

Conditionally One of 'Us'

A Study of Print Media,
Minorities and Positioning Practices
Camilla Haavisto

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Camilla Haavisto

In Helsinki on 5th April 2011

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Part 1: Contextualisations

1. Introduction

A young woman of Bosnian background looks at me and says: ‘I think the media are writing about Islam almost as if it equalled terrorism. They make these linkages, and I think it is so wrong that just because I have Islam as my faith, I would be a terrorist’. The other women around her nod in assent.

All of the women are dressed in a ‘Western’ way. Many have jobs, and some are married to ‘native’ men. Despite their seemingly successful adaptation to post-migratory everyday life, they are affected by the way in which the media in Finland portray issues relating to their minority religion. They interpret what they claim is one-sided media reporting as a sign of depreciation, feeling that they as ‘good citizens’ have to suffer because of a problem-focused, biased and simplifying media reporting. In their dissatisfaction, some have quit following the news; ‘It’s this bored-to-death-thing again, and it gets so one-tracked, and in the course of time, you simply try to focus on the small things around you [...]’.¹

This scene occurred in one of the six focus group meetings that I organised in 2006 in order to gain more information about how newspaper readers of various backgrounds relate to news about migration, integration and minority-majority relations. Together with an extensive corpus of press articles (1,782 articles published in five Finnish mainstream newspapers during 1999–2007), these focus group discussions constitute the empirical cornerstone for my PhD-dissertation in media and communication sciences. The main task of this study is to investigate how ethnic minorities and immigrants are positioned in the media and in face-to-face talk, and to explore the practice of positioning in itself.

I chose Finland from 1999 to 2007 as a case – not only because I was born in Finland and have lived there most of my life – but also because Finland during this time, in a more intensified way than before, continued to develop into a country of multiple lifestyles, ethnicities, religions and languages

¹ First commentary is by a discussant called Vesna and the second by Mejram. Names are figurative. (See chapter 8.)

with diverging and converging similarities and differences. This intensified change towards more ethnic and cultural variety was influenced by major political and cultural developments, such as the emergence of information societies, economic globalisation, European integration and increased migration. A similar change towards increased ethnocultural complexity can be seen also in other nation-states in Europe. In the case of Finland, however, the change has been rapid and relatively recent. At the same time the national economy was growing and politics changed towards a more active recruitment of foreign labour. The True Finns – a populist party, sceptical of immigration – had not yet gained the popularity it soon was about to.²

During this particular time and in this particular context, this dissertation explores how the mainstream print media and 'ordinary' people of various ethnocultural backgrounds make sense of who belongs where. Who is envisioned as a 'Finn', an 'immigrant', or as being in a minority, and why? Do these categories ever overlap? What about the role of the media? The media are constituting and circulating these categorisation processes, but is there any pattern in the way in which people of various ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds are presented?

One of the main starting points for this study is that the scope and the pace of demographic change has challenged traditional segment definitions and boundaries, and invited people to engage in a re-envisioning of various imaginary categories like 'we' and 'they', 'Finns' and 'foreigners', 'natives' and 'immigrants', and 'minorities' and 'majorities'. On a more general level, I argue in support of scholars such as Stuart Hall (1997) and Zygmunt Bauman (2000), that these negotiations are much more dynamic today than before. Today, mother tongue, religious belonging, skin colour or clothing are not reliable indicators of where a person lives, what he or she considers as 'home', or how he or she feels 'inside'.

Despite the sense-making of who belongs were having become much more complex and elusive in late modern times (Giddens 1991), individuals and groups cannot always choose to be categorised as they wish. One of the reasons for this is the existence of collectively adhered to expectations about how a Finn shall look and behave. In virtual worlds, on the Internet for example, and in people's 'inner worlds', self-categorisation is somewhat easier. The Bosnian-born women might, for example, have children who feel no connection at all to Bosnia and there is not much that can prohibit them from feeling this way: they feel like 'native' Finns and that is that. However, this might not be how others in the media or in face-to-face conversation see

² The True Finns party (Fi: Perussuomalaiset) started gaining popularity in the municipal election in 2008 and the popularity continued in the European Parliament election in 2009. This book went into print before the national parliamentary election in April 2011, so the outcome is unknown at the time of writing. Polls however, talk about a continuous success for the True Finns party.

them. Such ideologies as racism and nationalism which often come in their subtle forms (Billig 1995) might be so strong that stereotypical thinking determines our understanding of who belongs to 'us' and who does not.

Besides, not even in so-called Western liberal democratic states is it possible for everyone to join in semi-public or public negotiations of who belongs where. The Internet and other technological developments have transformed journalism³, providing easier access to online participation for example, but it is still much easier for elites, such as politicians, experts, and representatives for established institutions, to get visibility and have a voice in mainstream journalism than it is for 'ordinary' citizens such as ethnic minorities, immigrants, women, children, and others. And in some cases, even when being invited to public negotiation of who belongs where, not everyone wants to join in. The actors might not trust the inviters or they may simply not be interested in taking part in the media.

In one scenario, this might contribute to the emergence of narrowly imagined ingroups, which do not correspond to the 'reality out there'. If only a few get to share their views on who 'we' are, the 'we' might appear to be more stable, united and homogeneous than it actually is. For example, if the collective perception of Finnishness is permeated by nationally and ethnically bound stereotypes of a mythological nature, emphasising a shared history, ethnicity and language, the imagery does not reflect the actual ethnic, cultural and religious complexity of the Finnish citizenry.

If this is the case, then so what?

First, if people imagine the 'we' very narrowly as consisting of only blonde and blue-eyed Finnish or Swedish speaking Evangelical Lutheran 'natives', equal rights principles, anti-racist ideologies and demands for cultural sensitivity might be dismissed as irrelevant.

Second, the standpoint of this dissertation, but also a point that will be problematised along the way, is that it might be experienced as humiliating if collective representations of oneself and one's peers, when systematically used by society's institutions and by persons in everyday social interaction, do not correspond to personal perceptions of where one belongs. Political philosopher, Avishai Margalit (1996, 4, 169) has said that one therefore shall strive to construct and maintain a decent society in which neither the structures nor the collective representations were humiliating minority actors. Humiliation, according to Margalit (*ibid.*, 9), is any sort of behaviour or condition that constitutes a sound reason for a person to consider his or her self-respect injured. For Margalit, this humiliation concerns a normative rather

3 For the transformation of journalism during the 2000's, see e.g., Elliot King 2010, Stuart Allan 2005 and Mark Deuze 2007, particularly pp.153–158. Despite a strong focus on the U.S., also see illustrative time line created by the Poynter Institute over the most crucial 200 events that have contributed to the transformation, <http://poynterplayground.com/200moments/>.

than a psychological sense of humiliation. Humiliation, however, both as a question of principle and as personal feeling, can grow with time into collectively adhered, negative perceptions about the own minority group and/or the majority society (see Benhabib 2002, 52 and Esses, Dovidio & Hodson 2002, 72). This in turn, can generate a vicious circle of continuously worsening minority-majority relationships.

1.1 The role of the media in boundary-drawing

The point of departure is not naïve: Discrimination and racism against minorities may not be avoided merely by changing mainstream media repertoires in a less humiliating direction. Neither would dissatisfaction within minority communities necessarily be avoided if only collective representations were experienced as 'fair' and 'accurate' by representatives for ethno-cultural minority groups.

One of the reasons for this is that although the media matters for who 'we' are and how we perceive our surrounding, media content cannot exclusively determine the thinking or behaviour of individuals and collectives. People are influenced by the agenda-setting of the media, since it directs our attention to certain themes and not others. However, we are not blindly 'buying' media agendas without either consciously or unconsciously reflecting upon them in comparison to our own values, beliefs, and other agendas circulating in private and public spaces (McCombs 2004, 142). Instead, subjective feelings of dejection, media content and the general attitude climate form a complex web, in which the role of news media appears to be double-sided: the media works as an 'actor' and an 'arena' (Eide, M. & Hernes 1987; see also Slaatta 2008, 6).

When journalism works as an actor, the role of the media is constitutive; the reporting influences the outcome of events, phenomena, people's attitudes and political decision making processes. Journalists choose certain storylines, pick sources that might support certain ideologies in front of others, engage in 'wallraffing', dissolve corruption, engage in campaigns of various sorts, and so on. For example, in Finland in 2009–2010 journalists gave a lot of visibility to the eviction of two grandmothers from Egypt and Russia (e.g., *Helsingin Sanomat* 25 May 2010; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 12 April 2010). The two women were sick, old and had no relatives in their country of origin, relatives said. The evictions were in conflict with many citizens' sense of justice, and the reporting aroused activism and protest, which impelled lawyers, decision makers and bureaucrats to review the law.⁴ The media thus had an active part in how the events developed, mobilising feelings of compassion, collective agency and political action. This is a central characteristic for the actor-role of news media.

While functioning as an actor, the news media also provide an arena on which social and political actors, other than journalists and media producers, can get visibility, voice, and therewith the possibility to make claims in public. Hence, politicians, NGO-representatives, researchers, ‘citizens’, and so on, are invited or they may invite themselves to debate various contemporary issues in a public setting. The role of the news media in this case is to provide a platform for them and to circulate their ideas and claims. In the case of the two grandmothers under the threat of eviction, the mainstream media gave individual and institutional actors, like representatives for the Evangelical Lutheran church and the police, the possibility to ‘stand up’ and get publicity for their views on the issue. These actors were, however, not given equal voice and visibility (see Horsti 2009a), and as we will see further on in the thesis, this is a central characteristic for the arena role of news media: the arena on which actors can get voice and visibility is not equally accessible to all.

In the sense-making of who belongs where, these two roles of news media do not need to be equally active all the time. Sometimes, the role as an arena where actors can make claims is more predominant than the actor role, and vice versa. The point is, however, that this double role makes the media one of the most powerful institutions in society in constituting and distributing information that we need in order to make sense of our surroundings. The news media act, influence, construct, steer attention, and also serve as a platform on which other social actors can do the same.

Some scholars talk about the increasingly important role of media in society as mediatisation (see Hjarvard 2008; Schulz 2004). The process indicates, among other things, that the role of the media is relentless. The media need to keep up with both rapid changes and dawdling shifts in society in order to make them observable to members of audience-publics⁵, and to be able to choose whose opinions are most valuable and trustworthy at a certain time. Only in this way can the media help people in their efforts to orientate themselves in their inner worlds (*Who am I?*), in cultural, social and political milieus (*Who are ‘we’? What are we like?*), and in processes of democratic decision making (*What is good for me and my peers, and how can the state help me with obtaining that?*).

The media are not completely ‘free’ agents in this process, but influenced by regulations, values, norms and ideals articulated in international declarations, national constitutions, laws and regulations. These provide persons

4 One of the grandmothers, Antonova, later left Finland for Russia voluntarily. The Finnish Immigration Service rejected a number of residence permit applications for Fadayel, but she was finally allowed to stay in Finland with her family on the basis of a provisional permit by the European Court of Human Rights. Fadayel passed away shortly thereafter.

5 Here, I suggest that the notion audience-publics is understood descriptively as referring to people who encounter media content. More information about this conceptual choice is to be found in section 2.2.

and groups certain rights and duties within particular contexts, and these oblige the media to follow certain ethical principles. This dissertation acknowledges the impact of formal issues (laws, policies, declarations, and so on) on media content and on how members of audience-publics in more informal settings, in focus groups for example, negotiate where, if, and on the basis of which criteria boundaries can be drawn between various social actors and actor groups. The primary interest here, however, is on less formal articulations of belonging; speech, text and language which occur in print journalism and in face-to-face interaction.

1.2 Aim and research question

This dissertation sets out to gain more knowledge about the sense-making of who belongs where when ethnic minorities and immigrants are concerned. This dissertation also asks who engages in this sense-making, and investigates how unequal social relations and journalistic mechanisms, such as the power to distribute voice and visibility, influence this practice. For reasons later to be clarified, this sense-making practice is talked about here as positioning according to Positioning Theory (PT) by Rom Harré et al. (van Langenhove & Harré 1999; Harré & Moghaddam 2003; Moghaddam, Harré & Lee 2010).

Against the background of the increasingly dynamic nature of identity-work, the potential humiliation and frustration growing from not having the possibility to influence positions of oneself and one's peers, and the media's power to choose to whom voice and visibility is to be given, the research questions stand as follows:

- How were minority actors positioned in Finnish mainstream print journalism (both Swedish language and Finnish language newspapers) between 1999 and 2007?
- How do these mediated positions relate to self-positionings and (re-)positionings of others taking place in face-to-face talk with peers?
- From the perspective of ethnocultural complexity and media and communication scholarship, what does positioning as a practice consist of?

In order to simplify, we can see these three research questions as divided into three areas of interest: I) media content, II) audience-publics, and III) positioning as a practice. While the two initial questions move quite close to the empirical material, the third takes some distance from the material and moves on a higher level of abstraction. In spite of the fact that the context

is quite particular – Finland between 1999 and 2007 – the study aspires to gain knowledge about positioning as a practice which can be generalised. This means that instead of aiming at conclusions which, for example, would declare that minority actors are positioned as an ‘X’ in relation to the majority society, the aim here is to investigate how this is done.

At this point it is vital to make some initial conceptual clarifications which will be further discussed later in the dissertation. Concerning the notions ‘position’ and ‘positioning’, following Rom Harré’s and Luk van Langenhove’s (1999, 1) definition with some modifications, a position can be defined as a cluster of generic personal attributes, taken up by selves or given to others. Being in a certain position impinges on the possibilities of action and voice since certain rights, duties and obligations sustained by the cluster are ascribed to individuals within it. For example, if someone is positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavour they will not be accorded the right to contribute to the discussion in that field (*ibid.*).

With ‘ethnocultural complexity’ I refer to variation in ethnicities, religions, and cultural habits and practices. The notion does not stand for a certain agenda or programme. Instead, it is used descriptively when talking about a society in which this complexity is an indisputable fact. Complexity is used instead of ‘variation’ or ‘diversity’, since the notion suggests that minority cultures are complex also on ‘the inside’, and that the pool of minority actors is immensely diverse concerning gender, age, professions, faiths, and reasons for migration (see Eide & Nikunen 2010).

The ‘ethnocultural’ in front of complexity, indicates that despite this, the study focuses primarily on ethnic, cultural, and religious dimensions.⁶ Ethnocultural is a compound word for ‘ethnic, cultural and religious’ and is used primarily for reasons of convenience. It is an almost impossible task to define and separate ethnicity from culture and culture from religion on a high level of abstraction in such a way that it would correspond to the experienced reality of minority individuals and groups. For example, many immigrants living in Finland have experienced persecution in their country of origin because of their claimed ethnicity/religion although they might not have been practicing religion. In Finland they might be practicing religion, but only for the sake of keeping cultural traditions and habits alive. Even if one could try to define where ethnicity in this case ‘ends’ or blurs into culture and/or religion, it is not a task for this thesis.

With ‘minority actors’, I refer to persons portrayed in the media who vis-à-vis their ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds are in a minority in

6 Ethnocultural characteristics tend to intersect with gender, sexuality and class (e.g., Keskinen 2009; de los Reyes & Mulinari 2005). I have kept this in mind when analysing the material.

the society in which they reside in terms of power, opportunities and numbers. Tourists flying in for a weekend, visiting professors giving a course, or sportsmen participating in a competition of some sort, might be of various ethnocultural backgrounds, but here they are not considered as minority actors in the Finnish society. Instead, with minority actor, I refer to the diverse pool of ethnic minorities, immigrants and foreigners living in a country either semi-permanently or permanently. In the focus group study, the discussants are 'native' Finns who speak either Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue, and persons of Somalian, Bosnian and Russian background who have experiences of migration and who today speak either Swedish or Finnish or both as their second, third or fourth language.

Concerning the notion 'mainstream print journalism', Swedish speaking Finns are in a minority in Finland concerning their mother tongue, but since Swedish is the second official language in Finland, Swedish speakers are in a much more privileged position than other so-called old minorities and more recently arrived minority groups.⁷ For this reason, in this dissertation Swedish language newspapers in Finland are considered as mainstream print journalism and not minority media in the same sense as a Russian language radio show is, for example. Also, in the analyses of media content from the five newspapers *Hufvudstadsbladet* (Hbl), *Vasabladet* (Vbl), *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), *Iltta-Sanomat* (IS) and *Iltalehti* (IL) portrayals of Swedish speaking Finns are not looked at, and issues relating to the role of the Swedish language in Finland, are not primarily objects of study.

1.3 Situating the study

At the crossroads of sociology, social psychology and journalism studies we find a node where thoughts and research findings can be shared by scholars interested in media, journalism, ethnocultural complexity, minority-majority relations, racism and discrimination. This interdisciplinary area of study does not have a fixed or agreed upon name. At international conferences on international migration and ethnic relations (often called IMER-studies in the Nordic countries), or on media and communication, working groups of researchers interested in these issues are often named 'Media and Ethnic Relations', 'Media and Migration' or 'Media, Racism and Ethnicity', or something similar.

To mention some of the researchers who present and publish their work

7 According to article 17 in the Finnish Constitution, the state shall guarantee that all societal needs (education, health care, and so on) are provided for in Swedish for this linguistic minority. (Around five per cent of the total population speaks Swedish as their first language according to Statistics Finland's PX-Web databases, no. II). In Finland, the Swedish language media form an institutionally complete media system (Moring & Husband 2007). Although threatened to a certain extent, one television channel, two radio channels, and 11 daily, mainly regional and local, newspapers together with a few weeklies and some periodicals, serve this linguistic minority.

under these themes, we have such internationally renowned researchers as Paul Hartmann, Charles Husband and John Downing (Hartmann, Husband & Clark 1974; Downing & Husband 1999, 2005), Teun van Dijk (1988a, 1988b; 1991, 2000), Simon Cottle (2000), Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (2001); such researchers based in the Nordic countries as Birgitta Löwander (1997), Elisabeth Eide (2002), Ylva Brune (2003; 2004), Gunilla Hultén (2006), Bo Petersson (2006); and such Finnish researchers as Pekka Kuusisto (2000), Sari Pietikäinen (2000), Karina Horsti (2005), and Pentti Raittila (2004).⁸

Scholars working with the themes concerned are interested in similar kinds of questions, but their perspectives vary. Some take, for example, theories of language and discourse as their starting point, often adhering to Norman Fairclough (2001) and/or Michel Foucault (1981) (e.g., Pietikäinen 2000; Horsti 2005), while others depart from a more structural tradition, focusing on the role of institutions, governments and policy making, often referring to Will Kymlicka (1995) and Charles Taylor (2004, 1992) (e.g., Downing & Husband 2005; Lauk & Jakobson 2009).

In the Nordic countries the research area concerned has since its increased popularity in the 1990's been open for new ideas, perspectives and methodologies (see Horsti 2008). For example, all four PhD-theses done in Finland during the first half of the 2000's within the research area concerned focus on print media content (Kuusisto 2000; Pietikäinen 2000; Raittila 2004; Horsti 2005), while an increasing number of studies published after 2005 focus on policies, media industries, the media use of minority-audiences, and also online commenting of news (e.g., Hultén & Horsti 2010; Kaarina Nikunen 2007b; 2008; Keskinen 2010).

One reason for the domination of studies on mainstream print media content before 2005 is a long term project named *Racism and Ethnic Discrimination in the Media* funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education.⁹ Due to the project's overall interest in racism and ethnic discrimination and due to the cost-efficiency of analysing print media instead of audiovisual media, most of the studies under this umbrella-project focus on mainstream media (i.e., Meurman 2000, Kujala 2002; Simola 2008; Vehmas & Raittila 2005; Kujala 2002; Lassenius 2009).

8 Previous research will be engaged with throughout the chapters. Raittila 2004, Horsti 2005, Hultén 2006, Ellefson 2007, Brune 2004 and Eide 2002 are used mainly for trends in the reporting; Eide & Nikunen eds. 2010, Simola 2008, Lassenius 2009 and Keskinen 2009 for media events and trends taking place after 2007; Maasilta, Rahkonen & Raittila 2008, Hussain 1997 and Hervik 2002 and 2007 for media and Islam; Floman 2007, Hultén 2009 and Camauër 2006 for editors-in-chief and journalists; Dahlstedt 2006 and Simola & Rastas 2008 for arts pages and ethnocultural complexity; and Raittila 2007, Nikunen 2007b and 2008, Pöyhtäri 2007a, Maasilta 2010, Sjöberg & Rydin 2009 and 2010, Hervik forthcoming and Høijer & Rasmussen 2005 for audiences and ethnocultural complexity.

9 Two different research centres have been administrating the project; the Journalism Research and Development Centre at the University of Tampere and CEREN, the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism at the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki.

This dissertation relates to the above-mentioned umbrella-project as well, since case studies I, II, V have initially been conducted within that particular project. Concerning the dissertation as a whole, the perspective, structure and conceptual framework are developed independently. In relation to other studies done under the umbrella-project, this dissertation focuses on both Swedish language and Finnish language print media, which none of these studies has systematically done before. Within the umbrella-project, afternoon papers have been analysed earlier by Pentti Raittila and Susanna Vehmas (2005), but not with qualitative means as in Case IV. A similar kind of focus group study as Case V has been done before by Raittila (2007), but the backgrounds of the informants and the analytical interests differ noticeably. In my focus group study, the interest lies in positioning practices more generally speaking, while Raittila is focusing more directly on the minority discussant's opinions about Finnish journalism.

From these previous international and national academic studies on media content, policies, reception and production, we can learn that concerning mainstream media, some social groups seem frequently to be positioned as outsiders; as 'guests', 'others' or 'aliens'.¹⁰ The tendency to stereotype persons and groups who look different from the majority, who behave differently, or who simply have come later into the country than the majority, seems to be a universal quality.

For this reason it is not unusual that researchers focusing on the media production of minority actors living in the diaspora, have more faith in minority media than in the mainstream press. These so-called diaspora-researchers (e.g., Sreberny 2005; Fazal & Tsagarousianou 2002; Georgiou 2006) see themselves as operating in a somewhat separate research area than a researcher focusing on more mainstream areas of the communicative space.¹¹ In one way, their interests are divergent from mine: they are primarily interested in how community media, diasporic media and/or transnational online communication strengthen positive attitudes towards their own minority culture, religion or language, and/or towards their countries of origin. How the hegemonic majoritarian society relates to these minority groups, their communicative activities and self-positionings, is of secondary interest.

However, some interests are shared. On a higher level of theoretical abstraction, also so-called diaspora-researchers tend to adhere to the foucauldian

10 The commonality of this finding can also be confirmed by studies presenting overviews of the research area: see Horsti 2008 for a Nordic overview; ter Wal 2002 for European; Lappalainen 2005 for Swedish; Tuftte 2001 for Danish; Nikunen 2007a for British; Eskonen 2007 for French, and Pöytäri 2007b for Dutch.

11 This became apparent during discussions held at the section meeting of the Diaspora and Media-group at the IAMCR-conference (International Association for Media and Communication Research) in Cairo 2006.

an idea of language as power (e.g., Foucault 1966). What this signifies is that researchers in this area of inquiry tend to assume that language constructs realities, and that language is power since all do not have equal possibilities to use language in order to join in positioning processes and sense-making practices. However, what exactly is meant by 'language constructs realities' varies. I adhere to a moderate constructionist perspective (e.g., Bamforth 1997) which, in simplified terms, signifies that I believe there is a reality besides the mediated reality that discursively is common for us. Nevertheless, without a language (words, namings, and so on) it is difficult for us to get acquainted with this non-discursive reality, and without language we cannot engage in the collective sense-making processes of it. For example, even if racist violence might be a non-discursive act, we cannot grasp it in a meaningful way without naming it and using other words to talk about it.

Another common feature for so-called diaspora-researchers and others mentioned in this section of the dissertation, is that most studies tend to take a critical point of departure. Ideologies are often seen as taking banal and invisible forms and as being intertwined with media content or risking to become so (e.g., van Dijk 1991; Wodak & Meyer 2001; Wodak, et al. 2009). Some scholars adhere to Critical Theory in a narrow sense referring to one or several German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School (see Bohman 2002; Horkheimer 1982, 244). Others, myself included, have a broader understanding, defining a few or a variety of dimensions of domination in late modern societies, and then basing the social inquiry at decreasing this domination.

Following Ruth Wodak's (2009) advice, I have made sure that three dimensions of critique are present in this study. First, I make use of background and contextual knowledge by embedding the empirical studies in a wider frame of social and political relations, processes and circumstances. Second, I aim to discover inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the structures internal to the media text or audience-talk. And thirdly, I briefly involve myself in a more prognostic type of critique. This final form of critique aims to contribute to the transformation and improvement of communications, for example, by contributing to the development of guidelines for journalists and other media professionals in order to reduce discriminatory practices in the media and such nurtured by the media (my own example, adapted from another one given by Wodak 2009, 312).

The third level of critique is somewhat problematic since it brings up the questions of normativeness. This thesis is outspoken about wanting to join in the struggle for increased mutual understanding and solidarity between people and groups who might share only limited similarities in values and habits. This thesis also wants to work against all sorts of fanaticisms

(political, religious, and so forth) and modes of oppression due to ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. This is however not done with a naïve and/or emotional 'ethnocultural complexity is never a problem'-attitude, but with a sincere attempt to investigate the phenomena with some distance; by drawing on theoretical literature, empirical evidence, and on evidence of demographic and political change in one late modern society, namely that of Finland.

1.4 Finland as a case in point

One of the reasons for the fast heterogenisation process is Finland's recent history of immigration. Finland only became a country of significant immigration at the beginning of the 1990's when the Soviet regime collapsed, the Somalian civil war escalated, and Yugoslavia started disintegrating. After the Second World War, when many European countries, such as Sweden, started receiving refugees, Finland was a country of emigration.

It might seem paradoxical, but despite the brief history of migration, cultural complexity has still been an important part of Finnish history (Leitzinger 2008). Besides the Swedish language minority, which, as noted, is not really a minority in any other sense than numbers since Finland is a bilingual state, the indigenous Sámi have always lived in the geographic area today constituting northern parts of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia. The first Roma immigrated in the 16th century (Nordberg 2007, 14), while many ancestors of representatives for the Roma, Jewish, Tatar, and so-called old-Russian minorities, came to Finland with the Russian army during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Kauranen & Tuori 2002).

This historical, cultural and linguistic complexity has influenced contemporary terminology on minority issues. First of all, it explains why there is a division of 'old' and 'new' minorities in Finland. 'Old minorities' refer to 'national minorities' (Fi: kansalliset vähemmistöt) like the Finnish Roma and the indigenous Sámi, while 'new minorities' mostly refers to migrants who have arrived since the 1970's, but mainly after 1990. The Finnish Roma with their traditional clothing are an exception, but otherwise, these 'old minorities' do not really differ visually from the majority population. None of the 'old' minority groups are in a marginalised position because of their language skills and thus are not their access to information and their opportunity to make claims in public dependent on linguistic factors.

Second, the recent history of immigration is one of the explanations for why the minority media landscape in Finland is not as developed as in other EU countries with a bigger pool of people of migrant origin (see Kauranen & Tuori 2002; Suihkonen 2003; and also IOM Finland 2011). Nonetheless, how well developed minority media is, does not always have to do with the

size of the community. For example, despite approximately 45,000 people having Russian as their mother tongue in Finland in 2007 (Statistics Finland, PX-Web databases, no. II), there were difficulties for commercial Russian language media to survive. With the growing popularity of the Internet, the situation for minority language online media seems to be changing (see Davydova 2008). Previous research done on minority issues and the mainstream media (e.g., Raittilla 2004; Vehmas 2005) however suggests that, at least in the mid 2000's, the influence of minority media on mainstream public debates was low. The reasons are most likely language barriers¹², an ingrained use of sources, and journalists simply not knowing about emerging minority media on the Internet.

What the relatively weak minority media means in the context of this study is that the role of the mainstream media as an actor that positions and an area in which positioning takes place is bigger in Finland than in countries with powerful minority media.

This brings us to the following point concerning why Finland is an interesting case to look at: the largest groups of foreign language speakers consist of people of Russian and/or Estonian origin¹³, and they do not physically differ much from ethnic Finns. Maybe, partially due to the fact that most members of these two main minority groups in Finland are 'white', issues of blackness and whiteness are seldom at the centre of public debate. Another reason is to be found in the organising of formal population records. In contrast to the United States and United Kingdom for example, population records based on ethnic backgrounds are not kept in Finland. Population statistics can be found on mother tongue, citizenship and the place of birth.

This does not mean that visible minority groups were lacking in Finland. In 2007 almost 10,000 Somali speakers lived in the country. Many of them arrived to Finland as refugees in the early 1990's. There were also about 8,000 people who spoke Arabic as their mother tongue, almost 6,000 who spoke Albanian, a similar amount who spoke Kurdish, and as many who spoke Chinese (Mandarin). 4,000 spoke Persian and 1,500 Bosnian. In 2007, there were also some 4,000 Thai-speakers, most of them women married to Finnish men (Statistics Finland, PX-Web Statfin, no. II).

From 1999 to 2007 the percentage of foreign language speakers altogether grew from 1.8 to 3.2 and the percentage of foreign nationals from 1.7 to 2.5. (Statistics Finland, PX-Web Statfin, no. I and II).¹⁴ During 1999–2007, the number of people who spoke one of the above mentioned languages as

12 Some minority-run online news and discussion forums such as Suomen Somali Portaali at <http://suomensomali.com/fin/>, and Russian.fi at <http://russian.fi>, are multilingual, at least concerning some parts of the content.

13 Besides the 45,000 inhabitants who spoke Russian as their first language in 2007, almost 20,000 spoke Estonian (Statistics Finland, PX-Web databases, no. II).

their mother tongue doubled. During this period, the fastest growing foreign language groups were the Thai (1,300 in 1999), Persians (1,000 in 1999) and Bosnians (0 in 1999). The number of Chinese speakers has also grown relatively fast – a fact that seems to have gone somewhat unnoticed in migration research in Finland often focusing on Russians, Somalians and/or the role of Islam.

This is not to say that a focus on Islam in research would be irrelevant. Since the early 1990's the number of individuals acknowledging and/or practicing Islam has grown steadily in Finland. In 2006, there were around 40,000 Muslims living permanently in Finland, 27,000 were born abroad and between 9,000–13,000 were born in Finland to parents who have immigrated. Around 1,000 have converted to Islam. Not all Muslims belong to congregations, and therefore numbers are estimations only. When looking at those who are registered, the biggest groups acknowledging Islam are of the following origins: Somalians¹⁵, Arabs, Kurds, Kosovo-Albanians, Turks, Iranians and Bosnians. In most medium or big-sized towns there is at least one Mosque. In Helsinki, there are around ten. (Martikainen 2008, 62–84.) Obviously, how often a person who is counted as belonging to this loose grouping practice religion and with what dedication varies to a great extent. This applies both to persons who are registered at congregations and to those who are not.

Contrarily to common perceptions, the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Finland is relatively small from the overall pool of foreign language speakers, foreign nationals and migrants. According to the Finnish Immigration Service (Migri), the number of asylum seekers that came to Finland between 1999 and 2007 varies from 1,500 to 3,800 yearly. Refugee status was given to only 12 persons in 2005, 38 persons in 2006 and 68 persons in 2007. However, temporary residence permits on the basis of a need for protection, humanitarian reasons or family ties was given to 500–900 asylum seekers yearly during the period in focus. Besides asylum seekers, Finland takes 750 so-called quota refugees yearly, according to an agreement with the UNHCR. (Migri 2009.) Due to some unsolved issues between the Central Government and municipalities, some of the quota refugees have to wait for years in their countries of origins, or in a third country, after having received a note of acceptance from Finnish authorities.

14 2007 was chosen as the year in focus here since this was the last year of the gathering of material. Since 2007 both percentages have continued growing modestly but steadily: in 2010, 4.2% of all people permanently residing in Finland were foreign language speakers and 3.1% were foreign nationals. (Statistic Finland's PX-Web databases, no. 1). These demographic changes put Finland amongst those EU countries, which are considered as going through fast heterogenisation processes (Saukkonen 2007, 5). Nevertheless, Finland had the 9th lowest proportion of foreign citizens in the total population among all the present EU27 countries (Eurostat news release 184/2009).

15 I use 'Somalian' not 'Somali' since 'Somali' can refer to ethnic group belonging, while Somalian refers to Somalia, the country.

Besides these above mentioned circumstances and changes, Finland from 1999 to 2007 is an interesting case also since immigration and integration politics experienced a phase of transition.

Concerning integration politics, during the data-gathering period of this study, the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (493/1999) from 1999 was in force. The Act is primarily concerned with the immigration and integration of immigrants who arrive in Finland with humanitarian motives, as the name of the Act indicates. A central aspect is the goal of immigrants' smooth incorporation into Finnish society and work life, while still supporting their own language and cultural habits. (Lepola 2000; Saukkonen 2010.) Simultaneously with the coming into force of this Act, the Finnish word for integration, 'kotoutuminen', was introduced (Paananen 2005, 177–178).¹⁶

Concerning immigration policies again, during the first half of the data gathering period of this study, the old Aliens Act from 1991 was still in force. The Act was changed more than 20 times in order to meet new challenges occurring in a more globalised environment. The changes included, for example, an acceptance of a government bill that made it easier to reject and remove rejected asylum seekers from the country (HE 15/2000). The new law was believed to be aimed at Roma from Eastern Europe.¹⁷ While in general entry was made more difficult for some people, the Act was seen as too strict for others. At the beginning of the millennium, it was particularly the Confederation of Finnish Industry and Employers (TT) (see e.g., Lilja 2003) that put pressure on political decision makers to change the Act so that it would better meet the increased need for faster and more flexible work permit procedures.

Some significant developments took place after the turn of the millennium. In 2000, a new constitution came into force. Section 17 in the Constitution of Finland guarantees the right of Roma, Sámi¹⁸ and also other groups to cultivate and develop their own languages and cultures. As Ritva Mitchell (2006, 304–305) points out, it remains vague who in the Constitution are considered as 'other groups'. Neither is it specified what 'cultivating' and

16 A new integration act (Integration Act 1386/2010, Fi: Laki kotouttamisen edistämisestä) was accepted in December 2010 and it will come into force in September 2011. The aim of the renewed act is to better take into consideration complexities within the pool of migrants. For example, instead of general integration plans, immigrants will make personal integration plans according to their own skills, needs and life situations.

17 From June 2000 onwards immigration officials have seven days to process asylum applications and can remove persons whose applications are rejected within the next eight days. The coming into force of the law coincided with an increase of Roma asylum seekers from Eastern Europe; 680 applied for asylum in Finland in the first six months of 2000, virtually all of whom had their applications for asylum rejected (see Migri 2009; Förbom 2010).

18 In their native region, the Sámi have linguistic and cultural self-government, as provided by Section 121 in the Constitution.

'developing' means. Despite this, the clause functions as a symbolic gesture for an increased acceptance of and respect for ethnocultural complexity.

Hereafter, in 2004, the Non-discrimination Act, also called The Equality Act, was passed, with the purpose to foster and safeguard equality and enhance the protection of those who have been discriminated against. It also obliges local authorities to draw up an equality plan (Non-discrimination Act 21/2004). In the same year, the new Aliens Act (301/2004) was finally introduced. The passing of the bill took years and was everything but easy (see Förbom 2010). Although the new Act met some of the new challenges concerning work permits, even after passing in 2004, the Act was criticised heavily, particularly by the Third sector (see e.g., Vapaa Liikkuvuus 2007). The biggest problem was claimed to be the new temporary residence permit, the so-called B-permit for asylum seekers.¹⁹

Another, even more important change, was the introduction of an active immigration policy. Prime Minister Anneli Jäätteenmäki was the first to talk of an active immigrant recruitment in the Government programme from 2003, and the politics continued in Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen's second Government programme from 2006. That year, the Council of State accepted the Government's Migration Policy Programme as a decision in principle. The programme aims to promote work-motivated immigration, mainly due to the ageing of the population and the decreasing number of working age people. The programme states that migrants coming to work and their families have the right to get guidance enabling integration into Finnish society.

In the light of the global financial crisis that started in the U.S. in 2007, but reached Finland one year later, as well as the harshened political climate concerning immigration and immigrants living in the country that co-occurred, one cannot be sure how, or if the political will to actively recruit foreign workers will be maintained. At the time of writing, spring 2011, there is an upcoming Parliamentary election. The direction for future work related migration thus depends on the forthcoming Government.

Concerning less formal forms of agency with potential political undertones, violent mass outbursts mainly involving youth of migrant origin have not been experienced in Finland. One explanation for this might be that in Finland there is not such a significant segregation of social groups into certain areas as in some European cities (Saukkonen 2010, 24). In some areas, like in the city of Vantaa near Helsinki and in the cities of Joensuu and Oulu, affrays involving immigrants and representatives of far-right groups have however taken place on rather frequent basis. For example, the District

19 Some of the practical issues relating to the B-permit, such as the restricted possibility to work for asylum seekers having this permit, were met by amendments introduced between 2007 and 2009, that is to say, after the data-gathering period of this study.

Court of Joensuu handled around 20 law cases involving immigrants on the prosecuting or the defending side in 2002 (Puuronen 2011, 186–194).

During the data-gathering period, the biggest challenges that Finland was faced with concerning migration and ethnocultural complexity were, however, mainly related to the overall difficulty that the hegemonic²⁰ majority society had and still has in adapting to a more ethnoculturally complex citizenry, and also to a difficulty in seeing complexities within the pool of immigrants.

For example, concerning language education it was often not considered that while some migrants came to Finland as illiterate, others came with university degrees (Pöyhönen et al. 2009). Concerning work life, the demand for labour did not then meet the supply: although there were well educated minority professionals living in Finland, these were often forced to work in sectors other than their own because of structural reasons and discrimination (see Forsander 2002; Silfver 2010; Ahmad 2010.)²¹ Various forms of intended or unintended discrimination also in other sectors formed another serious problem (see Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000, 80). And so did structural issues such as a scattered administration of immigration policies²², and disagreements between state institutions and regional municipalities on who should pay for the costs of accommodating asylum seekers and refugees (e.g., Kuntaliitto 2009).

To conclude this section, one of the starting points for this dissertation is that the fast growing amount of new actors on the labour market, in education, as customers of social services, and so on, and the changes in governmental policies made mediated and face-to-face negotiations of belonging a particularly timely affair in Finland during the time period in focus. Although much has changed in Finland since 2007, many of the main challenges relating to how this increased complexity was dealt with between 1999 and 2007 still persist today.

1.5 The disposition

The rough structure of the thesis is as follows: There are three parts in the dissertation of which the first, ‘Contextualisations’, presents the theoretical

20 Hegemony shall here be understood in an everyday sense signifying a ‘preponderant or dominant influence’ (see Gramsci 1992 and/or Hall 1996 for more sophisticated theoretisation).

21 Partially because of gloomy career prospects and an atmosphere experienced as unfriendly, some well educated youngsters of immigrant background seem to be ready to move away from Finland whether or not their skills are appreciated here. Some single out the media as one actor that discriminates (Maahanmuuttajanuoret Suomessa 2009). It shall however be taken into account that also other factors common for youth in general most likely prompt a desire to move abroad for shorter or longer periods of time.

22 The scattered administration was only partially improved in spring 2007 when a new Minister of Migration and European Affairs, Astrid Thors, was appointed (see Teräs 2007, 12).

framework and the background in which the research questions are developed and in which the empirical part is placed. The second part, 'Empirical findings', presents the five case studies. In part three, 'Interpretations and Outlooks', the findings from the individual cases are reflected upon.

To elaborate; in part I, chapter 2, it is argued that Positioning Theory (PT) introduced by social psychologist Rom Harré is fruitful when interested in ethnocultural complexity and the media. Since positionings can occur on various levels and in various forums (Harré & Moghaddam 2003, 6–7) we also need a spatial metaphor to understand how positioning practices work in mediated environments. Hence, we need a theory of media and communication. In this chapter it is suggested that the communicative space is envisioned as a network that needs to be understood in a wider ideological and structural context. Therefore, chapter 2 also takes into consideration how the ideologies of racism and nationalism, also in their more subtle forms, can influence positioning practices. The chapter also looks into media policies, which have been formulated in order to decrease the effects of these ideologies on the communicative space.

In chapter 3, the materials and methods used for the five case studies are clarified. Here, I argue that a methodological melange of data-gathering and data-analysing techniques is suited most accurately for answering the research questions, and that the overall case study design is an additional benefit when answering the research questions. The two main methods, quantitative content analysis (Hansen et al., 1998) and qualitative close reading (DuBois 2003) are also presented after which a set of so-called analytical devices is introduced.

In part II, 'Empirical findings', the five case studies are presented one by one. First to be presented is Case I, a quantitative mapping of articles published in two Swedish language newspapers, *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasa-bladet*, between the years 1999 and 2005. Second to be presented is Case II, a study looking more closely at the reporting of matters involving Russians and Estonians in 2001 and 2002 in the same newspapers as above. Third to be presented is Case III, a study from 2007 that looks profoundly into the arts sections in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the main Swedish language daily paper, and *Helsingin Sanomat*, the main Finnish language daily newspaper. Fourth to be presented is Case IV, a predominantly qualitative study of articles published in the Finnish afternoon press (*Ilta-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti*) in 2004 and 2005.

The last empirical study to be presented, Case V, deals with the focus group study involving persons of various ethnocultural and linguistic backgrounds. Here, I present the analyses of how newspaper readers in 2006 talked about the media, immigrants/immigration in general, and of articles featuring these actors/phenomena in particular.

In part III, 'Interpretations and Outlooks', findings from the empirical results are related to each other, and interpreted through the main arguments in the multiple layer framework of contexts and concepts under part I. Under this part, a summary of the dissertation is provided first, and then, the three research questions are discussed in a more direct manner. Then, after a more general discussion about the meaning of these findings, an epilogue follows, in which events and phenomena after the research period (from 2007 onwards) are related to arguments, trends and findings brought up by this dissertation.

In this dissertation there is a conscious attempt not to deal with theory as a separate entity, but to link theoretical notions and ideas to 'the reality out there'. This integrative style of writing; intertwining theory and other types of contextual matters, which relate to the cultural and socio-political developments, signifies that unexpected 'gaps' might occur in the level of abstraction. Hopefully, at the same time, this will help the reader to realise that theory, empirical findings and the ideological climate bound to a certain time and space, are interlinked.

2. Theoretical perspectives on positioning and communicative spaces

Ruth Wodak (2009, 312) has said that language is not independently powerful – it gains power through the use that powerful individuals make of it. Besides powerful individuals (politicians, lawyers, journalists, and so on), who have greater opportunities to influence positioning practices of other persons and collectives, there are more abstract and institutionalised hierarchies of power that influence our ideas of which positions are thought of as possible for certain actors, and which are not. These can be of ideological character; certain thoughts, values and norms that are more legitimate in one context than in another. Or they can relate more concretely to public communicative environments; to ownership issues, media regulations, demands on the media product to be economically profitable, journalistic conventions, and so on.

When positions are negotiated in and through one particular type of symbolic production – in this case Finnish print media journalism and audience-talk about it – we must therefore pay much more attention than in the introduction to various communicative mechanisms and ideological powers which might influence positioning practices. In order to do so, I am following the guidelines of Wodak (2009, 311) about integrating multiple layers of socio-political and historical context into more theoretical thoughts in order to contextualise the empirical analyses in the most adequate way.

Clearly, there is a limit to how multiple the 'multiple layer contextualisation' can be made before the study starts to lose its perspective. The choice here is to focus on clarifying the main theory for this study, Positioning Theory (PT), according to Rom Harré, Luk van Langenhove, Fathali Moghaddam and Naomi Lee (Harré & van Langenhove 1999; Harré & Moghaddam 2003; Moghaddam, Harré & Lee 2010). Since it is in a mediated and/or communicative environment in which these positions occur, PT is then embedded in media and communication theories that are soon to be clarified. The mediated and/or communicative environment is influencing and is influenced by such ideologies as nationalism and racism, and also by more structural types of legislative and policy making components. These are two broad

areas of academic inquiry, which I then, for present purposes, deal with only to a limited extent.

2.1 Positioning Theory (PT)

While ‘identity’ seems to be losing ground as the main analytical notion in social science inquiries, ‘positioning’ seems to be breaking ground in various disciplines. The notion is used in various ‘modern’ identity theories on a macro level (e.g., Hall 1996; Alasuutari 2004) and in philosophically driven feminist scholarship on identity work (Benhabib et al. 1995). It is also applied in studies on ethnic conflicts and war (Rothbart & Barlett 2010, 227; Slocum-Bradley 2010, 207) and in studies on audience-publics and their relationship to media content (Morley 1992, 65). On a micro level, for example, neighbourhood conflicts (Harré & Slocum 2003, 121), semi-public conference talk in postcolonial settings (Aberdeen 2003, 189), and discourses about the Alzheimer’s disease (Sabat 2003, 85) have been subject to this application.

In all these studies representing various academic disciplines, ‘positioning’ is understood not from the perspective of marketing and product positioning, in which it also has been used (Apter 2003, 15), but instead for locating, analysing and understanding such meaningful action as language use and social interaction between persons, groups and/or institutions.

Before engaging in the analytical advantages of this notion and the theory in which it is embedded, let us first discuss the decreasing popularity of ‘identity’ in social sciences. Why is there, for example, in this dissertation no talk about ‘social identities’ or ‘collective identities’?

First, practically all present day theorists want to reject the idea of identity standing for an integral, self-sustaining and unified self (Alasuutari 2004, 21). One can therefore say that in recent years, identity has been relocated: from the ‘private’ realms of cognition and experience, to the ‘public’ realms of discourse and other semiotic systems of meaning-making. This has come to be something of a backlash against the notion of an internally located group or collective identity (Benwell & Stokoe 2006, 4, 27).

Second, because of the modern view of identities as process-like, and sometimes contradictory, it is hard to talk about them using nouns. Many scholars choose to talk about identification or identity construction instead, or to use some of the numerous, often near synonymous, terms like ‘position’, ‘role’ and ‘category’ (ibid., 5).

Third, when there is academic talk about social identities with a focus on ethnic minorities and immigrants, membership of, or exclusion from the nation-state easily becomes the predominant issue. Here I want – at least symbolically – to allow for other types of ingroup formations and articulations of belonging than those bound to the nation-state and its borders.

However, as have many others, I have not entirely abandoned identity on a conceptual level. In this study, identity work (which could be identity construction as well) is used occasionally as an umbrella notion: an abbreviated form for 'the sense-making process of who belongs where and under which premises'. This is a strategic act, which aims to show that positioning practices in the media and in face-to-face talk are not detached from so-called identity politics. To put it simply, we can define identity politics as not only something that political leaders, representatives of minority rights movements or separatist groups are concerned with, but also something that, for example, business people are involved in. Those who want to make others think or behave in a certain way try consciously and rationally to construct attractive identities for people to identify with (Alasuutari 2004, 122).

Then what does the conceptual framework of Positioning Theory (PT), mainly developed by Rom Harré and his colleagues (e.g., Harré & van Langenhove 1999; Harré & Moghaddam 2003; Moghaddam, Harré & Lee 2010), provide us with, that various conceptualisations of social and/or collective identity does not?

First of all, PT is the study of local moral orders as ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting (Harré & van Langenhove 1999, 1). This means that PT has been developed specifically for studying the social world from the realm of conversation and patterns of interaction (*ibid.*, 10). This is a suitable starting point for the interests of this dissertation. Here, I am interested in the negotiations (mediated and face-to-face) in which these mutual rights and obligations (i.e., various conditions for belonging in my terms) are negotiated, and in how certain unequal social relations and certain journalistic mechanisms, such as the power to distribute voice and visibility, influence this practice.

Secondly, PT is a broad enough theory to cover both micro level analyses and macro level theoretisations and it does not see society as split into ontologically distinct levels, but as interdisciplinary in nature (*ibid.*, 10). Positioning practices occur on various levels in a variety of social and mediated realities (Benwell & Stokoe 2006, 43). This makes PT particularly suitable for answering the research questions of this study, which span several levels of abstraction. Besides, the interdisciplinary fundament of PT is in alignment with the approach of this dissertation (situated at a crossing of sociology, social psychology and journalism studies).

When taking these two points to a more pragmatic level, positioning occurs on various levels, in various realms of more private and more public nature. For example, in a classroom, in a face-to-face discussion about some previous bullying, not everyone has the same right to confirm or deny a claim about what really happened. In the media, positioning takes place when various mediated actors, including the journalist and the eventual

technical crew; editors, cameramen, and so on, sometimes consciously and other times unconsciously create positions for themselves and for others. This can happen on the first line in a newspaper article when an actor is introduced and the title is provided for, 'Mr. Smith, researcher of integration politics' for example. But it can also take place through more subtle means, such as through restrictions of voice and visibility. This will be discussed further throughout this study. Positioning also takes place when text meets its audience, when the newspaper reader positions him or herself in a framework of speech acts and storylines in the media. Besides, positions and positioning practices can also be understood on a higher level of abstraction, so that positioning as a practice comes to stand for the construction of what many call social identity/ies, in other words; shared feelings of belonging and solidarity (see Alasuutari 2004, 135).

Third, PT is a sophisticated theory. Yet, the notions within this theory reflect very well the everyday understanding of these notions and their links, and the theory fits well with the understanding of social reality as ever-shifting and multi-faceted. For example, according to PT, the most central concept, the 'position', is what it is in an everyday sense: a concrete or mental space to which persons or groups of persons are placed into, or in which they situate themselves. In contrast to 'role', which can be perceived as static, a position is more dynamic, fluid, short-lived, and possible to challenge (Davies & Harré 1990, 43; Harré & Slocum 2003, 127). There can be, for example, positions available for various grades of victimness or perpetratorness, which is somewhat in contrast to Role Theory (Goffman 1959), which despite current theoretical development, still builds on the general idea of everyday activity being the acting out of socially defined and separable categories, in this case the victim-category and the perpetrator-category.

What this means is that despite the fact that positions are relational (Harré & van Langenhove 1999, 2) in that when talking of who 'we' are, we need to identify who 'they' are, and vice versa (Hall 1996, 4; Appadurai 2006, 5), PT provides a scale of inclusion and exclusion, not only a clear cut either/or option. Instead of changed roles (from 'being included' to 'being excluded', for example), with the help of PT, we can talk of a changed position on a scale of inclusiveness. To simplify, it does not have to be either/or, it can be more or less.

According to PT however, also in this dynamic and flexible practice, some sort of categorical distinction takes place (Harré & van Langenhove 1999). What this means is that in the sense-making of who belongs where and to what extent, we need some sort of categories and distinctions. In this process various conditions are applied. These conditions, or markers of belonging as I call them in this study, can be anything depending on the context. Teenage-girls negotiating belonging to an ingroup can, for example, exclude

a girl because of her facial features or clothing. In print media journalism one would imagine that the markers of belonging used for the potential inclusion of minority actors into one or several imaginary ingroups, who share some sort of feelings of solidarity amongst each other, would be somewhat more rational in nature.

As per PT, there are however no guarantees that conditions used in the media and in audience-talk are 'fair' or rational, since emotions, besides other mechanisms to be investigated further in this thesis, play a role for this process. Besides, as a holder of a position, one does not have a long-term guarantee to the position, since the conditions for obtaining the position might change.¹ Even though conditions would not change, as a holder of a place/space, there are certain rights provided, but also certain duties that have to be met, and if the duties are not taken care of, the position might be lost. As an example; immigrant women from a certain geographic area might, in collective imaginaries, be positioned as 'hard-working and reliable guests', which brings along certain rights and duties of a non-formal kind. As holders of this position, the minority actors can for example be more trusted than immigrants positioned in other ways. At the same time, they are given certain duties. They might for example be required to be 'nice' and not to complain. If the collective assumption (which might be influenced by stereotypes) is that they do not take care of these duties, their position might be withdrawn.

Then, where are these conditions, rights and duties negotiated? Where can we 'see' categorical distinction and analyse various markers of belonging?

According to PT, this happens in speech acts. These are intended movements or speech that can be interpreted as socially meaningful and significant. Harré and Moghaddam take the handshake as an example, showing how it can be expressing a greeting, farewell, congratulations or a seal of a bet. The shake, they say, is only significant as far as it is given a meaning in the unfolding episode of which it forms a part (Harré & Moghaddam 2003, 6.) Another example could be the meaning of the n-word in a news article. The significance is different depending on whether it is used in an article

¹ Positions can also be understood in a more formal and/or legislative way. In the army or in a prison, you are a holder of certain position, and almost all of your activities are determined by the duties that this position brings along (Alasuutari 2004, 123). In this case, there are few or no possibilities at all to 'lose', 'change' or 'gain' a new position in formal terms. Professions, various statuses for migrants, and so on, can also be understood as more or less formal types of positions: you are a Finnish citizen, you are not, or you are in the process of possibly becoming one; you are a medical doctor, you are not, or you are in the process of becoming one. In this dissertation I am only limitedly interested in formal positions or in official rights and duties bound to positions. Instead, here, I am primarily interested in such positions, which are more constructive in nature, and in such conditions for inclusion and exclusion, which are not set in laws and regulations, but negotiated in mediated and face-to-face interaction. This does not mean that formal positioning processes would be irrelevant. As will be seen, media policies in the field of minority issues are here thought of as having an impact on more informal types of discursive positioning.

discussing colonialist oppression and critically looking into racist vocabulary from the early 20th century, or whether it is used in a contemporary context, in a headline of an article portraying a minority actor involved in crime. In this study, the speech acts of interest not only occur in media text and audience-talk, but are also present in media policies, laws and declarations, which will be looked at later in this chapter as well.

As per PT, these speech acts situate themselves in historical continuities, thus forming particular storylines (Davies & Harré 1990, 47; Benhabib 2002). According to narrative theory (e.g., Labov 1972, 362; 2006, 76) the minimum requirement for a narrative – a story – is that there is a more or less a stable situation, which changes in such a way that the situation that follows is noticeably different from the previous one. A story thus always has a beginning, a mid part and an ending. But what if the speech acts in which positioning takes form in the media, do not form a story that fulfils this minimum requirement? Concerning the media's reporting on immigrants, ethnic minorities and diversity issues, there might be only stagnation and no movement at all.

What Brownyn Davies, Harré and Moghaddam (Davies & Harré 1990, 47; Harré & Moghaddam 2003, 6) mean with storyline might not necessarily be what empirically can be proven in a certain narrowly limited time and space setting, but what occurs when the text-bound story is situated in a larger context. Results from previous empirical research support this reading of PT. According to Finnish sociologist Jukka Törrönen (2001, 183) 'storyline' can be used, irrespective of whether the speech acts form a 'coherent' story or not. Concerning empirical findings from a study on newspaper editorials about alcohol politics, Törrönen noticed that the editorials only set the scene, presented the actors and made the subject competent for action, but then the story was interrupted. The accomplishing of the storyline was transferred to the audience. In my understanding, this suitably illustrates firstly, that storyline as a notion can be useful irrespective of how complete or incomplete the story on a representation level in fact is, and secondly, that PT does not only concern the textual level but also has an in-built interest in the contact between text and audience. In this thesis, storyline thus refers not only to the media's reporting on minority actors and diversity issues between 1999 and 2007, but also to the links between stories on a representational-empirical level (cases I–IV), the newspaper readers' interpretations of them (case V), and the theoretical and ideo-historical context.

This brings us to the following point. Since PT does not really separate between micro and macro processes of positioning practices (Benwell & Stokoe 2006, 43), we need to look beyond PT towards theories of audience activity and the role of media and audiences in communicative environments, for a better understanding of how audience-talk and media content relate to each other and to more informal perceptions and formal declarations of

who belongs where. From a perspective of media and communication scholarship, it is this contextualisation of PT in a broader framework of media and communication theory that allows us to approach the question of why certain positions in certain mediated contexts appear as more possible and more legitimate than others. This is one further advantage of PT; since it should not be regarded as a 'general theory', like gravitational theory, but rather as a starting point for reflecting upon the many different aspects of social life (Harré & Langenhove 1999, 9–10), it can be combined and complemented with other theories if or when needed.

2.2 Positioning practices in the communicative space

Despite the fact that PT is not a media theory, the most central notions in the theory have been much used in social research including media and communication scholarship which draws on Michel Foucault and/or Stuart Hall. For example, such Nordic media scholars as Suvi Keskinen (2010, 111), Karina Horsti (2005; 2007, 40), Pentti Raittila (2004, 39), Gunilla Hultén (2006), Urban Ericsson, Irene Molina and Per-Markku Ristilampi (2002) all use the notion of the position. These scholars use position for 'place', 'location' and/or for arguing for the temporary nature of social identities, but none of them make any particular references to PT by Harré et al. For example, in the context of clarifying what cultural memory is, Finnish media and journalism researcher Pentti Raittila (2004, 40) refers to Stuart Hall's (1999, 223–271) understanding of identity as a position, which is constructed when the subject is attached to meaning-making processes. Thereafter however, he chooses to use identity as the main theoretical notion.

Likewise, in a study on media audiences of immigrant background, the Swedish researchers on children and youth, Ulrika Sjöberg and Ingegerd Rydin, use the notion of position in Hall's understanding stating that an important question in this context *concerns how people position themselves [...] in relation to the various public discourses they face in their encounters with the media and in society in general. Positioning is a matter of identity and of similarity and difference* (Sjöberg & Rydin 2009, 12). Finnish researcher on media and ethnicity Karina Horsti (2007, 40) uses positions and roles, but she subordinates the notions to theoretisations of 'framing'².

The above-mentioned studies on ethnocultural complexity and the media hence use the notion as an analytical device to get at something else. In other words, positions and positioning practices are not the notions put in the centre of their theoretical reasoning but function as help tools allowing for theoretisations of identity, belonging, solidarity, and so forth. Outside the particular area of research (i.e., ethnocultural complexity and the media), we can however find linguists, communication scientists and sociologists

working on issues related to media and/or communication using PT by Rom Harré et al. For example, besides Jukka Törrönen (2000, 2001) who has been mentioned earlier, Jakob Svensson (2008) and Elda Weizman (2008) have taken PT as the main analytical framework for their studies of media and/or communication.

In spite of this common theoretical ground (PT as the main theory) these three studies are otherwise very different. As noted, Törrönen (2001) has studied newspaper editorials dealing with alcohol policy, and also dealt with various theoretical considerations concerning positions and positioning practices (*ibid.*, 2000). Swedish communication researcher Jakob Svensson (2008, 256) has studied how politicians and municipal officials position inhabitants as citizens in their activities. He also asks through which positions participants understand their participation.

Israeli social linguist Elda Weizman again has studied media texts through a fine-grained textual analysis. The analysis presented in her book from 2008 explores discursive positioning focusing on news interviews on Israeli television. Her conceptual analysis is based on an empirical study of a 24 hour corpus of news interviews broadcast, as well as on a corpus of news interviews and comments made by politicians and other actors in the media. Her aim is to see how positions are negotiated in these news broadcasts, and she does this through engaging in an empirically-based textual micro analysis of discourse patterns (*ibid.*, 2008, 14). Weizman's 'anchor of interpretation' is much closer to the empirical material than mine. She treats her empirical material and displays her findings in a detailed style, while my analyses are fairly rough. For example, she focuses on particular parts of the text under analysis, namely openings and closings in news broadcasts, to get relevant information on how the interviewer and the interviewee position one another (*ibid.*, 177), while I focus on news articles and face-to-face talk from a broader perspective.

Despite the fact that these scholars investigate media and/or communication from the perspective of PT, none of them theoretically discuss how positions provided by mediated actors (journalists, actors interviewed in the media, and so on) and positions occurring in audience-talk can be related

2 Both PT, and Framing Theory applied by e.g., Goffman 1974, de Vreese 2005, D'Angelo 2002, and Horsti 2005, are perfectly suitable for analyses of media content when minority portrayals are concerned. In general terms, we can say that Framing Theory – as applied by media and communication scholars – having an in-built interest in news production and reception processes, is more media centred than PT. As for PT, these dimensions have to be 'added' to the main theory. If one would wish to do so, positioning practices could be seen as being part of framing processes. However, I do not use framing as my main theory here, mainly due to my personal dislike of the main notions 'framing' (Fi: kehystäminen) and 'news frame' (Fi: uutiskehys). In an everyday sense (in Finnish and Swedish languages) frames are 'outlines' or 'borders' to something, a painting for example, but what theorists (*ibids.*; Gitlin 1980, 6) mean with frames and framing is a more complex process of selection of themes and perspectives.

to communicative milieus; technological development, changing journalistic routines, media policies, the role of various regulatory organs, to name but a few. To be able to envision and talk about positioning within complex communicative environments, it might be helpful to use a spatial metaphor.

A SPATIAL METAPHOR FOR COMMUNICATIVE ENVIRONMENTS. There are a variety of metaphors available for envisioning communicative and/or mediated milieus. To simplify a broad and rich field of academic inquiry, researchers who put a focus on political communication, rational debate and deliberative politics, tend to envision the communicative environment as a 'public sphere' affiliating themselves in one way or another to the Public Sphere theory of Jürgen Habermas (1989 [1962]). Those who understand the role of the media in society on more cultural grounds, and who do not have particular attachments to this theory or deliberative politics, tend to call it 'the communicative space' (e.g., McGuigan 2005), 'the journalistic field' (Bourdieu 2005), or 'mediascape' (Appadurai 1990). All of these scholars have their own definitions and understandings of what this space/sphere/environment/scape encompasses.

Scholars who talk about the communicative space in relation to minority actors and ethnocultural complexity, tend not to talk of 'a public sphere' since many (Gitlin 1998; Cunningham 2001) mean that the environment is not open and accessible for everyone according to Habermas' (1989 [1962]) original idea. Amongst the critics of the ideal habermasian public sphere we also find so-called feminist media scholars, such as Nancy Fraser (1992, 1995) and Iris Marion Young (1996), who claim that the emphasising of rational communication in Public Sphere theory might make invisible those who make more emotional claims and engage with more private types of issues. Because of this tendency to hinder the inclusion of certain social groups into more mainstream types of communicative environments, many theorists argue that the mediated and communicative space/scape/field in fact is more scattered than uniform (Gitlin 1998, 173; Cunningham 2001, 132–139; Downing & Husband 2005, 210–211).

When envisioning the communicative space in this way – not as a uniform 'sphere' with borders easy to define, an obvious 'task' to fulfil, and a fair access for everyone, but as a complex web of structural components, communicative conventions, practices and speech acts – the space can be envisioned as a network.

This theoretisation follows a more general trend in social sciences: today, social realities tend to be understood as networks (Castells 1996; Barabási 2002; Boltanski & Chiapello 2005, XXII, 138). The network metaphor has been used by, for example, Hannu Nieminen (2009) and Philip Schlesinger (2003) to theorise European communicative space and to understand

EU media policy from the point of view of political communication. The concept of the network is also central to the work of Manuel Castells (1996, 1997, 1998), who focuses on new communication technologies, and for Nicholas Garnham (2000, 61) whose account of the network is rooted in a political economy of communication rather than technological or political aspects. Garnham's focus is mainly on the economic roles of such communication networks that are at the heart of a range of communicative processes, whether a postal service, a broadcasting system or telecommunications links and on the politics of the regulation of these.

Even though none of the above mentioned scholars in their work primarily focus on ethnocultural complexity, the possibility of voice and visibility that minorities have in network type of spheres for example, they all underline the importance of a holistic view on media and communication. In my understanding, they all mean that in a network type of communicative environment, mainstream content, audience-text relations, technological development, structural components and journalistic conventions are interlinked. Their work, as a result, is useful to understand positioning practices as influenced by variously strong links between institutions, regulatory practices, individual actors and ideological powers.

The network type of communicative space is not referred to here as a public sphere, since the notion, to a certain extent, connotes a linkage to rational debate and deliberative democracy. The aim of this dissertation is not to define which mediated presentations and positioning practices fit the pattern of fully fledged deliberation and which do not. This is a task outside the scope of this thesis. Here, issues circulating in this space and articulated in speech acts can either be exclusively rational in nature – claims made on a variety of social and political matters – as in Habermas' (1998 [1962]) theory, or more cultural in alignment, as for example Jim McGuigan (2005) has proposed. In this way of envisioning the space, neither rationality nor consensus striving forces are required in order for meaningful fragments of communication to become speech acts and storylines.³

It can however be noted that in the more recent writings of Habermas, his ideas concerning the public sphere in relation to mass communication do not differ significantly from the network space envisioned here. Habermas (2006, 415) talks about mediated (political) communication as *circulating from the bottom up and the top down throughout a multilevel system (from everyday talk in civil society, through public discourse and mediated*

3 In other words, in alignment with Chantal Mouffe (2000) who is concerned with democracy theory, I regard consensus as being provisional and as existing as the temporal result of stabilised power relations (see also Karppinen 2010, 55–57). From the perspective of this study, this means that conflict and disagreement are not to be regarded as inherently 'bad' when issues of migration and ethnocultural complexity are discussed in public.

communication in weak publics, to institutionalized discourses at the centre of the political system). And here, the network type of communicative space is seen through a quite similar lens: a space intended for, and constituted of, communication in which meaningful social interaction, such as speech acts, can be articulated. Some of these are formed in concrete, public arenas such as in a newspaper, while others occur in more abstract discourses or private types of social interaction.

What then, is the main benefit and the main drawback with envisioning the communicative space as a network?

The strength of the network metaphor is that it encompasses both corporeal components, such as media institutions/companies, discursive dimensions such as content and more abstract forces such as power hierarchies and relations between various actors, institutions, producers and audiences. Some of these, like minority language media products, might have weaker links to more central nodal points in the space, while others, such as news agencies have stronger ones. A network does not have an outside a priori (Eriksson 2009, 219), which means that the question about which actors are included and which are not becomes somewhat simplifying as such. Instead when talking about inclusion, one can ask which actors in the communicative space have weaker links to more mainstream types of nodal points, and one should ponder why this is the case. Hence, in this dissertation, although there sometimes is talk about inclusion and/or exclusion, these processes are not envisioned as either/or-phenomena, but as based on gradation and on closeness/remoteness from the nodal points in the communicative space. Concerning minority actors, their communicative rights and possibilities, this is a fruitful take, since although minorities might communicate 'inwards', in and through minority language media and/or diasporic media, these sub-areas are seldom completely detached from more mainstream arenas of the communicative space.

Todd Gitlin (1998, 173) describes these sub-areas, which are characterised by the ethnocultural and/or linguistic background of their publics, as sphericules. His idea has been further developed by Stuart Cunningham (2001, 132–139) and by John Downing and Charles Husband (2005, 210–211). Here, the sphericule is seen as a usable notion for illustrating a communicative situation in which minority individuals and/or communities mainly engage in positioning practices with others who share the same ethnic, cultural, or religious background. In this case their social interaction can be seen as 'sphericulic'.⁴ In this study, however, minority language sphericules are seen not as separate entities, but as such arenas in the communicative space which have weak links to more powerful and central arenas, in other words, to the nodal points in the network; Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) companies, news agencies, big media houses, policy making organs, and so on.

The weakness of the network metaphor is that the metaphor as such does not simplify or capture questions concerning the intensity of the flows of information or the hierarchies of 'knots' or nodal points within the network. The metaphor gives a face to contemporary social orders (Eriksson 2009, 58), but it does not provide us with knowledge about if, or how, increased agency and participation on behalf of minority actors, for example, contribute to the intensity of various links between more powerful and less powerful actors. Besides, although audiences (who in today's media environment are often also producers of media content) form a crucial part of the communicative space, the network metaphor does not clarify their role in relation to media content (and/or more structural components in the space). In other words, the network-space as such neither tells us about the role of agency and participation in this space, nor about audience-activity. Let us briefly elaborate on these points.

Concerning the first point; some scholars mean that participation in the communicative space shall not be idealised as such since not all minority voices are progressive (Yuval-Davis 2007). Using a metaphor by Israeli novelist and linguist Amoz Oz (2002), some people are walking exclamation marks fearing no means for getting through with their cause, whatever this cause is and however anti-democratic it might be.

In Finland, we cannot find proof of religious radicalisation and/or growing fundamentalism to the same extent as elsewhere. Non-progressive minority voices are however not completely absent from the public debate. For example, in Finland, in 2004 a group of conservative men of Somalian origin blamed a theatre play entitled *Always someone's daughter* for demeaning Somalian culture and Islam. In their minority language radio show on *Radio Warsan*, the men verbally threatened the main actress, who was of Somalian origin, and the director of the play. The issue was reported in Finland's main newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS 20 October 2004) thanks to an extensive network of actors and agents: community members recording the broadcast, linguistically competent individuals translating the text, and people having close connections with journalists working in the mainstream daily newspaper. In this particular case, a 'sphericule' – a minority language area of the communicative space – had thus been linked to a more mainstream arena of the communicative space, making it possible for issues to flow from one space to another.

4 As noted earlier, in Finland, where the overall pool of immigrants is modest in size and minority media have problems surviving (Kauranen & Tuori 2002; Suihkonen 2003), minority language sphericules have not grown powerful. Media products are lacking ISBN-numbers, they are not archived anywhere, and almost none are translated to the majority languages (ibid.). These linguistic sphericules are, in Finland, situated on the outskirts of the power centres, or the nodal points of the more mainstream areas in the communicative space. It would however be a mistake to claim that they do not have connections to more mainstream areas.

Despite these dangers, in this dissertation it is believed that the bigger the opportunity minorities have in positioning themselves in collective communicative action, the smaller the possibilities are that they would feel humiliated by positions which they do not feel comfortable in. This leads us to a slightly paradoxical-appearing standpoint: minority participation is not necessarily 'good' for democratic ideals, anti-discriminatory principles and social relations, but still, in theory, it is better than no participation at all, since it is primarily through voice and visibility that opportunities for positioning and claims-making occur.

Then how shall one deal with anti-democratic and minority voices?⁵ I am in favour of Downing and Husband's (2005, 216) answer, which is as follows: *Faced with the question of 'how shall we tolerate intolerant minorities?' the answer must be, 'As would we intolerant majorities: we would not'. [...] State regulation of all media may necessarily include restraints on the abuse of communicative freedoms, including incitement to racial hatred.*

Then what if non-progressive minority actors are the only ones who want to participate? What if others – persons and minority groups who wish to advance democratic and non-oppressive ideals – do not want to be linked to the more powerful arenas of the communicative space? What if they choose not to engage, not to participate, and maybe instead cut off links between their minority language 'sphericules' and more mainstream arenas?

If, or when the communicative space is very infected by supremacist ideas, a temporary withdrawal can be strategically wise. Severed relations can also, in fact, in some cases be read as a protest against positioning practices, which are not accessible for everyone to join. For example, in 2008, the Somalian community in Finland chose not to give any more interviews in the mainstream media, since they felt that all kinds of public appearances affected the attitude climate negatively (Aden 2009). In this case the strategic withdrawal can be seen as 'silent communication': a claim of the non-verbal type.

The voluntary withdrawal from mainstream arenas of the network communicative space because of dissatisfaction concerning available positions brings us to the second point: audience activity, and the possibility to influence, change and challenge mediated positions, in this particular case.

5 Obviously, since anti-racism is an underlying normative approach of this thesis, one can ask the same for similar anti-democratic, non-progressive voices from the majority. As the quote of Downing and Husband 2005, pp. 216 declares: These shall not be accepted. In the context of this thesis, this is the case since humiliating representations may in turn be internalised and thus lead to negative self-perceptions and further polarisation. The answer however sounds far simpler than it actually is. Where the fine line between being 'frank' and being humiliating or even racist is to be drawn depends on the context. It has to be re-evaluated from case to case. With the risk of simplifying my theoretical arguments, but for the sake of clarity, we can conclude by stating that an underlying general standpoint in this study is that contradictions and conflict are seen as natural components of the communicative space (e.g., Mouffe 2000), while humiliation, racism and negative stereotypes are not.

Pertti Alasuutari (2004, 135) argues that, generally speaking, people do not have many opportunities to influence the positions in which they are placed. In most cases people adapt and learn how to find meaning and enjoyment in a certain position. Alasuutari talks about this in terms of a coping strategy. In some cases, as in the case of the Somalian community who protested against the positioning of themselves and their peers, as these positions were experienced as humiliating, we saw an opposite strategy. The community did not cope with the position they were given, but they couldn't change it, so they chose to withdraw (at least temporarily). This suggests, as noted in the introduction, that although sometimes it is very difficult, people may resist, negotiate, modify or refuse positions in various ways preserving individual agency in projects of identity work (see e.g., Benwell & Stokoe 2006, 43 referring to Bamberg 2004 and Day Slater 2003).

This perspective follows the mainstream path in contemporary media theory. For several decades, the re-conceptualisation of the audience-text relationship has paved the way for conceiving communication as not being a relationship of domination (see García Canclini 2001, 38; McCombs 2004). From this standpoint, the encounter between the text and the audience is seen through the metaphor of dialogue and negotiations rather than through that of transfer. The encounter is seen as 'mutual modelling of a shared world through joint action' (Varela 1989 quoted by Quéré 1995, 118).

Empirical research adhering to PT confirms that there is no necessary correspondence between the preferred reading-position the text implies and the position interpreted by the discussant, but that the text's meaning potential yet seems to be narrowed down by the positions provided by the media (Törrönen 2000, 2001). Members of audience-publics thus seem to have certain horizons of expectations: a set of assumptions that they have when reading a text (Harindranath 2009, 80, 105, 163 using Gadamer 1975 and Wilson 1993).

Whether researchers choose to use 'audiences' or 'publics' depends on which intellectual tradition they adhere to. In order to simplify a broad and rich area of research, generally speaking, members of audiences tend to be envisioned as consisting of being less active, and less civically engaged than members of publics. (See e.g., Harindranath 2009; Livingstone 2005, 11, and also Dahlgren 1995, 20.) There is however a variety of research projects exploring the common border between these terms. Daniel Dayan (2005), for example, talks about meaning-making audiences, crowds, communities, activists, witnesses, etc. What makes the discussion of audience-publics even more complex today than before are the technologically driven changes in journalism and the popularity of commenting, blogging and tweeting, which has turned many members of audience-publics into producers of media content. Inspired by Ramaswami Harindranath's (2009) book title 'Audience-

Citizen', I use the notion of audience-publics when making general types of references to media consumers/users/readers. The combining notion indicates that people who encounter media content may or may not make claims, bring up civic matters and engage with media content. It also indicates that although people who encounter media sometimes may form an audience-public on a national level (e.g., in North Korea), in media saturated late modern societies, people tend to be members of various audience-publics at the same time.

So, on one hand what using this notion means is that one shall not take the celebration of audience autonomy to the extreme (e.g., Mosco 1996, 258–259), while on another hand, it must be acknowledged that it is hard to challenge, change, or protest against something, which, for example, is not named or talked about in the media's agenda (McCombs 2004). Besides, various subtle forms of ideologies such as nationalism and racism can influence people's ideas about the positions appropriate for them, their peers, and others.

2.3 Ideologies influencing positioning practices

Poul Borchsenius has said that *if one really must hate – and this seems to be unavoidable – one can as well choose people with glasses or those with red hair* (ibid. 1972, 7. Translation CH.). In an ideal world ruled by values of universalism, humanism and solidarity, all human beings – minorities and majorities – would be equal, treated and represented as such; ethnic, cultural and/or religious backgrounds would not be significant in any context. However, this is far from the reality of today. Due to racism and nationalism, amongst other power dimensions such as an unequal distribution of economic, cultural and social resources, all people cannot participate in mediated positioning and/or public debate practices. And in many parts of the world where democracy is only developing or non-existent, this applies not only to discursive positioning practices, but to the possibilities of living a normal life free of discrimination due to ethnic, religious and/or cultural characteristics.

There are many competing definitions of ideology. Some are narrower than others. Here I understand ideologies in Stuart Hall's (1986, 26) terms as *mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works*. Someone may argue that multiculturalism is an ideology and thus should be discussed under this section just as racism and nationalism are. However, I see ideologies as more established and persistent mental frameworks, which persist over generations, and as we

recently have seen in Europe, multiculturalism as a set of values and ideas seems to have lost ground in favour of other modes/programmes/paradigms like diversity or social cohesion (see Faist 2009). However, as a set of ideas multiculturalism can influence media content, just as the media can, in turn, contribute to the spreading and legitimising of these ideas.

Concerning a more persistent set of values, namely the ideology of racism, there are three points that need to be clarified in order for the notion to be correctly understood in the context of this dissertation. First, racism can occur in more subtle and banal forms. Some wish to gather these forms under the umbrella notion of 'new racism' (van Dijk 2000; Barker 1981). Here the notion will not be used, since many features of 'new' racism are in fact old and played an important part in the era of decolonisation (e.g., Balibar 1991, 21). The 'new' Islamophobia is for example an old version that just has changed shape (ibid., 41). The difference is that today, more clearly than ever, the ideology functions as a polariser of 'us-Europeans' and 'them-Muslims' (Salih 2004). Politicians like the Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi do not improve the situation with public statements on how 'the Western civilisation is superior to the Islamic civilisation' (ibid., 999).

It still stands clear that racism has changed to some extent. The phase of the classic and biological has come to an end and the idea of cultural racism has been developed (e.g., Miles 1989, 62–68).⁶ Slavoj Žižek (2008, 87) goes even further, claiming that the driving force for racism is neither culture nor ethnicity, but profit-making 'unabashed economic egotism'. This linking of capitalism and racism in a causal relationship is something that Robert Miles (1989, 67) finds problematic for reasons we cannot go into here due to limited space. Having said that the issue is disputed, my standpoint is that racism clearly is linked to economic inequalities but not necessarily the consequence of capitalism as such.

To further clarify how racism is best understood according to my point of view: racism does not have to be a consciously nurtured set of values. For example, if ethnocultural minorities are continuously seen as objects of desire it is one form of racism too (e.g., Back 1996, 8). Neither does racism have to be an intentional activity, since it can occur in more subtle forms in language for example (Žižek 2008, 57), and neither should one take for granted that ethnocultural minorities are the cause for racism (see Wiewiorka 2000, 151). In Finland, for example, as in many other nation-states, immigration and ethnocultural diversity is mostly a city phenomenon (City of Helsinki 2008), still, racist attitudes are reported to be more common in the countryside than in the cities (Jaakkola 2009). Referring to a study by Nonna Mayer

6 Alana Lentin (2004) means that the problem in cultural racism is that 'culture' risks being perceived as something inherited. And thus, that culture risks being understood just as 'race' earlier was; as a system of oppressive hierarchies.

and Pascal Perrineau (1989), French sociologist Michel Wieviorka (2000, 151) shows that in the case of France, voting for the far-right wing National Front party can be observed in regions in which there are practically no immigrants. At the other extreme, racism may remain limited in regions where there is a considerable number of immigrants.

In today's Finland it is not rare that racism is used outside the framework of ethnocultural characteristics. We hear for example about age-based racism (Fi: ikärasismi). In France, even the police have started to talk of 'anti-police racism' (Wieviorka 2000, 141). In this dissertation racism always has to be based on ethnic, cultural and/or religious characteristics either in cooperation with economic injustices or other unequal power relations or then not. Merging Wieviorka's (2000, 149) thoughts with my subjective understanding and slight modification of Žižek's (2008, 87) description, brings us to the following definition: *Racism is the outcome of conscious and unconscious inferiorisation and differentiation practices by ethnically, culturally and/or religiously dominant groups, individuals and institutions, which mostly also are in an economically hegemonic situation, upon non-dominant individuals or groups.* Inferiorisation refers to practices or structures of exploitation and discrimination, while differentiation refers to the idea of the incompatibility of cultures, ethnicities, races, nationalities, religions or economies.⁷

The border between racism and nationalism is not clear cut. In everyday perception nationalistic articulations are sometimes labelled as one form of racism, but this is not always the case. As understood here, nationalism can and shall however be understood as different from racism.⁸ While racism, as defined above in the influence of Wieviorka (2000, 149) and Žižek (2008, 87), is the outcome of conscious and unconscious inferiorisation and differentiation practices by ethnoculturally dominant groups, individuals and institutions upon non-dominant groups, nationalism *is the desire among people who believe they share a common ancestry and common destiny to live under their own government and land sacred to their history* (Wiebe 2002, 5). The word 'believe' is crucial here. In nationalist movements the question is not necessarily whether people actually share a common ancestry or destiny or not, but what is important is that they believe that they do (Benhabib

7 See Hervik (forthcoming) for more on the incompatibility thesis.

8 Separating the notions on a theoretical level in such a refined way that philosophers and sociologists would be satisfied, is not of outmost significance here, since it lies outside the scope of the thesis to involve in such conceptual development that does not directly aid to the interpretation of positioning practices. Let us here say that there is an ongoing debate about whether racism – as theoretical discourses and as a mass phenomenon – develops 'within the field of nationalism', or whether it is placed outside the field of nationalism as such, as if it were possible to define the latter without including the racist movements in it. This discussion is central in Etienne Balibar's chapter 3 in *Race, Nation and Class: Ambiguous Identities* (Balibar & Wallerstein 1991, 54–55.)

2004, 77.) This belief is nurtured by a variety of symbols and discourses featuring the nations, surrounding us in everyday lives, but taken as so 'natural' that they are paid little or no attention to (Billig 1995). To have a separate section for domestic news and foreign news in the newspapers is something seldom questioned, or to illustrate the 'home region' on weather maps so that the nation-state is sharp and visible while the neighbouring countries on the map are blurred or invisible (ibid., 154–155, 174).

While recognising the apparently 'everyday-looking' homeland making deixis, as Michael Billig (1995, 116) phrases it, the understanding of nationalism applied in this study is that nationalism is an ideology that expresses an aspiration with a political objective (Wiebe 2002, 5). This means that although various representations of the nation-state might look 'innocent' and without particular aspirations to exclude people who are not believed to share the common ancestry, they might still contribute to doing so. Empirically, Les Back has shown that young people in British cities are embracing diversity in seemingly inexhaustible combinations of form and content in ways that make Britishness or Englishness almost meaningless. Yet, he states that *the besieged⁹ British way of life and its attendant logic of cultural purity still provides an organizational skin to be stretched over the frame of the state* (Back 1996, 250.) As I understand it, he attests that although young people in ethnoculturally diverse milieus see themselves as living in a complex reality of solidarities and feelings of belonging that span various cultural traditions simultaneously, the idea of a homogeneous culture and a 'pure' type of Britishness still exists.

This 'organisational skin', and other forms and expressions of nationalism are necessarily and inheritably not 'bad'. In times of diaspora, eviction, political conflict, ethnic cleansing, wars, and ruptured state organisations, nationalist dreams can give people 'a way of thinking about a place' (see Wiebe 2002, 5). They can give hope to people in despair who only wish to live in peace. Nothing says that these people would not then – if such a nation-state eventually was formed – accept that this ethno-nationalist dream was pure utopia, and organise themselves in culturally more complex democratic societies.¹⁰ One cannot ignore that it is simply much easier to dream and to long back to a nation imagined and retold in music, food, sagas, symbols, stereotypes, in good and bad, than to a state envisioned as a structure of administrative organs. Hence, despite the fact that Western intellectuals seldom have anything favourable to say about nationalism, there is nothing inherently violent in a movement based on kinship (Wiebe 2002, 3, 5).

9 [sic]

10 Nevertheless, as for example the independence of Estonia from the USSR and the ethnic conflicts with Russian nationals that followed show, in reality, this can be difficult. See chapter 5.

Nationalism becomes problematic from the view of anti-discrimination and anti-racism when it confuses nation and state when we *treat the omnipresent state and nation-state as interchangeable terms and with that sleight of hand make nationalism available to take the blame for sundry state actions* (ibid., 4). These kinds of tendencies have been on the rise in Europe since the turn of the millennium, and the neutralisation of some features blend into a spontaneously accepted background (such as 'security') that marks this ideology at its purest and at its most effective (Žižek 2008, 31, 35).

To bring us back to media theory and the communicative space in this process of neutralisation, particularly the mainstream media have a crucial role today in the making invisible of racism and nationalism. Being a powerful institution producing, circulating and providing values and beliefs for various groups in society, who might or might not reject these, the media can thus function as a legitimator of certain ideologies. It is not only ideologies such as nationalism and racism that influence positioning practices in the media, it is also the positioning practices in the media that affect these ideologies. This has empirically been proven by Back (1996, 246) in his study of culturally complex neighbourhoods and youth in the UK: [...] *racism circulated within the press and media can be strategically used against black peers, for example where an incident of racist name-calling occurs.*

There are various means to combat this circular effect: anti-discriminatory legislation, various codes, conventions and regulations. Some are more practically oriented while others mainly carry symbolic meaning.

2.4 Anti-racist media policies¹¹

The outspoken aim of most media policies dealing with minority issues is to underline the social responsibility of the media in also serving such social groups which for one reason or another risk being marginalised in mediated environments. One of these responsibilities is the aiding of minority access to media and promoting minority voices in the media. On a European, institutional and political level, there are sincere attempts to do just this. Besides a framework convention and a charter by the Council of Europe (COE 1995, 1992), there are various initiatives on media and diversity produced by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and by such EU agencies as the Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA). Many of these policies concern broadcasting and might therefore not have a direct influence on print media content and

11 Not all instruments providing freedoms and setting responsibilities for journalism can be presented here. Instead, the scope is narrowed down so that the discussion covers such central institutional powers providing rights and regulating duties, which directly address the media coverage of minority actors and their accessibility to join in positioning practices in and through the media. For a more detailed discussion of anti-racist media policies, see Haavisto (2009). See also Hultén & Horsti (2010).

journalistic work in print media newsrooms. Since policy making concerning the representation of ethnocultural minorities in print media is scarce in Finland¹², it is important to also briefly present the more general media policies in order to show that there is institutional motivation to deal with issues relating to increasingly heterogeneous audience-publics and the representation of these groups.

First to be noted is that Finland has signed the Council of Europe's framework convention and charter dealing with minorities and the media (COE 1995, 1992).¹³ These policies first and foremost deal with communicative rights of national minorities (particularly linguistic national minorities such as the Swedish speaking minority in Finland, the Catalan in Spain, the Sámi in Nordic countries, etc.). These policies declare that 'national minorities are granted the possibility of creating and using their own media' (COE 1995, article 9), and that signatories shall 'encourage and/or facilitate the creation of at least one television channel in the regional or minority languages; or to encourage and/or facilitate the broadcasting of television programmes in the regional or minority languages on a regular basis' (COE 1992, article 11).

These documents are mainly addressing national minorities. This in conformance with the Guidelines on the Use of Minority Languages in the Broadcast Media submitted by the OSCE¹⁴ High Commissioner on National Minorities (OSCE 2003). In more general terms, it can thus be said that, although policies on a pan-European level have purposes and perspectives that differ significantly, national minorities seem to be in a stronger position than recently arrived migrant workers, refugees, and asylum seekers. It is also worth noting that often when policies on a European level call for 'respect of ethnic and cultural diversity', they primarily refer to the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences among member states, not ethnic minorities and immigrants (e.g., Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate 2005, and the White Paper on European Communication Policy 2006).

Nevertheless, migrant groups have not been completely neglected in media and communication policies on a pan-European level. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU 2006) is, in its legal provisions, guaranteeing the

12 In Sweden it has occurred that newspapers make their own policies concerning the representation of minority actors (see Hultén 2009). To my knowledge, in Finland, despite that there might be certain principles internally agreed upon and followed (see Floman 2007 who has interviewed editors-in-chief), these are not presented in the form of written policies. However, it stands clear that at least *Helsingin Sanomat* during the last few years (i.e., mainly after the data gathering periods of this study) is making an effort to include visual minorities in press pictures. What this means is that today (spring 2011) visual minorities quite often can be seen in 'word from the street' type of reports or in pictures of e.g., school dining halls, irrespective of whether the story itself focuses on minority issues (see Haavisto forthcoming).

13 The framework convention is an essential binding document for all members of the Council of Europe and the Charter is binding for the signatories.

14 The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

right to fair representation and access on equal terms for ethnic minority groups, regardless of whether they belong to national minorities or to recently migrated communities living within the EU. Finland's two major broadcasting houses (YLE and MTV3) are members of the EBU and are therefore obliged to the conditions for active membership. In close co-operation with the national public broadcasters, the EBU has also developed a training kit, the so called Diversity Toolkit, for journalists and journalism students. This can be used by print media journalists and broadcasting journalists alike. Besides this, in 2006, the European Commission launched an initiative to map how minority groups in general and how immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees in particular are treated by audiovisual media (EC-assignment 2006). In addition, on the initiative of the EUMC (today named FRA – the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights), media content has been mapped in six member states (EUMC 2007). To encourage the sharing of good practices within the EU, the FRA has also organised international conferences for journalists and media practitioners. These projects take into consideration both recently migrated minority groups and national minorities, and they focus on online, broadcasting and print media (EUMC 2006).¹⁵

In Finland it is particularly YLE, the Public Service Broadcasting company, which carries much responsibility for the policy making in this field since it often acts as role model for other media, including print media. One can say that big media institutions such as PSB-companies form nodal points in the communicative space, which both the regional and national press attentively follow.¹⁶ It is therefore worth noting that in 2005, YLE published the YLE Policy on Services for Minorities and Special Groups¹⁷ – an attempt to enhance the diversity of the communicative space and to ease the participation of ethnic minorities, foreigners and people of migrant origin. This policy was published during the same year the Act on Yleisradio (no. 1380/1993) was revised and enforced as an attempt to make it more suitable for today's emerging ethnoculturally diverse society.

Generally speaking one can say that YLE follows a common European trend in how to deal with increasingly complex audience-publics; explicitly

15 Besides charters, treaties, member state assignments, monitoring initiatives, and toolkits for journalism training, European institutions have cooperated closely in several campaigns to raise awareness. There are various awards for media products presenting a 'well-balanced picture of the multicultural aspects of society' (COE 2007), e.g., the Iris Prize Europa and the EBU's Boundless Cultural Diversity Media Award (see Horsti 2009b for a critical analysis of the first-mentioned).

16 Having said this does not mean that newspaper houses and YLE would not be competitors. Indeed, during the last few years, YLE has 'crossed swords' several times with the Finnish Newspapers Association concerning a variety of issues, e.g., the right to distribute news for free on electronic billboards in public spaces.

17 A critical reading of two working documents (YLE 2005b; 2005c), and the final YLE Policy (YLE 2005a), shows that many concrete suggestions for improving the services for minority audiences have not been realised, at least not yet. (See Haavisto 2009 for more on these policies.)

multicultural programmes dealing with issues of diversity, immigration, integration and racism have been inhibited. Instead, the idea is that these themes should be dealt with in the overall programming.¹⁸ This trend can be seen as part of the more general shift from a ‘politics of multiculturalism’ to a ‘politics of social cohesion’ (Horsti 2009b; Hultén & Horsti 2010).

YLE, the commercial television channels, and all sincere mainstream newspapers including the five which are in focus for this study (*Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Vasabladet*, *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Iltalehti*, *Ilta-Sanomat*) are obliged to follow the national clauses and charters signed by Finland. Besides, they obey professional codes – implemented within media houses and functioning on a national level. Of these, the Guidelines for Journalists drafted by the Union of Journalists in Finland, and adopted by the Council for Mass Media (the CMM) are the most important since they support the responsible use of freedom of speech in mass communication.

Concerning ethnocultural complexity in general and minority actors in particular, in clause no. 26 of the Guidelines for Journalists it is stated that ‘the human dignity of every individual must be respected. The ethnic origin, nationality, sex, sexual orientation, convictions or other similar personal characteristics may not be presented in an inappropriate or disparaging manner’. What, however, is meant by ‘inappropriate’ and ‘disparaging’ is not clarified. When six editors-in-chief working for Finnish mainstream newspapers were asked to reflect on it, they said that what ‘inappropriate’ and ‘disparaging’ in this clause means must be renegotiated all the time since all problematic cases – mostly those relating to the reporting on minority crimes – are different and thus must be solved individually (Floman 2007, 158).

The advancement and application of these professional guidelines is self-regulated. The Council for Mass Media is not a court nor does it exercise legal jurisdiction. Yet, journalists engaged in mass media affiliated with the CMM are voluntarily committing themselves to uphold these ethical principles. If the CMM determines that good journalistic practice has been violated, the media concerned must publish the resolution of the council without delay and without direct comment. All major media houses and professional associations in Finland have signed the CMM contract.

Just to give some examples; an investigation of all summaries on the complaints received by the CMM during 2007–2008, show that not many relate to clause 26, or to accusations of discriminating and/or racist language use. When looking at the complaints, which by the CMM have been condemned

18 During the later part of the data-gathering period of this study, i.e., between 2005 and 2007, there was an increase of television fiction aimed at a general public and dealing with cultural complexity and/or migration in Finland, e.g., *Ähläm-sähläm*, *Poikkeustila*, and *Romano-TV*. All three TV-series were highly controversial and provoked extensive public debate on racism and the media (e.g., Kivikuru 2007).

as having violated good journalistic practice, we find for example the YLE morning TV-show *Aamu-tv*. On the show one of the invited regular guests made comments about the grandmother of Barack Obama who at the time had not yet been elected President of the USA. The regular guest commented on the looks of Obama's grandmother in an insulting and racist way. The CMM gave YLE a warning albeit at the same time stating that it is hard for the journalist and the producers to regulate what an invited guest says in a live broadcast (CMM 3859/YLE/08, 4 February 2008.)

In contrast to this 'verdict', it is according to the CMM fine to state in public that 'Tricks played out by Jews triggered the endless hatred in Germany [...] in the 1930's, and that 'Jewish banking families have been, and still are, the ones who make money in many wars'¹⁹ (CMM 3864/SL/08, 14 April 2008). The CMM also thinks it is acceptable to write that 'the chef looks like he would be in a Kung Fu film' (CMM 3942/SL/08, 29 August 2008) and that an 'American man is suspected of rape', since there were no suggestions that being American would mean that the suspect is black (CMM 3784/SL/07, 29 January 2008). According to good journalistic practice it is also considered acceptable to mention seven times in a news article that an assaulter has dreadlocks. According to the CMM, this repetition of the hairstyle, is not referring to a specific ethnic minority (CMM 3735/IL/07, 16 April 2007).

Besides the forming of the Guidelines for Journalists, the Union of Journalists works for the employment of migrant journalists, at least according to statements made in their yearly strategies. In practice, this means that there have been a few seminars organised in joint action with ministries and the third sector. Within the association, there is also a working group for these issues, maintaining for example a website with a voluntary register of migrant journalists and spokespersons for immigrant associations (Reilumedia 2009). This working group was however initiated only after the research period of this study. Besides, updates on the site are scarce and the implementation of the site is somewhat amateurish concerning content and graphic design. Worth noting is also that this register, besides the brief descriptions of journalistic experiences, main merits and language skills, has large pictures featuring the journalists one by one. The impression is thus that their 'ethnic looks' is marketed as an important part of their professionalism.

The Finnish Newspapers Association, another important actor in the field of print media, is actively promoting media education in schools and safeguarding the competitiveness for newspapers in Finland. Their action in

19 Fi.: 'Jutalaisten tekemistä tempuista alkoi loputon viha Saksassa viritä [...] pankkiirisuku on ollut monessa sodassa tienaamassa.'

20 The study shows that immigrant youth in Finland are not as active as newspaper readers as their 'native' peers, but still more active than youngsters in OECD-countries in general. In Finland, 51 per cent of youth of immigrant origin reported that they read newspapers several times a week and 26 per cent that they do so several times a month (Linnakylä & Malin 2006, 20–21).

the field of minority issues is scarce, but not completely lacking. For example, when the association initiated a study comparing so called PISA-results (a yearly, comparative study on school success worldwide) and newspaper reading, the researchers paid special attention to youth of migrant background (Linnakylä & Malin 2006).²⁰

To conclude this section on policies and regulations: the aim of this section has been to give an overview of the various levels on which media policies dealing with minority issues are produced. In the light of this overview, there seems to be an increased agency in formulating policies, both on a European and a national level, aimed at enhancing the possibility for minority actors to join in mediated positioning practices of selves and others, in and through the media. These documents as components of the communicative space must not be uncritically perceived as enhancing the possibility of minority actors to actually do so. They do however form the moral, legislative, and professional framework in which journalistic content is produced.

* * *

In this chapter I have clarified the main theoretical perspectives used for this dissertation. One of the main arguments in this chapter is that developing a Positioning Theory (PT) approach to analyses of media content on ethnocultural complexity is theoretically and methodologically rewarding. Positioning takes place when people in and through the media make sense of who belongs where. With PT, which was originally developed within the field of social psychology, it is possible to investigate local moral orders as ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting (Harré & van Langenhove 1999, 1). When PT is understood as operating in a network type of communicative space, the importance of the structural dimension in speech and language use are underlined. Such text and talk where people categorise themselves and others, and make sense of their surroundings, does not operate in isolation, but as part of ideological and institutional milieus. Therefore, this chapter also discussed and defined two ideologies, racism and nationalism, which according to previous studies are likely to influence positioning processes. Thereafter, special attention was given to policy making in the field of media and minority related issues.

3. Material and methods

Various media products; TV-programmes, online journalism, the press, and so on, form an important part of the communicative space as envisioned in the previous chapter. Not all of these have the same objectives, financial means and distribution channels. Concerning the mainstream press, Colin Sparks (2000, 12) has introduced two axes upon which news media can be organised. One of these is a continuum from a concentration on the doings of private life to the concentration on public life. The other runs from the concentration on politics, economics, and society to a concentration on scandals, sports, and entertainment. 'Serious journalism' scores high on the 'public' axis and on the 'politics, economics, and society' axis, while tabloid journalism scores high on the 'private' axis and on the 'scandals, sports and entertainment' axis. As Sparks (*ibid.*, 13) himself notes, the visual dimension (layout, headline size and use of pictorial material) of presentation in the tabloid newspapers is missing in his schematisation. This is, however, also a characteristic upon which various media products can be organised.

Four out of the five case studies in this dissertation are studies of Finnish print media products; articles in Finnish and Swedish language morning papers (*Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Vasabladet* and *Helsingin Sanomat*) and in Finnish language afternoon papers (*Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*). The Swedish language press, *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*, are primarily aimed at the Swedish speaking language minority in Finland (5.44% per cent of population according to Statistics Finland), but not exclusively, since at least from time to time *Hufvudstadsbladet* have extensive campaigns to recruit Finnish speakers as subscribers. The two Swedish language papers however do have a very different economic and productional setting from *Helsingin Sanomat*, the main Finnish language national paper in Finland, with a circulation of 412, 421 compared to 51,162 of *Hufvudstadsbladet* and 23, 693 of *Vasabladet* (LV-levikkitalasto from 2008).

I refer to afternoon papers instead of tabloids, since, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, a morning paper, changed its format from broadsheet to tabloid in March 2004.¹ Thus, size only does not make a newspaper a 'tabloid'. For example, in

the UK all red-top papers are tabloid in size (Rooney 2000, 92).

The Finnish afternoon papers, *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*, however, cannot really be compared to such papers as *The Sun* or *The Mirror* in the UK, which the Dutch discourse analyst Teun A. van Dijk (1991) among others has been investigating, since as Juha Herkman (2005, 288) points out, the news criteria in the Finnish morning papers and afternoon papers do not really differ when so-called hard news such as politics and economy are concerned. What differs is the focus on entertainment, which in the afternoon papers signifies fashion reportage, the following up of national and international actors, film stars, and an overall emphasis on visual content. The two Finnish (and Finnish language) afternoon papers can more properly be categorised as serious-popular press (ibid.), a category in which we can place popular newspapers, which have a strong emphasis on visual design and contain large doses of scandals, sports, and entertainment, but which still demonstrate all, or at significant part, of the same inventory of news values as their more serious cousins (see Sparks 2000, 15.)

In relation to Sparks' (2000, 12) schema, the five papers are thus not situated at the extreme-ends. Generally speaking, the morning papers focus more on public issues and on economy and politics while the afternoon papers focus more on private issues and on entertainment and sports. Besides, afternoon papers in Finland cannot be subscribed to; they are bought by the issue, while most morning paper readers are subscribers. However, where so-called hard news are concerned, all five papers in this study have about the same news criteria. And to blur the boundaries even further, during periods when there is not much hard news to report, in the summer months for example, the two Swedish language morning papers in particular tend to report increasingly on issues related to the private realm.

In comparison to general conceptions and in contrast to what Teun van Dijk (1991, 67, 81) suggests, concerning the tabloids analysed for his study, the Finnish afternoon papers, *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti*, cannot be said to have apparent right-wing sympathies. One could speculate, that since the two afternoon papers need to make their issues commercially attractive every day, the success of the True Finns party in the municipal elections in 2008, and onwards, has forced the newsrooms of the two afternoon papers to think about if and how to please a readership with anti-immigrant sentiments, at least if the commercial logic of selling as many issues to as wide an audience possible, is followed.² This is however an issue for further

1 The editor-in-chief during that time, Max Arhippainen, interviewed in the periodical *Mainonta & Markkinointi*, 18 March 2004, stated in public that the format change was not going to influence the content. Visuality and photojournalism has, however, indisputably in Hbl come to play a more crucial role than before.

2 See Champagne 2005 for more on the commercial logic.

investigation, since the increased support for the True Finns party, as in the increase in number of seats in local municipalities, and the European Parliament, occurred only after the collection of the empirical material for this dissertation had been closed.

3.1 Making sense of the material

To make sense of media content published in the five papers briefly presented above, and to analyse the focus group discussions with audience-publics in the fifth case study, various techniques have been used. Neither Positioning Theory nor the envisioning of the communicative space as a network provides sufficient tools to make visible the actual analysis-process. Therefore, in this case, the material was analysed with the help of two well-known methods in social sciences; quantitative content analysis and qualitative close reading. On a general level, the study follows a case study design, which allows a combination of these methods (e.g., Hepp 2008). The first case study, Case I, is purely quantitative, and the last, Case V, is purely qualitative, but in the other three both methods have been used.

Both methods have been applied in a critical way. This signifies that in the sorting and sense-making of newspaper articles and transcripts from focus group interviews, I have kept in mind that I) in the communicative space some actors have more symbolic and economic capital than others, and therefore have better possibilities of becoming so-called nodal points in the communicative space with good connections to other actors and more influence over them, II) journalistic conventions, economic restraints, policies, regulations, and so on, influence media texts and talk about them, III) subtle and banal forms of racism and nationalism might be present albeit not visible to the eye.

Despite the critical standpoint taken, the methods are not named 'critical content analysis' or 'critical close reading'. Various types of analysis can have radical or progressive attempts despite not being named with this prefix, as Jonathan Potter (1996, 227) rightly notes. This applies to quantitative sense-making as well. When put in a context supporting an interpretative, constructionist and contextual approach on media content and audience talk, quantitative content analysis can be applied for critical purposes (see Hansen et al. 1998, ch. 5.) Many quantitative studies, also early ones, such as for example, Karl W. Deutsch's study from 1953, are being outspoken about their critical standpoint. Deutsch used quantitative content analysis to register the amount of media attention given to conflict areas, being critical of a political climate nurturing conflict and war. More recently, likewise for critical purposes, George Gerbner (1995) used content analysis to analyse commercial television programmes. In the study, which focuses on the casting

of women and ethnocultural minorities, Gerbner loudly questions positivist accounts and regards media as operating in a complex way with other actors in what he calls the cultural space.

QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS. Bernard Berelson (1952, 18) speaks of quantitative content analysis as *a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication*. Content analysis assumes that the study of the manifest content is meaningful (ibid., 264.) What the words ‘objective’ and ‘manifest’ actually mean are however open to negotiation. For example, as Bertram Scheufele notes (2008, 188), if one were to look for irony in political commentaries, the construct of ‘irony’ is not manifest in the sense of being directly identifiable from ‘black marks on white’. Whether or not there is irony in a commentary has to be interpreted. Thus, before a commentary is coded, it has to be precisely determined which words, phrases, key words, or arguments should serve as indicators for the category ‘irony.’ In other words, this ‘latent’ aspect of communication is made manifest by its definition. (Ibid., 188–189.) The same applies to positioning practices. Since they are process-like, they can seldom be hand-picked from the text and analysed as such. (It will soon be shown how so-called analytical devices can help us with the task.)

Later definitions of content analysis have omitted references to ‘objectivity’, requiring simply content analysis to be ‘systematic’ (Holsti 1969) or ‘replicable’ (Krippendorff 1980). According to Ole R. Holsti (1969, 14) *content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages*. This is a valid definition for this study, since full objectivity in analyses of mediated content is hard to obtain if not impossible.

Irrespective of whether ‘objective’ is part of the definition of quantitative content analysis or not, the assumption that the manifest content is meaningful, is something that more qualitatively inclined critics have questioned during its long history of use, as Anders Hansen et al. (1998, 91) and Åsa Nilsson (2000, 113) note. For example, early research presented by Olivier Burgelein (1972) claims that meaning is created in the process and interpretations and cannot necessarily be seen nor measured. The risk is, the critics suggest, that through quantitative content analysis one reaches simplifying results that are blind to the connotative level; in other words, with the method, one cannot ‘see between the lines’.

The consequences of this can be various. There is a risk that researchers end up with results that are simplifying reality and – in the case of the positioning of minority actors in the communicative space – even risk essentialising people and groups of people. In other words, the coding of themes and actor groups occurring in the media is vulnerable to the charge that it

reproduces images of internally homogeneous minority groups, each taking its place in a 'mosaic' of enclosed communities – and so ignoring both group heterogeneity and the fact that members of minorities might want to position themselves differently.

Analytical categories used in content analysis are, however, different from such group categorisations, which would be thought of as representing 'real' divisions. As Nilsson (2000, 116) argues, analytical categories are always simplifying real relations, groupings and events: they do not represent reality, but only help the researcher to investigate it and to talk and write about it.

It is however a fact that having a detailed codebook locks fluidity temporarily, since, in order to do quantitative, category-based analysis, complexity needs to be temporarily suspended. Therefore, in order not to essentialise people and cultures, it is compulsory to use these categories in a reflexive and critical way, taking into consideration that self-positionings of minorities and majorities might vary from positionings provided by the media, and from categorisations provided by researchers and used for analytical purposes.

When a content analysis applied in this way spans a long period of time, we can talk about it in terms of reflexive media monitoring. Media monitoring refers to a systematic and long follow-up of mass media, which aims at mapping the content of media text in the most reliable way (Raittila 2002b, 33). In social sciences, long term monitorings or shorter quantitative mappings are used primarily to analyse recorded human communication in a systematic and inter-subjective way. Besides newspaper articles, the analyses can also be done, for instance, on films, advertisements, interview transcripts, or observational protocols (e.g., Scheufele 2008). Questions that researchers ask the material when using both long-term and short-term content analyses are, as John Richardson (2007, 17) accurately states, usually of a straightforward and apparent type, such as: What is the article about? What size is it? Who are presented in the pictures if there are any? Which are the sources quoted in the article?

None of these questions answer directly the research questions in the introduction. The reason for this is that manifest content seldom is meaningful if not put in a critical context, as argued by Anders Hansen et al. (1998, 95). One way of contextualising is to use findings from the quantitative material to know what is worth looking into deeper.

QUALITATIVE CLOSE READING. The qualitative method applied in the case studies II–V is close reading (Lentricchia & DuBois 2003; Eagleton 1983; Siivonen 2007). Andrew DuBois (2003, 2) argues that *as a term, close reading hardly seems to leave the realm of so-called common sense, where it would appear to mean something understandable and vague like 'reading*

with special attention'. He continues, however, by saying that despite there being no single influential manifesto or statement of purpose that insist on the term itself as the sole name for a particular practice, close reading is also a jargon term within linguistics.

The notion thus derives from linguistics and particularly from the critical strand that can be called Critical Linguistics (CL). In theory, if one is a linguist and particularly interested in linguistic units per se, it is possible to do close reading placing great emphasis on the particular over the general, paying close attention to individual words, syntax, and the order in which sentences and ideas unfold as they are read (e.g., Eagleton 1983). From a social scientist's perspective this kind of intra-textual reading is somewhat irrelevant. Instead, to provide socially meaningful findings, text has to be related to its context.

When taken out of isolation, qualitative close reading is often called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b; Fairclough 1995, 2001; Wodak 1996). CDA is characterised by problem-orientation, interdisciplinarity, in demystifying power and ideologies, and self-reflection (Wodak & Meyer 2009, 3.) A common feature that separates critical discourse analysis from more traditional linguistics, is that CDA is concerned not only about the language per se, but often also about how different subordinated groups in society use language, or how they are portrayed in other people's language use (see Kalliokoski 1996.) It is therefore a method with an in-built interest in issues concerning minority groups. This is one of the reasons why many researchers in the area of media, migration and ethnic relations (e.g., Pietikäinen 2000; Hultén 2006; Richardsson 2007) affiliate themselves with the school of CDA.

Why then, do I not use CDA instead of close reading as a method? Apparently, CDA might be suitable for this dissertation, concerning the theme dealt with, the critical perspective, and the overall aim of the study.

First and foremost, when used as a method, CDA comes with an unnecessarily heavy theoretical 'baggage'. Many scholars use CDA as their main theory for discussing relationships between language and society. Before starting to use CDA as a research technical tool, I would have had to revisit notions like discourse, text, language, which in current academic debate have multiple meanings. As Wodak and Meyer (2009, 2) note, *almost no paper or article is to be found which does not revisit these notions quoting Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, Niklas Luhmann, or many others*. Since I already have a theoretical framework that well serves the aim of this study (see chapter 2), I did not wish to engage here in the commonalities and distinctions in the various understandings and definitions made by the above-mentioned scholars, and many others. Simply put, I wanted to avoid introducing a new set of theoretical notions

that do not have a direct relation to my research questions. Of course, some might argue that one could use CDA as an analytical tool without having to familiarise oneself with the theoretical complexities of this diverse field. Still, I fear that it would have meant having to clarify complex issues and difficult notions in such a brief and summarising manner that the loss would have been more than the gain.

Second, despite there being good advice to be found on how CDA can be applied on concrete analyses (e.g., Richardsson 2007; Berglez 2000; van Leeuwen 2009), I wanted to develop my own analytical devices according to my own reading of former literature. Knowing that Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are very closely related, sometimes even used interchangeably (Wodak & Meyer 2009, 1), I chose a method more common in Critical Linguistics, namely that of close reading. Close reading is here understood, not as a notion within a certain school of thought, but as an optionally more or less detailed but always a systematic way of analysing text and talk. This broad understanding gives me a more neutral ground on which to analyse the material, but it does not influence the possible insights that CDA could have provided. I argue that this is the case, since I have carefully contextualised close reading in a critical framework, provided a profound understanding of ideological forces influencing language, and created awareness of positioning power (see chapter 2).

Recently, close reading has been used in two PhD-theses in media and communication in Finland, namely in the dissertations of Jonita Siivonen (2007) and Laura Saarenmaa (2010). Siivonen (*ibid.*), analysing portraits of women in the daily press, makes a more fine-grained analysis of the text than I do. Saarenmaa (*ibid.*, 41), on the other hand, positions herself on about the same distance from the text as I. The reason for me not to engage with the text in a very detailed manner is that I wished to track and understand commonalities in a large pool of newspaper articles and long transcripts of focus group interviews. This would not have been possible time- and resource-wise, had I focused on lexical units and their relationships in great detail. Hence, I needed to trust my own perception of which parts of the texts were more important to engage with more deeply and which could be allocated less time. The process was guided by the analytical devices soon to be presented, the case specific micro-level research questions, and the main research questions presented in the introduction in chapter 1.

From a more pragmatic perspective, the close reading of newspaper content in Case II, III and IV was conducted in the following way: first, for the actual analyses, all articles concerning the theme in focus (ethnocultural complexity) were selected from the newspapers according to some general rules soon to be presented, and some more particular rules presented inside the empirical chapters. Then, newspaper articles were photocopied, and

their titles and some basic information, like the date of publishing, were recorded into a SPSS-document, just as in the quantitative content analyses.

After this initial organising, the close reading phase followed. Here, using some analytical devices, which will be looked into shortly, all articles/transcripts were read through several times. In the close reading process, notes were made on similarities and differences between various news texts; articles were grouped according to these similarities, and regrouped again according to other characteristics. In all three cases (II, III and IV) the 'hands-on' work meant organising articles in folders, reading through them a number of times, spreading them out on a large surface, organising them according to new logic, marking common themes with colour codes, reading them again, and so on.

It was somewhat easier to analyse the focus group study (Case V) since transcripts of the interviews were electronic.³ In this case, the close reading method consisted of several readings and re-organisations of text segments with the help of a copy-pasting (Stewart, Shamdasani & Rook 2007, 116). In the electronic re-organising of segments in the focus group transcripts, there were three working documents emerging as a 'side product'. In the first document, the focus group discussions are summarised one by one without focusing too much on the research question, but more on the topical episodes, on the spontaneity of the discussants, and on particularities relating to turn-taking, leadership, and other intra-group phenomena. The second working paper focuses more directly on the analytical devices, and also the research questions as such. In this document various fragments have been sorted, separated and combined under thematic titles. In the third working document all comments directly focusing on media content were lumped together.

3.2 Analytical devices common for both methods

As noted earlier, some quantitative elements are included in three of the four predominantly qualitative studies in this dissertation. Since there are a variety of ways in which qualitative and quantitative methods and data can be intertwined (Erzberger & Kelle 2003), this requires some further clarification. The main motivation to combine the two methods within the individual case studies, and to have both more quantitative and more qualitative cases in this thesis, is to gather different insights that complement one another. As Klaus Bruhn Jensen (2002, 104) correctly notes concerning epistemology,

3 The actual work of analysing text and talk is time consuming and process-like, whether done electronically or not. Concerning the focus group study transcripts, the organising and re-organising of content took several months. During the more intensive writing phase, the process continued in order to make check-ups on the accuracy of the initial interpretations.

quantitative and qualitative approaches are complementary in that they produce different analytical versions of reality, which in turn might influence public debate about social reality and its mediation. Concerning the role of methodology for the findings of this study, we have seen that the two sense-making techniques are complementary as they are used for different purposes: with the quantitative method, an overall presentation of the materials can be given and changes occurring in a longer time perspective can be made visible. The qualitative part again contributes to a deeper understanding of positioning practices in media content and in people's talk.

This division of methodological 'tasks' is the principal idea, however, in practice the quantitative and qualitative parts are intertwined and support one another in much more complex and diverse ways. For example, in the case studies, the emphasis on either the qualitative or the quantitative varies, and since the micro-level research questions are different in the five studies, the techniques serve different purposes and support one another in different ways. Besides, in most of the case studies, there is not a clear cut divide between the quantitative and qualitative part. These are seen as two sides of a coin, which aim at making sense of the empirical material. The blending together of the two techniques is underlined by the fact that the same analytical devices are for example used for both techniques.

THE ANALYTICAL DEVICES. These devices can be thought of as bridge-building tools linking the quantitative and qualitative parts of the analyses, the theoretical level and the research question with the empirical material and the actual work of analysing texts. These devices used on an intermediate level of abstraction are 'visibility', 'voice', 'themes', 'markers' and 'claims'. These notions are thought of as playing an important role for positioning practices in the communicative space, but their more particular role will become clearer later in the thesis.

VISIBILITY: According to various news criteria certain individuals, groups and/or themes can be more visible in the media than others. A certain connection between a group and a theme, for example Roma from Slovakia and beggary might be given a lot of visibility at a certain time, while something else might then take the attention of the media. By giving visibility to some but not others, the media can contribute to maintaining social and political power hierarchies (Ekecrantz & Olsson 1994, 22).

VOICE: Visibility does not guarantee voice. It might well be that a certain group, like the Roma get a lot of visibility, but that someone else – a police representative for example – talks for them. Here, the same as above applies. Giving or not giving voice are means of influencing power relations on a symbolic level (ibid.).

MARKERS: Markers are here understood as implicit or explicit notifica-

tions about characteristics, such as nationality, skin colour, mother tongue, and so on, that are either consciously or unconsciously used to mark the belonging of an actor or an actor group to imagined we- or they-groups, but importantly, markers do not have to relate to ethnocultural characteristics. 'Hard working' can for example function as a marker of belonging, but it does not have to do it. Whether it does or does not depends on the context and the way in which it is used. The way in which markers here are understood, resemble the notion of a 'cue' used by Erving Goffman (1974), and applied, for example, by Karina Horsti (2005). Anders Lange and Charles Westin (1981), use the notion 'ethnic identity marker' and so does also Gunilla Hultén (2006, 33). Hultén however uses the notion when explaining how she is selecting her material, not for the actual text analyses. Helen Sheumaker and Shirley Teresa Wajda (2007, 176) again talk of 'markers of cultural identification'.

CLAIMS: Claims are explicit appeals made in the media text, or used by representatives of audiences when commenting upon media texts. Claims are not articulated by mistake, but are the result of conscious and sometimes even strategic actions of the claims-maker. Ruud Koopmans et al. (2005, 254) state that an instance of claims-making (shorthand: a claim), as a strategic action in the communicative space, consists of *the purposive and public articulation of political demands, calls to action, proposals, criticisms, or physical attacks, which, actually or potentially, affect the interest or integrity or the claimants and/or other collective actors*. In theory a claim can be articulated in a declaration, a decision, a demonstration, and so on. In this study, however, the understanding of claims is limited to appeals made in textual and spoken articulations. Here, claims are to be found on the pages of newspapers, or in the talk of discussants participating in focus group discussions. In alignment with the criteria presented in Koopmans et al. (2005, 259) these claims always relate to collective social problems, and to solutions for them. They do not relate to individual problems, and/or individual strategies on how they as such shall be solved. (See also Nordberg 2007, 29–30.)

THEME: A theme is not a speech act, a discourse⁴, or a storyline, but something emerging when similar types of topics are lumped together. Topics differ from themes since they are more bound to individual stories in newspaper articles, whereas themes transcend the borders of individual articles. Different topics can be part of the same theme, while themes can be talked about in speech acts, and they can also form storylines.

Concerning all these analytical devices, as shown, their everyday understanding does not differ much from the way it is understood here.

4 In this dissertation I understand discourse very generally as a way that a topic (or theme) can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about (Hall 1997, 44).

3.3 The selection criteria and actor naming

Since the themes of migration, integration, and diversity have recently become so politicised, there are no selection criteria that will appear as completely neutral or uncontested. In fact, this applies not only to the selection criteria but also to the choice of analytical vocabulary. Every researcher dealing with ethnocultural complexity and minority-majority-relationships is walking on a minefield when motivating for certain analytical categorisations instead of others. Questions and namings that cause problems when categorisations for analytical purposes are made, are for example: Who is a minority? For how long is one an immigrant? How shall one name undocumented migrants? Can one lump ethnic minorities and immigrants together? Can one talk of 'Muslims', despite faith being something subjective and despite one Muslim might have very little in common with another Muslim? Concerning the selection criteria, the problem is that when deciding which articles to include in the corpus, and on the basis of which criteria focus groups discussants are to be asked to participate, the researcher may be accused of joining in the reproduction of nationalism in its more invisible form (see chapter 2).

The starting point is, as noted earlier in this chapter, that selection criteria and analytical categories are needed to be able to learn more about, and to talk about, people and groups of people, who because of their ethnocultural belonging risk being marginalised in the media or in society at large. In other words: all people featured in the media material discussed in this dissertation, and all those joining in the focus group study, are first and foremost seen as human beings. However, they still share some common characteristics like having migrated or being in a majority or minority concerning their mother tongue, faith, skin colour, or something else. Since taking too universalistic an approach might lead to a research setting in which exclusionary processes go unnoticed, we need to engage in the difficult process of displaying selection criteria and naming analytical categories.

The basic rule for the selection criteria of newspaper articles in the corpus is that articles have to deal with ethnocultural complexity in general, or with minority actors in particular in relation to Finland. People do not necessarily have to be in focus in the newspaper articles. Articles might as well be reporting about phenomena or events such as immigration politics, culturally complex schools milieus, or cultural events such as an arts exhibition by a foreign born artist. The corpus involves for example newspaper columns dealing with how one shall name black people living in Finland, news briefs about the percentage of foreign born people in crime statistics, and reportage on people of immigrant origin who have received an award for something.

This general outline must be followed with a little clarification. First, concerning the ‘hands on’ analyses of media content, there are various themes fitting under this broad umbrella of ethnocultural complexity; immigration, emigration, integration, discrimination, racism, and so on. The scope of the study is consciously this broad in order to get a grasp of positioning practices on a more general level. This broad take on complexity into which many different subjects are incorporated, means that particularities might go unnoticed. Some actors, asylum seekers for example, are in this study not paid special attention to as a group. The risk here is that the result might appear as a caricature of the complexities involved. Paradoxically, however, to grasp the complexity (asylum seekers are more than just asylum seekers) the scope of the study must be kept this broad.

Second, as a continuation of this argument, ‘minority actor’, which as noted earlier is an abbreviation of ethnic minorities, foreigners, and people of immigrant origin, has been chosen mainly because of practical reasons: there are no good notions for describing this enormously diverse grouping, which, as yet, sometimes needs to be named due to the fact that persons not belonging to the majority population share sentiments and experiences of migration and/or of how it is to live as a minority in a predominantly Finnish language, white, Evangelical-Lutheran nation-state.⁵

‘Immigrant’ couldn’t be used here on a general level, since not all groupings of people dealt with here are immigrants.⁶ Some ethnic minorities, such as most of the Jews in Finland, the Tatars and the so-called old-Russians, have not migrated in recent history. Still, the positioning of these groups and their self-positioning might be influenced by the ideologies of racism and nationalism just as the positioning of people with experiences of migration. Therefore, I also wanted to incorporate these groups.

Even though distinctions between minority groups can be made according to when most of their representatives arrived in Finland, borders are fluid. Amongst the recently arrived Russian immigrants there are some who have become members of the Jewish congregation in Helsinki, for example. The ‘old’ minority, in this case the Jewish minority in Finland, is thus renewed. As a result the whole dichotomised naming practice (i.e., talk about

5 ‘Race’ is not used as an analytical concept in this study. Sometimes, the notion ‘black’ is used, but with black I always mean ‘appearing as black in a Finnish context’. Race is not used, first, since the notion is considered as un-detachable from the belief in theories of somatic and cultural differences between people. Second, the connotation of ‘rotu’ in Finnish and ‘ras’ in Swedish is different from ‘race’ in English. Rotu/ras also stands for breed or stock. Third, as noted, in Finland, there are no demographic statistics found on ethnic background (i.e., race if one wants), this in contrast to the UK for example. To simplify: In Finland, in people’s everyday speech, namings seem mainly to derive from former nationalities, and/or countries of origin, rather than from the colour of the skin. E.g., Somalians living in Finland are first and foremost talked about as being Somalian and not as blacks despite indeed being black in a Finnish context.

6 When I talk about immigrants, I refer only to people who themselves have migrated into Finland.

'old' minorities and 'new' minorities) should maybe be problematised not only in scholarly writings but also in everyday usage. This is yet another motivation for the choice of such a broad term as 'minority actor'.⁷

In summation, 'minority actors' incorporate Finnish Jews, Tatars, Finnish Roma, Sámi, and so-called old-Russians, but also people and groups of people who themselves have experienced migration or whose parents have migrated. Some of these immigrants are foreigners in a technical sense since they have not received Finnish citizenship, while others officially are Finnish. It is also important to point out that into this heterogeneous group of minority actors I count foreigners, in other words, people who reside in Finland and/or have more or less permanent attachments to the country, but who are not necessarily planning to migrate to Finland. These can be foreign students for example.

One delimitation can be made on a more general level. Tourists are not of primary interest for this study. Nevertheless, in the present era characterised by increased movement of people, it is not clear where the limits of being a tourist should be drawn. People might live semi-permanently in the country, renewing their tourist visa every third month, and those from EU-countries do not even need a visa. Some semi-permanent residents might talk of themselves as 'visitors' despite having lived in the country for years. It might also well be that when a journalist writes about a 'group of Russian men', for example, they are tourists just passing by. This might lead to a situation in which, despite the delimitation, newspaper articles on people just passing by are made part of the material.

In some of the case studies, there are more particular distinctions made of people and groups of people for analytical purposes. In the codebooks we encounter such analytical categories as 'Muslims', 'Finnish Roma', 'Russians', 'Estonians', and so on.⁸ A general rule is however that these analytical categories reflect the language of the journalist, and that they are simplifying entities not transferable as such to complex real life environments. For example, being categorised as a 'Somalian' in a codebook does not mean that according to this research one would be nothing but a person of Somalian origin. One might be a woman, a mother, a Finnish citizen, a nurse, and so on.

7 One must however take into consideration that the connotation of 'minority' varies significantly in various time and space contexts. For example, in modern Turkey, people avoid positioning themselves as minorities (Ermutlu 2009, 216–217). 'Minority' is thus by no means a completely neutral notion, in spite of 'minority' in Finland being less contested than 'immigrant'.

8 As noted, in Finland, population records are not kept on ethnicity. The legislative power in some other nation-states however uses ethnicity as a system of categorisation by naming groups and defining their borders (e.g., Huttunen 2005, 138). This does not mean that categories of ethnicity in general would be fixed, at least not in an academic sense.

* * *

In this chapter it has been clarified that the dissertation follows a case study design with five cases consisting of four newspaper studies and a focus group study. Articles and interview transcripts have been analysed with the help of quantitative content analysis and qualitative close reading in order to gain as much information as needed and as profound information as possible to be able to answer the research questions. It has been argued that neither the selection nor naming process have been easy, yet, both are much needed in order to make biases visible and for pointing out mechanisms which might have marginalising effects.

As noted, ethnic minorities, people of immigrant origin and sometimes also foreigners are generally in this dissertation called minority actors for the sake of convenience. This immensely complex and heterogeneous social category might be far too broad in order to be used in certain contexts, (without clarifications, we cannot make statements like 'minority actors are dissatisfied with the Finnish media', for example) but for the overall aim of this thesis it works. When needed, other more particular notions such as people of immigrant background, war refugees and asylum seekers are used. Generally speaking, however, ethnocultural complexity is here seen as something more than 'old' minorities and 'new' minorities, 'immigrants' and 'others'. It is about the increasingly complex society and heterogeneous citizenry, and only by including all those actors and groups, which are in a minority concerning their ethnic, cultural and/or religious belonging in terms of power, possibilities and numbers, can we gain information about positioning practices in general and the positioning of minority actors in particular.

Chart 1: Case studies I–V

	Material	Method	No. of articles /discussants	Data-gathering period	Year
Case I: The monitoring	Hufvudstadsbladet and Vasabladet	content analysis	1.222	2 months yearly during most periods*	1999–2005
Case II: Russians and Estonians	Hufvudstadsbladet and Vasabladet	mainly close reading	74 (part of the corpus above)	2 months yearly	2001–2002
Case III: Arts pages	Hufvudstadsbladet and Helsingin Sanomat	mainly close reading	333	6 months	2007
Case IV: Afternoon papers	Ilta-lehti and Ilta-Sanomat	mainly close reading	227	1 month yearly	2004–2005
Case V: Focus group study	Discussants of various backgrounds**	close reading	33		2006

* 2 months in 1999, 2001, 2004 and 2005, every third issue during 10 months in 2000, and 4 months in 2002

** Finnish speaking 'natives', Swedish speaking 'natives', and Somalian, Bosnian and Russian speakers of immigrant background

Part II: Empirical findings

4. Case 1: Monitoring two Swedish language morning papers¹

Johan Galtung (1999, 18) has said: *To monitor is to characterize something according to a criterion. In other words, monitoring means evaluating. We are doing it all the time: mapping others, individuals or collectives, media, sometimes ourselves; mapping events like meals, contexts like restaurants on dichotomies of good-bad or more refined scales of judgment.*

By monitoring two Swedish language newspapers, *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*, focusing on how these papers from 1999 to 2005 reported on ethnocultural complexity, I here seek to present an overview of the mediated environment in which positioning of minority actors take place. The overall aim of this chapter is to present the main fluctuations in the reporting and to provide a point of reference for the qualitative studies that follow. This particular chapter is significant for the thesis as a whole, also because mid-term results from the monitoring (Haavisto 2005b, 2007) have given rise to new questions, thus steering the entire research process including the choice of cases.

The analytical devices lead the way for the more direct micro-level questions, which focus on the distribution of voice (which allows for claims-making) and visibility (which allows for the occurring of markers and themes).² These devices fall under the main aim of this dissertation: To answer how minorities are positioned in the media and in face-to-face talk, and to further investigate positioning as a practice. The case-specific questions are as follows:

1 This chapter is a developed version of a book chapter in Swedish (Haavisto 2007). Earlier findings (on a more restricted empirical material) have been presented in English in Haavisto 2005b. Mid-results on the Swedish-language media have also been presented earlier in Meurman 2000, Kujala 2002 and Haavisto 2004. Findings from a related project for which Finnish language media was monitored have been presented in e.g., Raittila (2004) and Raittila & Vehmas (2005).

2 The aim of this chapter is not to reflect extensively over technicalities relating to the research process, but to focus on the findings of the content analysis grasping a period of six years (1999–2005). Albeit this chapter can be read without having read the other chapters in this thesis, the method (quantitative content analysis) is discussed in chapter 3. Selection criteria and the codebook are found in section A in the appendix.

- How did the two Swedish language morning papers *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet* report on ethnocultural complexity in general and minority actors in particular from 1999 to 2005?
- Which themes and minority groups were given visibility in the two dailies?
- Who got to speak in the articles, and in what kind of contexts were they getting their voices heard?

As noted previously, the monitoring of Swedish language newspapers in Finland administrated by CEREN³ has links to a related project on Finnish language media conducted at the Research and Development Centre at the University Tampere. Both monitoring projects are part of the umbrella-project Racism and Ethnic Discrimination in the Media, funded by the Ministry of Education from 1999 to 2008. I got involved in an early stage, in 2000, yet at a time when the pilot study had already been done and the implementation of the codebook had taken place. (See Raittila, Suikkanen & Lilja 1999 for information on the pilot study.)

The two research institutes have worked independently and minor changes in the codebook have been introduced separately. For example, during the process of encoding, there were not frequent cross checks between the two research institutes to assure identical coding. This shall be taken into consideration when comparisons are made.

Why then, have changes been made in the codebook? The changes have been made in order to assure that the codebook accurately covers the main themes and actor groups despite changes in the reporting. Naming practices for minority groups might have changed. And/or when a particular event has occurred, like an arrival of a new refugee group from a certain region, a certain actor group might suddenly get more attention in the media than before. Information about such coding categories that have been added to the code book; for example, 'Muslims', 'Russians and Estonians' and 'Georgians', occur within this chapter when required for comprehension. It is important to reiterate that in this case study, it is the journalist's naming practice that has steered the coding.⁴ For example, if the journalist mainly talks about 'Muslim immigrants', the actors have been encoded as 'Muslims'; if there is

3 CEREN stands for Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism, a research institute at the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki.

4 The encoding has been conducted by research assistants. During 1999 there were several assistants who worked in close co-operation with each other and the project leader at CEREN. Since 2000 Krister Sandlund has encoded all articles during all periods.

talk of 'Afghans', the actor group has been encoded under this category. In fact, since the same group of people might be referred to in a variety of ways, these articles can be about the same persons or communities.

When comparing this chapter with findings from the Finnish language press (e.g., Raittila 2002; Raittila & Vehmas 2005), one must also consider that the material presented in this study was not gathered during exactly the same periods as at the University of Tampere.⁵ The newspaper articles analysed for this study were published during seven data-gathering periods in 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2005. The periods are two months long, except for the year 2000, when every third issue was encoded during a period of ten months. During 2003 there was no coding conducted, but instead, during 2002, articles were encoded during two periods of two months. These periods are named 'v2002' ('v' stands for 'våren', the spring) and 'h2002' ('h' stands for 'hösten', the autumn).

The reason why the sampling from year 2000 is different from the other periods is that researchers at CEREN and at the University of Tampere wanted to know how (if at all) a longer data-gathering period would influence the findings. However, after the tryout, researchers concluded that although big media events, like the EU-summit in Tampere in 1999, to some extent seemed to influence the outcome during the shorter data-gathering period during this particular year, generally speaking, the results were quite similar. Consequently, researchers returned to the more time and resource efficient system of gathering articles each day during a period of two months.⁶

The choice of including the exceptional 2000-period here has impelled me to use percentages and proportions instead of absolute numbers when comparing the seven sets of data. The material from year 2000 consists of 305 articles, while the other six periods consist of between 122 and 170 articles.⁷ In all, the articles encoded from the two newspapers for this study number 1,222. These have been analysed so that records of specified tables have been cross-tabulated with other tables with the help of the statistical SPSS-software. When the interest has been not on the correlation between various categories (e.g., how many times do the police speak in relation to a certain news theme?), but on a more general level, descriptive statistics have been used.

5 At the University of Tampere, over 5,000 articles in five to 17 newspapers were encoded during four periods between 1999 and 2004 (Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 13).

6 Tom Sandlund and Pentti Raittila were project leaders at that time, and the final decision to switch back to shorter periods was made by them in year 2000. Actually, some of the data-gathering periods after 2000 were three months long, not two, but for this study, except for the periods of 2000 and 2002, I have taken into account two months yearly only.

7 131 articles fulfilling the selection criteria were published during the two-month-long period in 1999, 305 during the exceptional 2000, 162 during 2001, 164 during autumn 2002, 170 during spring 2002, 122 during 2004, and 168 during 2005.

4.1 Article themes

First to be focused on are those themes dominating the reporting about issues relating to ethnocultural complexity during the seven research periods between 1999 and 2005.⁸ These themes can either be looked upon individually, or, in order to get a better overview of the content, they can be lumped together with similar types of themes to form bigger theme-groups; so-called umbrella-themes. In this section, first, the two main umbrella-themes are presented; the umbrella-theme on respect and equal treatment of minorities, and the one on crime and criminality. After this, the most dominant individual theme, the one on legislation and/or authority action is brought into focus.

PROMOTING RESPECT AND EQUAL TREATMENT OF MINORITIES. Fifteen per cent of all 1,222 articles in this material deal with so-called tolerance-promoting issues.⁹ These articles inform about I) campaigns, seminars, events or demonstrations against racism, II) successfully integrated minority individuals who have done something having news value, and III) minority tradition or religions, which are explained in an informative and pedagogical manner. A typical story within this umbrella-theme is a portrait of a person who has won an award of some kind, like the award for the Immigrant Woman of the Year and/or who has shown proof of successful integration by, for example, getting a University degree exceptionally fast.

The minority groups most often linked to this theme-group are Kurds, Somalians and Finnish Roma. The groups most seldom featured in relation to these issues are Estonians, Russians and Georgians. Estonians, for example, are featured in 68 articles altogether, yet this actor group is not once featured within the umbrella-theme for respect and equal treatment. The explanation why Georgians are so seldom featured as main actors in relation to this theme-group is that the reporting on them is centred on a certain, rather sensational news event in 2005 when a busload of Georgian women was stopped at the border when trying to enter Finland. The bus was not allowed to enter the EU, as authorities were suspicious as to the purpose of the trip. In the two dailies, actors talked about illegal work and human trafficking.

8 When interpreting these results one must keep in mind that the codebook only pays attention to the main article theme. In both papers, there are text fragments in which issues of respect and equal treatment of minorities are activated, in relation to Russian actors, for example, albeit the focus of the article is on something else, like crime and criminality.

9 To tolerate someone can be interpreted as 'putting up with someone'. I prefer to talk of respect and equal treatment instead, or alternatively I use the notion in quotation marks.

10 One could think that yet another possible reason for the lack of articles promoting respect and equal treatment of Estonians would be that these articles are encoded under the category for labour market issues. Eighteen per cent of all 68 articles featuring Estonians are about labour market issues. These do however neither pay tribute to individual Estonian workers, nor provide information about background matters.

The reason why Estonians do not function as main actors in articles within this theme-group might be that Estonian traditions and cultural habits are thought of as being so well-known and so close to what are generally thought of as ‘typical’ Finnish traditions and habits, that there is no need to present successfully integrated individuals or to present background information on Estonian cultural traditions. (See Jaakkola 2005, 99, xi; Raittila 2002b, 62.) Through everyday observation, we also know that Estonians living in Finland are not as active as, for example, the Kurdish community, in organising public events and/or campaigns in which anti-discriminatory claims would be aired in public.¹⁰ Concerning the Russians, there is no explanation why the so-called tolerance theme is so seldom activated besides the most obvious one: there is another theme dominating the reporting, that is the one on crime and conflict. Other themes, therefore, might have a difficulty in ‘getting through’.

CRIME AND CONFLICT. Twenty-five per cent of the 1,222 articles deal with criminal activities and/or conflicts involving minority actors. This umbrella-theme consists of six individual themes: I) Violent crime committed by minority actors, II) non-violent crimes committed by minority actors, III) conflicts within or between minority groups, IV) violence towards minority actors, V) offensive behaviour towards minority actors, and VI) legal proceedings and court order.

Only a few of the articles within this umbrella-theme are about violence or offences towards minority actors.¹¹ Contrarily, most articles are about minority perpetrators who have conducted violent or non-violent crimes. When looking at the groups most often involved in crimes which are non-violent, we can see that Estonians, Russians and others from east European and/or ex-Soviet countries clearly dominate the statistics. When lumped together, these actor groups are the main actors in 71 per cent of all 117 articles within this category. To look at this from another angle, almost 60 per cent of all 68 articles in which Estonians are featured as main actors deal with court orders, violent crimes and non-violent crimes. The same applies to 46 per cent of all 93 articles in which Russians are featured as main actors.

The article seldom clarifies if actors presented as perpetrators are living permanently in Finland, or if they are just travelling through the country on their way elsewhere.¹² Whatever the case, the reporting constructs a strong link between criminal activities and a certain geographic, cultural and linguistic

Instead they deal with topics such as the Finnish Construction Trade Union’s threats of strikes because Estonian sub-contractors are claimed to under-pay their employees. Hence is this assumption not correct.

11 In theory, crimes against minorities do not have to be so-called hate-crimes, since obviously, minority actors can be victims of all sorts of crimes, for example pick-pocketing.

12 One study on crime statistics shows that only 13 per cent of crimes committed by Russian nationals (4,529 in 1996) were carried out by such Russian nationals who have Finnish residency (Streng 1998, 50).

sphere, namely that of Russia and Russia's neighbouring states, which became independent after the fall of the Soviet Union. The link is apparent also in the Finnish language newspapers (Raittila 2002b, 41–45, 58–63; Horsti 2002, 358).

Not surprisingly, representatives of the court and/or the police are the main actors and also the main speakers¹³ in about half of all articles on non-violent crimes, and legal proceedings and court orders. In the other half of the articles, it is mainly some other authority, the media itself or other media that function as the main speakers, or alternatively, there is no main speaker at all. Often the police are also the main speakers in articles in which minority actors are the victims of violent crime and/or offensive behaviour. Nevertheless, here, the division is more balanced: in those 30 articles in which minorities are victims, they get to speak themselves in nine articles and the police in 12. Although these categories in theory could overlap, in practice they do not.

LEGISLATION AND AUTHORITY ACTION. Nineteen per cent of all 1,222 articles deal with issues related to legislation and/or authority action. Articles encoded here are comments and/or reports on legislative processes and the implementation of new laws. Seventy-three per cent of these 229 articles for legislation and/or authority action are 'teaser articles': short articles on the front page drawing attention to articles inside the paper, but in 14 per cent, one can assume there is some deeper analysis involved since these constitute the editorials, columns and letters-to-the-editors.

The topic of legislation and/or authority action seems to engage newspaper readers to join in the public debate, since 30 per cent of all 70 letters-to-the-editor deal with legislation and/or authority action. Nevertheless, when we look at this from another angle, and focus on the time period from 2001 to 2005 during which 125 articles on legislation and/or authority action were encoded, it is still clear that authority voices dominate. While 'ordinary citizens' are the main speakers in seven per cent of the articles dealing with this theme, authority representatives are the main speakers in more than half of the articles. One should note however, that civil servants working in the field are categorised as authorities. This means that the category of authority representatives does not consist only of white-collar bureaucrats, but also teachers of minority languages, and staff members from employment offices, information centres, prisons, and so on.

Seven per cent of 'ordinary citizens' as main speakers within this theme, is not much, but it still tells us that from time to time between 1999 and 2005, visibility and voice were given to 'ordinary' commentators who had the possibility to make claims on immigration politics and other closely-related themes.

13 One should note that the encoding of main speakers changed in 2001. For this dissertation, only those speakers encoded between 2001 and 2005 have been taken into account. This part of the material constitutes 786 articles.

At the time of writing (spring 2011), we can often hear in the public debate, that ‘ordinary people’ were not heard in relation to migration politics during the time period concerned. Previous studies suggest that, at least in Sweden, governmental migration politics and the press coverage of issues on migration seem to develop in a harmonious relationship (Hultén 2006, 221). Albeit editors-in-chief in Finland are underlining that the media in Finland is setting its own agenda when dealing with diversity (Floman 2007), Marina Lassenius (2009, 34) shows that commenting on governmental issues such as law and legislation in the Swedish language daily press tends to follow the press releases from the Finnish News Agency (STT/FNB). Again these tend to be based fairly directly on press releases from public administration, mostly giving voice to elite actors within the administrative bodies (Gröning 2005).

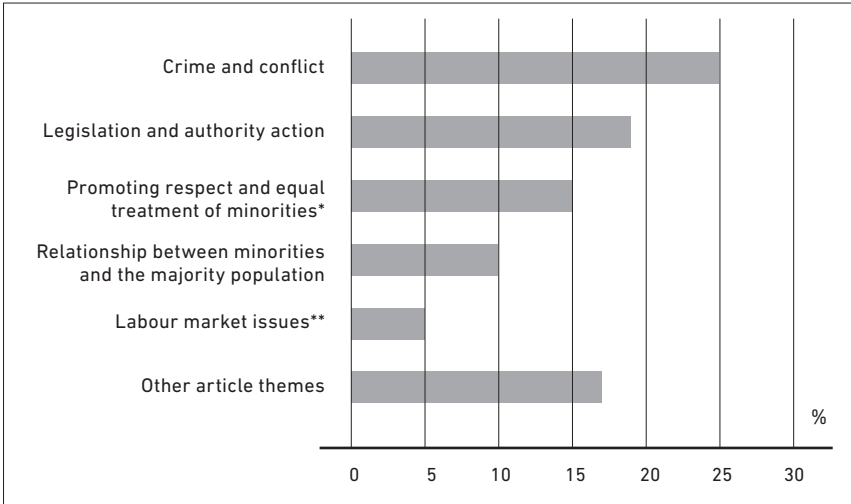
The statistics presented in this chapter however show that albeit authority actors dominated as speakers within the theme of legislation and authority action, there was a spread of other speakers, which suggests that the two papers did not function as an unofficial mouthpiece for governmental politics during the time period concerned. Obviously, one would need more fine-tuned analytical tools to be able to see if and what kind of criticism those main actors who do not represent the Government pose; a task that cannot be fulfilled here, since this study does not look into what kinds of claims the speakers in fact are making.

Worth noting however, is that there are some speaker groups that are hardly ever allowed to talk in relation to the theme of legislation and/or authority action. The expertise of researchers (1%) and the private sector (0%) is not, for example, evaluated highly when journalists write about law preparation processes relating to immigration, integration or discrimination. Interestingly enough, the role of the private sector seems to have changed since the end of this monitoring period. In the reporting of labour market issues and immigration conducted from 2006–2008, private companies now have a more important speaker position, particularly in the regional press (Lassenius 2009, 18). This change is something that researchers in the future are encouraged to look deeper into.

OTHER ARTICLE THEMES. The relationship between minorities and the majority population¹⁴ (10%) is another big individual article theme. Articles

14 In co-operation with researchers at the Journalism Research and Development Centre in Tampere, category-names were translated word for word to English from the Finnish and Swedish language code-books in 2004. To be able to compare former reports (Meurman 2000; Kujala 2002; Haavisto 2004; 2005b) with this chapter, some rather inelegant category-names have been kept as such. However, for this dissertation, the category originally named ‘The relationships of Finns and minority representatives’ (Swe: Finländares förhållande till minoritetsrepresentanter) was changed to ‘The relationship between minorities and the majority population’ since the dichotomy of Finns and minorities was considered to be somewhat misleading.

Chart 2: Main umbrella-themes and most popular individual article themes (N = 1,222)



* Umbrella-theme constituted of several individual themes.

** Category introduced in 2001.

encoded here deal with the structures of Finnish society in relation to minority actors and their needs. For example, articles report on attitude studies done amongst the majority population, on a recently published book about the everyday life of immigrant girls in Finland, and on debates in regional municipalities on the pros and cons of hosting refugees. Topics dealing with discrimination and the possibilities of peaceful coexistence from a non-personal perspective belong here, but topics such as racist insults or personal experiences of discrimination are encoded elsewhere.

The two dailies also write about the arrival of new immigrant groups (9%) and issues relating to the labour market, namely work and employment (5%). The politics of an active recruitment of workforce had not yet been initiated to a full extent – the Government initiated the active recruiting of foreign labour for certain sectors in 2006 – but the material shows that it still reached the headlines from time to time during 1999 and 2005. (See Lassenius 2009 and Simola 2008 for more recent media debate on labour migration).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME ARTICLE THEMES. When looking at trends and fluctuations, and focusing on those themes that have significantly changed during the 1999–2005 period, first of all, we see that the umbrella-theme on crime and conflict has grown remarkably in that time period. In 1999, crime and conflict related themes formed 10 per cent of all article

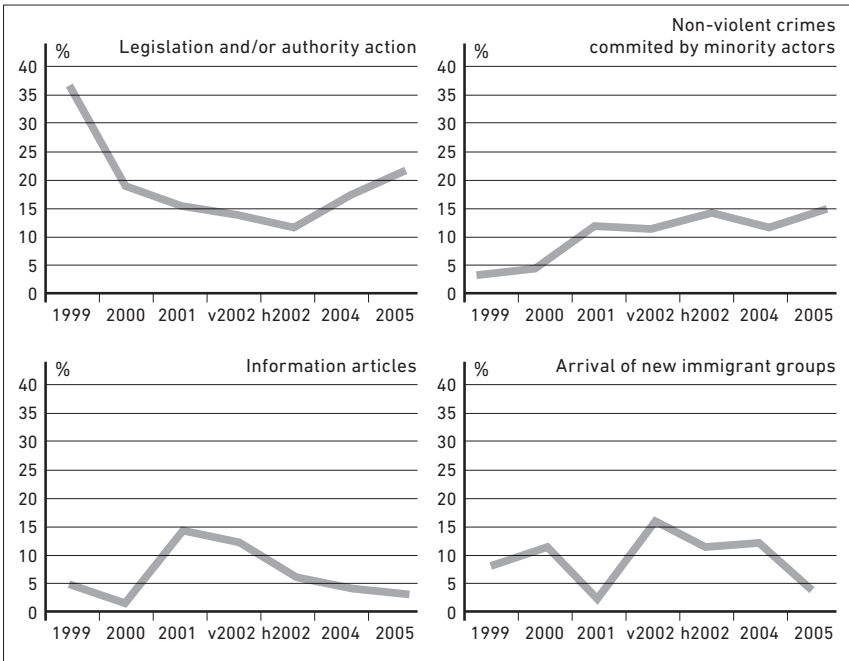
themes, while in 2005 they made up 31 per cent. Within this umbrella-theme, it is the category of non-violent crimes committed by minority actors, which has driven this development. It has grown from about three to 11 per cent in the time period. This growth is most likely influenced by an increase in crimes committed by foreign nationals, but also, and this is important to underline, because journalists start involving themselves in so-called investigative journalism, trying to find owners of dubious companies, following illegal sales points, and so on. This will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

At the same time, the number of articles dealing with legislation and/or authority action dropped quite drastically; from about 36 per cent in 1999 to about 20 per cent in 2005. This is most likely due to several parallel phenomena. As can be seen in the overview of the main events (section A in appendix), Finland had the Presidency for the European Union in 1999 when a europeanisation of migration and asylum procedures was dealt with in a series of meetings held in the Finnish city of Tampere. Additionally, there is a technical research matter which influences the decrease in this category. For the research period in 2000, two new categories were created; one for legal proceedings and court orders and the other for labour market issues. Most of the articles encoded under these two new categories were encoded under the category of legislation and/or authority action in 1999.

Furthermore, concerning the development of themes, in chart 3 we see that there is a peak in 2001 of so-called informative articles, one of the three individual themes under the umbrella-theme concerning respect and equal treatment of minorities. From around three to six per cent in average, in 2001, informative articles make up over 14 per cent. Articles encoded here have a pedagogical tone. In an informative manner they tell about minority cultural/religious traditions and customs.

The theme-category is quite small, but the peak in 2001 is worth reflecting on since it coincides with the 9/11-events in the United States and the beginning of the War on Terror. It seems that two papers started publishing more 'counter-stories' from a domestic perspective when the overall, international representation of Muslims became one-sided. What this finding suggests is that journalists working for Finnish print media were practicing some sort of small-scale campaign-journalism in order to balance an overall reporting when something as exceptional as the 9/11-events suddenly makes a certain minority group exposed. Interestingly, editors-in-chief deny that they would campaign for certain causes (Floman 2007, 161). My material points to the opposite, since almost all of these articles in the '2001-peak' are about Muslims and/or Afghans living in Finland. These actors are presented as moderate or secular Muslims (in contrast to radical or fundamental), and they have a fairly high chance of commenting upon these major international crises. In their comments they condemn international terror and speak for

Chart 3: The development of four article themes*



* N = 131 during 1999, 305 in 2000, 162 in 2001, 164 in v2002, 170 in h2002, 122 in 2004 and 168 in 2005

peace and mutual respect across ethnocultural and religious lines.

In other words; one explanation for the increase of articles explicitly aimed at enhancing respect and equal treatment of minorities might be that when the foreign news content rapidly changed during the research period in 2001 risking stigmatising Muslims in general, the journalists started producing stories from a local perspective. On one hand this practice balanced the overall reporting on actors presented as Muslims. On the other hand it also strengthened the categorical distinction between ‘our’ secular Muslims and foreign fundamental ones, involved in crime and terror.

Here we can see, as Karina Horsti has shown (2005, 176, 223–226; 2007, 46–47) how a broadened genre-spectra opens up for new themes and new voices in the reporting. Without the 9/11 crisis, actors named as Muslims or and/or Afghans by journalists, would most likely not have got as much visibility and voice as they then did.

However, this monitoring shows that counter-activity and conscious balancing of negative news themes, seems to be provoked only in relation

to particularly dramatic media events. There is no balancing of the crime-dominated reporting of Russians or Estonians for example, even despite the fact that this second-biggest article theme – the one concerning non-violent crimes committed by minority actors – increased between 1999 and 2005 and shows no signs of abating.

Besides the three fluctuating individual themes discussed in this section, there is one further theme; the arrival of new immigrant groups, the amount of which rises and falls. In 2001, when the research period in September and October coincided with the 9/11 events, almost no attention (only 1.2%) is paid to immigrants coming into Finland. Normally, the category covers eight to 12 per cent of all themes.

Generally speaking, most article themes are rather stable from year to year. Thus these fluctuating article themes can be viewed as somewhat exceptional.

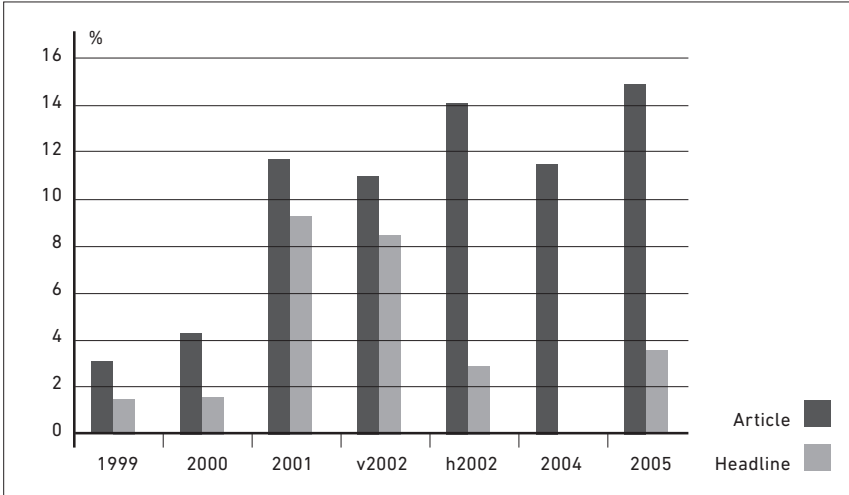
4.2 Headline themes

Headlines play a crucial role for the newspaper reader's overall sense-making process of the content (e.g., Garst & Bernstein 1970). Headlines are usually read first, and the information expressed in the headline is thereafter strategically used by the reader in order to construct the overall meaning of the rest of the text. Sometimes, the reader reads nothing but the headline. Headline information is also used to activate the relevant passive knowledge the reader needs to understand the news report (van Dijk 1991, 51). Since headlines express the most important information about a news event, they may bias the understanding process: they summarise what, according to the journalist or the editor of the headline, is the most important aspect, and such a summary necessarily implies an opinion or a specific perspective on the events (*ibid.*)¹⁵

In this study, headlines are hard to categorise since they provide so little information. The biggest headline category is in fact the one for 'other themes' covering 30 per cent of all headlines. Despite this, it can be clearly seen that some themes rise more easily to the headline than others. These are the informative theme, the theme on labour market issues, the arrival of new immigrant groups, and the theme of legislation and/or authority action. Contrarily, headlines are seldom about minority actors involved in criminal activities and conflicts.

¹⁵ Headlines are particular also since it might well be that it is not the journalist him or herself who has the control over the last version of the wording. In big newspaper houses, there are people employed specially for writing headlines, but at *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet* it is not completely unheard of that the person doing the layout is the one producing the final version of the headline.

Chart 4: The development of the category 'Non-violent crimes committed by minority actors' (N = 1,222).¹⁶



The choice on what to 'upgrade' and what to 'downgrade' as Teun A. van Dijk (1991) puts it, seems to have changed during the period in question. We see, for example, that 11 per cent of the articles in 2004 dealt with non-violent crimes committed by minority perpetrators, but none of the headlines during this year emphasised this theme although they had done so during former years. (See chart 4.)

Instead of the actual act of crime, headlines in 2004 tended to focus more on legal procedure and/or the court orders. The difference of perspective is minute, but it might be telling us something on a more general level. First, a cynical view on this might be that journalists chose to use the 'safe way' in their headline setting. When, already in the headline referring to the legislative process or the verdict of the legislative power, journalists avoid being blamed for 'labelling' innocent minority actors who have nothing to do with illegal activities. Second, whether it is a conscious process on the behalf of the journalists or not, it is in alignment with more general theories concerning juridification. These refer to an increase in the role that law plays in modern society. The notion expresses not merely the expansion of the vol-

¹⁶ Observe that this chart is only focusing on one headline-theme category and one article-theme category under the umbrella-theme of crime, namely, the category 'Non-violent crimes committed by minority actors'. The share of these articles is related to the overall number of article and headline themes (N = 1,222). Note also that the scale of the diagram only reaches up to 16 per cent. Changes occurring in course of time might thus appear as more significant as they would if the scale was different.

ume of law but also, and more crucially, the expansion of its domain (Habermas 1987, 359).

Third, one might also speculate that the emphasis on law and penalties is an intimidating (bulldozing) tactic. Crime stories in the newspaper mediate knowledge about the legal system in Finland to all social actors in society, and thus one could think that headlines would be efficient for getting through with the preventive dimension of law. If this is the case, as the American scientist of jurisprudence Robert A. Kagan (2001, 6)¹⁷, states that the growing role of law partially is due to increased geographic mobility, then this intimidating aspect might not be too far-fetched. Whether this discursive 'educating the citizen'-approach (Fi: kansalaisvalistus) is unconsciously or consciously applied can be debated. Whichever the case, one can interestingly note that there is a link to Michel Foucault's (1980) ideas that new governing strategies and techniques are invisible and based on knowledge.

4.3 Whose voice is heard?¹⁸

Research on news sources is a research area of its own (represented by e.g., Allern 1997; Brown et al. 1987; Sahlstrand 2000). Already in 1947, in the so-called Hutchins Commission, sources were an object of study (Leigh 1947). There are a variety of strategies used by actors who wish to get visibility and voice in the media. Without taking a standpoint for or against how these effect the quality of journalism and the independence of journalists, it stands uncontested that actors who easily get their voices heard know how to phrase their message in a 'media attractive' way. Studies suggest that the use of sources is often routinised and that journalists prioritise oral sources, which provide cogent slogans. Besides this, sources that are easily accessible, who live or work nearby, or who at least, can be reached by phone at almost any time, are likely to be used more frequently than those who are more difficult to reach (Sahlstrand 2000, 13).

Obviously, the choice of sources has to do with more than reachability; the expertise and the reliability of the source also influence the choice. Who is considered as reliable and an expert varies depending on the context. Nevertheless, in the Nordic countries, where corruption is fairly low in compari-

17 Kagan (2001, 6) states as follows: *Everywhere in the modern world legal control of social, political and economic life is intensifying. Law grows from the relentless pressures of technological change, geographic mobility, global economic competition, and environmental pollution – all of which generate social and economic disruption, new risks to health and security, new forms of injustice, and new cultural challenges to traditional norms.*

18 For this chapter, only the main speaker is paid attention to. During some of the data-gathering periods several speakers have been encoded, during other periods only the main speaker. For this chapter, results only concerning the main speaker have been used. If a school teacher and a pupil of immigrant origin are allowed a voice, only the one who is considered to be the main speaker has been encoded.

son to other political cultures, in general, there is confidence in the capacity of state authorities and other elites to organise and manage society. This can be seen, for example, in Anders Sahlstrand's (2000, 222–223) study on news sources in Swedish media. He shows that 64 per cent of all verbal sources in his media material were elite sources and 36 per cent non-elite.¹⁹

All sources used in the article are not necessarily quoted in the paper, and likewise, actors who are quoted, are not necessarily the most significant sources for the journalist (Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 22). Since one cannot know through quantitative content analysis who the sources for the story are, in this dissertation, there is talk of speakers instead of verbalised sources, for example. Speakers are here actors, whom journalists have given visibility to in the story, either by quoting them directly or referring to them. Besides people, written documents, and other media can be speakers. As noted earlier, through this rough monitoring, there is no information provided on what the speakers actually are saying, whether it is a claim or not, and in which context the articulation is made. For this, a more finely-grained analysis would have been needed.

As chart 5 shows, authority representatives are the main speakers in over 40 per cent of all articles during the research periods 2001–2005.²⁰ When the umbrella-category 'authorities' is looked at more in detail, one can see that the police are main speakers in 17 per cent of all 786 articles published during 2001–2005. Not surprisingly, these actors are mainly quoted in articles about crimes and conflicts, but the police also function as primary speakers in articles about the arrival of new immigrant groups in Finland, for example. Immigrants, ethnic minorities and/or foreigners are the main speakers in 15 per cent of all articles.²¹ As noted, these minority actors mainly get to speak in relation to the so-called tolerance promoting themes. It also seems that the journalistic genre is crucial for whether voice is given or not. While 45 per cent of the speakers in the 95 reportages and interviews during 2001–2005 were minority actors, the same applies only to eight per cent of all speakers in the 450 news articles from the same period.

These findings are hardly surprising since news journalism in general

19 Although gender has not been monitored in this study, it stands clear that the domination of elite sources brings along a focus on male actors. In Sahlstrand's study (2000, 222–223) 77 per cent of the verbal sources were men and only 23 per cent women, and, female sources were more frequent in the news-interview genre and in articles written by women journalists.

20 As noted earlier, since the encoding practice concerning voice was changed in 2001, only results after 2001 have been taken into account. Before 2001 up to eight speakers were mapped, but the system was rather complex and hard to make comparable with later data-gathering periods.

21 An additional test-variable was used in 2005. This variable asks if minority actors are quoted in the article or not. The idea behind the introduction of this variable was to paint a more complex picture where the other main speaker would be paid attention to. In 2005, in 19.6 per cent of all articles, minority actors are quoted (N = 168 in 2005). Technically speaking, this means that when taking into consideration only the main speaker there is a dropping off of some minority voices but not many. The overall percentage of minority voices is 15. See chart 5.

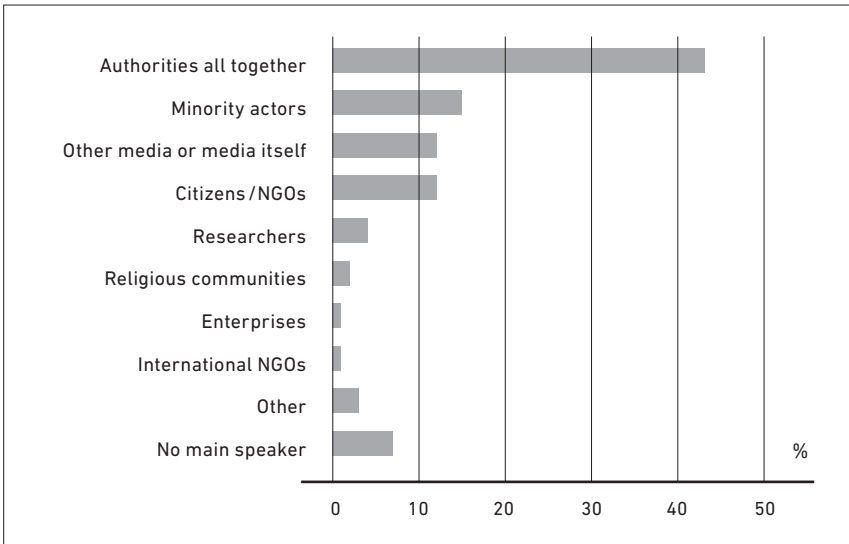
is dominated by elite actors, as suggested by many researchers, for example Sahlstrand (2000). ‘Ordinary’ citizens – irrespective of whether concerning ‘ethnic natives’ or minority actors – are seldom allowed to express opinions in relation to so-called hard news themes. This is something criticised more generally by researchers and journalists advocating citizen journalism (e.g., Glasser 1999; Heikkilä 2001; Haas 2007).

In this study, in relation to the overall theme, the share of voices from ‘ordinary citizen’s (in this case those who are not tagged as minority actors or as representing any institution) and NGO’s is 12% of 786 articles between 2001 and 2005, which is not ‘bad’ in comparison to the Legal and/or police department (16.8% of 786), or the Central Government (6.2%) (in chart 5 these are hidden under ‘authorities’). Actors who appear remarkably seldom as main speakers between 1999 and 2005 are religious communities (2%) and political parties or politicians and their representatives (4.3%).

Interestingly, more recent research shows that the role of all these actors in the mediated debate on ethnocultural complexity has become much more significant since 2006–2007. Karina Horsti (2009a) and Ullamaija Kivikuru (2007), for example, show how the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland became an important actor when publicly opposing the Government’s decisions to evict asylum seekers. The church campaigned for a woman named Naze Aghai, a Kurd from Iran, and this campaign received a lot of attention. Aghai had fled Iran due to political persecution and a forced marriage. Suvi Keskinen (2009) and Pentti Raittila (2009) again show how the role of politicians has changed in the public debate. Politicians became much more active in commenting upon diversity-related issues after the successful municipal election campaigns of the True Finns – a populist party critical towards immigration – in the 2008 and EU-elections in 2009. As Keskinen’s analyses show, in 2008 and 2009 it was mainly politicians and parties from the Centre and the Right, which in public seemed to follow the populist rhetoric launched by the True Finns party – the new actor on the political field. The Left remained silent while The Green League and The Swedish People’s Party tried to make claims for more humane migration politics and an anti-racist ideo-political climate (Keskinen 2009, 41).

In general terms, some actors are more eager than others to be seen and heard in the media. Reasons can vary from narcissism and economic benefits to believing in a good cause worth making claims for. Concerning minority actors, particularly those who have migrated from countries in which the media has been used for war propaganda and hate-speech, it is not sure at all, that a voice in the media is something to be sought after. As noted in the theoretical chapter, a decision not to co-operate as a source when contacted by a journalist can also be a powerful – albeit silent – claim in a certain political climate. Unfortunately, this monitoring does not grasp these kinds of non-mediated activities.

Chart 5: Who is the main speaker of the article? (N = 786 during 2001–2005)²²



4.4 Discussion: What is said and left unsaid?

To summarise the main findings; much in line with previous studies on Finnish language media (Horsti 2005; Raittila 2004), this chapter suggests that articles mainly deal with three themes; I) crime and conflict, II) respect and equal treatment of minorities (or human rights if one wants) and III) with authority action and legislation – a theme highlighting aspects of organising and controlling.

Those articles in which the background of the actor or actor group is presented in more detail are about (in order of popularity): Russians, Roma from abroad, Estonians, Sámi, Somalians, Georgians, and the Finnish Roma. The number of articles featuring actors other than these groups (e.g., Chinese, Indian), is quite nominal.

²² For illustrative purposes, NGOs like the Red Cross Finland, Amnesty Finland, and various refugee help organisations on a national and local level are encoded under the same category as 'ordinary' citizens. The authority-category is also for illustrative reasons covering several speaker categories; Central Government, Legal and/or police department, Grass root level public government officials, Local authorities, Other administrative bodies, and Political parties and/or politicians. Also worth paying attention to in the chart is that the media and other media often work as the main speakers. Here an example of how the network type of communicative space in practice works; intertextual linkages as in the media quoting media is common.

This brings us to the fact that although it is important to look at what is said, it is as important to look at what is left unsaid or not said very much about (Fairclough 2003, 40).

In the two Swedish-language papers from 1999 to 2005, before the coming successes in municipal and EU Parliament elections of the populist True Finns party, there is not much attention given to the agency of groups and individuals openly sceptical of or hostile to immigrants (1%). This finding is confirmed by former studies on Finnish language newspapers (Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 16). Second, social problems of immigrants, ethnic minorities and/or foreigners get remarkably little attention in the two Swedish-language morning papers. Criminal activities and conflicts can surely be interpreted as social problems and likewise the relationship between the majority population and the minorities. Only two per cent of all articles, however, deal mainly with problems in housing companies, alcoholism, learning difficulties, and a so-called languagelessness that many immigrants face upon arrival.

One plausible interpretation for this particular finding, also suggested by the monitoring of Finnish language media, is that journalists avoid bringing up the social problems of immigrants, ethnic minorities and/or foreigners since they are afraid of contributing to the construction of positionings, in which the 'we' would appear as superior to 'those who have problems' (Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 16). These issues might come up as subordinated to other themes, such as the one on legislation and/or authority action, which could signify that difficult and controversial themes, preferably are taken up for discussion after having been 'legitimised' by state authorities, or others involved in legislation processes.

It is not completely inconceivable to think that one of several reasons for the increasing popularity of certain Internet sites maintained by immigrant-critical political figures, such as Jussi Halla-aho (True Finns party), and the wish of various immigration critical quarters to get organised, might have been the mainstream media's reluctance to listen to claims presented by these migration sceptical and/or immigrant hostile persons and groups from the turn of the millennium until mid 2000's. The mainstream media's reluctance to deal with social problems of recently arrived persons and groups, and their failure to invite politicians to debate issues concerning immigration and integration might have contributed to such feelings of deception that immigrant critics today (2011) loudly express in public. Nonetheless, contrarily to what many people today seem to think, challenges and problems related to increased ethnocultural complexity did come up in the print media during this particular time; crime, prostitution and minority-majority relations are dealt with continuously and sometimes even spectacularly.

* * *

In this chapter I have presented the main findings from a media monitoring, in other words, a long-term quantitative content analysis of two Swedish language newspapers, *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*. The overview shows that crime, so-called tolerance-promoting issues and authority action are the dominating themes. The group of authorities as speakers dominate the reporting, and within this group it is the police that are the most dominant speakers. Actors, who in the press are presented as being of minority background, are the main speakers in 15 per cent of all articles. On a general level, certain signs of cautiousness can be seen, both in the phrasing of headlines, dealing with racism, and taking up social problems of minority actors. Negative topics are however not lacking, but rather the opposite, particularly in relation to certain minority groups.

I have made attempts in this chapter to discuss these findings more profoundly, somewhat in contrast to what Johan Galtung (1999, 23) has said about monitoring (*the idea behind monitoring is not to theorize, but to provide data that may serve as raw material for such theories*). In my view this is needed, since theory, method and empirical material cannot be separated at any point in the research process (e.g., Danermark et al. 2002, 204). To make these links more profound, this quantitative content analysis is followed by three case studies on media content looking into the positioning of minorities either by focusing on particular groups in the media, or on a particular type of print media journalism. The first case study to follow will look in more depth into the reporting of Russians and Estonians, the two minority groups, which in the light of this chapter appear as being most closely and persistently linked to negative, crime-related news themes.

5. Case II: Russians and Estonians

Amongst the articles relating to crime and conflict in the media monitoring study presented in the previous chapter, we find a story titled ‘Russians peddle to under-aged’ (Hbl 8 August 2001). This particular article in *Hufvudstadsbladet* reports on a dozen peddlers selling bootleg liquor at the Kamppi metro station in central Helsinki. In this article, the journalist uses lively language stating for example that at Kamppi ‘everything is for sale for whomever’. Underlining this, the journalist cites an anonymous bus driver who has told him that the women at the metro station, besides selling bootleg liquor, provide ‘other services’ as well. It goes without saying that he in this context is referring to sexual services.

The news story and the puffing article on the first page entitled ‘Russian “Alko” at Kamppi’ are not proposing that all Russians in Finland would be involved in prostitution or crime. Neither can the readers be sure of whether the actors in the story are people who reside in Finland permanently or not. And obviously, it is illegal and immoral to sell alcohol to minors. Still, the story is a telling example of how some media texts consequently point out aspects and characteristics, so called markers of difference, which the actors in the story do not share with ‘us’. One such marker used in this particular story is nationality. In the main story the adjective ‘Russian’ is used 13 times. It is pointed out that the peddlers are Russian, that the liquor is Russian, that the well-dressed gentlemen filling the stocks are Russian.

Yet another marker of difference used repetitively in the articles is language and particularly the Russian-Finnish accent, which is mimicked in print. The journalist tells his readers that the sellers try to attract the attention of customers by asking them if they want cigarettes and beer. Their appeal is quoted in an incorrect way, ‘Tubaka?, Olu?’ instead of ‘Tupakka?’ and ‘Olut?’ as it should be written in Finnish. Another marker relates to their appearance; ‘There they stand with their distinctive bags’, and another marker to their rudeness; ‘The commerce is taking place in the wide open. Bottles

¹ In Finland the state owned ‘Alko’ has monopoly on the sale of wine and liquor.



Ostörd kommers vid Kampens metrostation

Ryssar langar åt minderåriga

Vodka, åt eller tobak? Allt står till buds och för vem som helst. Till olika tillgängliga skåp eller stålar följt på Fredriksgatan mellan metrostationen och Kampens station. Tre av tillgängligt rycka dörren som står på plats denna fredag förmiddag kommer och erbjuder sina varor.

STEFAN LUNDBERG

Fredriksgatan i ryssarnas gata. Allt mellan Fredriksgatan och Kampens station är ett stort valställe. Turisterna är de som kommer, men också många andra människor som vill ha något av de många varorna som finns tillgängliga på platsen.

När man går förbi någon av "butikerna" står man inför en av de många amerikanska cigaretterna som handlas på platsen. Det är inte bara de som står på platsen som erbjuder sina varor, utan också de som står på platsen och erbjuder sina varor.

Tobak? Vodka? Det är inte bara de som står på platsen som erbjuder sina varor, utan också de som står på platsen och erbjuder sina varor.

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Picture 1: Peddlers with smudged faces and their under-aged customers, Hbl 8 September 2001

and money are exchanged in the middle of the pavement'. And yet another refers to their tendency to use 'us' by avoiding payment of taxes: 'The amount in full goes into Russian pockets'.

The main aim of this case study is to look more profoundly into the reporting of Russians and Estonians in *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet* during two, two-month long research periods in 2001 and 2002. From the previous chapter we learnt that during this time the crime-theme often involving these minority groups began growing.

The case-specific research questions are as follows:

- How are two Swedish language morning papers writing about Russian and/or Estonian minority actors during the two above-mentioned data-gathering periods?
- What kinds of markers are used in the negotiations of belonging?

- Who is making claims, what are these claims about and to whom are they directed?

By answering these micro-level questions, the overall aim of this case study, as for the other four case studies in this dissertation, is to gain more knowledge about positioning practices in the communicative space. In other words, the questions above fall under the overall research questions presented in the introduction in chapter 1 (i.e., how are minorities positioned in the mainstream press and in audience-talk in Finland, and what is positioning as a practice?). Through these we can learn more on how imaginaries of belonging are mediated and how the media constructs and distributes discourses reifying or challenging dominant models of thought on who belongs to ‘us’ and who does not.

To understand the particular case of Russians and Estonians in this process we need to take into account that Finland has a particular historical relationship with Russia and Estonia – two of its neighbouring countries. This is in contrast to most of the countries and geographic areas from where immigrants living in Finland have arrived (i.e., Somalia, Iraq and the Balkan countries).

5.1 Finnish Russophobia and relations to Estonia

Crucial to this relationship is Russia’s occupation history of Finland. The Finnish War was fought between Russia and Sweden from 1808 to 1809. As a result of the war, the eastern third of Sweden was established as the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire. In 1917 there was independence, after which (in the 1920’s) a period of Russophobia followed. During this time, Russians were presented as inferior and threatening; as ‘our’ enemies (Klinge 1972, 57–59; Karemaa 1998, 41–52). Organisations were founded in order to spread hatred against Russians and propaganda books were spread all over the country (Klinge 1972, 65–66). Many of the refugees who had fled Russia after the revolution in 1917 (as many as 33,500 came to Finland in 1922) left Finland soon after, and migrated further to countries on the continent. Those who stayed despite the unfriendly atmosphere are called ‘old Russians’ (Fi: vanhavenäläinen). They tried their best to keep up their own culture and to create social networks (Baschmakoff & Leinonen 2001.)

After the Winter War, which began when the Soviet Union attacked Finland in 1939, three months after the invasion of Poland by Germany that started World War II, and after the Continuation War (25 June 1941–19 September 1944) Finland was forced to reconsider the relationship with its eastern neighbour as the Second World War had ended with Russia on

the winning side. The national sense of belonging could no longer be built on the premises of anti-communism and a hatred of Russia. In the 1940's the language used in public discourses was 'cleaned' and the organisations spreading propaganda were abolished. How the Finnish media in particular and Finns in general regarded the Soviet Union during the Cold War, is a contested issue for historians and political scientists alike. In a Nordic comparison, however, it is hardly contested, that in Finland the media made more balanced and less Soviet-critical interpretations of certain key events during the Cold War than other Nordic media (see Højelid 1991, 161).

Nevertheless, concerning the attitude climate, it seems that the awareness of the citizens changed much slower than the public facade (Raittila 2004, 60). In an interview and survey study about Finns attitudes towards Russians some decades later, in 1989, only a few years before the fall of the Soviet Union, Pentti Raittila (2004, 118) shows that Finns much rather wished their next door neighbour to be Estonian than Russian. Direct hatred against Russians seldom came out as an 'own opinion'. Yet, fear and repulsion of Russians could, to some extent, be seen when the interviewees commented on other people's speech and their attitudes towards Russians (*ibid.*, 151, 313). Russia's history as an occupier of Finland might, to some extent, still influence how the older generation in Finland perceive Russians, but concerning the younger generation, this is hardly likely to be the case. Other issues in contemporary Finnish-Russian relations, and the depiction of these, together with people's own experiences of meeting Russians in Finland or travelling to Russia themselves, matters more. This is not to dismiss the possibility that deeply rooted historical stereotypes about Russians as 'our enemy' still, to a certain extent and on a subconscious level, influence how Russians in Finland are perceived today.²

Finland's relationship with Estonia is not as violent as the one with Russia, yet, it is undoubtedly controversial. Common features for Estonia and Finland are, besides the relatedness of the languages, that both states have been occupied; Finland by first Sweden and then Russia, as noted above, and Estonia by Germans, Danes, Poles, Swedes and Russians during previous centuries and by Russian and Germany in the 20th century. Concerning Finnish-Estonian relations, the Soviet Union's occupation of Estonia in the 1940's came to mean that during the 20 years that followed, Finland's links to Estonia were almost completely cut (Salokannel 1998, 15–16.) This does not mean that the two nations – one under occupation, the other independent

2 At the time of writing, spring 2011, Pentti Raittila is involved in a study for which the same survey as in 1989 will be used for investigating if and how Finns' attitudes towards Russians have changed during the last 20 years. The study is conducted within a project called Russia in the Finnish Media (Fi: Venäjä Suomen Mediassa). Results are yet not available.

but with an adjusted foreign policy based on friendship and confidence rhetoric – would have been insignificant to one another. Finnish television could be seen in parts of northern Estonia from the 1960's onwards, which meant that Finland was the window to the 'West' for Estonians under Soviet rule (Salminen 1996, 203.)

In the 1980's when the Soviet Union started to allow some movement of people across borders, tourism across the Gulf of Finland began growing. This came to mean that Finnish-Estonian attitudes to a greater extent were built on first-hand experiences of places and meetings with people. In 1991, when Estonia declared independence, the Finnish media was very cautious in its reporting of the event. In newspaper editorials there was scepticism expressed about the possibilities of getting state recognition (Raittila 2004, 163 referring to Viuhko 1994, 49–52).

This scepticism confirms a more general trend; the Finns looked upon Estonians in a somewhat patronising way. In Raittila's study (2004, 157–202)³, it is shown that Estonians in an ambivalent way are to some extent considered as relatives, yet many times, as rather weak, unimportant and 'like Russians' (*ibid.*, 201).

One of the reasons why these two groups, Russians and Estonians, here are looked at in one case study is that they often appear in the same articles. The second reason, partially explaining the first one, is the complex citizenship issue of Russophones in Estonia. In many cases, it must be hard for a journalist to know whether an actor should be named as Estonian or Russian. A group of actors, which the journalist writes about, might consist of Estonians, Russians, nationless Russophones living in Estonia and Russophobe Estonian nationals.

The background to this complex and problematic citizenship issue is that in Estonia, as a result of the Soviet occupation, two linguistically and culturally disparate communities were formed; Estonian speakers and Russian speakers. When, in the 1990's, Estonians started to rebuild their nation-state as a legal successor to the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940), the Russophone population became the largest minority group in the nation-state. They soon found themselves given the status of 'illegal residents', occupants, immigrants and a minority (Smith 2003). The first Citizenship Act in 1992 divided society into Estonian citizens and some 475,000 non-citizens. Some Russophones (27% of the population) have Estonian citizenship, but according to statistics from early 1990's most do not (Lauk & Jakobsson 2009, 211 referring to Lauristin 2008, 55).

3 Pentti Raittila's PhD-thesis (2004) consists of three major case-studies, in one Raittila investigates how the Finnish media reported on a disastrous ferry-accident, the so-called Estonia accident which happened on the 28 September 1994. A Swedish-Estonian passenger ferry sank, and out of the 989 passengers and crew-members, only 137 were saved.

In Estonian media the Russophones are mostly named 'Estonian Russians' (Est: eestivenelane), 'home Russian' (Est: koduvenelane), Estonian 'compatriot' and 'co-citizen' (Lauk & Jakobsson 2009, 219). Journalists working for the Finnish media may not always know the legal status and/or mother tongue of the actor that they write about. Therefore, it is not uncommon that journalists in Finland simply refer to a group of actors as consisting of 'Russians and Estonians'. Sometimes, if the citizenship issue is dealt with in particular, there is also talk of 'the Russian minority in Estonia'. This is the explanation for why these two groups are dealt with in the same study. And it also explains why there is a category in the codebook for Russians and Estonians besides the two independent ones.⁴

5.2 The material: Some central features

Since the material consisting of 74 articles is part of the corpus presented quantitatively in the previous chapter, the article selection criteria are the same as in the previous study. Foreign news on Russia and Estonia has, for example, not been taken into account here and all articles are primarily about Finnish society. From the overall pool of 1,222 articles initially selected for the media monitoring in the previous chapter, articles that feature these two groups as the main actor groups were selected during the research periods of 2001 and autumn 2002 (period called 'h2002' in the monitoring). These two periods were chosen since there were more articles featuring these two groups in that period than during the other research periods.

Concerning some general features in this material, in 2001 and 2002, people of Russian and Estonian origin got more visibility in the two papers than other minority groups. The average was 0.7 articles a day. These two groups were the main actors in 74 articles during this period, while for example, actors of Somalian origin appeared in only nine. Despite this, Russians or Estonians were not given as equal a possibility to voice as other groups. In 2001 (N = 162) and autumn 2002 ('h2002') (N = 170) Russian and Estonian actors were the main speakers in five and 15 per cent of all the articles in which they were featured in comparison to 14 and 24 per cent of minority speakers in general.

Another general characteristic of these articles is that the two groups appear much more often in news journalism than in opinion journalism. During

4 For this case study, such articles from the monitoring presented in chapter 4 were selected in which the main actor or actor group was encoded as 'Russians', 'Estonians' or 'Russians AND Estonians'. The third category was introduced in 2002. After the introduction of this category the following logic was applied: If the emphasis of the story is set on one of the groups, the actors have been encoded either under the categories of 'Russians' or 'Estonians', if both groups in the article are dealt with as one, they have been encoded under the communal category. More in detail: If a group of actors is named as consisting of Russians and Estonians, as 'having Russian and/or Estonian origins', or as 'speaking Russian and Estonian' as their mother tongue, they have been encoded under the category of 'Russians AND Estonians'.

the research period in 2001, Russians were the main actor group in only one editorial and in one column. In 2002, there were three columns about Russians and one about Estonians. The news stories were mostly concerned with crime. In accordance with more general results in the former chapter, their ethnic background/nationality is less emphasised in headlines of crime stories. In 2001 their background/nationality is mentioned in 19 headlines, while in 2002, in only four.

5.3 Marking and claiming positions

With qualitative close reading, as defined in Chapter 3, the 74 articles have been analysed with the help of markers and claims – two of the analytical devices. When looking at the outcome of these analyses, in contrast to the quantitative analyses only focusing on visibility, voice, and the main theme of the article, there now seems to be a somewhat more complex storyline emerging. Despite the fact that the reporting on Russians and Estonians in the two newspapers concerned seems to be more multi-faceted now when analysed more profoundly with qualitative means, the number of positions available for minority actors is still limited.

POSITION I: THE PERPETRATOR. It is hardly surprising that the close reading shows that the position of the perpetrator is dominating the reporting on these groups in 2001 and 2002. These articles are mostly about the procurement of sex workers and about criminals involved in the smuggling of drugs. Some of the articles are about sex work while others are about Russian and Estonian detainees in Finnish prisons. Besides this, for example, in *Vasabladet* (3 October 2001) there is an article about a Russian man who has falsified receipts from a furniture store, on 6 September 2001 there is an article in the same paper about a man who tried to rob a local fish store, and on the same day, there is an article on a tragicomic story; a Russian civil servant was caught drunk-rowing a boat in the lake-district of Saimaa.

These articles are of a very similar kind. Most of them are short crime stories, distributed by the Finnish News Agency (STT/FNB) to media houses all over Finland. In most of these, there is no particular description of the perpetrators; neither their looks, nor where they live. However, some characteristics, like gender are clarified in print indicating that in general, the actors featured as perpetrators are male.

In most of these, there are no particular claims made, and besides, direct quotations are rare. If actors are referred to, they are seldom personified but rather named as ‘the police’, for example. Names of superintendents or other actors are provided for only in the less frequently published big-sized feature-articles belonging to the genre of investigative journalism. These large

articles are mostly about liquor trafficking and/or the procurement of sex workers. The tone of writing in these articles is dramatic and the text is rich in adjectives and descriptive sequences.

Two articles, representing this style of writing are published in *Hufvudstadsbladet* on the 24th and 29th October 2002. In these, the journalist takes a step back in the chain of the distribution of bootleg liquor, investigating how the bottles are actually taken to the city centre where they are sold. As part of the fieldwork the journalist sat in his car at a highway rest-area, following the smugglers' activities. In narrative terms, these articles function as a continuation to the article about the bootleg peddlers at the Kamppi metro station, published one year earlier on the 8th September 2001 and briefly presented at the beginning of this chapter.

In these two articles the journalist uses loaded language with plenty of descriptions about the surroundings and the actors. He talks about the Russian peddlers using 'aggressive marketing' to boost their sale; he speaks about 'aggressive hawkers', a 'red-faced salesman', and a 'big, almost frightening man' approaching him at one of the sales-posts (Hbl 26 and 29 October 2001). The actors involved in the distribution of liquor are not interviewed, but the police are. Here the opportunity is taken to make claims for more resources for the police: 'We have to remember that our police have the least resources in Europe', states the representative (Hbl 29 October 2010).

Another series of newspaper articles for which investigative journalism has been used is the one tagged as 'Hbl investigates the sex industry'. For this series, journalists have been doing fieldwork in Russia, investigating ownership issues for certain companies involved in the managing of sex phone-in lines in Finland. The article series is built around a narrative of a detective story; where one article ends, the next one continues providing more information and coming closer to solving 'the case'.

The assumption leading the journalistic process is that the ownership of these sex phone-in lines is to be found in Russia. While digging into the case however, the journalist finds out that a Finnish director for a commercial TV-channel has links to these companies. This leads to big headlines. The link between Russians, Estonians and sex work is thus so strong that it becomes a 'scoop' when a person involved in the sex industry in Finland in fact is a Finnish-born Finn. This is something thought of as having additional news value. What this might signify is that there is a general assumption about the sex industry being somehow 'natural' and easier to accept when in the hands of Russian actors. When Finns are involved and when it involves also a representative of the elites, or upper classes in society, it is perceived as more immoral. This shows how not only ethnocultural backgrounds and gender, but also matters of class, are intertwined.

Finnish man behind procuring affair (Vbl 10 October 2002.)

When Hbl is investigating the sex sector, we do not only find Russian owners, but also a director at *Alma Media*, the owner of *MTV3* (one of the two major commercial TV-channels in Finland). (Hbl 10 October 2001. Parenthesis added.)

A common characteristic for both big and small articles in which the perpetrator-position is activated, is that Russian and Estonian perpetrators are presented as a peril for the 'common good'. The perpetrators are all 'using us'; 'our' naiveté, 'our' social structures and 'our' whole welfare system. 'We' and 'our society' are the ones who suffer. 'We' are the victims.

The import duties that Finland and the EU⁵ have to do without (because of Russian and Estonian peddlers); customs duty, tobacco duty, value-added tax, are about 14 million Finnish Marks (about 2.3 million Euros). (Hbl 11 October 2001. Parentheses added.)

The police suspect that the methanol alcohol, which led to the death of a young woman in Pernå [...] might be of Russian origin. (Hbl 24 October 2002.)

POSITION II: THE VICTIMS-IN-CRIME. In articles about criminal activities, it is not always easy to distinguish the position of the perpetrator from the position of the victim. In crime articles, claims-makers, such as representatives for the police, argue that 'all sex work involving foreign prostitutes has a strong (criminal) organisation behind it' (Hbl 6 October 2002. Parenthesis added.). The police talk about a threat ('[...] one can expect new members of organised crime in Russia and Estonia to arrive into Finland any time'), about more violence being involved, and about the significant amount of money involved in the industry ('within organised crime there are millions of Euros circulating just in the Helsinki-area'). (Hbl 20 October 2002; Vbl 20 October 2002). The claim of sex work being inseparable from organised crime is having an effect on the overall reporting. During the research periods concerned, all articles on sex work have some reference to organised crime.

Despite this, female sex workers are not primarily portrayed as criminals, but mostly as victims who need 'our help'. This position is emphasised through the use of such notions as 'modern slavery' and 'trafficking' (Vbl 22 October 2002). The references to slavery, and the talk about 'girls' instead of 'women', also contributes to the presentation of the sex workers as unable to defend themselves (e.g., Hbl 6 October 2002).

5 In this quote (Hbl 11 October 2001) it is interesting to note that 'we' refers to 'us-Finns', but also to 'us-members of the European community'.

The procurers often lock up girls, and take their passports away from them so that they cannot flee although they had money to do so. (Hbl 6 October 2002.)

Slavery is not abolished. (Vbl 22 October 2002.)

The victimisation of Russian and Estonian female sex workers in the two morning papers is generated by the Swedish film *Lilja 4 Ever* (Lukas Moodyson) which had its premier in Finland at the time of the publishing of the articles. Albeit a fictional interpretation of events and circumstances, the film is referred to many times in the debate about sex work in general and Russian and Estonians sex workers in particular (Vbl 22 October 2002; Hbl 6 October 2002). In the reporting, the young female character – a victim of brutal traffickers – is used to give a face to the nameless and faceless women in sex work.

As in the crime articles on liquor-peddling and drug-dealing, the link between sex work and the two actor groups, Russians and Estonians, is so strong that explicit linkages are not always needed. Just one word or one phrase can direct sense-making processes. One such loaded word, which cannot be used neutrally in this context, is 'Kallio', a district near central Helsinki, which over the years has been frequently referred to when prostitution has been dealt with in the media. For example, an article titled 'Estonian woman robbed in Kallio' (Hbl 19 October 2001) is about a woman who was robbed in a private apartment. There is no direct mentioning of prostitution. However, just by mentioning 'Estonian woman' and 'Kallio' in the headline, a certain 'horizon of expectation' (Gadamer 1975, 306–307) is activated. If the reader is unfamiliar with Finnish media these kinds of 'hints' might go unnoticed, but for most readers it stands clear that these two words stand in a paradigmatic relation to each other and that they belong to an intertextually constructed and maintained storyline about how crime and prostitution from 'the East' infiltrates Finnish society.⁶

In the reporting we find plenty of these kinds of discursive grey zones in which we cannot be sure if the actor is a perpetrator or a victim. In the reporting, women with explicit links to sex work are mainly treated as victims, but their 'victimness' cannot be taken for granted. Thus, they are not presented as victims-of-crime, but more as victims-in-crime – a position, which is not completely detached from the one of the perpetrator.

If an actor presented within the victim-in-crime position is male, the suspicion of him in fact being a perpetrator seems to grow even stronger. In *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet* on the 21 September 2002 there is, for

6 A paradigmatic lexical relation is a culturally determined pattern of association between lexical units (Thibault 1991, 130).

example, a short news article from the Finnish News Agency (STT/FNB) telling about an Estonian man, who has been in a Finnish prison for 14 months. He was initially convicted of having 25 kilograms of hashish in his hotel room. Nevertheless, the court of appeal has now changed the verdict, and the man has been announced innocent since there was no proof of him knowing about the illegal package in his room. Albeit the title ‘Innocent man in prison for 14 months’, implies that the man indeed had been judged as innocent, the article from STT/FNB is so small that the size itself is an indication of the case still being somewhat unclear. It would, for example, be hard to imagine that the newspaper would not have made a bigger story out of a case in which a Finnish-born woman had been in prison such a long time, and then judged as innocent. In *Vasabladet* the title is not even directly referring to the man as innocent, but as ‘innocently convicted’.

To conclude this section: One of the most dominating prejudices about Russian and Estonian women flourishing in Finland is that most are involved in sex work and/or crime. This is well shown by Karmela Liebkind et al. (2004). In their study, an interviewee says as follows: ‘Every time – when a new person comes to my job – I have to prove that I am not an ‘Eastern-criminal’ (Fi: itärikollinen) or a social bum, but a similar kind of person and as professional as my Finnish workmates’ (ibid., 279. Translation CH. Parenthesis added.)

Hufvudstadsbladet and *Vasabladet* do not contribute to reversing the stereotype of ‘all’ Russians and Estonians being involved in crime and/or sex work. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, it is, for example, insinuated in *Hufvudstadsbladet* that the Russian women selling liquor would be prepared to provide clients with sexual services. Furthermore, it should be noted that there are only two women from Russia or Estonia presented in other contexts than the one of prostitution and/or other criminal activities. One of these two is the film critic and columnist Zinaida Lindén working for *Hufvudstadsbladet*, and the other one is Natalia Koliashnikov, an asylum seeker under the threat of eviction to whom we will soon return. All other representations of Russian and Estonian women during the research periods in 2001 and 2002 relate to sex work and/or crime.

POSITION III: THE VICTIMS OF AUTHORITY ACTION. The third main position in the reporting featuring Russians and Estonians during 2001 and 2002 is the victims-of-authority action. This position mostly emerges in articles featuring two families, the Koliashnikovs and the Abrahamjans, who were facing eviction at that time. Most of these articles were published in the regional newspaper *Vasabladet*, since the families resided in the home-region of the paper, Ostrobothnia. In this region there was an active people’s movement opposing the eviction of the two families. Interestingly, *Vasabladet*

was not only reporting on the civil movement, but also taking an active role in opposing the authorities' decision to deport the Koliashnikov family. This can, for example, be seen in an editorial from 4 September 2001 in which the editor-in-chief criticises the Directorate of Immigration and the Minister of Interior, Ville Itälä (National Coalition Party).

The case of Sergej Koliashnikov is a heartbreaking tragedy. It is an example of what happens when brick-hard bureaucracy and prestige take over at the Directorate of Migration. [...] (The decisions made by the Directorate) show no sign of the supposedly more soft and human line, which the new leadership talked about at the inauguration (of the Directorate). (Vbl 4 September 2001. Parentheses added.)

In letters-to-the-editor, politeness is not the primary aim of the debaters, but loud and direct claims are sent to decision makers, particularly to authorities within the Directorate of Immigration, and to the Supreme Administrative Court. These institutions and the people working for these are talked about as 'heartless', 'bureaucratic', 'cold' (Vbl 4 September 2001) and 'brutal' (Vbl 4 October 2001).

It seems more and more clear now that the Directorate of Immigration in Finland consist of a bunch of sadists who have no conscience, and who find joy in practicing legal sadism against defenceless and exposed human beings. (A letter-to-the-editor in Vbl 7 September 2001.)

In the press the family members, and particularly the children, are presented as victims of authority action.

[...] three of the children in the family were treated for physical or physiological diseases in Finland. Even worse; the daughter born in Finland has neither Finnish nor Russian citizenship. This makes her stateless and without the right to social benefits. (Vbl 4 September 2001.)

The victimisation is strengthened by the fact that the main claims-makers in the reporting are not the family members themselves; Sergej Koliashnikov, the father, is for example quoted directly only once (Vbl 2 October 2001).⁷ Instead the main claims-maker and spokesperson for the family is a pastor named Håkan Nitovuori. This man is a very present figure during the entire reporting of this case. He can, for example, be seen in all pictures featuring Sergej Koliashnikov. In one picture (Vbl 11 October 2001) the pastor and his

⁷ One might think that one explanation for why Sergej Koliashnikov so seldom was quoted could have been that it was hard to get in touch with him since he was hiding from the authorities. The stories however are written after his hiding-period, so this is not a valid explanation.

21142 VBL 11.10 01
FÖRSTA SIDAN

Ryska Sergej ger upp flykten



De skiljs nu. Håkan och Ann-Lis Nitovuori tar farväl av Sergej Koliashnikov inom kort men de hoppas att hela familjen skall få återvända.

VASA
Marita Bagge

Sergej Koliashnikov reser tillbaka till Ryssland. Då utslaget, som kom från HFD för en vecka sedan, var nekande finns det inga formella möjligheter att vänta längre. Är alla papper klara sker avfärden på måndag. Pastor Håkan Nitovuori och Ari Haataja, som regelbundet kör hjälpsändningar till Petrozavodsk, kommer att följa med på resan.

– Vi lämnar inte det här på häftet, vi måste se till att han inte blir traskasserad vid gränsen, säger Håkan Nitovuori.

Men återresan betyder inte att familjens vänner sträcker upp händerna. Nu börjar en ny process med ansökan om visum och arbetstillstånd. Håkan Nitovuori räknar med att familjen skall komma tillbaka.

SIDAN 4

Picture 2: Sergej and his protectors, Vbl 11 October 2001

wife are embracing Koliashnikov very intimately, and in another one the pastor has his hand on Koliashnikov's shoulder (Vbl 16 October 2001). In these pictures Sergej Koliashnikov looks like a sick but relieved child being taken care of by his parents. All these circumstances strengthen his victim position.

It is important to point out that the victimisation of the family members in the media, in this particular case relates to how they in fact were treated by the Finnish authorities. For example, the mother and children were evicted while the father was living 'underground'. The police broke into the apartment in which the mother and the children were sleeping, after which the mother was separated from one of her children during the transportation to a nearby city. This is not standard eviction procedure, and gave reason for a Member of Parliament, Ulla-Maj Wideroos, and others from the Swedish Parliamentary group, to submit a written request⁸ to the Ministry of Interior (Ville Itälä). The Ministry answered by stating that this procedure was necessary since earlier attempts for a more co-operative procedure had

⁸ Written request for a report submitted by a Member of Parliament to a minister on a matter fallin within the minister's competence.

not been met by the family members. (Parliament of Finland, Written Request 643/2001 vp.) The request led to no further procedures, as in a change of directives for example.

Although the victim-position and the aid-aspect are dominating the reporting on the two families, market economical terminology and argumentation logic are not lacking. Rather the contrary. The voiced reasoning for why the Koliashnikov family should be allowed to stay in Finland is constructed around argumentations of the family members not belonging to the ones using 'us', but to those who serve 'us'. The given reasons for why the family cannot return to Russia – the father has been a pacifist and human rights activist, and therefore fears trouble when returning to his country of origin – is not paid much attention to. Instead, the motivations articulated in the media focus on Finland, and on how well the family has been doing in the country while waiting for the decision on their asylum plea. Over and over again the articles emphasise that the father in the family has work and that the mother is about to complete her dentists' exam (Vbl 11 October 2001; 4 September 2001; Hbl 16 October 2001.)

Work and studies thus function as markers of belonging in the negotiations of who belongs where. So do language skills, good relations with locals, and an overall capability to support oneself and one's family.

The family became rooted in Finland during the exceptionally long asylum. They learnt a pretty good Swedish and Finnish, they got themselves a social network, and – last but not least – a basis for future income. (Vbl 4 September 2001.)

The Directorate of Immigration has expelled a family, which, as far as can be judged, has done well (in Finland). They had planned to make their way along in Finland on their own, and they also would have been capable to do so. (Vbl 4 October 2001. Parenthesis added.)

POSITION IV: WANTED AND UNWANTED LABOUR FORCE. Besides perpetrators, victims-in-crime, and victims of authority action, there are articles in *Vasabladet* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* in which Russians and Estonians are presented in the position of labour force. Most of these are written from a Finnish perspective. An exception to this is an article entitled 'Free movement is no problem' (Swe: Fri rörlighet inget problem, Hbl 11 September 2001). In this article a representative for Estonian authorities, Alar Streiman, presents his views on the Estonian EU-membership and the free movement of labour force. Another one is 'Estonians age as well' (Swe: Esterna blir också äldre, Hbl 26 October 2001). Here the journalist states that it is not only the Finnish population that age, but that also Estonia will face a lack of workforce due to an aging labour force.

In about half of the articles in which this position is activated, Russians and Estonians are presented as ‘our’ saviours. In an article entitled ‘Russian immigrants have the highest education’ (Swe: Ryska invandrare bäst utbildade, Vbl 27 September 2002) the journalist states that Russian immigrants often have high educations and long professional histories. Another article entitled ‘Russian medical professionals wanted in Finland’ (Swe: Ryska läkare lockas till Finland, Hbl 13 October 2001) tells about a project engaging Russian medical professionals to work in north-eastern parts of Finland where there is an acute lack of health care professionals. It is mentioned that although being an expensive project, it costs less to teach Russian doctors the national languages than to have them live on unemployment benefits – a somewhat bizarre comment, which however suggests that educating Russian doctors in the long run is beneficial for ‘us’.⁹

In the other half of the labour articles, a much less optimistic angle is presented. Also in these articles, Russians and Estonians are presented as labour force, but as illegal and/or underpaid workers breaking Finnish collective labour agreements.

–It is not right that companies employ underpaid labour force when there are unemployed construction workers in Finland, says Antti Vallden [...] (Hbl 26 September 2002.)

These articles are mainly about the construction sector, and about frustrated Finnish construction workers who claim that companies ought to employ Finnish unemployed construction workers instead of underpaid Russian and Estonian ones. In the debate, there are also claims made against subcontractors who provide insufficient working conditions for Russian and Estonian workers. The papers report on strike threats and called off strike threats (Hbl 12 September 2001; Hbl 13 September 2001; Hbl 25 October 2002; Hbl 26 October 2002; Vbl 24 October 2002; Vbl 26 October 2002; 30 October 2002).

The discussion is, despite the strong claims made, not primarily about Russian and Estonian construction workers in person, but more about the subcontractors who employ them and about illegal work in general. The main claims-maker is the Finnish Construction Trade Union demanding authorities and employers’ associations to strengthen measurements and increase the control. In some articles it is stated that despite the harsh tone, the trade union is by no means opposing the use of foreign labour as long as Finnish law and work contracts are followed. Russians and Estonians who ‘follow

9 I have continued working with this topic, i.e., the representation of Russian physicians in the Finnish media, in relation to a project entitled *Russians in the Finnish Media (2009–2011)*. The working title of a yet unpublished paper is ‘Don’t mess with my health Dr. Russia! : Status conflicts and emotions in mediated talk about health care migration.’

the rules' are thus seen as attractive labour force who can help 'us' with 'our' shortage of labour force in certain sectors.¹⁰

5.4 Discussion: Using 'us' or serving 'us'?

In earlier European research on ethnocultural complexity and the media, crime has been shown to typically be associated with particular migrant groups. Who the groups are, vary. In Southern Europe, for example, the groups most often associated with crime are Roma, Sinti and Albanians (ter Wal 2002, 43–44), and from the previous chapter in this dissertation, the so-called media monitoring, we already know that in the case of Finland, this applies to Russians and Estonians (see Raittila 2004, 289).

This study specifies that the link between Russians, Estonians and crime is indeed strong, but more complex than implied by the media monitoring. There are for example grey zones in which the newspaper reader himself or herself without much help from the journalist is required to make sense of to what extent an actor is a victim-in-crime or a victim-of-crime.¹¹ In other words; the 'degree' to which someone is involved in crime is in not always stated out loud. Instead, a variety of more or less nebulous hints and insinuations are provided.

Furthermore, findings from this case study indicate that at the beginning of the 21st century when this study was done, the reporting was permutated by markers of belonging of market economical character: all four main positions are linked to the question whether Russians and Estonians use 'us' or serve 'us'. Negotiations on whether actors from these minority groups do so or not, are implicitly present also in articles, which deal with human rights issues. For example, as we have seen, when journalists at *Vasabladet* oppose the eviction of two families, the motivation given for why they should be allowed to stay are primarily utilitarian; they serve 'us' since they work and are willing to complete exams in an area suffering a shortage in labour force, the health care sector in this case.

What this in fact means is rather paradoxical; although the goal is to engage with human rights and the equal treatment of minority actors, the language of neoliberalism is used for obtaining this goal. This does not mean that journalists emphasising how much the language training of Russian doctors cost would lack empathy for families being evicted. Contrarily, in many cases journalists openly make strikingly emotional claims opposing evictions and pro-

10 See Alho (2010, 93) to learn more about what immigrants and trade unions in Finland think of the 'trampling' of the conditions of employment.

11 Taking this back to theoretisations of what a position is, this shows us how important it is to use analytical notions, which allow for this kind of flexibility, just as the notion of the position and positioning do (see chapter 2 for definitions and theories).

moting human rights. However, it seems that market liberal vocabulary and motivations of usefulness are also necessary for reaching human rights ideals.

This can reflect a worry for the challenges ‘our’ welfare society in 2001 and 2002 was about to encounter in the turbulence of various globalisation movements, of which one was the entering of ten new states into the European Union in 2004. All three Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) were among the newcomers. If one presumes that in 2001 and 2002 there was great concern about increased migration from the ‘East’ due to the soon to be opening of the borders, it is not unexpected that the main claims-maker is the police force which is the symbol of law and order and who have the right to control people crossing national borders in order to find ‘abusers’ and ‘users’ of ‘our system’.

Interestingly however, the police and other authorities also make claims concerning Russians and Estonians in other than crime-related articles. The articles about the two families facing eviction are an exception. In these articles, which are critical of authorities, the police only have a limited possibility to voice. This does not mean that the persons influenced by the decisions would be the main speakers. Instead, spokespeople speak on behalf of the families. This is quite a typical phenomena, as Karina Horsti (2009a) has shown in relation to the reporting of the Evangelic Lutheran Church’s campaign against some eviction cases during 2007–2008. Insufficient language skills of family members who have been threatened with eviction is not an excuse, at least not in the Koliashnikov case, in which the family members in the newspapers are said to speak a ‘pretty good’ Swedish and Finnish. Although this would not be the case, it is easy to find Russian-Finnish translators in Finland.

In more general terms; the limited possibility of minority actors to make claims in the media’s reporting on Russians and Estonians in Finland, is understandable to a certain extent. Irrespective of being part of a minority or not, suspects and convicted people are seldom allowed a voice in the media. Nevertheless, in other than crime articles, the rigid possibility to make claims is more difficult to justify. For example, in the case of such construction work involving Russians and Estonians, labour union representatives and Finnish construction workers, only ‘natives’ are allowed to make claims. This signifies that many concerns in the everyday lives of workers of foreign origin, and also many matters of a more structural character go unnoticed. Many claims, like one deriving from a Russian construction worker, interviewed by Rolle Alho (2010, 97), are completely lacking in the media:

Even if I knew my work three times better than him (a Finnish worker), I mean, he had no skills and he knew nothing! I ask him ‘so, what is your salary?’ and he said 12 (Euros/hour). Whatta fuck, why 12? He said that it is according to the TES (the collective agreement). According to TES, I get like 8 Euros, you know. And it is of no

use to talk about this (exploitation or being under paid) to the employer, because he would only say that, bloke, if you are dissatisfied, I've got plenty of these Estonians. (H 12: construction worker/man/Russia, interviewed on 20 December 2009, Alho 2010, 97. Parentheses in the original.)

The lack of minority claims and experiences also concern fields other than the one on labour market issues. Stories, opinions and claims, like the ones presented in Alho's study (2010), do not make it to the pages of the newspapers. Realistically; having these claims as part of the public debate might not necessarily change the fact that the media ultimately seems preoccupied with the 'usability' of minority actors from a market liberal point of view. Nevertheless, it would contribute to the construction of a more complex and realistic picture of 'our time'.

* * *

This case study was done because the monitoring in the previous chapter showed that actors who in the press are named as Russian and/or Estonian often appear in relation to negative news themes. By looking more in-depth into the same articles as were part of the quantitative mapping in the previous chapter, I wanted to know if and how the portrayal of these groups really is as one-sided as the rough categorisation of themes, actors and speakers suggested.

The study shows that the position of 'the perpetrator' certainly dominates, but within the crime-theme, actors might also be presented as 'victims-in-crime' or as 'victims-of-crime'. This implies that the position of the perpetrator – someone 'we' have to fear – and the victim – someone we should feel compassion for – are intertwined. This particularly concerns the portrayal of women involved in the sex industry. The findings present that irrespective of whether someone is or is not positioned as a perpetrator, an overwhelmingly negative media image concerning Russians and Estonians is constituted and circulated by the two papers. It is not only the linkage of these actor groups with certain themes which is worth underlining, but also how this is done. During the two research periods in 2001 and 2002, crime articles reporting on crime from the 'East' are quite spectacular. Journalists take an active 'detective-like' role following the sales points and the tracking of criminals.

Although, particularly in the regional paper *Vasabladet*, there is a counter discourse in which victims of authority action are felt sorry for and authorities are bashed, utilitarian perspectives are not lacking in this reporting. In other words, in cases where humanitarian perspectives are emphasised, it is also at some point pointed out how functional for 'us' these victims of authority action are.

6. Case III: Arts journalism¹

We have so far seen that issues dealing with ethnocultural complexity and minority actors (e.g., integration, immigration, ethnicity, racism, discrimination, and so on) tend to be presented differently in the Swedish language mainstream press in Finland depending on, amongst other things, the year of publishing, the event or phenomena itself, the genre, and the particular group concerned. We have seen that Russians and Estonians are the minority groups which most frequently are reported on in relation to negative news themes such as the sex industry and crime. We have also seen that there is a storyline of human rights, which gets activated from time to time, and which can make journalists campaign loudly for a certain cause. However, in the end, these articles also seem to be about whether or not these actors are beneficial for 'us' and 'our' society.

When we now turn our gaze towards the media's reporting of arts and culture; fine arts, theatre, film, and so on, one would imagine that the market liberal, nationally egoistic, utilitarian dimension of ethnocultural complexity was downplayed. It is, for example, hard to imagine that the media would primarily be concerned whether or not a visual artist, who makes video installations of a non-commercial type, serves 'us' and 'our' society in economic terms. The assumption however, is not as evident as it might sound.

As critical theorist Herbert Schiller (1984, 77–78) argues; *cultural production increasingly has become indistinguishable from industrial production and the cultural industries have become sites of great growth and high profitability*. Artistic values and market liberal thinking are thus not necessarily to be treated as being poles apart. In Finland's case for example, an artist fulfilling the expectations of providing 'good art' can get scholarships, win awards or sell his/her work to institutional or private collectors. Furthermore, being very talented might help ballet dancers and musicians for example, to create institutional attachments, which in turn provide economic stability and other benefits. Being exceptionally talented in arts and

¹ This chapter is a revised version of a book section in Finnish (Haavisto 2010 in Saukkonen 2010).

culture, often (but not always) means that one is capable of supporting oneself and not having to use the welfare system.

From the perspective of ethnocultural complexity, mediated representations of arts and culture are interesting to analyse since Finnish cultural life is ethnoculturally more diverse than the political and economical arenas, for example (e.g., Saukkonen 2007, 14; Saukkonen, Ruusuvirta & Joronen 2007, 32–33; Horsti 2005, 260–272). Professional artists of minority background are active individually and in groups, and a few also work for more established cultural institutions, mostly on production based contracts, not on permanent terms. Besides, there are quite a few popular events explicitly marketed as 'multicultural'. Amongst these, we find the yearly *World village festival* (Fi: Maailma kylässä festivaali), several productions by the theatre group *Kassandra*, and the *Ourvisions*-song contest. As Pasi Saukkonen has noted (2010, 101), also on the level of cultural policy, the accessibility of minority groups to arts and culture, has lately become an issue of concern. Actions aimed at improving the accessibility have been the creation of a cultural diversity expert post at the Finnish National Gallery in 2005, and the allocation of funds to art projects enhancing cultural diversity.

Art and culture is an interesting area to investigate also since there are certain struggles between the arts and culture as aesthetics and as having social value (see Hecht 1982, 180–182). The starting point is that the conditions for inclusion of minority actors into so-called community-based performance, which *provides an avenue to individual empowerment and community development* (Kuppers 2007, 8), differ from the criteria in so-called high culture. Furthermore, mediated representations of art and culture are also interesting to look at since the previous cases suggest that the possibility of visibility and voice is bigger for minority actors in relation to 'soft' topics than to 'hard' news.

Against this background, it is of interest here to analyse if and how these above-mentioned factors contribute to a different positioning of minority actors on the arts pages than in newspapers in general. The more precise research questions, which relate to the overall questions on media, minorities and positioning practices are as follows:

- On the arts pages in *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Helsingin Sanomat*, how are issues relating to ethnocultural complexity dealt with in 2007?
- Do actors of minority origin active in arts and culture get visibility in the arts pages of the two papers?
- If so, how are they presented; as Finns, foreigners, immigrants or simply as, for example, music artists, writers and photographers?

To answer these questions, I have analysed such articles in the arts pages of the two aforementioned newspapers that in one way or another deal with issues relating to ethnocultural complexity. Articles in the main material (N = 333 published between 1 January and 30 June 30, 2007) have been cut out from the papers, photocopied, put into an archive and encoded quantitatively with the help of the computer programme SPSS. Then, the method of qualitative close reading (see chapter 3) has been used to look at three particular media events more in detail. Besides this, 78 additional articles from 1998–2008 have been looked into. They have been selected from the electronic archive of *Helsingin Sanomat* with the help of various search words to be clarified later.

Before engaging in the empirical material, it shall be underlined that two respective five year periods have passed between this particular study and the quantitative monitoring (Case I) and the qualitative study on Russians and Estonians (Case II). As noted in chapter 2, during this period attitudes became increasingly more liberal towards minority actors, and at the same time, Finland continued its development into a more and more heterogeneous society (see e.g., Saukkonen 2007, 5; Jaakkola 2005, viii; Haavisto, I. & Kiljunen 2009, 73).

6.1 The material: Selection criteria and main characteristics

When looking at the basic features of the empirical material², we first notice that during spring 2007 there are 219 articles in *Helsingin Sanomat* dealing with issues relating to ethnocultural complexity and 114 in *Hufvudstadsbladet*. This means that *Helsingin Sanomat* tends to publish one or two articles a day about ethnocultural diversity in relation to the field of arts, while *Hufvudstadsbladet* tends to have one or none at all. In comparison to the monitoring of the two Swedish language papers (Case 1 in chapter 4) for which all sections in the paper have been taken into account, the number of articles published per day is about the same. Exact comparisons are however difficult to make, since *Helsingin Sanomat* was not part of the monitoring, and also since the selection criteria applied in this study differ a bit from the ones applied to the two previous studies. Here I have, in line with Gunilla Hultén (2006, 33), applied a more subjective understanding of which actors portrayed in the media are minority actors and which are not. I have mainly followed naming strategies made by journalists as in the previous chapters, but if such a ‘tag’ has not been found and the actor still has a foreign-sounding

² The project presented in this chapter was initiated by researchers at the research centre CUPORE, the Finnish Foundation for Cultural Policy Research. Minna Ruusuvirta and Pasi Saukkonen did an initial mapping of the articles used for this case study. I adjusted their selection criteria, designed the codebook, conducted the encoding and did the qualitative analysis independently.

name or a skin colour that appears 'different' in a Finnish context, I have used various search-engines and the electronic archive of *Helsingin Sanomat* to see whether his or her minority background might have been mentioned elsewhere. If it has, the article was included in the material.

The reason for applying more flexible selection criteria than in cases I and II, is that in this way I can better avoid examples of good practice going unnoticed. In the previous cases, if minority actors were presented just as 'anyone of us', the article did not fulfil the selection criteria. Had I not changed the selection criteria, I could not have included an article of a young ballet dancer of Russian background who competes for Finland, since the journalist in this particular text pays no attention to her background (HS 23 May 2007).

The requirement on the journalistic story having to do with Finnish society has also been made more flexible for this study. Here, all articles in the arts section portraying issues relating to ethnocultural complexity (immigration, integration, ethnicity, racism, prejudice, and so on) have been taken into account irrespective of whether there is a link to Finnish society or not. A figurative example: if an author from the U.S. visits a book fair in Finland to present her latest book on aging, the article is not selected. If the same person goes to a book fair in Sweden instead where she, while presenting her book, touches upon the issue of how difficult it has been for her as a black author to be taken seriously, the article is selected.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF MATERIAL. Despite the fact that direct comparisons between this study and the media monitoring in chapter 4 cannot be made due to the slightly changed selection criteria, it seems that genre and size of articles on the arts pages are about the same as in the papers in general³ (see chapter 4; Vehmas 2005, 100). Interestingly however, when comparing the arts pages in the two dailies in this case study with each other, we find differences. News and reportage on the arts pages in *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS) are more frequent than in *Hufvudstadsbladet* (Hbl) (48% in HS and 30% in Hbl). *Hufvudstadsbladet* again has more portraits on the arts pages than *Helsingin Sanomat* (12% in HS and 23% in Hbl)⁴. The papers do however have a similar share of opinion journalism and critique, and when looking at the background of the actors portrayed, there are no significant differences between the two papers: Approximately half of the articles concern actors who live in Finland, while the other half is about actors who

3 Codebooks (found in the appendix) also differ, but concerning the mapping of size, genre and amount of pictures, they are alike. About genre: 41 per cent of the material on the arts pages consists of news articles, 28% of arts critique, 16% of personified feature stories (portraits), and 9% of columns. About 60 per cent of the articles in the afternoon papers have images, which is twice as much as in the Swedish language morning press.

live abroad. Some of these are ethnic Finns, while others are foreigners or Finnish residents with a minority background. Actors who have a minority background or who are foreigners come from Russia, the Baltic countries, other Nordic countries than Finland, Europe, Turkey, the Middle-East, the Maghreb countries, North America, Central- or South America, Africa and from Asia.

These actors are mostly featured in articles, which are on literature, music, visual arts, film, theatre, mass media, or simply ethnocultural complexity as such without a particular focus on a certain field of arts.⁵ Twenty-one of the articles within this last category deal with discrimination, prejudice and/or racism, 15 are about the Roma minority and/or culture, 14 are about 'what Finnishness is', 12 are about the Sámi minority and/or culture, 10 on Muslims and/or Islam, eight about Finns living abroad, four on Jews and/or Judaism, two on Tatars or the Tatar culture.

As the relative numbers suggest, these subcategories are indeed small (between 0.6 and 6.3 per cent of N = 333). They are however interesting, particularly the one on Roma culture in Finland, since this theme later developed into a hectic debate, which accentuated in June 2007 just after the data-gathering period, and flourished during autumn 2007.⁶ In brief, two artists of Roma origin openly accused the Roma culture in Finland of being intolerant and trying to restrict the freedom of expression, while others from the community protected these values (Simola & Rastas 2008, 174–175).

In its essence the debate was exceptional within Finnish journalism culture since it dealt with matters normally considered as internal for minority groups; the cultural traditions of this particular minority and the limits of acceptance of minority members who have chosen to live differently (Kivikuru 2007, 23–24). The debate taking place in the press, and also on the television, was somewhat hypocritical despite the fact that minority actors were given the possibility to make claims in public. The mainstream media

4 HS and Hbl are comparable in that sense that they both are national daily newspapers and that they are the papers with the biggest distribution in their respective language groups (Finnish and Swedish). HS had a circulation of 419,791 and Hbl 51,251 (LV-levikkitalasto 2007). The format of the papers differs (Hbl is a tabloid) and the resources cannot be compared. In 2007 HS had 25 full time journalists and about 50 co-workers who regularly contribute to the arts pages (Mattila 2008). (The newsroom for the arts section also produces the radio and TV-pages and the agenda-pages, the so called 'Minne mennä'-palsta). The Swedish language Hbl had eight or nine full-time journalists and about 15 to 20 co-workers. The newsroom for arts and culture also produces texts to the weekly supplementary 'Vision', to the 'Diary-page' and the TV-programme schedule. Only such personnel that produce content were taken into account here (Johansson 2008).

5 This does not necessarily mean that some fields of arts are more 'multicultural' than others. Some fields in arts and culture like theatre and literature are in general reported on more than such fields as photo art, design and architecture.

6 The PSB-company in Finland, YLE, organised a theme evening about Roma culture (*Ajankohtainen Kakkonen* on 2 October 2007). The theme also came up during another programme on immigration issues organised by the Swedish-language channel, FST5, on 3 October 2007.

seemingly allowed minority actors to articulate their own claims, but the form of the debate was strictly controlled. For example, in the TV studio, the interviewer who was not of Roma origin decided on strict turn-taking and directed the debate by posing questions, which were not necessarily out of primary interest for the participants of minority origin (ibid.)

The articles in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet*, which form the beginning of the debate, dealt with one particular piece of art by Kiba Lumberg, one of the artists of Roma origin who accused the Roma culture of being violent and intolerant. The piece consists of a traditional velour skirt worn by most Roma women in Finland. In this piece of art the skirt is pierced by a knife – a symbol of the violent culture. Articles also dealt with the controversial TV programme *Manne-tv* (a derogatory nickname for Finnish Roma). The name of the programme was later changed as a direct consequence of objections from anti-racist organisations and some Roma activists (HS 1 June 2007; HS 29 June 2007).

The theme of Roma cultural traditions is predominantly dealt with in *Helsingin Sanomat*. So are also the other themes, which deal with a more analytical discussion on Sámi, Muslims and Islam, and racism and prejudice. *Hufvudstadsbladet* takes up these issues in relation to various arts forms, but focuses, in general terms, on somewhat other themes. Following what is happening in the field of arts in Sweden is, for example clearly a part of the coverage of *Hufvudstadsbladet*.⁷ It seems particularly important for the paper to cover arts products that can be consumed by a Finnish audience regardless of the physical distance between Finland and Sweden, in other words; literature, music, and visiting artists or groups.⁸

A common feature for both papers is that when references to Sweden are made, a more profound discussion is lacking on what kinds of similarities, differences, concerns and visions the two countries share or do not share vis-à-vis immigration, integration, racism, and so on. When, for example, the Swedish author Astrid Trotzig says that [...] 'in the eyes of the neo-Nazis I am as Swedish as a wog can become. We who are adopted are mostly as assimilated as they want us to be. It is difficult to use us for the purpose of making integration politics' (Hbl 29 January 2007) there is no discussion about whether there might exist a similar kind of hierarchisation of minorities in Finland.

Another example is a lengthy story of a school teacher of Finnish origins who works with pupils of immigrant origin in Sweden (Hbl 4 February 2007).

7 For example, while Sweden is mentioned in 17 per cent of the articles in the arts section of the Finnish-language *Helsingin Sanomat*, the same applies to 40 per cent in *Hufvudstadsbladet*. These articles are about trans-Nordic cultural projects or about artistic activities in Sweden, which deal with the theme of ethnocultural complexity.

8 Such Swedish books as *Amerikafararna* by K-G Olin, *Mandelkärnan* by Inger Alfvén and *Patrioter* by Astrid Trotzig are for example reviewed during this period.

The actor portrayed concentrates on issues of integration and language skills in relation to Sweden and her own teaching experiences. At the end of the text, in which transnational bridge-building might most suitably be done concerning the narration, the discussion leaves Swedish ground, but instead of being taken to Finland, it is taken to the wars on the Balkan peninsula; ‘How could we show such passivity in front of this ethnic cleansing war in the middle of Europe?’. On the very last lines the actor is talking about Finland – but not about diversity politics or the problem of discrimination – but about her life at the summer house in the archipelago; ‘She is lyrical about running barefooted over rocks, laying fish nets, and of being surrounded by family and friends’. (Hbl 4 February 2007.)

The frequent referring to Sweden during spring 2007, is influenced by three different phenomena. First of all, there was a boom in fictive literature and film, written and/or directed by Swedes with a Finnish background (Nanna Huolman, Åsa Lindeborg and Susanna Alakoski). Second, there were quite a few articles in which the Finnish-Iraqi media artist Adel Abidin was mentioned in relation to other Nordic artists chosen as their country-representatives for the Venice Biennale. Third, the Stockholm City Theatre was touring in Finland during the time period concerned. The play, *The Emigrants*, (Swe: *Utvandrarna*) was set up by a crew of who all have experiences of migration, either self-experienced, or through their parents. In the next section, the second and third case will be looked at in more detail.

6.2 Two cases under the magnifying glass

A THEATRE PLAY AS A CASE. *The Emigrants* is a play directed by Farnaz Arbabi, a young Swedish woman of Iraqi origin. The play is a dramatisation of a historical novel by the Swedish author Vilhelm Moberg (1898–1973). The original story is about a group of people who emigrated from Sweden to America in the 19th century, fleeing hunger and oppression. As noted, in this dramatisation, the play was set up by professional actors who either themselves or their parents had come to Sweden as immigrants. In this way, the juxtaposition of the movement of people in the play appeared contradictory in comparison to Moberg’s novel.

When these articles are analysed with close reading (see chapter 3 for the method) – with a particular focus on occurring themes and the possibility to voice – we come to some curious findings. Although the play gets more publicity in *Hufvudstadsbladet* than in *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Hufvudstadsbladet* does not to the same extent as *Helsingin Sanomat* reflect over human rights issues, institutional injustice and the ‘languagelessness’ that immigrants might experience after migration. In *Hufvudstadsbladet* the actors of the play are not given a possibility to tell how their own experiences of migration

relate to the story told on stage. In fact, in *Hufvudstadsbladet* there is no link between the play and current diversity-related issues in Finland. When, for example, the press attaché at the Embassy of Sweden is asked about why the play, according to him, has sold so well when touring in Finland, he bluntly states that 'The play has received a lot of publicity in Sweden and in these cities in Finland people have got used to having visiting theatres from Sweden' (Hbl 14 April 2007). He could have pondered if the accuracy of the story in today's Finland, where migration and immigrantness are topical 'affairs', has increased the interest of the audience, but he does not.

In *Helsingin Sanomat* we can see another type of approach. The two articles in this paper put an emphasis on prejudice, injustice and difficulties in the everyday lives of immigrants. And besides, actors in the play are allowed to speak up to give their opinions on how the themes in the play (i.e., work, family, guilt and hope) relate to important concerns and questions in their own lives.

They say that they have thought much of moral problems during the process of rehearsal. What is the responsibility of the parents for their children whom are ripped out of their environment and taken to a strange country often to be bullied? Is it smart to give up careers and expect to find the gates to paradise open somewhere else? (HS 19 April 2007.)

The two articles in *Helsingin Sanomat* avoid making the self-experienced into sentimental sob-stories, and neither are the survivors of war, famine and migration made into heroes. The journalist (Kirsikka Moring) manages to avoid this through a balancing of her own voice, the voice of the actors outside the stage, and voices from the stage. With the help of all these voices, she brings in current points and hard questions relating to the difficulties emerging from migration experiences. She does not provide the reader with simple or simplifying answers, but rather suggests which issues the reader can continue thinking of after having finished reading the morning paper. In the end, where a link to Finnish immigration politics is made, she counts on the reader following her implicit argumentation.

There are no happy endings in this play. Still, not even the most difficult issues in the story are told in a pathetic way, but rather in a matter-of-fact manner. The members of the audience are forced to think over their views of the immigration politics of their own countries. Would this play have been possible in Finland. No. (HS 19 April 2007.)

The explanation why links to today's Finnish society and to Finnish migration politics are lacking in *Hufvudstadsbladet* might partially be in the style of writing. In *Hufvudstadsbladet* the journalist (19 April 2007) has a personal

and emotional angle; the journalist tells his readers that he experiences fear and shame in front of ‘the artistic perkiness and political accurateness’ of the play. He talks about a ‘nervous and unpleasant accompaniment’, and says that he feels a sting in his ‘Swedish heart’ when the main actor in the play is forced to go underground. In contrast to this, in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the journalist is not emphasising the affective dimension. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, the play is first and foremost seen and reviewed as a comment on migration and integration politics in contemporary times, and not just as any comment, but as a claim made by people who have migrated to Sweden and who wish to participate in the public debate. Besides this, in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the original literary novel is paid much more attention to than in *Helsingin Sanomat*.

The dissimilar perspectives can well be illustrated by the titles of the articles. While *Hufvudstadsbladet* has titles such as ‘Moberg mirroring Moberg (Swe: Moberg spegelvänd Moberg)’ and ‘Zdravo, Zdravo, Karl-Oskar’, the titles in *Helsingin Sanomat* are: ‘Flee, fight or die! The tragedy of the Swedish immigrants is touching since it is so sincere’ (Fi: Pakene, taistele tai kuole! Ruotsin maahanmuuttajien ajankohtainen tragedia koskettaa suoruudellaan) and ‘Five languages tell the same story: The making of *The Emigrants* was a trip into the personal histories of the actors’ (Fi: Viisi kieltä kertoo samaa tarinaa. Utvandrarna-esitys oli näyttelijöille matka omaan historiaan).

ADEL ABIDIN AS A CASE.⁹ According to the journalist of *Helsingin Sanomat*, The Emigrants would not have been possible to set up in Finland, possibly due to its political flavour and direct tone of voice. Another type of art, dealing with social issues from a critical perspective, has been much valued in Finland lately. I here refer to the art of Adel Abidin, a media artist born in Baghdad but living in Finland.

Abidin has had expositions in Finland and abroad, and he has received many nominations and awards. A solo exhibition of Adel Abidin took place in *Kiasma*, the Finnish Museum of Contemporary Arts during 2009. This can be considered as a major achievement. During the research period covered in this case study, he was, together with another Finnish artist, Maarja Wirkkala, elected as the representative for Finland at the Venice Biennale; a prestigious international art exhibition. Abidin participated with a work named *Abidin Travels*, a creation consisting of installations and video films featuring an imaginary travel agency organising trips to Baghdad. Wirkkala’s work *Vietato Lo Sbarco – Landing Prohibited* consists of a sandolo (a traditional Venetian boat), water and glass.

9 This part of the analysis is founded on seven articles about the Venice Biennale in the main material (spring 2007) and on a further 32 articles drawn from the electronic archive of *Helsingin Sanomat* with the search word ‘Adel Abidin’, which were published between 2002 and 2008.

Both *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Helsingin Sanomat* note that Abidin is representing Finland in Venice and the papers briefly describe his piece of art. However, none of the papers pay much attention to him in relation to the biennale. In *Hufvudstadsbladet* on the 6th June 2007 he is listed amongst the names of the other six Nordic participants. Here, there is no mentioning of his Iraqi background. On the 10th June, his name is mentioned again in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, this time followed by a brief description of his art. In this article there is also a brief clarification of his background. The work of Maaria Wirkkala is at the same time reviewed and she is also quoted directly in the article. On the 16th June, the biennale is again touched upon in *Hufvudstadsbladet* but this time Abidin is not mentioned. Neither is this done in the article from the 21st June despite the article pointing out that the biennale specifically focuses on the political and societal implications of art.

One reason for Abidin not getting more attention in *Hufvudstadsbladet* might be the personal preferences of the journalist reporting for the paper. The arts journalist reporting from the Venice Biennale (Emilia Siltavuori) is not hiding her own interests, but stating directly (without referring to Abidin) as follows: 'Photographs, installations and videos all expose similar things as we day after day see on the television news. These are pictures that do not notably touch me, since there is nothing in them except the purely documentary.' (Hbl 21 June 2007.)

In the spirit of Pierre Bourdieu (1979) we can argue that this journalist, to a great extent, has chosen to involve herself in the symbolic struggle about which arts products during which periods of time are legitimate. The journalist reporting from Venice for *Hufvudstadsbladet* is, in other words, in a very explicit way joining in the struggle on what quality is in arts.

In *Helsingin Sanomat* the journalists do not as explicitly throw themselves into this struggle. Despite this, Abidin does not get as much attention as the other Finnish representative Maaria Wirkkala. On the 31st January 2007 both Finnish representatives at the biennale are presented briefly and after this the other Nordic representatives are mentioned. Abidin is presented as 'Adel Abidin (b. 1973) born in Iraq, studied at the art academy in Baghdad and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Helsinki'. On the 7th June 2007 the selection of arts in the Nordic pavilion is looked into in more detail and already in the title it is made clear that 'all of the artists do not have Nordic backgrounds'. Abidin's work is again referred to only in passing while Wirkkala's piece of art is presented in a separate article on the same page. Her work also related to the theme of migration.

People who have been forced to leave in boats but have no port into which arrive. People who never arrive. This type of story I encounter every day in the news, Wirkkala says. (HS 7 June 2007.)

What or who is Abidin actually representing at the Venice Biennale? The papers do not dwell on his background, and his legitimacy of representing Finland is not put in question (although it is a Danish curator who has invited Abidin to the biennale, not an 'official Finnish delegation'). Neither are there any cues or statements that would suggest that the participation of Abidin in the biennale was something unexpected. Abidin is not presented as a representative for all who have migrated to Finland, nor is he seen as a representative of all artists of immigrant origin working in Finland. He is simply portrayed as a representative of Finnish modern arts – a representative for Finland, a nation state no longer homogenous vis-à-vis the ethnocultural composition of the citizenry.

Hence it seems as if there was no particular 'immigrant label' put on Abidin, maybe thanks to the raised status he enjoys as an awarded artist and as a representative for Finland abroad in international arts exhibitions. We must here, however, note that the papers in relation to the biennale, in most cases mention that Abidin was born in Baghdad. Is this done in order to provide background information to those in the audience who are not familiar with Abidin and/or modern art in general, or is it due to the fact that Abidin in his work is playing with real and imaginary pictures of Iraq? Most likely both. In this particular case, the material suggests that these models of explanation are truer than one that claims that his background is mentioned in order to underline his outsideness from the Finnish artists' community.

We are still left with the question of why Abidin does not, in relation to the Venice biennale, get nearly as much publicity as the other Finnish representative Maaria Wirkkala. The journalist's personal taste is one reason, as noted. Another is that the news value of the piece is not as high as Maaria Wirkkala's, which was built specifically for the biennale, since one version of Abidin's installation was exhibited earlier in Finland. *Helsingin Sanomat* wrote about him then, as they had done on a regular basis between 2003 and 2008.

When looking more closely at these and other earlier articles featuring Abidin, we can note that the artistic value of his production has been well received since his arrival in Finland at the beginning of the 21st century. From an early stage, he was talked about as a political artist since his art work engages with issues such as anti-racism and human rights. For example, during the U.S. war in Iraq in 2003, *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS 25 April 2003) wrote a story about him working together with an American artist.

A quantitative overview of all 33 articles in which Abidin's name is mentioned between 2003 and 2008, show that his background is mentioned more often than it is left unmentioned. In 25 articles he is 'Iraqi', 'Finnish-Iraqi' or 'Finnish artist born in Baghdad/Iraq'. In eight articles he is simply 'artist', 'Adel Abidin', or 'Finnish artist'. In the course of time his background is paid less attention to.

Chart 6: Abidin in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 2003 and 2008

Iraqi/of Iraqi origin	8
Iraqi/Finnish-Iraqi/of Iraqi origin living in and/or representing Finland	17
Finnish artist	3
No information about background	5
Total number of articles about Abidin in HS between 2002 and 2008	33

Even in the articles in which his Iraqi background is mentioned, it is not unusual that he, in the texts, first is presented just as ‘Adel Abidin – the artist’, but that his origin is specified later on in the article. A curiosity is also that Baghdad, not Iraq, is mentioned in five out of the 33 articles. One can speculate whether this is a conscious choice of journalists who do not wish to activate the ‘war and chaos-paradigm’ that the notion ‘Iraq’ might evoke in the readers (violence, Islam, fundamentalism, Saddam Hussein), but to instead mention Baghdad – a city, which for the well-read readers awakes connotations of intelligentsia and vivid arts, as the city was artistically blooming during the 11th and 12th centuries while being an important cultural and political centre in the Islamic world. Whether these kinds of references in journalism are conscious choices or not, is hard to say without interviewing the journalists who have written the stories.

Despite Adel Abidin being sometimes mentioned just as any other Finnish artist (e.g., in a listing of artists) he does not represent the ‘typically Finnish’ in the articles. He is, for example, asked to comment on how he feels about the Finnish winters, a question that a Finnish-born artist would hardly get. By doing so in the case of Abidin, his ‘un-typicality’ is emphasised, although his statement in fact is more than typical: He does not enjoy the winter.

The ethnic mirror is used by Karina Horsti (2005, 291) for describing a phenomena in journalism which turns a story of an immigrant into a story of Finnishness. The core idea with the mirror-metaphor is that the majority gets a possibility to mirror itself in the eyes of newcomers. In the case of Abidin, it is possible however, that Abidin himself activated the discourse since one of his video installations feature himself vacuuming snow from the ice-covered sea. No wonder, therefore, if this sort of action makes the journalists bring up the issue of how he feels about the winters in Finland. Nevertheless, whoever activated the discourse, Abidin is not presented as a typical Finn within it.

6.3 The typically Finnish

We can accordingly ask who or what is then presented as typically Finnish. Are the arts pages in the two daily newspapers treating the 'typical Finnishness' in terms of mythological, nationalistic images of Finnishness, or are these stereotypes, which were so important in the nation-building, passé in today's arts journalism? The analyses show that the mythological stereotypes of Finnishness (birch trees, sauna, and 'sisu', which refers to bulldog attitude, etc.) are on one hand protected while on the other gently mocked. In some articles the accuracy of the mythological image of Finland is not questioned at all.

This is the case for the reporting of a short film competition named *Finland – Our country* (Fi: Suomemme maa) which was organised by the arts section of the paper (HS), and open for anyone to participate in. The journalist reporting on the contributions, described them as giving a positive and idyllic picture of Finland. The winning short film submitted by a newspaper reader is about a middle-aged man who makes a hole in the ice and thereafter plunges into the freezing water. Up comes a man who is 25 years younger. In the background the Finlandia-hymn is sang to the accompaniment of a piano. The other contributions are also about the 'stereotypically Finnish'; they feature the building of a privy, foreigners eating a traditional Easter-time dessert, 'mämmi', and the pictorial material depicts Finnish nature and city landscapes. The journalist reporting on the outcome of this competition (HS 11 May 2007) is not reflecting on why there are no contributions of a more diverse and modern Finland. Why, for example, are there no stories featuring the everyday life of people in a multicultural residential area? Why are there no stories about ice-hockey fans of Somalian origin supporting their favourite team?

This lack of reflection around the issue suggests that the stories of mythical and rather stereotypical Finnishness were expected by the newsroom organising the competition and the jury evaluating them. 'Our Finland' is still, at least in this case, seen as something built on traditional values and mythological images. Fortunately, however, the picture of this kind of 'typical Finnishness' is questioned in other articles on the arts pages of *Helsingin Sanomat*. Below are two examples of this counter-discourse.

Nowadays the national 'landscape' refers to a miscellaneous sum of identities of Finns differing from one another. The significance of the pure Finnish national landscape that earlier had an important symbolic value, is in the end a rather fabricated one. (HS 18 January 2007.)

[...] the (dance) performance does not provide us with any new tools for working with

cultural differences. Contrarily, it affirms clichés and stereotypes. [...] alcohol is the only bridge between the cultures. But here as well, the stereotypical is underlined; the Latino drinks to have a good time, the Finn to sink into his or her depths. (A review of a dance performance in HS 12 February 2007. Parenthesis added.)

The Finnishness constructed by two foreign born columnists, Zinaida Lindén writing for *Hufvudstadsbladet* and Umayya Abu-Hanna writing for *Helsingin Sanomat*, also contributes to a discourse questioning the traditional and homogeneous, and promoting the modern and complex. The texts of both columnists are personal and often relate to the personal backgrounds of the columnists (Soviet/Russia and Israel/Palestine) and to their everyday lives in Finland in which transnational feelings of belonging and ethnoculturally diverse families and groups of friends is more a rule than a rarity. The core message in their columns takes the form of a claim. Both columnists (implicitly) urge 'native Finns' to look at today's Finnish society with 'new eyes' in order to see that society is already irreversibly 'multicultural'. A common inclination of the two authors is to deal with difficult philosophical and global questions in relation to their everyday lives or in relation to the politics of the Finnish state.

In Zinaida Lindén's and Umayya Abu-Hanna's columns, ethnic minority background clearly works as a resource. Not only their backgrounds, but their experiences of life elsewhere, their experiences of migration as a process and an event, and their experiences of adapting to a new country, provide a foundation for their writings. Without the self-experienced angle the columns would hardly be as genuine or as thought provoking. For example, how would it sound if a columnist only speculated about how it might feel for a young, educated immigrant from Soviet/Russia who could not even get a job at McDonald's?

Don't take it personally, dear McDonald. You were not the only one excluding me from the labour market. All my other job applications were rejected as well. I worked hard to improve my Finnish, but after two years, I stopped applying for jobs. [...] This was a good time for me as a writer. Thanks to this period I can now identify myself with the alter ego of Hamsun. During this period my first impressions of Finland were formed and the time period became an origin in a new system of coordinates. This period that completely destroyed my self-confidence stays in my sub-consciousness. (Zinaida Lindén, Hbl 14 June 2007.)

The claim presented in the quote above is more cogent when told directly by someone who knows what this kind of rejection came to mean for one's self-confidence and for one's future career. The strength in the claims-making of the two columnists lies precisely in the fact that they, thanks to their own

experiences, can make links between the abstract (political, philosophical, global) and the everyday level. They can give examples, and they can see causes and consequences that only those who have experienced certain things such as migration and/or the process of adapting to life in a new country.

The same applies to all actors within the cultural field, who particularly work with the identity theme in or through their art. If, for example, Adel Abidin was 'John Smith' we could ask what he as 'John Smith' actually knows about one of his most central themes; how it feels to live as an Iraqi in Finland. The lack of authenticity would most certainly influence how people read his pieces of art. Furthermore, the political significance of the pieces of art would certainly change, since they no longer would be genuine claims presented by minority actors, but instead only some kind of interpretations.

In the light of this argumentation it might seem as if a minority background in arts in general and in claims-making art in particular works as a bonus. This is, however, not always the case, at least not when it comes to mediated naming practices.

In the context of Sweden, Anja Dahlstedt (2006) argues that the ethnic backgrounds of the Swedish authors Marjaneh Bakhtiari and Jonas Hassen Khemiri played a disproportionately large role in the media reporting of their literary oeuvres. Dahlstedt suggests, with the support of Astrid Trotzig (2005, 126), that some literary critics working in the mainstream press in Sweden seem to have lost their 'critical eye' when actors whose products they were to evaluate had a minority or ethnic minority origin.¹⁰ We can, however, not know what the literary reviews in the Swedish newspapers would have looked like, had the novels been of a less satisfactory quality. The four reviewed books by these two authors indeed got fantastic reviews in the Swedish papers. It might however be an underestimation of the professionalism of the critics to say that this is only due to the minority origin of the authors. The reviews are most likely good since the books are well written and because they tell stories about a self-experienced 'multicultural' Sweden, stories that earlier, at least in the field of literature, have not been told from this particular perspective.

The end-point made by Dahlstedt (*ibid.*, 64) must however be taken seriously. She argues that the authors of ethnic minority origin interviewed in the arts sections are not allowed only to talk for themselves. It is presumed that they are authentic witnesses of the Sweden of the 'others', against which the Sweden of 'us' can mirror itself. Jonas Hassen Khemiri is, for example, not an immigrant; he was born in Sweden and his father comes from Tunisia.

¹⁰ In Finland, Marcus Floman (2001) presents findings showing that minority actors in arts and culture are not always covered in a gentle way. Critics can give blistering criticism for arts projects involving minority actors if the social interest and/or artistic value do not match expectations, as happened in relation to the play, *The Rainbow*, (Swe: Regnbågen) – a play about cultural clashes and racism, set up in the year 2000 mainly with amateur actors. (See also Sutela 2002.)

Despite this, in the coverage, he is seen as a representative for immigrants in Sweden, mainly due to the fact that he features the multicultural Sweden in his production, and additionally, because he writes in the language of the suburbs, the so-called Rinkeby-Swedish.

Similar results can be found in previous Finnish studies in arts journalism. Anna Simola and Anna Rastas argue that the theatre actors who, in a Finnish context, appear as black and who acted in *Sorsastajat*, a theatre play set up in 2006, from time to time in the media were seen as representatives of immigrants, although they have not migrated to Finland but were in fact born here. In *Hufvudstadsbladet* on the 12th March 2006 the actors are, for example, called 'new Finns' (Swe: de nya finländarna) (Simola & Rastas 2008, 173).

6.4 Naming practices

The analyses of an extended media material from 1990–2008 which was retrieved from the electronic archive of *Helsingin Sanomat* with the search words 'immigrant author', 'immigrant novel', 'migrant author' and 'migrant novel' suggest that there are strong intertextual¹¹ tendencies in the naming practices. These tendencies seem to transcend the borders of national communicative spaces. It is not, for example, by chance that in 2003 notions such as 'immigrant author' or 'immigrant novel' in *Helsingin Sanomat* are quite suddenly taken into use to describe the same two Swedish authors as discussed by Dahlstedt (2006). In 11 out of 17 cases the authors referred to are the two Swedish authors, Marianne Bakhtiari and Jonas Hassen Khemiri. Besides these, there are only about a handful of authors of foreign background who are named as immigrant authors.¹²

In fact, between 1990 and 1999 the notion 'immigrant author' is not used in the paper at all. In 1999 it is used once, but most of the articles were published between the years 2003 and 2008. During this period, as during the earlier period, the notions used more frequently are migrant author (Fi: siirtolaisuuskirjailija) and migrant novel (Fi: siirtolaisuusromaani).

In the Finnish language, the difference in connotation between 'immigrant' (Fi: maahanmuuttaja) and 'migrant' (Fi: siirtolainen) is significant. 'Migrant' (Fi: siirtolainen) has primarily been used for Finns or other Northerners emigrating to America during the 'Great Migration' between 1870 and 1930 when about 360,000 Finns emigrated overseas. In the media material, 'migrant novel' thus mostly refers to this emigration movement in historic

11 Intertextuality refers to a phenomenon of media either explicitly or implicitly referring to other media texts (Hartley et al. 2002, 126.)

12 These are: Alla Berg, born in Russia, living in Finland (HS 21 November 2007), Hannu Ylitalo, born in Finland, living in Sweden (HS 12 Nov 2007), Hella Wuolijoki (1886–1954), born in Estonia, lived in Finland (HS 28 March 2006), Zinaida Lindén, born in Soviet/Russia, living in Finland (HS 6 Feb 2005), Resad Hasanovic, born in Bosnia, living in Finland (HS 29 July 2007).

times, but not exclusively, since it is sometimes also used for contemporary literature dealing with the themes of diversity and/or migration. Authors such as Junot Diaz, and Arundhati Roy (German-Turkish and Indian-British origin) are, for example, named as ‘migrant authors’ in *Helsingin Sanomat* on the 29th September 2008. In some articles the Swedish authors Susanna Alakoski, Marjaneh Bakhtiari and Jonas Hassen Khemiri are likewise named as migrant authors.

Although there seems to be little linearity in naming practices and although it seems that during the last few years, these notions have started to be used analogically, we can note that awarded and internationally known authors with migrant experiences are rather described as migrant authors (Fi: siirtolaiskirjailija) than immigrant writers (Fi: maahanmuuttajakirjailija). It is hard to say whether this can be explained by the negative connotations of the immigrant notion (see e.g., Huttunen 2002, 21) or with the fact that ‘migrant’ is referring more to the trip and migration as a movement, while ‘immigrant’ is referring more to the receiving country and the process of adapting to a new life.¹³

Whichever is the case, it is important to point out that there is not only one correct way of naming minority actors in arts and culture. Indeed research shows that most immigrants want primarily to be perceived as women, students, experts, and so on, and secondly, if at all, as representatives for a minority group (Maasilta et al. 2008, 87). Some authors have clearly stated in public that they do not wish to be labelled as immigrant authors. On the other hand, not all authors of immigrant origin are disturbed by this naming practice.

When someone tries to make a ‘Suburban-Jonas’ (i.e. a typical immigrant) out of me, I lose my breath. (Jonas Hassen Khemiri in the Swedish daily paper, *Dagens Nyheter* 13 August 2005. Parenthesis added.)

Of course I am an immigrant author. It is not a bad word. Everyone does not like it and some avoid it. But it is not a bad word. I have once been called a ‘writing immigrant’. I am against that. It is the word ‘author’ that is significant in this context. (Zinaida Lindén, HS 6 December 2005.)

In this case, it is worth noting that Zinaida Lindén represents a generation other than Bakhtiari and Khemiri, and she immigrated to Finland as an adult, not a child. This might matter for how minority actors wish to be

13 In future studies it would be interesting to compare articles on events and phenomena marketed as multicultural on the arts pages to similar articles published in other sections of the paper. Is the immigrant role more predominant in other sections of the paper, in which the demand to focus on the artistic value is less pressing than in the arts section? Karina Horsti (2005, 270) shows, for example, that Finnish daily newspapers did not report on the festival *Maailma Kylässä* in the arts section, but in other sections.

named. Nonetheless, these opposite commentaries suggest that instead of categorically approving or disapproving certain naming practices, which may or may not be considered as discriminating by various individuals and groups, it is wiser for researchers to monitor and analyse changes in these practices. (Obviously, this does not apply to racist naming practices using such epithets as the n-word, for example.) Having said this however, it stands clear that the immigrant-notion has come to connote a person with a certain sort of background and life; low socio-economic status, and often a non-European background (Huttunen 2002, 21; Darvishpour & Westin 2008, 16). Because of this connotation, it has become somewhat difficult to use the notion neutrally even with good intentions.

In one case, the journalist tries hard to use the notion 'immigrant novel' neutrally, motivating for the use of it, and even apologising for placing the oeuvre within this particular category. Despite this, one can say that there is a symbolic violence – a violence that is embodied in language and its forms (Žižek 2008, 1, 10) – involved in this act of positioning.

Forgive me, Marjaneh Bakhtiari. The recently published *Call it what the hell you want* (Swe: *Kalla det vad fan du vill*) is a bubbling and funny immigrant novel.[...] Bakhtiari, the author, does not agree. In interviews she has notified that she does not wish that the book is named an immigrant novel. [...] Her wish is, however, impossible to fulfil, since the 25-year-old debutant, born in Iran and living in Sweden since childhood, weaves together a story about an Iranian family that has settled in Malmö. (HS 11 February 2007.)

According to the journalist a novel featuring a 'multicultural' neighbourhood, which is written by a young author of immigrant background, cannot be classified as anything but an 'immigrant novel'.¹⁴ What the journalist sees as belonging to this category is however not clear. Does the author need to have a non-European background? Does the book need to be his or her debut book? Vikram Seth's novel *Two Lives* is not named an immigrant novel, although it is based on a true story involving emigration, immigration, prejudice and oppression (HS 4 January 2008). Does 'immigrant' sound bad when describing Seth's experiences since he now enjoys high status and glory in international literary fields, which Bakhtiari does not do (at least yet)?

6.5 Discussion: Positioned as identity worker, cosmopolite or immigrant

Swedish media researcher Ylva Brune (2008, 349. Translation CH.) states that journalists/.../ *together give shape to a kind of 'comprehensible immigrant', an intellectual construction that lives a life of its own beside real*

people and circumstances. In this case study, minority actors are however not in general presented as representatives for all immigrants in Finland. This concerns both the main material and the additional electronic materials. Not in one article on the arts pages of *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* during spring 2007 does an accomplished artist or a professional in the sphere of arts and culture, an internationally awarded composer or ballet dancer for example, need to ‘speak as a immigrant’ or speak ‘for all immigrants in Finland’. Instead, the most dominant positions in which actors on the arts pages are presented is the identity worker and the cosmopolite.

POSITION I: IDENTITY WORKER. The identity worker is portrayed as a professional within his or her own field (fine arts, film, literature and so on) and at the same time as a specialist in questions relating to minority issues. Thanks to his or her background (both ethnocultural and professional) he or she is legitimately considered as an expert and therefore encouraged to share opinions on issues relating to the emerging ethnoculturally complex Finnish society. The identity worker is not named as an ‘immigrant artist’ or ‘immigrant author’ and he or she is not expected to speak for all immigrants and/or all artists in Finland of minority ethnic origins.

Mostly, the identity worker is eager to relate his or her own experiences of being in a minority, or having migrated, to themes that he or she is dealing with in his or her artistic work (e.g., feelings of belonging and/or outsiderhood, ethnicity). The identity worker is often drawing links from his or her own experiences to wider social and political phenomena. The art produced by these identity workers mostly has a political take, and it is aimed at raising questions about contemporary socio-political issues. Examples of identity workers in this material are Adel Abidin, Kiba Lumberg, and persons involved in the production of *The Emigrants*.

The metaphor of the identity worker has been popular in critical management studies and organisation studies (e.g., Alvesson & Willmott 2002, 626) for describing *the mutually constitutive process in which people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and struggle to come to terms with and, within limits, to influence the various social identities which pertain to them in the various milieux in which they live their lives* (Watson 2008, 129). What I mean with identity worker is about the same. However, in Finnish, I have earlier talked about ‘identiteettityöstäjä’ (Haavisto 2010, 152), (something like an ‘identity kneader’) connoting a more handcraft-kind of activity. The meaning-difference is so marginal that I chose to use the more common notion of the identity worker.

14 On the Internet-pages of the Finnish publishing house Otava, the notion used to describe Bakhtiari’s book is ‘immigration novel’ (Fi: siirtolaisuusromaanii), not ‘immigrant novel’ or ‘migrant novel’ (Fi: siirtolaisromaanii).

A curiosity concerning the notion is that in everyday language use, social workers who are hired by companies to come and discuss matters of ethnocultural heritage and identity with ethnic minority staff members, are sometimes referred to as cultural identity workers. In one way the therapeutic dimension is present in the portrayal of the identity workers in this case study as well. One could think that dealing with issues of belonging, ethnicity, prejudice, and so on is a kind of 'self-therapy' for the artist, and also an appeal for others; spectators and media-users, to reflect over issues relating to selfhood, belonging and solidarity.

POSITION II: COSMOPOLITE. Such minority actors on the arts pages, who do not touch upon issues relating to ethnocultural complexity in their artistic work (soloists, conductors, composers, ballet dancers) are mostly presented as cosmopolites. These are presented as virtuosos in their fields of expertise. The implicit discourse, in which this position is activated, concerns 'our' plight to be content for them choosing to make a career in Finland and not elsewhere.

The ethnic background of these cosmopolites is mostly not crucial for the mediated story. The mentioning of a foreign or international arts school or institution linked to the person, however, is not unusual. This type of background information functions as a cue for a specialised audience. On the basis of this information, readers can evaluate the talent of the artist in focus.

The metaphor of the cosmopolite is here loosely understood as a boundary-spanner: someone who is mobile, highly educated, travels widely, and has friendship networks with individuals outside of the community (e.g., Merton 1949; Thompson 1967). Interestingly, as Everett M. Rogers (1999, 62) notes, the cosmopolite is not detached from the position of the stranger, as defined by Georg Simmel (1950, 402) as an individual who is a member of a system but at the same time an outsider. Rogers (1999, 62) notes that the position as a cosmopolitan-stranger can be both beneficial and burdening. Whereas the stranger is often viewed with suspicion (and perhaps xenophobia) by others in the system because of the uncertainty and unpredictability of the stranger's behaviour (Berger & Calabrese 1975), there are unique advantages to the individual and to the system of such distanced perspectives. The external orientation frees the stranger from the norms and expectations of the system, and also sets the stranger at a certain social distance from others in the system. Thus the stranger perceives the system in a different light than the host and is freer to consider new ideas, especially those from external sources. (See section 9.3 for further discussion on this issue.)

In the case of the cosmopolites on the arts pages, they are certainly viewed with more respect than suspicion. Cosmopolites enrich 'our' cultural sphere!

POSITION III: THE IMMIGRANT. As noted in the previous section looking into the immigrant-position more thoroughly, the immigrant position is sometimes self-chosen and sometimes forced upon the actor by the journalist. In some cases (the case of Zinaida Lindén, for example) it seems that there is a wish to neutralise the notion, which in Finland, has a disparaging connotation, by using it in such a context which differs from the prejudiced expectations for how an immigrant looks and from where he or she comes. The attempts are however isolated and not as apparent or organised as in Sweden, where the slang word for immigrants, 'blatte', in the early 2000's was 'taken over' by youngsters of minority origin, who started using it for themselves and their peers thus trying to neutralise the pejorative character of the word. The magazine *Gringo*, produced by a few youngsters of minority origin, was an important actor in the process, and the meaning-shift of the notion partially managed to penetrate the mainstream media.

In Finland, where this kind of shift has not gained ground, the immigrant-position is something that people seldom strive for. In this material, in most cases, the notion indicates a lack of status. Internationally renowned authors of minority origin are not named 'immigrants', while novice writers sometimes are. The immigrant-position differs from the identity worker and the cosmopolite mainly in the way that while identity workers and cosmopolites first and foremost are characterised through their artistic profession, immigrants are first and foremost characterised through their ethnocultural background, and only thereafter as artists, writers, actors, and so on.

Despite the supremacy of the identity worker and the cosmopolite – two positions, which by nature are transnational – the material is by no means dominated by a discourse that would bridge local and global contexts. Rather the opposite. Despite naming practices seeming to travel from Swedish media to Finnish media, there are seldom any reflections on how these themes relate to the contemporary Finnish society undergoing change towards the more diverse. In relation to other cultural and geographic spheres, actors in the two dailies talk about freedom of speech, increased racism, the radicalisation of Islam, the chances of different cultures living together in peace, and so on, but on the arts pages these themes are seldom related to a Finnish context. It almost seems as if Finland was perceived as some kind of exception country.

In this chapter I have presented findings from a qualitative study on the reporting of ethnocultural complexity on the arts pages in two Finnish morning papers. I gave an overview of the main themes treated and thereafter focused on two cases: the reporting of *The Emigrants*, a visiting theatre play

from Sweden, and the portrayal of the Iraqi-Finnish artist, Adel Abibin, who represented Finland in an arts fair, the Venice Biennale in 2007.

Mostly, minority actors in arts and culture are presented as cosmopolites if their work does not deal with the theme of ethnocultural complexity, and as identity workers if they in their field of artistic endeavour deal with issues of outsideness, and/or experiences of migration. Their background might be mentioned, but it is seldom contemplated. Having given this as a general rule, we have however in this chapter seen that actors, in some cases, are named as 'immigrants' although they explicitly have wished not to be 'labelled' in this way. Besides, although stereotypical understandings of Finland and Finnishness in some articles are challenged and almost laughed at (as in 'of course, not all Finns drink to get drunk, and not all Latinos drink to get happy!'), in some cases, like in a video competition organised by *Helsingin Sanomat*, mythological and stereotypical views of 'our country' still flourish.

7. Case iv: Afternoon papers

One of today's top celebrities, Lola Wallinkoski née Odusoga, won the 1996 national beauty contest and became the first coloured Miss Finland. At the time of her crowning she was often presented as a different, dark, exotic, and sometimes even ominous woman. Journalists concentrated on her ethnic origins, the colour of her skin, her body type, and her mysterious Nigerian father.¹ Although the two afternoon papers rapidly, even before the crowning, adopted Lola as 'their girl' giving her more publicity than the other contestants, some reporters were sceptical towards her suitability as a representative of Finnish beauty.

I don't hold anything against Lola, but does a Finnish-Nigerian represent Finnish-Finnish feminine beauty? I would say no, even if she as a Finnish citizen has the right to play in the higher league. (IS 2 February 1996.)

If Lola would go to Nigeria, 50 million Nigerian men would follow her back to Finland. Do not get me wrong now, but it would be a problem. (IL 2 February 1996.)

Lola Wallinkoski has said in a televised discussion programme (*Inhimillinen tekijä*, YLE TV 2 February 13, 2009) that journalists in the 1990's were confused when writing about her and her background. According to her, they had for example planned to write stories about a joyful, emotional, intercultural and multi-coloured meeting between her and her long-lost Nigerian father, and did not know what to do when the actual story did not fit the planned storyline. When Lola made her first visit to Nigeria – a trip organised by *Ilta-Sanomat* – things did not go as planned, and the papers reported on Lola coming home shaky and homesick, longing for Finnish food after having suffered from tourist diarrhoea, complaining about unhygienic circumstances,

¹ From 2002 to 2009 I have, as part of my everyday media consumption, paid particular attention to the reporting on Lola Wallinkoski. Additionally, I have read through *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti* from 1996 on micro film in order to see how she was reported on before and right after the crowning.

the insecurity and the heat. In the reporting Lola was presented just like an ordinary Finn coming home from a rough trip abroad. Going to Nigeria in 2005 was not written about as a 'coming home', but a going away from home.

Researchers have talked of Lola Wallinkoski as a symbol of 'tolerance' (Herkman 2005; Kyrölä 2003). Eila Rantonen (1997) takes her as an example when she shows how the media from time to time manages to stir old racial stereotypes and myths of womanhood. In the material presented in this chapter, except for the colour of her skin, which is apparent in the pictorial material, there are no other markers of difference present that would indicate that Lola is less 'Finnish' than any other Finn. It thus seems that in the course of time, Lola has been made 'whiter', more 'similar' and more 'Finnish' in the media, indicating that her exoticness wasn't interesting in the longer run, at least not to the same extent as her personal life; breast implants, nights out, break ups, marriage, children, and so on (see also Kyrölä 2002, 2003; Herkman 2005, 204–205, 210). Albeit having a somewhat humorous undertone, the prophecy made by the newspaper columnist in 1996 of Lola coming back to Finland with Nigerian men in her suitcase couldn't have been more wide of the mark.

By looking at the reporting of ethnocultural complexity in the two afternoon papers *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*, we can learn more about when and why these kinds of shifts in positioning practices of minority actors occur. Before taking up this task, let us present the micro-level research questions for this case study.

- What characterises the reporting of minority actors and themes relating to ethnocultural complexity in *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* during the two one-month-long research periods in 2004 and 2005?
 - Are the markers used in the negotiations of belonging different when celebrities of minority origin are portrayed than when non-celebrities are?
 - How, if at all, are racism, discrimination and/or ethnic relations dealt with in the reporting?

7.1 The material: Selection criteria and main characteristics

The main idea behind the selection of articles is the same as in the other chapters: articles shall deal with issues relating to ethnocultural complexity. In this chapter the selection criteria follow the more flexible and subjective understanding as described in greater detail in the previous study (see

also appendix D). The focus is however more strictly set on Finnish society than in the previous chapter. As in Case I and II, articles presented in this chapter, have to relate strictly to Finnish society: If a Moroccan football player playing in Spain talks about Spain being a ‘racist country’, the article is not selected. If he plays in Finland or refers to Finland only in the passing, it is counted in. In comparison to Case I and II, there is nevertheless a small difference concerning this particular point: articles on the sports pages have here been taken into account although they do not primarily deal with ethnocultural issues as Case I and II required. In other words; here, an article about football does not primarily need to be about racism, integration or ethnic relations in order to be counted in. As long as it features a foreign and/or minority player playing in Finland, the article can be about games, results, other players, and so on.

Since this study predominantly is qualitative (see chapter 3 for the method), article themes and actor backgrounds have not been categorised as systematically as for the monitoring (Case I). To get an overview of the material, themes and actors have however been encoded under a few rough categories (see codebook in section D in the appendix).

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MATERIAL. Even without the proverbial analytical glasses, it is clear that the division of themes and genres in the reporting of ethnocultural complexity on the surface differs greatly from the reporting in the three daily newspapers investigated in the previous chapters. The focus in the two afternoon papers is on entertainment and sports, and the pictorial material is much more dominant than in the three morning papers analysed in the previous chapters. Although direct comparisons are dangerous to make due to changes in selection criteria, they can be used indicatively: 85.5 per cent of all the articles on ethnocultural complexity in *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* have at least one picture, while as in *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*, the same applies to 30 per cent of the 122 articles published during the research period in 2004 (Haavisto 2005b, 24).²

Iltalehti and *Ilta-Sanomat* also publish significantly more big articles (bigger than A4) than *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*. While these big articles made up ten per cent of the articles in the two morning papers in Case I, they constitute 35 per cent of the material in the two afternoon papers here discussed. In the afternoon papers there is also somewhat less opinion journalism on diversity-related issues than in the two morning papers (5.7% of 227 compared to 10% of 1,222 articles in Case I). In the two afternoon papers there are, for example, no editorials on issues relating to ethnocultural

² The research period of the morning papers in 2004 is two months long (see Case I), while the afternoon papers were gathered during a one month period.

Chart 7: The number of articles in *Iltalehti* (IL) and *Ilta-Sanomat* (IS)³

Year	IL	IS	Total
2004	38	50	88
2005	63	76	139
Total	101	126	227

complexity during these particular research periods. All the opinion journalism consists of columns (2.2%) and of letters-to-the-editor (3.5%).

Concerning the overall number of articles on the themes dealt with in this thesis, *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*, publish more than four articles a day on the themes, while Swedish language morning papers in Case I, publish one and a half articles a day on average. The changed selection criteria contribute, and if all articles on sports in the two afternoon papers (100 out of N = 227) are withdrawn, the afternoon papers publish two and a half articles a day on average.

As we can see in chart 8, the actors appearing on the pages of the afternoon papers are almost exclusively affiliated with beauty contests, modelling, singing, reality TV-shows, television in general, or sports. Minority celebrities living in Finland, such as Lola Wallinkoski, née Odusoga, Phuong 'Funi' Bui and Caron Barnes, or foreign spouses to Finnish celebrities form, together with sportsmen of minority/foreign origin, 70.5 per cent of all the minority actors featured in the two afternoon papers.

The sports articles constituting as much as 44.1 per cent of all the articles in the material, mainly feature football players such as Alexei Eremenko Junior, Serge N'Gal, and Shefki Kuqi who play in the Finnish league. The articles report mostly on normal league games involving players of minority or foreign origin, but also on events taking place during the game and on the side of the field. Sometimes the aspect of ethnicity and/or foreign background is not significant, but in some cases it is made into a point worth mentioning or discussing. In 2005 a lot of visibility is, for example, given to the reporting about a quarrel between a football coach, Keith Armstrong, and an Argentinian player, Luciano Alvarez (IS 2 February 2004).

The rest of the articles feature either minority actors involved in crime, or other actors of minority origin who are neither sports persons nor celebrities in the area of entertainment. These 'ordinary' minority actors are

³ The distribution of *Ilta-Sanomat* was around 195,000 and of *Iltalehti* around 136,000 during the time concerned (LT-levikkitalasto 2005.) Both papers are published six times a week.

Chart 8: Actors in *Iltalehti* (IL) and *Iltä-Sanomat* (IS)

	Minority sports persons	Perpetrators of foreign or minority origin	Minority celebrities in Finland	Ordinary minority actors	Other actor or no actor in focus	Total
IL	42	11	22	5	21	101
IS	58	7	38	6	17	126
Total N	100	18	60	11	38	227
Total % of all themes	44	7	26	4	16	100

mainly asylum seekers, who in emotionally loaded stories on court decisions on eviction, get to tell how they fear for their own and their children's lives in the former country of origin to which they now ought to return. 'Ordinary' minority actors also appear in articles or 'teasers' about up-coming television documentaries featuring, for example, Roma youth who have done particularly well in school.

7.2 Sports and the denial of racism

Danish media researcher Mustafa Hussain (1997, 66) considers sports the *only field in mass communication where members of the ethnic minorities – especially if they are successful – are not treated as ethnic or as foreigners, but just as sportsmen*. He might be right, if one underlines the successful-part. Kristian Nilsson (2003, 73–74) has for example shown how Ludmila Engquist, a world-class Russian athlete who changed nationality in the middle of her career and thereafter represented Sweden in international championships, was 'de-nationalised' in the media having violated good sportsmanship and fair play.

There is a bulge of research in a variety of research traditions dealing with blackness, identity, sports and the media, most of which has been conducted in the U.S. (e.g., Grainer et al. 2006; Kellner 1996; Birrell & McDonald 2000). Nilsson's study (2003) shows that in the Nordic countries, discrimination in sports does not have to be about whiteness-blackness-issues (Ludmila Engquist is white). Nevertheless, non-colonialist nation-states as Finland have also been affected by the dichotomisation of nature (black) and culture (white), a 'historical souvenir' in Stuart Hall's terms (1999, 166–168). Therefore, one shall not completely dismiss questions of skin colour



Picture 3: '264 kilograms of Finnish flesh', Iltta-Sanomat 14 June 2005

in sports. As for examples shown by Finnish media researcher Mia Ahola (2002, 171) in relation to a study on the representation of the World Athletics Championship in Seville in 1999; in the Finnish media it was not uncommon that views were presented in which black athletes were seen as naturally fast and strong, while white where seen as more intellectual and thus better in technically difficult sports.

In the articles on sports and ethnocultural complexity in the two afternoon papers analysed here, this nature-intellect-dichotomisation is rarely found. In some articles the journalist contrarily almost makes a point of presenting black and white sportsmen as equals. The American style football player Michael Quarshie, who in a Finnish context appears black, and his fellow sportsman who appear as white, are presented like a team of Finnish sportsmen now starting a career abroad. The fact box states: '264 kilograms of Finnish flesh!' (IS 14 June 2005).

In general terms, ethnic backgrounds of football players with a last name which is not typical in Finland, or a darker tone of the skin, are not paid much attention to. The international career of Shefki Kuqi, born in Kosovo but today a Finnish citizen, is followed with great enthusiasm. Once it is reported

that he was getting married to a woman from Kosovo and that he is going to spend the summer there. This implies that he is not an ethnic Finn, as does his name, but his ethnocultural origin is not mentioned in one of the sports-related articles analysed for this study (IL 28 June 2005; IL 29 June 2005; IS 29 June 2005; IS 7 June 2005; IL 7 June 2005).

Neither is a fuss made about the ethnic background of the controversial football player Alexei Eremenko Junior in this particular material. Eremenko has frequently been seen on the pages of the afternoon papers, not only in relation to sports, but also in relation to violent behaviour, celebrity girlfriends, rather chauvinist commentaries on housework, and so on. In my material Eremenko is presented as a charismatic, short-tempered person, in brief, a different player, who likes to talk about money, nice cars, and so on, in contrast to most players, who are behaving more modestly in public. Reflections about whether this sort of behaviour is typically 'Russian' does not occur on an explicit level in this material (e.g., IS 3 June 2004; IS 14 June 2004; IS 24 June 2004; IL 15 June 2004; 16 June 2004; IL 22 June 2004; IL 8 June 2005; IS 28 June 2005.)

Having given this as a general rule, there are, however, four different situations in which the ethnic background of a sports person is mentioned and also sometimes becomes a relevant part of the article. The first consists of discussions about national teams and international games. When negotiating who is representing which national team, discussions of formal national belonging and background often occur. The second consists of compact fact boxes accompanying sports articles. Besides the height and weight of the player, scored goals, clubs played for, and so on, in these fact boxes there is often a mentioning of the place of birth of the actor. The third consists of articles portraying foreign football players who come to Finland – so-called newcomers – who can be thought of as unknown for the readers of the sports pages.⁴ The fourth consists of issues relating to so-called cultural differences on the football field or outside the field. I will briefly focus upon the last two, since they analytically constitute the most interesting cases.

THE NEWCOMER – A CHEERFUL CAMEROONIAN. The representation of the 19-year-old football player Serge N'Gal, born in Cameroon, Africa, contains elements of the childlike-stereotype; a smiling, playful young man who does tricks on and off the football field. According to Stuart Hall (1997, 289)

4 Almost all articles on sports and minority actors and/or ethnocultural complexity are about football games and players in the Finnish National League. Three articles are about American football, and one is on athletics. One reason for the domination of football is research technical. The time of the material gathering was June, which is football season in the Finnish League. Had the period of material gathering been conducted during winter months, in relation to the theme of ethnocultural complexity basketball might have been the most dominant sport. Another curiosity is that all actors of minority origin featured in the sports articles are male, while as most actors in entertainment are female.

one way of making someone childlike is to take away all the features of responsibility, and as a result, the possibility to be powerful. The stereotype of the smiling and childlike black guy is also known in Finland through commercials and feature programmes (Ahola 2002, 175; Rantonen 1997; Kaartinen 2004).

In the reporting, the childlike-stereotype is activated through a variety of mechanisms. It is stated several times for example that Serge N'Gal does not really have a language in which he can communicate with his fellow players. He speaks French with an original (Fi: omintakeinen) accent and some Spanish, but not English or Finnish (IS 1 June 2005). Throughout the reporting he is portrayed as a playful young football player, who does acrobatic tricks after scoring goals. The similarities between him and a child are later on underlined by using his nickname 'little boy' (Fi: naskali). Besides this, it is told that another player in the team is looking after him; meeting him at home, taking him to practices, and so on.

The metaphors and namings used for N'Gal are as playful as he is described to be. For example, he is named by journalists as 'The Express train from Inter' (Inter is the name of his team) (IL 27 June 2005), a 'jump-machine' (Fi: hyppykone) (IL 27 June 2005) and a 'nature-child' (IS 1 June 2005; IL 27 June 2005). He is also, referred to as a 'splash of colour' and a 'Catherine wheel' (i.e., a particular type of firework).

Mia Ahola (2002, 176) found that Wilson Kirwa, a middle-distance runner originally from Kenya but today a Finnish citizen having lived in the country since 1997, from time to time was presented in a similar kind of way. She points out how journalistic references to language skills function as a technique of making him childlike (ibid., 178). In the example that Ahola brings up, the journalist is not correcting Kirwa's language when quoting him in the paper, although in general this is done in journalism. 'It was hard. Easy no. I was brave. No problem. Everything okay, see you. [...].' (IS 17 August 1999 as quoted in Ahola 2002, 179. Translation CH.) When the language of Kirwa elsewhere in the reporting is corrected the impression of the intellectual level of the athlete is completely different. 'Of course I know the runners in the Kenyan team. They are the best runners in the world. They can yet not know about me, but they will during the years to come, Kirwa believes.' (IL 26 August 1999 as quoted in Ahola 2002, 179. Translation CH.).⁵

In the two afternoon papers we do not get a sample of Serge N'Gal's

5 Karina Horsti drew my attention to some curiosities concerning the popularity of Kirwa: Wilson Kirwa is much liked by Finns in general. This could be seen in relation to the TV-programme *Dancing with the Stars* in which he participated in 2005. Despite a lack of talent in dance, the TV-audience 'saved him' several times by voting for him despite being at risk of elimination by the jury. The fact that he was not a very talented dancer and had problems staying in rhythm, is rather ironic taking into consideration the stereotype of Africans as naturally talented in music, dancing, and rhythm in general. It would be interesting to interpret this further in future studies.

language skills. The technique for making someone childlike is the same however. By stating that N'Gal's French accent is original and that his skills in Spanish are very elementary, a certain aspect of intellectuality is taken away from him.

The consequences of this kind of childlike-making are hard to predict. As Mia Ahola (2002, 179) points out, on one hand it might enforce the stereotype of the 'funny black guy', but on the other hand, the impression of the actor being charming and rather harmless can generate an easier acceptance of the actor as one of 'us'. In the case of Serge N'Gal, the childlike discourse might as well have increased his popularity amongst Finns; as one of the best goal scorers, he is soon adopted as one of the favourite players of the sports journalists. His acrobatic tricks (he does somersaults when celebrating scoring a goal), his homesickness, and his languagelessness, might have enhanced sympathetic feelings for him.

It is important to point out that the image is not necessarily only a mediated construct, but also has a sounding board in his character; no doubt N'Gal is a joyful young man. The problem is the way N'Gal's playfulness is dealt with. It is seen as something typically African. 'In an African style the man turns around like a riddle for paying tribute to his goal' (IS 1 June 2005.) In the reporting it is stated that other footballers of African origin are also specialised in doing acrobatic tricks after scoring goals. The article states that the famous Roger Milla for example, started dancing 'the makosa' with the corner flag when he scored for Cameroon in the World Cup in 1990. At the very end of the article, it is stated that two ethnic Finnish players have done half-somersaults at throw-in situations too (IS 1 June 2006). It is hard to say whether this commentary by newspaper readers mainly is interpreted as the exception underlining the rule, or whether the commentary in fact smoothens out the dichotomisation of playful Africans and serious Finns/Europeans. Most likely both.

Whatever the case, since the theme of making N'Gal childlike is so dominant it is worth asking what types of discourses do not get activated. Albeit praised for his talent of scoring goals, the stories of the funny 'riddle' at least push aside stories about a young but brave and determined football player who has left his homeland for the unknown; who has dared to throw himself in a situation of 'languagelessness'; who trains hard to improve his skills and reach his goal; and who successfully has learnt some Spanish while playing for a Spanish team earlier on.

PREJUDICE AND RACISM IN SPORTS. Racism itself seems to be somewhat of a taboo on the sports pages. In my material, there are topics dealt with that could potentially be linked to discussions of prejudice and racism, but which are not. When Serge N'Gal says that he has been very lonely in Finland (IS 1

June 2005), the papers make no links to discrimination and racism.

The youngster says that he has been really lonely. This year has been easier, since his little brother, Onan Fue Ferdinand, moved into Serge's small flat at the Aura-river.
 – If Ferdinand had not come to Finland, I don't think I would be in Turku giving this interview right now. For time being, everything looks much better. (IL 27 June 2005.)

In general, the two afternoon papers seem unwilling to discuss events reported on in terms of prejudice and/or racist thinking. If sportsmen from abroad face difficulties in Finland, ethnic discrimination is not seen as having anything to do with it. In the quote below 'cultural differences' are given as an explanation for why an actor is having a 'hard time' in Finland, but these cultural differences are not indicated to be the source for racism or prejudice.

African players have traditionally had a hard time in Finland. Besides cultural differences, they have to get used to a different style of playing (football). (IS 1 June 2005. Parenthesis added.)

Interestingly, even if the actors themselves talk of racism, the journalist seems unwilling to go further in discussing the issue. For example, as mentioned earlier, in 2004 Luciano Alvarez from the team Inter, slapped Keith Armstrong, the coach of *HJK*, on the cheek. Alvarez, who is Argentinian, claimed the reason for his act was that the UK born coach called him an Argentinian pig (IS 1 June 2004). Only one week after this there was another similar kind of incident involving other players. Eremenko Junior (born in Russia) got a red card for shouting 'Shut up homo!' to another player on the field. According to Eremenko the other player had called him monkey before this (IS 14 June 2004).

The press dealt with these incidents in a light albeit sensational way. There were no discussions on prejudice or racism based on ethnocultural characteristics having anything to do with the abuse. The case of N'Gal is particularly striking: although the African player repeatedly in public states that he feels lonely and homesick in Finland, this is still explained mainly in terms of 'cultural differences' and a 'different style of playing football'. It would not be too far-fetched to discuss whether these cultural differences maybe have something to do with racism and prejudice. Racism, however, seems to be perceived as an 'ugly world' that one should try to avoid using, since it might destroy the image of sports as a racism-free sphere (Ahola 2002, 164).

The reluctance to deal with racism in sports leads us to another taboo linked with the issue of colour blindness, namely, the superiority of black

athletes in some branches of sports. This taboo is according to the controversial novelist Jon Entine (2000) something everyone talks about in private, but which is never touched upon in the media. In my material there is one column dealing with the issue.

Although direct racism is prohibited, inverted racism is not. When one looks at the flexible activities of a black girl, it occurs to me, that the [uses the n-word] at least concerning her back legs is somewhat closer to a tiger than to a lad from Finland whose legs seem to be glued to the floor. (IS 6 June 2005.)⁶

This is the only time the n-word, as used in a non-analytical way – in other words, not in order to discuss the use of it – is encountered in the overall pool of 1,782 articles analysed for this book. Besides this word, the author uses animal metaphors for black athletes. The use of animal metaphors is quite common (Rantonen 1997; Slätis 1998). For example, in Mia Ahola's material on sports journalism from 1999 there are plenty; Colin Jackson is referred to as 'cat like' and Yago Lamela as a bull. These belong to the same historical and stereotype dichotomy of nature (black) and culture (white) as mentioned earlier.

Most likely, the author of the column (IS 6 June 2005) would claim the quote above to be humorous. However, as noted earlier, the Council for Mass Media in Finland, the CMM, condemned YLE, the National Broadcasting Company, for allowing one of the participants in a discussion programme to make links between the grandmother of the U.S. President Barack Obama and a gorilla (chapter 2 in this study). The context of the column in *Ilta-Sanomata*, from where the quote is taken, is the poor success of Finnish athletes in an international athletics competition, and in some twisted way, it is most likely meant to pay tribute to black athletes in general, while at the same time downgrading the Finnish competitors. In this sense the animal metaphors are used differently in the two cases.

7.3 Crime and minority background

Against everyday assumptions, the share of crime articles in relation to minority actors is not much bigger in the two afternoon papers than in the morning papers analysed earlier. The style is however, generally speaking, more dramatic and the tone is more speculative. Headlines are big, some words are in capital letters, and most articles have pictures. In general, headlines

6 Fi orig.: 'Vaikka suora rasismi on kielletty, käänteinen on sallittua. Tumman tytön joustavaa menoa katsellessa tulee mieleen, että takajalkojen osalta neekeri on pari piirua lähempänä tiikeriä kuin Suomipoikaa, joka taas on hyvin lähellä jalkasillaan liimautunutta kirkon vaivasukkoa'.

do not in the afternoon newspaper-material point to suspects or convicted perpetrators being of minority or foreign origin. In headlines, perpetrators are named as 'two unknown (men)' (IL 4 June 2005), 'two men' (IS 21 June 2005), 'door-to-door salesman' (IL 21 June 2005), 'salesman-rapist' (IL 22 June), 'rapist' (IL 22 June 2005), 'fake shrink' (IS 27 June 2005), 'woman in sex work' (IL 18 June 2005), or 'pickpockets' (IS 30 June 2004).

Only in two crime-related articles are the headlines referring to a foreign background. One of the headlines states that 'Russian boy sneaked into Finland – School boy embarrassed Finnish and Russian border guards' (IS 20 June 2005). The article is about a rather harmless incident and it is written in a humorous tone. Another article states that 'A league of foreigners steals money' (IS 17 June 2004).

In most cases however, the link between minorities and/or foreigners and crime is constructed, if not in the first line or in the lead, then at the beginning of the story, and in most cases the origin of the perpetrators is repeated throughout the article. For example, in one article it is stated that 'A 31-year-old woman who ended up in the company of African men, was the victim of a group rape in Oulu last weekend'. After a few lines, the background of the perpetrators is repeated; 'The police have caught three men of African origin suspected of crime. They are 19, 26 and 29 years old' (IS 21 June 2005).

Repetition also occurs in an article in *Italehti* on the 22nd June 2005. First, the suspected rapist is named as a 'tall, 30-year-old, foreign man'. Then it is noted that he showed a sign written in bad Finnish, and then it is stated that he is Polish. Soon after in the article, it is stated again that this 'foreign arts salesman' raped a woman. The same mechanism, namely that of repetition, is also at work in an article about six Estonian men who were involved in a grievous bodily assault in a suburb of Helsinki. Throughout the article they are referred to as 'Estonian men', not just men.

Besides the journalistic mechanism of repetition, we can note how the grouping of a certain crime article and other articles influences perceptions of the context. In *Italehti* we see two completely different layout choices. On the 4th June, *Italehti* retells the story of an exceptionally raw sexual violation of a 14-year-old girl in a park in Helsinki that took place one year earlier. The article is accompanied by a night time picture of a dark and deserted park – a typical illustration for reporting on rape (Keskinen 2010, 112) – and just below the article, there is a short article of another unsolved sexual violation that has taken place in the same park, and in which the violator also was a 'foreign man'. The storyline thus becomes that of foreignness and sexual violation.

In contrast to this, a different organising of themes occurring in the same paper a few weeks later (IL 21 June 2005) creates another type of storyline.

Here stories about sexual violation and foreign perpetrators are grouped together with a story in which a ‘native’ woman was raped by her ‘native’ boyfriend. In this group of articles, there is also a fact-box stating that in most rape cases the violator knows the violated, and that most violations take place in the home of one or the other. One can ask if it is necessary at all to mention that the perpetrator is a foreigner. Here, however, the story of foreigners and sexual violation is still put in the frame of sexual violence in general, not minority crime in particular.

As Suvi Keskinen (2010, 115) shows, these two storylines could also be seen on web based discussion sites when people commented upon some rape cases involving minority actors in 2006. Some discussants referred to the fact that most rapes occur in partnership and are never reported to the police. However, the overwhelming majority of the discussants talked about men from the Middle East, Africa and/or Muslim communities as the threatening ‘others’, while as the defenders of the nation were predominantly identified to be ‘our men’. Keskinen’s material (2010), which also includes mainstream media articles, is dominated by a ‘foreign-threat’ discourse. Much in the same way as in other Nordic countries, culture and a lack of gender equality became explanatory features when gendered violence and racialised ‘others’ were publicly discussed, she notes (*ibid.*, 13).

In comparison to Keskinen’s study, the foreign-threat position gets activated also in my material due to the repetitive mentioning of foreign background. However, in comparison to her study my material seems surprisingly ‘tame’ concerning style and number. Most likely, this is partially due to the nature of the actual crimes that took place during the two research periods, and partially because of the domination of sports and entertainment. If sports articles were removed from the material, the share of crime articles would be 14 per cent (of $N = 333$), which is more in line with previous findings (Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 15; ter Wal 2002).

When this percentage is related to Hanna Syrjälä’s (2007, 24) study, we can see that it equals the share of crime headlines on the billboards (Fi: lööp-pi) of the two papers concerned. Syrjälä has not been looking at minority actors and crime per se, but on violence and crime more generally. On this more general level, she argues that the emphasis on crime in the afternoon papers has grown stronger over the course of time. At the beginning of the 21st century, the themes on the billboards mainly dealt with beauty, relationships and celebrity gossip, while around 2005 and 2006 the crime-theme on the billboards increased in popularity. (*Ibid.*, 12–13). According to Pasi Kivioja (2008, 38), the change is however not so obvious when looking at the actual content inside the papers, not only at the billboards. Kivioja claims that the share of crime related headlines on the first page was about the same in the mid 1980’s as it was in 2005–2006.

Despite difficulty of comparison, this study indicates that not only the afternoon papers but also the morning press shall be held responsible for the 'labelling effect' that a one-sided and crime focused media reporting might have on innocent people who just happen to be of the same background as criminals portrayed in the media. (See also ter Wal 2002, 39.) It might well be that the crime-reporting during the periods investigated for this study is exceptionally unremarkable. It might also be that there has been some sort of turning point in the reporting on minority crimes after the data-gathering period of this study. This turning point might be influenced by the increased online commenting of news articles. As Keskinen (2010) shows, from time to time papers in 2006 referred to these online comments in their reporting about the rape cases, also to clearly racist and xenophobic ones. This could not be seen in my material from 2004 and 2005. It is thus not far-fetched to think that increased online commenting, at least partially, has influenced trends in crime journalism after the data-gathering period of this study.

7.4 Celebrities and 'ordinary citizens'

Articles about celebrities are not only about artists of minority origin, but also about 'ethnically Finnish' celebrities with fiancées and sometimes children who have foreign and/or minority background. The articles are typical celebrity stories; mostly quite harmless gossip about personal issues such as new partners, upcoming marriages, pregnancies, and news about concerts, exhibitions, and premiere nights.

In most of these articles, the minority celebrity is portrayed as any celebrity. Younger readers for example, most likely do not know the origin of a singer called Caron Barnes whose skin colour, in a Finnish context, appears to be black. Nonetheless, since she is an established celebrity well-known amongst the older generation of readers, her background is not clarified. This seems to be the general rule: the background of established celebrities of minority origin is in general not clarified. This applies to such former beauty queens and reality TV-participants as Lola Wallinkoski, Anu Saagim, Jasmin Mäntylä, Ushma Karnani, 'Funi' Bui, Jenni Banerjee, and Tino Singh. In most cases they are also featured visually, which means that there is no need to bring up such aspects of their origins which have to do with looks.

When there is a new 'minority face' entering the scene, a potential celebrity to be, the case is different. When for example, Channel 4 is employing a new weather presenter, Farah Costa, it is mentioned that she is a '21-years-old woman with an exotic origin', that 'she is born in Mozambique into a Portuguese-Moroccan family', that 'she speaks fluent Finnish although English is her first language' and that her family moved to Finland when she was seven (IL and IS 8 June 2004.) When Izabella Czerniwczan, a young woman

unknown to the readers, is chosen as the Finnish representative for a beauty contest in China, at the end of the article two things are clarified: 'Despite her Polish last name, she was born in Turku (a city in Finland), and she is engaged to a man whom she has been going out with for a few years' (IS 6 June 2005. Parenthesis added.).

It thus seems that a foreign last name or 'non-typical Finnish looks' of someone who in all probability is yet not known by the presumed readers is something that has to be clarified in print. This does not mean that ethnic backgrounds would be over emphasised in these introductions of new public figures in the area of entertainment. In most cases, such as in the example of the Turku born beauty queen, the background is presented more as curiosity, mentioned briefly, before then continuing to other issues.

Being 'ordinary' and being portrayed on the pages of an afternoon paper is somewhat of a paradox. Sasha Ikonen (1997), who has studied news criteria in the tabloids, has said that a celebrity only needs to take a small step outside the path of complete normality to fulfil the news criteria of the afternoon papers, while ordinary citizens have to die preferably in an unnatural and scandalous way to get into the headlines. In his gruesome conclusion lies something to reflect on; no-one is completely ordinary if the afternoon papers take note of one's existence. And even if some sort of ordinariness was there before, the media portrayal itself takes the 'ordinary' person into another 'league'.

However, 'ordinary people'⁷ of minority origin portrayed in the pages of the two afternoon papers can be found, for example; grandparents of Ingrian-Russian background, who now have won custody of their Finnish-Russian grandchildren whose parents died in a car accident (IL 2 June 2004), youngsters and adults at a cultural centre, which was visited by Tanja Karpela, the Minister of Culture at that time, (IL 15 June 2005), a Thai woman married to a Finnish salesman (IS 23 June 2004), a Kurdish family who had been evicted from Finland (IL 5 June 2004), a Finnish-Indian couple getting married in India in traditional style (IL 9 June 2004), and an advertisement for a TV-programme on a Finnish Roma boy who has finished elementary school as the first one in his family.

In the reporting of 'ordinary people', we find examples not only of victimisation and exoticism, but also attempts to break existing stereotypes. The story about the evicted Kurdish family is a typical story of its genre in the sense that the story emphasises suffering (the suicide attempt of the mother is reported), and since it focuses particularly on the difficulties of

7 Those actors who are not familiar to me from before, and those who are presented as 'new' or as 'up-and-coming' stars in sports or in entertainment, I have here categorised as ordinary people of minority origin. Perpetrators are not taken into account here, and neither are spouses of celebrities, albeit some of them do not frequently appear in public.

the children living 'underground' (a painting made by the children of scary policemen and prisons is shown in the picture). Pseudonyms are used, faces blurred, and headlines big. Criticism towards authorities is presented between the lines, but the journalist is not directly critiquing authority action. Claims made by the father, who is the only speaker in the article, are also rather vague. He has given up the struggle, and now wants to forget all about Finland (IL 5 June 2004).

Exoticising discourses can be seen in other articles featuring normal minority actors. In an article about a cultural centre, youngsters of immigrant origin are playing the djembe, dressed in traditional clothing. The contrast to the Minister of Culture is visually striking. The blonde Minister (Tanja Karpela) stands a bit higher in the picture, dressed in white, opposite to a black singer in traditional clothes and the row of djembe-players (IL 15 June 2005). Further on, in an article featuring the Hindu wedding between a Finnish woman and an Indian man, not only the exotic dimension, but also intercultural aspects are present. The article presents detailed descriptions of dresses, flowers, food but also shows that the possibility of peaceful coexistence and love across ethnocultural boundaries exists; at this 'exotic wedding' Finnish music is also played.

As noted, attempts to break down existing stereotypes can be seen in some articles about ordinary people of minority origin. In these, the everydayness of the actor is emphasised. Discourses can also be contradictory; in the article about the Finnish-Indian wedding it is stated in the end that the couple, instead of living in what has been described as a lovely, colourful, and exotic place, have decided to live in Finland. Ordinarity thus wins over the exotic.

Sometimes ordinarity is emphasised to such an extent, that the markers of similarity seem somewhat exaggerated. For example, in an article about a Thai-Finnish couple (IS 6 June 2005) gender equality and mythological markers of similarity such as heating the sauna dominate. Next to this article, there is a story about a PhD-thesis for which Finnish men with Thai wives have been interviewed. Also here, the exotic is downplayed while the ordinarity is underlined. Interestingly, the headline is focusing on the assumed difference between Finnish and Thai women; 'Thai wives do not nag', albeit the story itself clearly focuses on similarities.

Oh, a wife from Thailand? An exotic supporter for Keijo-the-average-man, erotica for Perttu-who-does-not-get-laid! No, if we believe the soon to become PhD Hannu Sirkkilä. After having interviewed 18 Finnish men married to Thai wives, he knows that there is nothing besides the ordinary in these relationships. (IS 6 June 2005.)

The advertisement for the TV documentary following the life of a Roma

family (IS and IL 29 June 2004), is also a mixture of markers of differences and similarities. However, close relations to the ‘we-group’ are emphasised throughout the article; the Roma father plays music in his son’s school, and the parents praise the Finnish education system. There is nothing explicitly challenging the stereotype idea of the Roma, but the style of writing is personal and warm, and with the means of humour one lets the actors themselves comment upon these stereotypes.

On the top of everything the programme contains self ironic quipping by the adults:
The knife is so drab that it won’t even wake up a gypsy. (IS 29 June 2004.)

Self-irony can be seen on another level in the reporting of *Iltalehti* and *Iltta-Sanomat* as well: it is not rare that ‘native’ Finns – obvious members of the in-group – are talked about as insecure, dull and ugly. In a headline with the boldest possible letter type, the Italian-Finnish celebrity Anna Falchi states that Finnish men are awful (IL 8 June 2005). Furthermore, Miss Finland from 2005, Hanna Ek, states that Finnish beauty queens are insecure and that they do not stand out from the crowd. The Finnish mentality to push oneself down (Fi: itseään alentava) is not enough for reaching international success, says consultant Jari Sarasvuo, and continues with ‘we tend to identify ourselves with misery and with points of reference which are even worse than we are’ (IS 1 June 2005).

It is not surprising to find that these sorts of ‘looking down on oneself-discourses’ of typical Finnishness occur in the material. In the Nordic context, earlier research shows that while Swedishness in general is presented as something worth striving for, and while the Norwegian image stresses the ‘superpower of human rights’ (Eide & Simonssen 2008), Finnishness on the other hand is often presented as something peripheral and not very high in rank. (Horsti 2008, 282.)

7.5 Discussion: Marking belonging

Having applied close reading to make sense of the 227 articles published in the two afternoon papers in 2004 and 2005, particularly looking at how various markers of belonging are used in the afternoon press, the first thing to be mentioned is that similarity relates to Finnishness. Only on a few occasions is similarity constructed in relation to ‘us’ as Europeans. The articles in which ‘we’ are Europeans relate to discussions on how European beauty (‘natural’) and behaviour (‘nice and polite’) differs from Latin beauty (‘fake’) and behaviour (using ‘elbow tactics’). This implies that the national ‘we’ in the afternoon press in an age of globalisation, is still the most important point of reference when belongings are negotiated.

This Finnishness is however flexible enough for incorporating football players, entertainers, and/or beauty queens who are born abroad, and/or who visually do not look 'typically Finnish', in other words, blonde and blue-eyed according to the stereotype image of a Finn. Public figures such as Lola Wallinkoski (former beauty queen), 'Funi' Bui (reality-TV celebrity), Eremenko Junior and Perparim Hetemaj (football players), without a particular negotiation of belonging, fit into the category of being Finnish. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the enlarged idea of what Finnishness is would incorporate anyone who is not as highly positioned in the 'celebrity ranking'.

POSITION I: THE DIFFERENT ONES. In crime articles, which are most likely to contain markers of difference, the most common and explicit marker is the repetitive mentioning of a foreign background. For example, one can ask if it was necessary to reveal the country of origin of a door-to-door trader suspected of rape even if the police were looking for him and asked the public for help. The journalist could instead have described his appearance, which would have been more relevant since his nationality carries no connotations of specific physiological features differing from 'ours' (IL 21 June 2005; 22 June 2005). On the other hand, in this material from 2004 and 2005, there are also crime articles in which foreign background is not mentioned. There could for example, have been speculation on the country of origin of a sex worker, who possibly infected customers with HIV (IL 18 June 2005; 29 June 2005), but there was none.

Difference does not always signify danger, as we have seen in the making of someone childlike-storyline. Nonetheless, being 'too happy' still appears as an exclusionary mechanism, since in Finland, sport is closely related to suffering (Ahola 2002, 181–182). Winning without sacrifices is worth nothing (Itkonen 1997, 14, 16). Therefore, seeing sports, not as hard work, but as joyful play, as in the case of Serge N'Gal, puts him in a different position than those who take sports seriously.

Markers of difference and a lack of relations with an imagined we-group are however, in all but the crime articles, intertwined with markers of belonging and close relations to an imagined in-group. This can, for example, clearly be seen in the article about the Ingrian-Russian grandparents who won custody of their Finnish-Russian grandchildren (IL 2 June 2004). On one hand it is pointed out that the grandmother is half Ingrian, and that she speaks faultless Finnish. On another hand the journalist is throughout the article referring to her as the 'babusjka', the Russian word for grandmother.

Concerning markers of difference and a lack of relations to 'us', we can as a curiosity note that the two Finnish afternoon papers differ from the two Swedish ones published and mainly read in Sweden (*Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*). These two papers were gathered and read during the same re-

search period in 2004 and 2005 as the Finnish papers, but not as thoroughly as the main material. In these papers markers of difference are fairly hard to note for an audience or a researcher not familiar with Swedish society, since they are so delicate in their nature. In these, difference tends to be pointed out discretely through harmless looking statements about for example, the actor living in a certain suburb.

For an engaged public, the name of the suburb can indicate a high density of inhabitants of immigrant origin, and sometimes it can also be pointed out that 'He is the youngest child in a family with seven children'. An engaged public knows that big families are more common amongst people of immigrant origin, than ethnic Swedes, and thus does this comment function as a marker of difference. For example, in a crime article with a complex storyline involving seven different actors, ethnic background is never mentioned, but small clues are spread throughout the text. These clues are telling the 'real' story between the lines, and when gathering all the clues together, a story of an 'honour crime' appears: a 33-year-old kidnapper of immigrant background kills a 16/17-year-old girl who is closely related to him. The reason for her killing is her going out with the 'wrong' man. (*Aftonbladet* 18 June 2004, 7–8; see also Wikman 2005; Lodenius 2004; Brune 2004).

In general, the Swedish papers use a more subtle and indirect way of marking difference between 'us' and 'others'. This also applies more directly to naming strategies. In the Swedish papers (*Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*, June 2004 and June 2005) the age of the perpetrator is often used repetitively. Throughout the text, it can, for example, be stated that the 36-year-old man did this and that. For some reason, this neutral way of naming actors has not yet broken ground in the Finnish media.

POSITION II: THE SIMILAR ONES. The markers of similarity and close relations in *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* are often articulated through images of 'our past', 'our nature' and 'our traditions'. Things and occurrences, like 'taking a sauna', responding very vaguely to current socio-political concerns, function as crucial markers in the boundary drawing between 'us' and 'them'. An example is the article 'Paratsh came and turned Kari Kasanen's life upside down' (IS June 6 2005). The article paints an imposing portray of a Thai woman who has been married to a Finnish man for six years. She is pictured as a strong, active, intelligent and business-minded woman – who heats up the sauna every morning. This statement is done in relation to the phrase: 'Paratsh has adjusted well into the Finnish culture'. Thus heating up the sauna, functions as a verification of the woman's integration into the Finnish society: the woman is more of a real Finn than real Finns are, since she heats up the sauna not only on Fridays, but every day!

Another example of this mythological, romantic and exaggerated Finnishness can be found in articles about the Argentinian husband of Tarja Turunen, the former lead-singer in the Finnish band *Nightwish*. 'Marcelo has become so "Finnish" that a picture featuring Finnish nature landscape hangs on every wall in their Buenos Aires home. This on his request!' (IS 17 June 2005).

Markers on similarity and close relations concerning modern society can be distinguished in the empirical material as well and they mainly focus on work, integration, language skills and secularism. An article featuring a woman of Asian origin emphasises that she is an active and hard working entrepreneur. However, even here, symbols of Finnishness are incorporated; the woman has been photographed dressed in a t-shirt with the typical Finnish *Marimekko*-style stripes in front of a *Lapin Kulta* beer-bottle stand. *Lapin Kulta* signifies 'the Gold of Lapland', i.e., the northern part of Finland.

When comparing markers of similarity and close relations in Finnish and Swedish afternoon papers, one can interestingly note that in the Swedish afternoon press, cultural keys tend to act on a highly non-romantic level. The we-ness is constructed upon images of integration into everyday life. 'Swedish values' like gender-equality function as important markers of similarity, but the markers are generated through images, for example, fathers of immigrant background walking around with baby-strollers.⁸ (See also Hultén 2006.)

In general terms, although stereotypes such as the 'funny' black guy, exoticising discourses and markers of difference, such as language skills and nationality, occur in the Finnish afternoon press, the two papers are not to blame for consequently emphasising ethnic backgrounds, especially not in feature articles portraying celebrities. However, when it comes to mediated actors of immigrant background without celebrity status, the situation is different. For actor groups not involved in anything spectacular (such as sports, beauty contests, convictions, crimes, ministerial visits, evictions, and so on) the question concerning whether markers of difference, similarity and/or close relations are emphasised, is not even to speak of, since these actors are simply not featured in the afternoon papers.

This is where the links to the notions of visibility and voice required in claims-making must be accentuated. In portrait-style articles, celebrities of minority ethnic origin are provided with both visibility and opportunities to express opinion. The questions of who gets visibility and voice, central for analyses on minorities in the media, is not that vital when analysing portrait-style articles in afternoon papers, since the personified perspective guarantees a certain level of visibility and voice. In news articles, the visibility

8 Preliminary findings from analyses on *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* during the same months as IL and IS (June 2004 and June 2005.)



Kauppias Perri Forsström ja hänen kauppiaapyrintänsä Pertti Forsström. He myyvät kyläkaupissa kymäläoluita.

Lappilainen kyläkauppias:

Haluamme ostaa olutta marketeista

Halvimpia keski-oluiden hintoja Jyväskylässä 22.6.

K-CITYMARKET

Katu
0,33 l/pullo
14,50 e/kan
paritti yhti. 4,60 e
1,24 e/litra

PRISMA

Olvin COX
0,33 l/pullo
7,50 e/”määräkoira”
paritti 1,20 e
1,58 e/litra

MINIMANI

Katu ja Koff
0,33 l/pullo
7,50 e/”määräkoira”
paritti 1,20 e
1,58 e/litra

IBLI

Großhandl
0,50 l/tolki
0,99 e/kgi
paritti 0,15 e/tik
1,68 e/litra

SAKARI NIIPONEN

Miksi kuluttaja saa ostaa halvemmalla kuin kauppias, kysyy lappilainen kyläkauppias Perri Forsström. Hän haluaa ostaa olutta sieltä, mistä ne saa edullisimmin.

– Me saamme ostaa 12 pullon määräkoiran 12,90 euron hintaan, kun suuret marketit myyvät sitä kuluttajalle hintaan 7,50, 8,90 jne. Suurin meille myönnetty alennus on ollut vain yksi euro 12 pullolta.

– Ihmiset vertaavat oluiden hintoja. Se tuntuu jopa täällä pitkien matkojen matkainassa.

Forsström on Käyräon koidas sijaitsee Rovaniemen ja Sodankylän puolivälissä.

– Lainsäädäntö estää meitä ostamasta alihoido- tuotteita muualta kuin lu- van saaneita tukkuliikkei- tä. Jos meillä olisi oikeus ostaa sieltä mistä kulutta- jankin, voisimme käyttää kilpailutilannetta hyväk-

semme. Nyt valitavalta tu- kee lainsäädännöllä omi- tuutta kauppiasestolaita, joka maistuu kartellille.

Forsströmin mukaan ky- se on kyläkauppojen tule- vaisuudesta, ja kesästä tulee vaikea.

– Valtion investoin- tuella ostetut kyläläinnet myydään puoli kuukausi- huutokaupoissa. Halvalla.

Hän huomauttaa, että ostojen vapauttaminen ei maksaisi mitään valtiolle eikä siitä aiheutuisi mitään ongelmia.

– Ollut on kyläkaupoille erittäin tärkeä tuote. Elin- cho. Se on ruokamuo- doksen kannalta tärkeä. Emme voi myydä alle vi- säntuotteen, jos voi- simme ostaa toisista kau- poista, hakisimme tavaraa niin, että riittäisi, emmekä tilaisi enää panimolta mi- tään, Forsström sanoo.

Päivittäisavaruuskauppa PT ry:n tuoreen tilaston mukaan pienet supermar- ketit ja valintamyymälät ovat kädettömät kalja-olen taksi keskimäärin 1,67–1,2

prosenttia myyntitulois- taan. Samaan aikaan suu- rimmat ovat kasvattaneet kokonaismyyntiään viitisen prosenttia.

PT:n toimitusjohtajan Osmo Laineen mielestä pahimmassa tapauksessa ovat kuitenkin taatamien pikkuliikkeen, jotka jäävät suuren jälkeksi. Kyläkauppo- jen kesään lähi suhtautuu vielä luottavaisesti.

– Kun ihmiset ovat asen- tuneet kesäpaikoille, he käyttävät lähintä kauppa- a, Laine sanoo eikä usko, että lomilla ryntäillään enää olutjärjestöjen perään.

Laineen mukaan koko soppa on syntynyt siitä, et- tä olutveron alennus on liian pieni. Alennuksella kamppaillaan väkiviä ja Vi- rovaltaisia vastaan.

– Lisäksi seonki koros- taat juuri tätä sääntö- tärkeitä. Terveisin se on surkea tilanne pienille, sillä ohuen osuus hypermar- ketin myynneistä on vain kol- me prosenttia, mutta lähi- kaupassa se on 12–15 pro- senttia.

Picture 4: Markers of similarity, IS 23 June 2004

and the possibility for expressing opinion are more restricted. An example is the article ‘Laponian village-shopkeeper: We want to buy beer from hypermarkets’ (picture 4). The article on wholesale and price regulation of beer portray the woman of Asian background in an active position and equal to her husband. In the text however, she is not allowed to function as an expert of the ‘beer price battle’ as only her ‘native’ husband is the one speaking.

In this chapter, I have presented the findings from an analysis of two afternoon papers in Finland, *Italehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*. Earlier, in chapter 3,

when giving a general description of the whole empirical material, I have stated that these papers are not comparable to such papers as *The Sun* or *The Mirror*, but can be characterised as 'serious popular press' (Sparks 2000, 10–12). Generally speaking, there is more focus on sports and celebrities in the afternoon papers than in the morning papers, but also significant similarities in the news criteria applied to 'hard' news.

One of the most noticeable differences when comparing representations of minority actors in Finnish afternoon and morning press seems to lay in the afternoon papers' focus on entertainment and sports; the extensive feature-part guarantees a high visibility for the chosen few minority actors who enjoy celebrity status. The non-news part in the afternoon press favours areas of interest; entertainment and sports, in which minority actors in traditional and historic terms have always been more 'tolerable' than in other areas of society; politics, economics and science, for example. Because of this, despite a more sensational angle on crime, and a repetition of foreign backgrounds and other markers of difference, strong positions for minority actors seemingly appear more often in the afternoon press than in the morning papers. These are, nevertheless, only strong and inclusionary for 'especially remarkable' (Alberoni 1972) minority actors.

8. Case v: The response from audience-publics

In order to answer the main research questions presented in the introduction, in the preceding four empirical chapters, I have mapped and discussed media content, namely such articles in the Finnish press between 1999 and 2007 dealing with ethnocultural complexity. As we have seen, both in articles reporting on phenomena and by applying a more personified perspective, minority actors are consequently positioned by various institutional and non-institutional actors. Actors who are quoted in the press, for example the police, can either deliberately or unknowingly position a certain minority actor group in a certain way. At the same time, the journalist, the editor-in-chief, other editorial staff, and/or people writing letters-to-the-editor, and so on, can deliberately or unknowingly position the police.

The four previous chapters on media content thus indicate that the positioning of others and selves is a multilayered practice. The journalist is the one who chooses the interviewees and what to highlight in their utterances, thus having significant control over the process. Nonetheless, the journalist cannot always choose how authorities and/or minorities position themselves and others when interviewed.

Furthermore, the four chapters suggest that positioning is a fundamental, consistent, built-in part of journalism. If the journalist would not position the mediated actors in relation to each other and the emerging storyline, the news article would risk becoming incomprehensible to its readership. Positioning as such is thus not 'a problem'. The practice can become problematic when positions get stagnated, as the previous four chapters suggest that they do, for example, when certain groups for years are linked to certain news themes. Or, when some actors or actor groups never or very seldom get to position themselves in the media while frequently being positioned by others. (See chapter 9 for further discussion on these issues.)

Stagnation and a limited set of positions available in the media can come to mean that people who happen to share the same ancestry as actors portrayed in the media in relation to a negative theme, do not find positions that they can identify with. To put this bluntly, in my material, journalists

do not, for example, claim that all Russians and Estonians would be criminal perpetrators. Nonetheless, since the available positions in the media for these particular minority groups are so limited in number and show signs of stagnation, there is still a risk that innocent people, who have nothing to do with crime, feel affected and humiliated by the media's reporting.

To learn more about the potentially humiliating effect of stagnated positions in the media, I got in touch with 'ordinary' media users. The impetus was to make visible interpretative frames and point at commonalities of ways in which people see things and make sense of their surroundings. As Gunilla Höijer and Joel Rasmussen (2005, 99) argue, 'the ways in which people see things' are seldom unique for the individual but tend to be adhered to collectively. These so-called interpretative frames (Swe: *föreställningsvärldar*) can relate to various cultural levels; nationality, ethnicity, gender and age, as Höijer and Rasmussen note (*ibid.*).

The aim of this case study is to provide better knowledge about positioning practices by looking into interpretative frames used by people of various ethnic, linguistic and regional backgrounds when they talk about media content featuring ethnocultural complexity in contemporary Finnish society. The main question is not how a specific social group reads and understands a particular news article, but the study engages with issues beyond 'pure interpretation'.

With this wider understanding of reception, the study falls under what Pertti Alasuutari (1999, 1) calls the third generation of reception studies entailing a broadened frame within which one conceives of the media and media use. A third generation reception analysis is not necessarily abandoning ethnographic case studies of audiences (I have not done that), but the researcher is being more preoccupied with questions relating to the cultural place¹ of the media in the contemporary world than with how a certain actor group reacts to a certain piece of media content (I am doing that) (see Alasuutari 1999, 7). From this perspective, the straightforward, micro-level research questions are as follows:

- Are newspaper readers of various backgrounds (ethnocultural, regional, age and education) positioning themselves and others while discussing media content featuring issues relating to ethnocultural complexity in contemporary Finnish society?

¹ According to Alasuutari (1999, 7) when the main interest is 'the cultural place of the media', it means that we include questions like, which are *the frames within which we conceive of the media and their contents as reality and as representations – or distortions of reality. And how are these frames or discourses about the programmes and about viewing and audiences inscribed in the programmes themselves* (*ibid.*, 7). Alasuutari focuses on television and talks about frames, while as I focus on the press and talk about positions and positioning practices. Nevertheless, the aim and micro-level research questions for this case study fit well with Alasuutari's examples of what kinds of questions interest researchers doing third generation reception studies.

- If so, then what kinds of markers of belonging are they using?
- Are the discussants making claims? If so, then what kinds of claims are they making?

To answer these questions, six groups of newspaper readers were interviewed during winter 2006.² Three groups consisted of persons born in Finland; one of Finnish speaking women (G1), one of Swedish speaking men (G2), and one of Swedish speaking youngsters, 16–17-year-olds (G3). And three groups consisted of people of immigrant origin; one of youngsters of Russian origin, 17–18-year-olds (G4), one of women of Bosnian origin (G5), and one of men of Somalian origin (G6). Altogether, the informants are 33 in number. The study is thus a rather small scale focus group study, which cannot strive to be applied generally in contexts which are very different from the context of this study. However, as noted, since interpretative frames do tend to be collectively adhered to and not individual, we can through these analyses provide findings for future studies to critically evaluate and ‘test’ on other groups of discussants. It is in this cumulative nature of academic research that the generalisability of this study lies.

Most research technical matters are dealt with in section E in the appendix, but since various geographic regions in Finland have been exposed to immigration/ethnocultural complexity in different ways it is crucial however, to briefly present where in Finland the discussants in this focus group study live. The sparsely populated mid-western part of Finland is a Swedish speaking region, which often functions as an example of how refugees, guest workers, who mostly work in greenhouses, and ‘natives’ can co-habit successfully. The women of Bosnian origin and the Swedish speaking men are from this part of the country. The Finnish speaking women and Swedish speaking youngsters, on the other hand, come from the South-western part of Finland. They live near the regional capital. The men of Somalian background and the Russian speaking youngsters come from the capital area, where most immigrants reside. According to statistics, nine per cent of the inhabitants in Helsinki were either born abroad and/or were foreign citizens in 2007 (City of Helsinki 2008). And according to attitude studies it is also in the capital area where people are most welcoming of minorities, foreigners and people of immigrant origin (Jaakkola 2009).

In all three regions, the focus group gatherings were organised close to where discussants live, in semi-public places, mostly private meeting rooms

² One could argue that it is not right to call all the discussants in this study newspaper readers since not all of them, according to themselves, read newspapers on a daily bases. In this context, however, they are newspaper readers, since they read and comment upon news articles that the moderators hands out to them.

in restaurants or hotels. During the gatherings (one meeting per group, 90–120 minutes long) three to four newspaper articles were distributed to the discussants, and during the meeting, time was given for the discussants to read them. In a half-structured style, the group discussions then started with warm-up questions about the everyday media use of the discussants. After this the focus was put on questions concerning media content (see interview guide in appendix). Interviews were recorded, and later transcribed into either Swedish or Finnish, depending on the language preferred by the group. The two moderators, that is to say myself and research assistant Heidi af Heurlin, are bilingual. The Russian speaking youngsters spoke Russian every now and then. These parts were translated to Swedish by Katja Bashlova.

Observation was not part of the methodology, but concerning group dynamics, notes were taken on the behaviour and turn-taking of the discussants. Two persons, the research assistant and I, were present in all six interviews, which allowed for the one not leading the discussion to take notes. These notes have not been incorporated into the transcripts, but they have been used as a support-material in the analyses.

The focus of the discussions was set on Finnish media and ethnocultural complexity in Finnish society, not on the media use of the discussants or on international and/or media from former homelands. For example, questions on how the discussants feel that the Finnish media differs from transnational media and/or media from their countries of origin was not really dealt with. If the discussants started stressing such aspects, which they seldom did, the discussion was allowed to flow freely for a while.

Some further methodological considerations take place within this chapter when needed, but, as noted, research technical issues are primarily dealt with elsewhere. A reflection about the role of the moderator and about group dynamics can be found in section E in the appendix, and the method of close reading is presented in chapter 3.

8.1 Positioning selves and re-positioning others

The first thing to be presented is how discussants in this study position themselves. Simply put, they do it in multiple and sometimes unexpected ways. The women of Bosnian origin, for example, sometimes talk about themselves as Bosnians in contrast to native Finns, sometimes as war refugees in contrast to other immigrants, sometimes as Swedish speaking Finns in contrast to Finnish speaking Finns, sometimes as white Europeans in contrast to black Africans, sometimes as European Muslims in contrast to Arab Muslims, sometimes as secular Muslims in contrast to radical/more orthodox Muslims, sometimes as educated and sophisticated people as opposed

to people without education, and sometimes as women in contrast to men. They do not explicitly position themselves as European secularised Muslims by using words like 'secular' or 'non-practising', but they frequently contrast themselves to people who they refer to as 'men of the Mosque' and 'women in headscarves' (articulated in their own words). I am thus basing my analysis on what the women say that they are not.

Self-positioning mostly occurs between the lines when the discussant discusses the belongings of others, as in the example below, which derives from the group of Russian speaking youngsters. As can be seen in excerpt 1, while declaring that a football player of Russian origin who is playing for Finland is a 'traitor', a personal feeling of belonging to Russia is indirectly expressed.

EXCERPT 1:

[Speaking Russian amongst themselves while reading an article about the football player Alexei Eremenko.]

Boy A: So, who is he playing for?

Boy B: For Finland!

Boy A: What a traitor!

Boy C: He can go to hell!

(Unidentifiable discussants in G4.)

Certain positionings come as a surprise for me as a moderator. In the Russian speaking group, the discussion soon reveals that all discussants within this group are not equal members of the ingroup. When the discussants are asked to tell about their personal experiences of discrimination in Finland, one of the boys, Alex, who is most fluent in Finnish, says that he has never been discriminated against. In response, another boy in the group bursts out with 'Hah, easy for you to say'. Alex with his 'typical' Finnish looks and good language skills is not considered as a good representative for the ingroup by the others (G4, 5).³

When 'natives' position minorities and immigrants (often referred to as 'foreigners' in the discussants' vocabulary) the position mostly follows the division of 'those who come here to work' and 'those who come to use social benefits' (Mikael G2, 11). Those 'who behave' are individuals who work, pay taxes, speak Finnish or Swedish, dress in 'Western' clothing, who do not have oppressive husbands, and those who do not 'whinge' (Fi: ruikuttaa). Those who fill these criteria are thought to contribute to the maintenance of 'our' welfare society, and are therefore seen as potential ingroup members.

3 As noted earlier, names are figurative, G4 refers to 'Group 4' and the page number refers to the page in the transcript on which the quote is to be found.

Hence, storylines about 'us' and 'them' do not follow clear borders in which Finnish speaking Finns would be on 'one side' and people of minority/immigrant origin on 'the other'. Both 'native' Finns and discussants of immigrant origin position themselves in a variety of different 'we's, which might change radically during the discussion, as will be seen further on in this chapter. While doing so, they use various criteria and markers of belonging. (See section 3.2 for a definition of marker.)

The foremost criterion for being categorised as a 'foreigner who behaves well', is their willingness to work hard. Working and paying taxes signifies that the person or the collective contributes to the Finnish welfare system, for the 'common good'. Many times, however, willingness alone is not enough. The person also has to be capable of supporting his or her family, meaning that she or he must manage to get a job and keep it.

Albeit the discussants from time to time argue that ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds do not play any role in how the person is or shall be treated – this will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter – there are strong prejudices about which groups are more willing to work hard than others. Immigrants from Somalia, who have come to Finland as refugees, are seen as those who are the least interested in work.

EXCERPT 2:

Tuula: But if we now take these [she points at some boys of Somalian origin featured in one of the articles], so come on! Tell me how many of them who have a job and who try [...]. Everyone does not get a work-permit immediately and other things as well... But concerning Somalians, my opinion is [...] that they do not even try. (G1, 8.)

Mikael: In my opinion the Somalians do not come here only to work, they come here just like that. Those who come here to work, they behave, there is no problem with that. But concerning the typical immigrants, who come here to receive social benefits, then we have problems. (G2, 11.)

Guest workers or immigrants coming to Finland particularly in order to work are praised by the discussants in the two groups of adult 'natives'. These 'premium class immigrants' are in this case presented as 'East-Europeans'; Poles or Bulgarians. Vietnamese immigrants and their children are also admired for their proficiency.

EXCERPT 3:

Kirsi: Hey, you know what?! Yesterday I saw a man from Bulgaria, and you should just know how (eagerly) he was working on a building under construction! He was scrubbing each and every window, and polishing them as well. And look at the

painters then... Which Finn would do that...? (i.e., the hard job for a low salary) (G1, 9. Parenthesis added.)

Even though work and self-maintenance is important, all types of jobs are not equally appreciated by discussants in the two groups of adult 'natives'. For example, when there is talk of travelling traders, who sell art from door-to-door, there are speculations about them at the same time investigating 'in which houses the old grannies live' so that they could come back to empty these houses (G1, 38). When the discussion comes to concern a 'native' Finn who sells meat from door-to-door, the tone changes: 'We always use him', states Riitta (G1, 3.)

The markers of work and the capability of supporting oneself and one's family are dominating not only in the groups of 'natives', but also in the groups with discussants of immigrant origin. The angle is, however, a bit different. The men of Somalian origin point out several times that Somalians living in Finland are willing to work hard, but that they cannot because potential employers have such negative attitudes against them and their peers.

EXCERPT 4:

Mohammed: Somalians are hard working. They drive busses and taxis and so on. They are cleaners, they work within the social sector, for example. (G6, 3.)

Nadif: Somalians are good, they are hard working. (G6, 3.)

Nadif: [...] if one wants to do the Somalian community a favour, then one must get acquainted with the right person [...] one who pays taxes. [...] one who is ready to give up the former home land and build bridges. (G6, 14.)

Besides work and taxpaying, 'culture' is another marker steering positioning practices. In the discussants' talk, culture is something very unproblematic; nation-states such as Finland are envisioned to have their own cultures, and discussants seem to mean that one can be born into one culture, possess a culture and take along a culture when moving to another country. This confirms findings from an empirical study done by discursive psychologists Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1998) in New Zealand: Their discussants see culture as 'heritage'.

EXCERPT 5:

Mohammed: Every citizen has... for example... his or her own culture [...] (G6, 12)

Vesna: [...] or precisely this, that there are many foreigners that have come to Finland and also taken the Finnish culture there. (G5, 32.)

In conformity with contemporary theoretisations of culture, I understand culture somewhat differently than the focus group discussants seem to do. I see culture as also incorporating everyday types of issues and activities (see e.g., Williams 1958). Therefore, I have in chart 9 under the marker 'culture' also placed statements relating to secular life style; swearing and using alcohol, as in the excerpt that follows, or dressing up and wearing make-up as used by the Swedish language women in G5.

EXCERPT 6:

Mikael: That is the first thing one thinks of when hearing the word Muslim... someone throwing hand grenades [...]

Moderator: But how is it, the Bosnians, they are mostly Muslims, do you make the link here as well?

Vilhelm: No, not really. Those I know swear and drink booze just as we do!
[everyone laughs] (G2, 27.)

Markers closely related to the marker of culture are language, education, sports, gender equality, roots, clothing, niceness and Finnishness. Visible symbols and clothing, such as the headscarf, are not as frequently and emotionally referred to in this study, as in a focus group study conducted in Denmark (Hervik forthcoming), but do still occasionally appear. With Finnishness, discussants mostly refer to a more cultural understanding of the notion, not necessarily citizenship. The men of Somalian origin are an exception: they are very proud of their Finnish passports – which all of the discussants in this group have – and they often use their citizenship as a marker of belonging.

Interestingly, niceness is used as a completely legitimate marker in face-to-face positioning processes. In fact, in the focus group discussions, it seems that 'niceness' incorporates most of the markers previously discussed. A nice person is working hard and contributing to 'our' well-being. The markers are thus in many cases overlapping one another.

EXCERPT 7:

Sara: I believe that people classify other people because of their looks although they would be really nice. Somehow we have that within us. And I am not talking about myself now, but... (G3,10.)

Niceness is mostly used in combination with work and capability to support oneself and one's family. By pointing out that an individual has an education, knows one of the two domestic languages, dresses in a 'Western' way, and

has modern views about gender equality and has a job, discussants motivate for the positioning of a certain minority actor or actor close to themselves.

Concerning the most frequently used markers in the positioning of selves and others, similarities to previous studies are numerous. In Reeta Pöyhtäri's study (2007a, 88) the main markers used in the discussions are related to nationality, cultural characteristics, clothing, work, and skin colour. In her study, Finnish superiority was to be found in two areas; honesty and working morale (*ibid.*, 89), but when marking differences, the 'we' did not either always appear as superior to 'they'. Instead, when discussants, for example, described a Cuban man as talkative and Russian women as well-dressed, Finnishness came to appear as something backwards. This sort of self-shame can be seen in the study of the afternoon papers (chapter 7) and can be seen here as well, but it appears in a playful and much appreciated way. As if 'we' were proud of our inferiority! The Finnish speaking women (G1) claim, for example, that they prefer a genuine Finnish man who is 'eager, sturdy and ruddy-faced' (Fi: *hanakka, tanakka ja punakka*) to a slick and slim (foreign) one.

To conclude this section, in chart 9 the most common markers of belonging are displayed. Note that the markers higher up in the chart are the more predominant ones, while the ones in the lower part of the chart are not that frequently used. Note also that not all markers are found in all of the discussions. The sport-marker is for example only used by the Russian speaking youngsters (G4) and the Swedish speaking men (G2). It should also be pointed out that the chart is not a typologisation and shall not be interpreted as one. The example-quotes are brief and appear out of their context. The purpose of the text fragment (excerpt 8) before chart 9, is to contextualise some of the most common markers displayed in the chart.

EXCERPT 8:

Moderator: So, what about the groups who have arrived into Finland earlier, such as the Vietnamese?

Merja: I think they have gone well into society, there has not been much...

Tuula: Hard working, I have at least such a... hard working...

Riitta: Yes, we have... we have many Vietnamese customers and...

Merja: One cannot say that... I think they are exactly as we are...

Riitta: They have learnt the language and everything, they are...

Merja: But they are a kind of their own... Their culture is based on work and on...

Tuula: Cheerful and polite and...

Riitta: Children are put in schools, and... (G1, 14)

Chart 9: Markers of belonging

Marker	Example
Work	'In my opinion the Somalians do not come here only to work, they come here just like that.' (Mikael G2,11.)
Capability of supporting oneself	'They (i.e., the Vietnamese)* have bought cars and stuff.' (Tuula, G1,5.) 'Money they have and nice they are.' (Riitta G1, 6.)
Culture	'There (i.e., in Russia) it is part of the culture that women take care of themselves and make themselves pretty.' (Tuula G1, 11.)
Niceness	'I know one Estonian man, and he is really nice.' (Riitta G1, 6.)
Language	'But maybe she only knows Finnish, or like Swedish, or like something.' (Ali G3, 21.)
Education	'All Somalian children go to school. They are hard working.' (Mohammed G6, 3.)
Finnishness	'But she (Lola Wallinkoski, née Odusoga) is adopted, she is not a foreigner [everyone laughs.]' (Merja G1, 16.)
Roots	'But, she (i.e., Lola Wallinkoski) has a Finnish mother.' (Merja G1, 16.)
Sports	'And then we have our football team [...] that has had several Bosnian players.' (Vilhelm G2,14.)
Clothing	[Ironically:] 'How surprising that she was not forced to put a scarf on their head. [Everyone laughs.]' (Merja G1, 27.)
Gender equality	'They (i.e., Thai women) are used to serve, from the front, and from the side... and we cannot get that.' (Kirsi G1, 28.)

*All parentheses added by CH.

8.2 Claims of a cultural-ideological character

While discussing newspaper articles handed out to them, and while contemplating issues relating to ethnocultural complexity more generally, the discussants make various sorts of claims (for definition of claim, see section 3.2). One of the most dominating types of claim on a cultural-ideological level (see Ridell 1998, 48) is the universalistic appeal. Common to these kinds of claims is the downplaying of ethnocultural characteristics in favour of other issues. An example of this is when discussants claim that the colour of someone's skin is completely unimportant a factor for making any kinds of judgements of the person.

Some universalistic claims follow 'a coin always has two sides'-reasoning. Here, the claims-maker urges people to look at the same issue, racism for example, from another angle. Claims can be of the following type: 'Not only Finns have stereotypes, elsewhere they have presumptions about how Scandinavian women are' (G1, 12). The other type of universalistic claims follows the logic of 'It is not a question of ethnicity, but behaviour!'. As earlier noted, there are strong stereotypes influencing the discussants concerning who they think is more likely to 'behave well' than others. Informants are hence not true to their own claim for universalism.

Another claim on a cultural-ideological level is the appeal against something that I call a silent demand for political correctness. As in the previous claim, not only is this most common in the Finnish and Swedish speaking groups, but it is also articulated by discussants of immigrant origin. Also this claim comes in various modes. Discussants might name minority actors in an insulting way, using such words as 'the n-word' or 'blacky' (Fi: *mutikainen*). The use of these words is considered as a claim here, since the articulation is strategic: they are used in a conscious and underlined way, in order to protest against a social and political phenomenon, namely that of political correctness. The claim does not have a clearly articulated recipient, but implicitly it is clear that according to the discussants it is the political elite and the media who are held responsible for creating an ideo-political atmosphere that generate a silent demand for political correctness.

This claim against the silent demand for political correctness also comes in a more direct form. Discussants make pleas opposing the presumed hiding of social problems relating to migration and/or integration, wishing that all sorts of issues would be bravely taken up in public. This claim concerns both journalistic presentations and the communicative space in wider terms. The group of Finnish speaking women are the ones most actively making this claim. They cannot stand the pampering (Fi: *hyysääminen*) of immigrants, they say. If someone misbehaves, it should be spoken about, and the person should not be allowed to stay in Finland (G1, 9). Kirsi suggests that a

limit was set – six months after arrival – after which no social benefits would be given to the immigrants who have not found jobs at that point.

The third claim is the argument that immigrants are exploiting 'us'. This claim is mainly articulated by the Swedish speaking youngsters and the Finnish speaking women. It seems that immigrants are not required to work, says Tuula (G1, 8), it is mainly the Somalians causing problem in a city nearby, say discussants in the group of Swedish speaking youngsters (G3, 9). Riitta (G1, 23) wonders how refugees can walk around so nicely dressed, and how come they can afford to buy cars.

In contrast to this, the fourth type of claim consist of appeals to support work-related immigration. These claims are mainly made by the Swedish speaking men, but not exclusively, since the Finnish speaking women argue that all who are willing to work hard, are allowed to come to Finland and to stay in the country. In fact, no-one in any of the groups is against an active recruitment of workforce from abroad despite simultaneously articulating rigid views on immigrants living in Finland.

Here it should be noted that the focus groups were conducted in 2006 prior to the global economic crisis and before the attitudes towards immigrants began to harden in Finland (see e.g., Haavisto, I. & Kiljunen 2009 for attitude trends). Research shows that from 2006 to 2008, the media wasn't giving much visibility to actors who were critical of the Government's work-related immigration politics, but rather took the need of foreign labour as a fact (Lassenius 2009; Haavisto, Kivikuru & Lassenius 2010). Perhaps, focus group discussants have thus knowingly or unknowingly been influenced by the media's declaratory tone when dealing with the need for work-related migration in order to prevent labour shortage.

The fifth group of claims consists of anti-racist and inclusionary claims. Within these we find claims that in one way or another, speak for the positioning of ethnic minorities, immigrants and 'natives' as equals within society. Some of these claims are bound to personal experiences while others are not. One of the boys in the group of Swedish speaking youngsters (G3, 26), Ali, whose father has immigrated to Finland, makes a very personal claim letting the other discussants in the group know how much he has suffered from racist bullying in school. This emotional outburst is fulfilling the requirement of a claim, since the claims-maker, besides referring to his situation, also, at the beginning of the articulation (see second line in excerpt 9), makes a strong claim on a more general level.

EXCERPT 9:

Moderator: So what do you think of racism then? Do you think it is something that...

Ali: I think all racists should be shot dead!

[Very long and painful silence, moderator waiting for Ali to continue. He does not.]

Moderator: Hmm... What about you boys?

Kristian: No...

Ali: [Suddenly continues after long break.] I think I... I hate them more than anything. I had to put up with so much during elementary school and secondary school – fuck – all are like... ‘fuck you nigger’. They have no idea, they don’t even know what a nigger is.

Kristian: [Not clear.]

Ali: It’s really... [Can’t be heard.]

[Everyone laughs.]

Ali: Well, I don’t know but, my old classmates have been... They don’t know what they are talking about. (G3, 26)

Besides Ali, the discussants of Bosnian and Somalian origin make a number of anti-racist and inclusionary claims. As noted, the women of Bosnian background focus particularly on how the notion of a Muslim has come to signify Muslims from the Arab countries. Generalising and prejudices bother the men of Somalian origin, but in contrast to the previous group, they talk about these in terms of racism. The immigrant association, to which all the discussants of Somalian origin belong, receives anonymous hate-letters on a weekly basis, and all of the men have personally suffered because of racism.

EXCERPT 10:

Shemarke: I was on my way to work when I stopped at a gasoline station to get some gas. When I was about to pay there was a man next to me who said: ‘From where have you gotten that credit card, has the social benefits office given that to you?’ (G6, 10.)

Despite describing gruesome racist experiences, the men of Somalian origin still claim that hidden racism (*Fi: piilorasismi*) has increased in Finland while direct racism has diminished (Mohammed G6, 12).

The claims-making in the case of the men of Somalian background is interesting since claims for anti-racism and inclusion seem strategic. Claims are bulletin-like, backed up with facts possibly from research, and clearly directed to wide audiences. Most Somalians had good jobs in Somalia before they had to flee the war, many are educated, speak Finnish, and are willing to work hard in order to support themselves and their family members without the aid of the Finnish state, they say (G6, 11–12). The men repeat these claims throughout the discussion. They want me, the moderator, to act as a messenger and inform potential employers and Finns in general about their claims.

Chart 10: Cultural-ideological claims

Claim	Example
Universalistic claims	'We are all human beings and we are all of equal value...' (Sara G3, 22.)
Claims against the silent demand of political correctness	'[...] in school I was taught that a [uses the n-word] is a [uses the n-word again].' (Tuula G1, 25.)
Claims of immigrants exploiting 'us'	'Mostly it is like that yes. It is them (i.e., the Somalians) who are behind all the shit.' (Kristian, G3, 8.)
Claims supporting work-related immigration	'Foreign labour force is saving the agricultural sector...' (Mikael G2, 9.)
Anti-racist and inclusionary claims	'I think all racists should be shot dead!' (Ali G3, 26.)

These claims on a cultural-ideological level find support in former research. Anti-racist and inclusionary claims are made in all studies dealing with migrants' experiences of mainstream media. These claims can be very emotional, and backed up with personal stories of how discrimination has been experienced (Nikunen 2007b, 66; Sjöberg & Rydin 2009, 2010). Claims questioning the demand for political correctness occur in Raittila's (2007, 41) and Hervik's (forthcoming) studies. It is worth underlining here that, as previous research also shows, it is not only 'natives', Finnish and Swedish speaking Finns in this case, who are opposing what I call a silent demand for political correctness, but also discussants with experiences of migration. From another angle, there is nobody who would oppose an open and frank dealing with social problems and other challenges that relate to a more ethnoculturally complex society.

Also worth pointing out is that the moderator never asks whether discussants feel that the media are hiding something from them. Still the topic occurs in all groups. The same applies to the practice of self-positioning as such. The moderator never explicitly asks discussants to position themselves. Despite this, all groups engage in this process by elaborating on, for example, whether they feel Finnish, Bosnian, or both, and whether they are perceived as such, or not.

8.3 Claims on journalism

Claims directed more narrowly on journalistic products⁴ often begin with; ‘I think’, ‘I feel’, or ‘In my opinion’, but they can also be stated in a more declaratory tone, such as ‘This is not as it should be!’. As the example that follows shows, most of these claims are directly targeted at people producing media; editors-in-chief, journalists and owners, and most of them are demands on the Finnish media to provide its readers with different and ‘better’ content. Nadif says: ‘We are not all named *that* Somalian. I am Nadif, he is Mohamed, and the man over there, he is Shemarke [...] And we have lived in Finland for 16 years. This is something that I wish the media knew...’ (G6, 13).

Discussants with experiences of migration claim that the Finnish media is biased and produces too narrow a picture of minority actors. According to the discussants this practice has labelling effects on innocent people.

For the Bosnian speaking women it is the media’s presentation of Islam and Muslims which evokes most claims. The women emotionally criticise the media for drawing parallels between Islam and terrorism and for presenting generalised views on immigrants and on Muslims (Vesna G5, 13; Mirjana G5, 16). What they oppose the most is that the media always brings up Arab countries when dealing with Islam. Because of this, the women claim, Islam appears as synonymous for women in headscarves and Islamist ‘men of the Mosque’. The women themselves, as indicated previously, position themselves differently.

EXCERPT 11:

Vesna: I think the media are writing about Islam almost as if it equalled terrorism. They make these linkages, and I think it is so wrong that just because I have Islam as my faith, I would be a terrorist. When you have Swedish or Finnish friends and acquaintances, and they read about these (linkages between terrorism and Islam), they cannot understand why the media is writing about stuff that isn’t true. (They know it isn’t true) because they know us, and maybe other groups as well [...]. So, people who come from [...] (a nearby city) and, I suppose, from the whole of Finland, they react to these things, but maybe they cannot tell about it (i.e., their dissatisfaction) in that particular paper, and that way influence these things, because the headline has already been there in the paper. (G5, 12.)

4 As noted, it is not always cut and dried when a claim primarily concerns media coverage in particular or Finnish minority politics, human rights, and other issues which can be categorised as belonging to a wider sphere of culture, politics and/or ideology. When a discussant in group 1, the Finnish speaking women, for example say that ‘if someone screws up, the person must just be sent away and that shall not be silenced or hushed’ (Tuula G1, 9), she might refer directly to journalistic content or more broadly to the communicative space and the transparency of political decision-making concerning matters of migration and integration. Despite the fact that a strict separation of the discussants’ talk on media representations and on diversity issues more broadly is hard to make, certain claims do apparently deal with issues beyond the journalistic representation.

Lakki ja kielitaito kolmessa vuodessa!

MATTI MARKKOLA

► Mohammed Shabheen Mohammed Riyas, 21, on maahanmuuttovierasmaahan uuteen.

Mohammed on jo ehtinyt käydä peruskoulun, osata suomea ja oppia suomen kielen. Tänä keväänä hän painaa päähänsä ylioppilastutkinnon Erinn arvioinnissa, Suomessa Mohammed saapui kesällä 2003. Hän siis kävi läpi koukut ja oppi kielen aje kolmessa vuodessa! Lukkoon kääntäen ruokaa ja lahjakkaita Mohammedita kului suolitoista vuotta.

– Olen ollut alkeis, mutta olen myös saanut hyvää ohjausta. Mohammed kintä opintojaan.

– Ihanaa saada lakki, vaikka se antaaikin tunteen, että pitäisi opiskella vielä enemmän.

– Ylioppilastutkinnossa luonnontieteistä pitävä Mohammed kirjoitti englannin, sikkäin matematiikan, suomen kielen sekä maanista suositukseensa kienin. Jotta on tulossa laudatur. Englanti meni vä hän heikommin, mutta ei siksi, etteivä myös tammia, sinhalaa ja jo pa hitusen ruotsia osava Mohammed englantiin puhua.

– Englannin kunnateluissa piti viitata suomeksi. Vastaamislaika oli mullle vähän tihnyt lyhyt. Mohammed sauras luistavast: suomen kielen.

– Iainvankana Mohammedin tyylitreeni korjuttava silki aamulla puoli kolme. Kun lehdenkajan vuoro loppui kuudelta aamulla, ehti lukkoinen hengittävä vain hetken ennen koulupöytäin aikamoo laudaturista.

– Vielä heidä aamuisin saadoin aloitutus. Se auttoi itsekin hienäntäin, kertoi Helsinkiin Paikassa perheensä kanssa asuva Mohammed.

"Ihanaa saada lakki, vaikka se antaaikin tunteen, että pitäisi opiskella vielä enemmän."

Mohammed Shabheen Mohammed Riyas



tyylinen koulupöytä silki aamulla puoli kolme. Ahkera mies suoritti lukion 14 vuodessa, vaikka teki samalle leimennäköisen lämsä.

MOHAMMEDIN PERHE

– Jos nyt olisin Sri Lankan pohjoisosa sa olovoitont onit unkar tänneissä Sri Lankaassa on sotatila jo pitkään.

– Kukaan kaaverit aut joko tai muuttaneet pois maita mä siellä on emtän antai hammad sanno vikaavot.

– Tykkään Sri Lankaasta unkon, että en enää kosk sailla. Sri Lankaassa olinis lin, etten saisi kukaan on sanno vain kaksi vuotta kr soan koulu käymät Mohar.

– Määrätietoisin. Moha suuvuorena etanoita ovt tai lääketieteen opiskeit tassa. Suuravasta aikon on Suomen kansalaissuorit minen Suomen kans.

– Minä olen elää Suomes maista, en sntarkalait mä. Suomalaisen edimä kuu armeijan käynnin.

Picture 5: Doing exceptionally well in Finland, IS 31 May 2006

The women of Bosnian background and the men of Somali background make striking school-book types of claims on journalism: they wish that journalists were better-informed and had more background in their stories. The men of Somali origin, for example, point out the media at the beginning of the 1990's focused on certain details in their arrival, but left the background untouched. According to them this is why 'no-one' in Finland knows from what kind of situation they fled in the early 1990's, but 'everyone' knows they came to Finland through the Soviet Union, since this was something brought up in the media (Nadif G6, 6).

Participants were most likely not able to follow Swedish and Finnish language media immediately after arrival in early 1990's. How the media then reported on this issue must be something that they later have been told or that they have looked up themselves from earlier research reports (Aallas 1991; Sihvola 1992), or the media's reporting on these scholarly studies.

Discussants in most of the groups also make claims for correct facts in journalism. One could think that accuracy is such a fundamental part of journalism that a more uncritical media audience-public would take for granted that the media is accurate when it comes to facts, but here it isn't so. It is particularly the discussants of Somali, Bosnian, and Swedish speaking background who are aware of the media possibly distributing erroneous facts, which can have wide consequences. A certain pattern of thought behind their media criticism is brought up by the Swedish speaking men in the agricultural sector. When they read articles on topics that they know a lot

about, agriculture in this case, they often encounter erroneous facts. Therefore, they resonate, this must be the case in the media in general. The finding of errors within their area of expertise has thus aided them to develop more generally applicable critical media reading skills.

In general, all focus group discussants seem strikingly media literate. For example, when so-called tolerance promoting articles are handed out to the readers, there is no question posed other than, 'So, what do you think of this article?'. Despite this, discussants present ideas which much resemble those made by researchers. For example, when so-called tolerance promoting articles are concerned, discussants state that they support the publishing of these articles which portray successful and well-integrated 'exemplary minority citizens'. Nonetheless, discussants also underline that these articles can be perceived as exaggerated, and that they can generate envy within the majority population (G2, 28; G6, 8). For example, a discussant in the group of Finnish speaking women, Kirsi, first says she is very impressed by the main actor in the article, who is reported to work hard, has learnt Finnish very rapidly, and received his A-levels in record-time (15 31 May 2006, picture 5). Merja in the same group is however more critical, claiming the story to be 'sleazy', 'coloured' and 'exaggerated'. The same sort of paradoxical attitude towards articles in which minority actors who are doing well are presented, can be seen in the group of Swedish speaking men.

EXCERPT 12:

Moderator: Well, what has the journalist wanted? Or what does the journalist want to say?

Tuula: To make some sort of Gabriel (i.e., an angel) out of this guy [...]

Riitta: What should one think now, is there maybe a message... for other immigrants... or for Finns about other immigrants that... Hello! I don't know, I don't know. But he certainly has known how to put words after one another...

Tuula: That story can turn against itself.

Merja: It's so sugary.

Tuula: Someone reads it straight out and then starts shooting everyone, since they think they are better than him. (G1, 19–20. Parenthesis added.)

EXCERPT 13:

Göran: Clearly, there are restrictions. If someone or something gets too positive a text and is shown in a very good light, then this envy comes up. [Imitating:] 'So who is this marvellous chap, who thinks he is so special'?!'

Vilhelm: Yes, it makes oneself feel worthless.

Göran: And it stands clear that if someone is so smart and gets all this positive publicity, then some of the effects are negative. (G2, 28–29.)



Picture 6: Caricature, HS 21 May 2005⁵

On this point it is particularly difficult to distinguish comments dealing with journalism and the event or the phenomena behind it. For example, when the women of Bosnian background are asked to read the article ‘The refugee woman of the year’ (Årets flyktingkvinna) (Hbl 9 March 2004), the award itself gets more attention than the article, in other words, the journalistic format in which the topic is presented.

EXCERPT 14:

Moderator: So, what do you think of this article?

Mejram: I think it is crappy, it seems as we would be competing [...] (Our lives) are about surviving and adapting, and I think they have done well in this town without giving any awards to anyone.[...] I think it is totally wrong to make someone take such an award [...] because we all try equally hard [...], (G5, 22–23. Parenthesis added.)

Another common claim, falling under the more general claim against political correctness, is a plea to journalists to tell things as they ‘really are’. This claim is activated, for example, when discussants are asked to comment about a caricature featuring women applying for a job at the Russian em-

5 The text says: Welcome to the new type of diplomat schooling organised by the Russian Foreign Ministry. The caricature relates to news about a woman working for the Russian embassy being caught for renting apartments in Helsinki, in which prostitution took place.

Chart 11: Journalistic claims⁶

Claim	Example
Claims for a less generalising and labelling reporting	'Not all Somalians were involved in this act of crime. It was just a few individuals, just a few individuals.' (Shemarke G5, 4.)
Claims for more background information	'They (i.e., the journalists) gave no reason to why the Somalians arrived (in Finland in the early 1990's)*.' (Nadif G5, 6.)
Claims for correct facts	'[...] what they wrote (in the paper) was not true. It was a Finnish person (not a Somalian) who had... (committed the crime):' (Mohammed G5, 5.)
Claims for publishing success stories, but pointing at them having also negative effects	Nafas: 'I think the journalist here is well meaning but... Milena: 'maybe a bad journalist.' [...] Mejra: 'This is exaggerated.' (G5, 9.)
Claims for telling about things as they really are	'[...] but they were the ones responsible for the act (of crime):' (Tuula G1,7.)

*All parentheses are added by CH.

bassy in Finland wearing very revealing clothes (HS 21 May 2005, picture 6). The Swedish speaking men claim that the publishing is acceptable, since the media should tell things as they really are. A woman working for the embassy was later convicted for her involvement in organising apartments in Finland for Russian sex workers. 'If you find something discriminating in this, then you will find it everywhere, and as much as you look for' (Göran G2, 19).

The discussants in the group of Russian speaking youngsters are not particularly upset by the caricature either, although they feel that the publishing would not have been necessary. Quite apathetically, they conclude by saying that now, after the publication, nothing can be done anyways, so why even bother discussing the issue (Vera G4, 4). Despite that, they seem uninter-

6 In this chart, as in the other charts in this chapter, the examples from the empirical material are taken out of their contexts; the transcripts in Swedish or Finnish. To understand how and why the short text fragment actually forms claims, in some of the cases lengthier excerpts would have been needed. This chart shall be read as a summary of what previously has been argued for. Note also that the first three claims in chart 11 are mostly made by discussants with experiences of migration, while the two last claims are made by all groups.

ested in making claims. These Russian speaking youngsters also seem to indicate that since the event has taken place 'in reality' it is justified to publish it. Contrary to this, the women of Bosnian origin, loudly and without hesitation, oppose the publication of the caricature (picture 6).

At this point, it seems that gender and age, characteristics beyond ethnic background and/or experiences of living as a minority, or having migrated, play a role for the meaning-making practices and the overall enthusiasm to make claims.

To sum up, claims on Finnish journalism are strikingly similar to findings presented in previous studies (Raittila 2007, 47, 26–27; Pöyhtäri 2007a, 91). Almost as if discussants were following an ABC-book in journalism, they want the media to tell things 'as they really are', they wish that the media would give background information to events and phenomena, and they prefer a normalised reporting instead of an overly-flattering perspective. Concerning the criticism of explicitly tolerance promoting articles, featuring minority actors who have done exceptionally well, the same kind of controversial attitudes were expressed in Raittila's (2007, 26–27) study. The risk of these stories producing envy, however, did not come up in Raittila's study.

8.4 Discussion: Everyone wants to be a potential ingroup member!

Dissonance is the word which most accurately describes the focus group discussions presented in this chapter. There is an external dissonance referring to differences between the different groups concerning their positioning of selves and others, and the criteria used in this practice. There is also internal dissonance since discussants create contradictory positions for themselves and others. Discussants state that ethnic backgrounds are not important, but at the same time use discriminating notions for people with dark skin, and point out that some groups are more likely to misbehave than others. Discussants wish for 'cultural clashes' to vanish in the future, but have a hard time accepting differing habits and cultural expressions.

There is also a third kind of dissonance, the subjective dissonance, which refers to the fact that arguments deriving from one person are contradictory. One of the Swedish speaking youngsters, Leyla, who has immigrant parents, first identifies herself with the majority ingroup of 'natives', but then suddenly after having read one article she speaks of herself as one of 'them', who do not belong to this group.

None of these dissonances are surprising if looking into previous research findings stating that researchers should not even expect to find linearity in articulations made by focus group discussants (Raittila 2007, 48; Wetherell & Potter 1992, 102). And indeed, in the light of this focus group

study it seems that on the surface the audience-public's positioning practices are rather chaotic.

This suggests that discussants do not come to focus group meetings with a set of fixed opinions on how they want to position themselves and how others shall be positioned, although they themselves might think that they do. Instead, the analyses show that discussants negotiate belonging and various criteria for belongings throughout the session. This is done in dialogue with other discussants, with the media texts, and most likely also under the influence of the moderator's questions, choice of vocabulary, tone of voice when posing questions, and so on.

Despite the fact that self-positionings and positioning of others are numerous, contradictory, and do not always concern ethnocultural matters, the negotiations of belonging are still centred around three quite clearly distinguished nodes: 'Finns', 'Unruly foreigners' and 'Potential we-group members'. 'Finns' are those who are considered to have the right to live in Finland regardless of their behaviour, 'Unruly foreigners' are those who presumably or as proven do not 'behave', and the 'Potential we-group members' are 'almost-Finns', who under certain conditions might be included in the majority we-group, but who also can be left outside if convenient without any particular given reason for the exclusion.

In Hervik's (forthcoming) study, discussion centres on 'hosts' and 'unruly visitors'. The dichotomisation is clearer in Hervik's study most likely because of the research setting (only 'natives' and 'Muslims' were involved) and the overall socio-political atmosphere, which is more dichotomised in Denmark than in Finland between 'Muslims' and others. Besides this, the particular position of the Swedish speaking linguistic minority in Finland also seems influenced by the blurring of borders. From time to time Swedish speaking discussants identify themselves as being different from the 'average Finn'. 'The Swedish speaking minority does not have an easy time in a nation-state where the majority's language is Finnish', they say and give examples both on a personal and structural level (G2, 34).

When discussants position themselves and others, there is one criterion that rises above others: do I, or does the person or group that I am about to position contribute to the 'common good' of this society?⁷ Concerning self-positionings, minority actors work hard to prove that they do, and if they for some reason cannot, they point at the temporary nature of this 'parasitism' and underline structural reasons for being a burden ('it is because employers have stereotypes', 'it is because the women have to take care of their children, and cannot make it to language class', and so on).

7 People might not be aware that they ask themselves these kinds of questions. It might work on a subconscious level.

When positioning others, this criterion is often applied in an emotional and 'unfair' way. Many times it seems to be the 'feeling' about the willingness and capacity of someone to contribute that counts. Some immigrant groups, such as the Somalian community, do not have the same chances to be positioned close to the we-group, although its members as proven would contribute to the 'common good', since stereotypical thinking influences opinions about their 'niceness'. Despite this, none of the discussants would admit being racists, or discriminating against someone or some group just because their ethnocultural backgrounds.

This indicates that people have a 'lack of working knowledge of racism' (Hervik forthcoming). People seem to think of racism as something that can only be applied when ethnicities are thought of as inherited, not in a more cultural and 'modern' understanding as laid out in the theoretical part of this study (see section 2.3).

The same idea might be applicable to journalists and other media producers. What media producers see as humiliating in the media reporting might be based on professional experience, self-regulatory practices, laws and regulations (see Floman 2007), whereas what minority actors see as humiliating is something else; it is the gap between how they want to be positioned (as potential ingroup members) and the positions that they encounter in the media (unruly foreigners or some sort of pedestalised wannabe super-Finns).

Where can this feeling of dejection lead? In the light of this focus group study it seems that it creates tiredness and a feeling of powerlessness. One of the men of Somalian origin says that he contacts various newsrooms on a regular basis to give feedback on headlines, articles or article series, but that no-one cares about what he has to say. He says that the same applies to other, more direct types of discriminatory and humiliating practices: 'Once, I reported to the police that someone had printed out my picture from the Internet and written 'nigger bastard' on it, and so on. And what did the police do? The police do nothing' (G6, 5, 12).

EXCERPT 15:

Moderator: How do you feel about this? (i.e., the way in which Islam is presented in the media.)

Nafas: I am not reading those kinds of things.

[Someone]: Neither am I.

Moderator: You are not reading those kinds of things?

Nafas: No, absolutely (not). There is so much written on that theme (i.e. Islam) right now, so no, I am not.

Mejram: I have stopped that. [...]

[...]

Mejram: [...] it's this bored-to-death-thing again, and it gets so one-tracked, and in

the course of time, you simply try to focus on the small things around you. [...]
(G5, 18–19.)

As excerpt 15 shows, tiredness, a feeling of being powerless and not being able to argue for a more suitable position for oneself and one's peers, might lead to a withdrawal and a lack of interest in engaging. These issues will be further discussed in section 9.4.

* * *

In this chapter I have presented a focus group study conducted in 2006 with discussants of various origins; Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking 'natives' and people who have their origins in Somalia, Bosnia and Russia. The groups were six in number. I have shown that discussants of immigrant background in general challenge the positions that they feel are made available for them and their peers in the media. In the self-positioning and re-positioning of others, there are three clearly distinguished nodes: 'Finns', 'Unruly foreigners' and 'Potential we-group members'. No-one wants to be an unruly foreigner, and no-one welcomes those who are considered as potentially unruly to come and live in Finland. The discussants with experiences of migration make an effort to convince me that they certainly are well-behaved 'good citizens', and that most of their peers are too.

Part III: Interpretations and outlooks

9. Positioning and the discursive organisation of difference

From 1999 to 2007, Finland was between two economic recessions; one that ended in 1993 and another one which started in 2008. During this period of time, the market was growing, the first signs of a labour shortage could already be seen in certain sectors, and the populist party critical of immigration, the True Finns, had not yet gained the popularity it was soon to achieve. Attitudes towards migrants and ethnic minorities seemed to improve year by year, society went through a fast process of heterogenisation concerning its' ethnocultural composition, and the Government was about to introduce a policy of work-related migration that aimed at active recruitment of foreign labour. (See Jaakkola 2009; Haavisto, I. & Kiljunen 2009; Saukkonen 2010; Government Migration Policy Program 2006.)

At the same time, there was an intensification of globalisation movements and technological development. Journalism became increasingly multi-medial and interactive (e.g., the commenting on news articles online became possible during this period), and the production process became much faster than before (see Deuze 2007; Allan 2005). Policymaking in the area of ethnocultural complexity increased on a European level and in Finland. In line with a more general European trend, the public service broadcasting company in Finland presented its first diversity plan (YLE 2005a); training for minority journalists was taking place; and The Union of Journalists in Finland increasingly started to engage in issues concerning the training and employment of professionals with a minority and/or foreign background. An increase in televised fiction dealing with issues of ethnocultural complexity could be seen on the audiovisual side, and occasionally visual minorities could be seen as presenters and producers of current affairs programmes.

In this context, which has been discussed more systematically in the previous chapters, let us consider two theoretical ideas fundamental to this PhD-thesis. First, when socio-political and demographic surroundings change from the more familiar and predictable towards the more unknown and unpredictable, there is an increased urge on a personal and collective level to negotiate belonging in order to make sense of who belongs where.

In these mediated and interpersonal positioning processes, persons discursively organise difference in a way, which in that particular context feels meaningful.

Second, the media, and particularly the news media, carry a lot of responsibility in the production and circulation of information, values and norms, which people use for these processes. How influential media content gets in influencing people, depends on how repetitively and/or spectacularly a certain theme occurs on the news agenda, and on how effectively it is spread between various actors within the network type of communicative space. How influential mediated content gets for positioning also depends on how well, if at all, the values and norms distributed in and through the content, fit a general moral order and more subjective kinds of agendas (see Harindranath 2009; McCombs 2004).

When this is kept in mind and some distance taken from the five case studies, the empirical findings of this study show that despite there being a range of different text-bound and situation-determined speakers, themes and storylines, there appears to be one dominating main storyline and less than a handful so-called node-positions available for minority actors. Also, the practice of positioning appears to be a more disciplined and predictable activity than I initially thought.

This will soon be looked into more thoroughly. Let us first restate the research questions and the aim of this interdisciplinary study constituting my PhD-thesis in media and communication studies.

Relying on empirical material consisting of 1,782 newspaper articles and six focus group interviews, the aim of this dissertation was to learn more about the sense-making of who belongs where when ethnic minorities and immigrants are concerned, about who engages in the sense-making, and about how certain unequal social relations and certain journalistic mechanisms, such as the power to distribute voice and visibility, influence this practice. There were three research questions. The first one, moving close to the textual level, asked how minority actors were positioned in both Swedish language and Finnish language papers between 1999 and 2007. The second question asked how these mediated positions related to self-positionings and (re-)positionings of others taking place in face-to-face talk with peers. The third question, moving on a higher level of abstraction, asked what positioning as a practice consists of.

In this chapter, these three questions will be tackled as follows; the first question will be dealt with systematically throughout the chapter, the second question about audience-publics and self-positionings in face-to-face talk is dealt with mainly in section 9.4, and the more theoretical third question on positioning as a practice is dealt with mainly in 9.3. The order of answering questions two and three is thus in reverse. After these sections, follows a

general discussion about the findings, and then at the end, an epilogue follows in which events occurring after the data-gathering period are discussed and the role of the researcher is reflected upon.

9.1 Summary of main findings and arguments

In the first section, 'Contextualisations', I argued that Finland, during the time of research, 1999–2007, forms a particularly interesting case to investigate in order to learn more about how the mainstream press and 'ordinary people' make sense of who belongs where and to investigate on the basis of which criteria this happens. In other words, how people in the media and through the media engage in positioning practices. The main attempt of the introduction was to lay the groundwork for the argument that followed: it is of theoretical and practical use to develop a Positioning Theory (PT) approach to communication studies when investigating positioning practices in relation to media content and audience-publics from the perspective of ethnocultural complexity.

Subsequently, PT was presented as a strand of recent research attempts in social psychology and other related social sciences to understand the dynamic of relationships of human actors, and sometimes also non-human ones, by using Rom Harré et al.'s, conceptual framework (see Harré & van Langenhove 1999; Harré 2009). It was noted that in this framework the main notion – a position – is to be understood as flexible and as ever-changing, even if only by degrees, and that we as audience-publics, journalists or people in general try to position others, as for example outsiders, incompetent, misinformed or as insiders, competent, knowledgeable. In more technical terms, a position was defined as a cluster of generic personal attributes, taken up by selves or given to others. Being in a certain position impinges on the possibilities of action and voice since certain rights, duties and obligations sustained by the cluster are ascribed to individuals within it. It was also noted that these positions tend to be taken up according to an unfolding narrative – a storyline.

Since PT has its roots in social psychology, not the academic area of media and communication scholarship to where this dissertation belongs, I then claimed that to be able to answer these three questions in an adequate way, PT needs to be put in a broader framework of media and communication theory. Since mediated and communicative environments comprise so much more than just audience-text relationships and media content, I then clarified the most crucial components and dimensions in the mediated environment, which I chose to call the communicative space.

I suggested, by taking support of Hannu Nieminen (2009) and Kai Eriksson (2009) and others, that in alignment with contemporary trends in social

sciences, this communicative space can be seen as an open organism rather than an isolated environment. When envisioning the communicative space as a network with more and less central nodal points, the question about who is allowed to enter and who is not becomes somewhat irrelevant since networks do not have an outside a priori (see *ibid.*, 219). Instead, what becomes crucial are the links between various actors (persons, institutions and more abstract types of actors) in the media and their relations to more structural components (media policies, self regulatory organs, etc.) and ideological forces in society. I then defined two of these ideological forces, racism and nationalism, the two ideologies that I, based on my reading of scholarly literature and previous empirical studies, assumed might influence positioning practices the most when ethnic and cultural minorities are concerned. I also showed that there are media policies, laws and declarations on various levels; self-regulatory, national, EU, and so on, which are aimed at regulating the impact of these ideologies on media content, production and consumption.

Since neither PT nor the spatial metaphor of the network-like communicative space serve as tools for analyses, I thereafter argued that the most suitable means to do the 'hands on-analysis' of press content and audience-talk, is by combining two common methods: qualitative close reading (Lentricchia & DuBois 2003) and quantitative content analysis (Holsti 1969; Hansen et al. 1998). In the five case studies that followed, with the help of the inventory of analytical devices, encompassing the tools of visibility, voice, themes, markers, and claims, I then applied these methods on an intermediate level of interest in details. Unlike many linguists, when using close reading, I did not twist and turn on every single word, but tried to get a grasp of common features in text and talk that were not always visible to the eye.

In section II, 'Empirical findings', I then presented the outcome of the analyses conducted between 1999 and 2007. The quantitative mapping of two Swedish language morning papers, Case I, shows that the reporting on ethnocultural complexity mainly centres on the themes of crime, legislation and authority action, and so called tolerance promoting stories. Most of the articles are short stories distributed through the Finnish News Agency (STT /FNB). These articles lack profound analysis, and engage mostly with authority sources, such as the police, customs officers, or other civil servants working for ministries or other state institutions. Representatives of the private sector or academia are almost never heard. Minority actors get to speak in 1/6 of the articles, but mostly in personified reportage concerning non topical issues. Voices of such 'ordinary' citizens and NGO-representatives that are not presented as having a minority background, get to speak in about 1/10 of the articles. Most of these voices express critical views on authority action relating to a few eviction cases that received a lot of publicity during that time.

According to previous international research, afternoon papers, or tabloids, have a bad reputation in how they deal with minority issues (van Dijk 1991). Concerning crime articles in the afternoon papers, in Case IV, this claim is legitimate. Articles on crime and minority perpetrators are not more plentiful, but they are bigger and more spectacular in the afternoon papers than in the two Swedish language morning papers. Besides, visual elements in them are more salient than in the morning press. Rather paradoxically however, concerning soft topics such as entertainment and culture, minority actors actually have better opportunities to get their voices heard in the afternoon papers than in the morning papers. This also applies to Case III, the arts pages in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet*. If you, as a minority actor, are portrayed in relation to entertainment and/or arts, you have already almost a guaranteed possibility to be voiced and make claims.

Of course, in entertainment and arts, actors seldom talk about the challenges and opportunities that an increased heterogenisation vis-à-vis religions, cultural habits and ethnic backgrounds pose to Finnish society, and neither do they contemplate their everyday lives, how their kids are treated in school or whether they have been discriminated against when looking for a job. Almost all minority actors in the afternoon papers and on the arts pages are 'especially remarkable people', celebrities or members of the cultural elite, who talk about things other than their backgrounds or how it is to live as a minority in a majority society. Although they might have experienced various sorts of challenges, and although they would have lots of claims to make about contemporary Finnish migration politics for example, these are left un-articulated. Nevertheless, also in arts, entertainment and sports there are various mechanisms, like presenting someone as childlike, repeating his or her background, and naming someone as an immigrant against his or her will, which influence the positions available for minority actors.

Since 'ordinary minority actors' are so invisible in the entire press material, the most apparent discourse differing from the one about minority 'elites' in culture, entertainment and sports, is the one about criminals and criminal activities. Some violent crimes, like violations committed by actors named as being of African background, get a lot of publicity particularly in the afternoon papers, as noted earlier. During my research period it seems that it is in particular actors, who are presented as having a Russian and/or Estonian background who are systematically portrayed in relation to this theme. The monitoring (Case I) showed that more than 70 per cent of those actors portrayed in relation to so called non-violent crime articles involving minorities have their origin in Russia, Estonia, or other former Soviet Union countries. In fact, as Case II specified, the link between these actor groups and certain crimes like drug dealing and sex work, is so strong it becomes newsworthy if it turns out that one of the leading figures unexpectedly is a

'native' Finn. Additionally, if a person of Russian and/or Estonian origin is not involved in crime, but just an 'average' man or woman the 'good citizen paradigm' is often activated. In other words, since expectations are so high that an actor named as being Russian or Estonian is involved in crime, if this is not the case, journalists seem to feel that they repeatedly need to mention his/her willingness to integrate and show proof of him/her doing so.

This kind of repetitive mentioning of tax-paying, work, exams and language skills in order to underline successful integration could be seen throughout the material, not only in Case II. The emphasising of exemplarity was something that the majority of the discussants of various ethnocultural backgrounds in the focus groups (Case V) were somewhat ambivalent about. On one hand, they thought it is good that 'sunshine stories' about minority actors get visibility in the media. On another hand, they found it peculiar that journalists in their goodwill seem to underline so heavily the perfectness of people who just live their everyday lives just like anyone else; studying, going to school and paying taxes.

In summary, the five empirical studies showed us that Finland from 1999 to 2007 is not portrayed as an ethnoculturally homogeneous society in the five mainstream newspapers (*Helsingin Sanomat*, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Vasabladet*, *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*). On the contrary, minority actors and issues concerning ethnocultural complexity are frequently dealt with in all newspapers investigated. Genre-wise, this mostly happens in news and feature journalism, but these themes are not completely 'silenced' in opinion journalism. This particularly applies to the morning papers, since opinion journalism concerning these issues is less frequent in the afternoon papers.

During this period, xenophobic groups did not get much publicity in any of the newspapers analysed, and all-in-all, it seems on the surface that the reporting was more respecting than humiliating of minority actors as in ethnic minorities, immigrants and foreigners. Critical views on parliamentary migration politics is expressed from time to time, mainly in letters-to-the-editor, but this is mostly done in passing. And besides, social problems occurring in ethnoculturally complex milieus, in housing companies, schools, workplaces, and so on, are not talked about (see also Raittila & Vehmas 2005, 16). At the same time, however, the crime theme is rising throughout the period, and its connection to certain minority groups is very strong. Besides, of all those authorities that appear as speakers, it is mostly the police who dominate. In their claims-making, it is not rare that there are insinuations about how better funding of the police force would facilitate the fight against the claimed increase in crime from 'the East'. As the construction of linkages between certain negative themes and certain groups is routine-like and persistent, campaigns enhancing human rights tend to be very visible but short-lived.

9.2 The mediated storyline: 'Whose welfare?'

To answer the first research question, the reporting from 1999 to 2007 is somewhat schizophrenic. The ethnocultural heterogenisation process is viewed as useful and inevitable because of an aging population and lack of labour force in certain sectors. At the same time the increased heterogenisation is seen as dangerous since it attracts people and groups of people to Finland who create disorder and anarchy, criminals from 'the East' and 'free riders' from the developing world, for example. (For similar argumentation, see Raittila 2005; Horsti 2005; and Keskinen, Rastas & Tuori 2009.)

In the light of the five case studies, it seems as if the undeclared and to some extent probably also unconsciously applied role of the press during the research period was to help its readers sort out which ethnic minorities, immigrants and foreigners are 'good' and which 'bad'. Instead they could be aiming to make visible and bring up for discussion the challenges and possibilities that increased ethnocultural complexity poses on and provides for various areas of Finnish society; on the education system, labour market, social services, language requirements, and on everyday encounters between majority and minority actors.

The main storyline appears to be implicit, and it appears to be about – not ethnicity, culture and religion – but 'our' threatened welfare system, which, at least still, in a global perspective provides quite extensive social security for people living in the country. It seems that during a time of economic prosperity, immigrants were welcomed and minorities allowed and expected to have the same cultural and political freedoms and obligations as the majority population, but only if there was 'proof' to be found of their engagement in the common welfare project. In other words, some evidence was needed for showing that persons and groups would contribute to, not exploit 'us'. Concerning some groups, prejudice seems so strong that not even proof is enough to change expectations about the willingness to adapt, work and contribute.

Within the main storyline which is about who has the right to enjoy the fruits of 'our' welfare system, there are two strong inner tendencies; a commodification and a pedestalisation of minority actors.

COMMODIFICATION. In the empirical material it can be seen that minorities are presented as if their value was dependent on how much they can contribute in economic terms to Finnish society. The requirement to be productive is unconditional and pressuring. Proof of the productivity is expected at once, not in five or ten years. If minority children are born in Finland or have come to the country before school age, the underlying assumption is that they through the Finnish educational system can get skills needed for

maximum productivity in their adult lives. Concerning children, the modifying tendency is therefore less explicit

The emphasis on productivity, and first and foremost a productivity in terms of working and tax-paying, is hardly a surprise. To cite Sanna Valtonen (1998), *work is the area of life, which Finns have used for measuring one's own value in the eyes of others*. And this does not only concern Finland. As Zygmunt Bauman (2005, 5) argues, work is the normal state of all humans in contemporary societies; not working is abnormal. If a grown-up does not work or support him or herself, he or she is expected to justify for his or her being (Fraser & Gordon 1994, 324).

According to Mark Deuze (2007, 1) the unemployed tend to be seen as people who either need 'our' help (to be schooled, retrained for necessary jobs as defined by current market demand), or deserve our loathing (as those who do not pay taxes, and exploit the welfare system or the state). While in Finland, in general terms, it is socially accepted to be dependent on the state during certain periods in life; while studying, short term unemployment while looking for a new job, parental leave, and so on, the focus on the productivity of minorities in my material, suggests that this does not apply to minority actors. Minorities are expected to be productive and to contribute to society from the start and throughout their life. Hence, in Deuze's (ibid.) terms, on a deep discursive level, it seems that there is more loathing than support for re-education and training. This seems to be the case despite that education and training with time might lead to better work opportunities.

We still need to remember that according to Finnish law and to how it is implemented, in Finland, people are still – at least at the time of writing – fairly equally treated if in need of welfare services, irrespective of whether they have immigrant/minority background or not. The newspaper material still seems to tell us that to be accepted as one of 'us', a minority actor has to work harder, contribute more and be more useful for the 'common good' than majority actors. This requirement, often expressed between the lines, is well known from equality discourses and particularly from the field of women's studies and labour market issues. Women's studies have for some decades argued that in order to be considered as a true member of most professional communities, women have not only to be equally good as men but better (e.g., Torkkola & Ruoho 2009, 8–13).

PEDESTALISATION. Within this neoliberal type of main storyline concerning who potentially is a contributor to the welfare system and who is not, there is also an idolisation of those minority representatives who are presented as the 'good' ones; those who contribute to our welfare and enrich our lives. This kind of reporting, which on the surface clearly is positive towards an increased heterogenisation of the citizenry, and which for example pays

tribute to minority actors who have done well in Finland, might not be as problematic as appearing at first glance (Peterson & Hellström 2004; Brune 2003; Horsti 2005).

Many times, the presenting of an actor in a very positive a light comes with an educational tone, and an emphasising of characteristics which are perceived as 'typically Finnish'. A tendency, seemingly witnessing an increased watchfulness from the side of journalists on not labelling minority actors, might hence be a means of controlling the strangeness and the difference of the actor. Discourses of embroidered 'super-Finnishness', cliché-like we-ness and unnatural relations to 'us', might serve the purpose of including and empowering someone who is 'different', but at the same time it is a way of domineering over the type of we-ness constructed. To quote Jean-Pierre Dupuy (2002): *In their effort to make the Other 'like us', they end up making him ridiculously weird.* (Translation Žižek 2008, 71.)

In other words, a reporting that seemingly promotes complexity and the inclusion of minorities in the communicative space, might in reality contain strong indications of hidden assimilationist agendas and consensus striving journalism. Diverse voices are expressed in public, but only secured and controlled 'others' appearing as similar to 'us' and who behave well are allowed to grow loud.

This process of presenting someone as very similar to 'us' while paying tribute to the person, is here called 'pedestalisation'. The notion illustrates how media, while paying tribute to minority actors, tend to present them as 'statue-like' – as persons placed on pedestals. This tendency can be seen as opposite to the exotification of minorities since similarities to 'us' are emphasised, not differences. The pedestalising structures in discursive environments not only support and lift up, but control and fix the position of the actor, making him or her seem unnatural and almost 'too good to be true'. The tendency is controversial because it pays tribute to carefully selected minority actors by giving them visibility, possibilities to express opinion and through minimising their difference from 'us', but at the same time contributes to a construction of a media output that never threatens nor challenges consensus supporting discourses. In this way, these discourses which outwardly present strong and inclusive representations of actors or actor groups, contain significant features of control.

SILENCED STORYLINES. If the main storyline is a concern for 'our' welfare, a sorting out of who potentially contributes economically and who does not, and a sometimes exaggerated emphasis on similarity, then what kinds of storylines are not activated?

Perspectives linking national concerns and global phenomena are weak in this material. For example, seldom is migration into Finland profoundly

analysed as part of global migratory movements. This concerns immigration and refugee politics in particular. During the time period of this study, the print media is not particularly concerned to make clear to its readers what a harmonisation of EU legislation with national politics means, and what the impacts of this activity on a national or local level might be. More generally speaking, the focus is mostly on structure and authority or on a handful of elites in entertainment and arts, not on 'ordinary' people who are primarily concerned by legislative or administrative agency. What this comes to mean, for example, is that complex feelings of belonging that minority youth express while taking part in the creation of 'third cultures' (see Oksanen 2010; Honkasalo 2011), and the everydayness of transnationality for some minority actors, have gone almost unnoticed in the mainstream press.

Empirical findings thus suggest that from 1999 to 2007 the 'normality' of transnational phenomena, the everyday life of minorities, and the linking of migration politics, on one hand with EU politics and international events and on the other with a migrant's own experiences remained almost invisible in the Finnish press. For example, as we have seen in the arts pages, there is not much analytical reflection about what sort of questions a literary novel about outsiders and discrimination of minorities elsewhere in the world could raise in the contemporary Finnish socio-political climate. Moreover; although journalists in Finland seem to refer to the more ethnoculturally complex Sweden on a regular basis, and although naming practices seem to travel between the mainstream media in these two countries, an analytical discussion is seldom opened on what, if anything, Finland could learn from Sweden, and vice versa. Hence, it is still the national perspective, what goes on within the borders of Finland, and mainly what concerns migration and ethnocultural complexity from an authoritarian and structural perspective, that is of interest to the newspapers.

One reason for the lack of a more analytical discourse on questions relating to transnational phenomena on one hand, and emerging new forms of belonging particularly when youth are concerned on the other hand, might be that journalists in their everyday lives are detached from these global and transnational realities. Journalists might not have friends of foreign/minority background and/or they might live in neighbourhoods only sparsely populated by people of minority background. At least, as an internal investigation done by the newspaper concerned shows, most journalists working for *Helsingin Sanomat* were born in the 1960's (HS *Kuukausiliite* 10/2010). Since immigration started increasing rapidly only in the 1990's, they therefore belong to a generation that has grown up in a more homogeneous Finland.

Although journalists would be moving in mixed societies, there is no guarantee that a journalist can put his or her soul into how minority actors in Finland relate to themselves and their surroundings. The employment of

minority journalists would not necessarily solve the problem as such, since being a journalist of Soviet/Russian or Palestinian/Israeli background, for example, does not necessarily make you an expert in the post-migratory life of Somalian immigrants in Finland. Nevertheless, my material shows that the journalistic outcome is different when voice is given to journalists of minority origin. On the arts pages in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet*, two columnists who have experienced migration, unlike others, manage to naturally bridge global phenomena, everyday lives and Finnish politics in immigration and integration. The experience of migration as such thus gives you perspectives overlapping dichotomies of local and global realities.

Another reason why a more holistic understanding of ethnocultural complexity and minority issues is lacking in the media might be the division of the newspaper sections into opinion, foreign news, domestic news, culture and arts, sports, and so on. It seems that such a multidimensional phenomena as an ethnocultural heterogenisation of the citizenry is hard to cover in all its complexity within this kind of structure. The only way to do it, seems to be 'to slice' the complex theme quite violently into easily digestible pieces, and in this way being able to fit them into certain journalistic sections and/or genres: experiences of discrimination does not fit under sports, migration politics does not fit under arts and culture, being different and remote does not fit with tolerance promoting portraits, and so on. This means that crucial remarks, themes, connections and analyses, which are part of the reality 'out there', are cut out as not fitting with presupposed ideas of what kind of content audience-publics expect to encounter in a certain section and/or genre.¹

Another absent storyline is the reluctance to deal with racism and discrimination. When the lenses through which the 'reality out there' are investigated are claimed to be universalistic and primarily determined by productivity, usefulness, and good-behaviour, not ethnocultural characteristics, talk about discrimination or inequality based on these characteristics might be experienced as 'not fitting in'. As Fathali Moghaddam et al. (2010, 8) note, people are motivated to see the world as just and fair. To maintain this view, people will psychologically distort their views of the world and their treatment in it. This reluctance to see and deal with discrimination might have lead to a mis-recognition of the power of such ideologies as racism and nationalism. It might also, together with the lack of bridges between the local

¹ On a pragmatic level, one simple way of respecting such genre expectations that audience-publics have, but still avoiding cutting out such perspectives and analyses that 'don not fit', could be to more frequently add more reflexive 'comments' side-by-side with the actual news story. This can, from time to time be seen in the current material, but it is mainly used by journalists wanting to juggle between the role of the neutral referee and the subjective critic. It could be used much more for linking global, national and local levels. If the main story is about a local phenomenon, the bonus article could be on the global reasons for this, or vice versa.

and the global, be the reason why human rights markers of inclusion (the right to leave a country, the right to seek asylum, the right to dignity, and so on) are so weak in media text and audience talk.²

This phenomenon touches society beyond the communicative space. In the context of legal procedures Laura Peutere (2008) shows that although there is a Non-Discrimination Act and a so-called hardening clause (Fi: *kovennuspykälä*), which makes it possible for the court to strengthen the sentence if a criminal act involves racist elements, courts seldom use this paragraph. It seems that the courts deal with cases involving victims with a minority-ethnic origin just as any victim with a majority background. Not even when a man knocked down an unknown woman of minority origin on the street, is his verdict influenced by the hardening clause (*ibid.*).

To summarise what has been argued so far in this chapter: all five newspapers show respect for difference as long as it is not 'too' different, all envision the main right to inclusion as being determined by a person's 'value' in market economic terms, all focus on the local and/or national, not building bridges between global migration movements and minority cultures and/or beliefs on a global scale to contemporary Finnish society. What this means is that a complex global phenomenon is simplified and that many dimensions of everyday lived experiences of being in a minority and living in an ethnically complex society go unnoticed.

In earlier studies it has been proposed that the Swedish language media is more eager to lead the cause of other minorities because of their own position as a language minority in an officially bilingual country, and that the theme of racism and discrimination is more profoundly engaged with in the Swedish language media than in the Finnish (e.g., Raittila 2002b, 97; Horsti 2005, 163–166; Sandlund 2002, 16; Roos 2004). Indeed, one can say that *Hufvudstadsbladet* is a 'party-less party paper' (Bruun, Knekt & Rotkirch 1971) meaning that the paper supports the Swedish People's party during elections, but otherwise is independent, which could mean that the paper thus is in favour of the Swedish People's party's liberal views on migration to a larger extent than *Helsingin Sanomat* for example.

A direct and systematic comparison of Swedish language papers and Finnish language ones lies outside the scope of this study. However, it seems that the theme of ethnocultural complexity sometimes comes into *Hufvudstadsbladet* more 'naturally' since the paper follows what goes on in the more multi-ethnic Swedish society more attentively than *Helsingin Sanomat*. In general, however, the reporting during 1999–2007 is characterised by the same mechanisms, and positioning practices follow similar patterns. There

2 See Horsti (2005, 287) for other reasons for why the human rights frame in the media is so weak. For a theoretical discussion of politics of recognition vs. politics of universalism: Taylor 1992; Fraser 1997; Benhabib 2002, 49.

are yet no research studies that would have looked into this issue during a more recent time period. Possibly, this is something that has changed after the data-gathering period.

9.3 Four node-positions and positioning as a practice

Within the main storyline, which is about who has the right to use 'our' welfare system, and which is influenced by both commodifying and pedestaling mechanisms, there are certain positions that are more available for minority actors than others. These positions tend to centre in clusters around nodal points that I here call node-positions. The four nodes to which clusters of positions seem to be attracted are: 'Important Strangers', 'Remarkable Potential We-members', 'Insignificant Strangers' and 'Insignificant Potential We-members'.

Positions occurring close to the node called 'Important Strangers' provide a picture of the actors as significant but distant from an imaginary 'we'. These positions are not so frequent in the press material on ethnocultural complexity since it seems that it is easier to get a voice and visibility when ethnocultural differences from the majority are downplayed and similarities emphasised. Actors involved in crime and criminality are positioned close to this nodal point. Their importance however is often regulated by a withdrawal of their voice, which pushes them towards the 'Insignificant Stranger' position. In this process, the authorities in charge of the control and punishment of unruly actors appear instead to be significant. Ironically, in the claims of the police, the criminals in the 'reality out there' appear to be 'Significant Strangers'; very loud, visible and different from 'us'. The elimination of their claimed loudness in the process of mediation might be read as a symbolic act of society's capability to maintain control and to manage unruly actors.

Concerning the 'Remarkable Potential We-members'; they are given a lot of visibility and voice, which signifies more claims-making possibilities. Entertainment artists, reality show participants, and most minority actors in arts and culture are positioned close to this pole. In fact, celebrity itself seems to imply some sort of familiarity, since a complete stranger seldom gains celebrity status. At the beginning, when a celebrity appears as a 'new face' he or she might be positioned more as a stranger than a potential we-member, but in the longer run, characteristics which in the Nordic context appear to be different, do not seem to be emphasised, or at least these characteristics seldom form the core of the story.

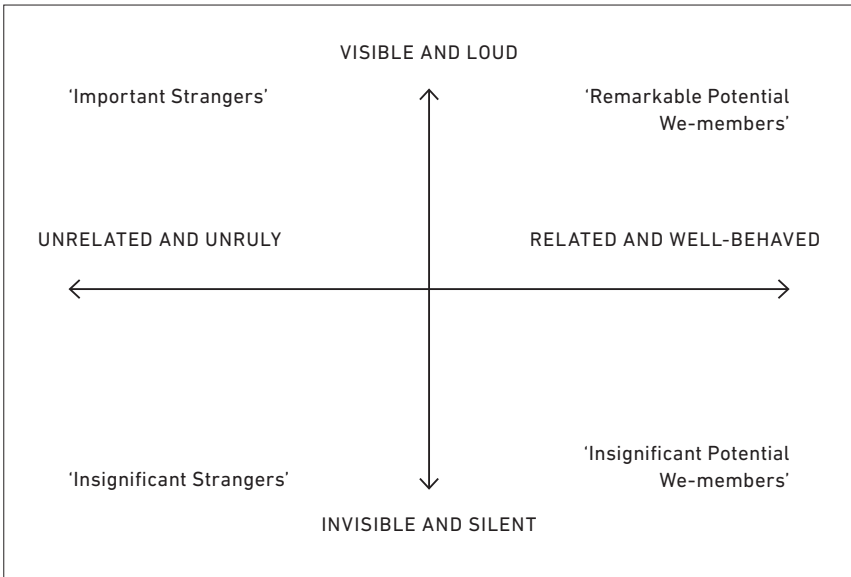
'Remarkable Potential We-members' on the arts pages and in the entertainment industry; beauty queens, ballet dancers, and composers for example, are by no means representatives of minorities in general in Finland.

Non-celebrities like immigrants who come to Finland to work or study are mostly positioned closer to the pole of 'Insignificant Potential We-members'. Actors who are positioned here are reported to contribute to the common good instead of challenging it. And as for the remarkable we-members, also here, when this contribution is described, it often goes along with descriptions of how similar to 'us' the minority actors are.

If unrelatedness and unruliness rather than similarities and good behaviour are underlined, non-celebrities are positioned closer to the 'Insignificant Strangers'-pole. This position in the media quite paradoxically features actors who in fact are still a little bit significant since they are written about in the mainstream news media. Being positioned here, however, means that one does not get much voice or visibility. If one gets visibility, one does not get voice. As said, actors involved in crime and criminality; perpetrators, victims-of-crime and victims-in-crime, are often pushed into this position. So are also such 'ordinary' immigrants who are presented as different from 'us', but who do not get much visibility and voice. However, findings show that when something dramatic happens, such as the 9/11 events, some 'ordinary' minority actors who earlier have been less significant, can suddenly be given a voice, visibility and claims-making opportunities, meaning that their significance temporarily raises. Mostly, when this happens, there is, however, a tendency that their strangeness is downplayed in favour of an emphasis on their similarities with the imaginary we-group. This means that they are either pushed towards the position of 'Remarkable Potential We-members', or the 'Insignificant Potential We-members'. Common for both are that these positions are possible to rule over, and that differences from the imaginary 'we' are downplayed.

POSITIONING AS A PRACTICE. What all this means is that there is a pattern behind positioning practices in the media: when minority actors have visibility and voice, their similarity and close relation to 'us' seem to be emphasised, and when they lack visibility and voice, the more their differences and lack of relationships to 'us' are underlined. The emphasising of relatedness and ruliness, can take place through a repetitive use of certain themes when portraying minority actors (e.g., the crime-theme or the so-called tolerance promoting theme), or through a frequent use of different markers of belonging (e.g., work, willingness to work, a certain style in clothing etc). The providing of visibility and voice, again depends on news criteria, the use of sources, subjective preferences applied by journalists, their networks, quoting practices, and so on.

The idea of correlated but not necessarily causal dimensions is best illustrated as a tableau consisting of two continuums; a horizontal and a vertical one. The horizontal one is a continuum of relatedness and behaviour, going

Chart 12: The discursive organisation of difference

from the unrelated and unruly actors to related and well-behaved ones. The vertical continuum on visibility and voice go from visible and loud to invisible and silent. The node-positions occurring in the interconnectedness of these dimensions are not closed entities, as said before, and the entire tableau is built on gradations, not categories. One is not visible and loud or the opposite, but increasingly and/or diminishingly visible and/or loud. One can also be more or less related and well-behaved.

Although voice and visibility are marked on the same vertical continuum, they might not always support one another as examples in this chapter previously have shown. In other words, there is no guarantee that one has voice in the media just because one is visible. Voice without visibility is also possible, but harder to see. It might for example be that a journalist uses a community leader or a religious front figure as a source for his or her story, building the perspective or the storyline of the article upon the information that this source provides him/her with. However, in the final version of the article, this person might not be quoted or named. Since his/her voice is more of a background echo of the journalist's own voice than the actual voice, we might argue that in principle it is possible for minority actors to have voice but not visibility. The same applies to the other horizontal continuum. Although relatedness and ruliness are marked on the same continuum, they are not necessarily equally active at all times.

Despite these inner tensions that might or might not get activated in the two continuums of visibility and loudness (vertical), and relatedness and behaviour (horizontal), or maybe precisely because of these tensions, the axis in chart 12 manages to illustrate the mechanisms behind positioning as a practice and to put on view the four node-positions occurring in the interaction of the two dimensions.

The tableau in chart 12³ illustrates how difference in the media, namely the mainstream press, discursively seems to be organised. Before explaining how the figure can be used, we need to engage with the dimensions that the model builds upon.

Briefly put, and for future studies to reflect over more in-depth: In the media, visibility and voice can be understood as indicating significance. However, in a network type of communicative space, what and who is experienced as significant might vary depending on who you ask, and what their agenda is behind bringing issues into to the public. For example, the actor who in the media gets a lot of voice and visibility might not be 'a significant person' according to the minority community, who might wish that their possibly self-named representative in the media brought up different kinds of issues, or presented them with a different tone of voice. Furthermore, as a researcher I might feel that the significant actors in the reporting are not presented as significant enough, while others, for example, authorities on various levels are represented as 'too significant'. To give a further example, those Members of Parliament who most actively submit law proposals, and therefore maybe should be considered as significant, might for one or several reasons not want to, or not manage to, attract the attention of the media. Therewith they cannot become significant in public debates.

The discussion on what significance is and according to whom raises many important questions of representability and agenda-setting. However, in the axis in chart 12, the perspective taken on significance is narrow and seen only from the perspective of how much voice and visibility a certain actor gets in the media. In other words, the actor or actor group that the journalist in the given moment gives visibility and/or voice to is in that particular context seen a significant by him or her, and most likely also by the editorial board.

3 The figure is a developed version of an idea presented in an article discussing media presentations of Russians and Estonians in Swedish language newspapers in Finland (Haavisto 2005a, 55–66).

4 Just like Simmel's Stranger (1950[1908]), also here, I envision the stranger position as ambiguous. The stranger is near and far at the same time – a potential wanderer who has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going, although he has not moved on (ibid., 402, 407). The stranger can be both close and near (Hultén 2006, 53), he can be both friend and enemy (Bauman 1991, 55), but he is still an outsider who often by the majority is seen through lenses focusing on commonalities and differences between the stranger and the ingroup, rather than on actual individual characteristics (Simmel 1950, 407). An outsider can investigate his surroundings from a certain distance, (ibid, 402), so sometimes, it can be advantageous to be a stranger, although at other times it is not.

The horizontal continuum of relatedness and behaviour concerns questions of strangeness and strangers. According to the classical sociologist Georg Simmel (1950, 402)⁴ nearness and remoteness – as intertwined entities – are involved in how every human relationship is organised, but what you consider to be strange and what common varies depending on who you ask and what perspective you take. Also concerning this continuum, it is the journalists' organising of relatedness and behaviour that counts, not my own perception of who is strange and who is not.

From this perspective we can ask if the stranger in the media always is unruly. Yes, to some extent. Irrespective of whether we talk about insignificant or important strangers, the media material investigated for this dissertation shows that the unruliness of strangers is necessarily not explicitly underlined by journalists. The proportion of unrelatedness and unruliness can vary, as we have seen. Despite this, in almost all cases the paradigm of unruliness is found on a deeper discursive level, since, if strangers are not potential criminals they are potential exploiters of 'our' welfare system. In other words, all actors positioned as either 'Insignificant Strangers' or 'Important Strangers' (i.e., clusters of positions centre in the outmost left hand side of the figure) might not explicitly be presented by the media as 'difficult to handle' or 'in need of being strictly controlled' but still, there is always a certain aspect of unruliness present in the stranger position. This is the case since strangers, in contrast to potential we-members, challenge the welfare model and nation-state ideas (see Hultén 2006, 58).

Important to note here on a more general level is that since the axis is built upon two continuums and since the notion of the position is defined as flexible and ever changing (see section 2.1), potential we-members might to some extent be strangers, and strangers might to some extent be potential we-members. Besides the in-built openness and flexibility of 'the position' as a theoretical notion, my empirical material shows that clusters of positions can and do travel from one node-position to another under the influence of time, genre, changes in such journalistic practices as headline setting, big news events like the 9/11, and so on. For example, after 9/11, regarding actors living in Finland and named as Muslims or Afghans, the cluster of positions temporarily travelled a bit closer to the node comprising 'Remarkable Potential We-members' from having previously been situated closer to the 'Insignificant Stranger'-node. Another example is the trend of more seldom than before mentioning minority background and crime in the headline. In this way, at least seemingly, on the surface of the reporting, the cluster of positions available for actors named as Russian and Estonian travelled towards the 'Insignificant Strangers' from having been situated closer to the 'Important Stranger'-node. As seen however, there were simultaneous contramovements: the international reporting on 'foreign Muslims' increased as

did the number of articles featuring Russians and Estonians as perpetrators.

It is consequently not always possible to draw clear paths on how various positions or clusters of positions travel.⁵ Despite this difficulty, the figure can help us locate and discuss movements, contra-movements and various tensions about how, for example, the regulating of voice or increase of visibility, might steer these movements. As a result we can say that the tableau is useful for identifying various dimensions in the media texts contributing to an outcome in which minority actors appear as being more or less insignificant and strange. It can also be helpful as an analytical aid since on a methodological level, it suggests what the researcher can focus on in his or her analyses; visibility, voice and representations of relations and behaviour.

The tableau is not designed in order to give *précis* meaning to the notions within it. Neither is the nexus sufficient for explaining why certain minority actors get more visibility and get to express their opinions more frequently than others, or why, and by which means, certain actors are presented as more similar to 'us' and having closer relations to 'us', than others. The tableau however fits well for displaying, summarising and discussing research findings, and for remarking stagnation in positioning processes. This is important to underline. Many times, what in fact becomes interesting are not movements but stagnations. If actors on a textual level are not on a regular basis moving between the node-positions, it might be proof of certain stagnated patterns of thought, in other words; a stereotyped presentation. As my material indicates, some clusters do indeed seem much stagnated. Despite some indications of changes in headline setting in crime articles, the reporting of Russians and Estonians is situated on the left hand 'stranger-side' of the horizontal continuum, celebrities and minorities in arts and culture on the right hand 'we-side' of the same continuum, and in general, the positions available for 'ordinary' minorities are situated on the lower 'insignificant-side' of the vertical continuum, while authorities are situated on the upper, 'significant-side' of the same continuum.

9.4 Audience-publics opposing and coping

In relation to the figure in chart 12, discussants of immigrant origin who participated in the focus group study in chapter 8 (they were of Bosnian, Somalian

5 If/when the figure is used as a research technical tool in longitudinal studies, one option is to add a time continuum below the axis, and then inside the figure, with symbols or shapes resembling clusters of stars for example, marking the path of how the positioning of a certain minority group (or a single actor, like a politician of minority background) changes from year to year (if there is movement to be seen, that is). The case in my study was that there was in fact quite little movement from year to year, as the monitoring in Case I shows, and therefore, I chose to discuss the movements instead of displaying them. Besides, the divergent character vis-à-vis genre and focus of the four case studies on press content in this dissertation would have made the construction of a timeline from 1999 to 2007 too difficult. For future longitudinal studies, which aim at tracking change (or stagnation) occurring with time, this is however an option.

and Russian background), wish to be positioned as 'Remarkable Potential We-members' but without the requirement of similarity. They emphasise their transnational feelings of belonging, and the importance of nourishing minority cultures and languages in the new environment while, at the same time, arguing for an inclusion that would not require a complete adopting of a 'Finnish' lifestyle. While opposing positions provided for themselves and their peers in the media, they still cope with most of the markers used in the mediated negotiations of belonging. Just as the 'native' discussants and the mainstream print media, they too see work and the capacity to support oneself and one's family as key markers of belonging to Finnish society. They too underline their willingness to study more and to learn the domestic languages, and they too speak for a media reporting that would dare to challenge demands on political correctness.

The main role that both 'native' discussants (Finnish speaking women, Swedish speaking men, and Swedish speaking youngsters) and those with immigrant origin seem to give print media is to sift out well-behaved potential ingroup members from unruly strangers. Most likely, this is one of the main explanations why all discussants so loudly and strategically oppose the silent demand for political correctness in the media. They fear that the media are hiding something from them, and to be able to go on with the sense-making process of who belongs where, they need to know how things are 'in the reality out there'.

The word 'strategically' is used since, in fact, the claims-making of most groups appears to be a much more intended activity than expected. Particularly for those discussants who are of immigrant origin, the focus group meetings seem to function as platforms for reaching wider audiences, in other words, the readers of this dissertation, through an intermediary, in other words, me. As a researcher I am both expected and asked to disseminate alternative images of their everyday lives to my readers.

Side by side with commonalities for all groups, there are distinctions along the lines of ethnocultural characteristics. Discussants of immigrant background mainly make claims for a 'better' and 'fairer' journalism, opposing stereotyped thinking and the lumping together of all Muslims and all immigrants in categories, which according to themselves simplify and therefore distort reality. 'Natives' again tend to focus their claims-making on their own unwillingness to work hard and pay high taxes when 'free-riders from abroad' come to Finland to use 'the system'. They do not argue that all immigrants in Finland would be 'parasitic', and the ones coming to Finland in order to work in the agricultural or construction sectors are praised, for example. Generally speaking, however, for someone to be positioned as a potential we-member by 'native' discussants, he or she needs to fulfil many criteria, like behaving 'nicely', not being 'too strange' and being productive.

In fact 'native' discussants do not make any claims for solidarity based on humanitarian grounds towards immigrants, and they do not, within this focus group setting, express compassion with innocent civilians, who due to conflicts or disasters have been forced to leave their countries of origin. Had the focus group discussions been moderated in a way encouraging this, this marker of belonging might have become apparent. In other words, we do not know how the discussants would have discussed articles about, for example, children in Darfur suffering famine.

However, concerning this particular case, one reason for the lack of humanitarian perspectives, and the deficit of markers of inclusion based on the right and/or need to be protected, might be that people do not easily recognise links between global and local contexts. These transnational links are also, as noted, missing in the reporting, which might be a contributing factor to why they are absent in audience-talk. In the focus groups, it almost seems as if discussants did not realise that such global circumstances as unequally distributed natural resources, political conflicts, famine, war and natural disasters were related to migrants coming to Finland and settling down in the country. For those discussants who have arrived as war-refugees from Somalia and Bosnia, these linkages are obviously more than concrete – they are self-experienced. However, these discussants do not really use their self-experienced pre-migration or migration stories to legitimise their right to live in Finland.

9.5 Discussing the findings

In comparison to earlier and later reporting, the print media between 1999 and 2007 appears fairly 'housetrained'; some minority actors are presented as unrelated and unruly, others as related and well-behaved. And isn't this how reality is? Not everyone is equally gifted, interested in contributing to the 'common good', and not everyone is equally interested in gaining a voice, making claims and having the possibility to influence others. Isn't it expected that as in the reality 'out there' some actors are presented as weaker and more distant from 'us' and others as stronger and more included?

The case is not this simple, since there are some concerns when relating these findings to the increasingly dynamic nature of identity work, the media's power to choose to whom voice and visibility is to be given, the potential frustration growing from not having the possibility to influence positions of oneself and one's peers, and the demographic, political and social changes that took place in Finland during the time period concerned.

Then what are the main concerns rising from a fixation on usefulness in neoliberal terms? What might the consequences be of a lack of humanitarian issues, such as minority rights or the right to move and the right not to

be humiliated, which are lacking in the media and in the face-to-face talk?

First of all, it seems that there is a growing risk of minorities being put in hierarchical positions situated on a continuum between potential we-members (right side in chart 12) and the other ones, strangers (left side in chart 12). Second, as a continuation to the first point, it seems that ethnocultural complexity is just fine, but only insofar as it is not intrusive – only as long as we can be sure that they do not use ‘us’. In order not to challenge the majority’s welcoming of the lucky ones who are ‘nice’, in other words, the well-behaved potential we-members who are productive and not too different, discussants of immigrant origin are themselves careful not to appear as intrusive. This was shown by the focus group study.

In this kind of talk, it seems as if no-one wants to admit that nationalisms and racisms, in their more visible and invisible forms, influence our perceptions of which minority groups are most or least likely to be A-class citizens, most likely to contribute to the ‘common good’ instead of consuming what others during decades, even centuries have worked so hard to obtain. Besides, when the ultimate criterion for inclusion is productivity, many actors are forgotten about; elderly people, pregnant women, refugees with war injuries, and unemployed minority youngsters who cannot find work due to prejudices on the employers’ side, or for some other reasons. Obviously, a person in majority or minority cannot throughout his or her life be productive.

One reason why humanitarian perspectives have a hard time challenging utilitarian ones might be what Richard Sennett amongst others calls compassion fatigue. It stands for the exhaustion of our sympathies in the face of persistently painful realities. *Like a fire, compassion burns out*, Sennett (2003, 146) says. In relation to media and journalism, compassion⁶ fatigue means being left exhausted and tired by those reports and ceasing to think that anything at all can be done to help (Höijer 2004, 528–529; Tester 2001, 13).

Another reason might be that working and paying taxes are visible and concrete things in the ‘reality out there’. Contributions and costs of work and unemployment can with quite objective means be measured. This is in contrast to distant sufferings and other humanitarian needs, which often are hard to prove and neutrally evaluate (Horsti 2005, 286).

There is a risk that this utilitarian way of evaluating people in our surrounding, will lead to the following scenario: *More people are made superfluous and marginal: the deskilled, unskilled, and sinking poor; the old, who no longer work; the young who cannot find work; the massive shifting populations of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees* (Cohen 2001, 293). What makes the utilitarian aspect so problematic from anti-racist equality princi-

6 We must however take into account that when compassion takes the form of pity, it also can demean the receiving part (Sennett 2003, 149). Keeping in mind the fine line between compassion and pity is important.

ples is that 'natives' seem to be envisioned as having an inherited right to welfare services, while others do not. In other words, earning your right to the Finnish welfare system requires more from ethnic minorities and immigrants than from 'natives'. Concerning 'natives', despite the fact that they at times are unruly, strange, different or badly behaved – a burden on others – their 'parasitic activity' seldom makes headlines. Their unemployment, alcoholism, drug addictions, or whatever their reason is for not being productive during a certain period of life, is understood in a silent but accepting way. Minority actors on the other hand seldom enjoy this right, but are mostly expected to be 'better than good' and 'more productive than productive' to be counted in.

Some scholars (e.g., Downing & Husband 2005) indicate that in order to change this injustice, those with more social, economic and cultural power than others; policy makers, politicians, journalists, etc., should be more sensitive and knowledgeable about such feelings of belonging that less exemplary and less powerful persons wish to articulate. One way of doing this is to increase support for a framework of laws and policies, which protect and give rights to people who are at the risk of marginalisation (e.g., Husband & Moring 2009, 147–149). This would also facilitate the access of minorities into media.

One risk that has to be taken into consideration when agitating for a communicative space in which various actors who have different and sometimes even competing ways of life are encouraged to join in, is that the outcome will hardly be increasing consensus, but rather the opposite. This slightly paradoxical situation leads us to the question about how to construct and maintain a communicative space so open for a diverse range of voices that minority groups do not feel humiliated, and at the same time create a sense of shared civility and solidarity. (See e.g., Benhabib 2002; Parekh 2000; Bohman 1996.) For this question, there are no clear cut answers ready to be applied for regions and/or nation-states with varying histories, demographics and political organisations. Instead, the question needs to be elaborated on further by political philosophers, social psychologists, and media and communication scholars alike. This elaboration shall preferably take place in co-operation with people who risk being humiliated and/or who have profound and self-experienced insight in the case-specific conditions of the communicative environment concerned.

Another question that one might pose, and also leave open for future scholars to engage with more profoundly, is whether journalistic realities in Finland (economic constraints⁷, hierarchy of news sources, daily routines,

7 For example, managers at YLE, the Finnish PSB company, have promised to initiate Russian language television news for more than five years now, but still today, there is no sign of them. Economic constraints and demands to cut expenditures are given as explanations (HS 26 February 2009).

and so on) are at all compatible with ideas about an ideal communicative space in which minorities – also those who are not ‘exactly or almost like us’ – would be treated as equals with majorities. In this ideal, inclusive and diverse network type of space, minorities would have equal opportunities to voice (as participants, journalists, managers in media companies, and so on) as majorities. Minority media would be linked to nodal points of the space, not in order for the majority society to ‘have control’ over potentially unruly voices, but in order to facilitate the flow of claims, information, knowledge and stories from minority language media to more mainstream arenas. Minorities would be served, listened to, and engaged with on terms that had been negotiated in a mutual understanding.

Some say that this is pure utopia. They claim that it is in the nature of journalism to be elite-centred and so long as the elites are ethnically and culturally homogenous, so will the communicative spaces be. Indeed, in relation to the economic situation, policymakers and journalists must often face the provocative issue of how to provide content to a small group of citizens when they are also being called upon to reduce expenditure. Journalists working under time pressure and obeying strict deadlines seem unreflectively to use the same story-telling mechanisms. In addition, they seem to perceive the hierarchy of news sources as a fixed system that cannot be challenged. The consequence of this is that although the will for the communicative space to be more diverse and inclusive seems to exist, as for example articulated in charters, acts, and codes, the reality differs from the ideal when one looks at actual media content and people’s interpretations of it.

Epilogue

Much has happened in the field of media and ethnocultural complexity in Finland since 2007. For one thing, the debate on minority and immigration issues was intensified and politicised in autumn 2008. People who call themselves immigrant critics (Fi: maahanmuuttokriitikot) were mainly active on the web during the time of my research, organising themselves and negotiating strategies for how to gain visibility in the mainstream media. In 2008–2009 their targets were met. When the True Finns party started to gain popularity and made their way into municipal and EU politics, the mainstream media 'had to' start engaging with their claims. Many of these claims are clearly more humiliating than respecting of ethnic minorities and immigrants. What happened soon after, as Suvi Keskinen (2009, 33) shows, is that also representatives for the more established political parties started to make populist articulations in public.

One claim made in these populist elite articulations, as well as in speech acts by non-elites on the web, is that the news media in Finland before 2008 were suppressing stories about the downsides of immigration.

What is noticeable here is that representatives of the old political parties have also criticised the media for not talking frankly about the challenges that increased ethnocultural complexity posed Finland during early and mid 2000's. One can ask here, why did they not engage in the mediated debate then? My material shows that voices of politicians and the Central Government were conspicuous by their absence (see also Raittala 2009, 67). This is hardly because the media would have rejected their wishes to enter the discussion, but because they did not dare to enter and/or did not know how to deal with the issue.

However, in the light of the empirical research conducted for this study, the claim in itself is partly true and partly false. The five newspapers investigated did consequently and sometimes even spectacularly deal with negative phenomena; crime, prostitution, and labour market issues such as unemployment and breaking of Finnish labour law or labour union contracts. The print media during this time, however, did not profoundly reflect on the

possible grass-root level consequences of legislative changes and/or authority action in the field of immigration and integration. Some sensational eviction cases made the exception. And the media did not, as part of their routine reporting, invite 'ordinary' people to share their views on the relative increase of migration and ethnocultural complexity.

This might explain what the focus group discussions from 2006 show, and what we today know due to the rapid increase in popularity of the True Finns party: there were quite a few persons who felt that the media reporting of that time did not correspond to their views and experiences of living in an increasingly heterogeneous society. Despite attitude studies that still pointed at greater understanding of minorities and migrants, and despite that the country was yet not struck by the economic recession of 2008, people were concerned about the consequences of immigration.

To me it seems that besides concerns relating to security issues (e.g., the threat of 'terror' or 'waves of crime') and to the slowly dissolving category of 'pure Finnishness', people were worried about slashed welfare services, and the question of who has the right to use them. The media cannot have been completely blind to this concern, since the media categorically remembered to mention who of the 'newcomers' are contributing to the common good. The media, however, did not manage to analytically, and as a matter of principle, deal with questions of how increased migration is to be linked with the idea of the Nordic welfare state model. This, in my view, gave the floor to populist politicians, who today attract voters with simplified theories on how elderly care, for example, would be improved if only immigration politics changed towards the more nationally egoistic.

To some extent, the implicitness of the welfare discourse seems to have changed after the data-gathering period. The recent discussion about the 'Grandmother Law' illustrates this well. The purpose of the law was to clarify how authorities shall deal with residence permits to family members outside the core family, grandparents for example. The attempt was to solve problems that occurred when the law had been too rigidly applied: two sick grandmothers faced eviction although they had no relatives in their countries of departure, they claimed. (See also section 1.1 in the introduction.) The question was which line Finland should follow in relation to other EU countries. In many EU countries grandparents can get residence if their children live in the country concerned. In these cases it is however common to require that the person concerned has a valid health insurance. Since general healthcare is part of the Finnish welfare system, and since it is the norm in Finland that children are not required to economically support their aging parents, Finland cannot copy these models. It was reported in the media that if the law proposal gets through, it will change the equality principles of the Finnish welfare system on a profound level.

The handling of this question in contemporary debates thus shows that the welfare storyline in relation to ethnocultural complexity, recently seems to have become more explicit.

What happens in the future, only research to come can tell. The mediated story of a society undergoing change towards the more heterogeneous has an open ending. Media content, the relationship of audience-publics to mediated texts and to their surrounding, will keep on changing. My modest wish is to inspire future research to take part in writing the following chapters.

Besides paying attention to how the public debate on welfare relates to issues of ethnocultural complexity, I would find it particularly delightful if future research would contemplate media education, literacy, or pedagogy in relation to minority issues and the media. In Finland there has recently been a successful nationwide anti-bullying campaign in schools (KiVa-koulu project) which has stirred international interest. I think it would be wise to discuss if and how minority-majority relations, anti-discriminatory ideals and the principle of non-humiliation could be related to teaching a young generation media criticism; to show them how news priorities, the need to be economically profitable, journalistic self-regulation, and other nodal points and links in the communicative space influence media content.

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER. Amoz Oz, Israeli novelist, journalist, and professor of literature, has said that he always keeps two ballpoint pens, a blue and a black one, on his desk. This in order to remind himself that when he writes political essays, it is one thing, and when he writes novels, it is another thing (Oz 2002.) He does not tell which colour he uses for writing academic texts. Red?

In a climate in which all issues related to ethnocultural complexity have recently (after 2008) been politicised, I have experienced that no matter how much distance you as a researcher try to take from your theme, you still have no control over the fact that people will 'read in' hidden agendas, personal affiliations and political standpoints. Whatever pen you write with, the text might change colour when meeting the reader. In Finland today, it seems that there are only two positions you can take when talking about ethnocultural complexity, and this applies to politicians, academics and 'ordinary people' alike: you are either positioned as a 'lady in a flowery hat' (Fi: kukkahattutäti), who naïvely supports increased ethnic and cultural variation, or then you are an 'immigration critic' (Fi: maahanmuuttokriitikko). The position of an interpreter of 'our time' who would 'encourage a habit of watchful suspicion' (Billig 1995, 177) does not exist. I have attempted to establish such a position in this study.

Susan Sontag (2003, 85) has said that there is no such thing as collective memory or collective guilt, only a collective instruction of memory and guilt.

I like to think of this dissertation as a social reconstruction of these instructions and people's opinions about them. Such a reconstruction of social reality during a time of demographic, social and political change, has been governed not solely by media content and transcribed focus group interviews, but also by theoretical debates about identity work, media and communication as situated in a broader context of structural and ideo-political components. I am not trying to convince the readers of this dissertation that my ideas are telling 'the only truth'. I have tried to remind the reader throughout the dissertation that there are always a variety of ways to take when making sense of mediated and non-mediated realities. Instead of striving to have the 'last word', I have tried to open up a discussion horizon for divergent perspectives, possibilities and explanations.

Within this horizon, there are however two fundamental points that I wish to transmit to future researchers. First, compromise, sensitivity, respect and a holistic perspective are the key words when striving for a healthy ethnoculturally complex society. This for sure does not mean a compromise with fanatics and fundamentalists, but an acceptance of Finnishness as a flexible category, and immigration as just one of many other kinds of movements in a globalised world.

Second, the mainstream media carries an enormous responsibility in the sharing and legitimising of these values. Although focus group participants apparently seemed media literate to me, capable of discussing genre, journalistic routines, 'effect', and so on, the markers that they used in the positioning of selves and others were still strikingly similar to those used in the Finnish mainstream press. It is therefore worth continuously monitoring the media (no systematic monitoring of minority issues has been done in Finland since 2005), to intervene, pose claims and educate journalists and media users.

For me it is discouraging to notice that amongst scholars and ethnic minority communities, there are people who have given up hope on the mainstream media. Their pessimism is understandable, particularly in media environments in which public service is weak and the media environment highly competitive. In Finland, where public service broadcasting is still quite strong, and where minority media are weak in reaching out to broader publics, the role of the mainstream media is important. Let us therefore continue to urge more from mainstream media, and to persistently engage in discussions aiming to specify what this 'more' is to all of 'us' when the borders of 'we' are extended.

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Appendix

A. Additional information about Case 1: The monitoring

Main method: quantitative content analysis

Number of articles: 1,222

Newspapers: *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*

Data-gathering periods: 2 months in 1999, 2001, 2004 and 2005; every third issue during 10 months in 2000; 4 months (2 months in spring and 2 in autumn) in 2002

Presented in chapter 4

Article selection criteria

The main criterion guiding the selection of articles is that the article needs to deal with ethnic minorities, immigrants and foreigners (i.e., minority actors), or with questions and phenomena concerning ethnocultural complexity in relation to Finnish society (e.g., immigration, integration, ethnicity, racism or discrimination in Finland). This means that articles on the Sámi minority in Norway, or minority language policies debated at the EU level have not been selected if there has been no link to the Finnish society. Links have here been understood in a literary sense: as an explicit mentioning of the nation-state in print. Although one could argue that it matters for the research questions of this dissertation how a Finnish newspaper reports on undocumented immigration in southern Europe, this article theme does not fulfil the selection criteria. If the journalist relates this theme to minority actors and/or questions concerning ethnocultural complexity in Finland, the article is selected. The purpose of this criterion is to restrict the amount of articles to a manageable number.

What this means is that the following types of articles are not selected:

- Ethnic conflict and minority struggles for territories/more rights in other countries.
- Finns travelling abroad.
- Finnish governmental aid to developing countries, or co-operation between authorities in two or more states, and/or international organisations.
- Articles about foreigners in arts, culture and sports who visit Finland to perform or play. For example, a news article about a foreign football player coming to play for a Finnish team is not encoded. If the article specifically emphasises that this player is anxious about how/ if his Finnish team mates will treat him as a black and non-Finnish speaking sportsman, the article is selected.
- Literary reviews.
- Articles on state visits. For example, if the Finnish President travels abroad to meet politicians of foreign states, the article is not encoded. If, during the visit, the President discusses the challenges and benefits of a relative increase of immigration into Finland, the article is included.
- Articles on food, and recipes.
- Articles on tourism. However, articles featuring frequent back-and-forth travelling by Russians and/or Estonians, for example, for family or work purposes, are selected. In uncertain cases, the article has been selected rather than left out.
- Articles on historical events such as wars and conflicts are not included. For example, articles published under a vignette titled 'Happened 50 years ago', are not included in the corpus.

Some exceptions:

- All articles about minority actors committing crimes in Finland are included in the material, even if the articles would fall under one of the exception categories listed above. For example, if a tourist of foreign origin commits a crime, the article is selected.
- Articles with pictures or illustrations with topics relating to ethnocultural complexity are included in the material, even in cases in which the issue is not treated in the text.
- If a front page 'teaser' relates to ethnocultural complexity in Finland, it is included, even if the main article that 'the tease' is referring to would not fulfil the selection criteria.

In relation to the selection of the articles for this particular case study, a foreign sounding last name in any given context is not sufficient for the article to be included. Instead, the point of departure is that the journalist must

name someone or some group as ‘belonging to a minority’, a ‘foreigner’, an ‘immigrant’, ‘of immigrant origin’, ‘Jews’, ‘Roma’, ‘Somalian’, ‘Finnish-Somalian’, or something similar. Alternatively, as noted, if the picture features visible minorities (people who in a Finnish context appear as different from the majority population), the article is encoded.

Codebook for the monitoring, 1999–2005

Categories

1. The newspaper

- 01 Hufvudstadsbladet
- 02 Vasabladet

2. Size

- 01 Small (smaller than 10 x 10 cm)
- 02 Medium small (smaller than 10 x 15 cm)
- 03 Medium big (smaller than A4)
- 04 Big (bigger than A4)

3. Placing

- 01 Regular page
- 02 Front page
- 03 Editorial page (coded as 01 after 2004)
- 04 Media page (coded as 01 after 2004)
- 05 Special, weekly or monthly attachments (coded as 01 after 2004)

4. Genre

- 01 Editorial
- 02 Column
- 03 Letter-to-the-editor
- 04 News article
- 05 Teaser (also called ‘push box’ or ‘blurb’)
- 06 Story or interview
- 07 Other

4. Ethnocultural complexity in relation to Finland as main theme of the article?

- 01 Major theme
- 02 Minor theme

5. and 6. Article theme and headline theme (encoded separately)

- 01 Legislation and/or authority action
(Problems, deficiencies, or the state of authority action or legislation concerning minority groups and/or foreigners.)
- 02 Minority actor's negative experience of Finnish authorities and legislation
(Same as above, but from the perspective of the minority group representatives themselves.)
- 03 Informative articles
(Background articles about the main principles of Islam, the history of racism, etc.)
- 04 Success stories
(Articles about minority actors who have done well in society.)
- 05 Campaigns for tolerance
(Multicultural events, anti-racist rallies, presentations, seminars, etc.)
- 06 The relationship between minorities and the majority population
(Discussion on the structures of Finnish society as discriminating, or about if and how minority representatives and majorities 'get along'.)
- 07 Violent crime committed by minority actors
(Crimes directed towards the majority population.)
- 08 Non-violent crimes committed by minority actors
(Against the majority population, but not violent.)
- 09 Conflicts within or between ethnic minority groups
- 10 Violent crime within or between minority groups
(Also contains articles on severe vandalism towards private property.)
- 11 Offensive behaviour towards minority actors
(Non-physical discrimination and racist abuse.)
- 12 Violence towards minority actors
(Also contains articles on severe vandalism towards private property.)
- 13 Legal proceedings and court orders (created in 2000)
(The topic can be closely linked to crime themes encoded under 07–012, but if the article is on the proceedings or the court decision per se, it is encoded here.)
- 14 Traffic accidents (created in 2004)
- 15 Minority cultural/religious traditions and customs
(Also challenges that these traditions and customs create in Finnish society are coded here.)
- 16 Social problems of minority actors
(Seclusion, drug or alcohol misuse, school dropouts, housing issues, etc.)
- 17 Labour market issues (created in 2001)
(Work, unemployment, job seeking, etc.)
- 18 Arrival of new immigrant groups
- 19 Refugees moving away from Finland (created in 2000)
- 20 Activity of xenophobic or racist groups
(‘Activity’ encoded here, clear crimes and offences under 11 or 12.)

-
- 21 Activity of the mass media
 - 22 Other topics
(Short description of the topic is written into the SPSS worksheet.)
 - 23 Theme not possible to define

6. and 7. Main actor group in article and headline (encoded separately)

- 01 Jews
- 02 Sámi
- 03 Roma from abroad (in 1999, 03 and 04 were merged)
- 04 Finnish Roma (in 1999, 03 and 04 were merged)
- 05 Tatars
- 06 EU-citizens (except for those 'new' EU countries, which belong to 08–11)
- 07 Russians in general
 - 07A Russians 'recently arrived' (coded under 07 from 2000 onwards)
 - 07B 'Old Russians' (coded under 07 from 2000 onwards)
 - 07C Ingrian Finns
 - 07D Russians and Estonians (created in 2002)
- 08 Estonians
- 09 Others from the Baltic countries
- 10 Others from former Soviet Union
- 11 Others from former 'Eastern Europe' (created in 2004)
- 12 Muslims (created in 2001)
- 13 Arabs
- 14 Albanians
- 15 Afghans (created in 2001)
- 16 Kurds
- 17 Turks
- 18 Iraqis
- 19 Iranians (created in 2001)
- 20 Somalians
- 21 Others of African origin
- 22 Vietnamese
- 23 Chinese
- 24 Chileans
- 25 Georgians
- 25 Serbs
- 26 Other groups
- 27 Ethnic minorities, immigrants and/ or foreigners in general
- 28 Several groups/ impossible to determine
- 29 Ethnic Finns moving back to Finland (created in 2005)

8. Main speaker

- 01 Legal and/or police department
(E.g., Prosecutors, the district court, the police dep. at the Ministry of the Interior. Not border guards, since encoded in 03, and not prison staff, since encoded in 05).
- 02 Central Government
(The Finnish state or central representatives of the state, e.g., the President, the Council of the State, the Ministers, the Speaker of Parliament, or Parliament decisions that are being referred to. Not state officials (encoded in 03) and not MPs (encoded in 07).)
- 03 Other administrative bodies
(Ministries and officials of ministries, the Ombudsman for Minorities, The Board for discrimination matters at the Ministry of Labour, customs officers, representatives of the military, firemen, etc.)
- 04 The EU or governmental bodies of other states
- 05 Grass root level public government officials
(Authorities working close to minority groups, e.g., teachers, social workers, nurses, doctors, employment authorities, reception centre staff, legal aid office. But also municipal lawyers, prison staff, staff of women's shelters, refugee counselling centres, local authorities in general and lawyers in general, except for the ones belonging to 03, 06 or 07.)
- 06 Local authorities
(E.g., the Municipal manager's office, local government offices without a political role, cities and municipalities in Finland.)
- 07 Political parties/politicians (E.g., MPs.)
- 08 Minority actors
(E.g., People who belong to minority groups and whose ethnic background is made clear in the article through e.g., referring to the country of origin mentioned in the asylum seeking application, or by visual means. Might also refer to representatives of refugee organisations, the Sámi delegation or the Sámi information office.)
- 09 The mass medium itself or its representative
(The journalist, columnist or a former editorial as speaker.)
- 10 Other media
(Other newspaper, the Finnish News Agency.)
- 11 NGOs
(Finnish NGOs like the Finnish League for Human Rights, trade unions, sports associations.)
- 12 Citizens
(Letters-to-the-editor which are signed just with a name without references to a specific role or any of the 01–16 categories.)
- 13 Enterprises
- 14 Researchers
(Academic researchers, research institutes, Statistics Finland, etc.)

-
- 15 International Human Rights NGOs
(E.g., the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, the IOM.)
 - 16 Religious communities or congregations
(The church, the archbishop, the Jewish congregation in Helsinki, etc.)
 - 17 Xenophobic or racist groups
 - 18 Other
(E.g., cities in other countries, people in arts and culture.)
 - 19 No speaker/ speaker not clear

9. Which material is concerned?

- 01 2005-material
- 02 2004-material
- 03 Autumn 2002-material 'h2002'
- 04 Spring 2002-material 'v2002'
- 05 2001-material
- 06 2000-material
- 07 1999-material

Overview of the main news events

Autumn 1999 ('1999'): During this period, Finland had the chairmanship of the EU, which meant that there was a series of EU meetings held in the country. During top level meetings in the city of Tampere, many of the issues on the agenda related to asylum seekers and the EU. All of these articles do not fulfil the selection criteria since there is no linkage to Finland, but some do. Furthermore, during this period a new group of asylum seekers started coming to Finland: Roma from former Soviet Bloc countries.

Year 2000 ('2000'): During this ten month long research period there were three big news themes; a series of conflicts with racist overtones in a suburb to the city of Vantaa in southern Finland called Hakunila (Swe: Håkansböle) involving youngsters of various origins, got a lot of publicity in the papers; drug dealing and other types of crimes committed by foreign nationals made it into the headlines repeatedly; and the reporting about Roma from Eastern European countries, particularly from Poland and the Czech Republic, seeking asylum in Finland continued.

Autumn 2001 ('2001'): This period is dominated by the 9/11 events and the so-called War against Terror. Finland is not mentioned in all articles on this major news event, but the event still influences the reporting of ethnocultural complexity in relation to Finnish society, since 'Muslims' in Finland get to tell their views on the concrete events, and the changing attitude climate.

Spring 2002 ('v2002'): The involvement of Russians and Estonians in the sex industry is a significant theme during this period. The newspapers also published short news articles about Roma from Romania who continuously arrive in Finland.

Autumn 2002 ('h2002'): During this period, the discussion about the criminalisation of prostitution hit the headlines. The Prime Minister of Sweden, Göran Persson, criticised Finland's refugee politics, which also got much publicity. Furthermore, both newspapers tentatively followed the destiny of a family who had got an eviction order.

Spring 2004 ('2004'): During this period, the terrorist attacks in Madrid (the so called Madrid train bombing on 15 March 2004) took place, which mark the reporting in the sections for foreign news. None of these foreign news articles fulfil the selection criteria of this study. Yet, they form the context of the articles selected and are therefore worth mentioning. In Finland, the Parliamentary Constitutional Law Committee (Swe: Riksdagens grundlagsutskott) discussed the so called New Immigration law. The Minister of the Interior, Kari Rajamäki made a plea for stricter asylum politics, which brought about some complaints amongst newspaper readers. During this period there was also a more philosophical debate on the n-word, mainly taking place on the letters-to-the-editor page. Since many of these letters do not deal with Finland as such in relation to the history of racism and the use of the n-word, but discuss the topic from a more general perspective (e.g., what does the French word for 'negritude' stand for in English, and so on), not all of these have met the article selection criteria.

Spring 2005 ('2005'): During this period, the biggest news event concerning minority actors and ethnocultural complexity was that Finnish border guards stopped a bus with Georgian women at the Russian-Finnish border. The bus was supposed to continue to Sweden, but after investigation, the bus was not allowed to do so, since the police suspected the tour leaders of being involved in human trafficking. Asylum seeking Roma and their refused entry were continuously reported, and so were also various types of crimes such as attempts to smuggle medicine, narcotics or alcohol.

B. Additional information about Case II: Russians and Estonians

Main method: qualitative close reading

Number of articles: 74

Newspapers: *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet*

Presented in chapter 5

Article selection criteria

Same as in the monitoring. The 74 articles investigated for this study are part of the 1,222 article corpus of Case I. From this Case I-corpus all articles about Russians and Estonians during one two month long research period in 2001 and one in 2002 ('h2002') were selected.

Questions asked from the material in the qualitative close reading

>Article number<

>Title of article<

1. Is the actor presented as passive or active? Exemplify if possible.
2. Is the actor presented as being involved in crime or not, and in what way?
 - 2.1. Is the actor presented as a victim of crime or offence, and in what way?
3. Are differences in culture and/or traditions emphasised? How can this be seen?
 - 3.1. Are matters related to language or language skills emphasised? How can this be seen?
4. Are similarities between various social groups underlined? How can this be seen?
5. Does the visual contribute to the creation of various in- and out-groups? How?
6. Is geographic distance and/or closeness underlined? How is this done?
7. Is there something else in the article that might contribute to a 'we and they' dichotomisation?
8. Who are quoted in the articles?
9. Who are and what is given visibility? Are the persons getting visibility also the ones speaking? If not, is there an obvious reason for that?

C. Additional information about Case III: Arts pages

Main method: quantitative content analysis and qualitative close reading

Number of articles: 333

Newspapers: *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet*

Research period: 6 months in 2007

Presented in chapter 6

Article selection criteria

The general idea in the selection of articles is the same as in the media monitoring of *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Vasabladet* (Case I) and the study of *Ilta-lehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* (Case VI): Articles on ethnocultural complexity in general and on minority actors in particular are selected from the overall reporting in the two newspapers.

In contrast to the media monitoring (Case I), however, there has been a more flexible selection tactic concerning how explicitly the journalist has to name someone according to his/her background and/or country of origin, or as 'minority', 'immigrant', 'of immigrant origin', for the article to be counted in. In this case study, I have applied a more subjective and interpretative understanding of whether the actor is a minority actor, or not. Here, there is no requirement that the journalist explicitly mentions minority belonging (see Hultén 2006, 33–34). There can either be a press photo featuring a visible minority actor (as was possible also in the monitoring in Case I), or in some cases, a hint, like a foreign sounding last name, that has urged me to look into electronically archived newspapers in order to see whether the background of the person earlier has been mentioned. If it has, the article has been counted in. In other words; a foreign sounding last name as such has not been enough for an actor to be counted in.

Without this change in selection criteria, actors of a foreign or minority origin, who are presented without any references to their background, would have gone unnoticed. In uncertain cases I have omitted the article rather than included it.

Code book for the arts pages in Hbl and HS (2007)

Newspaper	01 Helsingin Sanomat (HS) 02 Hufvudstadsbladet (Hbl)
Ethnocultural complexity /minority actors as...	01 Main theme 02 Sub-theme
Genre	01 News article or reportage 02 Teaser 03 Column or other opinion article 04 Review 05 Portrait
Field of arts	01 Culture in general or discussion of ethnocultural complexity, belonging, racism, etc. 02 Dance 03 Literature 04 Film 05 Festivals 06 Design or architecture 07 Theatre 08 Music 09 Photo art 10 Fine arts or media arts 11 Cultural and language politics 12 Mass media
The background of the artist/actor, part I and part II. This section is encoded in two parts, e.g., the actor is 'allowed' two backgrounds, e.g., Somalian-Finnish	01 Immigrants, minorities, foreigners in general, or many groups 02 Finland 03 The other Nordic countries 04 European countries (except for the Baltic countries) 05 The Baltic countries 06 Russia or former Soviet Bloc countries (except for the Baltic countries) 07 Turkey, the Maghreb and the Middle East 08 The Balkans

- 09 U.S. or Canada
 - 10 Central or South America
 - 11 Africa (not Maghreb)
 - 12 Asia
 - 13 Oceania
 - 14 Not clear
-

The art featured in the paper is dealing with...

- 01 Other topic
 - 02 Problems and possibilities of ethnocultural complexity, e.g., immigration, identity work
 - 03 Discrimination or racism more directly than above
 - 04 Roma/ Romani culture
 - 05 About what is 'typically' Finnish
 - 06 Sámi
 - 07 Muslims/ Islam
 - 08 Finns living abroad
 - 09 Issues related to the Swedish language minority in Finland
 - 10 Jews /Judaism
 - 11 Tatars /Tatar culture
-

Is the actor living in Finland?

- 01 Not clear/ not personified
 - 02 Yes
 - 03 No
-

Is the headline about ethnocultural complexity?

- 01 Not clear
 - 02 Yes
 - 03 No
-

Is there a picture?

- 01 Yes
 - 02 No
-

Who is the main speaker?

- 01 The artist him- or herself
- 02 The journalist
- 03 The audience/ the spectators
- 04 Representative of an established cultural institution
- 05 Representative of an institutionally 'independent' group
- 06 Politicians

07 Representative of the corporate world

08 Diplomats

09 Academics or other experts

Is Sweden mentioned?

01 Yes

02 No

D. Additional information about Case iv: Afternoon papers

Main method: quantitative content analysis and qualitative close reading

Number of articles: 227

Newspapers: *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat*

Research periods: One month in 2004 and 2005

Presented in chapter 7

Article selection criteria for the study of IL and IS, 2004–2005

As in Case III, the Arts pages, I have also here applied more subjective and flexible criteria of who are to be considered as minority actors within the framework of this study. A journalist might explicitly mention minority belonging or there might be a press photo featuring a visible minority actor, but if not, I have based my selection on information occurring in archived newspaper articles accessible through the web (see Hultén 2006, 33–34). Just as in the previous case, a foreign last name as such has not been enough for inclusion. Without this more flexible selection criteria, many articles featuring e.g., famous football players, like Alexei Eremenko Junior, would have gone unnoticed. In contrast to the monitoring (Case I), in this case study, sports articles are taken into account although the theme of the article does not primarily deal with issues relating to racism, discrimination, ethnic relations, etc. In other words, irrespective of whether a foreign athlete is concerned about being perceived as a black, non-Finnish speaking newcomer, or not, the article is selected. Concerning the required link to Finland, this study follows the same strict rule as the monitoring in Case I: Articles have to deal with minority issues in relation to Finnish society.

The code book for IS and IL (2004–2005)

1. The afternoon newspaper

- 01 Iltalehti (IL)
- 02 Ilta-Sanomat (IS)

2. Placing of article

- 01 Front page
- 02 Normal page
- 03 Sports section

3. Genre

- 01 Editorial
- 02 Column
- 03 Letters-to-the-editor
- 04 News article or reportage
- 05 Teaser
- 07 Other

4. Size

- 01 Small (smaller than a post card)
- 02 Mid-sized (between postcard and an A4)
- 03 Big (bigger than an A4)

5. Picture

- 01 No picture or illustration
- 02 One picture or illustration
- 03 More than one picture or illustration

6. Year

- 01 2004
- 02 2005

7. Actor in focus

- 01 Minority celebrity living in Finland
- 02 Minority celebrity living abroad (link to Finland required)
- 03 Sports person
- 04 Perpetrators (crime)
- 05 'Ordinary' people
- 06 Other (includes authorities, MPs, the police, etc.)

E. Additional information about Case v: The focus group study

Main method: qualitative close reading

Number of discussants: 33

Number of focus group meetings: 6

Research period: interviews were conducted in 2006

Presented in chapter 8

The six focus groups

Group 1 Finnish speaking women (blue collar workers and entrepreneurs) (one of them is bilingually Swedish and Finnish speaking), 4 persons.

Living in a village in the south-western part of Finland.

Group 2 Swedish speaking men (blue collar workers and entrepreneurs), 4 persons.

Living in city in the mid western part of Finland.

Group 3 Swedish speaking youngsters (two of them have at least one parent of immigrant origin), 7 persons.

Living in a city in the south-western part of Finland.

Group 4 Youngsters of Russian background, 9 persons.

Living in the capital area.

Group 5 Women of Bosnian background with various professional backgrounds, 5 persons.

Living in a city in the mid-western part of Finland.

Group 6 Men of Somalian background with various professional backgrounds, 4 persons.

Living in the capital area.

Pragmatic arrangements and the role of the moderator

When selecting discussants, I used a theoretically motivated selection (Morgan 1997, 35, 1998a, 62, 1998b, 56). A representative selection was not necessary in this case, since I did not particularly aim at systematically comparing

groups with one another (see e.g., Hylander 1998, 10). A random sampling had ruined the idea of creating groups in which members share the same kinds of experiences.

The purpose of the theoretically motivated selection was to create a research design, in which the groups internally would be fairly homogeneous, but externally heterogeneous concerning the geographic area in which they live, education, age, and concerning ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds. In line with Bauer and Gaskell (1999, 175), friendly relationships of discussants were not seen as a disadvantage. Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2007, 99) argue that to have friends in a focus group should be avoided in order to minimise insider and outsider tensions. In the light of the results of the focus group study, I argue for the opposite. In most groups there were friends, and this, I would argue, had a positive effect on the discussion. The openness, easygoingness and familiar tone of voice which friends apply when talking to each other, influenced the other discussants, who soon also applied an informal and spontaneous way of talking.

With this in mind, six groups were formed. These consisted of men, women, young and old, Finnish speaking Finns, Swedish speaking Finns, and of persons of immigrant origin. The idea steering how the groups of discussants of immigrant origin ought to be formed was influenced by the following reasoning: a group of people of Russian origin was chosen since the Russians in Finland constitute the biggest minority group. A group of people of Somalian origin was chosen since Somalians are the ones who seem to experience most discrimination of all immigrant groups in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002, 134), and also the ones of whom the majority is the most sceptical (Jaakkola 2005, 2009). A group of people of Bosnian origin was chosen since the group is so often used as an example of a well-integrated immigrant group (e.g., in the following magazines about labour market issues and entrepreneurship: *BRIEF* 2006/3, 5; *Hyvä Yritys* 2006/3, 9–11; *Ahjo* 2006/8; *Varsinais-Suomen Yrittäjät* 2005/3.)

When the discussants were contacted for the first time, the project was very briefly presented to them by phone. Between the approval to participate and the actual meeting, frequent contact by phone was established to make sure the participants remembered to show up. During the phone conversation no specific advice was given and no assignments were distributed by mail. The participants however knew the theme of the discussion, so in theory, they had the possibility of, for example, reading summaries of research reports accessible on the Internet.

The group discussions were between 90 and 120 minutes long, and all except one, were moderated by myself. I was present at the discussion moderated by a research assistant (Heidi af Heurlin). The meetings were organised in the cities or villages in which the discussants lived. Semi-public places,

such as restaurant cabinets were used for the gatherings. The interviews were semi-structured; there were certain themes that I had decided to take up for discussion, and I had some news articles with me that I had planned to hand out to the discussants. The idea of handing out articles to be read was that they would generate direct, spontaneous comments about journalism, but also that they would generate more general discussion about diversity related issues. The articles thus functioned both as a primary material and as stimulation material (see e.g., Greenbaum 1998, 64–65).

The themes taken up were not precisely the same in all groups. The idea was to adapt the questions so that they would fit the particular interests of the groups. For example, since the men of Somalian background had an urge to speak more about representations of Somalians in the Finnish media, they were allowed to do so instead of encouraging them to make more general statements about how immigrants in general are presented.

The procedure of the meeting itself was rather similar with all groups. First, all discussants were asked to fill in forms about their background and their media use. (These have not been analysed for this study, but served as a sort of background material.) Then, the first questions asked, related to media consumption habits of the discussants. These functioned as warm-up questions, and have in the analyses not been paid much attention. After this, the moderator asked the participants about how they feel Finnish media present actors of minority origin. Whether this opening then led to more thorough discussions of the media's reporting or to general topics such as self-experienced racism, and/or attitudes against immigrants, was up to the discussants. Sometimes the articles handed out stimulated discussion, not about the media reporting as such, but about the events or phenomena that the media reported on. This was not seen as a disadvantage for the study, so these sorts of discussions were allowed to continue.

As a moderator I paid attention not to act as a mysterious knowledge-keeper who holds back her expertise, and pretends not to know anything about the topic discussed. I had decided to participate in the discussions as myself if I was requested by the discussants to do so. In fact, it only occurred once that the discussants used me as a source of information (G5, page 33 the transcribed version of the discussion).

From time to time I might have asked questions that appear to be 'too difficult'. I could for example ask the discussants whether they feel that the media influences them, or I could ask them whether they think that the journalist had a particular intention or hidden agenda when writing the text. In most cases, the discussion chains emerging were valuable for the analyses. It is however important to underline that I did not ask the discussants these questions because I expect them to answer my research questions, and neither did I use their answers for this purpose. This was simply a way of

directing the discussion towards the media in order to make visible commonalities and differences in various interpretative frames (Höjjer & Rasmussen 2005, 99).

When displaying the findings of the sense-making of the transcripts (see chapter 3 and 8), I tried not to generalise the findings too much, since I am well aware that the discussants are not representing entire communities, but primarily themselves. However, as noted previously in this dissertation, interpretative frames are seldom individual, but tend to be collectively shared (*ibid.*).

More detailed information about the discussants, their backgrounds and the focus group meetings cannot be provided since communities are small and the anonymity of the discussants shall be protected. In the section that follows, I will however try to transmit the ambiance of the meetings, since this will help the reader to contextualise the quotations in chapter 8.

Group dynamics and the level of spontaneity

In most groups the discussions were vivid and the role of the moderator was to hand out turns instead of asking questions. Both groups of youngsters, however, were demanding in the sense that more questions and more moderating were required.

The Finnish speaking women in group 1 (G1) (one woman is in fact bilingual, but prefers Finnish to Swedish) are extremely spontaneous. They have opinions about basically everything which comes up, and they are not afraid of being provocative. They seldom wait for the moderator to give them the turn. They take it themselves. There is one woman, Tuula, who dominates the discussion, and she is the one creating an atmosphere of frankness which seems to influence the other ones in the group. She talks in politically incorrect terms and makes loud claims. Now and then she reminds the other ones present that she as an entrepreneur, in fact, has employed foreign workers. By doing this, it seems that she tries to protect herself from possible accusations about her having racist opinions.

In group 2 (G2), which consists of Swedish speaking men, there is no clear leader. One of the men, Göran, seems to be much respected by the others. Once, for example, another discussant, Mikael, is changing his statements after having been criticised by Göran. (G2, pages 29–30 in the transcripts.) When the leading figure in G1 was the one with the most controversial opinions, Göran is the most moderate in his group. This is important to note, since it might have affected the overall tone of the commenting done in these two groups.

The third group (G3) consisting of Swedish speaking youngsters are interviewed during class, but without the presence of their teacher. These

youngsters express harsh attitudes against immigrants and foreigners living in Finland, and particularly in a city nearby. In fact, two of the discussants in the group have parents of immigrant origin, but this does not seem to affect their commenting. What defines this group are certain tensions between the boys and the girls. The focus group is conducted in a vocational school. The boys study one profession and the girls another. How many lessons they in fact attend together is not clear, but at least it seems as though they are not familiar with sitting in a semi-circle facing one another. The tension can be seen for example in the following type of behaviour: a girl, who in general does not look any of the boys in the eyes while talking, suddenly says something provocative after which she looks up to see the reaction of one of the boys. Results from focus group studies with young people show that groups separated by gender seem to work better (Krueger 1994). In retrospect, it might have been wiser to arrange separate discussion groups for the female and male discussants in the Swedish speaking group. The discussants were 16–17-year-olds.

On the other hand, in the group of Russian speaking youth (G4, discussants 17–18-year-olds), there seemed to be no need for these kind of tensions. These discussants are one to two years older, which might influence the more neutral relationship to the opposite gender. Yet, this is the group which is the most difficult to moderate. Students are all supposed to know Finnish well (according to their teacher, they are all advanced level students). They, however, speak a lot of Russian with each other, and seem to be a bit hesitant speaking Finnish in front of the group (or in front of me). In general they seem somewhat uninterested in the theme. This might have to do with a wish to 'stay cool' and not to 'grumble' about experiences of discrimination and so forth, or they might just see an opportunity here to relax while their teacher is not present. This is the group that, according to themselves, follow the Finnish media the least.

The fifth group (G5), the women of Bosnian origin are very spontaneous and active in their claims-making. They follow many types of media; homeland media, minority language media produced by people in other Nordic countries, Swedish mainstream media and Finnish mainstream media. At first, I could sense a bit of scepticism from the group, but after a lengthy presentation of the aim of the study, the women openly tell about their lives in Finland, and they seem genuinely content that their views concerning the topic are listened to. In this group, there is no clear leader, but it is obvious that the women pay close attention to what one of the women, Nafas, has to say.

The sixth group (G6), the Somali speaking men, are more strategic than the Bosnian speaking women in their claims-making. They do not agree upon all topics – here is thus internal dissonance – but it still seems as if the men had gathered before to discuss which things are important to emphasise.

They are very spontaneous, and they talk a lot. From time to time, language deficits make it a bit hard to get a grasp of what is the actual point in some of the arguments. Mostly, their language is however understandable. The men of Somalian background and women of Bosnian background are the ones who seem to be engaging the most in the discussions. All discussants in these two groups have come to Finland as war-refugees more than ten years ago.

Interview guide

(Can be modified from group to group in order to be more suitable.)

1. Ok, let's start with your names. Please, go ahead!
2. Then, some background information. Are you reading newspapers? What kinds of papers? What about TV? Are you watching TV? Have you noticed any stories in these media relating to immigrants and ethnic minorities?
3. Then, I would like to know if you personally know or spend time with people who are of migrant origin or who belong to some ethnic minority?/ethnic Finns born in the country?
4. A difficult theme: do you think that immigrants who need to come to Finland should have the right to do so? What about people who come here for work?
5. Now, over to the actual topic of this study: how do you think that the Finnish media, in general, deals with the immigrants and ethnic minorities?
 - Are there certain groups which in the media often are featured in relation to negative news themes? Why these groups? Do you think these are the groups which in general have the hardest time in Finland, and who experience most prejudice?
6. >Let the discussants read the first two articles and then discuss the article.<
7. Can you think of a news article or a TV-programme, which would portray immigrants and ethnic minorities as a resource for the country? Is it important that these kinds of positive articles are published? Do you think racism would diminish if there were more articles of this kind?
8. >Let the discussants read the third article and then discuss it.<
9. Then some questions about the effect of the media on people's attitudes

and behaviour. Do you think you are influenced by the media's reporting on these issues? So, when we know that immigrants have a hard time finding jobs in Finland, do you think that the media's reporting could aid or make this even more difficult? Besides the media, what else influences people's attitudes concerning these issues?

>Additional questions in case there is time left:<

10. Which are the most common stereotypes of the following groups that people in Finland have; Russians, Somalians, Bosnians, and Vietnamese?
11. How would a really good article about immigrants or ethnic minorities look?
12. Have you seen any visible minorities working as journalists?