

1. Introduction

Rising Racism in Europe...

Racism, ethnocentrism, anti-semitism and xenophobia are still on the rise in Europe, and are beginning to have alarming effects on the human rights of immigrants, refugees and other mostly non-European minorities, as well as on the democratic structures of the European nation states. Racism never has been limited to extremist right-wing parties, and these parties or similar racist organizations are not the only and not the most important cause for concern. Rather, racist ideas that once were expressed only on the extreme Right have now affected mainstream parties. Immigration is being severely restricted in virtually all countries of western Europe, making the European Fortress no longer merely a rhetorical scare-word. Besides these official political measures to "curb" the immigration of unwanted Others, European societies show signs of deteriorating human rights. Attacks on immigrants have become common. More or less subtle discrimination and everyday racism have become general practice in many of the countries in Europe.¹

Finland is no exception to this trend. During the fall of 1995, the openly racist violence in Joensuu as well as killing of a young Finnish girl in Tampere by a Somali man have raised questions of both racism in Finnish society and media responsibility while reporting, or not reporting, it.

The role of the media in the increasingly multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies of the Europe is crucial. Whereas many, if not most, native citizens in most countries have no or little daily interaction with immigrants, information about immigration and ethnic minorities is largely based on information from the mass media, or from informal everyday conversations that are in turn based on information from the media. This is particularly true in Finland, where the especially small number of immigrants and other minorities, as well as repercussions of official immigration and refugee policy, have effectively prevented the overwhelmingly dominating majority population from everyday contacts with other ethnic groups.²

...and the Role of Media

There is a considerable amount of research literature confirming both the potential and impact of the media in their coverage of ethnic affairs. This literature will be reviewed in chapter two of this dissertation. Faced with this evidence, the role of the media has been recently made explicit in Europe at the highest political levels:

The Vienna Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the Council of Europe, issued on the 9th October 1993, adopted a plan of action on combating racism, xenophobia, anti-semitism and intolerance which includes as its fifth point the intention to request the media professions to report and comment on acts of racism and intolerance factually and responsibly, and to continue to develop professional codes of ethics which reflect these requirements. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in June 1995 adopted a wide range of recommendations on the subject.³

The Interim report on the activities of the Consultative Commission on Racism and Xenophobia of the European Union, in a document issued on the 6th December 1994, contains the view of the sub-committee on "Information, Communications Media". They note that inter alia:

1) Our democratic States are based on the freedom of the press, but this freedom brings with it responsibility. 2) The media will play a key role in dealing with the problem due to the fact that it not only conveys reality but also, whether intentionally or not, influences it. 3) The acceptance of diversity in all its forms is a basic condition for the creation of a climate in which racism and xenophobia are totally unacceptable.⁴

(Endnotes)

¹ On the formation of the conceptions of the Other, see e.g. Fabian (1983) and Kristeva (1991).

² See e.g. Jaakkola, 1995: 2.

³ See Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, recommendation 1277 (1995) on Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and Media as well as the adjoining report, Doc. 7322.

⁴ As quoted in Husband, 1995.

This statement places the role of the media in a wider framework and notes that not only do the media contribute to the construction of shared understandings but that they reflect reality. The standard reply for a journalist facing accusations of reproducing racism, would be to answer simply that “I don’t create racism, I only report it”. This may be true, at least partly. Where there is ethnic diversity in a society the media have a critical role in representing this reality. But, as Husband reminds, where there is ethnic conflict or ethnic and racial discrimination in a society, the media are then confronted with an onerous and difficult task; particularly so where that ethnic antipathy may be an element of the mainstream politics and national identity in the society.⁵

The acceptance of ethnic diversity is in itself a profound challenge to the nation states of Europe that have all experienced such significant shifts in their ethnic demography through labour migration, asylum seeking and dramatic ethno-national changes in the last six decades. The de facto multi-ethnic realities of contemporary nation states constitute an emotional challenge to the dominant ethnic communities who have defined the nation in their image. For such dominant ethnicities, acceptance of ethnic diversity has not proved easy; and we have seen a regrettable eruption of racism and neo-fascist ethno-politics across Europe.

The media very frequently operate in societies in which the acceptance of ethnic diversity is being negotiated through institutions which routinely are in the control of the dominant ethnic groups, and often the major media are servicing an audience which is also predominantly made up of members of the dominant ethnic groups. This is especially true in Finland. It cannot be assumed then that the acceptance of ethnic diversity is in itself an unproblematic goal. Husband also stresses the need to remain alert to the questions of on what terms, and in whose interest, ethnic diversity is being promoted. Ethnic tolerance can all too easily mask shallow paternalism, and cultural diversity may be promoted within relatively exclusionary political systems. He goes on with an important note:

In this context what we may be asking of the mainstream media is a persistent willingness to sustain a critical sensibility, that may be relatively absent from other major institutions of society.⁶

It is precisely because the mainstream media are located in such a complex, if not entirely compromised, position that we must also note the significant contribution of ethnic minority media in multi-ethnic societies. There we find diversity in the rich variety of print and broadcast media which are capable of servicing distinct ethnic communities, and perhaps also of representing these communities to a wider audience.

The critical role media play within multi-ethnic contemporary societies has also been recognised within the world of journalism and the media themselves. Some active attempts to address the challenge already exist, such as the work of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and their Media Working Group Against Racism and Xenophobia. The Working Group - Migrants and the Media of the Netherlands Association of Journalists have published a booklet *Balance and Blunder* which provides recommendations for reporting migrants. The National Union of Journalists in Britain has done substantial work and published *Guidelines on Race Reporting*. These and other national ethical codes and recommendations on ethnic reporting are reviewed and examined in a study conducted recently at the University of Tampere⁷. The National Union of Finnish journalists in October 1995 arranged a Nordic conference against xenophobia and has started a process of critically reviewing the ethnic representation and professional practices in the media.

Some Basic Concepts and Notions

The term “race” seems to persist in official and other use of language, although the whole concepts of “race” and the existence of different “races” have been proved to be unscientific and superficial. The term “race” is based on the idea of Self and the Other, which in turn is representation of the images and beliefs which categorize people in terms of real or attributed differences when compared with Self. The claims about the existence of biologically inferior and superior “races” have largely disappeared, but a discourse of the Other continues with new ideological contents.

If the concept of “race” is constructed on the basis that genetically or biologically there are no fundamental differences among the peoples of the world⁸, “race” becomes primarily a social concept, authorized by existing inequalities, rather than one justified by any genetic differences. Racial categories are not natural but constructs, not absolute but relative, situational, even narrative categories engendered by historical processes of differentiation.⁹

There is a strong tendency among white people to assume the superiority of Euro-American values. They also expect that Others must finally accept this superiority and the values themselves as the only way to progress in society. Although by no means limited to the West and colonial situation, racism has historically been both an ally and a product of colonialism.¹⁰

Racism does not only operate through culture, but expresses the structural conflict formed through everyday practices and their implications. The concept of everyday racism counters the view that racism is only an individual problem, a question of “to be or not to be a racist”. Everyday racism is racism, but not all racism is everyday racism. The crucial difference is that everyday

racism involves systematic, recurrent and familiar practices while the traditional definition of racism concentrates on oppression and discrimination based on theories or beliefs of racial superiority. The traditional definition of racism highlights individual racist groups, while the broader view reaches the very foundations of social and institutional practices and shifts the focus to society itself.¹¹

Research Problem

The open forms of prejudice and discrimination of ethnic groups are punishable in practically all the Council of Europe states, and the Finnish parliament only very recently updated the Criminal Law in this respect. Open and blatant forms of racism and ethnic hatred have during decades given place to indirectness and subtlety in public discourse, as in the mainstream press coverage.¹² This, together with the emergence of new minorities in Finland and added with the complex relation between the media content and the influence of this content in society, has caused confusion over the role of ethnic representations in media and individual journalist practices. This confusion has been expressed by sometimes heated discussions between and among journalists, authorities, lawyers and minority and human rights groups. Not even a suitable common platform, however, has this far been found for this discussion.

Generally, the reporting on ethnic and racial affairs in the Finnish media is considered to be reasonable and fair. Many government and local authorities as well as refugee workers have expressed satisfaction with the way ethnic reporting is conducted in the media. Also journalists themselves have considered the majority of these reports to be matter-of-fact and objective.¹³ However, members of minority, anti-racist and human rights groups have expressed concern and disappointment with media reporting, increasingly so during the different campaigns of the UN International Year for Tolerance 1995.¹⁴ The National Union of Finnish Journalists has begun to draw attention to the issue as well.

These two opposing points of view are reflected in the academic research conducted in the field. The area, however, is rather unexplored in Finland. Issues of racism in Finland and the interplay of media, ethnicity, nationalism and identity have caught the interest of researchers only during the last few years, which reflects the fact that the number of foreigners resident in the country has increased substantially during the first half of 1990s. So far these few studies have predominantly addressed reporting of refugee issues and reader written opinions in newspapers.¹⁵

This modest study is an effort to provide an analysis, even if a limited one, to the ethnic representation in the Finnish press. Such a study has not been done before in Finland, although some other research as well is presently underway. This research will attempt to provide basic information for the use of those interested in seeing professional quality, fairness and social responsibility promoted within the broader framework of the media in society. The research question is: what are the major forms of the Finnish press response to ethnic minorities and increasing multiculturalism in the country?

The theoretical and methodological points of departure of this study are mostly adopted and modified from the interdisciplinary study of news as a discourse, most closely Teun A. van Dijk's works on racism in news discourse.

Since the purpose of this study is limited to examining the general images of ethnic minorities in the mainstream press, the problems of the minority presence as journalists within the mainstream media, the rights and needs for information of the minorities and the emergence of ethnic minority media, although all essential questions in the large context, will for practical reasons not be thoroughly addressed in this study.

2. Some Issues Involved and a Review of Research Literature

2.1. Different Categories

This chapter seeks to comment upon the main achievements to date in the research analysis of media and racism. It will address the following issues in the relevant literature: discourses and representations concerning (1) ethnic majorities; (2) settled ethnic minorities; (3) refugees and migrant workers; and (4) indigenous groups. It will discuss news and to some extent entertainment media, using Downing and Husband's representation as point of departure. After that, there is a brief examination at the research done on ethnic representation in different national media and a review of conclusions made on the basis of research literature.

Ethnic Majorities

A great deal of the literature on the representation of ethnicity focuses only on the representation of ethnic minorities. Downing and Husband view this as both absurd and dangerous. It is absurd, because it implies the ethnic minority group in question is somehow defined in a social vacuum, not in relation to other terms in the social equation. It also runs a risk of suggesting that the minority actually is "a lesser moon circling the central, 'normal' planet of the nation in question"¹⁶. After studying cinematic images and discourses concerning white people, Dyer put it in other words:

Looking, with such passion and single-mindedness, at non-dominant groups has had the effect of reproducing the oddness, differentness, exceptionality of these groups, the feeling that they are departures from the norm. Meanwhile the norm has carried on as if it is the nature, inevitable, ordinary way of being human.¹⁷

Studies of media definitions and discourses of whiteness are not too many. Husband's Open University course book addressed the issue especially for Britain, but also produced a formulation that might serve as an important pointer to a more general reality while trying to perceive the self-understanding of a dominant ethnic majority.

Being British...involved not only sustaining one's self-image by flattering comparison with 'foreigners' but equally an immense sense of continuity through a mythologised past...it is rooted in a common, if not identical, Christianity; in a shared history of foreign relations for centuries rather than decades; in a working class conscious of the same imperial past, from the tales of their friends and relations who fought in wars; and in a middle class who, regardless of regional origin, were the civil servants, educators and engineers of the Empire.¹⁸

Van Dijk has stressed the extent to which the denial of racism functions as an important element, amplified by mass media, in the public definition and self-definition of white majorities in the Netherlands, Britain and France. This has also been described as "strategic de-racialization".¹⁹

Dyer has proposed that, at least in the area of cinema he was researching, white people are typically differentiated from each other, while people of colour were not. One gets "the sense that being white is coterminous with the endless plenitude of human diversity" and furthermore that "white women are constructed as the apotheosis of desirability, all that a man could want". Some films, however, implicitly challenge white self-importance and the common cultural value in Euro-American culture placed on the repression of self-expression and the celebration of social orderliness. Downing and Husband give special value to Dyer's recognition that media flows are not necessarily monothematic, and that there may be strands of meaning in those flows which challenge or even threaten to displace dominant ideologies.²⁰

Finland is often said to be among the most homogenous countries in Europe, with only few and small ethnic minorities. The Swedish speaking language minority (about 6% of the population) is treated in this study as part of the majority population, since both their self-perception and position in the society is that of Finns who speak Swedish, not of an ethnic minority.²¹

The mythical question of the origin of the Finns has been a subject for heated discussions and a source of both inferiority and superiority complexes throughout the history ever since the Finno-Ugrian language group was discovered during 18th Century. In the 19th century

anthropologists did not agree about the race of the Finns, but certainly supposed that Finno-Ugrians at least had to be placed in the East; they could be Scythians, Turanians or - as was thought most often - Mongols from Central or East Asia.²²

The present paradigm treats as fiction the old myths about the ancient Finno-Ugrian people's home deep in Russia, but renders the Finns both an eastern and a western identity and a history of about 10,000 years in Finland. To understand the complex self-image of Finns, it is however necessary to keep in mind the centuries, during which Finns were considered, and not only by others, to be descendants of lower race Asian Mongols from areas where no civilization ever had been possible to exist. To further illustrate, for the racist Count Gobineau Finns were the primitive aboriginal people living in Europe and Asia in the early days of mankind

and Finnish blood was the alleged reason for a particularly ugly face of a Frenchman. Later, during 20th Century, German roots, or a race of it's own, were sought for to distinguish Finns from the burden of their supposed Mongol background.²³ Of the later history, Kemiläinen concludes that especially during the Soviet period "Finns were to feel inferior to both eastern and western nations....During the recent years - even before the collapse of socialism in the East - the self-respect of the Finns began to return."²⁴ Most recent research has stressed the western genetic inheritance of the Finns, coinciding interestingly with the recent discussion about the Finnish membership in the European Union.

No systematic research has been done studying the attitudes of Finns towards other people and cultures from the basis of this background, but the question may be asked whether the old racial theories still influence in the background of the self-image of the Finns, and thus indirectly have any effect on Finnish images of themselves as well as other people.

Settled Ethnic Minorities

This term is used here, as Downing and Husband do, for pragmatic reasons to differentiate an ethnic minority group whose members are settled elements in the society from recent migrant workers or refugees, or members of a land-based or nomadic indigenous group. In real life there is inevitable overlap. For instance in the Finnish everyday spoken language the terms "alien", "stranger", "foreigner" and "refugee" are persistently used to signify any person of colour. Classic examples of a settled ethnic minority group would be African Americans and Afro-Brazilians, whose presence in the Americas long predates the Asian, or eastern and southern European migrations to the USA and Brazil late 19th century.²⁵

While the Swedish-speaking Finnish population is not considered here an ethnic minority²⁶, this category would include the small Romany ("Gypsy"), Jewish and Tatar communities.

The Romany people have been an ethnic minority in Finland for over 400 years and they today number about 6,000. Over the centuries they have been able to maintain their cultural identity and social distinctiveness despite the often hostile and discriminative pressures from the host culture. Until the 1960s the aim of the formal policy was to assimilate and control the Romany people and adjust them to Finnish society. The expansion of the welfare state from the 1970s onwards made the formal policy more affirmative, and their poor and neglected conditions aroused interest in improvements. Despite the formal policy principles and special measures taken to integrate the Romany into Finnish society, their minority rights have been largely neglected. The right to get day care and school education in their native language has been denied the gypsies and their economic, sanitary and social conditions are on average poorer than those of the majority. The changes in Finnish society as a whole and in the social structure of the Romany have increased assimilation and threatened their cultural identity.²⁷

Finland has for a long time had a small minority of Jews, who emigrated mainly from Russia and today number some 1,400. Religion has a central position in their identification as a community, since the group is not ethnically unified nor no longer has the tie of a common language. The law which guarantees the Jews full rights as a citizen was adopted as late as 1918. Nowadays, the official relationship between the Jewish community and the State is described as non-problematic. The problem from the community's perspective seems to be the strong assimilation to the majority population.²⁸

The small Finnish Tatar population, which came originally from Crimea, is about 900 people. Finland has also traditionally had a small minority of Russian speakers, whose number has grown considerably in recent years.²⁹ Since the Spring of 1990, a considerable amount of people of Inkeri from the former Soviet Union area have returned to Finland on the basis of being considered Finns by birth. They are the descendants of the Finnish immigrants to the present day St. Petersburg area in Russia and formed the majority of the Finns in the former Soviet Union. The Stalin period scattered the Inkeri people all over the Soviet Union. The developments leading to the collapse of Soviet Union caused a national awakening of the Inkeri Finns and led to a movement of repatriation to Finland after a statement by the then President of the Republic Mauno Koivisto in April 1990. Today the number of the Inkeri returnees is estimated to be around 9,000.³⁰ Although their status is that of repatriates, they are typically treated and referred to as refugees in everyday Finnish discourse and thus it is arguable whether they can be considered as a settled ethnic minority.

Settled ethnic minorities comprise the area where internationally most research has been done. Downing and Husband list the typical vectors that have emerged from the numerous studies concerning settled ethnic minorities and the media. Although it will not be possible in this study to present a full analysis of ethnic representations in the Finnish press along such detailed lines, their list is followed in this section³¹:

1. The historical/colonial cultural legacy has been addressed above, in relation to the representation of ethnic majorities. For obvious reasons, the topic has been most closely analyzed in the British literature, but there are other studies emphasizing the importance of this legacy elsewhere.³²

2. The social class dimension: Downing and Husband argue that social class, defined as a relational dynamic rather than a static descriptor, is an important dimension in media coverage, albeit rarely explicitly. They summarise the point by making three remarks: (1) Crime, violence and other problems of social order are especially associated with media representation of ethnic

minority groups. (2) Certain types of crime have traditionally been much more prevalent in certain social classes than others. Street robbery and fraud belong to different classes. If ethnic minority groups mostly belong to the working class, and are a discriminated group even there, it is likely that among them more working class forms of criminality will be found. In public discourse, this incidence has repeatedly and overwhelmingly been associated with the given ethnic group, causing intermittent moral panics concerning the threat to the social order constituted by the group or groups in question. (3) Europe has seen the consequences of letting the primitive anger against e.g. economic situation or exploitation to target a partially visible minority. While direct anti-semitism is currently rare in the official media of western Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia, it would be a mistake to assume no reversion to it is possible. Of that prospect, the media role in the present war in the Balkans is a frightful example.³³

3. The question of linguistic and sectarian issues overlapping with “racial” issues in the media is also an important one. Media and other public discourse concerning the use of Spanish in the United States, or concerning the role of Islam in Europe, are both significant issues touching simultaneously on ethnic majority self-perceptions and on definitions of ethnic minority groups.

4. Invisibility and voicelessness have repeatedly been shown to be characteristics of media coverage - or non-coverage - of ethnic group issues considered unimportant. Either the whole group is invisible, or it is visible in certain highly specific manifestations, or it is spoken for and about by non-members, or individuals and organisations are selected by mainstream news professionals as regularly accredited spokespeople for the group in question. In this manner, the media frustrate and defeat the possibility of representative dialogue within the public sphere.

5. The simplification and homogenisation processes involved in media stereotyping: ethnic stereotypes, like all social cognition, simplify and homogenise complex realities. Simplification carries a negative character, even if it may seem to be a positive phenomenon. Furthermore, in the arena of race relations the dissection of complexity, the necessary complement of simplification, is typically avoided as otiose. The precise stereotypes vary with the particular ethnic minority group, their essence is not thought possible for its category members to escape, and exceptions are always taken to prove the rule. Part of the vitality of stereotypes in use is their capacity to operate as fragmented images capable of assembly and disassembly into endless conglomerates of meaning.

6. There are also problems with partial, intermediate and inflected recognition in media output. One of the most important but also difficult issues to examine is what Downing and Husband term “the second phase of ethnic group representation” in media coverage: “the point at which protests and critiques begin to lodge in media organisations’ planning, and the representations change from the grossest deformations to more sophisticated ones”.³⁴

7. There is an interrelation between discourse and representation concerning foreign nations or even continents, and concerning “fragments” of those entities settled inside the nation in question. Images and discourses of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the ineptly-titled “Middle” East, undoubtedly also have a major impact upon the public culture in European countries, given the tendency to essentialism that is endemic in racist ideology. This point should be elaborated especially in the Finnish context, where any other than white colour of skin is immediately identified with Africa and the popular and troublesome images of “development”, “underdevelopment” and “development aid”. Due to the ethnic profile of the still overwhelmingly homogenous Finland, this aspect will be more relevant when discussing refugees and migrants.³⁵

Migrants

Migration has been, and shall remain, a major phenomenon of international and inter-regional relations. It is important to clearly distinguish between temporary and permanent migration flows, as the impacts on sending and receiving countries of each type of migration may be different. But, there are also problems with this kind of distinction. Current refugees may be able to return home or, like Palestinians, they may face prolonged exile. Typically economic migration may transform into settled ethnic minority communities. Despite these difficulties, it serves the purpose of the present study to discuss settled ethnic minority populations and migrant populations in separate sections.

By the beginning of 1995, there were about 63,000 foreign nationals resident in Finland. Their share of the total population was as small as 1,2%, the smallest share of foreign population in Europe, both relatively and absolutely. The largest groups were Russians and others from the area of the former Soviet Union (about 15,000 people), followed by Estonians (7,400), Swedes (6,700), Somalians (3,500), nationals of former Yugoslavia (2,250), citizens of United States of America (1,700) and Vietnamese (1,700). Although the ethnic groups of foreign origin are small, their number has increased sharply and rapidly: in 1987 there were only 17,000 foreigners resident in Finland.³⁶

One obvious distinction between categories of migrant groups is the difference between economic migrants, who are predominantly contract or guest-workers, and asylum-seekers and refugees, who are fleeing from their homelands for fear of persecution. Lately, the distinction between asylum seeker and economic migrant has become one of the most politicised judgements in contemporary international relations. It is, however, both possible and purposeful to speak meaningfully of refugees as distinct from contract labour.

It is not a new phenomenon, that people are forced to move from one state to another out of fear of political or religious persecution, or because of an actual threat to their lives and well-being by war or famine. In this century, Europe has seen large movements of refugees with, for example, ten million persons moving from eastern to western Europe after the Second World War. Finland sent thousands of children to exile in Sweden during the war and went through a major re-settlement programme involving approximately 500,000 - strong Karelian population from the areas lost to the Soviet Union after the war.³⁷ However, this migration has covered a limited geographical space and the refugees were seen as Finns, or at least neighbours with similar cultural traditions.

A large part of the refugee movement today is international and intercontinental. Even if only 27.1 percent of the world's 27 million refugees and other persons of concern to UNHCR seek asylum in Europe or North America, it can be argued that there is a relatively uncoordinated flow of international refugees, many of whom seek asylum in the "developed nations" of the world. Speaking of Europe, Gallagher has noted these asylum seekers "in contrast to the eastern Europeans ... were of different races, followed different religions and were otherwise seen as presenting potential problems"³⁸.

At the beginning of 1995, there were approximately 12,000 refugees and asylum-seekers living in Finland. They form about one fifth of the foreign population of the country. The small number of refugees received has been explained by historical reasons such as the low political profile, especially concerning the potential refugees from the east, and the unemployment in and migration from Finland during 1950s and -60s. The image of a small, poor country bravely building a welfare society changed only slowly towards the "Japan of Europe" in the late 1980s. Excluding the handful of individual refugees, the first larger group of refugees since the WWII arrived in Finland during the mid-1970s, after the military regime took power in Chile. Between 1973-76 Finland received altogether 180 Chilean refugees. In 1979 Finland promised to receive 100 Vietnamese "boat-people". In 1985 the government decided upon a quota of 100 refugees to be received annually, in 1989 the number was increased to 500 refugees.³⁹

The almost tranquil situation in Finland changed drastically in 1990, after 2,000 Somalians arrived in a short period mostly via the then Soviet Union, and applied for asylum. This period has been publicly referred to as the "Somali Shock" and has been the subject of some media research.⁴⁰ The next larger group were the 1500 refugees from the Balkan war area in the summer of 1992, after which the Finnish government decided to impose a visa obligation to former Yugoslavian residents. Since then the official policy towards asylum seekers outside the quotas has been considerably tightened.⁴¹

As has been repeatedly shown and stated in numerous national and international platforms, we have seen in the last decade an emerging, and now already established "culture of rejection" and "policy of dissuasion" among western "developed" nations in their construction of policies aimed at minimising asylum seekers entry into their territory. This policy is aimed to make the process of asylum seeking so difficult, distressing and unlikely to succeed that it should dissuade potential refugees from leaving their country. This policy includes strategies to prevent the first entry and, since the principle of non-refoulement prevents sending asylum-seekers back to the countries they originally had fled, a practice of returning asylum seekers who have stopped in transit from their own country back to their country of first asylum. This policy has been a subject for heated discussion in Finland as well. Downing and Husband conclude that intergovernmental co-operation in the politics of dissuasion has proceeded at a pace which reflects the racialized sensibilities associated with the issue. Indeed, they are not alone in their argument that

there has over the last decade been active collusion between the developed nations of the world to renege on their obligations under the 1951 Geneva Convention for Refugees and the New York Protocol of 1967. The emergence of a consensus on the inter-national [sic] community's collective responsibility for the problem of refugees...has regrettably been consolidated into the meanest form of concerted regulation and exclusion.⁴²

The interest of governments to bar asylum-seekers has provided a vehicle for the rehearsal of nationalist self-interest and ethnocentric beliefs and values. The governmental denials of the genuineness of the asylum-seekers' claims for admittance and references to their being only "economic migrants" have been frequent during the last decade. van Dijk in his study of the "Tamil Panic" of 1985 in the Netherlands noted that the authorities "did more than make it clear that this group of uninvited, irregular and even illegal refugees was not welcome", and goes on to conclude:

The Newspapers have faithfully reproduced and legitimated this policy of the politicians, and in their own way helped produce a broad public consensus about this definition of the Tamils as fake refugees. The stories about illegal entry, fraud, and crime are only supporting media strategies to persuasively convey this prominent feature of Tamils being fake refugees.⁴³

Downing and Husband note that the reporting of asylum-seekers has not, of course, been unambiguously negative. Where the source of their plight was ideologically compatible with official sympathy, the definition of their legitimation has been appropriately modified. "Thus the Vietnamese 'boat-people' fleeing communist oppression or East African Asians fleeing 'a grazed African brute' were negotiable genuine cases." Also, until recently, the people fleeing the hardships of East European

communism have been considered genuine and worth support. But times have changed. Now that, as Miles has noted, the victims of communism are “free”, they are able to experience the contradictions of bourgeois freedom. “Within the states of the EC, there is great concern that they might exercise their freedom by migrating to western Europe to escape the privations of the primitive accumulation that is now occurring in central and eastern Europe.”⁴⁴

It is hardly surprising that van Dijk as well as Downing and Husband conclude that there are rarely alternative interpretative ideological frameworks for the mainstream media, in which refugee and immigration issues may be viewed in relation to neo-colonialism, racism and the relations between the rich “North” and poor “South”. The diversity of the press operates within a limited ideological framework, which is extremely hard to cross, especially without a conscious effort. Those who have not made this have been accused of actively ending promoting racist and xenophobic sentiments, and those who have made the effort have been more or less compromised and rendered ineffectual. Joly, in a study on refugees in Europe, presents a depressing summary:

The media generally exacerbate the situation. Restrictive measures and declarations in turn enhance hostility and prejudice against foreigners and refugees, and these hostile attitudes appear to be given some justification when political leaders confirm them, or fail to condemn them. Thus the circle continues, spinning into greater hatred and prejudice.⁴⁵

For the sake of completion, it is also important to note that refugees are not only subject to being reported and represented by the media, but also have legitimate and officially recognized needs and expectations of the media. In this discourse, the way in which a society provides information about refugees to the majority population is one of the major determinants of the provision of information for refugees. This most important aspect has also been studied throughout the years, but will not be a subject of this study.

Guest Workers - Contract Labour

With the dramatic changes in the European economy in the 1970s and the rapid introduction of “Immigration stop” policies throughout western European states, there have been two decades of virtually no primary migration for employment into these countries. Contract labour and seasonal migration still exist as major features of the labour market in other continents. And within western Europe there are still those who find themselves in anomalous situations, most typically the Turkish community in Germany. The fundamental distinction in migrant situations is not the one between citizen and non-citizen but the one between immigrant and non-immigrant. It is the immigrant status with the permanent resident stamp in the passport which most fundamentally distinguishes the social and labour situation of a non-citizen from another non-citizen. The recognised immigrant needs no special working permit and faces no expulsion if unemployed. Non-citizens on contract, as well as the undocumented aliens, lack the substantive citizenship rights usually available to the recognised immigrant. Their economic, political and social circumstances are usually ruled by the terms of their entry and employment. Unlike naturalised ethnic minorities and communities of migrants with permanent resident status, these workers are not regarded as communities by the receiving country. Because of their transitory status, they are not relevant to policies of integration which may be deemed appropriate to stable multi-ethnic politics.

In Finland the migrant labour situation has not been considered a major problem, since the official migration policy as well as domestic unemployment for decades rendered it almost impossible for a migrant to come and take a job in the country. From the Finnish point of view it is, however, important to note that the media research literature elsewhere seems to draw the conclusion that migrant workers and contract labour are not treated in the media differently from the more settled ethnic minorities or refugees. The “legality” of their existence in the country at all, as well as any other crime involved, seem to become emphasized. van Dijk also found in his 1981 data, that “of all speakers in the minority news, 70% are white autochthonous Dutch (mostly institutional spokespersons, such as politicians), despite the fact that in most of the news reports (61%) minorities were major actors”. The minorities, and this might very well be even more true in the case of contract labour, are not allowed to speak for themselves in the media.⁴⁶

The status and temporal nature of contract labour has made them marginal to integration policies, or has encouraged communication policies based on a concern to facilitate their return to their homeland, as has been the case in the (West) German policies towards “Gastarbeiters”. For such migrants, as well as in the case of refugees and asylum-seekers, informal social links may be the only sources to satisfy their informational needs, while their rights of assembly and freedom of communication are severely limited, not to talk about their capacity for social and cultural expression. Since the Final Act of the CSCE in 1975, several international conventions, resolutions and declarations have related to the role of information in the realization of the human rights of migrant workers. This human rights aspect can not be elaborated here, but is used only to underline the fact that legal definitions of citizenship or ethnocentric and racial conceptions of national identity are not adequate reasons for denying the moral obligations owed by the state to all those resident within its territory.⁴⁷

Indigenous Groups

Using the very concept of indigenous people immediately raises a number of issues. The notions of aboriginality, territoriality and nationhood immediately take on a temporal and historical relevance. The relation of people in terms of their collective ethnic

identity, their relation to their native land and possible claim to self-governance acquire a meaning only in relation to a parallel history of invasion, immigration settlement and the consequent taking over of political and economic power from the indigenous peoples by immigrants to their territory. This was well highlighted during the 500 anniversary of the “discovery” or “invasion” of today’s Latin America by Columbus in 1492, for example. As Downing and Husband note, the history of patterns of settlement itself leads to “a hierarchy of claims to determining the ethnic authenticity of the nation”. Their examples are the “Anglo-fragment societies constructed through British colonial expansion”, which have a “strong sense of founding ‘charter groups’ who ‘made’ these countries”. The same could as well be said about the Nordic majority populations living in Lapland, the traditional habitat of the indigenous Sami people.⁴⁸

The Sami people live in the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The problems of delineating the minority arise from the fact that no two countries define the Sami people the same way or give them the same legal status. Altogether the Sami population is estimated to be between 50,000 and 80,000 people. In Finland it is estimated at some 5,700 persons, of whom 3,900 live in the northernmost part of the country. The definition in Finland is based on self-identification and Sami origin. Their history is replete with infringements of their rights, and their position has been dependent on the majority’s will. Not until the 1970s did their legal position start to improve, and the Finnish parliament’s constitutional committee has recognized their special position as the only indigenous minority in Finland.⁴⁹

The process of invasion or immigration, domination and further legitimation of the new order has led to marginalisation and cultural devastation of the indigenous people. Both territorially and politically, the aboriginal people have been further squeezed by new patterns of immigration, which have taken place under the control and in the interest of the charter groups. Considering that this started to happen often centuries ago, the appearance of multicultural policies in the 1970s and 80s trying to modify the old ethnocentrist sentiments and racist policies of these charter groups, now become the state, could be described as a rather recent development. Recent decades have brought about international recognition of the distinctive identities of indigenous peoples and an open concern for their human rights. In a number of “settler” societies these international concerns and the political mobilisation of their indigenous peoples have become focused into a renegotiation of the relationship between the charter groups and the indigenous people. Within these multicultural policies the indigenous people constitute an awkward category. Their historical oppression often leaves them with a demography different from the original usurpers or other more recent immigrants. They are often geographically and socially isolated, like the Aborigines in Australia, the Native Peoples of North America, or Sami. Not surprisingly, indigenous peoples have chosen to detach themselves from the collusive invention of national identity implicit in the invaders multiculturalism.⁵⁰

The Sami Delegation and other institutions in Finland have been active in protecting their rights and in demanding new ones. Reports have been issued on the aims of Sami children’s education and culture and Sami social and health policy. Although the official attitudes towards the Sami language rights have changed positively, the Sami considered before the Sami Cultural Autonomy Law, adopted in the Parliament in 1995, the government’s intention as paralysing the development of their cultural autonomy. The Sami also demanded to be treated as one nation during the Nordic countries’ negotiations with the European Union, but have been repeatedly denied even full status in the Nordic Council.⁵¹

Following from the expressed logic, the representation of indigenous peoples in the majority media can be taken as an expression of their incorporation into the foundation myths of the contemporary state. These, naturally, vary from case to case. The important point here is, as Jennings notes, that this connection is not recognised or admitted by the media itself. “Essential representations of Aborigines ignore the larger social system within which Aborigines exist and by which they are dominated”. Further, in writing about Australia, Jennings notes that Aboriginal culture is invested with meaning only in relation to European culture, which will naturally view the Other from the basis of its own agenda, not taking into account the possible agenda of the object itself. Typically, this agenda will map the fault lines in contemporary society where existing norms are contradictory and alienating, such as sexuality and relation to work for example. Indeed, there exists uncountable myths about sexuality and diligence of any number of Others, be they an indigenous group in our society, a tribe living in the Andaman and Nicobar archipelago, or the very questionable concept of the Negro Race in general. Obviously, these myths tell us more about ourselves than about any Others.⁵² The narrations of Sami writers indeed repeatedly tell not only about a people deprived of their rights and bonds with nature, but also about people facing mythical prejudicial beliefs, labelled lazy, asocial drunkards, who are despised and experience racism alienating them and making them “ashamed of [their] own Sami origin”.⁵³

According to the research literature, the other major form of representation of indigenous groups in the mainstream media is their invisibility, when not visible as “problems” or “victims” in the news media. Downing and Husband use the Australian experience to prove the point:

It is the interactive impact of indigenous peoples absence from routine broadcast media and the particular and narrow, range of iconography attached to them in the news, and occasionally in film that shapes their perception amongst majority communities, and contributes to the alienation of indigenous people from the wider society.⁵⁴

Indigenous peoples worldwide can currently be seen to seek to exploit contemporary communication technologies to defend their identity and community, while at the same time trying to achieve controlled access to the wider society. The recognition of their

human rights is slowly leading to at least a formal, if not factual, recognition of this right, too. A central concern for them is to have control over the production and distribution of their own media, regardless of the technology or the locality. Since this study is more concerned with their image in the mainstream media, this aspect, which is undeniably most important for them, will not be examined further here.

2.2 Some Studies of National Press

This chapter will try to give a general review of some of the relevant national studies of the press coverage of ethnic affairs. Some detailed findings of this research will be occasionally referred to later in this dissertation, when comparing the results and analyses of the present study with the other studies. The basic source of this chapter is van Dijk's review in his book *Racism and the Press*.⁵⁵

North America

The issue of equal rights for Blacks was put on the official white agenda in the United States after the 1954 "Brown decision" of the Supreme Court received attention in the media. The Kerner Commission, set up to investigate the causes of the "civil disorders" during the Civil Rights Movement, was also asked to study the performance of the press. After many interviews and large scale content analyses, the commission found that although the media had made a real effort to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders, the overall effect was an exaggeration of both mood and event. The Commission concluded, that "ultimately most important, we believe that the media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and the underlying problems of race relations." The Commission also found, that there were practically no black journalists and recommended that news-makers introduce a voluntary code for balanced reporting.⁵⁶

In one of the first systematic studies of race reporting in the US press, Carolyn Martindale partly confirmed the Kerner Commission's findings and noted that most newspapers showed some improvement compared to coverage in the 1960s and before. However, Martindale also concludes that newspapers still remain focused on stereotypical and negative issues and in the absence of violence seemed to have lost their interest in the racial situation.⁵⁷

Wilson and Gutiérrez, in their book on media and minorities, observe that much of the coverage of the blacks, Latinos and other minorities during the last twenty years has remained in the stereotypical selection phase, showing them generally as "problem people".⁵⁸ The major press perspective in the coverage of ethnic affairs remains that of "us" versus "them". Daniel and Allen in 1988 showed that what holds for the daily press also applies to the leading news magazines.⁵⁹

For the purposes of this study on the Finnish press, the findings of Indra in her 1979 Canadian content analysis research are interesting. Examining three major periods of the history of the Vancouver press from the beginning of this century, she shows how the press reacted to immigrant groups settling in British Columbia. Western Europeans, and especially English, were throughout the period portrayed as ideal immigrants, while French Canadians, South and East Europeans, East Indians, Chinese, Japanese and more recently Latin American immigrants were variably ignored, vilified and mostly described in terms which were stereotypical, if not blatantly racist.⁶⁰

Western Europe

The European studies of the portrayal of minorities, immigrants, or ethnic affairs, carried out since early 1970s, generally show a situation in many respects resembling that in North America. Coverage seems to follow the same lines, while hiring practices of minority journalists are even worse.⁶¹

In the United Kingdom, the most influential early study of the role of the press has been that conducted by Hartmann and Husband in 1974 on ethnic news coverage during the 1960s. Combining survey data about ethnic attitudes with content analyses of the press, the authors note that the perspective of viewing coloured people as ordinary members of society has been overshadowed by "news perspective" in which they are presented as a problem.

Most importantly - and this is the essential feature of the press treatment of race - coloured people are on the whole not been portrayed as an integral part of British society. Instead the press has continued to project an image of Britain as a white society in which the coloured population is seen as some kind of aberration, a problem, or just an oddity, rather than as 'belonging' to the society.⁶²

On the one hand, the authors conclude that the media have positively conveyed the information that minority groups suffer from discrimination, but on the other hand that the media have helped to shape the impression among the readers, that coloured people represent a problem or a threat, for instance because of the number of the immigrants or their use of social resources.⁶³

Troyna in 1981 repeated Hartmann and Husband's approach in a study of the Manchester and Leicester press in mid-1970s, and

found similar results. Race relations were essentially defined in a negative way, involving negative stories about Asian refugees coming to Britain, the accommodation of homeless families in expensive hotels etc. The news focus, however, seemed to have changed from 1960s immigration problems to problems perceived to result from the presence of these immigrants in the country. From being an “external threat”, the minorities now became treated as “the outsider within”.⁶⁴

In The Netherlands, the Dutch press has been extensively studied by Teun A. van Dijk since 1981. The numerous conclusions of several studies based on these data suggest that ethnic groups are relegated to a second rank, dominated, passive position, and appear as responsible agents only in a stereotypical list of negative acts. van Dijk also finds in the Netherlands a generalized use of the term “foreigners” (buitenlanders) “to denote all minority groups, including Surinamese, most of whom have Dutch nationality.”⁶⁵

They [the foreigners] are not only not hired as journalists, but also they are hardly used as sources, nor quoted, nor portrayed as people in control of their own situation and destiny. Rather, as another problem, they are subject to discrimination, which, however, is made up for by autochthonous protest and help by the authorities. Their everyday lives are barred from view for the white readers. What is the most prominent and routine news for and about the autochthonous groups (politics, economics, social affairs, sports, and the arts) is virtually excluded when ethnic minority groups are involved.⁶⁶

Scholars in (West) Germany have also undertaken systematic content analyses of the coverage of ethnic affairs. Ruhrmann and Kollmer in 1987 found that either through indifference or through prejudice, the local papers constructed xenophobic everyday “theories” of and for the population at large. Foreigners were thus mainly portrayed as criminals, a threat to national German resources, a problem and as essentially passive in their decisions and behaviour. They can in principle only be accepted when they assimilate themselves with the dominant German culture. Merten together with associates carried out in 1986 an extensive analysis along similar theoretical lines of the coverage of “foreigners” in the most influential news media in West Germany. The basic results were repeated.⁶⁷

For other countries there is little work on the media in Belgium, France and Scandinavian countries. Hultén and Brune both found a significant distinction in Swedish press to highlight on the other hand the “Good Sweden”; those who fight for the rights of immigrants and minorities, and “Bad Sweden”; those who fight against them.⁶⁸

2.3. General Conclusions in Research Literature

This chapter gives a general picture of the conclusions made in the research literature on media representations of ethnic minorities and immigrants. The conclusions are drawn from research and literature focusing more narrow topics or limited ethnic groups as well as more general national or local media studies.

After a decade of research, van Dijk summarized the literature and his own findings, to conclude that the media, “as may be expected from mainstream institutions”, are an inherent part of the problem of rising European racism, ethnocentrism, and xenophobia. The conservative and popular press especially indulges in sometimes blatant “foreigner-bashing” and the reproduction and affirmation of racist prejudices. Even the more liberal “quality” press does not systematically and critically oppose the rising tide of racism.⁶⁹

The news media are of course important in their immediate impact through the representations of reality they make available. Additionally, as Husband remarks, the themes they establish and the contexts of action they construct become further normalised in popular consciousness by their incorporation into fiction through literature, television dramas and the cinema. There the sense of “reality” is all the more potent because the audience’s criterion of acceptability of drama is based on the ‘credibility’ rather than the ‘validity’ of the representation. In this way the news agendas have an impact through entertainment media as well.⁷⁰

van Dijk, in a pessimistic conclusion, lists the following forms of the popular and elite press response to immigration and increasing multiculturalism:⁷¹

* Immigration is generally defined as a serious problem, as a threat or an invasion, and never as a welcome contribution to ethnic and cultural diversity, the economy and the demography of western Europe.

* Refugees and other new immigrants are increasingly portrayed as impostors, scroungers or otherwise defined negatively and increasing limitations of their rights are welcomed, or hardly criticized.

* Similarly the presence of new immigrants or resident minorities, continues to be portrayed in similarly negative terms, that is as a problem (for Us), if not as a threat to the Nation.

* In the news the negative Other presentation combined with self-serving positive self-presentation is as routine as in other

types of elite discourse. Thus, crime reporting still associates minorities with specific forms of “ethnic” crime, such as aggression, mugging, rioting, theft, prostitution and especially drugs.

* In the same perspective, prevalent everyday racism is ignored or denied, and seldom presented as Our problem. Only racist violence and aggression or blatant forms of discrimination are criticized. Everyday discrimination in many domains of society is hardly newsworthy.

* Topics that are especially relevant for minorities are virtually excluded, so that the top five topics associated with minorities is in fact a standard list of stereotypes rather than an account of the multiple newsworthy events, domains and actions in which minorities are involved.

* Minority organizations, leaders and spokespersons have less access to the media than their ‘white’ mainstream counterparts, even in news that directly concerns them, and about which they may be seen as experts. They are less quoted, and less credibly quoted, than mainstream news actors and organizations.

* Finally, the increasing number of competent minority journalists face systematic forms of discrimination in hiring, and if they are hired at all, in promotion. Virtually no European newspaper has minority editors or in other prominent positions.

* Journalists generally resent even voluntary codes for adequate reporting on ‘race’, and see such codes as a limitation of the freedom of the press. There is no special training for young journalists in the balanced coverage of the multicultural society.

However, it is important to note that the potential positive role of the mainstream media and ethnic minority media are also identified within the research literature. The press, cinema, literature, theatre, television and video are all also vehicles for challenging parochial myopia, for extending knowledge of self and others, and for stimulating a richer vision of the human condition. Husband also underlines that the positive potential of the mass media, to address distinct ethnic identities and to challenge racism, is a cumulative theme within the research literature.⁷²

On the basis of the above reviewed research literature, no one can say we lack evidence of the negative impact and positive potential of the mass media in reproducing and challenging racism and xenophobia. There may be no simple solutions, but the nature of the problem and an identification of responsibilities are adequately established. That should render a satisfactory framework for conducting a study of the ethnic representations in the Finnish press.

3. Research Methods

The basic purpose of this study is to provide an overview of the ethnic representation in the Finnish press and to compare this with some findings and conclusions drawn from relevant research internationally. The original research question was defined to be: what are the major forms of the Finnish press response to ethnic minorities and increasing multiculturalism in the country? The approach has to be drawn from several sources and applied to the Finnish reality.

For such an exercise, no single rigidly restricted research method should be used. On the other hand, practical limitations, such as time, space and resources, render it impossible to fully employ any of the methods available for media research. Therefore, this study is trying to draw from both quantitative content analysis and interdisciplinary study of news as discourse. The methods and subject chosen for this dissertation demand a multidisciplinary approach from areas of a) communications studies, b) history, c) political science, d) social anthropology and sociology as well as e) philosophy. For reasons of expediency, these are incorporated under a discursive approach.

If the function of content analysis is, as Winston puts it, “to provide an account of the content of...media output that can be used to raise consciousness as to the nature of the output, as well as to demonstrate the underlying ideology governing its production”⁷³, the critical point in using the method is categorizing what to count and defining how to count. In this study, the categorizing is more or less defined through the process of analysing discourse. Therefore, in this chapter, only discourse analysis is further discussed and the selection of the research material presented.

3.1. The Analysis of Discourse as a Method

The application of discourse analysis in mass communication research is relatively new. Its roots can be traced back to ancient treaties of rhetoric and poetry, but its modern development dates from the mid-1960s. However, not until the end of the 1970s did increasing cross-fertilisation and integration take place among several of the various orientations of discourse analysis, leading to the development and emergence of the new cross-discipline of discourse studies, as it is presently known among the academic community. van Dijk lists as most influential in the development process the following elements: a) structuralism, semiotics, narrative analysis and ethnography; b) conversation analysis; c) pragmatics and sociolinguistics; d) text processing in psychology and artificial intelligence and e) text linguistics.⁷⁴

Pietilä divides the broad field of discourse analysis in two main areas, the French and the Anglo-Saxon traditions. French discourse analysis has been influenced especially by structuralism and semiotics, while the Anglo-Saxon tradition stresses text linguistics. In the textual analysis of this study, basically the cross-disciplinary orientation by Teun A. van Dijk will be adopted, although for practical reasons simplified and not fully nor slavishly, accepting its limitations and weaknesses, lack of theoretical instruments for many levels and dimensions of analysis, and the inbuilt trend to subjectiveness. The phrase “discourse analysis” will herein be used to mean van Dijk’s method, which, according to Pietilä’s division, would find place in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of discourse analysis⁷⁵.

van Dijk’s Discourse Analysis

Among the most important characteristics of discourse analysis is its cross-disciplinary nature. The text should be studied from all the possible perspectives. At each level of the text, the analysis will employ a suitable method. Also significant is to perceive the text as an interrelation between the producer and the receiver. Discourse analysis considers on the other hand the structures of the text and on the other hand its contexts, e.g. the cognitive, social, historical or cultural context. Through the analysis the associations between the discourse and the social environment can be seen⁷⁶.

van Dijk argues that for the reader the meaning of the text is not only produced by the author of the text because social interaction will always be involved. This social space includes the social structures of the society and cultural interrelationships. The writer uses such expressions and forms of the text he or she presupposes the reader will understand. As two Finnish scholars put it: “Discourse analysis will convert the question ‘what does the text mean’ to the form ‘how are the meanings produced in the text’.”⁷⁷

The analysis should depart from the text itself, from its contents and structure. Separately, the style and rhetoric, the thematic areas of the contents found through macro-analysis, and their superstructural positioning in the text, will be analyzed. After these distinctive characteristics of the text have been identified, those have to be brought together with the “global” reality by examining them in relation with the present social contexts.⁷⁸ It is essential that the analysis does not remain at the microlevel, does not limit itself in individual phrases or clauses, but attempts to clarify complete entities, general themes or major topics and the structuring of the themes.⁷⁹ van Dijk emphasises that

we analyze such [news] structures in relation to their context of production and understanding: We want to know their specific functions, for instance, in the expression of underlying knowledge, beliefs, attitudes or ideologies, or as result of specific constraints of newsmaking. Similarly, once we have made explicit such structures, we also know more about the strategies and the

representations that play a role in the interpretation, memorization, and reproducing of news information by the readers⁸⁰

Macroanalysis

Through macroanalysis, even a long text can be reduced to abbreviate the details into larger entities, to identify the main topics or themes of the text. In practice, this kind of macroanalysis is familiar to every reader. From an enormous diversity of daily information, the receiver uses selection, abstraction and other operations to reduce complex information. Simultaneously

our shared, social knowledge...provides the numerous 'missing links' between the concepts and propositions of the text, which is, so to speak, a semantic iceberg, of which only the tip is actually expressed, whereas the other information is presupposed to be known by the readers⁸¹.

Through these culturally bound cognitive structures, sometimes called "the structures of expectation", people are able to classify and compare information, to understand news⁸².

Macroanalysis as a tool for discourse analysis works quite the same way as human cognition. First, the text will be divided in small propositions, which may be defined as the conceptual meaning structure of a clause⁸³. The proposition might be true or untrue. Next, through repeated applications of macro-rules, the propositions found will be reduced to form more general macropropositions or main topics. The most generally used macro-rules are selection, generalisation and construction. This process should also include analysing the various types of implications and what has been left unsaid. All these operations depend heavily on our cultural understanding and knowledge of and beliefs about the world, and they thus do not only reveal what was thought important in producing the text, but also involve the subjective interpretation of the researcher himself.⁸⁴

Superstructures

Topics are usually organized by an abstract schema, a superstructure, consisting of conventional categories specifying the overall functions of the topics in the text. News reports especially follow a certain hierarchical scheme, conventionally consisting of categories as Headline and Lead (together forming the Summary) followed by Main Events, Context and History (together forming the Background category) and finally Verbal Reactions and Comments. The reader expects, especially reading a news report, to find the most important information first. Journalists also routinely look for information to fit in certain category of this structure. Hence, news structures may be related to, or even have developed from, contextual routines of news production, not necessarily from the nature of the event reported. Typically, these categories are expressed as instalments, discontinuously throughout the text, following a top to down strategy which assigns a relevant structure to the text. This assignment of importance may be intersubjective, for the most important information of a news event for one group or person may not be so for another, and thus have ideological implications.⁸⁵

Apart from identifying, describing and analysing the main topics of the ethnic and minority reporting in Finnish press, this study will attempt to examine how the headlines correspond with the main topics of the text, most usually expressed in the lead. Supposedly, they should correlate, but how is it in the case of minority reporting? Since a single news report seldom is a product of one individual, but often a result of at least two persons, the reporter and a sub-editor, the possible disagreement between headlines and main topics may reveal something about the journalistic practices or editorial tendencies of the press.

Style and Rhetoric

The style of a text is a result of choices between different ways of saying the same thing by using alternative words or syntactic structure. The stylistic choices often signal the opinions of the reporter, or ideological position of the paper, about news events and news actors as well as properties of the social and communicative situation and the group membership of the speakers. The report can also leave out relevant information, or let the reader draw conclusions without explicitly stating a fact. Giving too much and/or irrelevant information may also imply something.⁸⁶

While the purpose of the style and the relevance structuring is to demonstrate what is more important than the other, and possibly implicate the journalist's view, a whole multitude of rhetoric structures are used to make the text more persuasive. These structures also contribute to a tighter organization of the information and thus may lead to better memorizing by the reader. Among other things, they may use metaphors familiar from, for example, military or police language, quote reliable sources, or underline the objectivity of the report by using exact numbers and figures.⁸⁷

It is, however, important to notice that these rhetorical means are not necessarily always a result of conscious choices made by the journalist. Since news reports are often produced in a rush, the journalist in fact seldom has time for calculated choices of phrasing

or style. The basic means of linguistic persuasion are generally adopted together with learning the language itself.⁸⁸

Context

Since discourses are not only text, but units of verbal interaction or communicative events, the analysis of discourse should not be limited to text only. In an integrated approach, the uses of discourses in social and communicative contexts should also be accounted for. Human cognition, the cultural environment shaped by history, and present social reality do have influence over both production and understanding, reproduction and memorizing of the text.⁸⁹

The style of the text tells a great deal about its context. A news report, for example, is difficult to understand thoroughly without knowledge about its cultural and social contexts, since the text will consist of segments of these contexts. The writer will use expressions and structures he or she presupposes the reader to understand. For people from an identical cultural background, in this case the Finnish homogenous ethnic majority, the context may mostly be more or less endogenous, for they share a history and structures of expectation and common knowledge of how things normally and typically should be.⁹⁰

The full consideration of context in discourse analysis would involve, among other things, thorough examination of the cognitive processes of both the receiver and producer or producers of the text, as well as the editorial policies and journalistic routines involved. Obviously, this is not obtainable in a study for M.A. thesis. Therefore, both the material and the methods of this study will have to be reduced to the essential only.

3.2. The Research Material

The research material was selected from nine different daily newspapers representing the variety of Finnish daily press in various ways. In the sample there are a) seven broadsheet morning papers and two afternoon tabloids; b) five regional newspapers and four national ones; c) seven Finnish language papers and two published in Swedish language. Five of the newspapers are published seven days a week, four of them only six issues. Geographically, four of the papers are published in the capital Helsinki, the five others cover south-western, western, northern, eastern and central Finland. All the newspapers in the sample are independent of political parties.

In order to limit the number of articles for analysis, a random week from the period of February-March 1995 was appointed. The period was chosen to avoid coinciding with campaigning over a particular issue, such as the national youth campaign against racism and xenophobia later in the spring, as well as the summer holiday period which in Finland has a tendency to distort the overall routine of news reporting. The dates chosen were Monday 6.2.; Tuesday 14.2.; Wednesday 22.2.; Thursday 3.3.; Friday 10.3.; Saturday 18.3 and Sunday 26.3.

In addition, the February-March 1995 issues of two general family weekly magazines, *Seura* and *7 Päivää* were included in the sample. Nine issues of both magazines came out during the two months. This was considered important, since magazines form an important part of the Finnish printed media environment. Both magazines have wide circulation throughout the country.

For the study, all 78 issues⁹¹ of these newspapers and magazines were carefully read and 176 articles were found to match the subject. The articles were chosen from all the sections of the papers, including opinions of the readers as well as foreign news concerning minority or refugee problems in other countries. For the material, the basic criteria was that a reference to ethnic minority or foreign background had to be in some way apparent. Reports on minority politicians or public figures were excluded, if such a reference could not be found.⁹² In this study, the Swedish speaking language minority has been included in the majority population.

From the 176 articles, nine news reports were chosen for a more close analysis. Author's full translations of all the articles are enclosed as appendixes (I-IX) to this dissertation. These reports were chosen one from each newspaper, keeping in mind both the variety of news types as well as substance concerns. Since the purpose of this study is not to make comparisons between newspapers, but to create an overall illustration of the reporting in the Finnish daily Press, the article chosen does not necessarily represent the most typical approach of each paper.

4. The Finnish Press and Ethnic Minorities

4.1. Basic Data

The study involved nine daily newspapers and two weekly magazines, altogether 78 issues of 11 publications. From these, 176 items were found meeting the criteria of dealing with ethnic minorities. The overall average frequency appeared to be 2.2 items per issue, although a significant difference could be found between the daily newspapers (average 2.6 items per issue) and the weekly magazines (average only 1.2 items per issue). Of the newspapers, the two afternoon tabloids had lowest (2.2 items) and the national morning dailies highest (3.3 items) average.

Of the articles in the sample, the largest group were domestic and local reports, in all 90 items (51.1%). The second largest group were the foreign news (27 items or 15.3%), followed by reader's opinions in public pages (19 items or 10.8%), culture, sports or TV-programme reports (13 items or 7.4%), leader or expert articles placed in editorial or calendar pages (12 items or 6.8%) and "people" and "public figures" articles (11 items or 6.2%). Four items (2.3%) were found from the "youth" pages, of which one campaign page was considered as one single item.

Not surprisingly, most of the "people" and "public figure" stories were published by the weekly magazines and were usually very small pieces with a picture and a brief caption-like text. Unlike those, most of the items (96 articles or 54.5%) did not carry a picture.

Altogether 33 different nationalities or more loose definitions of foreign origin could be identified.⁹³ Different non-systematic categories indicating minority membership with or without references to nationality or other origin were found in following numbers: "Refugee" background or "problem" was indicated in 57 items; Sami membership in 19 articles; Jewish religion or background in 9 and "Islamic" religion or "Muslim" background in 6 items; Romany people or "Gypsies" were referred to in 5 articles and the Tatar minority in one item. Foreign diplomatic status was referred to in 4 articles.

Main Themes

Excluding the reader's opinions (19 items), the following main themes for the reports were indicated in the Summary section, the Headline and the Lead, of the articles in the sample.

Table I: Main themes or topics given in Headlines and Leads

1. Crime, threat, accident, problem, conflict of interests	40	
2. Treatment of minorities, policy discussion		29
3. Religion, culture, way of life		23
4. Personal experiences of minority members in Finland	21	
5. Reports of calls for tolerance, acts of charity		19
6. Minority celebrities or public figures		11
7. Minority members in social or political action	8	
8. More refugees coming to Finland / to town		6
Total		157

This categorisation in itself is a product of abstraction, selection, combination and other operations which reduce complex information, and is thus, naturally, questionable.

For example, articles in categories 2 and 8 practically without exception also either directly or indirectly connect with existing or alleged problems or conflicts of interest. Since the reports in category 1 usually include comments on policy, these three categories could perhaps as well be combined to form one overwhelmingly dominating group of themes implying problems. In addition, in category 5, the calls for tolerance and charity imply problems at least indirectly, otherwise the calls would be needless. The majority of the personal experiences of minority members, in category 4, include negative or problematic experiences, even if not indicated in the Summary section of the article in question. The same is the case in category 7, where the social or political actions of minority members are reported.

Sources

One essential factor is the use of sources of information. Who are quoted as experts, who are considered reliable sources by the news media? In the newspapers, the authorities such as police or immigration officials were most often (48.4%) quoted as a major source by journalists. The second largest (18.0%) single group were the minority members themselves. However, as much as 82.0 percent of the total major sources in reports on ethnic minority issues are either authorities or members of the majority population, whatever their role. About one third (33.6%) of the major sources are minority members or their majority friends or representatives.

Table II: Major sources

Authorities	62
Majority experts and politicians	15
Majority public	8
Majority members and NGOs representing minority members	20
Minority members themselves	23
Total cases where a major source could be identified	128

Interestingly, in this sample the share of minority members as a major source would be significantly increased by the weekly magazines, whose articles were practically without exception personal interviews with more or less accepted foreigners or minority members themselves, or short celebrity pieces in which the information had been given by the minority member him- or herself. Of the 21 magazine articles analyzed, 15 used the minority member and 5 their majority friends as main source. In one brief celebrity item, the major source could not be identified.

The Roles They Play

The roles given to minorities and majority population members in reports concerning ethnic minorities also differ in the magazines and the newspapers. The above mentioned nature of the magazine articles in this sample also attribute to the minority members a more active role as agents than in the newspapers. In 15 summaries of the 21 magazine articles minority member was in an active role and passive in only 4 cases. Minorities were also presented in explicitly positive terms in 7 magazine article summaries, while an explicitly negative characterisation of them were used in only one. This suggests a highly selective nature for the general family magazine reporting of ethnic affairs; those who are given publicity are carefully chosen and presented as active subjects and positive or at least neutral ways.

For the newspapers the situation is somewhat different. An examination of the Headlines and the Leads of the 139 newspaper articles referring to Finland, revealed the following:⁹⁴

Members of a minority group were presented as passive subjects of action by the Authorities's or majority group member's in 55 items, a little more often than as active agents (51 items), whereas majority group members were presented overwhelmingly as active agents (57 items) rather than passive subjects (14 items).

In the Summary sections, minority members were described with unquestionably positive epithets 18 times, with neutral ones 61 times and given negative descriptions 27 times. Majority group members were under the same criteria described positively 25 times, with neutral image 36 times and negatively 12 times. Hence, minority members were described negatively in 25.5% and positively 17.0% of the applicable cases, whereas majority members were given a negative image more rarely (in 16.4%) and a positive one more often (in 34.2% of the articles).⁹⁵

Crime in Finland was a feature of 22 of the reports of the whole sample. Of these, a foreign citizen was indicated as the offender or a suspect in 19 cases. In three cases the offender or suspect was a Finn, identified in each case only by being a member of "a gang of skinheads", and the victim was a foreigner, in two cases identified further to be a Somali.

In 15 items of the total 19 in which a foreigner was the offender or suspect, the only identification given to the culprit was his group membership. Nationality was given in 11 articles, in most of them several times, without giving a name even if the culprit in some cases had been proven guilty and sentenced by a court. In four news reports, all of them covering a homicide in Helsinki, the only identification given to the suspect was that he was "a man giving a foreign impression".

4.2. The Detailed Analysis of 9 Selected Articles

In this chapter the detailed analysis of the nine selected reports are presented. The full translations of the articles are included as appendixes to this dissertation. To preserve the possibly important expressions or other elements in the Finnish language, the translations have been made trying to be more faithful to the original Finnish expressions than to the genuinity of the expression in question in English language or traditions of journalism in Great Britain. Conclusions of these analysis will be presented together with conclusions of the basic data in chapter five.

ILTA-SANOMAT 22.2.95: Victimized a Group

The news report in question appeared in Ilta-Sanomat, the afternoon tabloid with wider circulation, of 22 February 1995.⁹⁶ It deals with a Tampere district court case in which an unnamed man, Somalian by nationality, was sentenced for misleading the authorities and for fraud. He had sought for asylum in Finland using forged identity and was granted subsistence support for the time of processing the application. The fraud was uncovered by the Police by comparing his fingerprints with the Dutch Police files, and the man was sentenced to 60 days conditional imprisonment and made liable to repay the Welfare he was given. The item is not strongly emphasized; in the paper's context it is medium size, taking one fifth of a tabloid page under a large item, appearing with a standard bold headline and no picture.

Essentially, this report follows the conventional hierarchical scheme of a news report. The headline identifies the criminal and the crime, the lead (here the first paragraph) states his punishment. Reduced to a list of macro-propositions, the main topics of the report could be listed as follows:

- A Somali applied for asylum in Finland and got money for living by misleading authorities and by fraud;
- It is easy to buy a forged identity from abroad and apply for asylum in Finland;
- Through taking his fingerprints and international cooperation, the Police was able to uncover his fraud;
- He was sentenced by court to 60 days conditional imprisonment and to pay compensation.

For a tabloid reporter, the item is a delicious one. The introduction of a more strict refugee-policies and more active police cooperation have radically reduced the number of asylum-seekers in Finland, and the discussion of genuineness and legality of the ones still coming in has been at times feverish, as elsewhere in Europe. The practice of taking fingerprints from all asylum seekers is in itself a new one and much criticized by Human Rights groups. In its general effect, this news report is an example of the ones which seem to support uncompromising policies towards asylum-seekers. This general context, naturally, does not make it questionable as such.

In the text, the way the man committed the crime by buying a driver's licence with a dead man's identity is repeated four times. The fact that it was cheap and easy to do this is stressed in the headline and repeated twice in the text, first by stating the exact cost and then strengthened by quoting the man's own statement to the police ("It is no problem getting such a licence"). This repetition suggests that here, in essence, lies the main topic of the report. This individual case is used to warn the reader of the danger and threat of fake asylum seekers.

On the motive of the crime, the report states that after getting asylum the man wanted to bring his sister, whose dead husband's identity he had taken, together with her children to Finland. For this humanitarian motive, he had hoped not to be given a sentence. Needless to say, for many Finnish readers this reasoning forms no basis for that since it implicates a plan to commit another crime by bringing in other "illegitimate refugees to enjoy the Finnish taxpayer's money". Rather, taking up the whole argument could as well be seen as encouraging the arguments against family re-uniting programmes under the pretext that they "open up the flood gates". By using the phrase, "he assures", while referring to the man's intention to himself return to The Netherlands afterwards, the reporter in Finnish language in effect implies "that is what he says, the truth is different".

The style and rhetoric of the report are seemingly neutral, businesslike and accurate. The exact figures and facts lend it credibility. Although the sources of the facts are not clearly stated, the way they are put, as well as the mentioning of the "police interrogation" twice as the source of the statements of the Somali man, suggest that the reporter has based the report on the court

and police records only.

However, perhaps the most severe social and ideological implication in this report is made by the stylistic choice of giving group membership, in this case nationality, as the only identification for the sentenced man. That he is "a Somali", is stated in the headline and repeated five more times. No other identification is given, even though if the man was sentenced by a court and publishing his name would thus not have violated either law or the ethical code. The recommendations of the International Federation of Journalists has stressed that people should always be presented as individuals, not representatives of groups. The Finnish Council for mass media has also repeatedly stated that race, colour of skin, nationality or origin should not be emphasized in reporting, unless this is essential.⁹⁷ By not giving the man a name, but strongly emphasizing his group membership, the report gives it essential value and thus victimizes the whole group, in effect suggesting to the reader that (all) Somalis are fake refugees.

Furthermore, as Kivikuru⁹⁸ has noted, in the everyday discourse of the Finnish youth, the word "Somali" has increasingly been used in negative sense of all black people and "foreigners different from Us" in Finland. In this way, this news report can be claimed to utilize and reproduce the strengthened negative attitudes of the Finns towards the refugees and Somalis in particular and foreign people different from the Finns in general.

ILTALEHTI 14.2.95: Russians and (other) Criminals

The news report analyzed here occupied the whole news front page in *Ilta-lehti*, the second in terms of circulation of the Finnish afternoon tabloids, of 14 February 1995.⁹⁹ Four fifths of the page were filled by the headline and the picture. The whole setup was made to underline the importance of the matter and the report. The headline caption and lead each repeat the information, that the Ministry of Interior is strictly against abandoning visa practices between Finland and Estonia, because they fear "the situation to break out of control". The layout of the large picture and the headline clearly implies a threat arriving through the border control; a threat which culminates in the Soviet passport in the centre of the picture.

Since Estonian independence, both private and business travel between Finland and Estonia have increased rapidly. This has caused long queues for visas and inconvenience on both sides of the border. Along the line of normalising the relationship between the countries, the Foreign Ministries have negotiated relaxing the visa regulations to make travel easier. Given the gap between the standard of living in the two countries, Finns have gone to Estonia for business as well as cheap leisure and shopping. Estonians also have come to Finland for business, opportunity and leisure. During the years, there has been a major outcry in the media and a public debate over Estonians and Russians allegedly coming to Finland for organized crime, prostitution and to create a black market of cheap alcohol, cigarettes and other products. At the end of 1994, there were 7,785 Russian, 7,472 Estonian and 6,804 former Soviet Union citizens resident in Finland, and together they formed some 35% of all the foreign citizens residing in the country. Even if Estonians are considered to be very similar to the Finns, "our cousins", they together with Russians, Polish, Serbs and Croats, belong to those Europeans, towards whom the attitudes of Finns turned significantly more negative between 1987 and 1993.¹⁰⁰ This background is not given in the report, but is presupposed to be known and felt by the readers, as is indicated by the naming of the "Estonian Russians and criminals" as the threat. The wording also identifies Russians with criminals.

The main topic of this report, that the Ministry of Interior is strictly against abandoning the visas, is repeated as many as seven times; in the headline, in the caption and in the lead, and additionally four times in the text. Basically, the rest of the article gives the Home Office arguments to back the uncompromising stand. The information in the report could be reduced to the following list of macro-propositions:

- It is dangerous to abandon visas between Finland and Estonia for it would mean freedom of movement for the Estonian Russians and criminals in Finland, and thus cause crime and problems;
- The Foreign Office (diplomats) are negotiating the relaxing of regulations within a short period of time, because the Estonian President will pay an official visit to Finland in the spring;
- The Home Office officials, dealing with the consequences of this act, and this far kept aside from the negotiations, are imposing strict conditions for the freedom of visas;
- Because of Estonia being so far from fulfilling those conditions, visas can not be abandoned at least before summer 1996.

The approach of the report is strictly the one of those Home Office authorities who react negatively to abandoning the visas. The Estonian Foreign Office official is quoted as unwilling to estimate the time table of the signing of the agreement, the alleged hasty time table is given by quoting an anonymous "Finnish News Agency source", whose argument for the time table is made to sound formal; the only reason given for the time table is a state visit by Estonian President, who - as every Finn knows - is a frequent visitor to the country, although unofficially and privately. The impression is given that those who know something about the real consequences of this diplomatic act, "the security matters leadership group of the Ministry of Interior, which deals with the visa affairs on the field level", have been kept in dark and given the possibility to have a say only at this late stage of negotiations. Their demands are listed in detail by quoting the Chief Inspector of the Border Control.

According to this reading, one main topic could also be seen to be the rift between the Home and Foreign Offices over an important immigration issue. In this conflict, the Police and Border Control are presented as defending the interests of the Finns,

while it is implied that the Foreign Office is willing for formal diplomatic reasons to forsake them.

KESKISUOMALAINEN 18.3.95: A Good Foreigner

This item appeared on the youth-page of Keski-suomalainen on 18 March, 1995 in three columns, of which two was given to the picture.¹⁰¹ The basic outlook is positive and cheerful: in the picture are two, smiling white people and a headline consisting of three words, each having a positive tuning: "trainee exchange", "taught" and "teamwork".

The article tells about a young German's experience as a trainee in a Finnish company, through a Technical School exchange programme. Of the three parties two are present in the article, and they have only good to say of the experience. The following topics could be listed:

- Heike is a young, successful German woman in Finland as a trainee;
- Finns were able to teach her teamwork and she appreciates the lesson;
- Finns also profit from the programme;
- The European Union brings internationalisation to Finnish companies, and German language is especially important.

In the article, Heike is presented as an individual, a person "just like us". She is European, young, blond, she looks like us and - as seen in the picture - dresses like us. She is easy to identify with. In the Finnish economic environment it is also important that getting a job is a concern (since it is mentioned), but not a problem (since she studies in an institute of good reputation) for her. She is successful. No negative experiences for her in Finland, or for Finns due to her presence, are even hinted at.

Heike comes from Germany, which is a mighty economic power in Europe. The European Union brings us closer, and Heike's presence in Finland is shown to bring both direct and indirect profit for Finns in this process. She has taught German and translated the company's materials and, most importantly, the programme that brought her here allows Finnish students to go to Germany and benefit from her highly valued institute. Success is implied as assured for those connected with Heike.

It is important for Finns that we have been able to teach a German something we value, namely teamwork. Recognition of this launches the article. Moreover, Heike is in the very beginning quoted criticising her own culture to the benefit of ours, saying that in Germany people work more for their own benefit. This, together with the use of the word "educative" when describing the company she was working with, shows her appreciating the apprenticeship with us Finns. For a small nation, slowly recovering from a serious economic and mental recession, and only recently having joined the EU, this kind of appreciation is bound to arouse positive responses.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT 10.3.95: Problems for the Authorities

The news report analyzed here appeared on the domestic pages of Helsingin Sanomat, the largest national newspaper in Finland, in the issue of 10 March 1995.¹⁰² It was spread over four columns and, even though no picture was included, was given relatively large space and importance in the context of the domestic news pages.

The report starts from negotiations on cooperation between the Finnish and Russian authorities to develop the Russian refugee policies and bring it to meet the standards of international conventions. Then, the report goes on to describe the problems and policies of Russian authorities in detail. The given sources are Finnish (Foreign Office) and Russian (St. Petersburg Immigration Office FMS) authorities, obviously including a press conference in Helsinki even though it is not explicitly mentioned. Non-governmental organisations working in the field are not even referred to. This renders the report an official policy approach, where the active agents are authorities trying to deal with the severe problems caused by the arrival of refugees and seeking to prevent their illegal entering in the domains of these authorities.

Through macroanalysis of the report the following main topics can be identified:

- Refugees are a problem for the receiving country;
- There is a serious refugee problem in Russia, and official policy has now started to be formulated with the declared aim of tightening the practices;
- Finland participates in organizing the policies and may contribute financially, if the direction is considered to be satisfactory;
- The first Russian refugee centre is planned to be set up near the Finnish border, financed by CIS states;
- Most of the refugees are illegals. It is easy to enter Russia illegally through southern borders and to reach St. Petersburg, for example by train;
- The first decisions on status have been made. With the exception of one family, these have been negative;

Seemingly, the report is very matter-of-fact, as could be expected from the largest and most resourceful newspaper in the country. However, while the headline and the lead concentrate on the Finnish participation, most of the space in the text is used for describing the emerging Russian refugee policies and giving details about problems the authorities in St. Petersburg face, caused

by the refugees. In this sense, the summary and the background sections do not fully correspond with each other. This is especially so because the only Finnish motive given for participation in the Russian process is general goodwill: "When we see that the efforts are made in a correct direction, we want to participate in strengthening the trend," a Finnish Foreign Office official is quoted saying.

The contextual background is not explicitly referred to. Russia, especially St. Petersburg and the Leningrad district, is the most obvious area from where it is feared refugees will cross the Finnish border and become a burden on the authorities in Finland, as was experienced during the so called Somali Shock of 1990-1991. Leaving such an important factor in the context for the reader to conclude may imply either ignorance or political motivation for some reason to hide the understandable but openly selfish motive for cooperation. It is also possible that the contextual background is considered too self evident for readers to be mentioned in the report.

Whatever the reason for omission, including this contextual background would help the reader also to understand the statements that it is the duty of each country to deal with these problems themselves, and that the Finnish financial contribution "depends on the direction to which the system begins to develop". One implication, in that case, may have been that the Finnish authorities are willing to pay hard currency to the Russians for dealing with their refugees themselves (by not letting them in Russia or dealing with them there) and not allowing them to enter the Finnish (and European Union) territory.

The Russian refugee problem is emphasized by first quoting the FMS director saying that Russia is a large country and solving problems like this is difficult. Then, the estimated numbers of refugees are given. Here, the terminology of the report becomes questionable. The term "refugee" is used without making distinctions between refugees, asylum seekers and other illegal or unwanted immigrants. If a "refugee" is strictly defined to be a person who has been given the status after processing an application for asylum and following the UN criteria, how can there be 500,000 refugees in Russia and 13,000 in St. Petersburg, if the policy formulating and processing of the first applications is only just beginning? Since a broader definition of "refugee" is widely used and the overall picture of Russian refugee policies given in the report is somewhat chaotic, the use of rigid terminology may not be journalistically possible.

Being precise in terminology is in news reporting generally recommended, as well as checking the information given, even if the source is an authority. This may be especially recommendable in cases where there is much confusion about the precise facts. On the other hand, the broader use of the term "refugee" may also arouse sympathy in the reader. Especially so in phrasings such as "The refugees are, however, not kept in prisons". Here, the expression "refugee" is used to mean a person, who has been denied the official status of a refugee.

Referring to the information given by the FMS director, the report states that of 13,000 refugees 10,000 are "illegal", without further explanation, but in the context of illegal entry to Russian territory. The estimation of the proportion of "illegals" of the estimated 500,000 refugees in the whole of Russia is left for the reader. This implication, that the overwhelming majority of refugees are "illegals" or not bonafide, is strengthened by further information, saying that the first decisions have been negative because "legal requirements have not been fulfilled: they have not been persecuted in their homelands and they have not been victims of physical violence there". The only exception to this rule is reported to be one Afghan family.

TURUN SANOMAT 10.3.95: The Problems They Face

The report in question appeared in the local news pages of Turun Sanomat, the regional number one morning daily of south-western Finland, on Friday 10 March 1995.¹⁰³ It was made a part of a section of three articles, all dealing with the Finnish attitudes towards foreigners and especially refugees. Above this report, the Archbishop of the State Church was quoted to be worried about rising xenophobia and intolerance in Finland and a forthcoming campaign week against the phenomena was announced. The Bishop's message was in the headline directed to politicians, and in the second article of the section three young candidates for the parliamentary elections were briefly interviewed on their programmes. They all exhibited their compassion and tolerance towards all foreigners and especially refugees. In this context this report served the purpose of focusing on refugees both as a principal national question and a local example of activity. All three reports together made up an important entity of nearly half a broadsheet page and two pictures.

Reduced to main topics, the article analyzed here includes the following propositions:

- Finland receives less refugees than other European counties;
- Due to the EU membership Finland has to prepare to receive more refugees than at present;
- During the event The Path of a Refugee, the refugees in Salo showed how they experienced their reception by the Finnish authorities;
- A Finnish participant agreed the treatment was inconsiderate.

There are actually two parts to the report. The first gives a brief background and view of a Finnish county official dealing with refugees¹⁰⁴. He is quoted arguing for more refugees to be allowed in Finland, on the grounds of more equal burden sharing in Europe. Comparative figures are given from Sweden and Germany to show that his argument is based on fact. This argument does

not directly refer to the increasing amount of people who have to flee their countries for various reasons, and in this sense does not openly appeal for solidarity with those who need help themselves, but calls for solidarity with the other European countries who help them more and whose burden is heavier the less Finland participates.

After this, the report quotes the official taking a stand against the continuing cuts in the refugee service system in Finland, taking a local example of two closed refugee centres in the county. Approximate figures indicating a steep fall in the number of arriving refugees are given. No real reasons for the fall of the numbers are given, but the context refers both to the fact that "Finland receives a shamefully small amount of refugees" - in effect official policy - and, in the adjoining reports, to the Finnish xenophobia and intolerance - in effect reasons behind the policy.

When combining these statements and inferences, the first part of the report could be seen to suggest that xenophobic and intolerant Finland has applied an official policy of receiving shamefully few refugees, and is tearing down the social service system for meeting the inevitable future task of receiving more of them. Then a positive idea is given, that Salo could be taken as a model for a change in this policy.

The second part gives details of the event, "The Path of a Refugee", organised in Salo. The refugees are shown as active agents, educating Finns about the experiences a refugee faces in front of the strict and blunt Finnish authorities and their humiliating methods. A Finn who has been put in the position of an arriving refugee is quoted as understanding that the language barrier really is a problem.

In all, the article - especially in the context of the other two adjoining reports - calls for compassion and understanding towards refugees. The approach is obviously that of the main population, not that of the minority group or groups in question. It does, in a sense, underline differences between Us and Them, but invites us to put ourselves into their position. It implicates that the refugees are human beings like us, with their human dignity and human problems in front of the authorities. The refugees are dealt with as a group, their activity is reported, but they are not quoted. In the caption, however, "Nelli Zelenskaya, a returnee from Petroskoi" [Petrozavodsk] is introduced as an individual among them. The article shows that the reporter has made an effort to understand Others and their situation, and the existence of three articles (all written by women, by the way) as a whole shows an effort to draw attention to the problems of xenophobia and intolerance in Finland.

LAPIN KANSA 14.2.95: Strong Identification With the Majority

This domestic news report dominated the news front page of Lapin Kansa, the number one regional morning daily of Lapland, on Tuesday February 14, 1995.¹⁰⁵ The item was spread over the whole page. Obviously, this was considered to be "The News Of The Day": a controversial law on the cultural autonomy of the indigenous Sami people, mainly resident in the circulation area of the newspaper, was debated in the third and decisive reading of the National Parliament. The purpose of the law had been to establish cultural autonomy for the Samis and "extend constitutional protection to the right to use the Saami [sic] language and...strengthen the foundation for the practical implementation of the rights".¹⁰⁶ Among the Finnish majority population, there had been some fears that the law might lead to limitations to their rights, even if the authorities as well as the Constitutional Committee of the Parliament had assured that this will not be the case.¹⁰⁷ A delegation from the dominant Finnish majority population from Enontekiö municipality had gone to the Capital for a demonstration against the proposed law. The demonstration is showed in the large front page picture and further focused by interviewing participants in an adjoining report in page seven. What is analyzed here, is the front page report on the debate in the Parliament.

The setup clearly suggests the paper has a political stand on the issue, supporting the demonstrators and opposing the draft for the Sami Cultural Autonomy Law. The headline underlines the resistance towards the law and in the large colour picture the arguments of the demonstrators are paramount. Obviously, this is not the first time the subject appears on the pages of the paper. In the text of this report, the following macro-propositions could be identified:

- Thanks to the people's movement, the draft was resisted in the Parliament, and the decisive vote therefore was delayed by a day;
- Five named northern MPs criticised the draft from the floor, echoing the concerns of the people in the North;
- Two named southern MPs defended the draft by giving bureaucratic and vague arguments;

In the report, the arguments against the draft were quoted and listed in detail: a) the draft was four times quoted to be processed "unequally" and "not adequately hearing all parties involved"; b) the conflicts and contradictions to be caused by the proposed law were referred to twice in the text and further strengthened by the phrase "civil war" in the sign held by a woman dressed in traditional Sami dress in the photograph; c) that the draft is confusing and causing doubts among "the people of the North" were quoted twice and d) the bringing of insecurity to the livelihood was mentioned once.

The arguments given for the adoption of the draft are a) that the rural district councils of the municipalities with the considerable Sami population have approved the draft (twice referred to), b) that "democracy has been done during the drafting" and c) that there are international obligations requiring such a law. Since the original purpose of the proposed law is not referred to, further than in mentioning its name, the defence of the law in the report remains rather vague. Furthermore, these arguments are

weakened by implicitly questioning the expertise of southern MPs in the matter as well as referring to the problems in defining an indigenous people both in the text and in the photograph.

The case of the demonstrators and those criticising the draft is further strengthened in the report by style and rhetoric. The use of such phrases as "the people of the North", "all the population groups", "affected population groups" and "parishioners" constructs a picture of a group of people "silently appealing" for their rights.

No representatives of the Sami people are presented in the report. Their role is strictly to serve as an anonymous threat to the livelihood and rights of the people the news report strongly identifies with. The other two reports on the same demonstration in the sample (Helsingin Sanomat and Iltalehti of the same day) have no quotes from the indigenous Sami minority either, but their reporting on the matter is seemingly more balanced.

KARJALAINEN 22.2.95: Scared Refugees and Well-wishing Authorities

The report analyzed here appeared as a large item on the local pages of Karjalainen, the major regional morning daily of Northern Karelia in the eastern part of Finland, on February 22, 1995.¹⁰⁸ The district Capital town of Joensuu had been facing a circle of racist violence in which a small group of black people - and especially the 20 or so Somali refugees - had been repeatedly assaulted by a gang of local "skinhead" youths. References to these attacks were also present in other reports of the paper in the sample. This piece of news was published, with a neutral picture, after a delegation of the Somali refugees met with the Mayor of the town. The information in the report could be reduced to following macro-propositions:

- The Somali refugees feel threatened and afraid of the racist violence;
- The authorities give special attention to the violence and are convening a committee to make the streets safer for all, including the Somalis;
- The authorities appeal to both parties for tolerance and non-violence.

Following the traditional structure of a news report, the main topics here are the appeal of the Mayor against racism and violence and the practical steps the well-wishing authorities are making to stop the violence. The Mayor will inform the Town Board and the Police is setting up a committee. The report gives the name of the police officer responsible for the convening of the group, as if to give credibility to the action.

In the background section, the Somali men are giving a reason for their visit and relate it to their insecurity. A named Somali refugee is quoted saying in effect that because of the violence the asylum in Joensuu is not safe for them. This, as well as the quote that at times they do not even dare to go to buy groceries, indicate sympathy towards the victims of violence. Later, the violence is stated to be racial, and figures are given to show that Somalians really are a small group in Joensuu, victimized due the colour of their skin. They are presented as only wanting to live in peace, although mentioning the circle of revenge and quoting the Police Chancellor warning them against striking back implies that they, too, are capable of violence.

The style of the report is very matter-of-fact and spare. The rhetoric, if it exists, seems to be designed to calm down people and draw attention to the above identified three main topics of the article.

HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 10.3.95: Having Fun at a MP's Expense

This small report appeared on the domestic pages of the Swedish language national daily Hufvudstadsbladet of March 10, 1995.¹⁰⁹ It is a small piece of a Finnish MP who made a police complaint against a Swedish language TV-show in which an Iranian-born Swedish comedian had called her a racist whore. In the less formal classification, this report would go in the category of "funnies", brief stories which are taken half-seriously by the journalists compiling them, but read all the more eagerly by the audience, partly because they tell a whole lot more about the editorial line and staff than they intend to.

Here, the main topics of the piece of writing can be identified to be:

- MP Marita Jurva has been called a racist whore by Lasse Lindroth on TV;
- Jurva is furious for the "whore" part of it and demands that all those guilty be punished;
- Lindroth has called other people the same and not had any reactions;
- Jurva in fact could well be called a racist and admits this herself.

There is no doubt at whose expense the paper is having the fun. In Finnish politics Marita Jurva was taken seriously by few and, since she was known to follow and partly formulate her party's populist and often anti-immigration and anti-Swedish language minority line, Hufvudstadsbladet is generally not believed to belong to those.¹¹⁰ The style and rhetoric of this brief report are a proof of that.

Jurva is reported to be "furious" over the "deeply insulting" incident and demanding "punishment for all those guilty", thus suggesting that she is over-reacting. The same implication follows the phrasing that the correction in the programme after her direct phone call "obviously was not enough". Also others had been called the same, but no reactions have come.

By saying that Lindroth said on a TV-show that he had called Jurva a racist whore in a Swedish newspaper and that "this led him having to apologise to all the Finnish whores", the paper in this piece of news in effect repeats the alleged crime and thus implies that it was not such a bad crime after all. The reporter's own final comment is formulated more carefully so as to avoid prosecution: "Jurva is known not to mince words herself..."

VASABLADET 10.3.95: Refugees Bring Local Problems

The small piece of local news in question appeared in March 10, 1995 issue of Vasabladet, a regional Swedish language daily on the West coast of Finland.¹¹¹ It deals with local politics and an arriving group of Kurdish refugees in a small mainly Swedish speaking town of Kaskö. The following macro-propositions could be found:

- The arrival of refugees brings exceptionally sensitive problems for Kaskö;
- The real problems can not be discussed in open.
- There is a rift between parties concerning the question. As a result the whole expected group will not be received;

The opening sentence of the report, together with the headline, gives the basic news and a hint to the reason of the split in town. "Kaskö either can not or does not want to..." is formulated in such a way that it carries criticism from the reporters side, especially so, while the whole group was an "expected" one. There is an air of a commitment withdrawn present also in the formulation that "it appeared" that at most half the group can be admitted.

The report quotes two local political leaders and makes it clear that the social democrats would have been willing to receive the whole group, but the Swedish Speaking Peoples Party (SFP) group was against it. In the report it is stated twice that the insufficient number of houses readily available is not the only problem involved, but according to the SFP spokesman "40 refugees would be a much too large a group for small Kaskö". Why this is so is not answered, but the matter is reported to be so sensitive that the town board discussed the question "informally", with "no records". These formulations, and what is left unsaid, leave room for inferred assumptions on the basis of the background knowledge of the reader. One who thinks for instance that refugees stink, may well conclude that the SFP group also thinks the same and does not want them in town for that reason. On the other hand, somebody else might know what this person thinks of refugees and conclude that the basis of the rejection is the desire to avoid confrontation in a small town.

Conclusion

The detailed analysis of these nine articles has shown how it is possible to identify different and even surprising meanings in press reports which are seemingly neutral, objective and matter-of-fact. The use of different sources, the choice of style and rhetoric, repetition and exclusion are among the methods with which journalistic products are given effective meanings not necessarily visible in the first reading. Repetition especially is an efficient tool. Repeated time after time, the as such seemingly innocent detail of the ethnic background of a criminal will begin to have metaphorical importance and magnify the significance of ethnicity. On the other hand, by excluding facts or important factors in background of the issue in question, or people, it is possible to create a false picture without actually lying.

The method of discourse analysis involves strong subjective elements, both in selection of the material for analysis and in the analysis itself. Since unfounded generalisations are as dangerous in academic media research as they are in journalism, a balanced picture of the ethnic representation in the Finnish press can be given only by combining the findings of the quantitative content analysis to the conclusions from this exercise.

5. Conclusions

This study has been an attempt to produce a general survey on ethnic representation, including settled minorities, migrants, refugees and indigenous people, in the Finnish press. This chapter presents a summary of the findings in the study, after which some reflections and considerations will be presented.

5.1. Findings

Calm, Composed and Excluding

This study of ethnic representation in nine Finnish newspapers and in two weekly family magazines showed an average frequency of 2.2 items per published issue. To avoid prejudice, the period of time was selected to represent as "normal" times as possible. Ethnic minorities can thus not be considered to be a particularly "hot" subject in the everyday reporting of the Finnish press. Only 25 items (14.2%) in the sample dealt with settled minorities (Romany 5, Tatar 1) or indigenous Sami people (19), which would suggest that these "domestic" minorities are of even smaller interest to the majority press than the minorities with a refugee or other immigrant background.

The low interest in minority issues in the press seems to reflect especially the decreased numbers of arriving refugees to Finland, due to more restricted policy since 1993. During the peak period in the winter of 1991, a small research conducted in the Tampere University showed an average of nine stories in every single newspaper issue on refugees and asylum seekers only¹¹².

In 1991, the main topics in ethnic reporting were asylum seekers coming from Somalia and violence against them. The coverage included xenophobic, even hysteric voices. Luostarinen has described the performance of the Finnish media then as "second-rate if not worse"¹¹³. Today, generally speaking, the tone of the coverage in the mainstream newspapers would seem to be calm and composed. Most of the reports in this study described immigrants and minorities in neutral or positive terms. Calls for action against racism and xenophobia were reported and even underlined in editorial articles. Some leading article writers, indeed, discussed the role and responsibility of the media in fighting racism and xenophobia. All these findings are in line with the general profile of quality newspapers, and would seem to support the assumption that the media, indeed, are reasonable, responsible and fair.

On the other hand, the results of more detailed analysis of coverage give a different picture. If explicit and intentional racism and ill-will seem to be to a large extent missing from the media, there were individual examples of questionable journalistic practices either denoting ignorance, strong prejudice or a commercial motive to sell a story, or the whole paper, with tones labelling the minorities with negative images.

Most importantly, however, the findings suggest that it is through different patterns of exclusion that the media unintentionally discriminate. To a large extent, the reporting as a whole does marginalize and silence the minority point of view, and even from the majority point of view proves to be incapable of presenting the whole diversity of the life of ethnic minorities and thus the whole society. As Pietikäinen puts it:

Claiming that this type of news reporting is neutral or even positive, seems to indicate that the majority does not have an insight into the patterns of everyday racism as it is experienced by minorities.¹¹⁴

Even if accepting van Dijk's formulation of the media as an "inherent part of the problem"¹¹⁵ would seem to be an exaggeration of the situation in the case of the Finnish press, a number of patterns of exclusion and labelling do constitute a considerable challenge to the process in which Finnish journalism should regard its own practices and aim to improve its performance in fulfilling the main task of the press; to present a full picture of the society and tell the facts so that individuals and other institutions would be properly informed when trying to solve the problems.¹¹⁶

The Majority Sets the Agenda

When reported in the press, minorities are presented from the majority viewpoint. In this study, members of the majority group were the main source of information in 82% of the reports, while minority members were quoted as an important source in only 18% of the articles. Pietikäinen, in her still unfinished doctoral study of the ethnic reporting of Helsingin Sanomat between 1985 and 1993, found out that majority group members were quoted, directly or indirectly, in almost every news item, whereas minority group members were only quoted in every fifth news item.¹¹⁷ These findings seem to support each other. The agenda of minority issues in the press is set by the majority.

Moreover, the discussion on refugee, immigration and minority policies takes place between Finns, not with all parties concerned. Authorities were in this sample quoted as a major source in 48.4% of the reports and were considered a reliable and objective

source whose information does not need any further check or confirmation. If the authorities were criticized, they were done so by Finnish majority politicians and single officials or refugee workers. Friends and representatives of minority members, themselves belonging to the majority group, or Finnish NGOs were in individual cases quoted as criticizing the authorities' behaviour, but seldom taken as a party in policy discussions. Minority representatives themselves were quoted on topics such as their own culture or general personal experiences in Finland.

Interestingly but not necessary surprisingly, there seems to be a clear distinction in the group of foreigners and immigrants to those who are "like us" and those who are not. Those immigrants originating from Europe or United States were more often active agents and given positive descriptions than those coming from the so-called Third World. They were connected with descriptions suggestive of success, benefiting "us" also, being international people and so on. They were also quoted criticizing Finns for example for bureaucracy, racism or being of a reserved nature, and allowed a critical role, whereas refugees and other immigrants from the Third World were seldom quoted criticizing Finns in general, any other way than complaining against direct abuse. Even in those cases, their arguments were by rule either confirmed or countered by statements of majority members. Given the trend in the Finnish press to emphasize negatively coloured news from the Third World in general, this would suggest that the general media image of the Third World being full of poor and passive people with only overwhelming problems around them¹¹⁸ continues to portray the people from Third World in Finland. This kind of essentialism tends to view the Others, especially from the Third World as a burden to "us developed people". And the role of the "burden" is to be humble, satisfied with what is given, and not to complain.¹¹⁹

The Wretched Majority

The self-image of the overwhelmingly dominating Finnish majority population in the ethnic minority representation of the press is not possible to understand without the broader social context of the deep economic recession of the early 1990s and the since then spiralling unemployment rates in the country. The awareness of "us Finns" is extremely strong. Following Husband's argument of the image of Britishness being rooted in the past imperial glories¹²⁰, it could be argued that for the Finns the past glory was the economic boom of 1980s. Those were the "good old days", when "we Finns" were rich enough to show tolerance and exercise charity towards the Others. The suggested "mass arrival" of refugees, asylum seekers and other foreigners coincides with the end of those days. The elites, including the media, explain the negative change of the Finnish attitudes towards refugees and other migrants with that fact and the concern over the socioeconomic threat the immigrants and refugees may pose.¹²¹

In the newspaper sample of this study, altogether 19 items were reporting calls for tolerance or acts of charity towards minorities in general or refugees in specific. An explicit concern over the hardened attitudes of the majority was expressed, while at the same time in the reporting echoing the voices demanding even more restricted immigration policy in front of our present economic problems. So strong is the power of economy that Lapin Kansa, the largest regional newspaper in Lapland, completely omitted the indigenous Sami people perspective from its reporting of the decisive hearing in the Parliament of the Sami Cultural Autonomy Law, and identified totally with the group of majority Finns who feared that the Sami cultural autonomy might somehow restrict their rights for livelihood. One of the repeated propositions in the reporting was that the Finnish majority is "indigenous as well", thus implying that the indigenous people whose cultural autonomy was by the law protected, may not exist at all. The obvious breakaway from the principles of balanced and fair reporting was soon followed by an editorial article calling for tolerance towards "aliens" and stressing that Finland will in future need foreign labour again. The Sami people were not mentioned in the leader.¹²²

In general outlook, the majority agents in the sample - mainly the authorities and politicians - were active and described with positive or neutral images. An apparent trend towards the division between the "good Finns" and the "bad Finns", those who are openly against the minorities and those who fight racism, intolerance and xenophobia, could be identified. This trend, however, is not as strong as it has been identified in the Swedish press by Hultén¹²³. Rather, the Finnish press in general seems to be more careful in criticizing the authorities, who are still considered to be neutral and objective both as actors and sources of information. In the sample, however, one case of expulsion of a refugee family was reported extensively and in a way that was highly critical of the authorities, but their standpoints were presented extensively as well.

As a result, the picture painted by the press of the majority attitudes towards minorities is that of a good but impoverished people who no longer can afford to exercise charity as a state. Instead, charity should be the everyday practice of individuals. This general image, naturally, carries with it a number of implications on the nature of minorities.

Minorities Bring Problems

Examining the reporting on refugees, Järvinen noted that in 1989 the press had three dominating themes: 1) the receiving of refugees, 2) the treatment of the refugees in Finland and 3) the attitude of Finns towards the refugees and foreigners in general. Immonen's study showed that the themes had not essentially changed by 1990-91, the time of the so called Somali Shock. The treatment of refugees theme, though, was not emphasized, but the arrival of the refugees to Finland through the then Soviet Union was stressed instead¹²⁴. This study would suggest that 1) the attitudes of the Finns towards foreigners in general and refugees in particular, 2) the discussion on the refugee and migration policy in Finland and neighbouring countries, 3) the experiences of

the refugees and other migrants in Finland, as well as 4) the problems they both face and cause to the majority population are emphasized in the reporting.

There seems to be no clear distinction between the reporting of refugees and other migrants, except the cultural one. People belonging to apparently the same culture and appearance seem to be given an active role and a positive description more often than those originating from the Third World or otherwise representing a culture, appearance or way of life different from "ours", no matter what their status. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. In a small minority of articles, there was an explicit endeavour to present the everyday reality and life of refugees or migrants, in this sample mainly from Africa, from the point of view of their integration into the Finnish society. In some cases, such as in a report on Somali Muslim children observing Ramadan in a Finnish school, this approach was also supplemented with unbiased additional information on the cultural or religious traditions of the people reported.

People belonging to a minority are predominantly presented as members of a group, not as individuals. Extreme cases of this are the crime reports, in which "A Somali did this" or "A Turkish man did that", using the group membership as the only identification of the person. This has a tendency to victimize the whole group in question. Not a single item was found in the sample, in which another member of the same minority was allowed to comment on a misdeed done by a member of a minority group. This tendency to view minorities through their group membership reached a bizarre level in four crime reports, in which a suspect of a crime was identified by an "appearance of a foreigner", a description inaccurate enough to be absolutely useless for identification of the alleged criminal but insinuating enough to create an image in the mind of the reader.

Other case studies of reports of Somali refugees and issues concerning Islamic religion have pointed out stereotypes and generalisations¹²⁵. "Arabs" are usually identified with Islam, and Islam with fundamentalism, which in turn is often reported in connection with terrorism. The linking of Arabs or Kurds with terrorism, for example, may not be constructed in one single report but be a result of a complex combination of information received from the media. However, it may have serious consequences connected with, for instance, a piece of news about a crime allegedly committed by somebody with an "appearance of a foreigner" and a previous report of "Arab" refugees arriving in the country.

In general, minorities are mostly reported in connection with a problem to such an extent that they could be perceived as "problem people". They either are a problem, have a problem or may create a problem. Crime, threat, conflict of interest or other kind of problem can be seen to be either directly or indirectly the theme or essential background of as many as 130 (or 73.8% of the total 176) items in the sample. As a rule, these problems are not individual, but presented as group problems and reported from a majority point of view, to such an extent that the reporting may end up blaming the minority for having those problems and turning them to be the origin of the problem themselves.

News are extremely seldom made about the positive aspects of multicultural society. Discounting readers' letters and brief pieces on accepted minority celebrities in the weekly magazines, only 12 items (or 8.2%) in the sample were about minority group members with a positive contribution into the life of majority society¹²⁶. Of these 12 items, three were about "domestic" (1 Tatar, 2 Sami) minorities, 7 about immigrants from the European Union countries or United States, one about a Russian cultural person and one about a Tanzanian woman teaching Swahili for a living. None of these items indicated a refugee background and only one was about a person originating from the Third World.

Racism, xenophobia and intolerance within the Finnish majority population are seen as a problem, but only on a general level. These phenomena are not brought to an everyday level. Even in editorial and expert articles concerned with racism and xenophobia, the responsibility for doing something about the situation was given to the politicians and authorities. The everyday racism faced by minority members is seldom reported. Racism in Finnish society hits the news only in connection with violent abuses, fights between foreign and Finnish mobs and court cases, or in a very indefinite general or moral context.

5.2. Some Reflections and Considerations

The approach in this study has been to treat and analyze media representations of minorities as a discourse. Methodologically, the problem in this kind of study is that it inherently involves exactly the same kind of elements of subjectivity as the discourse it attempts to survey. Principally, the same rules seem to apply both the examiner and the examined. The point of departure, selection of material and sources, the methods used and the way they are used are as subjective tools in the hands of media researcher as they are in the hands of individual journalists. Neither should declare themselves to be representatives of objective truth. The problem is that both often do so.

The relationship between racism and xenophobia to the media is a controversial issue. The problems are not quite new in Finland either, but seem to have appeared in public only recently, reflecting the sharp rise of the number of immigrants and refugees since late 1980s. The general findings in this study seem to indicate that although all the elements of the negative findings in European and North-American research literature are present in the Finnish media, it would not be a fair and balanced statement to claim that for example the above quoted van Dijk's list of negatives would alone give a true picture of Finnish press performance. One has to recognize the considerable effort amongst the press to strive for balanced and compose ethnic reporting, while acknowledging the problematic points which seem to draw from inexperience and more general logics of news discourse, rather than from racist ideologies or ill will. Compared to the few studies made earlier on the representation of the Finnish press of ethnic

minorities, especially of refugee groups in 1990-91, this and other studies also suggest improvement in discretion and balanced reporting.

Most of the research literature referred in this dissertation have examined ethnic representations in countries which have large minority populations, such as in The Netherlands, Great Britain and United States. The situation in Finland is different, and this brings different problems. For example, the coverage by the press of expressions of openly racist opinions has not been a large or visible problem in Finland, since no party in Finland has used the "race-card" very visibly. On the other hand, minorities do not form a significant audience in numbers, as is the case in some other countries. It would be worth consideration whether understanding of the special nature of countries with few and small minorities would require any kind of special theoretical approach or apparatus? If yes, what would it be like?

For further consideration it also has been interesting to notice the differences between the newspapers and family magazines. Would the somewhat more active, positive and personal touch towards minorities in the magazine journalism tell something about the impact of the hard news criteria? Perhaps the journalist's possible positive attitudes to multiculturalism and personal information about the lives and rights of ethnic minorities do drown somewhere in the midst of the hectic news routines, the following of which basically produces news about negative events, problems and crimes? If the journalist has been given time and space, the touch changes?

Some main problems involved here are related to questions of how to combine a free flow of information, free discussion and the right of expression on the one hand, and opposition to racism and protection of the rights of ethnic minorities on the other. The Finnish media have experience of being silent about existing facts and opinions and the mainstream now rejects it fiercely.¹²⁷ This practice has also elsewhere proved not to be an effective method to oppose the circulation and growth of racist and xenophobic opinions¹²⁸. During the years there have been several discussions among the profession about individual cases or general policy accusing an expressed public concern over the issue of censorship, perhaps most recently the Swedish Journalist's reaction to the Council of Europe recommendations on migrants, ethnic minorities and media.¹²⁹

To openly advocate an issue, such as multiculturalism or anti-racism, seems to have formed a difficult dilemma for journalists working hard to be the champions of free market media in a free market world. On the other hand, not making the effort has lead to half-truths, false generalisations and stereotypical metaphoric images of minorities, which contribute to racist violence and breaking the peace in society, as was recently admitted by an editorial article in Helsingin Sanomat.¹³⁰ It should be seriously kept in mind that calling for journalist ethics in issues such as ethnic representation is not calling for any exceptional acts of charity or even goodwill, but simply demanding professional skill for the sake of the quality of the final journalistic product. It is professionally necessary to strive for a more profound equality and impartiality from today's superficial avoidance of open discrimination.

It has been widely accepted that it is the journalists themselves who should take responsibility over the process of developing professional ethics governing their professional practices. This, however, should not exclude the right and necessity of Media Watch projects and programmes by scholars, concerned groups or the Public in general. These should provide material from different perspectives for the use of voluntary self-regulating mechanisms of journalists themselves.¹³¹

Voluntary self-regulating can function only as far as the persons concerned are prepared to follow the guidelines and feel that the rules are acceptable. Therefore, in the Finnish context, this discussion should be taken as deep in the level of editorial offices and individual journalists as possible, and the National Union of Finnish Journalists should provide a platform for the process of discussion and formulation of the guidelines.¹³² Since this study, while identifying some knotty points in the reporting, in general concludes that Finnish journalists on average are aware of ethical aspects in their reporting, this process should not be impossible to establish and deepen within this framework.

Some Further Proposals

There are also several other elements involved, which have not been touched by this dissertation but which should be taken into account while striving for more professional media performance. These proposals are listed here to show how complex the area is as a whole as well as to emphasize that journalism indeed is much too serious a matter to be left in the care of journalists only. The further efforts should include at least:

- Hiring practices: even if the media can claim to be servicing an audience predominantly consisting of majority population, denying the minorities the access to the newsrooms deprives the audience of the insight of capable minority journalists to the society as a whole as well as to the life and concerns of ethnic minorities. The often referred language problem can be overcome, if wanted. There is no reliable data on the number of minority journalists in Finnish mainstream media, but they surely are not too many. Of the potential, it should be noted that according to some estimates as many as 10 percent of only the 12,000 refugees in Finland have some sort of a background in journalism.¹³³
- Journalist education: there are good examples of practical projects in journalist education in Finland, in which multiculturalism

has been stressed and basics of ethnic reporting highlighted. These should be made more a rule and official part of curriculum in all the institutions educating journalists, rather than depending on individual activity of teachers and lecturers. The institutions should as well incorporate the standards of international law in the basic education. Further, there is an urgent need to encourage minority members to participate in journalist education and guarantee their access to it.

- Promoting minority media: there exists a variety of small ethnic minority newspapers in the country. The example of the extensive Swedish language minority media as well as the importance of the Sami media to the existence of Sami culture should give Finns a perspective to the significance of the issue. The same is indicated by experiences from other European countries. In general, the ethnic minority media is, however, largely neglected by authorities and majority institutions.¹³⁴ A mechanism should be created to provide the diversity of minority media proper resources for publication and development.

- Research: journalism research institutions should carry out and encourage more systematically studies on media and minority issues, racism and xenophobia. Some work has been done and some studies are underway, but no systematic programme has emerged yet. Such studies might form a media monitoring and criticism programme, jointly carried out by academic scholars and media professionals. What would be needed as well are studies focusing on the actual process of everyday news production, and the different routines involved, from the point of view of ethnic minority representation.

(Endnotes)

⁵ Husband, 1995.

⁶ Husband, 1995.

⁷ See Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen, 1995.

⁸ According to Docent Heikki Leväslaiho from Helsinki University, one of the facts we for sure know of human beings, is that people differ genetically more within ethnic groups than between them. No such gene is known which would signify the carrier to belong in some certain "race" or ethnic group. Information from Leväslaiho's article 'Kuka omistaa ihmisen geenit' in *Helsingin Sanomat*, 11 November 1995: p. D3.

⁹ See Miles, 1989: Ch. 3; Shohat and Stam, 1994: 18-25 and Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen, 1995: 3-4.

¹⁰ Essed, 1991: 189; Shohat and Stam, 1994: 19

¹¹ Essed, 1991: viii, 3; Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen, 1995: 4; Pietikäinen, 1995: 3.

¹² Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen, 1995: 4.

¹³ Pietikäinen, 1995: 1.

¹⁴ See e.g. *MoniTorii*, *Suvaitsevaisuus Extra*, Spring 1995: 14; *Ny Tid*, March 31, 1995: 8-10; *MoniTorii* 4/94: 27-32, 2/95: 29-35 and *Journalisti*, March 16: 2,12-13, April 13, 1995: 10-11.

¹⁵ Pietikäinen, 1995: 1.

¹⁶ Downing and Husband, 1994: 1.

¹⁷ Dyer, 1988: 45.

¹⁸ Husband, 1982: 42,43.

¹⁹ Downing and Husband, 1994: 2.

²⁰ Dyer, 1988: 47, 64. Downing and Husband, 1994: 3.

²¹ Bardy et al, 1993: 9.

²² Kemiläinen, 1993: 394.

²³ See e.g. Huurre, 1979; Pitkänen, 1994; Kemiläinen, 1993.

²⁴ Kemiläinen, 1993: 407.

²⁵ Downing and Husband, 1994: 3-4.

- ²⁶ See e.g. the Racial Discrimination Report, 1995: 9.
- ²⁷ Bardy et al., 1993: 9-10, 14-16.
- ²⁸ Forsander et al., 1994: 91-93; Torvinen, 1989: 211-213.
- ²⁹ The Racial Discrimination Report, 1995: 8-9.
- ³⁰ Forsander et al., 1994: 97-98.
- ³¹ Downing and Husband, 1994: 4-7.
- ³² See e.g. Bachollet et al., 1992; Pike, 1992 and Limón, 1992.
- ³³ Downing and Husband, 1994: 5-6. See also Hall et al, 1978; Entman, 1992; van Dijk, 1991a.
- ³⁴ The topic is sourly summarized in the title of Leab's book on the representation of Black people in Hollywood cinema up to the mid-1970s, namely *From Sambo To Superspade*. One demeaning stereotype of absurdity and powerlessness was replaced by another one of seeming but totally fantasised power in the Shaft series of black super cop movies.
- ³⁵ It might be important to note, however, that the small amount of Finnish families who have adopted children from abroad are facing this problem in a serious way, as are those few people of any other colour than white who have entered into matrimonial or more free personal alliances with native Finns.
- ³⁶ Helminen, 1995: 6-7; Jaakkola, 1995: 2.
- ³⁷ Forsander et al., 1994: 99.
- ³⁸ Gallagher, 1989: 593; *Populations of Concern to UNHCR: A Statistical Overview 1994*, Geneva: UNHCR.
- ³⁹ Jaakkola, 1995: 2; Forsander et al., 1994: 99-100.
- ⁴⁰ See e.g. Banerjee, 1994; Blomqvist, 1992; Immonen, 1995; Järvinen, 1992; Kemppainen, 1994; 'Miksi pakolainen on utinen', 1992 and Sihvola ed., 1992. A famous anecdotal narration of the period and media response has been given in Aallas, 1991.
- ⁴¹ Forsander et al., 1994: 100; See also several articles in *Pakolainen* magazine 1994 and 1995.
- ⁴² Downing and Husband, 1994. Quote from page 11.
- ⁴³ van Dijk, 1988a: 240.
- ⁴⁴ Downing and Husband, 1994: 12; Miles, 1993: 461.
- ⁴⁵ Joly, 1992: 118.
- ⁴⁶ van Dijk, 1988a: 191.
- ⁴⁷ Downing and Husband, 1994: 13-16.
- ⁴⁸ Downing and Husband, 1994: 16.
- ⁴⁹ Allardt and Starck, 1981: 83; Forsander et al., 1994: 86-87; The Discrimination Report, 1995: 8, 16; Bardy et al., 1993: 10-12. See also Ludvig, 1990: 157-160.
- ⁵⁰ Downing and Husband: 16-17, 20.
- ⁵¹ Bardy et al., 1993: 12.
- ⁵² Jennings, 1993: 18, 31.
- ⁵³ Valkeapää, 1983: 4; Paltto, 1973: 7-9.

- ⁵⁴ Downing and Husband, 1994: 17.
- ⁵⁵ van Dijk, 1991a
- ⁵⁶ van Dijk, 1991a: 11-12.
- ⁵⁷ Martindale, 1986 and van Dijk, 1991a: 13-14.
- ⁵⁸ Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1985.
- ⁵⁹ van Dijk 1991a: 14-15.
- ⁶⁰ van Dijk 1991a:16-17.
- ⁶¹ van Dijk 1991a: 17.
- ⁶² Hartmann and Husband, 1974: 145.
- ⁶³ van Dijk, 1991a: 17-18.
- ⁶⁴ van Dijk, 1991a: 18-19.
- ⁶⁵ See e.g. van Dijk, 1988a, 1988c. About generalized use of the term “buitenlanders, see van Dijk1988a: 197.
- ⁶⁶ van Dijk, 1988c: 260.
- ⁶⁷ van Dijk, 1991a: 19.
- ⁶⁸ See Brune, 1995 and Hultén, 1993.
- ⁶⁹ van Dijk, 1994: 1-3.
- ⁷⁰ Husband, 1995.
- ⁷¹ van Dijk, 1994: 2.
- ⁷² Husband, 1995.
- ⁷³ Winston, 1990: 62-63.
- ⁷⁴ van Dijk, 1988a: 3-8
- ⁷⁵ Pietilä, 1986: 48-49; van Dijk, 1988b: 23
- ⁷⁶ Immonen, 1995: 17-18
- ⁷⁷ Luostarinen and Väliverronen, 1991: 54.
- ⁷⁸ Immonen, 1995: 18
- ⁷⁹ Hoikkala, 1991: 147
- ⁸⁰ van Dijk, 1988b: 179
- ⁸¹ van Dijk, 1991b: 112.
- ⁸² Immonen, 1995: 19-20. Author’s translation for the term “odotusten struktuurit”.
- ⁸³ van Dijk, 1991b: 112.
- ⁸⁴ Hoikkala, 1990: 149-150. van Dijk, 1988a: 14-16. van Dijk 1991b: 113-114.
- ⁸⁵ van Dijk, 1988a: 14-16, 1991b: 114-115.

- ⁸⁶ van Dijk, 1988a: 16, 1991b: 115-116.
- ⁸⁷ van Dijk, 1988a: 16.
- ⁸⁸ Immonen, 1995: 25
- ⁸⁹ van Dijk, 1988a: 18, Immonen, 1995: 25.
- ⁹⁰ Hoikkala, 1990: 145, Immonen, 1995: 25.
- ⁹¹ *Vasabladet* is published six days a week, excluding the Monday issue. The afternoon tabloids *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Italehti* also have six issues per week and do not come out on Sunday.
- ⁹² This could be seen as a handicap in the analysis, since the approach looks for the articles where the minority membership is present, while the reports where, for ethical or other reasons it has not been considered essential to mention the group membership go unnoticed. Practically however, the problem is limited to involve some public figures and a limited number of crime news, and would be very difficult to overcome especially in latter cases.
- ⁹³ The foreign nationality or origin of individual people in various roles were in the sample generally indicated in following order of frequency: Bulgarian (19), Somali (9), Kurd (8), Balkan war area with different expressions (7), Russian (7), Israeli (5), Estonian (4), British, Arab, Iraqi and Turkish (3 each), Dutch, Cypriot, United States, Cuban and French (2 each) and finally one each of the following: Tunisian, Iranian, Afghan, Jamaican, Thai, Italian, Greek, German, Swedish, Sudanese, "East European", Australian aboriginal, Tanzanian, Rwandan, Palestinian, Eritrean and Chechnyan.
- ⁹⁴ Note that the Summary section of one article may have a reference to both the majority and a minority group.
- ⁹⁵ Since language as well as positive and negative epithets are culturally bound, I have tried to be careful in classifying anything other than neutral connotations. "A criminal"- even alleged- for example, is considered negative; a victim of a crime neutral and the descriptions "successful" or "having close ties with Northern Karelia" are considered positive epithets. An authority, e.g. a policeman, carrying out orders to expel a refugee family is not automatically described negatively.
- ⁹⁶ See Appendix I for author's translation of the whole article.
- ⁹⁷ Helminen, 1995: 2, 19.
- ⁹⁸ Kivikuru, 1995: 35.
- ⁹⁹ For author's translation, see Appendix II.
- ¹⁰⁰ Population Structure 1994, Table 22, p. 49; Jaakkola, 1995: 54-57.
- ¹⁰¹ For author's translation of the article, see Appendix III.
- ¹⁰² Author's full translation in Appendix IV.
- ¹⁰³ For author's translation, see Appendix V.
- ¹⁰⁴ As in the article, the word "refugee" is here used in its broader sense, meaning both asylum seekers and those already granted the official refugee status by authorities.
- ¹⁰⁵ For author's translation, see Appendix VI.
- ¹⁰⁶ Racial discrimination report, 1995: p 19.
- ¹⁰⁷ Helsingin Sanomat 14.2.1995, page A7.
- ¹⁰⁸ Author's translation in appendix VII.
- ¹⁰⁹ For author's translation, see Appendix VIII.
- ¹¹⁰ The article appeared before the Parliamentary elections in which Marita Jurva was not re-elected. She is no more

visible in national politics.

¹¹¹ See Appendix IX for author's full translation of the report.

¹¹² Luostarinen, 1995: 2.

¹¹³ Luostarinen, 1995: 2. For further details, see e.g. Aallas, 1991, Sihvola ed, 1992 and Immonen, 1995.

¹¹⁴ Pietikäinen, 1995: 2.

¹¹⁵ van Dijk, 1994: 2.

¹¹⁶ This definition of the main task of the Press is formulated from different sources to fit the context of this study, and is thus arguable in any general meaning.

¹¹⁷ Pietikäinen, 1995: 2.

¹¹⁸ See Andersson and Ådahl, 1993.

¹¹⁹ On the discourse of "development" and the western notion of "the other" as a burden, see e.g. Rekola, 1994: 19-33, especially the box pp. 20-21.

¹²⁰ Husband, 1995b: 4.

¹²¹ See English abstracts of Jaakkola, 1993 and 1995.

¹²² *Lapin Kansa*, 14.2.1995: 1,7, 10.3.1995: 2.

¹²³ Hulten, 1993: 2.

¹²⁴ Järvinen, 1992: 40 and Immonen, 1995: 90-91.

¹²⁵ Pietikäinen, 1995: 2.

¹²⁶ These 12 items include an obituary of an immigrant of British background, a TV-critic of a programme dealing with Sami culture as well as a report of a Sami cultural festival in Rovaniemi.

¹²⁷ I am referring to the extensive discussion of "Finlandisation" during the past decades and especially to the general atmosphere in media after mid 1980s that "now enough of self-censorship in the name of somebody's interests".

¹²⁸ Kolehmainen and Pietiläinen, 1995: 45. Consider also the official model of international solidarity, imposed on the GDR media and educational system, and its demise after the German reunification.

¹²⁹ See *Journalisten* 22/23, 24.-30 August, 1995.

¹³⁰ See the Editorial 'Pelko ja tietämättömyys muukalaisvihan taustalla' [Fear and ignorance in the background of xenophobia] in *Helsingin Sanomat*, 19 November, 1995. Faced by racist violence in Joensuu and other incidents, several media have recently touched the subject of media responsibility of xenophobic or racist phenomena.

¹³¹ Extensive international Media Monitoring projects have been recently proposed by a.o. van Dijk (1994) and Nordenstreng (1995). See also Galtung (1995).

¹³² This is not to say that the same applies to the situation in any other country. Some other Unions have vehemently rejected the idea of formulating Union guidelines for ethnic reporting, and may be right to do so.

¹³³ Tuula Lehtinen, interviewed in *Journalisti* Iss. No. 12, 8 June 1995: 1,11.

¹³⁴ See *MoniTori* 2/95: 34-35.