions of discourses. These discourses can be revealed through a CDA, but in order to see at which extent the above-mentioned legitimatizations actually have an effect on the readers’ opinions or attitudes towards the official sources, one must perform a study on audiences and consumption effects rather than a discourse analysis. However, Fairclough points out that the researchers perspective when conducting a CDA puts emphasis on different parts of the dimensions; therefore, Fairclough argues that it is not necessary to be equally concerned with all three aspects when analyzing discourse, since a discourse analysis is not a sociologist or cultural analyze (Fairclough 1995).

Discursive practice

The dimension of discourse practice investigate what discourses lie behind the production of the text and what intertextual chains it builds upon, that is, what discursive surroundings made it possible for this text to be produced in this way and how it can be understood in regards to the overall order of discourse in terms of reproducing or renegotiating power relations. This dimension also require a deeper look into under what practical circumstances the
text has been produced, it’s purpose, genre, and available information and material to base the communication upon (Winther-Jørgensen & Phillips 2000). Winther Jørgensen & Phillips notes however that Fairclough often avoids engaging in the production-and consumption part of the discourse practice and instead focuses on revealing the linguistic intertextuality. In this thesis, I intend to do both, since I have the findings of previous research at hand, which can provide insight to e.g. the ideological policies that sets up limits for the editorials production conditions and thus better understand the dimension of text and how it is constructed. But I will also look at the intertextuality and interdiscoursivity, since what other texts and discourses are used to construct a text can imply the creativity or normativity in regards to the order of discourse.

Text
When analyzing text in a CDA, one focuses on specific characteristics of the text, e.g. grammar, ethos, transitivity, modality. There are many ways to approach the written or spoken material, and equally many different methods for text analysis. In this part of the analysis, I will focus on representations of the border controls, migration/migrants, and political parties and use the concept of framing to analyze how the representations are linguistically framed: how the texts choice of phrasing connects the representations to negatively or positively connoted words (Fairclough 1995).

Social practice
The third dimension, the analysis of the text as a sociocultural practice, most often requires supplementing theories and/or data. This is where we examine if the text reproduces or renegotiates the order of discourse, if it draws upon it creatively or normatively (Fairclough 1995). In this thesis case, the fact that Nord (2000) and Bolin et al (2016) has engaged in combined qualitative and quantitative methods in their studies of editorials provides very useful statistics that qualitative studies such as this can compare their findings against. By doing so, it is possible to decide if the communicative event constructs their communication in ways that
can be considered normative or creative, and by that understand if the text is reproducing or transforming the media order of discourse, i.e. they offer the social practice map of the media order of discourse in the light of which my material can be examined.

The order of discourse, as mentioned earlier, refers to both the specific order of discourse available in different fields, as well as the general order in society. That means, for example, that an editorial produced in a liberal newspaper, that expresses opinions that are in line with the liberal ideology, but opposed the social democratic government, both acts normatively and creatively, in the way it reproduces a liberal stance, but challenges the current political power structure. However, the social constructivist approach does not care about what political party sits in the government, it is concerned with inequality and discriminatory power relations between groups. So the main questions to ask here are about whose interests are being protected and if the texts contribute to a more equal social structure, or if it reproduces the unequal ones (Fairclough 1995).

**Reflexions on Method and Validity**

Qualitative studies have by default the disadvantage of an uncertainty regarding what the findings of the chosen samples analyzed can actually be considered to say about either general or specific tendencies in e.g. media, politics, the public debate or the overall social structures. Even so, qualitative approaches such as CDA can provide in-depth understandings in regards to language use, “invisible” reproductions of unequal power relations, and shifts in “what we can say”.

In Bolin et al’s (2016) study, they only asked questions regarding if the texts were positive, negative or neutral, and if there were any connections made to political parties – but the answers to those questions do not say anything on e.g. if the connection made between the political parties and the view on immigration and integration was a positive or negative one, if it challenged the order of discourse or if it affirmed to it. In a study with fewer samples,
those kinds of questions can be answered, along with questions of reproductions and transformations of discourses.

However, interpretative methods are dependent on the researchers ability to perform the analysis without being biased in the interpretations. Since no person can stand beside themselves, there is always a risk that one oversees connections or for that matter overvalues others – especially in the light of trying to unravel the linguistically hidden reproductions of power. The social constructionist approach provides aid in this matter; objectivity is not necessary per se, because I am not looking for any objective truth – my interest lies in understanding how representations of the world are communicated and uncover further knowledge about how, why, and what. I believe that the transparency of the work carried out in this thesis, by clearly stating what questions I aim to answer, thoroughly explain how this will be done through methodological choices, and what theories, concepts and understandings I base the findings of the analysis on, will vouch for the validity of the results.
RESULT & ANALYSIS

The result of the analysis will be presented in this section in a flowing matter, where the four texts are analyzed separately and in accordance with the framework of Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis, and will consider text representations of the border controls, migration/migrants, and political parties, and use the concept of framing to analyze how the texts choice of words frames the representations linguistically in positive or negative ways. It will also analyze intertextual aspects, especially in regards to ideology that must be assumed to reflect the political production conditions of the papers, and finally, it will consider whether the texts contribute to unequal power relations, or if they renegotiate them.

The texts will be analyzed in this order:

• Aftonbladet 5 January 2016 – Anders Lindberg: (S) should build houses instead of fences

• Dagens Nyheter 5 January 2016 – Osignerad: The government’s crisis work has only begun

• Expressen 5 januari 2016 – Osignerad: The ID-checks is a necessary evil

• Svenska Dagbladet 5 januari 2016 – Maria Ludvigsson: Denmark’s turn to introduce border controls

The choice to present the sample texts in this way was made to keep the overall meaning of the texts form intact for those readers of this thesis who cannot understand the original text, as they are written in Swedish. The originals can be found in the appendices.

Aftonbladet – (S) should build houses instead of fences
January 5th 2016 • Anders Lindberg
The headline and the introduction to the text both mention the Social Democrats (S), the first one by giving a clear directive and aiming the text towards the party, the second by citing a part of the party program that speaks of a world without borders in peace and freedom. The whole first section acts as a reminder of on what political goals (S) was elected recently, and goes on to make use of a longer historical framing by portraying (S) as a “movement” rather than a party, with deep roots, shaped by non-academic workers:

The movement that now introduces id-checks and builds fences has been singing Internationalen on their meetings since 1902, when cork cutter and trade union man Henrik Menander translated it to Swedish.

The text moves on to mention the fact that Denmark now introduces border controls towards Germany, but neglects to highlight the connection between Sweden’s border controls and Denmark’s.

The connection to “old Swedish values” is emphasized by the use of the widely know quote “Why are they doing like this” from Swedish author and icon Astrid Lindgren’s Ronja Rövardotter. The choice to explain where the quote came from though implies inclusiveness in regards to the social group of the readers – not only those who have been growing up with the children’s tales can understand it, which could be interpreted as renegotiation the same Swedish values to include more than those born in Sweden.

The answer to the question of why this is happening is first connected to the public debate and “the myth about a ‘system collapse’ […] as if we lived in Somalia”. Part of the blame is put on media, which is described as “completely dominated by hysteria”. The mentioning of Somalia without any explanation of the civil war though there could unintentionally reproduce racist stereotypes about ‘Africa’ to those readers without that pre-knowledge.

An authoritarian voice is brought in in the form of MSB, Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, which according to the text has tried
to “calm the discussion and protested against the concept [of a system collapse].”

After the connections made to first Denmark and then the Media, the focus returns to (S) and their “lack of own ideas based on the labor movements values”, implying that (S) has adapted ideas about their migration politics from other, not mentioned, movements or parties. It is also said that (S) has “avoided debate about the challenges and possibilities of immigration”, a notion that can be tracked back to the previously mentioned sensitivity to talk about these issues in 2012 and the Agenda debate about how much immigration Sweden can handle mentioned by Strömbäck & Truedson.

Prime Minister Stefan Löfven should not have abolished the minister post of integration based on the thought that if immigrants only got a job, the rest would solve itself, continues the text. Notable here is a sentence containing intertextual self-reflection where it is noted that the politics carried out by Löfven in that matter was something that “we on Aftonbladets editorial pages was arguing for at that time”.

This was probably ill-conceived though, the text now states, and todays situation – not specified what the situation is – would have been different if (S) hade taken precaution measures in regards to the reception system already back in 2014. Measures such as more resources and buildings of houses, that is. There is no mention of restrictions in the asylum seeking system or migration politics at large. This lack of earlier action has resulted in “housing shortage, lack of school seats, social services that are hard pressed and a reception system that can’t handle the pressure”, which in turn has lead to “panic measures” like the border controls.

So far, the article has taken a rather critical stance towards (S)’s migration and reception politics. This changes in part towards the end, where it is stated that “The Social Democrats are much better
than this. Swedish labor movement is world champions in building a society”.

They are implicitly directed towards (S), but the chosen construction is now “Sweden” and “we”. It is in this passage that immigrants are mentioned for the first and only time:

The rhetoric surrounding the border controls claims that Sweden needs a ‘pause’. That claim is only logical if at the same time there are massive investments made in solving the existing problems. The refugees that come here need to learn Swedish fast and be integrated into society.

In regards to agency and normalization, that last one is a very interesting sentence; the refugees come here, they don’t flee and there is no reason they come, they just do, like the mail or the winter. When they come here, they need to learn Swedish, as in it is something they actively have to do them selves, implying that if they don’t, it’s also a choice they make. Lastly, they are to be integrated. The translation from Swedish to English have some flaws in regards to keeping meaning intact, but the Swedish word used is “integreras”, which removes the agency from the refugees again and places it somewhere else, in the hands of “Sweden” and “us”.

“Sweden” needs to build 700 000 new homes over the next ten years, the text states, and the welfare state must expand. Connecting back to the heading of the editorial, “Sweden” is now partly separated from (S) by the use of the words “should build” and “needs to build”, with the implication that (S) can be what Sweden needs, if they return to their old values, as expressed in the last sentence:

It’s called a crisis, but it is also a golden age for the social democratic ideas that once built the strong society.
This text too begins by connecting the border controls exclusively to the Social Democrats, though without mentioning the party’s full name. Instead, the agents presented are “the government”, Prime Minister Stefan Löfven “and his ministers”. Their catchword lately has, according to the text, been “breathing space”, and their “highest goal” has been to reduce the number of asylum seekers. There is no mention of any other parties having that goal which is interesting in itself, considering the Sweden Democrats.

The event of the Swedish border controls is clearly described as the reason why Denmark introduced their controls towards Germany, and this means according to the text that the “overstretched Swedish reception system is about to get respite”. The events of the border controls are thus framed mainly positively in the way that they are connected to the expressed goal and the wanted results. At the same time, the Social Democrats and the government are held responsible for the introduction and for the wish to reduce asylum seekers, a question in which the texts does not take a stand, there is no “we” that wanted a reduction, and it’s not “Sweden” who need a respite, it’s only the reception system and the government.

But the border controls have consequences and have caused new problems, continue the text, and referrers to the government explicitly as “the S-MP-government” and by that connect Miljöpartiet, the Green Party, to the events as well. “The right of protection away from war has been invalidated” is mentioned but not developed in the middle of a section that moves on to talk about how Löfven has to reach other goals besides “decreasing the pressure on Sweden”.

The next section talks about asylum seekers registered at the Swedish Migration Agency and that “the amount of refugees has decreased drastically, from 11 000 a week at the most to about
2000” since November. This formulation is interesting in the way it does not specify that it’s the amount of refugees that has arrived in Sweden that has decreased but uses the word “refugees” generally, as if the restrictive migration politics actually would have an effect on how many people are fleeing. The following two sentences then connects the refugees both to unwanted natural phenomena, as in Aftonbladet, and to a sort of infestation by the use of the word deterrent:

The forces of weather control the fluctuations. The government’s deterrent measures seem to have had an effect as well.

The constructions of refugees in this way seem to derive intertextually from the primed expression “the stream of refugees” that has been a regularly reoccurring phrase in the debate during 2015. The connection to the unmentioned “stream” increases in the next sentences where the border controls are described as

[…] another barrier in the refugee corridor through Europe.
The road to Sweden goes from Turkey via Balkan, Austria, Germany and Denmark. For those who lack id – and many do – the journey will now end in Copenhagen or in Kastrup.

The use of the words corridor, road and journey reduces the meaning of the word “refugee” into having nothing to do with fleeing or seeking refuge. The refugees are thus framed in a very trivializing discourse, while at the same time introduced in a considerate way with the acknowledgment of the right to protection against war.

The text continues on by emphasizing the border controls introduced by Denmark 12 hours after the Swedish border controls, and portrays the event as a counter move by Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, without mentioning what political party he belongs to, but with the notion that “the other parties in parliament has pressed the issue”. In connection to that, the refugees are mentioned again with words connected to stopping them as if they were a force:
The Danish border controls will act as an extra road barrier for the refugees. Lars Løkke assessed during the press conference that more will be stopped and may apply for asylum in Denmark.

The biggest consequences of the decision are not connected to the refugees and the right to protection though. The ones paying for the lion’s share of the receipt for the ID-checks are the Swedish-Danish commuters. This may lead not only to a loss of jobs and growth, but also to a political divide between Stockholm and the south of Sweden, states the text.

Stefan Löfven should thus not prolong the agony unnecessarily. The economical damage must be kept as limited as possible.

In practice, Löfven has already reached his goal since the border controls forced Denmark to introduce controls of their own, the text continues. What is needed now is a restored relation to Denmark and jointed actions, proposes the text, and states that both the Schengen agreement and the Dublin regulation demands “ordning och reda”, orderliness, a very commonly used word in parliament the last years and especially by the Social Democrats (to the point that it has become a meme).

The next big question about consequences regards those agreements and regulations within the EU. The text brings up two scenarios sketched by the Swedish Migration Agency that it perceives as especially plausible; that the Schengen agreement breaks down and the internal borders of EU are closed again, or that the EU countries agree on a new common structure for asylum migration. The alternative, continues the text, is that the EU “is forced” to make a reality of the suggestion on redistribution and sets up “hot spots” at the external borders. What the hot spots are supposed to have as function is not mentioned, but the use of the word “forced” frames this last suggestion in negativity, which is inconsistent with the next passage that seem to propose that that suggestion is actually positive:
Denmarks Lars Lökke claimed that he, as Stefan Löfven, has advocated a similar solution. That’s new. But if Danmark has turned in this matter, it would be welcome.

The text finishes of by stating that the Swedish change of direction in regards to migration politics can have dramatic consequences, but the consequences is as much dependent on what has been done as on how the government handle the new challenges that has occurred.

Expressen – The ID-check is a necessary evil
January 5th 2016 • Unsigned

This text starts out by stating that the introduction of the border controls is “not a proud moment”, but that it will “probably give Sweden the breathing space in refugee reception that the country needs”.

This text formulates the connection between the Swedish border controls and the following Danish ones even clearer than Dagens Nyheter, by stating “the governments plan succeeded”. A few lines further down, the amount of security in that statement decreases a bit when it’s reformulated as “this was most probably what the S-MP-government wanted”. Denmark is describes as “an obliging transit country that beckons the asylum seekers to Sweden”.

The effect of the border controls “should” be big. The number of asylum seekers has already decreased dramatically since November, when the government introduced the ID-checks on ferries, plus the “new asylum package”. But, states the text, that says more about the “untenable levels” of up to 10 000 asylum seekers per week that was reached during the fall of 2015, than it says about the new levels on 2-3000/week, implying that these levels are way to high also. That notion is clarified in the next sentence:

In a year, todays pace would result in over 100 000 asylum seekers, and that is in the middle of winter when the stream of
refugees always decreases.

The use of the phrase “stream of refugees” is explicitly expressed here, in which the refugees again are framed as a force of nature, a river that flows, rather than humans. The text then continues to proclaim that the government is absolutely right when it states that Sweden needs to decrease “pressure of asylum seeking” further, thus framing the Social Democrats and the Green Party positively in this migration negative aspect. We need to take care of the 162 877 persons that applied for asylum during 2015, the text states, and continues to say that no other country in the west has been even close to the Swedish refugee reception per capita.

The text then lifts the criticism that has emerged against the border controls in regards to the potential of growth in the Öresund region, and agrees that it’s regrettable, and brings in the papers ideological standpoint for the first time:

The lack of borders in the Öresund region is a great liberal development for humans as well as companies.

Note that “humans” in this sentence, in regards to the implications made earlier, most probably do not include the humans that seek refuge.

The positive framing in regards to the government’s decision now changes a little, when it is being referred to as “panic politics” and as a consequence of the “irresponsible migration politics” carried out by the sitting government as well as the last, implying that Expressen does not side with either the S-MP-government or the Alliance-government of the last election period, meaning that the only two parties the text at this point has not disregarded is the Left Party and the Sweden Democrats. Furthermore, the phrase “irresponsible migration politic” is commonly connected to and used by the Sweden Democrats, and by using that phrase while criticizing both the Social Democratic government as well as the right bloc Alliance government of the last election period, it is hard not to
draw the conclusion that Expressen actually sides, very implicitly, with the Sweden Democrats in this passage.

The text then suggests an alternative solution to the border controls; fast processing of asylum applications as possible Dublin cases. It also states that anyone who brings up criticism based on connotations on the Berlin wall should calm down; the right to asylum does not contain the right to “freely choose what country one wants to seek protection in”.

The last section draws on the classic metaphor of a game of Domino in describing the chain of events that lead to this, that legitimizes the border controls further:

First, there was a domino knock-down effect our way when then Dublin regulation ruptured. Now, the government is knocking the domino the other way. Maybe it will force a European solution to the refugee crisis. Maybe not. Sweden is giving over the responsibility to others. In the current situation, we have no other choice.

Svenska Dagbladet – Denmarks turn to introduce border controls
January 5th 2016 • Maria Ludvigsson

The text starts out with explaining that the Danish Prime Minister held a press conference where he declared that Denmark, as a response not only to the Swedish border controls but also the earlier Norwegian and Finnish border controls, will now introduce controls towards the German border. This is a change from the previous texts, where Aftonbladet did not mention that chain of events at all, Dagens Nyheter makes a clear connection between the Swedish and Danish controls, and Expressen goes as far as to call it the governments plan all along.

The controls will though not be as strict as the Swedish, with reference to the “economically important flow over the Danish-German
border”, states the text, implying that the stricter Swedish border controls will have a negative effect on economic flows. Denmark’s reason to introduce the controls is presented as wanting to avoid becoming a no-mans-land for those who does not have ID papers but no intention to seek asylum in Denmark.

The text continues by noting, as did Expressen, that the Danish decision enhances the domino knock-down effect through Europe, and then sketches the outline of the main dilemma articulated in the text, implied earlier: When the free movement inside EU is reduced, so is growth and opulence.

When neither the distribution in-between EU-countries or the reception has functioned fully, the main conditions for migration is suffering. It’s increased opulence that creates space for more people to make a living and build new lives in Europe. When growth decreases, it gets harder for the weakest first of all.

It’s notable that this text uses phrases like “has not functioned fully” to describe the reception system where others have framed it in a more catastrophic discourse. It is a frustrating but obvious dilemma, states the text. “High amounts of people that needs to flee initially becomes an expense that must be carried by strong growth and functioning economies”, which in turn gets harder to achieve with the “closeness and border barriers countries try to avert migration with”. The text ends with:

The British saying “Let them in and let them earn” should be the attitude that will lead us out of this dilemma.

The framing of refugees as “people that needs to flee” stands out in the analysis of these four texts, as it neither trivializes nor dehumanizes them. Furthermore, this text does not mention any Swedish political parties at all, nor does it use the arguments of growth as economical incentive for “humans nor companies” or for the Swedish state, but rather because of the notion that without
growth, we cannot help the refugees “build new lives”, which must be considered to be a renegotiating framing of the border controls.
FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

An end summary of main findings and results, putting analysis and discussion into perspective, developing new questions, perspectives, recommendations for future research. The section/s will contain the final comments/answers to your research questions, and reflect back on the workability of your research project.

Findings
This section will present the results of the analysis in regards to the thematic of CDA and with focus on the research questions this study aims to answer.

1. How do the editorial texts frame the subject of border controls in discursive constructions in regards to positivity, negativity or neutrality?

As the analysis shows, Expressen has the text that most explicitly takes a stand for the border controls, as it frames it as a necessary evil, and connects that notion to a need for breathing space, uses numbers and amounts of refugees as arguments, and calls it a “panic solution” – but nonetheless a solution that had to be carried out, and that there is not much more Sweden can do now.

Dagens Nyheter expresses more ambivalence in it’s very long text. It is not explicitly positive, but it frames the border controls in terms of having an effect (with reference to numbers), has created breathing space, will stop the refugees, and also states that the Swedish reception system is very strained. At the same time, it suggests that the government should try and find new solutions together with e.g. Denmark and make this a quick passage, mostly because of reasons connected to national growth.

Aftonbladet takes an implicit stance towards the border controls, but does not provide direct directives to remove them. Instead, it
states that if the controls are to have any validity, (S) must expand the welfare state and the reception system in the meantime.

Svenska Dagbladet does interestingly enough only mention the Swedish border control once, and then puts emphasis on all the border controls now introduced around Europe and frames them in negative terms, and takes a clear stand against them all in the end: Let them in and let them earn.

Svenska Dagbladet also stands out in that it does not construct the Swedish border controls as the only reason why Denmark introduced theirs, whereas Aftonbladet did not mention the connection between Sweden and Denmark at all, thus trivializing the border controls importance. DN and Expressen on the other hand constructs the Swedish border controls as the sole reason Denmark introduced theirs. Especially Expressen puts really big emphasis on the consequences for all of Europe when it formulates Sweden as now turning the knock-down effect around.

2. How does the texts connect the subject of border controls to political parties, participants, and processes in positive or negative ways?

There is one very dominant political party mentioned in the texts, the Social Democrats (S). The Green Party (MP) is mentioned a few times, but only in passing, and the Alliance is implicitly mentioned once. Not surprisingly perhaps, since (S) and (MP) lead the government, but the Moderates and the Christian Democrats have proposed similar border control measures earlier and could have been mentioned. They are not though. Neither are the Sweden Democrats, except from an intertextual connection in Expressen’s text, where Expressen seem to repeat frames deriving from (SD). Aftonbladet is the only paper that expresses any noticeable positive words around (S), even though they criticize what they have become. Dagens Nyheter and Expressen, who expresses the most legitimizing framing around the border controls necessity, frames (S)
in a more negative way than Aftonbladet. Svenska Dagbladet does not mention any political party at all.

In regards to refugees, the two liberal papers DN and Expressen were the ones that framed refugees in the most negative way, and used dehumanizing and trivializing metaphors to describe fleeing people, like “stream of refugees”, “refugee corridor”, and “journey”. Aftonbladet mentions refugees in regards to the need of a better reception system but also frames them as “coming” rather than “fleeing”. Svenska Dagbladet stands out again as that text only talk about refugees in terms of “people who need to flee”.

Aftonbladet expressed criticism towards the public debate in the media for the introduction of the border controls, and refers to a “myth about a system collapse”, thus acknowledging the agenda-setting function of the media, and also show self-reflection in regards to earlier support of the Social Democrats politics. None of the others mentions media or refer to their own position as editorial writers in that way.

3. How do the constructions of the issue of border controls in regards to positive/negative framing correlate to the findings of Bolin et al?

Bolin et al (2016) notes in their study that since the Social Democrats and the Moderates traditionally has been the parties that, except from the Sweden Democrats, has had the most restricted migration politics, it could have been assumed that the news papers traditionally associated with these parties, Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet, would have had a more negative attitude against migration and integration (Widfeldt 2015). At the same time though, there is a difference between attitudes on migration among voters on the left and voters on the right, where the left is generally more positive and the right more negative towards immigration (Demker 2015). Taking that into consideration, it could also be assumed that Svenska Dagbladet would have the most critical framing, followed by the two liberal papers Dagens Nyheter and Ex-
pressen, and that Aftonbladet would have the most positive framing. The results of their study then showed that the assumptions regarding the left-right tendencies of voters seemed to be the one that also was applicable on the editorials framings of the topic, where Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet positions themselves on each side of the spectra, with the liberal papers in the middle (Bolin et al 2016).

Based on those findings, it could be assumed that since the introduction of the border controls was in fact a decision made by the Social Democrats who together with the Green Party constitute the sitting government, there would probably be inconsistencies in the texts; Aftonbladet would be assumed to disagree with the border controls, but possibly show understanding towards the Social Democrats because of it’s political traditions, and express the most positive attitude towards migration. Svenska Dagbladet on the other hand would assumedly be more inclined towards agreeing with the decision, but still be critical towards the Social Democrats and show the least positive attitude towards migration. The liberal papers could be negative both in regards to the border controls and the Social Democrats. In the light of the Sweden Democrats being connected to the topic of immigration in a very high degree in Bolin et al’s study, it could also be assumed that they would be mentioned in some way.

The result of the analysis did only partly confirm the assumptions drawn from the findings of Bolin et al. The most interesting result in regards to the border controls is perhaps that (unbound moderate) Svenska Dagbladet expressed most explicit negativity towards it, (independent social democratic) Aftonbladet expressed negativity but legitimized it under the precondition that (S) expands the reception system at the same time, whereas the the two liberal papers Expressen and DN legitimized the decision with reference to breathing space but criticized it due to economic damage and growth. Expressen was the only paper that took an explicit stance for the border controls. Another interesting finding is that not only does SvD’s text take the clearest stance against the border control,
it also expresses the most positive framing around refugees. Compared to the findings of Bolin et al, where SvD’s editorial articles on migration frames it in a negative way in 30% of the texts (compared to 19% for Expressen, 15% for DN and 5% for AB) and positive in only 3% (compared to 3% for Expressen, 4% for DN and 3% for Aftonbladet), this is surprising results. Aftonbladet’s text framed migration positively, but reproduced partially the notion of refugees as a problem. DN, who has written the marginally most positive editorials about migration and integration according to Bolin et al, frames refugees in the most dehumanizing and trivializing way. Expressen on the other hand uses framing that seems to be directly intertextually connected to the Sweden Democrats rhetoric.

**Discussion**

One of the most interesting and important aspects of contemporary editorials as journalistic genre is the way it – in a field where objectivity is otherwise seen as the ideal – clearly expresses opinions on topics from a likewise explicit ideological and political point of view, e.g. independent liberal or unbound moderate. In doing so, they deliberately provide arguments to their readers that they can discuss with each other or adapt, thus the intention is to actively influence the discursive practice of their readers (Fairclough 1995, 2010), and by doing so, affect the sociocultural structure in regards to i.e. political hegemony through a covert agenda-setting (Le 2010).

The previous research on opinion journalism in Sweden reviewed in the theory-section highlights the development of opinion journalism’s role and production conditions in Swedish media during the latest couple of decades. It clearly shows that the individualization of opinion journalism is increasing along with its status. The earlier party press connection to political parties has decreased somewhat, which my findings support, and opinion pieces and interpretative journalism has become more of a tactic market strategy. The audience is not interested in party loyalty, but the political profile of editorials is the main aspects of them (Nord & Stúr
Returning to the concepts of CDA, the analysis shows that Aftonbladet (AB) draws on a very clear ideological discourse, which could be summed up as “old Swedish socialist values” with the intertextual use of old socialist songs, the labor movement in the beginning of the last century, and even Astrid Lindgren. These are all in a sense very traditional discourses and could perhaps be interpreted as reproducing a conventional order of discourse – but in the light of the Social Democrats sudden turn in regards to migration issues, it would seem as more likely that this use of discourses is in fact creative rather than normative. The references to the “movement” speaks clearly to the voters and thus the directives and suggestions for a return to the “old” values can be seen as that covert political pressure editorials can aim at politicians by rallying “the people” (Le 2010). Fairclough argues that a high level of interdiscursivity implies change (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000), which in this case could imply that the change in social democratic migration politics has affected the order of discourse in a way that manifests itself in a hegemonic struggle and an identity crisis for the social democracy at large.

This crisis, if I like Nord may use such a dramatic word, can also be seen in the way Dagens Nyheter (DN) draws on a great amount of discourses in a complex interdiscursive but highly inconsistent way. The market liberal discourse shows itself in recognition of the economical costs of the border controls, but the overall interdiscursivity is rather unclear in regards to the ideology conditions in the production process. The change in (S)’s politics seems to imply a ripple effect in the political and ideological order of discourse, in which the liberal and/or right wing discourse now must renegotiate its relation to the Social Democratic Party and social democracy, which it is both positive and negative towards. The ambivalence is even bigger in Expressen’s text. Not in form of inconsistency, but in ideology, where the text states that even though the border controls are damaging liberal values, it still must be done. That in combination with the phrases connoted to Sweden Democrat’s political framing, gives the impression that Expressen might move...
more towards the far right at the left-right-scale, rather than sticking with the liberal values. The text that actually expresses the most liberal ideology is SvD, which is very interesting since it has a moderate alignment. The Moderates promotes an even stricter migration politic than does the Social Democrats, and in the light of that, and the indeed very creative and, for the social power relations, challenging framing of the border controls in regards to growth, wealth, and free movement, expressed in SvD’s text, there could be reason to draw cautiously optimistic conclusions of a bigger sociocultural change in the brewing here, even though it is indeed bold to make such claims based on this limited study.

Further research that would be interesting to perform could be a more extended study of the expressed ideologies in Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet, because of their traditional alignment to (S) and (M), during 2015 and 2016, before and after the Social Democrats changed direction towards a more restricted migration politic, to investigate the correlation between changes in ideological discourse expressed in these editorials and the correlation to the politics carried out by the government.

Another study I would find interesting, in regards to the use of Sweden Democrat rhetoric found in Expressen, to track the use of phrases like “stream of refugees” and “irresponsible migration politics”, to map the use of them by politics and media and investigate the priming effect.
CONCLUSION

The analysis confirmed some of the findings of Bolin et al (2016), but there were also some big inconsistencies. While Aftonbladet display the expected positive framing of migration and thus also negative framing towards the border controls, it also legitimizes the controls under the assumption that the Social Democrats (S) return to their old values. Dagens Nyheter confirmed Bolin et al’s findings in that it framed the border controls as well as (S) mainly negatively, but showed a great deal of ambivalence and framed refugees in an unexpectedly trivializing way. Expressen framed, against assumptions, the border controls both negatively and positively but legitimized it clearly, and framed refugees and migration in stereotypically negative words that are obviously connected to the Sweden Democrats. The most surprising results came from Svenska Dagbladet, that was assumed to have the most negative attitude towards immigrants and (S), and be the one that framed the border controls most positively, but did not express anything on any political party, framed the border controls explicitly negatively, and framed refugees and migration in both positive and considerate ways. In terms of hegemonic struggles, the result could be cautiously interpreted as a sign of cultural and political change in the wake of the sudden change in direction in regards to the Social Democrats migration politics.
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"En gränslös värld i fred och frihet är socialdemokratins långsiktiga mål." Så talar partiprogrammet från 2013. Den rörelse som nu inför id-kontroller och bygger staket har sjungit Internationalen på sina möten sedan 1902, då korkskäraren och fackföreningsmannen Henrik Menander översatte den till svenska. När nu även Danmark inför idkontroller mot Tyskland blir "en gränslös värld" allt mer avlägsen.

Varför gör de då på detta viset? Som rumpnissarna i Astrid Lindgrens Ronja Rövardotter frågar sig.

En viktig del är den myt om "systemkollaps" som drivits fram i samhällsdebatten. Som om vi bodde i Somalia. Trots att Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap, MSB, försökt sansa diskussionen och protesterat mot begreppet och trots att de flesta nog inser att det inte stämmer så dominerar hysterin fullständigt i media.

En annan orsak är bristen på egna idéer rotade i arbetarrörelsens värderingar. Under lång tid har Socialdemokraterna undvikit debatt både om utmaningar och om möjligheter med invandring.

Det första Stefan Löfven gjorde i regeringsställning var att avskaffa integrationsministerposten utifrån tanken att om invandrare bara får jobb så löser sig resten. En politik även vi på Aftonbladets ledarsida då argumenterade för.

Troligen var detta feltänkt, liksom att man väntade så länge med att fundera över konsekvenserna för kommunerna av ökningen i
antal asylsökande som skedde 2014. Läget i dag hade förmodligen varit ett annat om Socialdemokraterna redan då anpassat mottagnings-systemet, byggt modulhus och gett kommunerna resurser att utveckla sin samhällsservice.


Resultatet blev nu i stället att regeringen fick improvisera sig fram i en rad strukturella frågor som bostadsbrist, för få platser i skolan, en hårt ansatt socialtjänst och ett mottagningssystem som inte klarte trycket. Svaret blev då panikåtgärder som idkontroller, gränskontroller och tältläger.

Men Socialdemokraterna är betydligt bättre än det här. Svensk arbetarrörelse är världsmästare i samhällsbyggnad.


Välfärdsstaten måste expandera Sverige skulle behöva bygga 700 000 bostäder på tio år. I kommunernas bygplaner finns just nu bara hälften så många. Skolan och socialtjänsten behöver byggas ut. Välfärdsstaten måste expandera.

Det kallas kris, men det är även en guldålder för just de socialdemokratiska idéer som en gång byggde det starka samhället.
"Andrum" har varit Stefan Löfvens och hans ministrars ledord den senaste tiden. Regeringens högsta mål har varit att minska antalet asylsökande.

Händelserna på måndagen då id-kontroller infördes i trafiken över Öresund, och Danmark svarade med gränskontroller mot Tyskland, innebär att det hårt ansträngda svenska mottagningsystemet är på väg att få en respit.


Sedan november månad har färre asylsökande registrerats hos Migrationsverket. Antalet flyktingar har minskat drastiskt, från som mest 11 000 i veckan till omkring 2 000. Vädrets makter styr svängningarna. Regeringens avskräckande skärpningar tycks dock också ha haft effekt.


De danske kontrollerna blir en extra vägbom för flyktingarna. Fler, bedömde Lars Løkke på presskonferensen, kommer att stoppas och få söka asyl i Danmark. Justitieminister Morgan Johansson (S) välkomnade steget.

Biverkningarna kommer dock att bli kännbara i Öresundsregionen. Svensk-danska pendlare betalar lejonparten av notan för idkontrollerna. Det rådde förvirring i trafiken över sundet på måndagen, som svenska myndigheter borde ha kunnat undvika.

Reglerna infördes med halsbrytande kort varsel och efter usla förberedelser på näringsdepartementet, trots att det enligt Øresundsinstitutet står miljarder på spel för regionen.

Vad regeringen riskerar, förutom jobb och tillväxt, är en växande politisk klivfack mellan Stockholms och södra Sverige. Stefan Löfven borde därför inte dra ut på denna pinne i onödan. De ekonomiska skadorna måste göras så små som möjligt.


En akut utmaning för regeringen blir därför att reparera relationen till Danmark. Ett upptrappat tonläge under hösten har varit svårt att undvika. Men en utdraget grannfejd vore en stor olycka.

Nästa svåra fråga gäller konsekvenserna inom EU. I Migrationsverkets senaste prognos skisserade myndigheten fyra scenarier för migrationen under det nya året. Politiken i Europa avgör.

Två händelsekedjor ter sig som särskilt aktuella: Den ena innebär att Schengensamarbetet gradvis bryts ner, att de gemensamma reg-
aterna. Det andra scenariot är att krisen leder fram till att EU-länderna upprättar en ny gemensam struktur för asylmigrationen.

Måndagens händelser kan utlösa endera förlopp. De måste inte få en dominoeffekt, även om risken är överhängande. Alternativet är att EU till slut tvingas göra verklighet av den omfördelningsmekanism som skisserades under förra året, och upprätta ”hot spots” på plats vid unionens yttre gränser.

Danmarks Lars Løkke hävdade på måndagen att han, precis som Stefan Löfven, har förespråkat en liknande lösning. Det har inte hörts. Om en dansk omsvängning har skett är det dock välkommet.

Sveriges kursändring i flyktingpolitiken kan få dramatiska följder. Men vad som blir konsekvenserna hänger inte bara på vad som har gjorts utan i lika hög grad på hur regeringen hanterar de nya utmaningar som har uppstått.
Det är inget stolt ögonblick, men nu får Sverige troligen det andrum i flyktingmottagandet som landet behöver.


Effekten på det svenska flyktingmottagandet lär bli stor. Visserligen har antalet asylsökande redan fallit dramatiskt den senaste tiden efter införandet av ID-krav på färjorna och regeringens nya asylpaket. Men det säger mer om de ohållbara nivåer på upptåt 10 000 asylsökande i veckan som nåddes under hösten än om det nya läget med 2000-3000 per vecka. Utslaget på ett år motsvarar dagens takt över 100 000 asylsökande, och det mitt i vintern då flyktingströmmen alltid minskar.


Mycket kritik har riktats mot ID- och gränskontrollerna. En del har handlat om det bakslag som detta innebär för hela Öresundsregionen. För första gången på ett halvt sekel måste man hala fram ett pass när man reser mellan Sverige och Danmark, och det i en tid när regionen alltmer har smått samman till ett Greater Co-
penhagen. Hela tillväxtpotentialen i södra Skåne är kopplad till närheten till Kastrup och Köpenhamn.

Det är bara att stämma in i dessa beklaganden. Gränslösheten i Öresundregionen är en stor liberal landvinning för både människor och företag.

Att strypa denna fria rörelighet är en form av panikpolitik - en konsekvens av såväl den sittande som den föregående regeringens oansvariga migrationspolitik. Men i det akuta läge som har uppstått måste något göras.


Sverige lämnar över ansvaret i andras händer. Därtill är vi nödda och tvungna i nuläget.
Ett par minuter efter klockan tolv i går inledde Danmarks statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussen en presskonferens.

Där meddelade han att ID-kontroller införts mot den tyska gränsen från klockan 12 samma dag och att det var en följd av de svenska kontrollerna som infördes vid midnatt. Också de tidigare norska (november) och finska (december) åtstramningarna vid gränserna har drivit fram beslutet.


Dilemmat är lika frustrerande som uppenbart. Ett högt antal män-
niskor som behöver fly blir en initial kostnad som i sig måste bäras av stark tillväxt och av ekonomier som tuffar på. Något som i sin tur försåras av den slutthenhet och de gränshinder som länder försöker avvärja migrationen med.

Det i Storbritannien myntade uttrycket "Let them in and let them earn" bör vara en hållning som får vägleda oss ur dilemmat.