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Kritiska blickar från marginalen.
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Jukka Lehtonen

Images of minorities in Finnish media

The first time I met Jens, we were working together to construct an image of Finnishness for an audience of about one hundred LGBT activists. This was in Copenhagen in the summer of 1986, and the occasion was an IGA (now ILGA) conference at which I was the sole representative of the Finnish LGBT organisation Seta. All participants were asked to organise a programme for the evening party, and Jens, who was active in the Swedish lesbian and gay movement, promised to help me with a Finnish contribution. Surprise, surprise! We decided to make a nude show that included being drunk in a Finnish sauna. Despite this being a gay party, we were not having sex in the sauna. Instead, as future academics, we had a discussion – all in Finnish! Jens had learned by heart some biblical sentences in Finnish during a visit to Finland. He did not understand what he was saying, but we had a great drunken conversation. Swedes helping Finns, a sauna, being drunk, naked men – so very stereotypical. But it was fun, and we got a very warm cheer from our audience.

We have kept in contact throughout the years. Jens came to my dissertation party in 2003.¹ I have commented on his analysis of Nordic same-sex marriage history, and reviewed his book *Odd Couples*.² I followed

Jens' work through my colleague Kati Mustola, who cooperated with Jens on LGBT history projects. Over the years, Jens and I have kept in contact via the postal service and (hand) writing – he sends me beautiful hand-written letters and I send him postcards from my trips. Thank you for the letters Jens!

Introduction

With this chapter, I will present material from the working life equality project, WeAll.³ My seven colleagues and myself have collected extensive media material: 2555 texts on equality issues that relate to working life and education from eight media sources.⁴ For this chapter, I have selected fifty images of minority representations from this data to analyse how differences and norms are constructed through the images of minorities in the Finnish media.⁵ I focus on five minoritized groups: gender minorities (trans and intersex people), sexual minorities, Roma people, Sami people, and people with disabilities. I examine the construction of normativities relating to gender, heterosexuality, ethnicity or whiteness, and ability or the able-bodied. I look for the intersectional viewpoint that demonstrates how differences and norms are linked and connected. I analyse how minorities are presented in the media and how intersecting differences are part of this image construction. I will first discuss the concepts used in my analysis and then provide a short introduction to the existing Finnish literature on the topic. Second, I introduce the data and the methods used for the analysis. Finally, I focus on the results that show how the Finnish media constructs images of minorities.

Prevailing cultural attitudes reinforce the following expectations and preferences: people with a male body should exhibit behaviours that are masculine and heterosexual, and people with a female body should be both feminine and heterosexual.⁶ Current research on gender and sexuality frequently uses the term heteronormativity to describe this binary concept of human existence and behaviour.⁷ More recently, the linking of body traits and gender experience has been analysed and challenged using the

concepts of cisgender and cisnormativity.⁸ Hetero- and cisnormative thinking produces dominant gender definitions and social and cultural expectations. At the same time, it limits people's opportunities, desires, and means of expression in Finland, as well as their choices in interpersonal relationships, hobbies, work, career, conscription, and education.⁹

Similarly, the normativeness of whiteness and ability is reflected in the way people think: certain groups of people are seen as non-normative - and sometimes inferior - minorities. The concept of hegemonic whiteness has been used in the analyses of normative whiteness to present an identity position and a model of thought or perspective that benefits a particular group.¹⁰ In turn, critical and cultural research on disability has challenged and politicised the prevailing individualised and medicalised perceptions of disability.¹¹ Attention has also been drawn to disability as a social and cultural norm that is reflected in everyday perceptions of the body, ability, and humanity.¹² Racism, abelism, and cisheteronormativity have their own histories within the power structures of Finnish society and culture, and distinct ways of working in the everyday life and practices. I don't aim to abolish these differences in my analysis, even if I find many similarities within the strategies of constructing of minoritized groups.

Intersectionality refers to the diverse range of social relationships and subject positions and the connections between them.¹³ The goal of intersectional research is to make visible the intersecting differences that would otherwise go unaddressed and to facilitate an understanding that these differences are interlinked and constructive.¹⁴ The intersectional perspective is well suited to the study of the production of differences, as well as normativities; it is particularly useful when examining minorities within minorities, the intersections of differences in the images of minorities, and the overlapping of normativities. These three dimensions are central to my analysis of media images.

Finnish media research has analysed how media images construct perceptions of gender and its diversity, sexuality, ability, and ethnicity and whiteness.¹⁵ Typically, Finnish studies have specifically used the perspective of minorities when researching differences and diversity. The research with a minority focus has generally selected the minority-themed texts of certain media sources and targeted one minority at a time.

Increasingly, intersecting differences have been included in the analysis.¹⁶ However, the differences between the descriptions of different minorities have not been given significant consideration. Also, the analysis of both minorities and differences has focused on the study of images and texts, or solely on texts. In this research, I have placed the emphasis on the images and the related intersecting differences.

Between January and April 2016, the eight researchers of the WeAll project gathered extensive media data (2555 articles) on education and working life topics from eight diverse popular media sources. Of the texts collected (N=2555), most (N=1742, 68%) included a type of illustration, and the images typically contained human figures. The preliminary analysis showed that the human figures were mainly adults who were heterosexual (presumably), white, and able-bodied¹⁷. They were rarely members of religious or ethnic minority groups, and they were clearly either men or women - but more often men. My data for this chapter was rechecked to ensure that the material included images of minorities. From the final collection of texts, a total of 50 images of minorities were considered suitable for the analysis: seven images of gender minorities, 14 images of sexual minorities, three of Roma people, four of Sámi people, and 22 images of people with disabilities.

For each image selected for the final data set, I made a brief description that described the content and context of the image. I specified how differences were assessed in each image or, partially, in the surrounding text. This method can be referred to as image-based content analysis: the selected images are the starting point for the assessment, but the analysis expands to include the text surrounding the images.¹⁸ When assessing the images of minoritized groups, I specifically analysed what was specific, similar, and different in relation to the other representations of minorities in the data. I examined how other - possibly overlapping - differences were described in the same context and whether the image presented minorities within minorities. I considered if the minorities were specifically selected to represent minority groups, or if the individuals in the images were included as depictions of people in general. I also looked for the context and topics involved in their representations.¹⁹ In addition to media images that sustain normative thinking on differences, minority-related images

generally reflect various representations that produce racialised, gendered, sexualised, and ability-related forms of knowledge about the Other.²⁰

Images of five minorities in the media data

I first describe the types of images that included the five minority groups examined in this study, and I focus on context and how the themes of education and working life were presented in the texts. I will also discuss whether the images included Finnish people belonging to minorities and whether the people in the images were named.

Texts with gender minority images (N=7) included the following topics: intersex people in sports, photographs of burlesque art, a transvestite in the Living Library project, trans people in TV shows, an actor in drag, nonbinary people in a queer theatre performance, and Indian hijra culture. In four of the texts, the gender minority illustration was related to art or entertainment. Work life or education themes were largely overlooked in the material. The actual people belonging to the described gender minorities were named in the texts: only one was Finnish. In three of the texts, foreign people belonging to gender minorities appeared in the images. Gender minority images were varied in the data, and the pictures included intersex, transsexual, and non-binary people as well as transvestites.

Texts with sexual minority images (N=14) included the following topics: the 60th anniversary of a Member of Parliament, a gay man in the Living Library project, the Finnish artist Tom of Finland, actors in the Tom of Finland film, a picture of an employee from a LGBTI human rights organisation, a column written by a dancer, youth theatre, an obituary of a businessman, moving to another location for work, and interviews with a conductor, an actor, a historian, and an author. Seven of the texts included stories of well-known cultural or public figures who belong to sexual minorities. In this data sample there were five texts that highlighted themes relating to the arts and entertainment; education and working life themes were mainly side issues. Seven other texts focused on

the arts. Several images were not portraits of people belonging to sexual minorities; instead, they included people acting as members of these minority groups. In almost all (12) texts a Finnish person was included in the image. People with an established public profile often appeared in the sexual minority imagery, and their sexual orientation was not always mentioned.

In the texts concerning the traditional ethnic Finnish minorities, Roma (N=3) and Sámi (N=4), all but one of the people in the pictures were Finnish and their names were provided. The subject of one text was the Roma in Eastern Europe and the picture featured an unnamed girl. Roma people were also depicted in texts on education (two Roma women and a toddler in one picture) and elite sports. The texts relating to the Sámi people covered stories on Kilpisjärvi school in Northern Finland, a Sámi person moving to Helsinki, a Sámi priest, and a Sámi writer. Education and working life topics were not prominent in the texts. In the case of the Roma, the texts mentioned discrimination and unfair treatment more often than in the texts about the Sámi. Resilience in education and working life emerged as frequent topics.

The texts on people with disabilities (N=22) included a wide variety of topics: accessibility, discrimination in access to education, general discrimination against people with disabilities, blindness and visual aids, the work of taxi drivers, the blind, people with intellectual disabilities, people with reduced mobility, people with accidental disabilities, elderly care, Asperger's syndrome, autism spectrum disorders, ADHD, youth with special needs, inability to work, chronic pain, and disability in Africa. The people in the images were mainly Finnish and their names were generally provided. Two of those photographed were Americans, and one text had images of people from Africa. One image was a figure of a blind girl drawn on the cover of a book. Two texts had images of an anonymous person in a wheelchair that was taken from the side or from behind so that the person was obscured. The wheelchair image seems to be used in the media as a universal symbol of disability. Work, education, and career were central themes in a number of texts. Other texts focused on care systems and the problems encountered with services for people with disabilities. The majority of the texts were based on interviews with people with

disabilities and emphasised how individuals coped with life despite their injury or illness. Discrimination and accessibility issues often emerged in the texts, and they covered many forms of disability and reasons for an inability to work.

Images of minorities as minorities and as general people

The primary focus of my analysis is to examine when a person's inclusion in a minority is made visible and when these connections are hidden. People who are part of sexual, gender, or traditional ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities are often portrayed in the media without being identified as belonging to any minority group. For example, it is possible that many media images include people who are Sámi, deaf, or bisexual, but the reader is not made aware of their link to a minority group. If individuals are not presented as belonging to their minority group, then it is unlikely that they will be identified as being a part of a minority. Based on normative assumptions, the prevailing interpretation would be that they are, for example, able-bodied, white, cis- and gender normative heterosexual men or women. It is difficult to discuss and portray minorities without emphasising that they belong to the minority or directly naming the minority in the text. Typically, minority images are published in texts with a specific minority theme: the image of a person with a disability is explicitly provided in a text that has disability as the primary subject. In this case, the minority image emphasises the minority status. Individuals who are presented as belonging to a minority group almost never represent humanity in general; instead, their images are used to illustrate difference from the norm. For example, a trans person appears in the text only or primarily as a trans person; their other features or aspects are not emphasised.

I assert that minority images can be examined by constructing two opposing features of the minority description mode: the minority as a minority mode and the minority as a general human mode. The first mode

emphasises the description of the minority specifically as a minority. The second mode primarily views members of the minority as representative of humans in general, and their image is not published specifically because they belong to a minority; essentially the minority aspect of the image is only incidental.

The gender minority figures in the data were all included in the media presentations because of their gender identity or expression. Four of the pictures or picture collages included a real person who belonged to a gender minority, and these texts were generally focused on topics relating to gender diversity. The other three texts covered broader subjects: an interview with an actor, theatre performance, and burlesque art images. These three texts also featured people who challenged gendered boundaries; therefore, they were included in the gender minority image data. All of the gender minority images represented a minority as a minority mode.

The minority as a minority mode was also prevalent in the sexual minority images; however, there was also a degree of variation in this data. An image of an American male couple clearly represented a model example of the minority as a general human mode: the primary subject of their interview was a relocation to follow work opportunities. Thus, the focus was not on their connection to a minority, but on the issues faced by a couple when they move to another location in search of work. I would also partially link an image of a Member of Parliament and an image of a director of a company with the minority as a general human mode. The image of the MP appeared for his 60th birthday in an anniversary text column and briefly noted his registered relationship with a man. The company manager's obituary reflected on his stance as an "openly homosexual leader", and it also highlighted that he was active in an LGBTI rights organisation. In texts such as these newspaper columns, it is common to acknowledge an individual's heterosexual marriage, relationship, or family; however, the word heterosexual is rarely used. Texts that include people from a sexual minority challenge this editorial tradition and the general way that sexual orientation is silenced when a person being celebrated is not heterosexual. They can also focus on the issue of belonging to a sexual minority either directly, such as in the

obituary column, or indirectly, such as highlighting the registered partnership of the MP, including the name of his male spouse, and providing the statement that “they have been treated nicely as a couple”. The data also included in-person interviews with well-known actors, authors, and conductors who are widely known to be gay or lesbian. Primarily, the interviews were conducted for reasons other than the interviewees connection to a sexual minority, and thus this topic was not the key subject of the texts. However, brief discussions of sexual minority themes were included, and in some cases the texts did mention that the people belonged to a sexual minority. This type of description of sexual minorities is a combination of the two modes: a public figure describes their work and experiences in general terms (minority as a general human mode) while also explaining the issues relating to their experience of being part of a sexual minority (minority as a minority mode). It is not as common for heterosexual actors, authors, or conductors to directly discuss specific aspects of their heterosexuality, even though they may provide details of their (heterosexual) relationships, families, or interests.

In the images of the Roma and Sámi, the minority as a minority mode was clearly emphasised. The Roma texts in particular focused on experiences that related directly to the Roma (education, elite sports, and racism). The Sámi texts provided a greater degree of variation. The description of minorities as minorities was central in interviews with a Sámi language lecturer and a Sámi priest. In texts on Kilpisjärvi school and a student’s relocation from Northern Finland municipality Utsjoki to Helsinki, the Sámi focus was evident; however, the emphasis was on a small school surviving in Northern Finland and a move from a rural area to a large city. The latter text thus featured both modes of description. The interview with a young person who had moved from Utsjoki to study at a high school in Helsinki emphasised the theme of what it is like to be Sámi in Helsinki.

The minority as a minority mode was also used in images of people with disabilities. An exception was a text on the care of the elderly that presented an image of an older disabled man in a wheelchair. The only subject of this text was elderly care, and the term disability was never used. Only one other text in the disability imagery focused on a subject that was

not directly related to a disability or an inability to work; instead, the topic was a change in work for taxi drivers. However, one image in this text used a picture of a woman in a wheelchair to illustrate how drivers must move snow to help customers access taxis. This image of a person with a disability again represented the minority as a minority mode.

Based on the analysis of this study, images of minorities primarily appear in the media with minority-related texts, and the members of minority groups are typically only used to represent the illustrated minority. The sexual minority images featured well-known people more often than other minority groups: these individuals have become public figures through their careers and not because of their association with a minority. This can partially explain why the minority as a minority mode was not as common in the images of sexual minorities. Overall, the minority as a minority mode was prevalent in the media minority imagery, and the minority as a general portrayal of humanity was unusual. Only four images that clearly belonged to the latter mode were found in the minority image data (N=50). It is not an issue of concern that individuals or groups appear in media images and related texts as representatives of their minorities. However, it is problematic that the members of these minorities are rarely used by the media to represent general humanity. Their infrequent appearance in the media means that these individuals are primarily viewed through their minority status. Thus, the exclusion of minorities and the norm of non-belonging to a minority is emphasised in media images.

Minority within a minority in the media images

The data gathered for this study did not include many images of people who belonged to a minority within a minority. Based on the images and the related texts, the minority images only represented people who belonged to a single minority. People with disabilities were not included in any of the gender or sexual minority images, and vice versa. There was also only one image that included a person with a disability who was also part of an ethnic minorities: the image was of an elite Roma athlete with Chron's disease, an illness that hampered his ability to manage his sporting

career. The coverage of gender and sexual minorities did not include any individuals who were Roma or Sámi. The data did not contain any direct references to an individual's "heterosexual" status, although relationships with someone of the opposite gender were reported. For example, a woman who was a Sámi language teacher and a reindeer herder was reported to have married a man, an autistic girl was quoted as being interested in boys, and a man injured in a car accident was described as the former primary income earner for his children and their mother.

The representation of sexual and gender minorities can be more complex than for other minority groups. Some gender minorities challenge gender thinking in such a way that it is difficult to assess their sexual orientation through a homo-bi-hetero classification that is based on gender duality. If a non-binary person is interested in women, what is their sexual orientation? The data in this study did not obviously include people in gender minorities who were also part of a sexual minority. The individuals who were identified as being part of a sexual minority did not clearly state that they were trans or intersex, although the gay actor's interview included a picture of him as a drag character. Thus, from the point of view of the minority groups examined, the intersectionality of differences is rarely demonstrated. Admittedly, several individuals that appeared in the data belonged to a minority group that was not among the five analysed above. The lesbian conductor was also a former Jehovah's Witness, and the Roma athlete with a serious health issue was a Pentecostal Christian, placing him in several minority groups. The trainer of the Living Library project was a gay man with HIV.

The images included in the data presented the Roma and Sámi and people with disabilities as homogenously heterosexual. This narrow definition of sexuality was also applied to most images that represented gender minorities. The individuals that represented sexual minorities were able-bodied, cisgender, and they did not belong to traditional Finnish ethnic minorities; an observation that corresponds to other differences and minority groups in the data. The analysis of the images reveals that it is more common to represent people as only belonging to a single minority, thus limiting the representation of minorities within minorities in the media.

Intersecting differences in minority images

In addition to the differences discussed above, the data covered a variety of themes: gender, age, citizenship (foreignness and Finnishness), ethnicity, social class, and locality. Overall, images of women and men were used in equal numbers in the minority image data. However, sexual minority images included predominantly men. Gender minority images also typically included a person who was transfeminine (defined as a boy at birth but later experiences themselves as something other than a boy/man) rather than transmasculine. A small majority of the Roma and Sámi were women, while the images of people with disabilities used women and men almost equally.

The data showed significant variation in terms of age. In the gender minority images, the non-binary character in a theatrical performance and American Jazz Jennings in a TV show were clearly young. Older individuals were shown in an image of a transvestite trainer in the Living Library project and in a photograph of the American TV star Caitlyn Jenner. In the sexual minority images, young people were represented in a queer-themed play at a youth theatre and in a text about an American male couple moving to a new city. Older gay men were shown in pictures that accompanied an obituary, a 60th birthday interview, and a text on the Living Library project. The elite Roma athlete was a young man and a young girl was included in an image illustrating a text on the Roma in Eastern Europe. There was also a child with two younger women in a picture of Roma education. The Sámi people in the images were a high school student and students from Kilpisjärvi school. Older people were not included in any pictures that represented traditional ethnic minorities. Nearly half of the images of people with disabilities included a young person or a child, and only four of the images relating to disability were of older people. Overall, the minority image data focused on young people with disabilities and youth belonging to traditional ethnic minorities.

There was little discussion of minority groups and citizenship, except in relation to foreigners. Only one of the gender minority images was of a Finnish person; the rest of the images featured people from America and India, and women athletes from Eastern Europe and Southern Africa. In

contrast, almost all of the people representing the sexual minorities, the disabled, and the Roma and Sámi were Finnish. However, the sexual minority images also included an American male couple, and the Roma images included an Eastern European Roma girl. There were two images of American women with disabilities, one of whom had an Asian American name, and one text featured “African” children with disabilities. The data appeared to depict images of non-whiteness in photographs from African countries (an image of the elite South African athlete Caster Semenya) and Indian hijra culture. Without including the traditional ethnic minorities in Finland, whiteness was represented more frequently in the images of the minority groups examined in this study. From the point of view of gender minority images, it is also problematic that the data only included one image of a Finnish trans or intersex person. Belonging to a gender minority may appear unrelated to Finnish society if the media only includes foreigners as the subjects in these minority images.

People belonging to a sexual or gender minority and the Sámi were predominantly portrayed in the images as highly educated, wealthy, or from the middle-classes. Recent achievements of the Roma in work and education were also presented positively, but the social challenges they face were still acknowledged. Several images of non-Finnish people in part highlighted poverty; however, the majority of foreigners were wealthy individuals. The most frequent issues aligned with people with disabilities were their ability to cope with their disability and experiences of poverty and financial deprivation. While terms such as working-class or middle-class were not used in the texts, the descriptions of some minority groups clearly included characteristics that are associated with a greater degree of financial success or, conversely, with economic hardship.

From the perspective of locality, the members of the minority groups were generally living in large cities. This was probably influenced by the fact that the majority of the texts were from two city-based magazines. Rural-based newspaper raised issues relating to small localities and the countryside more often than the other media sources. The texts on gender and sexual minorities emphasised urbanism. In terms of the Sámi images, small localities were strongly represented (Kilpisjärvi school, a Sámi priest in Inari, and a reindeer herder in Northern Lapland). In contrast, the

Roma were presented as urbanites, with the possible exception of an Eastern European Roma girl. Urban living was also emphasised more often than other options in the images of people with disabilities, although their place of residence was not always clear from the text.

From the perspective of the analysed – sometimes intersecting – differences, the images of minority groups in the media were drawn directly from Finnish society and, in part, from the wider world. It is therefore easy to identify why the media relies on common themes to present minorities in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, place of residence, and class status. The established perceptions of minorities are also reinforced if the media does not highlight images of people belonging simultaneously to several minorities, or if they fail to oppose stereotypes, such as the assumed lower socio-economic status of the Roma and people with disabilities. Media images also contribute to the perception that all members of sexual minorities are white, urban, and middle-class. As an alternative method of communication, diverse descriptions of minorities can challenge and dispel the simplified stereotypes of people belonging to a minority group. A greater range of representations also increases the opportunities for members of the minority to identify with the images published in the media. It is possible to discuss and analyse intersecting differences from two modes: one that reinforces stereotypical minority descriptions and one that deconstructs one-dimensional minority narratives. The former plays a role in maintaining established structures and values, while the latter deconstructs perceptions of minority groups and their relationships to various differences. The problem is generally not with the subjects of the images, such as the economic difficulties faced by people with disabilities or the activity of urban gays in the cultural sphere, but with the narrow focus of the media and the lack of diversity among the images of minorities.

Concluding remarks

The image data I analysed included images of gender and sexual minorities, the Sámi, the Roma, and people with disabilities. Images of these minorities (N=50) were featured infrequently throughout the media

(N=2555) and generally accompanied texts that focused on minority topics. Minority as a minority mode was the prevailing method for presenting the people in the images, and minority as a general human mode was the exception. In addition, the descriptions of minorities were characterised by the explicit portrayal of individuals through a particular minority status. The representations of people were often solely focused on their association with a minority group, and the context of the image frequently maintained a fairly narrow view of the minority. The data was also characterised by minority descriptions that relied on stereotypes, and people were often only linked to one minority group.

The analysis also highlighted the difficulty of representing people who belong to minorities or deviate from the norm without simultaneously emphasising that they belong to a minority. Including an image of an individual with a Roma dress, or interviewing and photographing a person in a wheelchair can break down the dominant narratives of whiteness, and ability. Presenting minority-related depictions of sexual orientation, gender identity, certain disability groups (e.g., the hearing impaired), or ethnic backgrounds (e.g., the Sámi) may be more challenging: how can the media portray minority membership if the image shows no clear connection to the minority? In these situations, the image will not challenge hetero-, cis-, and gender normativity, or the norms of ability and whiteness; instead, it will potentially reinforce them.

I can relate to the difficulties associated with providing a more diverse range of images in the media and elsewhere in society. How can we represent diversity without resorting to stereotypes and without having to underline the (sometimes intersecting) differences? Can two naked “drunk” white presumed men in a sauna (one of whom is actually a Swede citing Bible verses in Finnish) still represent Finnishness at a queer conference? I would state a hesitant yes, but only if we can ensure that dozens of other representations are also included.

Endnotes

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- ² Jukka Lehtonen, "Homoavioliiton historia pohjoismaisesta näkökulmasta" [Gay marriage history from the Nordic perspective], Review of *Odd Couples: A History of Gay Marriage in Scandinavia*, *Naistutkimus* 25, no. 1 (2012):19.
- ³ WeAll project was funded by the Academy of Finland Strategic Funding Council 2015-2021.
- ⁴ Jukka Lehtonen, et al., *Työelämän ja koulutuksen tasa-arvokysymykset mediassa* [Working life and educational equality questions in the media] (Helsinki: Hanken School of Economics, 2017).
- ⁵ This chapter is an edited and shortened version of the original text. Jukka Lehtonen, "Vähemmistöjen ja nuorten kuvat koulutus- ja työelämäaiheisessa mediassa" [Images of minorities and young people in the media on work environment and education], in *Yhteiskunnallisesti ja taloudellisesti kestävä työelämä* [Social and economic sustainability of future working life], eds. Suvi Heikkinen, Marjut Jyrkinen, Anna-Maija Lämsä and Charlotta Niemistö (Helsinki: Hanken School of Economics, 2020), 142–158.
- ⁶ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*. (London & New York: Routledge, 1990).
- ⁷ E.g., Jukka Lehtonen, "Ei-heteroseksuaalisten poikien ja transnuorten kokemukset ja valinnat koulutuksessa" [The experiences and choices of non-heterosexual boys and trans youth in education], in *Poikatutkimus* [Boy studies], eds. Antti Kivijärvi Tuija Huuki and Harry Lunabba (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2018), 121–145; Leena-Maija Rossi, "Heteronormatiivisuus" [Heteronormativity], *Kulttuurintutkimus* 23, no. 3 (2006).
- ⁸ Great Bauer, et al., "I Don't Think This Is Theoretical, This is Our Lives": How Erasure Impacts Health Care for Transgender People', *Journal of the Association of Nurses in Aids Care* 20, no. 5 (2009).
- ⁹ See Jukka Lehtonen, "Ei-heteroseksuaalisten poikien"; Jukka Lehtonen, 'Going in "the men's school"? Non-heterosexual and transgender youth choosing military service in Finland', *NORMA: The International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 10, no. 2 (2015).
- ¹⁰ Matthew Hughey, "The (dis)similarities of white racial identities: the conceptual framework of 'hegemonic whiteness'", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*

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- ¹⁵ E.g., Tuula Juvonen, "Nyt se näkyy, nyt taas ei. Heteronormatiivisuus ja homoseksuaalisuuden esillepano Helsingin Sanomissa" [Heteronormativity and presentation of homosexuality in Helsingin Sanomat], *Tiedotustutkimus* 27, no. 2 (2004); Sanna Karkulehto, *Seksin mediamarkkinat* [Media markets of sex] (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2011); Camilla Nordberg, *Boundaries of Citizenship: The Case of Roma and the Finnish Nation-State* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2007); Sari Pietikäinen, *Discourses of Differentiation: Ethnic Representations in Newspaper Texts* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2000); Pentti Raittila, ed., *Etnisyys ja rasismi journalismissa* [Ethnicity and racism in journalism], (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2002); Leena-Maija Rossi, *Heterotehdas: Televisiomainonta sukupuolituotantona* [Heterofactory. Television commercials as gender reproduction] (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2003); Vaahtera, *Crippling Swimming*.
- ¹⁶ Rossi, *Heterotehdas*; Jukka Lehtonen, "Sukupuoli ja risteävät erot median työelämä- ja koulutusteksteissä" [Gender and intersecting differences in working life and education related media texts], *Kasvatus* 49, no. 3 (2018).
- ¹⁷ Lehtonen et al., *Työelämän*.
- ¹⁸ Janne Seppänen *Visuaalinen kulttuuri* [Visual culture] (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2005).
- ¹⁹ Sanna Valtanen, "Tiedon ja vallan kaivauksilla: Michel Foucault ja mediatutkimuksen mahdollisuudet" [Michel Foucault and the possibilities of media research] in *Mediatutkimuksen vaeltava teoria* [The moving theory of

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