

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

LAND OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS

**A comparative study of
Finland in travel literature**

A Pro Gradu Thesis

by

Katja Kuusela

Department of English

2001

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
ENGLANNIN KIELEN LAITOS

Katja Kuusela
LAND OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS
A comparative study of Finland in travel literature

Pro gradu –työ
Englantilainen filologia
Maaliskuu 2001

103 sivua

Tutkielmassa selvitetään miten Suomea kuvaillaan englanninkielisissä matkakirjallisuudessa. Tutkielma on vertaileva, ja aineistona on kaksi matkaopasta, jotka koostuvat useiden kirjoittajien artikkeleista. Toinen oppaista on suomalaisten asiantuntijoiden laatima *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia* (1997) ja toinen kansainvälisen ryhmän toimittama *Insight guides: Finland* (1996). Kyseessä on laadullinen tapaustutkimus.

Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Miten Suomea kuvataan matkakirjallisuudessa? 2) Onko suomalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten Suomi-kuvauksissa eroja? 3) Mitä sosiaalisia tehtäviä erilaiset esitykset Suomesta toteuttavat? Lähtökohtana tutkimukselle ovat kulttuuriset kuvaukset ja diskurssin tutkimus. Diskurssianalyysissa määritellään viisi esityksen ulottuvuutta: kausaalisuhteet, asenteet, käsitteet, havainnot ja mielipiteet, joiden avulla kirjoittajien vuorovaikutusmotiiveja tarkastellaan.

Tutkimuksen kontekstina on matkailututkimus, jonka pääpiirteitä kuvaillaan lyhyesti. Suomi-kuvauksia tarkastellaan kulttuurisina esityksinä. Tutkimusta varten määriteltiin kolme teemaa, joiden kuvauksia aineistossa analysoitiin. Nämä teemat ovat perinteiset tavaramerkit (sisu, sauna, Sibelius), mieluisat tavaramerkit (joulupukki, luonto) sekä tyypilliset tavaramerkit (suomalainen identiteetti, juoma ja ruoka).

Suomea kuvataan usein vastakkainasettelun avulla. Esityksissä korostuivat erityisesti kausaalisuhteet, käsitteet ja asenteet, joiden avulla kirjoittajat rakensivat omaa kuvaustaan Suomesta. Suomalaisten ja ulkomaalaisten kirjoittajien Suomi-kuvauksissa oli eroja. Ulkomaalaiset esittivät enemmän mielipiteitään ja heidän asenteensa oli selkeämmin näkyvissä kuin suomalaisten kirjoittajien. Suomalaiset turvautuivat ulkomaalaisia useammin esityksessään käsitteiden ja kausaalisuhteiden käyttöön. Nämä erot johtuvat osittain vertailtavien matkaoppaiden erilaisesta luonteesta. Kirjoittajien Suomi-kuvauksilla oli erilaiset sosiaaliset tehtävät. Suomalaiset selittivät ja määrittivät paljon tavalla, joka tuki positiivisen oma-identiteetin rakentamista. Ulkomaalaiset kuvailivat paljon, ja heidän kuvauksensa heijasti avoimesti heidän asennettaan, joka useimmiten oli negatiivinen. Tässä yhteydessä huomautettakoon, että tämä näkyi erityisesti yhden kirjoittajan artikkeleissa, joten sitä ei voi yleistää kaikkiin ulkomaalaisiin.

Asiasanat: culture. tourism. travel. representation. discourse.
discourse analysis.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	4
2. CONTEXT	8
2.1. Tourism and its language	8
2.2. Tourism to and books about Finland	15
2.3. The books in this study	19
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	24
3.1. Representation and discourse	24
3.2. Discourse Analysis	30
4. TRADITIONAL TRADEMARKS	38
4.1. Sisu	40
4.2. Sauna	45
4.3. Sibelius	53
5. PREFERRED TRADEMARKS	59
5.1. Nature	60
5.2. Santa Claus	68
6. TYPICAL TRADEMARKS	72
6.1. The Finnish character	72
6.2. Drink and food	81
7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	92
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY	101

1. INTRODUCTION

Our Nordic country, traditionally known as the land of the midnight sun, or the land of a thousand lakes, has lately acquired many new potential nicknames: the country of a million mobile phones (Lemola 1999) or forest-Finland (Kolbe 2000), and apparently, the land of light and darkness. Finland has made its appearance on the global stage, and thus general knowledge of an once far-away, unfamiliar country is steadily increasing worldwide. What is known about Finland outside our national borders is a sum of many factors: the image the media conveys, the conscious attempts of Finns to advertise their country, the impressions and information that Finnish 'globetrotters' leave behind when abroad, and the stories foreigners take back after having visited Finland. The media talks about Finland also, thanks to many distinguished representatives for our homeland like world-famous formula driver Mika Häkkinen, first-class soprano Karita Mattila, or Nobel prize candidate president Martti Ahtisaari .

There is nowadays a huge amount of many-sided information about Finland available in a variety of sources, but it is put in compact form when editing travel guides. The information in travel guides is somewhat constant when compared to dynamic up-to-date material in the electric media; the printed word, accurate or inaccurate, stands and is spread around for a long time. It is high time for us to concern ourselves with the quality of the representations of Finland in travel literature, because when the quantity of information increases it will be ever more difficult to influence the image that is being created now. The function of a travel guide is to promote travelling to the destination in question, while being as insightful as possible of its target country. Travel experience however, is always subjective, and there are as many interpretations of a culture as there are writers. Authors inevitably bring into the text their own judgements which reflect their beliefs and attitudes and direct readers' understanding of the cultural reality in a particular location. Since travel guides have the task to evaluate the destination on behalf of potential tourists, objectivity is not the utmost goal in travel writing. Hence we can expect that in travel guides authors' thoughts are expressed overtly, which persuaded me to compare representations of Finland in order to find out if the image provided by foreigners is different from that given by Finns themselves.

My research question is: are there differences in the representations of Finland realized by foreign and Finnish writers? The objective of the comparison is to analyze possible differences in the discourse of two travel guides: *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia* (1997) and *Insight Guides: Finland* (1996), the former written by Finns and the latter by an international team. The native inhabitants have an emic or 'from within' approach to Finnish culture, and foreign writers' approach is etic, that is 'from outside'. Since cognition or understanding is culture-bound, Finnish and foreign writers' inner thoughts about Finland are necessarily different and this should be manifest also in their representations. Representation is production of the meaning through language, and discourse is a way of constructing knowledge about a particular topic (Hall 1997). According to theories of representation and discourse, cultural representations of the Self and the Other (one's own and an outside culture respectively) are often different also in their intentions (Hall 1997, Shi-xu 1997). My hypothesis is that the emic and etic discourses differ from each other because they serve to fulfill different social functions despite their common aim to represent Finland. Social functions reflect inner thoughts and needs of the authors and they result in discursive processes the authors use. These functions can be examined with the help of discourse analysis which shows how writers' goals come out in the textual constructions they use.

The method for this study is adopted from Shi-xu who in his research *Cultural Representations: analyzing the discourse about the Other* (1997) conceptualized a functional-constructive perspective on discourse. He argued that discursive constructions fulfill social functions, and developed a method of reasoned-discourse analysis. Reasoned discourse means that when talking about or representing something, the speakers use reasoning strategies such as argumentation and explanation to achieve interactional goals. Shi-xu formulated five analytical dimensions that can be found in discourse: attributional, attitudinal, conceptual, perceptual and opinion discourse. These dimensions often indicate different social objectives, such as enhancing positive Self-identity through attitudinal discourse or remaking the Other-reality through perceptual discourse. (Shi-xu 1997:232.) Although Shi-xu examined the discourse about the Other and the Self, he did not carry out cross-cultural comparison. Yet, he raised the question of how representational

discourse differs across the cultures in terms of conceptual structure and actual use. Shi-xu suggested further research on the ways of different cultures to explain and describe abstract representations, and remarked that "...cross-cultural investigations of conceptions of representations may reveal cultural differences in laypeople's understandings of the mind..." (Shi-xu 1997:240-241.) In other words, it is significant to study the differences in emic and etic representations of cultural groups.

Travel literature provides an appropriate context to compare representational discourse about cultures. The choice of the travel guides for this study was based on the informed opinion: they both were the most recent, comprehensive and appealing among the selection. Both guides are written by a group of authors, thus providing a number of views instead of a single personal view, and in this sense they make a good data for comparison. Moreover, the articles in the books cover a wide range of topics and are written by experts knowledgeable of their subject. To put it simply, if I was a tourist and would like to learn about Finland, my selection would include these guides, because they seem both authoritative and attractive.

The first section of the thesis provides a larger situational context of these travel guides. To begin, I will discuss tourism as a cultural practice and the language of tourism. Next, I consider the importance of the international tourism to Finland and review the English language travel literature about Finland, which is available in local bookstores. To conclude, an overall presentation of the two travel books in this study is provided. The second section of the thesis introduces the theoretical framework. The central concepts of this research, representation and discourse, are interpretative processes which produce meaning and knowledge through language. They are explained with reference to Stuart Hall's (ed.) *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (1997). In this context, also the nature of ethnographic knowledge and the quality of cultural representations are discussed. Then, I will describe the particular model of discourse analysis chosen to examine the texts in the two travel guides.

Naturally, not all the texts can be studied in detail, and therefore some representational themes in the books have been chosen for the purposes of the analysis. These themes rose in my mind, because within the travel literature

they seem to be the most enduring in their descriptions on Finnishness. The representational themes are studied in three separate sections: Firstly, a traditional concept in advertising Finland, '*sisu*, sauna and Sibelius', is discussed. This slogan of three Ss has been famous in the Finnish travel industry since the 1930s and used extensively as a traditional trademark for Finland. Secondly, two other concepts, which have been consistently promoted by the travel industry in Finland, are examined; these are nature and Santa Claus. Currently, Santa Claus seems to be the number one attraction to lure tourists to Finland, and our well-preserved nature is undeniably and justifiably another preferred trademark. Finally, typical trademarks of any country, more specifically its inhabitants and their culinary art are discussed. Descriptions of the Finnish national character induced me to research the area of representation in the first place. Food and drink, in the case of Finns especially drink, are popular criteria in cultural representations and thus needed to be included in this study as well.

The present thesis is a qualitative case study with the objective to raise relevant points of difference in the foreign and Finnish writers' representations of Finland. This study alone is not conclusive and cannot make any statements about the state of knowledge which different discourses produce about Finland. Yet, it can contribute to the results of other studies which have confirmed that there are differences in emic and etic representations of Finland (see Särkkä 1999). Representation always includes a certain amount of interpretation, thus it is important to examine how knowledge about Finland is produced and circulated in discourse. It demands efforts to produce accurate and unbiased knowledge about cultures, but this should be all writers' goal since representation recreates realities and affects the social reality of the peoples described. In this regard, travel literature is an influential opinion maker and an increasingly significant area of research.

2. CONTEXT

When analyzing any text, the researcher must bear in mind the context in which the text is created and read. The two travel books under analysis are situated in the broader framework of travel literature and a type of language use defined as tourism discourse. This section provides the relevant situational context of the studied texts in three chapters. Firstly, I will discuss tourism as cultural practice and the language of tourism. Secondly, the importance of the tourism to Finland and the availability of English-language travel guides on Finland are studied. Finally, an overall view of the two travel guides is provided.

At this point, I would like to note that although some researchers make the distinction between tourism and travel, the former being an activity of the masses and the latter rather an adventure of the individuals (Dann 1996), in this study the two are used interchangeably. The terms language, discourse, talk and text bear no important distinction either, when I refer to the language of tourism, travel talk, tourism discourse or any other of the kind. In the research that does not concentrate on the intricacies of the field, this should be justifiable.

2.1. Tourism and its language

Tourism is an important cultural practice in our modern society. What tourism actually is and why do people involve themselves in tourist practices? *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* (1987) defines tourism as “the business of providing services for people on holiday”; it is a form of industry. “A tourist is a person who visits places for pleasure and interest, especially when he or she is on holiday“, according to the dictionary, and ‘traveler’ is the synonym of ‘tourist’. John Urry is a researcher in the social sciences, and he raises some interesting points about travel and tourism in his book *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies* (1990). Graham Dann in his turn has researched typical forms of the language in tourism discourse, and his book *The Language of Tourism* (1996) has also been a valuable source in this study.

Urry (1990:1-3) explains that the social practices, which can be described as tourism comprise the following characteristics: Tourism is a leisure activity that presupposes its opposite, organized work. Therefore, tourism takes place only for regulated periods of time with an intention to return home. Because tourist sites are normally outside places of residence, tourism involves travelling. It implies a limited breaking with the established routines of everyday life, and allows our senses to engage with a set of stimuli in contrast to the mundane. Tourist practices include consuming unnecessary goods and services, as well as anticipation, daydreaming of pleasurable experiences that are different from the usual ones. Expectations are created and supported through discourse in films and TV, literature and printed press, as well as travel guides and other forms of advertising.

Urry explains that part of the tourist experience is to gaze upon scenes that are out of the ordinary (1990:2-3). The way we view is socially organized and systematized with the aid of professionals who help us to construct our gaze. The tourist gaze presupposes signs which direct it to the distinctive features of landscape and townscape, which are also captured and reproduced in photographs, postcards, models and such. The gaze is constructed through these signs, and tourists collect them: "the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself...All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs" (Culler 1981 as quoted by Urry 1990:3). Professionals in tourism industry attempt to reproduce ever-new objects for the tourist gaze and these objects are located in a complex and changing hierarchy.

What produces a distinctive tourist gaze? Potential objects of tourist gaze must be exceptional in some way, argues Urry (1990:11-12). There are many ways to establish the division between the ordinary and the extraordinary. One is seeing a unique object that initiates a pilgrimage to a sacred center; in other words it is famous for being famous, like the Eiffel Tower. Another way is seeing particular signs, typical of something. This means looking for certain pre-established signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism. Seeing ordinary aspects of social life in unusual contexts, or carrying out familiar activities within unusual visual environment are yet other examples.

Tourists need clear markers to know how, when and where to gaze. The advertising and discourse in the media create images that constitute a self-perpetuating system of fantasies (Urry 1990:13). Dann (1996:2-3) explains how the language of tourism assists in the selection of potential places to visit and objects to gaze upon. It represents the possibilities and attempts to persuade and seduce people, to convert them from potential into actual clients. Tourism is grounded in discourse because much of the rhetoric is prior to travel. However, the practice also reinforces discourse since tourists respond and feed back: they complain if the promises do not meet their expectations, but if they are satisfied with their experiences, they contribute to the language of tourism by becoming promoters themselves. The four major theoretical approaches to tourism, authenticity, strangerhood, play and conflict (see Morgan and Pritchard 1998), have their respective sociolinguistic correlates: authentication, differentiation, recreation and appropriation (Dann 1996:6).

The representation of the sight is usually the first contact that a tourist has with it. Authentication is produced through markers, which provide information about the sight (Dann 1996:9-11). Travel books are off-sight markers that anticipate the sight and stereotype a destination by highlighting certain 'must see' features. The authentic is marked with key words like 'typical', 'very', 'actual', 'original', 'authentic', 'real' or 'true', which helps tourists to define their relationship to what they see. Often, these are markers of staged pseudo-events, but they attempt to give the impression that tourists are in contact with the authentic (Dann 1996:175). The quest for authenticity is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred: the tourists are kinds of contemporary pilgrims seeking authenticity in other 'times' and other places away from their everyday life (Urry 1990:8). The tourism discourse also produces 'truth markers', unusual stories and anecdotes about the sights, which elevate information to a privileged status and thus help to construct the authentic impression (Dann 1996:9-11). The markers are superior to the actual sights because they structure the journey. When they are elevated in the top of the hierarchy they turn into symbols that stand for the represented destination, like Eiffel Tower for Paris. When individuals identify with a sight, they often seek to sacralize one of its markers, that is they procure a reproduced version of it as a souvenir.

The tourism discourse portrays the characteristics of a destination on a continuum from familiar to strange. Through differentiation, the language of tourism emphasizes the strange and the exotic (Dann 1996:15-17). Travel writers need to represent the destinations as different from ordinary to make them interesting, and this is achieved by 'keying', a form of communicative staging which highlights the difference. Key words do not actually refer as much to the attributes of the destination, but rather to motivational 'push' factors of the potential tourist, such as 'adventure', 'escape', 'pleasure', 'discovery', 'romance' and 'excitement'. Dann explains that the quest for the authentic stems from dissatisfaction in the home society of the potential tourist. The keying claims to supply the novelty and change, a meaningful experience which nevertheless will be outweighed later by a need to find ever newer and more exotic experiences (Dann 1996: 176). This is why the tourism discourse includes an obsession to break the records in extravagant language use. Hence, the language of differentiation often loses its originality and sooner or later forms the norm in travel talk. Difference can however also scare off potential tourists, and to prevent this travel writers try to manage the unfamiliarity in their readers by using the language which lessens it (Dann 1996:16-17). To compare the strange with something familiar helps the reader to identify with the destination and create positive impressions about it. Differences and possible negative comparisons are of course omitted in this context. (Dann 1996:172-173.)

The 'Tourism as play' perspective is illustrated by visitors checking off starred attractions in their guidebooks, people regarding travel as a status symbol, and tourists collecting increasingly remote and exotic places, especially on film (Dann 1996:20-21). Discourse, the language of recreation, is essential in this respect, because it tells tourists how to play. Phrase precedes gaze: travel guide writers and other professional opinion formers tell us what to anticipate, and markers tell when, where and how to gaze. The representation recreates destinations and supplants the reality. It constructs a packaged world ready to be promoted: "The places in the glossy brochures of the travel industry do not exist; the destinations are not real places and the people pictured are false... *Tourism* turns culture into consumer items, it *generates*

images of the Other.“ (Crick 1989 as quoted by Dann 1996:22-23, emphasis original)

The conflict perspective and the language of appropriation imply that those who represent have the authority over the represented. The Other is represented through external narratives and the order of the mainstream society is imposed on marginal visited peoples. This control is effected for example through ethnocentric stereotypes and vocabularies, which divide the world in them and us. Travel writers reduce the threatening and unknown through accounts that acquire greater authority than the reality described. This signifies that when confronted by novel or strange experiences, the readers can depend on the information provided by the guidebooks. In this light, the language of tourism consists rather of misrepresentation for it depicts the world of the Other as the writer wishes it to be. (Dann 1996:24-26.)

Some verbal techniques of the language of tourism are worth mentioning. Through testimony, recognizable spokespersons can lend support to the advertised images. These personal comments inform, entertain and persuade the reader. Besides famous people, more and more often it is a voice of an average person, a typical satisfied client, that speaks to us. (Dann 1996:176-178.) Humor can be used as an attention-grabbing device in order to create an element of surprise in the reader. Pun is the most customary humorous technique, which is used to create a playful, light image. However, if the message is flippant there is a danger that the sender will not be taken seriously, and therefore humor should be used with parsimony in tourism communication. Humor can provide a suitable context for the story that follows, or it can be introduced as a light-hearted warning. It is also used when dealing with unfamiliarity since strange customs, however revolting, seem more tolerable if they are laughable. Patronizing humor, such as holding native customs up to ridicule or treating local people as savages, can be used in explicit denigration of the locals. (Dann 1996:179-183.) Languaging is a term used to signify the use of real or fictitious foreign words. It is manifested in special choice of vocabulary for its own sake, manipulation of the vernacular, onomatopoeic words or use of familiar expressions in an unusual context. The use of particular expressions shared by writer and reader can be both ego enhancing and memory sustaining. This technique provides local color and

may make an effect of being immersed in indigenous culture. (Dann 1996:183-185.) Ego-targeting means that by recognizing that we are being addressed we become singled out from the crowd. The tourism discourse uses the dialogic form that assumes intimate conversation, as if you were the only person in the world receiving the message. Conversational style is also effective in reducing anxiety. This technique is used above all in tourism advertising. (Dann 1996:185-188.)

The language of tourism has some special properties. Instead of providing objective information, the tourism discourse includes emotive registers, value-laden epithets and superlatives. The linguistic strategies, such as expression of personal hypotheses and value judgements or justifications and suggestions, are used to maintain communication links with the reader. (Dann 1996:37-38.) The travel talk resembles the discourse of promotion, which is reflected also in the structure of texts. In advertising, oppositions and contrasts are used as solutions to life's major problems, provided of course that the advertised product is purchased. The tourism industry recognizes their clients' desire for difference and employs a binary language of opposites as part of its semantic structure. (Dann 1996:44-47.)

Magic is a property in the language of tourism through which instant transformation can take place without any other explanation than the miraculous power of magic itself. Tourism promotion is based on glamour, bewitchment or the creation of envy in the subject. We wish to become instantly and magically transformed into objects of envy, and the promoter can create the illusion of satisfying this need. Destinations are presented as wonderlands where the subject is transformed into the envied individual who fulfills his or her fantasies. (Dann 1996:55-57.) In order to transform destinations into places of consumption the actors in tourism industry "mystify the mundane, amplify the exotic, minimize the misery, rationalize the disquietude, and romanticize the strange" (Dann 1996:60). The sense of magic may also be imparted in the verbal and iconic language of tourism through the image of the open door or window. Although it usually requires a 'sesame' to gain entrance to the enchanted cave, this opening is provided by the magician/operator. (Dann 1996:61-62.)

The lack of sender identification is a common property of the tourism discourse. This property is most evident in travel brochures and advertisements where the identity of the promoter is most often unidentifiable. The language of tourism can assume the form of a monologue where the addressee is most of the time treated as asexual, ageless, and without economic or social status. Yet, the discourse is circular in a sense that promotional material can be stereotypical and unflattering of local people whether it is produced by outsiders or indigenously. The travel talk is like rhetoric of moral superiority since persuasion depends on greater knowledge and experience of the sender. (Dann 1996:62-64.) The effect of persuasion is realized through euphoria. The tourism discourse tends to speak only in positive and glowing terms of the attractions it promotes. This extreme language uses the superlative as a norm and propagates Eden images. The holiday is to be problem free, a solution to the customary problems of home, so the normal is omitted and the exotic emphasized. (Dann 1996:65.)

Tautology is common in tourism discourse since travelers derive their knowledge from contemporary travel accounts. The world they discover is a reproduction that merely confirms the discourse which persuaded them to take the trip, and in their turn tourists themselves become promoters, asserting as true what was shown to them before they departed. They take pictures as reproductions of what is featured in the brochures and complete the tautological circle. The language of the brochure becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy since it directs expectations, influences perceptions, and thereby provides a preconceived landscape for the tourist to 'discover'. Brochures perpetuate ethnic stereotypes by drawing on a small set of markers which provide a mental grid for tourists to filter their own perceptions. Exotic dress, exaggerated architecture, rituals and feasts promoted as indicators of authenticity simply become confirmed during the visit. Souvenirs too, exploit this in packing the culture according to a few recognizable characteristics. (Dann 1996:65-67.)

Urry argues that the typical objects of the tourist gaze can help us to make sense of elements of the wider society: "we can use the fact of difference to interrogate the normal through investigating typical forms of tourism... [It] is significant in its ability to reveal aspects of normal practices which might

otherwise remain opaque“ (1990:2). Tourism and travel are significant social practices. To be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the ‘modern’ experience (Urry 1990:4-5). It is a marker of status in our society; not to ‘go away’ is like not possessing a car or a beautiful house. It is also thought to be necessary to health: ‘ I need a holiday’ is a reflection based on the idea that people’s physical and mental health will be restored only if they can escape their everyday life from every now and then. The importance of tourism is also seen in the economic significance of tourism industry.

2.2. Tourism to and books about Finland

Tourism has been an important cultural practice for a long time, and also the economic importance of tourism is steadily increasing both worldwide and in Finland. In 1998, receipts from foreign tourism to Finland were 13,7 billion FIM, a sum which is more than 150 percent of Finland’s receipts from the export of timber, and about 250 percent that of shipping industry, both traditionally strong industries in Finland. (Finnish Tourist Board 1999.)

The Finnish Tourist Board together with Statistics Finland carries out border interviews in order to obtain data regarding visitors to Finland. The Visitor Survey is divided in three parts: spring, summer and winter. In 1994-1995, the total number of foreigners entering Finland was estimated at 3,7 million visitors, one third of which were same-day visits, including cruises and transits. The largest groups of visitors came from near neighbors Sweden (30%), Germany (15%), Russia (10%), Norway and Estonia (7% each). In addition to the above-mentioned, the United States and Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Denmark, Japan, Switzerland and Italy were the countries where most of visitors to Finland came from. The average length of visit was 6,4 nights spent in Finland. More than half of the visitors gave holidays as the reason for visit, business, meetings and conference trips were reasons for approximately one quarter of the visits. Finland is 14th on the world ranking list in congress organizing, and in 1995 over two hundred international congresses were arranged in Finland. (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996.)

Reasons to visit Finland vary depending on the season and the nationality of the visitors. In the summer survey 1994 (6,138 interviews) the main reason for

visiting Finland was "natural beauty" followed by "new destination", the answers given by almost half of the respondents. The following reasons were "to get to know the people and society", "as part of a larger Scandinavian tour" and "unspoiled/well-preserved environment". Central and Southern Europeans were especially attracted by the Finnish natural environment and Lapland, whereas travelers from the USA and Japan mostly emphasized Finland as a new destination and as part of a larger tour to Russia, the Baltic or the Scandinavia. The Visitor Survey in winter 1994-1995 (3,026 interviews) also gave "natural beauty" as the main reason for visiting Finland, but nature was now less dominant, only one fifth of the respondents had this motive. Some other reasons were "to have fun and enjoy oneself", "opportunity to visit Lapland" and "outdoor activities". (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996.)

The international tourist receipts have continued to grow from the middle 1980's. In 1995, Russian and Japanese travelers to Finland had the highest daily expenditure, and the share spent on shopping was by far the highest with the Russian visitors. Travelers from Russia, Sweden and Germany spent the three largest sums of total expenditure. In 1991, the impact of the tourism industry on employment amounted to 74,000 man-years. The most significant employer in tourism industry is passenger traffic with a relative share of one third of manpower, hotels and restaurants and retail trade employ one quarter each, recreational and cultural services account for a tenth. In relation to the total employed manpower, the share of the tourism industry is the highest in the Åland islands with 15%, while the average in Finland was 2,9% in 1991. When viewed by province, the tourism industry focuses on the most densely populated southern provinces. However, even in northern Finland tourism has a significant employment effect. (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996.) In 1999, there was over seven per cent rise in the volume of incoming overnights (an average for Europe). The reason for the increase is attributable mainly to the Christmas tourism destined for Lapland (includes mostly British, Greek, Japanese and Belgian visitors). (Finnish Tourist Board 2000.)

Accommodation in Finland comprises around 730 hotels and 420 other accommodation establishments, such as youth hostels and holiday villages, 350 camping sites and some 10,000 cottages to rent. Tourist activity centers and attractions include about 140 skiing centers, 90 golf courses, 50 spas (of which

10 tropical) and 30 amusement parks. Some 350 companies offer such activities as snowmobile, reindeer and husky safaris, ski trekking, fishing, and canoeing. Among tourist attractions, the highest visitor numbers are recorded for the amusement parks Linnanmäki in Helsinki and Särkänniemi in Tampere (close to 1 million each), and the top ten list also includes Suomenlinna Island Fortress in Helsinki, Santa Claus workshop in Rovaniemi, Heureka Science Centre in Vantaa and the Moomin World in Naantali. The aim of Finnish tourism policy is to develop the tourism industry and its effects on employment, and simultaneously protect the important values of nature and environment. The targets of the strategy are to strengthen the competitiveness of the tourism industry, to increase tourism to Finland and the tourism receipts, to improve the accessibility to Finland, to develop domestic tourism, and to strengthen the development of products and marketing of nature and cultural tourism. (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996.)

Travel and tourism are significant and growing forms of industry. On the world scale, Finland is still an unfamiliar destination and a lot of promotion is needed to attract tourists up to North. Nevertheless, the country has its 'pull factors' and a potential to develop and expand this sector. Finland already has a good reputation in organizing congresses and summits, but recreational tourism is still in its infancy. More efforts are required to establish new attractions, services and thematic concepts, even though nature is ever popular and dominates the market. Travel literature is important in the destination promotion, thus I will briefly review the available guidebooks on Finland.

Besides being an important source of information for tourists, travel literature is one of the generators of tourism discourse that boosts this form of industry. The selection of foreign-language travel guides on Finland available in local bookstores has been rather limited. Over the past few years, however, they have increased in number and today even specialized guides for particular groups such as businessmen exist. Most often, it is Finns themselves who have written travel guides on Finland, which are then translated into several languages, most often English, German, Russian, Swedish, French, Spanish, Italian and Japanese. These guides are usually rather short and superficial, giving only a restricted amount of information in the midst of colorful photography. They clearly rely more on pictures than text, and they appear to

be suggested as souvenirs to take home rather than actual on spot travel guides to provide information. Of course, their representations of Finland are significant, due to their prominence in Finnish bookstores. The different kinds of guides on Finland that can be found in foreign countries is another interesting point for discussion, but unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

In the selection of the biggest bookstore in Helsinki, the Academic Bookstore, the generic English (guide) books on Finland include *Finland* (1995), *Finland* (2000), *Panorama Finland* (1997), *Your Friend Finland* (1998), *Facts About Finland* (1999), *Finland Today* (2000) and *Finland: The land of a thousand lakes* (2000). All have editions in several languages, all but the last title are written by Finns, and all but one are written by a single person and contain mainly photos. The exception is *Facts about Finland*, which comprises a lot of information provided by nine Finnish authors. Another example of a more serious guide is *Finland: the Northern Experience, new Europe and the Next Millenium* (1999), which was written by 25 Finnish specialists for the Secretariat for the Finnish Presidency of the EU, to provide a “discourse... [with] an international dynamism“. There is also an interesting series published by Yrityskirjat (Business books), which includes *The Lighter Side of Finland for businesspeople* (1999), *A Survival Guide to Finnish: Sauna, Sisu & Sibelius for businesspeople* (2000), *A Survival Guide to Finnish: Cuisine for businesspeople* (2000). These are pocket-size fun guides with drawings as illustration and a caricature way of representing Finnish culture. *Finland in a small book: 200 frequently asked questions* (1999) is also by the same publisher but intended to be more serious. In some of the foreign travel guide series, there were editions on Finland. These included *Insight Guides* and *Lonely Planet*. In some others, Finland was included in the edition on Scandinavia. Naturally, there are plenty of books representing specific aspects of Finland: books on the sauna, on nature, on gastronomy, on Helsinki and other places etc.

2.3. The books in this study

From the selection described above I chose to study two books on Finland which are *Insight Guides: Finland* (1996) (the *Guide* from here onwards) and *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia* (1997) (the *Encyclopedia* from here onwards). The *Encyclopedia* was situated in the history department of the Academic bookstore, and this is why it was not mentioned among the other travel guides on Finland. It is written by a group of Finnish specialists of various fields and published by the Finnish Literature Society. The *Guide* is written by an international team of writers and published by Australian-based APA Publications in 1996 (2nd edition). The *Guide* is a volume in the series *Insight Guides* which features travel guides on some 190 countries, regions and cities around the world. The same publisher issues *Insight Pocket Guides* and *Insight Compact Guides*, and Finland also has a volume in the latter series.

I will briefly give an overall preview of these two books. I do not intend to evaluate the order of superiority of these travel guides, for they are two different products aimed at perhaps two different audiences and thus cannot be compared in terms of better/worse quality. Instead, the comparison in the analysis section is done at the level of contents: how the authors represent Finland and what are the social functions of their representations. I assume that the potential reader of these books is someone who does not know Finland and wants to learn something about it, presumably in intention to travel there. The impressions and the background knowledge of the two books are provided in this perspective.

The main criteria according to which the consumer chooses a book might include the following: a thorough look at the front and back cover and their texts, reading the preface and the table of contents and skimming through the book to get an overall impression of its attractiveness and readability. The author of the book is a significant factor as well: the source must seem trustworthy and well suited to the needs of the reader. The overall impression is thus a preliminary consideration in selection. Yet, the general opinion of the read is also a posterior validation of the choice: if the book seemed instructive and reliable, the reader is more inclined to believe what was said in it.

In the preface (4-5), the editor of the *Guide*, a Scottish journalist Doreen Taylor-Wilkie, who has also edited the *Insight Guides* to Norway, Sweden and Denmark, introduces the authors of the book. She herself first came to Finland in the early 1980s and was attracted by the closeness of nature. She has continued coming back ever since, and to edit this book she has assembled around her “an expert team“ of writers and photographers who all share her fascination for Finland. The articles are written by nine English-speaking persons from different countries, with experience of visiting or living in Finland.

On the Internet (<http://www.insightguides.com/insight.htm>), *Insight Guides* advertises itself in this way: “The stunning photography is married to compelling text provided by expert local writers who describe a destination’s history, culture, crafts, politics and people“. They explain the structure of the *Guide* with sections covering the history and culture of a destination “in lively, authoritative essays“, the main ‘Places’ section providing “a full run-down on all the attractions worth visiting“ and listings section packing all the practical information. Finally, they claim that “*Insight Guides*’ incomparable photojournalistic approach captures the uniqueness of each culture and destination“. Slogans they use for selling their guides include “Everything you need to know about a destination“ or “The ultimate travel reference“.

The contributors to the *Encyclopedia* are specialists of national and international importance in Finnish art and scholarship. There are 74 writers in total and two translators have translated their articles into English. The *Encyclopedia* is also published in French and German (*Finlande: une approche culturelle*, 1999; *Finnland: Kulturlexicon*, 1998). The book contains 352 pages and more than 300 entries in the form of short key-word articles. Although the book resembles a traditional encyclopedia, it is also aimed to serve as a travel guide. In his preface, the editor-in-chief Olli Alho emphasizes:

The editors believe that *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia* will be useful as both a travel guide and a traditional encyclopedia, and that it will find its place both in reader’s luggage and on their bookshelves... It has been our aim to present, in *Finland: a Cultural Encyclopedia*, an information network of Finnish culture. (*Encyclopedia* 5)

The *Encyclopedia* includes an index and an internal reference system to link articles, which enables it to function as an information network. Words within articles marked with > refer to other articles in the *Encyclopedia*. I have also retained these references in my text in order to illustrate the highly referential nature of this book.

The publisher of the *Encyclopedia*, the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS) was founded in 1831. It has had a central role in Finland's cultural history in the area of Finnish literature and folklore. The patriotic national tradition induced projects like the collection of Finnish-language folklore, which resulted in compiling of the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala* in 1835. It was collected by Society's first secretary, Elias Lönnrot, and funded by the Society. The Society also published the first novel in Finnish, Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers* (*Seitsemän veljestä*) in 1870. Today, the Finnish Literature Society collects and maintains important folklore and literary archives, has an extensive library collection of all material concerning Finnish-language culture, and its Finnish Literature Information Centre aims at increasing knowledge of Finnish literature abroad. (*Encyclopedia* 95-96.) The Finnish Literature Society is one of the biggest publishers of serious non-fiction in Finland with some 50 titles published per year, including monographs, dictionaries, university text books, doctoral dissertations, folklore anthologies and the like. (Finnish Literature Society 2000.)

The front cover is usually the first part we look at when choosing or reading a book. The cover of the *Guide* features a (presumably) Finnish man looking at you and smiling under his fur hat against a blue-grayish but sunny background. He has a big reddish beard and round sunglasses and he wears a blue winter jacket with black fur hood. He is the image of the Finn the *Guide* wants to convey to its readers. The choice of the cover picture is critical, for it inevitably creates connotations (or confirms presuppositions). The winter setting implying cold weather and a male representative with beard and mysterious sunglasses welcoming you to his country immediately create the first impressions of arctic Finland with original inhabitants. On the back cover, there are four pictures: one of red wooden houses by the water, one of the young girl's face painted with freckles, and one of beautiful embroidery on a red tissue, and a map

showing Europe with Finland painted in red. The text which aims to sell the books claims that

Insight Guide: Finland is much more than a guide-book. A team of expert writers provides real insight into this land of lakes and forest, sea and snow... [It] inspires while it explains, entertains while it informs. Serving as a background reader, a practical on-the-spot companion, and an ideal souvenir of your visit, it's the perfect all-in-one guidebook. (*Guide*, back cover)

The contents of the *Guide* (296 pages) are arranged in four sections named 'history', 'features', 'places' and 'travel tips', moreover there are twelve maps. The sections are divided into articles with imaginative and illustrative names, for example 'Why Prices Are So Astonishing' for the chapter discussing economy. At the end of the book there is an index to facilitate the use of the guide.

As mentioned earlier, the *Guide* is full of photos, very colorful and beautiful ones. The superb photography, as the editor praises it in the preface, makes the *Guide* attractive. All the photos are in color, there is at least one photo on every page, and in addition there are one or double-page spreads with bigger pictures between the articles. The illustrations of the *Guide* contain a considerable amount of information or impressions. The order of pictures is sometimes arbitrary; they do not always have clear connection to the text beside. Interestingly enough, there is no photo of the Finnish flag, one of the most powerful of our national emblems. Unfortunately, the analysis of the photography, although it is an essential part of the *Guide*, is beyond the scope of this study.

The *Guide* has been published in three editions (the first in 1992 and the third in 2000). The contents of the first and second editions are almost identical. In the second edition, there are a few photos more, the layout of the preface and contents pages have been re-edited, and 'Travel tips' are brought to date, but all the articles are basically the same as in the first edition. There are more changes in the latest edition, however, which I will present in the discussion.

The front cover of the *Encyclopedia* represents another kind of image: on the white background, a decorative golden antique frame encloses a picture of summer scenery with no people in it. The photo is taken by a lake in sunny

weather, and there is a birch tree, rowing boat and wooden jetty within the frame. It is a very idyllic and common summer scenery in Finland, and a calm quiet atmosphere seems to prevail. The framing of this particular scenery seems to suggest that this is the picture of Finland to be put in a frame and hung on the wall. The back cover features three photos: one of a pair of eyes gazing through the hole in a map (of greater Helsinki area); one of a signpost on a snowy plain with blue and white sky, reading “Suomi Finland”; one in black and white, of a man in dark T-shirt holding his arm up and his index raised (world-famous conductor Esa-Pekka Salonen). The text talks about Finnish concepts and promises to reveal hidden meanings of them, and mentions who are the authors of the book.

The contents are organized in an encyclopedic order from A to W. There are small photos scattered on the pages, most of them in black and white. There is an index at the end, and an interior reference system between the entries. The inner front cover has a map of Finland, and the inner back cover a map of world within which Finland is painted in green. The *Encyclopedia* includes a short table of facts (area, lakes, population, history, languages, religions) and the Finnish flag is illustrated as well.

The two guides are different in form and structure, but all the same they both promise to tell everything there is worth telling about Finland. They are similar in that authors, who are said to be knowledgeable experts on the particular topics they write about, have written these books. The two are representations of Finland directed to a foreign audience, thus explicative in their nature. Both guides treat many of the same themes, but naturally there are differences as well. The articles of the *Encyclopedia* are shorter and outnumber the longer articles of the *Guide*. There is also a distinction in the role of pictures, which are essential to the representation of the *Guide*, but only peripheral to that of the *Encyclopedia*. Nevertheless, these travel texts provide a good couple for the cross-cultural comparison of representations of Finland.

This section has provided the frame of reference for the selected texts of tourism discourse. Since meaning is always relational it is important to consider the larger situational context of any piece of discourse. The comprehension of tourism and its language, as well as the present situation of Finland as a travel destination, will contribute to the critical evaluation of the

analyzed texts. The following section explains the relevant theoretical concepts and presents the tools for the analysis.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical approach chosen for examining the travel discourse is discussed in this section. It includes theories of representation and discourse and an analytical model to study these linguistic meaning-making practices. The purpose of the present research is to study representations of Finland in the two tourist guides. The image of Finland in the guides is constructed through representation and discourse, hence we need to define these concepts and examine how they work. To begin, I will discuss the processes of representation and discourse, and consider some aspects of cross-cultural and ethnographic representations. Then, the method for this study, the reasoned discourse analysis, is explained.

3.1. Representation and discourse

Representation is the production of the meaning through language of the concepts in our minds. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to the real or imaginary world of objects, people and events, explains Stuart Hall in his book *Representation: cultural representation and signifying practices*. (1997:16-17.) *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) suggests two relevant meanings: Firstly, “to represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it upon in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses“. In practice, this means that to represent Finland we must describe what it looks, tastes, sounds, feels or seems like, to enable the readers to imagine it in their minds. Secondly, to represent also means “to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen of, or to substitute for“. Practically, this indicates that the concepts we describe through language stand for the concrete reality, the reader comprehends them as actually existing in Finland.

In order to understand how representation works as a meaning-making process through culturally fixed codes, we need to define culture. Hofstede (1991:5) argues that “culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another“. Hall also (1997:1-3) stresses that culture is primarily concerned with the production and exchange of meanings: it is a process or a set of practices which makes sense of the world in broadly similar ways. Of course, culture is more than that, it is a very broad and complex concept, but central to it is the importance of meaning. This is the definition adopted in this study. Hall explains that language operates as a representational system, that is, we use signs and symbols to convey our ideas and feelings to other people (1997:21-22). We construct meaning with the help of a symbolic and agreed code, a shared language system. The translatability of the code is the result of social conventions; it is fixed in culture. Members of the same culture use commonly understood elements, like sounds, words, gestures, expressions, or clothes to construct and transmit meaning, and interpret them in roughly the same way (Hall 1997:4-6). Thus signs are cultural codes as well as linguistic. Including all shared elements in culture, it is this symbolic practice which gives sense of belonging to the same group. The signifying practice of representation is closely tied up with both cultural identity and knowledge.

Cultural meanings regulate social practices and have real practical effects, asserts Hall (1997:3-4). Representation includes the words we use, the stories we tell, the images we produce, the ways we classify and conceptualize, and the values we place on things. But meaning is also produced whenever we make use of, consume or appropriate cultural things; we give them value or significance by incorporating them in different ways into the practices of daily life. Meaning is not straightforward or transparent, but it is always being negotiated in interactive and dialogic processes with the help of shared cultural codes (Hall 1997:10). Meanings may mobilize powerful feelings and emotions because they sometimes call our very identities into question. For example, Finns as members of the same culture generally share the same concepts and agree upon their meaning, like the sauna. This meaning, however, is not too simple to explain to the Other who does not share our cultural codes. The concept of sauna is so central to our identity that when representing it to an

outsider, personal feelings easily outweigh common consent (see Edelsward 1991).

Hall underlines that representation can be properly analyzed only in regard to the actual figures, images, narratives and words in which the symbolic meaning is circulated (1997:9-11.). When interpreting the meaning, we must try to justify our reading in detail, in relation to actual practices and forms of signification used and the meanings they seem to relay to us. The meaning can be conceived as a process of translation. It is always interpretative, a debate between, not who is right and who is wrong, but between equally plausible though sometimes competing and contested versions. There exist different circuits of meaning in any culture at the same time, overlapping discursive formations.

Discursive is the general term to refer to any approach in which the meaning, representation and culture are regarded as constitutive (Hall 1997:6). Discourses are ways of constructing knowledge about a particular topic, formations of ideas, images and practices. Discursive approach is concerned with the effects of representation. It examines how the knowledge constructed in discourse regulates conduct, creates identities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about and practiced. The emphasis in the discursive approach is always on the reality of representation: its goal is to show how specific languages or meanings are deployed at particular times, in particular places, and in actual practice.

The French philosopher Foucault studies the production of knowledge (rather than just meaning) through discourse (rather than just language). He analyzes “how human beings understand themselves in our culture“ and how our knowledge about shared meanings is produced in different periods (as quoted by Hall 1997:42-43). Foucault defines discourse as

A group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment... discourse is about production of knowledge through language. But... since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect. (as quoted by Hall 1997:44.)

The pervasiveness of discourse in society validates its position as a target of analysis in any subject related to culture.

Hall explains that the same discourse, characteristic of the way of thinking at any one time, will appear across a range of texts and as forms of conduct at different institutional sites in society (1997:44-45). But whenever these discursive events refer to the same object, share the same style and support a common institutional drift, they belong to the same discursive formation. The internal cohesion of a discursive formation does not depend on agreement between the statements; in fact, debates and different statements within the field are frequent (Hall 1997:192). Thus, all the texts, dialog and actual cultural practices across our entire society constitute the discourse that produces the knowledge we possess about Finland. Consequently, the travel guides can introduce very different or even contradictory representations of Finland and yet contribute to the same discursive formation.

According to Foucault, knowledge is always inextricably enmeshed in relations of power, because it is always being applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice. This means that representation has historical, practical and worldly context of operation. Knowledge also has the power to make itself true: all knowledge once applied in the real world has real effects, and at least in that sense 'becomes true' (Hall 1997:47-49). For instance, if readers of travel guides believe that a particular version of Finland is true, and behave accordingly, the consequence is that the particular version has become true in terms of its real effects. There is no truth of knowledge in the absolute sense, but a discursive formation sustaining a regime of truth, in other words a certain way to represent things.

Next, I will discuss some considerations related to the representation of the Self/Other. The Self and the Other are terms used in reference to one's cultural ingroup and cultural outgroups, respectively. As explained in the introduction, my hypothesis is that there are some differences in depictions of Finland that are emic, from within culture, and etic, from outside culture, because representation is a cultural practice. The texts in this study construct knowledge about Finland in the context of the travel discourse by representing Finland either through the display of the Self or the Other.

I suggest that the depictions in these travel books can be regarded as examples of ethnographic text. Ethnography comes from 'ethnos' meaning people, race or nation, and 'graphein' meaning writing or description. By definition, ethnography seeks to describe nations of people with their customs, habits and points of difference. Contemporary usage within the field of study defines ethnography as a study, which includes in-depth empirical research, variety of data collection techniques, prolonged and intensive interaction between the researcher and subjects, which usually, results in the production of an ethnographic text. (Lidchi 1997:160.) Naturally, these travel guides are not ethnographies in scientific sense, but they share same characteristics in a worldlier context, and therefore it is justifiable to conceive of them as 'modern style ethnographies'. It is important to consider that ethnographies are not reflective of the essential nature of cultural difference but classify this difference systematically in accordance with a particular view of the world that emerges within a specific scientific body of knowledge (Lidchi 1997:161-162). The same is true for the two texts in this study for they are (re)constructions of Finland within the body of knowledge named travel writing. *Insight Guide: Finland* is only one volume in a series of hundreds of travel guides which has a definite policy of a particular representation pattern on each and every country in the series, thus the cultural reconstruction is clearly highlighted.

Lidchi (1997:200) observes that ethnographic texts are not accurate descriptions, but they are writings made of one culture by another, which means that an active process of representation is involved in constructing one culture for another. The purpose of ethnographic texts is decoding, to render comprehensible what is initially unfamiliar, a kind of translation of alien concepts from one language to another or from one conceptual universe to another (Lidchi 1997:166-167). Ethnographic texts adopt an objective and descriptive mode, but their production necessitates a substantial degree of decoding and encoding. All texts involve an economy of meaning: they foreground certain interpretations and exclude others. Ethnographic texts in particular direct the reader towards a preferred reading on a route through potentially complex and unfamiliar terrain. A concept may be decoded in many ways, but the text will encode it towards one or other possibility, thereby guiding its interpretation and circumscribing its meaning. In so doing it will

provide a compelling and convincing reading and it will quicken and solidify the meaning. Lidchi (1997:183-185) explains that ethnographic text has symbolic power when it constructs a particular path through meaning (of a culture) and persuades the reader to follow it. Power to mark, assign and classify, to represent someone or something in a certain way is inevitable and located around the author. Ethnographic texts also have embedded institutional power, for instance the power of the travel guides to make statements and evaluations of the Other. The two forms of power are symbiotic.

One central form of symbolic power is to represent cultural groups by means of stereotypes. Hall clarifies that a type is any simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characterization in which few traits are foregrounded and change kept to a minimum (1997:257). We are always making sense of things in terms of some wider categories, so that without types it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make sense of the world. A more violent form of typification, stereotyping, is an important signifying practice (Hall 1997:257-258). First, it reduces people to a few, simple, essential and exaggerated characteristics that are represented as without change or fixed by Nature. Second, stereotyping divides the normal and acceptable from the abnormal and unacceptable, and then excludes or expels everything which does not fit. Stereotyping is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order, and it involves a practice of closure and exclusion by symbolically fixing boundaries. Third, it tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. One aspect of this power is ethnocentrism – the application of the norms of one's own culture to that of others. Fourth, stereotypes refer as much to what is imagined in fantasy as to what is perceived as real; the deeper meaning lies in what is implied but cannot be shown (Hall 1997:263). This hegemonic and discursive form of power operates through representation and production of knowledge.

To represent the Other, people who are different are frequently exposed to a binary form of representation. They are represented through sharply opposed binary extremes: “good or bad; civilized or primitive; ugly or excessively attractive; repelling because different or compelling because strange and exotic“ (Hall 1997:229). Besides, they are often required to be both things at the same time. Why is it so common to construct representations on the basis

of difference? According to Hall (1997:234-235), one reason is linguistic: difference matters because it is essential to meaning. Culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classification system. The marking of difference is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture. Binary oppositions are crucial for all classification because one must establish a clear difference between things in order to classify them. He also explains that symbolic boundaries keep the categories pure and are thus central to all cultures (Hall 1997:236-237). Paradoxically, it also makes difference powerful and strangely attractive precisely because it is threatening to cultural order. Although binary oppositions have great value of capturing the diversity of the world within their either/or extremes, they are also a rather crude and reductionist way of establishing meaning (Hall 1997:235). They are also over-simplified, swallowing up all distinctions in their rather rigid two-part structure.

Why is it important for us to examine the discourse about the Other? The question of difference plays a significant role in the representation of Otherness. The meaning cannot be fixed, it is established and sustained socially through dialogue, and one group can never be completely in charge of meaning. What we say about the Other and what the others say about us is intriguing because the Other is essential to meaning. (Hall 1997:235-236.) Moreover, the Other is fundamental to the constitution of the Self psychically, to us as subjects and to our identity (Hall:237-238). Our subjectivities depend on our unconscious relations with the significant Others, and they are formed through a troubled, never-completed, unconscious dialogue with the Other. The present writer as well recognizes these reasons, and thinks it is both important and fascinating to study the Other's representations of the Self. The next chapter explains how the method of discourse analysis is used in the examination of the cultural representations.

3.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is an umbrella term for many different methods used by researchers to study texts, but the common factor is that they center on social dimension of discourse. It is a method, which helps to show how apparently

trivial textual phenomena may have important social consequences (Shi-xu 1997:29-30). The discourse analytical approach used in this study is from Shi-xu, who in his research *Cultural representations: analyzing the discourse about the Other* (1997) developed a model to analyze descriptions of ethnic groups. The goals of Shi-xu's research were to investigate how representations about cultural matters are constructed and used in the discourse about the Other, and to show how representational discourse has functions that affect social interaction (1997:44). These are also goals of the present study, which additionally aspires to compare the cultural representations of the Other and the Self.

Representational discourse means people's communication about their thoughts or mental representations (Shi-xu 1997:13-16). The texts regarding the Self and the Other are at least partially based on writers' inner cultural experiences of the particular society they are describing. The emphasis of the discourse analysis is on actual language use in the social context, with the objective of demonstrating exactly how texts create mental realities in social interaction. The discursive representations of inner beliefs and experience about one's own or others' culture are transmitted to and manifested in the Self-Other relations, they have social consequences. According to Shi-xu, particular ways of writing are required to render inner thought available, hence we must pay attention to linguistic and discursive processes of language in the construction of the psychological interior. For the sake of the analysis, he formulated conceptions of mental representations, which are perceptual, attitudinal, attributional, conceptual and opinion discourse, which I shall explain further below. Although analyzed separately, in discourse different categories of the mind are often intertwined with one another, maintains Shi-xu.

Discourse also has complex and multiple functions, and everyday texts are often indirect and opaque in their social orientation and effect, observes Shi-xu (1997:48-49). The analysts' accounts should direct people's attention to crucial features, which show connections between things that otherwise would stay unnoticed. But we must realize that analysts' readings of discourse are always interpretative and limited (Shi-xu 1997:46-47): First, it is possible to raise only few points to be analyzed out of the vast data. Second, the temporal-sequential

process of understanding can be displaced, because the analysis contains only fragments of discourse and their context. Third, analysts' readings are necessarily relative to the adopted and available contextual frames. Shi-xu insists (1997:48) that the requirements for analysts' interpretation are its instructive quality and plausibility to the scholarly community. Discourse analytic understanding does not strive for validity but convincingness, not reliability but reasonableness. In fact, emphasizing plausibility instead of validity also keeps dialogical openness of interpretation possible.

In order to analyze discourse and mental representations, we must pay attention to the functions of actual language use in social context. In this perspective, Shi-xu (1997:30-31) presented a functional-constructive framework of discourse with seven dimensions: First, discourse is functional which means that it has social, interactional purposes and consequences. Second, it is constructive in that it transforms or creates realities. Third, discourse is communicative for it usually contains messages. Fourth, it is proactive because it often executes actions. Fifth, discourse is always contextual, that is its meanings are verbally and situationally bound. Sixth, according to Shi-xu, discourse is also reasoned, which means that much of it is regulated by argumentative and explanatory activities. Last, discourse is resourceful or it is often filled with particular recurrent themes and motifs. These sociocultural functions need to be found and specified to research culture-representational discourse and its discursive constructions.

To analyze the travel discourse, I will use an interpretive approach named reasoned-discourse analysis that Shi-xu conceptualized in order to study cultural representations. In this method, the emphasis is on context-dependent meaning and on reasoning, that is argumentation and explanation (Shi-xu 1997:45). Shi-xu claims (1997:59-60) that reasoned discourse occurs typically in contexts of a problem, such as conflict, difficulty, bewilderment, doubt, criticism, suspicion, contradiction or dilemma. When a perceived cultural matter is being explained, the very fact of this activity proves that the author evaluates it as a (potential) problem. To analyze this discourse, it is necessary to examine and display author's positions, expectations, presuppositions, evaluations and opinions of this observed cultural matter. Reasoned discourse

analysis will clarify interests and goals of people's ordinary representations of the cultural Self and the Other.

Intra- or intercultural functions can be searched for in the verbal or situational context (Shi-xu 1997:53-54). Verbal context may be found in simultaneous and surrounding discourse. Simultaneous is the representational discourse in question: for instance, attitudes and opinions may be signaled by choice of words or by semantic relations with the surrounding discourse. Surrounding discourse, utterances before and after the analytical unit, may provide other sociocultural meanings. (Shi-xu 1997:54-55.) Situational context means the current discourse setting, and the broader interpersonal and institutional formations and relations. Analysts are encouraged to have as much social, cultural and historical knowledge as possible, for the meaning of micro texts cannot be adequately understood without reference to the broader situational macro context. (Shi-xu 1997:55-56.)

To identify the meaning, we must also analyze the processes of discourse. Shi-xu argues (1997:56) that people often organize their discourse in the modes of argumentation and explanation in order to accomplish practical interactions and to construct social and cultural relations and structures. The function of argumentation is to provide acceptable support for claims and actions (Shi-xu 1997:57-58). It is realized through various activities and units called arguments, which can take different linguistic and discursive forms from words to whole sentences or whole texts. Arguments, such as provision of reasons, evidence for claims, justification for behavior or causes of event, may be motivated to advance one's own version over those of others, to reduce or eliminate disagreement, or to change others' perception. Explanation, on the other hand, renders natural and understandable unfamiliar or untoward states of affairs, such as puzzlement, unexpectedness, embarrassment or failure (Shi-xu 1997:58-59). It is achieved by provision of causal, conditional or other factors in forms such as influence, circumstance, habit, norm or value. These are called accounts, and they may be realized from word to clause or larger units. Explanation may be motivated to excuse one's failure, justify action, blame other people, and get enigmatic things under control and so forth. Arguments and accounts are the basic discursive processes present in all five dimensions

of cultural representation: attributional, attitudinal, conceptual, perceptual and opinion discourse.

Firstly, attributional discourse is a dimension in discourse, which can be described as observer's construction of a broadly causal representation (Shi-xu 1997:64). It provides an account of why a certain thing happens, and it makes present internal causal understanding of the world. In short, it is a belief that X occurs because of Y. Shi-xu explains (1997:66-68) that attributional discourse can be used as explanation, as a causal belief in terms of physical cause, intention, motivation, belief, personality or circumstance. These may be expressed by direct causal statements, but may as well be only implied, for instance when accomplished by descriptions. Attributional discourse is often produced also for argumentative purposes in problematic situations. The social function of attributions is that they contribute to the constructions of particular versions of cultural identity or being (Shi-xu 19997:64-65). Identity means one's own or other's enduring characteristics, it is a implicit or explicit statement of what one or the other is. In his study, Shi-xu (1997:92-93) found two ways of constructing national identity through cultural attributions. First, different identity implications can be justified by the same cultural attributional theme. This proves that identity implications are often context-dependent, and an abstract theme of attribution can have variable sociodiscursive meanings in real life. Second, the same cultural identity implication can be accomplished through different attributional themes. This proves that attributional themes are discursive resources for making identities and can serve one particular sociocultural purpose. It follows that discursive constructions of attributional themes cannot be reduced to mental realities, but they reproduce and maintain an important part of social interaction – the construction of culture and identity.

Secondly, cultural attitudes form a dimension in discourse where the speaker constructs deliberately an evaluative stance upon an object (Shi-xu 1997:98). There are various strategies of constructing positive or negative attitudes towards the cultural Self or the Other: attitudes can be clear, direct statements, or the result of fairly indirect argumentative and explanatory activities (Shi-xu 1997:97). Attitudinal discourse may be constituted in roughly two ways: referentially in discourse and creatively through discourse (Shi-xu 1997:99). Referentially means statements that are rendered available implicitly

by provision of particular reasons or arguments. Analysis suggests that it is not enough just to look at attitudinal words or statements, for both strong and subtle attitudes can also be indirectly and strategically constructed (Shi-xu 1997:122). Creation refers to the process whereby attitudes are left visible as outcomes of discursive activity, for instance description (Shi-xu 1997:99-100). Evaluative views are often expressed through argumentation, but may be also conveyed through activities of explanation. Verbal context conveys attitudes by functioning as evidence, reason or justification for a positive or negative construction of the cultural Self or the Other.

Thirdly, conceptual discourse is a dimension in discourse which defines a class of objects and (implicitly) the normal nature and general characteristics of it (Shi-xu 1997:126). Concepts are universals, meanings, abstractions, mental images, symbols, or intermediaries between words and things. Conceptual discourse is a participant activity: in everyday discourse people refer to, describe, implicate or presuppose versions of concepts, and recognize them as others do so (Shi-xu 1997:129). Discursive concepts are writers' interactional concern, and are usually constructed through processes of description, categorization, definition, exemplification or comparison (Shi-xu 1997:126-127). Discursive concepts may be content-oriented, that is description, which means that a class is characterized in terms of its properties. Or they may be label-oriented, that is classification, when a member or an entity is characterized in terms of a class. Concepts are deployed as rhetorical warranting strategies, which are often oriented towards maintaining a positive self-identity or reconstructing a particular version of social reality. In everyday life the same apparent concept can have various and variable discursive and contextual embeddings, and discursive complexities such as 'national identity' raise questions about the fixity of the concepts we live by (Shi-xu 1997:128). When people offer a version of a concept they often have social motivation for doing so, such as lack of understanding or different possible understandings of the nature of a category, or a particular aspect of it needs to be highlighted from among various potential aspects (Shi-xu 1997:130-131). In his study, Shi-xu found two kinds of sociocultural functions realized by way of conceptual discourse (1997:144-145): to secure explaining away a negative Self-experience, contributing thereby to maintaining a positive Self-identity, and to

guarantee explaining away a negative behavior of the Other, contributing thereby to defending non-negative Other-identity.

Fourthly, cultural perceptions constitute a dimension in discourse, which constructs (aspects of) individual's direct audio or visual experience (Shi-xu 1997:151). Often, writers' constructions of perceived actions, attitudes or attributes of the cultural Self or the Other are offered as factual descriptions of direct perceptual experience (Shi-xu 1997:148). Shi-xu (1997:151) maintains that this sort of language use is most clearly illustrated in various kinds of factual discourse genre such as stories, news reports, testimony, and indeed travel accounts, where people describe, imply, presuppose or refer to what they see or hear. Perceptual discourse constitutes an important part of sociocultural reality (making). It is used, for example, when a vivid image is required, when 'seeing-is-believing' is held as norm, when audience needs to be enrolled, or when alternative version of reality is to be excluded. Perception may be constructed overtly or covertly, but the involvement of first person, singular or plural, as the perceiver is essential. Equally important is the activity of direct experience, which may become evident in wording like 'I/We saw, noticed, heard' or 'It seems, appears, looks'. All descriptions are not perceptual discourse, what matters is that the reader knows the perceivable nature of the event and the presence of the current speaker in it (Shi-xu 1997:152-153). Analysis can show how reporting what one sees or hears in particular rhetorical context serves to create images of the Self and the Other and construct identities (Shi-xu 1997:149). Since first-hand observation is valued as realistic by common consent, and regarded as important basis for judgement and authenticity, a representation of what one saw or heard can accord one the position of the arbiter on the reality. For the same reason, it can also undermine or discredit others' version of reality, hence it is significant sociodiscursive strategy (Shi-xu 1997:152). Analyzing reports of perception, such as travel accounts, may contribute to the understanding of the ways we reproduce cultures, and hence the nature of cultural knowledge (Shi-xu 1997:150). Travel knowledge is an important supplement to studying cultures since traveling and exploring new countries is a very popular modern pastime. Urry (1990:3) explains that the role of discourse in constructing perception may be illustrated by phenomena like 'timeless romantic Paris' or 'real olde England', where

discourse defines what one needs to see or look for in order experience these constructed 'realities'.

Finally, opinion discourse is a dimension in discourse which signifies personal and subjective representations of reality (Shi-xu 1997:178-181). Opinions are personal beliefs, often constructed by indexed terms such as 'think' or 'in my opinion', or through other discursive structures. They can also be signaled implicitly or understood situationally. Analysts must initially make transparent discursive processes whereby opinions become available: generalization, contradiction of culturally shared commonsense, metaphor, personal disagreement or the implicit role of the travel-writer as culture beholder. Then, they must show how purported personal opinions turn out to contribute to the construction of cultural facts. There is a close relationship between personal opinions and the social orientation of changing others' perception, and between opinion discourse and making of cultural identity (Shi-xu 1997:179). Opinion discourse has following characteristics: first, it is a construction of the subjectiveness of a belief, that is, giving an opinion is telling people what one thinks (Shi-xu 1997:180-181). Opinion discourse makes reference to one's internal representation and has the quality of being non-committal to the external reality which opinion in question signifies. Second, it is personal (or collective, if it is a group) perspective and is assumed not to be shared or accepted by its addressees or social others. This means allowance for the existence of others' opinions and hence the right of independent thinking. Despite its indexed subjectiveness it is often socially motivated to project or implicitly assume its own objectiveness or correctness, and thereby constituting itself for fact and undermining others' opinions (Shi-xu 1997:200). Opinions may be oriented towards persuading people into the desired action or state of mind. Because opinion discourse has the tone of being private and non-oppressive, it can be all the more effective in its persuasive mission. It is usually expressed with respect to other alternative or oppositional viewpoints, or when criticism is at stake, or when perceptions or beliefs need to be forged or changed. It is often disputable or controversial and orients accordingly towards drowning dissent or difference. To support their expressed opinions writers employ a variety of argumentative strategies, such as reasons, evidence, proof or accounts, which render their personal opinions realities

about the Other. (Shi-xu 1997:182) Cultural-opinion discourse and the arguments that sustain it play an important part in reproducing cultural identities.

Even though the verbal context is highlighted in this study, it bears mention that the fact-manufacturing orientation of opinion discourse is also reinforced by the larger context of travel literature. The particular genre of travel writing entitles the individual writer to the status of a culture-beholder or culture-gatekeeper. This culture-expert position privileges the individual writer's novel cultural opinions with authenticity and validity. Consequently, personal opinions of other cultures acquire the status of cultural realities. (Shi-xu 1997:179-180.) Constructing a more healthy discourse for understanding the Other-identity could be done for instance by interactive processes, in other words, we need to solicit the voices of cultural Others. This may avoid not only Other-derogation but also Self-deception, allowing thereby the understanding of the cultural Self-identity. (Shi-xu 1997:225, 227.) With this intention, I will compare the voices of Finns and foreigners and examine what is said on Finland in the context of travel literature.

The theoretical framework that is provided in this section gives tools to analyze the actual discourse about the Self and the Other. It is important to have an understanding of the discursive processes before interpreting the cultural representations. The theories of representation and discourse function as the context for the analysis, and Shi-xu's method of reasoned discourse analysis is the guideline in the examination of any particular fragments of discourse in the chosen travel literature.

4. TRADITIONAL TRADEMARKS

'S, S and S' – this almost a 'holy triad' is a persistent theme in representations of Finland. First invented in the 1930s for the purposes of the travel industry (*Encyclopedia* 279), it has stayed a powerful trademark for Finland and has even been reinvented in different wordings. The original three Ss stand for *sisu*, *sauna* and Sibelius. This sonorous combination which continues the alliteration tradition of the Finnish national epic the *Kalevala*, has been a traditional slogan

in representing Finland. Dann (1996:184) points out that alliteration is a memory-sustaining technique used widely in the language of tourism, often to describe the destination with enhancing and exotic words that grab attention and raise curiosity of potential tourists. Both sauna and *sisu* are central concepts in Finnish culture, the former a more concrete cultural practice, and the latter a long-standing mental concept in the definition of Finnishness. Sibelius, internationally renowned composer and just as important figure in supporting the country's independence, has been one of our most beloved compatriots. Finland in Finnish is *Suomi*, so the S conveniently relates also to the country's name.

My proposition is that these three magical s-words delineate the French concept of "liberty, equality, fraternity" both in form and content. There seems to be a need for patriotic slogans like these, and the three-fold form is, for one reason or another, a very effective one. Whereas in French the last syllable of the word rhymes, Finns have a traditional preference for alliteration at the beginnings of words, probably because in the Finnish language the stress is always laid on the first syllable of word. In content, *sisu* could relate to liberty, as it has been a central concept in Finland's struggle for independence. Equality and *sauna* go nicely together, for the sauna undresses us and makes us all equal in our nakedness. Sibelius fits fraternity, since he was one of the 'brothers' who supported Finland's independence, a main figure of Fennomans or those fighting for the rights of the Finnish culture during the national romantic era, of the turn of the 20th century.

Whether my proposal is convincing or not, *sisu*, sauna and Sibelius still live on, for example in the title of Maija Dahlgren's *Survival guide to Finnish for businesspeople: Sauna, Sisu & Sibelius* (2000). These three symbols for Finland are also represented in the two travel guides examined in this study. The emblematic s-triad has even been reformulated twice in the *Guide's* representations of Finland: When representing the Karelians, the easternmost inhabitants of Finland, James Lewis states that "Sauna, saga and Sibelius – these are the Karelians' true memorials" (*Guide* 256). Saga relates of course to the *Kalevala*, set in Karelia. The same author reinvents the theme when introducing 'the wilderness way north' and there "the three of the country's glories – sauna, salmon and scenery" (*Guide* 257). New combinations are easy

to coin: 'Santa, Sami and snow' to promote winter Lapland, for instance. A detailed examination of the two travel books will show if the traditional s-trademarks are still currently used in the representations of Finland, and if there are significant differences in their employment and explanations. It is probable that the traditional trademarks evoke positive values and feelings among the Finnish writers, are widely accepted and overtly advertised as central themes in the representation of Finland. The foreign authors have probably heard of these concepts, but since they are less familiar with the traditional trademarks, they might undermine or express their doubt about the significance of *sisu*, sauna or Sibelius, or may even consider them inessential to their representation.

4.1. Sisu

Sisu is first and foremost a discursive concept that is it is created and maintained in discourse, and it becomes true only in its discursive representations. It does not exist independently as an object, but is a collection of mental qualities defined in discourse. Furthermore, it is purely a cultural concept, and thus differences in its representation are to be expected between the Finnish and foreign authors. The Finns probably want to represent the concept in depth, because it has been one of the cornerstones in positive attitudinal discourse of the Finnish national identity. The foreign writers might be more ignorant, doubtful or even unaware about this mental capacity, and consequently represent it less thoroughly and more critically than Finns.

Sisu is a Finnish word, which presumably has no equivalent in other languages. It is a complex concept and demands some explanation when translated. Direct word to word translation in the CD-ROM dictionary (1998) gives English equivalents 'stamina', or 'guts' (informal), and in addition to the first two 'perseverance' and 'grit' (informal) are given in the *Finnish-English general dictionary* (1984). The concept however, is more complicated, which is demonstrated by the varied translations of the Finnish expressions including *sisu*. The two dictionaries mentioned above give the following examples: my 'pride' wouldn't let me do it; I didn't have 'stamina' to do it; he has plenty of 'grit' ('guts'); his gorge ('temper') rose; rattle a person; stick in a person's gizzard; bad temper; fit of temper; I lost 'courage'; let off steam; give vent to

one's 'anger'. In addition, someone who has *sisu* is *sisukas* in Finnish, and this word has translations 'persistent', 'headstrong' or 'stayer', 'sticker'; 'spitfire'; 'holy terror' (*Finnish-English general dictionary*, 1984). Considering that one word can be used in so many expressions with quite different meanings, it is obvious that we are talking about a multifarious concept.

Seppo Knuuttila, professor of folklore studies from University of Joensuu, has written the article on *sisu* in the *Encyclopedia* (292-293). He begins his explanation by providing an anecdote of the 1995 Finland-Sweden ice hockey world championship game: a Swedish newspaper wrote at the time that *sisu* would not be enough [to win], skill was also needed in the game. But the next day, after the Finnish victory, they wrote that *sisu* had indeed decided the outcome. Then the author elucidates that *sisu* is Finland's national trademark in sport, but in practice all Finns know the meaning, inner strength, as a psychophysical characteristic. The attribution that *sisu* brought victory to Finland, and the conceptualization of *sisu* as a shared meaning serve to construct Finnish identity embodying the beneficial quality of *sisu*.

Sisu has from its literal meaning 'inner' begun to signify a certain natural characteristic, a mental dimension, says the author, and adds that its sphere of meaning has begun to be defined as peculiarly Finnish only in the 20th century. Subsequently, in >sport and warfare it was considered a special characteristic of the Finnish >mentality which is not encountered among other peoples. The writer clarifies that a belief in *sisu* as a peculiarly Finnish phenomenon is not only a common-sense interpretation for certain scholars of Finnishness have also supported it. They have claimed that "other peoples can appear in some circumstances to have *sisu*, but Finnish *sisu* has particular characteristic: Finnish *sisu* is inflexible and stiff" (*Encyclopedia* 292). This account redefines through conceptual discourse the constitution of *sisu* as uniquely Finnish and thereby determines a preferred reading which is elevating to Finns. (*Encyclopedia* 292.)

Knuuttila is unusually sensible of the problematic of the representation. He remarks that as *sisu* became conceptualized, its meanings also became complicated to the extent that many writers have complained how difficult this indigenous trait is to explain to foreigners, especially since the word has no equivalents in other languages. The writer criticizes this: "Perhaps it is worth

commenting in this connection that concepts always demand interpretation and explanation when translated from one culture to another“ (*Encyclopedia* 292). He adds that many people in Finland are also of the opinion that Finnish *sisu* is merely a myth, or an intentional product of imagination. This commentary on the abstraction of *sisu* illustrates well the difficulties of the (intercultural) representation and reminds us about the fact that concepts, which consist also of opinions, are defined in discourse. The knowledge about cultural matters is constructed in discourse, and the concept of *sisu* as we know it exists, because people have opinions about it and use it in discourse for particular social purposes.

The author himself disagrees with the opinion that *sisu* is simply a myth and defends the existence of the concept by arguing that “presumably few of them [the skeptics] however know how ancient and complex in meaning *sisu* is“ (*Encyclopedia* 292). Then he describes the etymology of the word: In the first Finnish dictionary published in 1826, *sisu* was a derivative of *sisä*, ‘inner’, and had the meaning ‘interior’. It also had a special meaning of ‘a mood, particularly bad, evil, hatred’. According to the dictionary, *sisu* has since ancient times betokened a state of mind. Knuutila observes that this history of meaning can be traced back to writings of >Michael Agricola in the 16th century, according to which *sisu* in the sense of the innermost character of the individual means both their physical and spiritual nature. In ancient religious writings, the most common meaning was evil: bad *sisu*, which tempts a person to sin, was ‘stubbornness, lewdness, pride and hardness of heart’. Besides conceptualizing *sisu*, the writer supports its authenticity through attributional discourse: because this concept has a documented history, it does exist and is more than just a myth. (*Encyclopedia* 292-293.)

Next, the author gives an account of the contrasting meanings *sisu* can take in contemporary language use:

In the mirror of ordinary language, *sisu* has had the following meanings: (a) raw, ruthless; *sisu* is, it is true, expressed in an individual’s (b) courage and daring, but on the other hand also in his (c) indifference, craftiness and bad temper; *sisu* can also mean (d) perseverance, capacity to survive or endure trials, patience. It is in this last meaning that *sisu* is so often encountered in the names of ice breakers, trailer lorries, sweets and sporting societies. (*Encyclopedia* 293.)

This explanation is literally conceptual discourse, an attempt to define a cultural concept. It is important to note the extent of the discrepancies within the concept. The writer continues to weigh the different meanings: although *sisu* is today generally interpreted as positive perseverance, its negative connotations persist. He purports that it is manifested in children as disobedience, waywardness and stubbornness. He remarks that extreme *sisu* easily conceals a hint of unyielding stupidity or simplicity. But, *sisu* also manifests itself as extra strength, a kind of secret reserve that can drive people to incredible achievements even when they believe they have exhausted all their strength. According to the writer, the most important interpreter of the old bad *sisu* and the new active version is Aleksis Kivi, who in his novel *Seitsemän Veljestä* (*Seven Brothers*, 1870) describes the transformation of his characters' individually bad *sisu* into collaborative strength. (*Encyclopedia* 293.) All these examples contribute to the conceptual discourse, which defines and categorizes different types of *sisu*. The argument regarding alternative meanings also proves how concepts are created and recreated in discourse by means of the reasoning strategies. The force of difference is evident in the definition of *sisu*, which reflects the dialogic nature of the representation process: new, even contested, meanings can arise at any time.

Sisu is also referred to in connection with 'work', when Pekka Sulkunen, researcher at National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health, writes:

The work ethic in Finland still bears traces of the logging-camp and farming life of earlier generations. Extreme tenacity (>*sisu*) was required to perform strenuous physical work facing all the hardships nature can offer: cold weather, long distances and almost impassable terrain. The classic literary description of this ethos is the novel *Seitsemän Veljestä* (*Seven Brothers*) by >Aleksis Kivi, but it is also a central theme both in the realist and national romantic tradition of painting. (*Encyclopedia* 331)

This attributional account emphasizes the physical dimension of *sisu*, but is in accordance with the conceptualization described above. Since Aleksis Kivi and his novel *Seven Brothers* are mentioned twice in connection to *sisu*, it is advisable to check what is said about this novel.

Pertti Lassila, literary scholar, states that the protagonists of Kivi's major work are among the best-known characters in Finnish literature, and describes the novel:

Seitsemän veljestä is a humorous and realistic epic novel... [it] describes the difficulties encountered by the seven brothers of the prosperous peasant family of Jukola in adapting to modern society, their ten years of escape into the wilderness, their adventures, their mellowing, and their return to society. (*Encyclopedia* 175-176.)

According to the author, Kivi's "masterpiece" has played a central role in the Finns' understanding of themselves (*Encyclopedia* 176). In conclusion, this novel has certainly contributed to the conceptualization of *sisu* and may provide some illustrative examples of how this characteristic is manifested in action. To back up arguments in the light of literature is assertive, but when all the accounts refer to the same novel, we must also ask if it is solely the novel that has the main role in the definition and conceptualization of *sisu*. Or, could it be merely a myth created in literature?

In accordance with my assumption, the foreign authors do not represent *sisu* as extensively as the Finnish writers do. In the *Guide*, *sisu* is mentioned only on one occasion, in connection with sports. The word does not even feature in the index of the *Guide*, which indicates that foreigners do not regard this word-concept to be as important as Finns do. Anita Peltonen attempts to explain the concept:

There is one feature of the Finnish character which the Finns themselves call *sisu*, a quality so central to their being as to make a dictionary definition nearly impossible. Roughly speaking, it conjures up an enigmatically tough, independent personality. Hand in hand with the toughness is staying in power under the most adverse conditions. *Sisu* has certainly played its role in Finland's most important pursuit: independence itself. (*Guide* 98.)

The author defines the meaning of *sisu* through conceptual discourse. She notes its centrality to Finns, but also reveals her own positive attitude by admitting the existence of the characteristic when she states that *sisu* was certainly involved in gaining Finland's independence.

Sisu is related to sport and independence, thus warfare, as it is also in the *Encyclopedia*. The words used to define *sisu* are however, different. In the

Guide, the author uses ‘tough’ and ‘independent’, which do not appear in the *Encyclopedia*. While tough can be synonymous to strong (‘strength’) and perhaps independent relates somehow to ‘indifferent’. The explanation of the concept in the *Guide* is a lot more simplistic, leaving out the negative meanings of the word completely. By relating it only to achievements in sports and gaining independence, the word gets even heroic connotations. The reasons why the *Guide* is not more informative about *sisu* may be a result of the unfamiliarity with or difficulty of grasping the concept by foreigners. Or, it could be as indicated in the *Encyclopedia*, that *sisu* is a central myth favored by Finns themselves: they see it as an admirable characteristic and hence want to promote the discourse about it.

When trying to define and explain *sisu*, mainly conceptual discourse is used in both books. It is a significant dimension in discourse when indigenous ethnic matters need to be explained and translated. It is important to consider the symbolic power of authors and note that the choice of examples reveals the attitudes they hold towards a particular topic. In this sense, the *Guide* gives only a one-sided and flattering definition of the concept, whereas the *Encyclopedia* examines it from different perspectives and gives numerous examples, which are along the same lines with definitions in the dictionary. Finally, the *Encyclopedia* too, underlines the positive aspects as more important than the negative connotations. The Finnish writers represent *sisu* in a notably more thorough manner providing the etymology and history of the word-concept, citing literature and giving references to all areas of Finnish life where this quality is demonstrated. This thoroughness is understandable since *sisu* is one of the essential characteristics of Finnish mental reality and traditionally represented as an enhancing trademark for Finnishness.

4.2. Sauna

The sauna is one of the traditional and central concepts in our culture. For Finns, it is an everyday cultural practice that needs no explaining. However, when the Finnish sauna is conveyed to the outsiders, this concept which is so familiar to us requires a considerable amount of interpretation and explanation. The sauna is valued highly by Finns, and it is probable that shared meanings,

positive attitudes and personal opinions become evident in the representation. Finns tend to think that the Finnish sauna is the only authentic one, while actually different versions are known among many peoples around the world. In the case of foreign writers, their approach more likely regards the Finnish sauna as a specimen of a more general concept of baths, and they acknowledge the existence of other versions, which affects their representation. Whereas Finns like to praise the sauna, foreigners may show even puzzlement in front of this quite original cultural habit.

The representations of the sauna are numerous in the two books. Hannes Sihvo, professor of literature at University of Joensuu, tells us in the chapter 'image of Finland' how Italian Giuseppe Acerbi who traveled in Finland in 1802 first described the sauna, and ever since descriptions of the sauna as an exotic phenomenon have fascinated travelers (*Encyclopedia* 155). The sauna is described and explained through different dimensions in discourse, through facts and figures, and opinions as well. This short account by James Lewis demonstrates a positive cultural opinion:

There is one sauna for every four people in Finland and visitors will find them everywhere – in hotels, private homes, on board ships, at motels, vacation villages, and forest camps. Every Finn is proud of sauna, the one word which the Finnish language has offered to the rest of the world, and nothing better complements a long northern day in the open air. (*Guide* 257.)

Pekka Laaksonen assures us that today *sauna* is the best known Finnish word internationally. He explains its predominant etymological theory, which links it with the Lapp language: a sleeping hollow made in the snow by willow grouse. The earliest sauna was a hollow made in the ground, in the center of which was pile of hot stones and the hollow was covered with animal hides. (*Encyclopedia* 279.)

Representations of the sauna acquire easily a personal tone. Matti Alestalo, professor of sociology at University of Tampere, confirms the importance and the positive effects of the sauna: "Finns live in towns or built-up areas, but are perhaps able to relax only in the countryside, beside water or in the >sauna" (*Encyclopedia* 324). Olli Alho, programme director at Finnish Broadcasting Company, explains that the Finnish sauna culture naturally has its own etiquette. In order to understand it, he says, it is best for the visitor to consult a

Finnish sauna companion “and prepare himself for a longish lecture“. Note, however, that since Finns have internalized the philosophy of the sauna, they think that all sauna-goers follow their own rhythm and listen to the voice within their body in order to receive the most enjoyment from the sauna experience. Then the author claims that foreigners often remark how only in the sauna “the normally taciturn Finns become talkative and, in their praise of the sauna, almost eloquent; at the same time, these normally closed human beings display an unusual, sometimes even startling openness.“ (*Encyclopedia* 64.) The author’s (or his foreign friends’) cultural opinion is subjective and not necessarily a common rule as many Finns like to remain silent, some almost devout, in the sauna.

In the *Guide*, the sauna is represented in the article titled ‘Secrets of the Sauna’ (223). The word ‘secret’ immediately implies that there is something mysterious about the sauna or that it is considered strange and exotic. This presupposition of mystery might be a result of some sort of myth-making discourse the author has previously heard about the sauna, or of the fact that elsewhere the sauna is not as common a concept as in Finland. The writer is Louis Borgia, an American correspondent for *Travel Trade Gazette Europe*, and “an addict of that peculiarly Finnish pastime, the sauna“ according to the editor’s introduction (*Guide* 5). “There are certain things along the way which a traveller does not forget. A real Finnish sauna is one of them“, starts Borgia and continues: “Next to afternoon dancing, there isn’t anything more uniquely Finnish than the sauna, and it is a rare Finn who admits to not liking one“ (*Guide* 223). The writer begins by expressing his personal opinions and creates connotations while situating the sauna in context. He authenticates the concept by keying and points out the unforgettable nature of the sauna experience by relating it to unexplained afternoon dancing. When he connects these two things by claiming that they are the two most uniquely Finnish practices he strengthens the enigmatic aspect already created by the title. With his statement that almost all Finns like it, Borgia stresses the importance and central place of the sauna concept to Finns. He uses his symbolic power as a culture-beholder by prescribing what things are ‘true’, and what things go together. Conceptual discourse to define the sauna and the writer’s opinions are expressed hand in hand.

Next, the author justifies the importance of this cultural concept by explaining how widespread the sauna is in Finland. He demonstrates that according to the official statistics there are over 625 000 saunas in Finland, not including the private saunas in houses and summer cottages by over more than 100 000 lakes and the extensive seacoast. Then Borgia states that actually there could be over one million saunas to five million people, but this is “not too surprising as the sauna is a national institution“ (*Guide* 223). High though they may seem, the author estimates these figures as normal and hence as reasons for the centrality of this institution in society. The summer house, another central institution in Finnish culture, is also mentioned and closely linked to the sauna practice. The discourse is more informative and gives a realistic description of the commonness of the sauna.

In the *Encyclopedia*, Pekka Laaksonen, director of folklore archive at Finnish Literature Society, represents the sauna. He states that there are more than one and half million saunas in Finland, and explains that it is a central and characteristic part of everyday culture. He asserts that for Finns, the sauna is more than a washing-place, it is a complex of many traditional customs and beliefs. Laaksonen observes that the sauna is not only a Finnish invention, but also known among many Finnic [*sic*] peoples (i.e. Finno-Ugric). Then he argues that the Finnish can with good reason be called “a special sauna nation“, because the Finnish sauna combines the best of the two traditions, hot air baths and steam baths. In Finland, the sauna has also both preserved its role and adapted to cultural change, and the proof is the co-existence of the traditional smoke sauna and new electric and apartment sauna. Laaksonen calls sauna “a symbol of identity“ and compares it with the national epic the *>Kalevala*: both are institutionalized and have their own society and devotees. (*Encyclopedia* 278.) The author provides the context for the sauna and describes briefly its history, but also explains its meanings through conceptual discourse. The author’s attitude is clearly positive, and his pride in this Finnish custom is evident when he argues that Finland is a special sauna nation and the Finnish sauna is the best of all versions.

Laaksonen supports his argument through historical evidence. “The special Finnish nature of the sauna was understood at an early date“, he maintains. Then he quotes Mikael Wexionius who already in 1640 remarked how all

Finns were assiduous sauna goers: “Even in severe frost they dash out to the sauna and draw water, enthusiastically and with laughter, from well, river or lake, and pour it on their bare skins. But this hardens their bodies and makes them able to withstand effort“. (*Encyclopedia* 278.) This perceptual discourse creates a mythic image of the sauna practice, and the attribution which argues that cold water poured onto the skin makes Finns withstand effort contributes to the construction of a positively strong Self-identity. The quote facilitates understanding of the modern sauna practice by giving it historical foundation. It also supports another Finnish myth by arguing that Finns are able to withstand effort, in other words they have *sisu*.

Also the *Guide* gives historical evidence to its representation by explaining the ancient and “obscure“ origin of the sauna (*Guide* 223). The author claims that the sauna came to Finland over 2000 years ago. Then he explains that sauna was common in rural Finland and it was more than just a place for getting clean: also babies were born, and sausages smoked in the sauna. The connection to food and family, both concepts central to any culture, strengthens the centrality of the sauna. Borgia cites a Finnish proverb “First you build the sauna and then the house“, which proves the significance of the sauna, overshadowing even the house. Then he remarks that the sauna “outgrew rural roots long ago“ and now public saunas are everywhere: there is a sauna in every apartment building, and “it is only natural“ that many companies have saunas for employees and to entertain guests. (*Guide* 223.) The author stresses the universality and historic significance of the sauna, and also emphasizes the social and cultural practice in modern context. His goals are to clarify the meaning of the sauna for Finns, but nevertheless his discourse also contributes to the mysterious image created in the beginning of the chapter. He mystifies the beginnings of the sauna culture, and his examples are so original that they puzzle the reader.

The *Guide* then gives a rather exhaustive account of the sauna practice (223). Borgia argues that there is no “right way“ to take a sauna, but individual preferences affect the temperature and style. Nonetheless, he continues that the ideal temperature is 80-100°C. Water is thrown over the hot stones and it creates a dry steam (*löyly* in Finnish) which makes the heat more tolerable, and stimulates perspiration. A common practice is to brush oneself with a wet birch

switch called the *vihta*, which gives not only fresh fragrance, but more importantly increases blood circulation and perspiration. The author asserts that how long you stay in is entirely up to you, and when you have had enough you go on to cool off. It is just as important as heating up, and the most common way, according to him, is to take a cold shower. He explains that if the sauna is by water, a quick plunge into the cool water is stimulating, and even in winter, brave or foolhardy souls jump through a hole in the ice or roll around in the snow. Borgia argues that you can repeat heating up and cooling off as many times you like, but most people stop after the third. The final stage is to dry off, which should be done naturally without hurry to avoid further perspiration. Then it is time for a beer, soft drink or coffee and a snack which are essential to complete the “ritual“. A proper sauna should leave you relaxed, refreshed and even more alert, purports Borgia. (*Guide* 223.) Even though the author states that there is no right way, he prescribes many actions. It is true, that Finns’ preferences are individual, but to encode the process to the outsiders one naturally has to give one preferred reading to explain the basic idea. Consequently, even though the account is explanatory conceptual discourse, the description is filled with opinions. These opinions may be those of writer or the opinions some Finns have given him as explanations. The verbal context of such accounts is crucial, because every single word of the ‘story’ directs reader’s interpretation towards a certain version of the sauna practice and thus constructs a cultural reality where the reader would execute the described actions.

In the *Encyclopedia*, the sauna is related to health. The author describes how from early on doctors have stressed its importance and its meaning to hygiene and general health. He states that in the mid-19th century, >Elias Lönnrot (writer and doctor) was the first sauna champion in medical circles, and that besides doctors also writers and folklore scholars have influenced the Finnish idea of the sauna. (*Encyclopedia* 278.) This account illustrates how the cultural concept has been created in discourse, and educated people have manipulated the reconstruction of the commonly known sauna version. The author of the *Guide* displays another (presupposed) meaning of this cultural practice: “a real Finnish sauna is not a meeting place for sex, as in some countries“. Borgia declares that there are strict codes of behavior, and that

despite the nudity the sauna is “a very moral place“. Generally, men and women go to sauna separately, and a mixed sauna is a family affair, “and even that depends on the ages of the children“. (Guide 223.) The author tries to delegitimize the myth of the sauna as somehow sexual practice by arguing for separate turns and mentioning “strict codes of behavior“. However, this conceptual discourse, does not explicate those moral rules nor demonstrate Finns’ natural and neutral attitude to the nudity in the sauna context. The juxtaposition of two distinct interpretations of the sauna clearly shows how concepts are constructed through discourse and practice, and that there is an inevitable gap between different cultures’ ways of making meaning.

Borgia also provides some peculiar examples to illustrate the cultural custom. He explains that the sauna means more than just getting clean:

It is a happening, a time to meet friends or opponents, to talk and socialise. Titles and positions are, they say, left hanging in the changing room alongside the clothes. It is not unusual in Finland for board meetings and the government’s cabinet meetings to be held in a sauna. Inviting one’s business rival or political opponent to a sauna is also common. But it’s not done to consume hard spirits during a sauna, or to swear or raise one’s voice. (*Guide 223.*)

This cultural representation seems an awkward way to define the concept of the sauna. It presents interesting curiosities that almost caricature the centrality of the sauna in society for it must be extraordinary that the government works in the sauna. The myth of equality is raised through the depiction of the opponents side by side, undressed of even titles. Another presupposition, the one of drinking and aggressive behavior related to the sauna in some way, is implied but simultaneously contradicted. The depictions are so strange that they contribute more to the mystification than unraveling of the concept of the sauna and certainly create a bizarre version of Finnish culture.

The *Encyclopedia* gives its own strange examples. The author explains that the *Kalevala* established depictions of the sauna as part of Finnish literature. In the national epic men bathe and converse, and women ensure that the sauna is warm and clean shirts are waiting. Then Laaksonen gives another anecdote to illustrate the connotations the Finnish sauna has created: sports have made the sauna known throughout the world, and at Paris Olympics in 1924, the success

of Finnish runners was attributed to the sauna. In the United States, they believed that the champion runner >Paavo Nurmi trained in the sauna. They even experimented with this at the Harvard University: “After this experience they were able to opine that if Nurmi did indeed spend two hours a day in such a bath and then went on to break records on the track, he must be physically the most robust man in the world.” (*Encyclopedia* 278-279.) This discourse reflects the author’s approving attitude towards the Finnish sauna culture, and he reconstructs the concept towards his own interpretation by choosing these particular marginal examples. The image of the Finnish sauna as a manly and sporty operation most likely reflects the author’s opinions of the right way to take the sauna.

The *Encyclopedia* (279) also establishes a connection between the sauna and tourism: the writer maintains that earlier, the sauna was not regarded as a specialty that could be offered to visitors, it was rather foreigners themselves who found the sauna. When known to outsiders, the author explains, travel guides started to describe the sauna and hygiene in glowing terms. An advertisement in a German magazine described it “heaven and hell simultaneously“ using the technique of binary opposition so common in the tourism discourse. The author tells that the sauna features in the Finnish travel literature from 1930s on, where it was connected to swim suits and sun worshipping. Laaksonen also explains the birth of the three Ss, >*sisu*, sauna and >Sibelius, the Finnish traditional trademarks in this study, which were coined as a tourism slogan. (*Encyclopedia*, 279.) Controversy about the true nature of the sauna, a current topic in conceptual discourse about it, is demonstrated by the fact that Finns thought that the sauna could not be offered to visitors; was it too precious or too awful? Also the binary opposition quoted reveals this contradiction: the sauna can be extremely good and bad at once.

The main idea in both books is to demonstrate to the reader that the sauna is a very important and central concept in Finnish culture. In order to convey this, the authors use a lot of conceptual discourse that describes and defines. The explanation of social functions and cultural meanings of the sauna are concerns of both Finnish and foreign writers. But they have not contented solely to describe for there is a fair amount of opinion discourse embedded in the descriptions as well. Authors (re)create their own versions of the concept:

Finns' opinions are elevating to the Self-identity, whereas one of the foreign authors displays an incoherent collection of presuppositions, comparisons, prescriptions and personal opinions. Both texts try to some extent to express the originality, and even obscurity, of the sauna. The major difference between the two texts is in the situational context of discourse: Whereas the *Guide* uses narrative style in explaining the process, social dimensions, and cultural meanings, the *Encyclopedia* resorts to references from literature and aims to define the cultural and historical context. The representation of the sauna in the *Encyclopedia* is much more intertextual, and some cultural references and implications are difficult to understand even for a Finn. Both approaches are, of course, important and they would complement each other quite well. However, from the point of view of a foreigner, the explanation of the *Guide* works better, because that of the *Encyclopedia* does not really explain the basics of the Finnish sauna. My supposition that Finns would display positive attitude was correct, and some personal opinions also became apparent. The foreign writer however, did not express any surprise confronting this cultural practice, but had constructed a preferred reading to inform his readers. Borgia expressed more personal opinions than Laaksonen and had many presuppositions, presumably derived from other discourses, which contributed to a myth-making discourse around the Finnish sauna.

4.3. Sibelius

The third S of Finland's traditional trademarks is our most famous composer Jean Sibelius (1865-1957). He was also one of the figureheads in the pursuit of Finnishness, a consciously-created national identity, and mostly for this reason Sibelius is included in the traditional trademarks. It is only natural that when citizens reach fame for their talent or achievement, their name is readily adopted in advertising the country's name. This has been the case of Sibelius who enjoys worldwide recognition and has contributed significantly to the representation of Finland. My assumption is that Finns represent him with great pride and connect him to the national identity, and foreigners admit the importance of his music, but do not consider him as important as a national ambassador.

In the *Guide*, when representing Finnish music, Anne Roston refers to Sibelius:

When most people think of Finnish music, however, they still think of Jean Sibelius. The great Finnish composer, after all, sprang from a little known country to become one of the most famous composers of all time – and Finland’s most famous export. But there is much more to modern Finnish music than simply Sibelius. (*Guide* 83.)

The author acknowledges the significance and influence of Sibelius both in Finland and internationally, and expresses her positive attitude. Sibelius is also connected to Finnish nature by James Lewis: “Sibelius, too, wove the Koli Hills into his symphonies and, looking down, it is not hard to understand why this countryside is always called Finland’s ‘national landscape’“ (*Guide* 255). James Lewis has also written the article on ‘the Karelians’, the inhabitants of the most Eastern part of Finland, and he connects Sibelius to this place too: “Karelian theme runs through most of the music of Sibelius and his Karelian Suite reaches sublime heights of elegy and patriotism“ (*Guide* 256). Sibelius is also linked to our national epic, the Kalevala: “The saga is written in blank verse characterised by alliteration and repetition, and was an inspiration for the music of Sibelius...” (*Guide* 256). These short excerpts demonstrate the pervasive role of Sibelius in the definition of Finnishness.

The *Guide* recognizes the value of the composer and contributes an article to represent him (85). Doreen Taylor-Wilkie, Scottish journalist and the editor of the *Guide* has written it. The author first states how “Sibelius embodied many things Finnish“:

It cannot be easy for a man to find himself a figurehead in his country’s search for identity, yet it was this label rather than the simple genius of his music that many Finns tied on to their most famous composer, Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), during the years before Finnish independence. His tone poem *Finlandia* in particular became emblem of everything Finnish, and this aura of reverence must have sometimes irked the composer. (*Guide* 85.)

Contrary to my supposition, the author represents Sibelius’s role as the identity promoter as more important than composer.

The narrative of Sibelius’s life story begins by telling us about his ancestry: “He was born on one of the coldest days of December in 1865“. The story

gives pieces of information about his life: he was the first son of doctor Christian Gustaf and Maria Sibelius in Hämeenlinna. The father's family in Loviisa was wealthy and Dr Sibelius spent lot of money, so when he died at work during a typhus epidemic, when Jean was three years old, his wife Maria had no choice but to file for bankruptcy. All the three children of the family showed musical talent and displayed their concert skills on family visits to Loviisa. (*Guide* 85.)

Later, Sibelius's own family, wife and three young daughters, moved to 'Ainola' overlooking lake Tuusula near Järvenpää, close to the retreat of his friend, the artist Pekka Halonen. Eero Järnefelt, Aino's brother, and another artist, skied out with Sibelius and located the site (named after his wife Aino). Another friend, architect Lars Sonck, designed the house. This place gains significance because it is mentioned several times in the article. Sibelius lived for 53 years at Ainola until his death in 1957, and wrote some 150 works there. The author narrates that life there could be sociable, and the small artistic colony spent much time together in one another's houses, but the atmosphere of Sibelius's home was quiet. To compose, Sibelius needed no musical instrument, though for pleasure he would play the grand piano with which his friends marked his 50th birthday. Music came from within and he needed silence, so his daughters went away to friends and the servants crept around on tiptoe. (*Guide* 85.)

Sibelius's music is of secondary importance to his life story in the *Guide*, but it deserves some discussion. In the author's opinion, it is simplistic to think that Sibelius was solely influenced by the Finnish landscape. He was undoubtedly part of the late 19th century movement of artists, writers and intellectuals who for inspiration turned to Finland's landscape and people, and its past. She quotes Sibelius scholar Erik Tawaststjerna who insists that Sibelius moved in the mainstream of European music and was influenced by other composers, above all by Wagner. The author tells that Sibelius traveled to Bayreuth and Munich in 1890's and planned an opera, which he did not achieve, but that some of its proposed music went to *The Swan of Tuonela*. He wrote his *First Symphony* just before the turn of the century, followed by the popular *Second* in 1902. Around that time he started to plan *The Violin Concerto*, now regarded by many as his greatest work. The writer describes

how its first performance in 1904 was hurried, because Sibelius liked to live well and needed money, but it was not a success and he withdrew it. The author concludes her narrative quite dramatically, explaining that in the end, the composer grew silent, and from the final years of his life, Sibelius left no music. "There were constant rumors of one more symphony; but, though many believe Sibelius continued to compose, nothing can have satisfied him. The 7th symphony was his last." (*Guide* 85.)

The author has chosen the form of narrative to represent Sibelius, and it makes pleasurable reading. In this form, the representation is more vivid than it would be if she told only facts about Sibelius's music, for instance. In fact, the author has chosen to be more precise on the life story than his music, thus situating the music in the context. This choice reflects the author's attitude: Sibelius as a person is more important than his work, which she also claims to be the way Finns thought of him. In conclusion, the *Guide* acknowledges the importance of Sibelius to Finland and relates him to many aspects of Finnish culture. The authors write about him in a very positive tone and use some amount of conceptual discourse in order to define Sibelius and his music as something essentially Finnish. It is probable though, that these ideas are taken from the discourse about Finnishness conducted by Finns. It is generally acknowledged that his contemporaries regarded Sibelius as a figurehead of Finnish culture. Simple listening to his music however, does not allow us to define it as representatively Finnish. Music can create connotations, but cannot contain clear markers to its peculiarly Finnish quality.

Sibelius is represented somewhat differently in the *Encyclopedia* (289). This is at least partly due to the profession of the author, Mikko Heiniö, professor of musicology from University of Turku. He talks more about the music of Sibelius and barely mentions anything about his life. In fact, he only states that the home of Sibelius from 1904, Ainola in Järvenpää near Helsinki, is his home museum. The writer begins: "Sibelius, Jean (1865-1957), composer. Jean Sibelius is the best-known Finnish composer both nationally and internationally." He was born to a >Finland-Swedish family but went to Finnish-language lyceum in Hämeenlinna. He studied violin and composing in Helsinki, Berlin and Vienna (1889-1891). Sibelius wrote his most important works for orchestra, seven symphonies in 1899, 1902, 1907, 1911, 1919, 1923

and 1924, a violin concerto 1905, orchestral suites, symphonic poems, in addition to his vocal music, particularly solo songs which have become standard part of the repertoire. (*Encyclopedia* 289.) This representation is purely factual, as they are in encyclopedias.

Then the author explains that Sibelius' starting point lay in romanticism (Bruckner, Tchaikovsky, Grieg) and symbolism, but also partly in Finnish >folk music. He claims that Sibelius created national musical tradition from almost nothing, inspired by the national awakening and >Karelianism of his time, which has made a lasting mark on Finnish musical culture. In that spirit Sibelius composed scenic music of which the most noteworthy is the symphonic poem *Finlandia* (1899). This work became a symbol of protest against oppression and censorship during the period of Russification 1899-1905. (*Encyclopedia* 289.) Through these accounts, the author represents the larger context of Sibelius' music and asserts its symbolic importance to Finland. In his middle period, however, Sibelius distanced himself from national romanticism in inward works (the string quartet *Voces intimae* 1909) which at times come close to European expressionism (*The Fourth Symphony*). According to the author, Sibelius' late works, whose masterpieces include the last three symphonies, music for Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1926) and his last great work *Tapiola* (1926), "are classicist and universal in their nature, and their innovation lies in formal structure rather than surface of the tonal language." (*Encyclopedia* 289.)

This representation is perhaps not very interesting to the average reader, but would be more so to someone interested in music. It is a pity that no more depiction is devoted to the life of the composer, he is after all, one of the most influential trademarks for Finland and would merit a more thorough article about his life as well. But it is the tendency in the *Encyclopedia* that articles featuring persons are not as long as those on concepts, like sauna or *sisu*. Concepts are controversial and need more complete explications, whereas authors try to be brief and factual on persons, perhaps for not doing any injustice to them by expressing personal opinions.

Sibelius is referred to in numerous other articles in the *Encyclopedia*. His name is mentioned in connection to many contemporary Finnish conductors. The first Finnish full-scale symphony orchestra and music school, important

for the career of Sibelius, is today called the Sibelius Academy (56). The Sibelius museum in Turku, open since 1926, is of international importance, claims the writer (218). In relation to 'Karelianism', that is Finnish national romantic movement, the author remarks that Sibelius was one of the artists who traveled to Karelia to seek inspiration (173). Matti Klinge, professor of history at the University of Helsinki, insists in his article about national symbols that Sibelius, together with many others, is one of our national great men: "Such figures were partly the objects of feelings that had previously been directed at members of the Russian imperial family"(223). Considering that Sibelius relates to many cultural and artistic features in Finland, we can with good reason maintain his utmost importance to Finnish cultural sphere. This fact is acknowledged and demonstrated in both books.

Contrary to my hypothesis, it was the foreign writers who emphasized more the influence of Sibelius in the creation of the Finnish national identity. Both of the representations displayed a positive cultural attitude although their discursive styles were very different. The *Guide* put the emphasis on Sibelius's life, and the *Encyclopedia* on his music. The significance of Sibelius as a traditional trademark for Finland was nonetheless made clear in both books. It might be thanks to Sibelius that Finnish musicians have high self-esteem, and today we have many new cultural ambassadors in the music trade, like Darude, Kaija Saarienen or our famed tenors, to name a few.

There were many instances in the representation where qualities of the language of tourism became evident, and specific techniques of the travel discourse were used. Both Finnish and foreign writers used authentication and differentiation, which was illustrated by the attempts to describe *sisu* and sauna as originally and exclusively Finnish, exotic phenomena. The language of recreation was most noticeable in the description of the sauna in the *Guide*, where some sort of instructions were given to foreign tourists to 'play the sauna game' in Finland. Admittedly, they were based on the cultural reality despite the personal opinions expressed. The language of appropriation, was most apparent in the *Encyclopedia* when explaining *sisu*, and in both books in connection with the sauna. All verbal techniques characteristic of tourism discourse were used in the representations, except for the ego-targeting which is typical of travel advertising and less common in travel guides. Keying was

used frequently by both Finnish and foreign authors. A form of languaging was realized by *sisu*, *sisä*, *vihta* and *löyly*, though they were all clearly explained. Comparison was used quite rarely, only a few but effective examples were given, like the comparison of the sauna to afternoon dancing. Testimony was a regular technique to provide evidence and support to authors' claims and was used more by the Finnish than the foreign writers. It is possible that writers attempted to use humor at places in order to lighten their representations, but it did not produce a humorous effect in the reader; on the contrary, the arguments meant as funny turned into strange and irrelevant.

The two travel guides displayed clear distinctions in their representations of the three traditional Finnish trademarks. The sauna and Sibelius received a lot of attention in both books, but *sisu* was merely touched upon in the *Guide*. The writers of the *Encyclopedia* treated the themes within the framework of their own research area, and therefore the context of the discourse as well as the actual arguments and accounts were more factual and intertextual. The foreign authors represented the trademarks more accessibly to a foreign reader, possibly because they had to first decode and then encode the cultural meanings shared by the Finnish. In content, the foreign and Finnish authors came forward with similar themes, and this is due to the tautological nature of discourse. In other words, these representations belong to the same discursive formation. My proposal of the three trademarks bearing similarity to liberty, equality and fraternity was proven accurate in places: *sisu* was loosely related to liberty (independence) and sauna to equality (titles left), nonetheless, in regard to Sibelius it proved to be wrong.

5. PREFERRED TRADEMARKS

There are some themes which have been more popular than others in spontaneous as well as deliberate attempts to represent Finland to the world: nature and Santa Claus are the two examples studied here. 'Preferred trademarks' refers to the conscious image building around these particular themes in the travel industry during the past decades. For a long time already, Finland has been advertised as a land of unspoiled natural beauty with its

forests, lakes and great expanses exploiting the ‘back to nature’ –theme which prevails in tourism the industry (see Dann 1996). Recently, Christmas tourism to Lapland has increased manifold (Finnish Tourist Board, 2000) as a result of advertising campaigns by the Finnish tourism industry. Nature and Santa Claus provide an interesting pair for comparison, for the former is an existing everyday reality available for exploitation while the latter is largely a product of the marketing strategies. Nevertheless, both are based on two important themes in tourism industry, namely differentiation and authentication. Finland needs to find a niche in the tourism market that is exotic enough to lure tourists up to the North, where we are far away from the habitual itineraries of (mass) tourism. My supposition is that Finns would proudly represent these themes as wonderful national treasures within the scope of marketing Finland to foreigners. The foreign writers in their turn, would probably not regard Santa Claus or nature as important nor promote these trademarks as eagerly as the Finnish authors, thus arriving at a more superficial representation of the themes.

5.1. Nature

The significance and centrality of nature is usually evident in any discourse on Finland. Nature is a preferred trademark also in a wider sense, often used as an argument in attributional discourse explaining one or another thing about the Finnishness. In the travel industry, nature is frequently represented as the number one reason to the country’s attractiveness. I assume that the Finnish writers would glorify and without inhibition use our unique nature as a merchandise to attract tourists, whereas the foreign authors would either be excited about or bored with the abundance of nature in the country. The descriptions of nature in Finland would probably get deeper interpretations when written by the Finnish authors, and reveal less shared cultural meanings when represented by the foreigners.

The importance of nature has already been stated in the preface of the *Guide*, where the editor claims that “what most impresses visitors to Finland, however, is how much the natural world seems to be part of everyday Finnish life. Even in the capital, Helsinki, one is never far from lake and forest“ (4).

The editor immediately conceptualizes nature as an essential ingredient of the Finnish quotidian reality. The chapter on nature, 'In Defence of Greenness' (111-113), is written by Kristina Woolnough, a daughter of a Finnish mother and a regular summer visitor to Finland. She starts her representation:

Finns have long looked to their country's natural environment for a sense of national identity. The national anthem celebrates the country's summer landscape; its blue and white flag is said to represent the white snow of winter and the blue lakes of summer; literature, fine art, design and architecture have all drawn on the environment for a Finnish idiom. (*Guide* 111.)

This implicitly attributional discourse describes a version of the Finnish identity constructed from natural elements, and is a rather common mode of argumentation in representations of Finland.

Interestingly, the authors writing about nature in the *Encyclopedia* are researchers in sociology, religion, architecture and geography, and rather than representing nature as such, they characterize through attributional discourse how the natural environment has influenced various spheres of Finnish life. The index has no references to nature, geography nor landscape, but natural elements are represented in the articles 'Finland on the map', 'forest', 'space', 'snow', 'light', and 'way of life'. Under the last mentioned, Matti Alestalo, professor of sociology at University of Tampere, describes

The >forest, the abundant islands of the coast (>archipelago), the tens of thousands of lakes, the variation between summer and winter, light and darkness, and the abundance of space provide a different framework for life from, for example, the urban cultures of central Europe (*Encyclopedia* 323-324).

The author lists natural themes with the attributional implication that they influence the Finnish way of life, hence the national identity (cf. page 77).

In the article on 'forest' (*Encyclopedia* 120-122), Juha Pentikäinen, professor of comparative religion at University of Helsinki, explains that for Finns, the forest has always been the mainstay of life, governed by a life-sustaining mother, who in folk incantations ultimately inherited the role of the Virgin Mary. The hunters' faith consisted of sacred myths about nature, and the god of forest Tapio and the goddess Tapiotar were significant protectors in hunting. The author suggests that man's relation to nature is "harmony, a state

of equilibrium between the microcosm of man and the macrocosm of nature“ (*Encyclopedia* 120). Therefore, Finnish life patterns conserve the forest, but do not dominate it: “The forest is approached with respect, but timidly: man is a guest, who does not have any self-evident rights over the forest“, states the author (*Encyclopedia* 120). The author argues that although modern Finns’ conscious attitude to the forest reflects Western ideas of utility, on an unconscious level their relation to it has not changed: “the Finn hunts, exercises, skis, rambles and orientates in the forest“ (*Encyclopedia* 121). Even the mental landscape of urban Finns still echoes the forest archetypes, and this becomes evident in that “the Finn likes to spend his summers far away from his neighbor, in a summer cottage by the shore of an untouched woodland lake“ (*Encyclopedia* 121). This conceptual discourse defines the most prominent feature of the Finnish landscape, the forest, as a mental mainstay of a modern Finnish identity.

Juhani Pallasmaa, professor of architecture at Helsinki University of Technology, represents the natural elements of space, snow, and light. He first reports that, according to anthropological studies, the dominant features of the landscape influence the use of space in both everyday life and art. He maintains that the Finnish conception of space originates in the multiform spatial formations of the forest landscape. The Finnish word *tila* means both space and ‘a state of mind’, and he argues that this double meaning also plays its part in the ambiguous nature of the Finnish conception of space, which is evident even in certain characteristics of the Finnish language. Pallasmaa asserts that metaphors of natural (spatial) forms are often reflected in Finnish art and architecture. (*Encyclopedia* 296) The author makes attributions, which explain the influence of the forest environment to different aspects of Finnish culture. This is a current argument in the art discourse, which argues that almost without exception Finnish artists recreate elements of the surrounding nature in their work. Space is a dominating feature in the Finnish countryside since there are only seventeen inhabitants per square kilometer in Finland. This is taken as an advantage by the tourism industry which, in the language of recreation, willingly promotes this spacious natural ‘play ground’ for those who want to throw themselves into the bosom of nature.

Next, Pallasmaa argues that the significance of snow in the Finnish way of life is demonstrated by dozens of words that exist in the Finnish language to describe various characteristics of snow (*Encyclopedia* 295). Winter and snow conditions have led to the development of specialized ways of life, means of livelihood and tools, he continues in attributional discourse. Snow has also inspired Finnish artists in all areas and influenced architectural designs. Then the author proceeds to describe the imagery of the Finnish ‘snow-how’: the skier in the snow-covered forest, the ice-angler on the frozen lake, the winter seine-netter by his hole in the ice, and snow-clad soldiers of the Winter War. Every Finn, the writer claims, remembers the snow-castles and lanterns of his childhood, the sledges and skates, and the creak of snow under the sole of his feet on a frosty day. To a Finnish reader, at least, the imagery used here is an effective way to illustrate this important element in the Finnish environment. The Finnish tourism industry now fully recognizes the importance of the winter season and the exoticism of snow conditions, and has coined ‘Winter Wonderland’ as one of the major themes in its travel promotion (Finnish Tourist Board 2001.)

Then, the author considers the amount and the quality of ‘light’ as a significant factor in the creation of the Finnish reality:

Dramatically variable light conditions, the light of a summer night, the dark of autumn, the snow-reflected light of a winter day, the brightness of a frosty night, the polar night, the twilight of morning and evening – contribute as much to the atmosphere of the north as the forms of terrain and flora. The scarcity of light in winter and its superabundance in summer make light an important factor in mood; light creates the rhythms of the seasons and of life. (*Encyclopedia* 187.)

He explains how the special position of light is also reflected in arts and literature, and remarks on how the descriptions of light in literature are often accompanied by descriptions of sound and silence. Pallasmaa indicates that the meaning of light is emphasized in the Finnish architecture (*Encyclopedia* 187-188). The author uses attributional discourse and argues that the different Northern light has influenced the Finnish mentality. Light is exploited as well in the travel marketing, where both the Midnight Sun and the Northern Lights are harnessed to attract tourists to admire these natural wonders in the exotic polar environment.

In the *Guide*, the symbolic aspect is less emphasized, though present, and the discourse about nature concentrates on ecological concerns: environmental threats and problems and the protection of nature. These concerns are summed up in the quote by Martti Arkko, a Finnish environmental campaigner who confirms:

We depend on nature and the environment for everything. If we allow our forests and lakes to become polluted, our Finnishness will disappear too. The hearts of the Finnish people lie in the lakes and forests. They are our identity, our capital and riches. (*Guide* 111.)

The significance of nature to the Finnish people is clearly demonstrated and linked to identity. The speaker rightly brings up the lakes, another prominent aspect in the Finnish countryside. A significant flaw in the *Encyclopedia* is that it does not have an article on the lakes, despite the fact that they are one of its selling lines: “It reveals the hidden meanings for Finns of snow, light, trees and lakes“ (*Encyclopedia*, back cover). The *Guide* is more thorough in this respect.

The author, Kristina Woolnough, explains how the defense of Finland’s lakes is also a politically significant battle to save the country’s greatest assets as well as preserve nationhood, and she even claims that “as a race, Finns really care“ (*Guide* 111). She reports that, according to surveys in the late 1980s, most Finns supported the environment second only to employment, outweighing education and health. The environment became a political issue in the 1980s, and since then the Green League has constantly increased their seats in parliament: “A green Finland was clearly on the agenda“, she asserts (*Guide* 111). Then she adds that there has been long-standing public concern for the natural environment in Finland, with committed civic organizations and protective laws introduced as early as in the 19th century (*Guide* 111). The writer asserts that green policies are part of everyday Finnish life, they are manifested in recycling, house insulation and public transport. Nevertheless, global environmental catastrophes preoccupy Finns, the pollution of the Baltic sea is an on-going concern, and construction of a fifth nuclear power station causes heated argument, especially after the consequences of disastrous nuclear explosion at Chernobyl plant in Russia in 1985. (*Guide* 113.) Through conceptual discourse, the author demonstrates concern about the environment

and hence determines the utmost significance of nature to Finnish culture. This discourse raises the value of unspoiled nature, and aims to ascertain that Finns work to preserve their unique environment.

The problems, Woolnough observes, are those common to all industrial nations: air and water pollution, waste management, energy conservation, despoliation of natural landscape, and endangered species. She points out though, that “by comparison with the really polluted areas of Europe, Finland is a model of purity“ (*Guide* 111). Then she states that Finland suffers perhaps more acutely than others from the atmospheric and water pollution of its near-neighbors, namely Russia. The writer remarks that the government has acted on the state of the Baltic, and the Arctic and acidification that have been topics of environmental conferences. Finland has also offered its new industrial technology to disposal of Russia and Eastern Europe. She notes that “Driving through Finland, you might feel there is little cause for concern about this endless green forests and lakes...“, but Finns have been active in defending the areas which remain in their natural state (*Guide* 112). The Wilderness Act designates nearly one-third of Lapland’s area as a protected zone where forestry is restricted. This argumentation further proves that, regardless of Finland’s apparent unpolluted state, there are actions to be taken and Finns are responsible in the environmental matters. All the discourse on the defense of greenness reflects a positive attitude and constructs a favorable Other-identity.

Woolnough reports that internal disagreement and contradictions between different actors in the protection of the environment are common. Air pollution and acidification caused by industrial emissions threaten trees, and legal limits and effective policing are the issue of disagreement between environmentalists and industry, which argues for economically realistic targets. The forest accounts for 78 percent of the total land area (230 000 sq. km) and is Finland’s largest resource, and wood is the major export providing considerable proportion of the national income. Yet, potentially forestry can do the most environmental damage: planting, bog-draining for plantations, fertilizing and felling have over-exploited the soil, changed natural habitats and the balance of water courses. Responsible forest management is initiated by the state and offers incentives also to private owners of more than 70 percent of the forests. “The green sanctuaries of Finland’s forests are also Finland’s playgrounds. The

right of common access permits free access and allows picking of berries and mushrooms, which is a national summer pastime.“, claims the writer. Yet she points out that greater use of forests for recreation bring more litter and different forms of pollution, such as the noise of too many vehicles. (*Guide* 112.) This representation of environmental protection and its complications appeals to every one and calls for a common sense of responsibility about nature. The discourse is mainly attributional aiming at showing the consequences of human actions.

The author concludes her representation by putting things into perspective:

From the visitor's point of view, Finland may already represent a supremely unspoilt environment. The main selling line of the Finnish Tourist Board has been the country's landscape, supported by photographs of summer Finland's green places, its blue waters and its leafy towns. Human habitation appears in its proper context, dominated by vegetation, a tiny sprinkling of buildings in a vast forested terrain. This is a true picture of Finland, nevertheless. In a country which is the fifth-largest in Europe, the 5 million inhabitants are just a blip on the map, highly influential but outnumbered several thousand to one by trees. (*Guide* 113.)

This account represents a beautiful and almost over-natural image of Finland. It reflects the author's positive attitude, which has been evident through all her discourse in the constructing of the Finnish identity that is both dependent on and responsible for their natural environment. It also acknowledges the importance of nature for tourism, and is in fact the best “selling“ line of the discourse on nature in both the *Guide* and the *Encyclopedia*.

Some ecological points raised in the *Encyclopedia* are the same as in the *Guide*. Kalevi Rikkinen, professor of geography at University of Helsinki, has written the article ‘Finland on the map’ (89-91). He explains that human activity and the increased use of natural resources have led to great changes in nature; for example, drainage changes the nature of bogs, some of the waterways begin to become polluted, and the increase of >summer cottages brings problems to Lakeland Finland. The author states that Finns are concerned especially because of the environmental destruction in the Baltic area, and have realized the extent and international nature of environmental problems: all the countries are participants in the great cycle of nature, where changes in one area are also reflected elsewhere. He concludes by expressing

his positive attitude in concurrence with the foreign author: “Finns nevertheless have a close and respectful attitude to the countryside“. (*Encyclopedia* 90-91.)

The author also discusses “environmental determinism“, which means the influence of the environment on the activities of the population. He cites a few examples: Finland appears at the head of world statistics in forestry, and this is explained by the fact that small countries often specialize in areas in which their natural conditions are advantageous. Then he claims that environmental determinism also shows its force in the fact that Finland does well in the statistics for skiing medals. (*Encyclopedia* 90.) His earlier statement that, alongside with Icelanders Finland is the most northern nation in the world, hence ideal for snow conditions and winter sports, supports this argument (*Encyclopedia* 89). The writer finishes his representation in a rather disconnected way: “Finland has until now nevertheless been an ideal place to live. The country is very sparsely populated, so one of Finland’s great riches is >space“ (*Encyclopedia* 91) . This positive statement sums up nicely the author’s attitude in constructing a positive Self-identity through varied versions of attributional discourse.

Although the same themes come up in the both books, their approaches to represent nature in Finland are different. The *Encyclopedia* does not describe much Finnish nature, but relates it to culture by trying to explain the shared and hidden cultural meanings of some natural elements. The *Guide* embarks on the topic from an ecological perspective and discusses environmental protection, which it links closely to the Finnish national identity in a positive way. Both books define nature as a central constitutive element in the Finnish identity, mention the abundance of space, underline the purity of the countryside and emphasize Finns’ respective attitude to nature. Contrary to my expectation, Finnish writers did not advertise Finnish nature in an expected way. In fact, the foreign writer gave a more promotional representation. Neither book used advertising language, but both concentrated on serious discussion about the significance of the natural environment for the Finns.

5.2. Santa Claus

Marketing Finland as the home country of Santa Claus has been one of the most visible projects in the Finnish travel industry during the past decade. As a result of marketing strategies that try to exploit this universally known imaginary figure, the Finnish Santa Claus has been turned into a trademark for tourism purposes. I argue that for Finnish authors it is an established truth that Santa Claus, regardless of being an imaginary figure, lives in Finland, and hence they would think it is only right to advertise this fact to the rest of the world. The rest of the world, however, believes that Santa Claus lives at the North Pole, and therefore the foreign writers would probably consider the “Finnish origin” theory as a new and more or less doubtful idea, and thus not fully support it in their representations.

In the *Guide*, Santa Claus is mentioned only three times. First, Sylvie Nickels refers to him: “The most recent newcomer to Finland’s skies is Concorde, now a regular midsummer and midwinter visitor to the Arctic Circle with its full complement of passengers eager to meet Santa Claus on home territory“ (*Guide* 119). This piece of information is given in a neutral tone, and the most important item is not Santa Claus himself, but the airplane. Second, James Lewis mentions “a piece of Santa Claus nonsense called the Murr-Murr Castle and featuring Santa’s animal workshop“ in Ranua (*Guide* 260). Here the author expresses his negative opinion, which is evident in the wording “nonsense“. Third, in relation to ‘Lapland’ Sylvie Nickels represents ‘the real’ Santa Claus village

Five miles (8km) northeast of the town on road 4, soon after the turn-off for Rovaniemi airport, the **Santa Claus Workshop Village** straddles the Arctic Circle. Its post office annually handles thousands of letters from children world wide and there are some rather good shops, a glass factory, a few reindeer and, of course, Santa Claus himself. (*Guide* 266, emphasis original.)

The writer’s attitude is more positive for she mentions that the Finnish Santa Claus gets mail from all over the world hence recognizing the importance of the Finnish version. Moreover, she does not condemn the tourist site like the previous writer, but states her positive evaluation of “rather good shops“.

It is clear that Santa Claus is not seen as an important trademark for Finland in the *Guide*. Both negative and positive attitudes were displayed, but the texts do not construct much knowledge on Santa Claus and for a Finnish reader, there is a clear gap on this subject. The ‘propaganda’ of the Finnish travel industry for marketing Finland as the home country of this beloved gift-giver, has obviously not affected the writers of the *Guide*. This however, can be understood, considering the fact that only recently have significant efforts been made to develop the idea of Santa’s Finnish origin into an effective tourist attraction and resort (Santa Claus Workshop village has been expanded into a more comprehensive Santa Park which was opened on the Arctic Circle in 1998). Perhaps the next edition of the *Guide* will tell us more about this preferred spokesperson for Finland.

The *Encyclopedia* discusses ‘Santa Claus’ more thoroughly (275-276). Teppo Korhonen, professor of ethnology at University of Turku, explains that nowadays Santa Claus or Father Christmas is famous all over the world, though he is exclusively indigenous to Europe. The author further clarifies that the prototype of both continental European and American Santa Claus was Bishop Nicholas. Then he continues to explain that the roots of the Finnish Father Christmas lie in the rural tradition whereby young men dressed in furs and wore horned masks while going around amusing and frightening people as well as collecting food and beer during the days after Christmas. Finnish *joulupukki*, literally meaning ‘Christmas goat’, was born when this goat-like creature was combined with the contributors of gifts of central European origin, St Nicholas at the head. The most important task of Father Christmas, bringing presents, originates from the present-giving ceremony of the Roman New Year and the Biblical story of the Three Wise Men who brought gifts to the infant Jesus. Korhonen describes how an ancient Finnish upper-class custom to give presents to those in higher ranks in order to strengthen social relations, as well as poor aid given to menials and tenants, transformed into the present-giving tradition of Father Christmas in urban and upper-class families by the early 19th century. (*Encyclopedia* 275-276.)

Then the author explains that the Finnish Father Christmas brings the presents on Christmas Eve and hands them out in person. He claims that the belief, originating in America, of Santa Claus living at the North Pole is

supported by the international idea that he lives in winter environment. Korhonen states that “since, as is well-known, he drives in a sleigh drawn by reindeer, it is natural that his home should be thought to be Lapland.” (*Encyclopedia* 276.) Finnish teachers have told their pupils since the early 20th century that Father Christmas lives in Korvatunturi (Ear Mountain) in Lapland, from where he is able to find out if children were good and hence deserved their presents. In the 1960s, commercial enterprises built Father Christmas’ gift forge near the town of Rovaniemi, a place easier to access. It is also a location of his post office, where, with the aid of his gnomes, he answers the letters that arrive for him from all over the world. The author admits that only lately has the gray-haired Finnish Father Christmas become internationally famous white-bearded Santa Claus with red costume. “The bag, (or woodchip basket), he used for carrying the presents is now changing into a sack on international lines, and even Christmas stockings have made their arrival in the Finnish Christmas tradition“, concludes the author. (*Encyclopedia* 276.)

The *Encyclopedia* explicates the birth of the Finnish Santa Claus through conceptual discourse. The author also expresses his evaluations, and his attitude is expectedly positive, which can be noted in his comment “it is only natural that his home should be thought to be Lapland“ (*Encyclopedia* 276). The Finnish tourism industry would like to make the world believe that Santa Claus lives here, yet Lapland is not only in Finland, but it extends to Norway and Sweden as well. There has actually been some competition between Finland and Sweden for the claim of ‘the home of Santa Claus’. Promoting Santa’s Finnish origin is, of course, a ‘tourist catch’, which seems to work for tourism has increased in Lapland during the last few decades, mainly thanks to Santa Claus (*Encyclopedia* 180).

There is a clear difference between the two guides representing Santa Claus: Finns try to sell their ‘original’ Santa but foreigners have not (yet) bought it. The writers of the *Guide* do not consider Santa Claus as a preferred Finnish trademark, and his absence in their representation is noticeable. The *Encyclopedia* explains the concept rather factually, but the positive attitudinal discourse is evident. The author acknowledges the existence of the competing versions, yet, naturally supports the Finnish one. The social functions of the writers are distinct: the Finns need to create a version of the Finnish Santa for

advertising purposes, while the foreigners do not benefit anything by supporting the myth of Santa Claus' Finnish origin. Hence the nature of ethnographic knowledge is illustrated: the preferred versions are constructed in representational discourse.

With regard to the preferred trademarks, the main function of all the texts was to provide information, and, in addition, expressions of personal attitude were conveyed. Characteristics of the language of tourism were more evident in the Finnish authors' discourse, which included a fair amount of differentiation and authentication as regards both nature and Santa Claus. The Finnish writer admitted the non-Finnish origin of Santa Claus, but nonetheless wanted to authenticate him as Finnish. Nature in Finland was depicted as distinct from elsewhere and its significance in all spheres of life was emphasized, which reflects the pursuit of the exotic. Finnish specialists also used appropriation by selecting convenient arguments in accordance with their own research area, and then represented nature only through these perspectives, providing their views as facts. The foreign writer on nature used techniques of testimony, comparison and keying, as well as differentiation to provide her preferred reading of the Finnish environment. The foreign author who judged Santa Claus's workshop to be 'nonsense' also used his symbolic power as culture beholder.

The preferred trademarks were represented differently by the Finnish and the foreign writers. The Finns tried to explain the shared cultural meanings mainly through conceptual (Santa Claus) and attributional (nature) discourse. The foreigners did not represent Santa Claus effectively, but in relation to nature, their representation was thorough and illustrative, and based on both conceptual and attributional discourse. In both books, the discourse on nature reflected a favorable attitude and resulted in the construction of a positive Finnish identity. As assumed, there was a distinction in the representation of an artificial concept of Santa Claus and the inescapable concept of nature, the former being almost ignored by the foreigners while the latter received a lot of attention from both parties. The expected promotional language however, was absent in the both of the representations, because the authors had chosen to explain rather than describe. The reader almost had to read between the lines to

find out characteristics of the Finnish landscape, while the hidden cultural meanings were spelled out clearly also by the foreign writers.

6. TYPICAL TRADEMARKS

Tourists often look for something 'typically Finnish' when visiting the country. Therefore travel guides usually represent typical things, trademarks in other words. 'The typical' coincides with the quest for different and authentic in tourism, travelers constantly searching trademarks classified by discourse as signs or symbols of the given destination. Usually these include typical cuisine, because food is central to any culture and it is easy to recognize the distinctions between the new culture's and one's own diet. On holiday, people take interest in food and hunt for new experiences in local dishes, which should be typical of the country or region and different from ordinary home cooking. Difference matters also as regards people. Almost all travel guides feature descriptions and generalizations of typical inhabitants, so-called national characteristics, which are portrayed as somewhat exotic. Studying the representations of national characters may help to understand how peoples construct identities in relation to other nations and cultures. I suppose that the representations of typical trademarks differ in that the Finnish writers would elect to show only 'the best' in food and drink whereas the foreign authors would try to pursue curiosities and the exotic. Similarly, when displaying national characteristics, Finns might try to conceal any unpleasant qualities and advance as positive image as possible, while foreigners would bring forward above all different and exotic characteristics of the Finnish.

6.1. The Finnish character

When representing the national identity or characteristics, all people are put into the same mold. A typical American, the typical Irish, the typical Finns; generalizations are widely used and accepted. Do people evaluate others in the same way as they would evaluate themselves? Hardly, for it is not easy to avoid ethnocentrism in this task. My assumption is that when representing their

identity, Finns themselves would go for as nice a characterization as possible, thus constructing more positive stereotypes, whereas the foreigners would be more critical, and represent a less embellished version of the Finnish character.

The first article in the *Guide* (21-24) describes the national characteristics of Finns. The introduction is significant, because it gives the very first impressions on Finland. The title is 'the Finnish character', and the article is written by Anita Peltonen, an American broadcaster with the Finnish Radio. She starts: "To what extent can a land be judged by its ancient heroes?", and observes that it would be appealing to do so in the case of Finland for the main characters in the Finnish epic the *Kalevala* are patriotic and noble warriors (*Guide* 21). Then she explains that yet in private, these strong men have difficulties to woo headstrong and matriarchal women. The author concludes: "One can only take the analogy so far, of course, but it's far better to start with a nation's self-made heroes than the stereotypes others have created for them" (*Guide* 21). This conceptual discourse defining the Finnish character makes an allusion to the national mythology, being a very authoritative argument, because it is ancient and made by Finns themselves.

Peltonen continues to remark that "there are so many paradoxes in the Finnish character that it would be hard to convince the sceptical foreigner that there isn't more than a dash of schizophrenia in the national character" (*Guide* 21). Then she resorts to the description of this character through binary oppositions and purports that

For every ranting drunk, there's a raving teetotaller. For every patriotic Finn who is attached to Finland as to his own soul, there's one who leaves as soon as he can afford the fare, never to return. For every shrinking violet, there's an arrogant, cigar-smoking bombast who's never happier than when he's showing off his possessions and singing his own praises. (*Guide* 21.)

This process of categorization is crude since it does not leave any interpretation as to what there is between these extremes. The author argues that Finns are slightly 'schizophrenic' nation, each and every one of them belonging to either of the binary oppositions. The author's own negative cultural attitude is discriminating for Finns as she represents these stereotypes as the basis of the

Finnish identity. Although these are her personal opinions, they are powerful in constructing facts to the reader.

In the *Encyclopedia*, the Finnish character is represented mainly in connection with the articles on ‘mentality’, ‘customs’ and ‘way of life’. Jari Ehrnrooth, sociologist and researcher at University of Helsinki, examines the Finnish mentality (208-210). He begins with Zacharias Topelius’s description in *The book of our country (Maamme Kirja, 1875)* where Topelius remarked that a stranger arriving to Finland would note that “the inhabitants of this country are very much like one another“ (*Encyclopedia* 208). Ever since Topelius, in the discourse on Finnish identity, a strong link has always been created between Finnishness and its fundamental homogeneity. For Topelius, Finns do not merely present themselves and behave similarly, they really are similar, because of the living conditions and the mark with which “God has branded the Finnish people“ (*Encyclopedia* 208). According to Topelius, Finns have ten characteristics:

fear of God; perseverance, toughness and strength; patience, self-denial and vitality; calmness; heroism and fitness for battle; tenacity and stubbornness; obedience to authority; phlegm and hesitation; love of freedom; and thirst for and love of knowledge. (*Encyclopedia* 208)

As with the *Guide*, the author starts his representation with an ancient and well-established image of a Finn. But these attributes are all positive and made almost uncontestable by the fact that they were given by God. When Finns describe their own nation they presumably wish to make a good impression, through using well-chosen literary examples to justify the positive image. Zacharias Topelius (1818-1898) was professor of Finnish history and writer. Jussi Nuorteva, scholar of old literature, claims that “almost no one has had as great an influence on the shaping of Finns’ conception of history and their national self-understanding“ as Topelius. His patriotic book on Finland’s history and people has been particularly important, and used as essential primary school reader for many generations, with over 60 editions. (*Encyclopedia* 314.) This explains the selection of the quote and the centrality of Topelian representation of the Finnish people. The conceptual discourse

relies heavily on ancient and well-established arguments, and writers' personal opinions are not explicitly expressed.

The *Guide* continues its discourse by providing more definitions of the Finnish, and Peltonen too, mentions the theme of homogeneity. Her argumentation pursues that the Finnish character is in great part molded by the fact that Finland is small, not in area but in inhabitants: "Its population, at just over 5 million, is homogenous by the standards of larger countries that have both old and new ethnic mixes as part of their genetic make-up" (*Guide* 21). The author uses attributional discourse and supports the homogeneity by 'because Finland is small' argument. Under the subheading 'Conformity and consensus', the representation takes again a critical and negative tone when she says that Finland is still "mightily provincial place where conformity rules" (*Guide* 24). This, says the author, is not so unusual for a small country, but to her, in Finland conformity seems be taken to extremes:

The decor in homes, the way people dress, the month in which they take their main holiday, what magazines they subscribe to, who'll they vote for in the next election – all these things you can guess blind and hit the nail on the head even if you have spent just a short time in the country. (*Guide* 24.)

She adds that to escape from this conformity, e.g. artists have frequently traveled away from Finland, but Finns are extremely proud of their world-renowned artists who include composers, conductors, architects and designers (*Guide* 24). Regardless of admitting the artistry of the Finnish, the author shows again her negative attitude by depicting them as somewhat simple and trivial people. She claims that those who have capacities to stand out from the homogenous and conformist mass leave the country, which was already implied in the first quotation including the binary oppositions.

Conformity and consensus are also discussed in the *Encyclopedia* (208-209), and in fact, the pondering of these themes form the very core of the discourse on Finnishness. Ehrnrooth explains that Finns have always wanted to define a given national character, as with Topelius, or a historically developed unified culture where the individual self of a Finnish person merges with the national self. As early as at the end of 19th century when our nation was being formed, the discourse on the national identity and a politically expedient

>image of Finland emphasized the existence of an integrated will of the people. The ideal of collective solidarity was created by >popular movements and even modern equality has been realized within the circle of conformity, claims Ehrnrooth. He then clarifies that the unbroken value of solidarity was shattered by the bloody conflict of Civil War in 1918, which left Finns with a national trauma to be worked over again and again. Because of this trauma, Finns have avoided the expression of over-strong differences and social conflict, which has been one of the cornerstones of the domestic politics. The writer asserts that this explains why very different matters and people can meet on the same level, respecting one another democratically. (*Encyclopedia* 208-209)

Next, the author ponders the characteristics of a modern Finn. He insists that despite the conformist culture a struggle for individualization has taken place also in Finland. But the tension between the freely self-fulfilling individual and the conformist cultural ethos has presumably caused depression and self-destructive tendencies in Finns. Ehrnrooth demonstrates that the uniformly constructed Finnish mentality has been both a limitation and a great source of strength: it has suffocated individual feeling for life and entrepreneurship, but has also made possible the heroic struggle of the >Winter War against an overwhelming enemy and a political consensus which results in the creation of a highly developed >welfare state. Still today, Finland is considered a homogenous and 'low-context' culture, which means that the sign-system is small and the meanings of expressions are unambiguous. Ehrnrooth even alleges that "people and things are limited as they seem" (*Encyclopedia* 209). Yet, Finns make use of this low-context culture as an arena for innovation and creativity, and a new self-assured and sociable Finnish mentality is developing. However, the stranger arriving to Finland will note that the attitude to one another is driven by the recognition of people's equality, which is always set above cultural hierarchies. (*Encyclopedia* 209-210.)

The article of the *Encyclopedia* on Finnish mentality is based mainly on conceptual discourse, and it relies heavily on the situational context which is society's past and current discourse on Finnishness. Even though the author does not mention his sources, the representation draws from a larger context of his own research area. It is on a different level from Peltonen's discourse and does not have the personal tone like the treatment of conformity in the *Guide*.

The positive cultural attitude is expressed indirectly through argumentation, which creates a beneficial Self-image and concludes in constructive statements.

The general discourse on our national mentality is frequently connected with nature in Finland. The *Guide* too, raises an aspect of identity related to the natural environment. The author quotes Jarl Kohler, managing director of the Finnish Forest Industries Federation: “we are forest people – the forests are our security and our livelihood“ (*Guide* 21). Peltonen backs up this claim by the fact that almost half a million Finns own a plot of forest and that all Finns have the right of access to the forest. Later, she further sustains her argument by stating that the summer cabin (*kesämökki*) also tells something of Finnish privacy. She explains how they are usually set back from the lakeshore among the trees, and as far from other house as possible. “The idea of time spent here is to revel in your own plot confronting no one but Mother Nature“, she argues (*Guide* 22). Peltonen attempts to construct a cultural concept of a ‘forest-Finn’ through argumentation, which is supported by some facts and words of Finns themselves. (*Guide* 21-22.)

Also the *Encyclopedia* claims that the physical environment has a bearing on the national character. In the article about the ‘way of life’ (323-324), Matti Alestalo, professor of sociology at University of Tampere, speaks about “the ethos of survival“ which means that “Finns experience the world as a hard place in which it is necessary to survive. And those who survive with credit feel a great deal of pride“ (*Encyclopedia* 323). He insists that stark variation of the seasons and sparse habitation, forests and lakes, light and darkness have an influence on the Finnishness:

The result is a complex and internally contradictory mentality in which rusticality, individuality, pride and vigour co-exist with urbanity, the hierarchical nature of working life and the social skills it demands, and the sociability presupposed by leisure activities. The result is independence, defiance and self-sufficiency, but also lack of self-esteem, social insecurity and maladjustment. (*Encyclopedia* 324.)

Alestalo grounds his reasoning in the attribution that implicates many different Finnish identities caused by climate and geography. He concludes his explication: “Although Finns, who are highly mobile in summer, populate summer events, agricultural shows and sporting fixtures, and take part in

package tours, they are perhaps almost happier gathering berries in the forest or in the solitude of a lake or island“ (*Encyclopedia* 324). Similarly to Peltonen, the writer uses extensively binary oppositions to make his representation more effective, and he too, insists on the paradoxical mentality of the Finnish.

The *Guide* returns to this theme under the sub-heading ‘Prejudices confirmed’ [*sic*] (22). Peltonen repeats that “The Finnish personality is hard to pin down but if you go to Finland with pre-formed stereotypes at the ready, you will no doubt be able to satisfy any or all of them“ (*Guide* 22). She reiterates the example of drunks: “You can’t help but notice the drunks, but there will seem to be disproportionately many if that’s what you are expecting to see“ (*Guide* 22). Then she talks about “the infamous Nordic reserve“ which, she insists, probably applies as much to Finns as to the others (Nordic nations). The author explains that it is characteristic to speak quietly, because if you converse loudly you will draw stares. She adds her own idea in parentheses that “perhaps many who drink heavily do so in order to gain licence to shout“ (*Guide* 22). Peltonen concludes that Finns put great value on privacy and that speaking quietly may be a manifestation of this, or a remnant of old-world courtesy that regards loud speech as vulgar. Finally, the author tries to demonstrate her hypothesis of ‘schizophrenia’ by providing a binary opposition of privacy and reserve:

While being demonstrative isn’t a typical Finnish characteristic, it does exist. Young women in particular have adopted the trait – in Helsinki anyway. They greet each other with hugs and kisses and big smiles, and sometimes hold hands as they cruise down the boulevards. (*Guide* 22.)

Peltonen displays a clearly negative attitude. First, to repeat the theme of drinking consolidates the idea that this is something essential about the Finnish character. Second, to announce that ‘prejudices’ are confirmed reveals her own unreasonable dislikes for Finns. The words the author uses have negative connotations (prejudice, drunks, and infamous reserve), and as the sub-heading pointedly suggests, through the use of binary oppositions she both confirms and contradicts (her) prejudices. Her attribution that Finns drink to get license to shout is perhaps meant to be humorous, but appears as slightly disapproving and ironical.

Similar themes are also represented in the *Encyclopedia* in regard to 'customs' (63-64). The editor Olli Alho, program director at Finnish Broadcasting Company, explains that Finns are not very 'touch-oriented' and like to keep their distance (ie. the infamous Nordic reserve). He claims that the taciturn Finn may now be a somewhat outdated stereotype, but it is true that the Finnish attitude to speech is unusual. Silence and pauses in conversation are not viewed as awkward, but as part of communication, and to interrupt someone is considered impertinent. In Finland, words have greater weight than in many other cultures and Finns take them seriously: "a word spoken is a message delivered". Loquacity is viewed with suspicion, yet many consider this Finnish attitude as an advantage: "Finns mean what they say and keep their promises." (*Encyclopedia* 64.) This conceptual discourse on the 'reserved Finn' aims to explain the Finnish speaking culture. It displays a more positive attitude than that of the *Guide*, and although the author admits that there are reasons behind the stereotype, he attempts to turn them into an advantage.

In the *Guide*, more than half of the article on 'the Finnish character' is devoted to describing how Finns are inhospitable towards foreigners (22-24). Peltonen first mentions that there are few minorities in Finland, and then represents the gypsies and a small Turkish community. She explains how Finland has taken in mainly "desirable" foreigners, that is educated and non-needy who fill the jobs that could not normally be filled by Finns. The writer argues that when in 1990 a group of Somali refugees showed up unexpected at the Finnish border there were many surprisingly xenophobic arguments. Next, she defends Finns by quoting philosopher Esa Saarinen

Most of the Finns who did not want the Somalis to stay were not racist or prejudiced... the problem... is that Finns are wary of sharing the fruits of their labour. (*Guide* 23.)

This explanation is an allusion to the solidarity within the Finnish nation against the foreign exploiters. It attempts to contradict that Finns are xenophobic. Peltonen confirms this view by explaining the isolation of Finland from the foreign comers

To date, the society has been extremely well-protected. Work permits are rarely given to foreigners, the cost of living is prohibitive, and the location of Finland doesn't appeal to many. (*Guide 23*.)

She quotes again, now author Lasse Lehtinen who describes how the brisk Baltic trade in Finnish port towns by the era of autonomy until 1917 declined subsequently and "these windows to the outside world were shuttered and barred" (*Guide 24*). There is an underlying, ultimate fear, which is fear of competition, continues Lehtinen and explains that Finns were afraid of potential new floods of immigrants to Finland as the redefinition of Europe blurred borders. Finland was also wary of joining the European Union because it implied free movement of labour and foreigners being able to get hands on the Finnish forest land. Lehtinen claims that people feared "that foreign languages, habits and ideas would spoil something very national and sacred" (*Guide 24*). Finally, Peltonen represents a long-time immigrant's comment: "they either treat you with suspicion or subservience... if you are not an object of suspicion, you are an object of wonder - foreigners still have a curious rarity value" (*Guide 24*).

At the end of her article the author looks into the future (*Guide 24*). She says that many young Finns have shed their parents' unease with the wider world and gone to study, work and travel abroad, and they also welcome foreign things to Finland. But then again, Peltonen presents another negative statement by arguing that the young have gone improbably far, "embracing fads from Britain and the United States with near-fanatical fervour" while some older Finns still keep wearing their "dreary, gray outfits" (*Guide 24*). She concludes that the ideas of those who would totally subjugate Finnish culture are no more appealing than those of the super-patriots who would have nothing changed. "Finns are on a pendulum swinging out toward the rest of the world, but they are far better equipped than they think they are to meet the challenges with equanimity" (*Guide 24*). Her last statement tries to conclude the discourse in a positive way, but regardless of the few favorable comments, she displays her negative cultural attitude of the Finnish throughout the discourse.

The introduction of the *Guide* gives too personal and biased a representation of Finns. Altogether, Peltonen quotes three persons to give support to her opinion about Finnish lack of receptiveness. I wonder if her own cultural

experience of Finland has been so unpleasant that it has made her unable to regard her new home country as a positive place to live. Clearly, a travel guide is not the place to give such emphatic accounts of Finnish 'racism'. Peltonen gives the first impression of the Finnish who are wary of foreigners, chronic drunks and somehow mentally twisted since characterized as belonging to the one or other extreme of the suspicious binary oppositions.

As presumed, the Finns and the foreign writer gave different representations. While both guides discussed mostly the same themes, their treatment and the style of representation were on different planes. The representation of the *Encyclopedia* was more factual, objective and positive, while that in the *Guide* was subjective, personal and negative. The selection of similar themes can be explained by the circular nature of discourse. After all, also Peltonen lives in the sphere of Finnish culture and is influenced by the discourse on Finnishness. The most marked difference, the theme of the Finnish inhospitality is probably the result of the foreign writer's own cultural experience. The Finnish authors naturally do not mention this, since no nation desires to demonstrate such unpleasant characteristics when representing the Self.

6.2. Drink and food

Eating and drinking are essential cultural practices and vary greatly from one country to another. This is partly caused by climatic conditions, hence home market products, and partly by reasons embedded in the social history of a country. Finland suffers from a rough northern climate, which has affected the Finnish diet, and also the social customs related to nourishing ourselves. Besides typical national dishes, the (ab)use of alcohol is a remarkable cultural peculiarity that may, and usually does, cause surprise and disapproval among the foreign visitors to Finland. The Finnish habit of heavy drinking is a suitable example for studying cultural differences in representation since it is presumable that emic and etic attitudes are reflected in the discourse about it. I assume that the Finnish authors would describe only the good sides of eating and drinking habits, whereas the foreign writers might not arrive at an equal

understanding of culturally shared traditions, and thus represent at least some Finnish eating or drinking habits as awkward curiosities.

The author of the *Guide* mentioned the problem with Finns and alcohol in the introduction, and she continues the subject in the article ‘Why do the Finns Drink so Much?’(107). “One cannot walk through the streets of Helsinki without noticing the drunks. Holding wobbling court in the railroad station tunnel, in parks, at street corners, or outside bars they have been forbidden entrance to, they are omnipresent“, starts Anita Peltonen (*Guide* 107). Then she explains that, in their own words, Finns drink to get drunk, and “where getting smashed is possible, getting tipsy just won’t do“ (*Guide* 107). The cultural perception she provides in establishing the problem is very vivid, and it is further intensified by the attribution, which provides reasons for this sight.

“No one has ever clearly determined what it is that makes the Finn drink such lethal quantities, a habit shared by compatriots who live at equally high latitudes, the Norwegians, Swedes, and Russians“, pursues the author (*Guide* 107). Some say it has been caused by hereditary inclination, or weather and darkness, although drinking does not lessen in sunny and long summer days, Peltonen argues and further calls Labour Day, Midsummer and the crayfish season “red-letter drinking occasions”. The author also reports that, according to recent statistics, young Finns drink more and start earlier than before. Sociologists have not found any plausible explanations, but a popular theory claims that by drinking, the new generation of alcoholics try to fill the large empty holes left by the declining materialism (in other words, it was the recession of the early nineties which caused drinking). She says that some people blame strict Lutheran mores for the “go-all-the-way attitude“ toward drinking namely the belief that there is no such thing as sinning just a little. Yet she refuses this as a partial explanation at best for Finns are inactive churchgoers. The author makes direct causal statements and gives different accounts to explain one identity version, that of the drinking Finn. Mostly she does not speak with her own voice, but constantly refers to ‘some’, ‘Finns themselves’, ‘sociologists’ or ‘popular theory’. (*Guide* 107)

Peltonen points out that Finns who drink socially and in moderation do exist, and adds that the average consumption of alcohol is not alarming by international standards and comparisons. Providing a binary opposition, she

brings up the numerous teetotallers that counter the drinkers, saying she understands and agrees with them because alcohol is expensive and “the result of imbibing seems to be to crash to the floor with a thud of skull on concrete“ (*Guide* 107). What strikes her most is that “the persistent drunks are *determinedly* drunk, regardless of alcohol prices that should be prohibitive... but clearly are not“ (*Guide* 107, emphasis original). Ten percent of state revenue in Finland is raised through alcohol sales, which Peltonen condemns vigorously. The author criticizes the situation by reporting that the average per capita consumption of alcohol has increased by nearly four-fold since the early 1950s, regardless of the high price set to prevent excessive consumption. She argues that “high prices will never cure the ills of alcoholism, yet the government continues to take the drinker for everything he or she has“ (*Guide* 107). In her opinion, Alko, the state liquor monopoly, has a twist of logic in the never-ending debate on how to reduce relentless drinking, because it is not open on summer Saturdays, although it is in winter. What happens then, she says, is that “people stock up even if it costs them king’s ransom to do so, for drinking outdoors on a summer Saturday is after all one of life’s great pleasures“ (*Guide* 107). Through disapproving attitudinal discourse the author strives to justify her opinion about the failed alcohol politics and suspicious consumption habits in Finland.

“In the end, it seems that the only effective control is the Finnish doorman, as ever present as the drunk“, she proceeds and dichotomizes that “they have a lot of power, these chaps, and you learn to both love and resent them – depending on which size of the breathalyser you find yourself“ (*Guide* 107). Finally, she takes up the subject of drunken driving and explains that Finns rarely attempt to drive drunk because of the strict laws: “That’s the silver lining: in Finland, you are more likely to trip over a drunk in the street than be overtaken by one on the motorway“ (*Guide* 107). The opinion discourse is overt and she obviously attempts the technique of humor with her ironical tone. All in all, the author uses strong images and gives an explicitly vulgar image of Finns and alcohol. Despite the absence of a more objective reasoning, this discourse probably communicates the author’s message very well, since as a travel writer and culture-beholder she has the symbolic power to represent her

own opinions as facts constructing the Finnish identity. Her criticism and negative attitudes are transmitted to the reader as a cultural reality.

The *Encyclopedia* has a long article on alcohol (14-16) written by Matti Virtanen, alcohol issues researcher at National Research and Development Center for Welfare and Health. He begins his representation:

Alcohol is, and has always been, an unusually important substance for Finns. This is not because Finns have always drunk, or drink, an unusual amount - rather the opposite. The reason for the special relationship of Finns with alcohol is to be found in their permanent framework of living: Finland is a northern, cold and sparsely populated country. (*Encyclopedia* 14)

The author-researcher does not define or explain the problem of alcoholism, but presupposes that the reader already knows about it. Nor does he use derogatory language to blame the drinkers. On the contrary, Virtanen uses attributional discourse and claims that geographic, climatic and demographic reasons are behind Finns' problem with alcohol. He clarifies the situation by providing historical accounts, and asserts that the unusual role of alcohol and drunkenness in Finland has a short and well-defined history. In 1866, farmers were forbidden by law to distil liquor, which was an important source of income for them. At that time, alcohol was consumed in great quantities, but its use was nevertheless regulated by strict normative customs. The idea behind Prohibition was to accelerate the industrialization of liquor manufacture to enable the government to collect more taxes from liquor factories, yet the result was the total opposite. The rural population refused to buy factory liquor and consumption of alcohol declined deeply in the countryside. This led gradually to the prohibition of alcohol use first in the countryside, and later in towns as well. Total prohibition predominated for almost a century (1866-1968), and the Finnish average per capita consumption of alcohol was the lowest in Europe: 1.5 liters compared to the highest 22.9 liters in France. (*Encyclopedia* 14-15.)

When Prohibition banned liquor nationally, the results were again opposite to what was intended: it caused extensive trafficking, and the liquor was cheap and freely available. The Prohibition Law was repealed in towns in 1932 and in the countryside in 1968. A centralized national monopoly was established for the production and retailing of alcohol with the task of restriction and surveillance of the drinking habit of common people. The consumption

remained low until 1968, when a new more liberal alcohol law was passed, and it rose to more than six liters by mid 1970s, at which level it has remained (*Encyclopedia* 15).

This history means that the spirit of defiance and bluster became a central feature of Finnish drunkenness, explains the author. During prohibition, liquor became the real power of the oppressed and remained so for the entire period of the alcohol monopoly. This has molded the way Finns drink:

In drunkenness, the silent resentment and bitterness toward the lords of life and keepers of power became open defiance. Since procuring alcohol was laborious and difficult, it was drunk in great quantities when it could be procured. These features – the depth of drunkenness and the expressions of bitter defiance it produces - form the core of the so-called Finnish drunk. (*Encyclopedia* 16.)

From the attribution of historical influence the author moves to a conceptual discourse to define the Finnish intoxication. This image is confirmed also by another author Matti Alestalo, professor of sociology at the University of Tampere, who says that “Finns are closed and weigh their words carefully, but when they have indulged themselves with >alcohol, become noisy revellers and, eventually, fanatics“ (*Encyclopedia* 324). However, as a result of the homogenization of society the nature of Finnish drunkenness became tamer in the 1970-80s, states Virtanen. But then he adds that the deepest recession of the century and the mass unemployment of the early 1990s have created once again a class society which distances the worlds of the fortunate and unfortunate (educated and professional against under-educated and unskilled). The author predicts that if this development is permanent, Finnish drunkenness “will grow wild once more“ (*Encyclopedia* 16). This is the only opinion he provides, and it too, is a professional one.

The representation in the *Encyclopedia* is based on attributional discourse, and it is more subtle and objective than that of the *Guide*. Instead of illustrating the alcohol misuse with derogative examples, the author searches for reasons and grounds them in history. This provides a very effective argumentation and helps the judgement of the problem. Note however, that his national characteristic is not represented as given like the positive attributes of Topelius, but as a result of historical circumstances. With reference to public holidays, the use of alcohol is not spelled out clearly as “the red letter drinking

occasions“ in the *Guide* (107). The *Encyclopedia* merely implies it through comments like “The evening is spent at parties at home or in restaurants, which sometimes last throughout the night“ (82). I must point out, that when speaking about ‘going to restaurant’, in the Finnish context it means rather drinking than eating. In connection with Midsummer’s day, alcohol is not mentioned at all, even though this festival is probably the worst concerning the quantity of alcohol consumed in Finland, with such undesirable side-effects as about a dozen of drunks drowned every year. Compared to a rather coarse language in the *Guide*, the discourse of the *Encyclopedia* is almost euphemistic. As already proposed, the representation of the Self is usually done with the goal of constructing positive national identity.

Matti Räsänen, professor emeritus of ethnology at the University of Turku, explains that spirits have been part of Finnish diet since it began to be imported in the 17th century, at first as medicine, then as festival drink and also as an intoxicating liquor (*Encyclopedia* 117). Despite this, he considers Finns a beer drinking nation and mentions home-brewed beer as well as a unique Finnish specialty, the folk malt drink *sahti*. Wines and liqueurs that berry farms have in recent years begun to produce still are a novelty in Finland, claims the author. He also refers to other customary drinks, fresh milk and *piimä* or sour milk that was made for drinking in the winter when the cows were not milking. Besides alcohol, Finns also drink a lot of coffee (*Encyclopedia* 59-60). Ilkka Nummela, assistant professor of history at the University of Jyväskylä, explains that according to statistics, Finns are among the world’s highest consumers of coffee. He describes the history of coffee in Finland, how it became the country’s most important import and a beverage for the entire nation in the second half of the 19th century. “One can hardly pay a social visit in Finland without the coffee-table being laid“, explains the author, and adds that buns (*pulla* in Finnish), cakes and biscuits are an essential part of it. All this representation is conceptual discourse which aims to describe different types of drinks Finns generally consume. The tone of the representation is objective, and the prevailing attitude positive.

The *Encyclopedia* represents food at length and in detail (115-119). Matti Räsänen writes about ‘traditional food’, and Anna-Maija Tanttu, food editor in nation’s first daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, describes ‘modern food’.

Tanttu begins by claiming that “Today’s Finns no longer themselves know what Finnish food is. During the past 30 years, pizza has become so familiar that it is almost thought of as traditional“ (*Encyclopedia* 118). This is her own opinion, although it is quite a perceptive remark. She insists that Finnishness is least evident in restaurants, only a few of them offering purely Finnish food, although most have a Finnish menu with local and seasonal delicacies. The author argues that Finland’s exoticism as a gastronomic country has been noted, for the Finnish cuisine uses pure and flavorsome raw materials of high quality and exploits its special position between the culinary cultures of Sweden and Russia. The writer’s goal is to describe and praise Finnish gastronomy, which is done in a mixture of conceptual and positive attitudinal discourse.

Attributional and conceptual discourse is used to explain the history of the Finnish cuisine with distinct Eastern and Western traditions (*Encyclopedia* 115-116). Räsänen explains how increased trade brought new influences and ingredients, which diversified food habits, yet the basic regional differences in gastronomy are still visible. The traditional food economy was based on farming and animal products, with seasonal distinctions and variations brought by festivals. Traditional provincial foods remain important, and Tanttu remarks that a few food combinations that have lasted for decades are ever popular:

>coffee with buns, pea soup with oven-baked pancakes, pancakes with jam, sausage with mustard, new potatoes with pickled Baltic herring, Karelian pastries with egg-and-butter mix, blinis with turbot roe, crayfish with dill, strawberries with ice-cream, cloudberry with baked milk, and, in autumn, stewed mushrooms, preferably picked oneself, with meat and fish dishes. (*Encyclopedia* 118)

Next, seasonal specialties such as ham and stockfish at Christmas or *mämmi* at Easter are described and explained. Regional specialties like the Karelian pastry and *kalakukko* are also mentioned. The food of northern Finland is explained in length, probably because it is distinct from other regions being largely based on reindeer. *Poronkäristys* is the best known of Lappish specialties: thin strips of frozen reindeer simmered in a pot, seasoned and eaten with lingonberry jelly. The range of products varies from one province to another, explains Räsänen, with local delicacies such as the black sausage of

the Tampere area. The author uses simple conceptual discourse to illustrate different Finnish dishes. (*Encyclopedia* 116-117) Finally, Tanttu describes ordinary culinary customs of the Finnish. Almost every region still has its outdoor or indoor market, a tourist destination in itself, but modern Finns prefer hypermarkets which give a real picture of everyday eating habits. The hurried working consumer buys convenience products, and prepared foods sell well. She reports that Finns like dark bread, and dairy products are popular, pointing out that Finland produces fine cheese. Tanttu argues that Finns eat pork, chicken and increasingly fish: salmon, Baltic herring, pike perch and others. Then she brings up ‘the Finnish national vegetable’:

... ring sausage, the number one Finnish food. Sausage is good, and cheap. It is increasingly eaten with vegetables, except at >sauna evenings, when sausages are grilled over an open fire and munched with mustard or potato salad. (*Encyclopedia* 119.)

The positive attitude is evident in the author’s discourse, and she expresses some personal opinions, like ‘sausage is good’. The promotion of Finnish food demands praises personal commitment and opinions. Food is so important that likes and dislikes are easily expressed when talking about it. This becomes even more evident in the representation of the *Guide*.

The *Guide* represents food in its chapter ‘Food from Sea and Forest (105-106) which is written by Anita Peltonen, the same author who represented the Finnish character. She starts: “Not so long ago, there was a saying that Finns’ salad was a sausage“ (*Guide* 105). She explains this by saying that fresh fruit and vegetables have been relatively rare, because nearly all of them are expensive imports or hothouse products. Finland’s brief and abundant summer season however, elicits her praise: “Finnish cuisine bursts into glory in these late summer months when the earth and sea finally warm up enough to produce a bounty of edibles to delight the most discriminating of palates“ (*Guide* 105). The author compliments “fresh country fare“ meaning game, wild berries and forest mushrooms that abound at the markets (*Guide* 105). But suddenly, she changes her tone: “On more mundane tables, alas, some unembellished form of beef or pork and the ever-present boiled potatoes dominate the hot dishes“ (*Guide* 105). She explains that for many, lunch is the main meal of the day,

dinner being simply dark bread with sausage or cheese. Then she tones down that “Even the less imaginative cooks, though, can be wonderful bakers [and] homemade bread is commonplace“ (*Guide* 105). She also points out the importance of coffee: “Cakes and pastries are nearly always included in any offer of coffee, the drinking of which is practically a rite“ (*Guide* 105). Peltonen uses oppositions in her representation while her attitude varies between the positive and negative, the discourse clearly expressing her personal opinions about Finnish food.

Under the sub-heading ‘Fabulous seafood’ (105) she represents “wonderful” fresh and saltwater fish with many types of preparations; charcoal grilled herring (*hiilillä paistetut silakat*) or salmon basted in butter in the oven (*uunissa paistettua lohta*), and many others. “One of the most delectable of these foods is the crayfish (*rapu*)“, she comments and then gives a lengthy account. She explains that the appreciation of crayfish is heightened by the fact that its season is so fleeting. The author claims that “Finns... use the *rapupäivät* as an excuse to see out the summer in great festivity. For there is no such thing as merely eating a crayfish, An entire ceremony, nay a ritual, is involved“ (*Guide* 105). Next she explains this procedure under the sub-heading ‘Celebrate crayfish’ (*Guide* 105-106). The feast usually begins early evening; crayfish are steamed and then brought out claws akimbo, accompanied by loads of fresh dill, and something more:

Then out comes the inevitable partner: schnapps. Like schnapps anywhere, the Finnish version is lethal, especially when drunk in quantities, which it always is during *rapupäivät*. There may also be vodka, wine, and beer, but the schnapps is crucial. It is especially hard to come away from the feast sober because you spend so much time at table working to get at the meat of the crayfish...the end result... one is truly sated, and truly hung over the following day. (*Guide* 105-106.)

The goal of describing food seems to be forgotten in this account, and the ‘omnipresent’ theme of drinking is advanced again. Then Peltonen moves on to breakfast: “What you’ll probably need then is a good breakfast to help recovery“ (*Guide* 106). She claims that breakfast at home is usually simple with tea, bread and butter or ham. The restaurant version, smörgåsbord (*seisova pöytä*) can be, according to her, outstandingly bad or outstandingly good:

“marinated fish, fresh ham, and a good assortment of cheeses can make it a delight; processed meat and stale bread and cereal may occasionally be all that’s on offer“ (*Guide* 106). Positive and negative attitudes are expressed hand in hand, which demonstrates her usual recourse to binary oppositions. Then the author talks about the cost of food and states: “Whatever the choice, if a meal is included at your hotel, you should make the most of it as Finnish food is the most expensive in the world...” (*Guide* 106). She asserts that retail food prices are 45 percent higher than elsewhere in the West and restaurant prices much more so. Peltonen insists that the reason is high agricultural subsidies to farmers, restrained by the shortest growing season in Europe, and steeply protective taxes on imported foods. The author uses a lot of opinion discourse to express her negative attitude.

Finally, Peltonen comments that “if you eat out in Finland, you’ll find the variety of ethnic cuisines limited... Then there is pizza. Finns adore it, and consume it at home (homemade) and in restaurants in quantity“ (*Guide* 106). She cites some Finnish specialties and adds that variations depend on region, the most different being Lapland where there is quite a large variety of dishes based on reindeer, like *poronkärstys*, a rich reindeer stew. “Don’t miss yogurt and other cream and dairy products which are excellent and fresh here ... And whatever the season, Finns will always eat ice cream“, she concludes (*Guide* 106). Although the author uses a lot of attitudinal discourse to express her negative stance, she tries to make an effort to conclude in a positive statement. Yet, throughout her representation personal opinions are spelled out making the discourse more expressive, but also less convincing if compared to the *Encyclopedia*.

The length of articles in both books demonstrates the importance of food and drink. In the *Encyclopedia*, the topics are treated more thoroughly and objectively, whereas in the *Guide* the provision of vivid images and arguments to justify personal opinions seemed to be the main concern of the writer. My presumption was accurate, the foreign author did not grasp all culturally-shared meanings and represented drinking, especially, with the help of stereotypical examples that gained a lot of curiosity value. The Finns described both food and drink in a more neutral way, resorted mainly to attributional and conceptual discourse, and mainly abstained from expressing their personal

opinions. The *Encyclopedia* mentioned also other drinks besides alcohol, but the *Guide* stressed the spirits almost as if the only drink Finns consume. The discourse on alcohol was different in the two books, and one reason for that are different broader situational contexts of the authors. The Finnish author examines the problematic from within and tries to define and explain it in the context of his profession, attempting not to derogate the Self by disapproving comments. The viewpoint of an outsider reporter is more detached from the problem situation, which shows in her critical representation, portraying a negative attitude. With reference to food, similar items were represented in both books, examples in the *Encyclopedia* outnumbering those in the *Guide* where drinking dominated the discourse.

The qualities of the language of tourism were present also in the representation of the typical trademarks. Of course, the treatment of such a theme is in itself a form of authentication, and the claim that in particularly these topics are something typical is my means to appropriate culture and act as a culture-beholder. The foreign author used extensively her symbolic power as a travel writer and through appropriation, authentication and differentiation represented Finns and their culture as peculiarly inhospitable and unpleasant. She resorted often to the technique of testimony to back up her argumentation, and attempted patronizing humor as a technique to denigrate Finns through strange and negative examples. The Finnish authors emphasized the authentic and different qualities of the national character, and also used testimony to prove their point. Appropriation is unavoidable when speaking for the entire nation in terms of defining the typical characteristics in people, food and drink. Both parties also used languaging when describing the specialties of Finnish gastronomy.

The distinction between the foreign writer and the Finnish writers was clearest in the representation of typical trademarks. Before summarizing the differences, it is important to note that since all the discourse on this topic is by the one and same foreign author, her personal style, attitudes and opinions dominate. Therefore, the results of the analysis cannot be generalized to reflect all foreign writers' position. Nevertheless, my argument is that some conclusions concerning the emic and etic representation can be drawn from the analysis. In regard to Finnish authors, their desire to portray the Finnish

character as a positive trademark was apparent. They did acknowledge the same features as the foreign writer, but always represented them through positive attitudinal discourse, turning even the weaknesses into somehow beneficial qualities. The foreign author depicted all the defects she found in the Finnish character with disputable examples and through negative attitudinal and opinion discourse. The same occurred with reference to food and drink, where the Finns took the trouble not to represent anything in a negative way in order to construct a positive national identity. The foreign culture-beholder raised the problem of drinking to criticize the Other identity also in her representation of food and the national character. Although Peltonen's discourse was remarkably negative, I assume that the foreigners in general would not always bother to be as positive as Finns themselves about unpleasant qualities in Finnish culture.

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I set out to examine how Finland is represented in travel literature and to compare the representations of Finnish and foreign writers. To assess the image of Finland, two travel guides were studied with the method of discourse analysis. These guidebooks contain articles from several authors who are experts of their subject. *Insight Guides: Finland* (1996) is written by an international team whereas *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia* (1997) is compiled by Finnish authors. My objective was to find out whether there were significant differences in the representations of Finland realized by Finns themselves and the foreigners. My hypothesis was that there should be differences, because the authors fulfill different social functions that stem from their cultural backgrounds and understanding.

For the analysis, I had selected seven recurrent themes in the travel discourse on Finland. Firstly, I examined the representation of 'sisu, sauna and Sibelius', a triad that has been a traditional trademark for Finland. Secondly, I studied how the preferred trademarks of nature and Santa Claus were represented in these books. Thirdly, I analyzed the descriptions of typical trademarks, which were the Finnish national character as well as drink and

food. These themes were all treated to a some extent though in varied ways in the two guides.

The tools for my analysis were taken from theories of representation and discourse, which are closely related. Representation is a cultural meaning making practice, which has a social dimension, because it affects the interaction. Discourse is production of knowledge through language, and it fundamentally entails meaning, representation and culture. Both processes involve questions of identity and reality-making, hence they are significant approaches to studying different cultures' ways to construct knowledge about the world. (Hall 1997.) To examine the selected themes in the travel texts I used the reasoned discourse analysis (Shi-xu 1997). With the help of this method, I analyzed certain dimensions of discourse in the articles and assessed the social consequences they produced. The analytical dimensions were cultural attributions, opinions, attitudes, concepts, and perceptions.

All five dimensions of discourse were found in the travel texts under study. Cultural representation was often organized through attributions that implicitly or explicitly provided causal explanations. They were forwarded especially in connection with *sisu*, nature, the Finnish characteristics and drink, more precisely alcohol. The Finnish authors advanced considerably more attributions than the foreign writers. Conceptual discourse was also widely used in the definition of cultural matters. Again, this dimension was more used in the discourse by the Finns where *sisu*, sauna, Santa Claus and the national identity were conceptualized. The foreigners used this dimension to define the concepts of sauna, nature and the Finnish character. Cultural attitudes were on display frequently, and they were more explicit in the discourse of foreign writers. They exhibited both positive and negative attitudes, but unfortunately, the latter had a majority. Nonetheless, the foreign writers' attitude was dominantly positive as regards *sisu*, Sibelius and nature. Presumptively, the Finns' attitude was positive throughout their representation though for the most part it was expressed only implicitly. Opinion discourse was overt with reference to the typical trademarks represented by the foreigner(s). It was used extensively by one author who provided her cultural opinions as facts, thus constructing a derogatory Other-reality in accordance with her negative opinions. Also other foreign authors articulated opinions (positive ones, too) while the Finnish

writers refrained from overtly expressing their opinions. Cultural perceptions were least used in the representation of the Finnish trademarks. Both the Finns and the foreigners described cultural reality through perceptual discourse: Finns in connection with sauna, and foreigners as regards drink, namely alcohol.

In the representations of Finland's traditional trademarks *sisu*, sauna and Sibelius there were clear distinctions in the two travel guides. Both books had articles on sauna and Sibelius, but there was only a single brief mention of *sisu* in the *Guide*. The Finnish writers treated the themes in a factual manner, providing cultural and literary references in great numbers. The foreign authors represented the concepts more lucidly and less objectively, also expressing their personal opinions. The Finns represented *sisu* as a positive national characteristic, and this was also the foreigner's view. The fact that the foreigners did not regard *sisu* as an essential trademark demonstrates the highly discursive character of this concept. As regards the sauna, explanation of its social functions and cultural meanings and expression of its originality were evident in both books. The two parties also stressed the centrality of the sauna in Finnish culture. The foreign writers displayed a positive attitude towards the sauna, yet they made it appear as mysterious cultural phenomenon. The same was true for the Finnish representation. The foreigners represented Sibelius as a person and emphasized his influence in the creation of the Finnish national identity more than Finns who concentrated on the representation of his music. The two representations displayed a positive cultural attitude, and the significance of Sibelius as a traditional trademark for Finland was made clear in both books.

The preferred trademarks were represented differently as well. The Finnish writers' discourse was conceptual and attempted to explain the shared and hidden cultural meanings of nature-related themes of light, space, forest and snow as well as to represent the cultural context of Santa Claus. The foreigners only mentioned Santa Claus briefly; however, their representation with relation to nature was thorough and illustrative. The foreigners treated the nature theme through ecological discourse and the Finns described aspects of cultural reality attributable to the natural environment. Both books defined nature as a central constructive element in the Finnish identity, and their discourse reflected a

positive attitude. That Santa Claus was overtly promoted as Finnish by Finns themselves and not represented by the foreigners, demonstrates the recent making of a trademark by the Finnish tourism industry. It also reflects the desire of Finns to construct a positive Self-identity with the help of this beneficial symbol .

The Finnish national character and drink and food achieved considerable attention in both books. The differences were most evident in the representation of these typical trademarks. The representational style of the Finnish writers was rather factual and positive while the foreigner(s) described the themes negatively and in a personal tone. As regards the typical trademarks, all the three articles were written by the same foreign author who conveyed a negative attitude throughout her discourse. She represented the Finnish characteristics through opinion-filled argumentation which constructed a derogative Other-identity. The theme of drinking dominated the discourse even in connection with food and national identity. The Finns had written insightfully on alcohol and traced back reasons for Finns' alcohol problem. The article on food was informative as well, and generally opinion-neutral. With reference to the Finnish mentality, they described both positive and negative sides of Finns. The Finnish authors' representation reflected positive attitude and was almost euphemistic if compared to the foreign version. In regard to all the three themes the Finns made an effort to construct a beneficial Self-identity. The difference in the discourse on typical trademarks clearly shows that the emic and etic factors were at play. It is also a good example of how representation can create realities which are based on personal opinions.

The two travel guides did not constitute a symmetrical pair for comparison. The different form of the books in itself produced distinctions in their representations. The *Encyclopedia* contains more than 300 key words, a substantial part of them being proper names, and its articles are more compact and precise. It is obviously intended for serious use as a cultural reference book. The *Guide* features approximately 40 articles on varied cultural topics and is a characteristic travel guide including a considerable amount of photography, which contributes significantly to the representation of Finland. Nonetheless, the scope of the chosen articles in both books filled the criteria for a comparative research. The authors whom the editors introduced as experts

were perhaps more so in the *Encyclopedia*, but also the writers of the *Guide* provided many insights into Finland and its culture. The two guidebooks were similar enough in their intentions to allow the researcher come to an adequate conclusion. There are differences in the Finnish and foreign writers' representations that result from their background cultures.

The significant differences in the emic and etic discourses were at the level of the verbal techniques and as regards the revealed cultural attitude. Finns' emic representation relied on conceptual and attributional discourse. The positive cultural attitude was sometimes expressed overtly, but in general the writers wrote in a way to construct a positive cultural identity covertly. The cultural opinions were rare, because the encyclopedic style does not permit overt expression of personal opinions, rather it should be neutral in tone. For the most part, the representations were highly intertextual and relied heavily on shared cultural meanings. The situational context also deserved significant space, often at the expense of the very matter to be explained. Hence, many foreign representations were more enlightening than the correspondent Finnish ones. In general, the etic representations though full of attitudinal and opinion discourse were more descriptive and readable. They were travel discourse, and even if sometimes dubious, they were better destined to the their target audience than the emic explanations. Unfortunately, the representation of the foreign writers displayed a negative cultural attitude in several instances. However, this was related mostly to one particular author (see below). The near absence of the themes Santa Claus and *sisu* in the etic representation was also the result of different cultural understanding and the social goals of the foreigners. The Finnish writers' main social goal was to create a positive image of Finland in terms of national character and cultural reality. The foreign authors did not regard this objective as important; in fact, they sometimes turned against it and tried to justify their own opposite vision through reasoned discourse.

The task of a travel guide to promote travelling to a particular destination can be called into question when reading some passages in the *Guide*. Particularly, in connection with one author the representation was directed by a negative cultural attitude towards the Other and did injustice to Finns who were portrayed as paradoxical, chronic drunks and as a prejudiced nation. This

author's articles had even negative-sounding titles which showed her prejudice: 'Why do the Finns Drink so Much?' or 'Why Prices Are So Astonishing' (not analyzed in this study). The other authors did not display as negative an attitude, but if nine out of forty articles are by this single author, it does have significant weight on the whole of the representation. Moreover, since the editors and publishers have published these biased texts (twice), it seems that they as well accept and support this author's thoughts. Despite my hypothesis regarding different representations, I did not expect such strong expressions of negative cultural attitude, and they struck me as an unjust and alarming way of representing other cultures. Fortunately, the most disturbing representations of this author have been removed in the latest edition of the *Guide*.

The third edition of the *Insight Guides: Finland* (2000) with the new editor Zoë Ross has been "fully updated". I will briefly describe the changes in reference to the themes studied in the present thesis to point out the significance of the consequences of discourse. Alongside the new editor many authors have been changed, and Anita Peltonen is not in the team anymore. Her replacement is a native Finn, Markus Lehtipuu, who is also a co-author of the competing publisher's *Lonely Planet* guide on Finland (1999). This is a meaningful change as he is the only Finn in this international team, chosen probably for his achievement in representing Finland. All the articles written by Peltonen and objects of analysis in this study have been revised by Lehtipuu. This makes a difference as the most of the irrelevant negative opinions have disappeared, and the attitudinal discourse has changed into a much more positive one.

The most visible change is in layout: short explicative excerpts from the running text of the previous edition are now highlighted by the means of layout, and the overall impression is that of a school textbook where pieces of information are framed and scattered on the pages. The article 'Why Do the Finns Drink so Much?' has disappeared, and now there is only a short and positive mention of Finnish alcohol specialties with reference to the food-article, which is completely rewritten. Yet, in the article about the national character, Lehtipuu has retained all the negative binary oppositions coined by Peltonen, as well as "disproportionately many drunks". However, he has rewritten the information about the immigrants and Finns' attitudes towards

them, and he does not portray the Finnish as racist as his predecessor. The texts on the sauna and Sibelius have not been revised, except for the title of the sauna article, which no longer refers to 'secret' but represents 'Insight on Saunas: The Traditional Finnish Sauna'. *Sisu* is now added to the index, but there are no more references to it than in the previous edition. This confirms that *sisu* is represented only by the natives in order to enhance positive Self-identity, and not regarded as an important cultural concept by the others. The article on nature has been revised and new information added, yet much of it remains the same. The most significant change is the addition of the new article 'Lapland: the home of Santa Claus'. Now that this preferred trademark has boosted tourism to Lapland, he certainly merits his own chapter. The representation on him and his workshop in Rovaniemi reflects a very positive cultural attitude and is made appealing with many beautiful photos. This proves that the persistent attempts of the Finnish tourism industry to promote our country as Santa's homeland have been partly successful. Hence, the making of a trademark is possible though time-consuming.

Judging from the example of the *Guide*, the new editions do not necessarily deliver new information; on the contrary, the discourse tends to be tautological and lasting (see also p.22). Representation based on writers' personal judgement has, for the most part, stayed the same since the first edition in 1992 until the third in 2000. During this period there has been a considerable increase both in number of foreign visitors to Finland and published guidebooks about the country. If all cultural representations are as enduring as the examples studied here, there is a danger that the image of Finland is transmitted to more and more foreign visitors through discourse which creates a negative Finnish cultural reality. Any given opinion once printed in travel guides may turn into a widespread cultural 'fact' that remains circulating in discourse. The discourse has the power to make itself true, and this is why special attention should be directed to examine what propositions travel writers actually advance in their representations. Finland is still 'a new destination' and conceived as part of Scandinavia (see p.16), so in order to stand out from the rest we need to create and maintain a positive image of our country. The discourse is essential to the tourist gaze, and a proof of it is Santa Claus, the creation of a new trademark through Finnish travel professionals' discourse.

The travel discourse is a special instance of 'storytelling'. The institutional and symbolic power of the travel guides and their writers is uninhibited and taken for granted. These 'experts' provide markers and construct realities that are widely accepted as such. They transmit 'true', 'original' and 'exotic' destinations in the language of appropriation that depicts the world of the Other as the writer wants it to be. This happened in the two guides studied, even though the language of tourism in its most characteristic form was not used extensively. This is probably due to the fact that these guidebooks are meant as on-spot reference books, thus they do not have the task of selling the destination since the reader is already there. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the special nature of the travel talk in order to enable ourselves to read its representations critically and oppose possible derogative representations cultivated in this form of discourse.

As stated in many places in the present study, representation and discourse are interpretative processes, and so is the analysis thereof. I have attempted to provide a critical reading of the texts chosen for this research. The results of the present analysis are relational to their context and to the method used, and another examination would probably produce different answers. This qualitative case study aims to illustrate the significance of discourse and its power to create realities, and to direct 'the gaze' of the critical reader to the textual phenomena which work toward the recreation of the world.

My proposal for a new nickname for Finland as the title of the thesis suggests is related to the findings of the present research. "Land of light and darkness" arises from the dichotomy that became evident in both the native and foreign representations of Finnishness through binary oppositions. The concrete light and darkness of our northern natural environment was said to have influenced aspects of the Finnish mentality and artistic creation as well as drinking and eating habits; "light creates the rhythms of ...life" (see p. 63). What is more, the light and the dark applied to the representation of certain themes, as if including these qualities within their conceptual universe. Hence, *sisu* was described as a mostly positive (light) characteristic, but it included also negative (dark) sides. Sauna is represented as an evident and natural, light part of Finnish culture, yet it at the same time there is mysterious, dark innuendo about it. The sauna experience is described as simultaneously a light

heaven and a dark hell (p. 52). Above all, the representation of the Finnish character is saturated with implications of light and darkness: dark ranting drunks and retreating forest-Finns as opposed to light raving teetotallers and social summer-Finns, to cite only a few examples (p. 73, 77-78). The polarization of the Finnish authors' light, positive culture versus the foreign writer's dark, negative Finland became also evident in this study. Besides, it seems that this polarity is a recurrent theme in representations of our country, and in general Finland is seen as having two sides: the light and the dark. Or, why is it necessary to name one's guide *The lighter side of Finland...* (Snyder 1999)?

The theme of the light and dark is curiously absent in the photography of the *Guide* which does not feature a single picture of darkness. The *Guide* has hidden the dark season of winter and represents mainly light summer pictures. Unfortunately, the examination of the photography was beyond the scope of the present study. Representations of Finland in photography is a significant study area, and a potential topic of further research.

To what extent do travel guides direct the travel experience? The examination of cultural representations in travel literature is the first step to the research in this area. For instance, it would be profitable to investigate how the themes selected for the present thesis are represented in other guidebooks. Another possibility is to inquire into any relevant and recurrent representational themes such as high Finnish standards in education and technology. The second level of analysis is to assess the influence of the tourism discourse on the individual visitors' perception of the destination. This could be done in thematic interviews before and after the visit by evaluating if the perceived cultural reality is in accordance with the propositions of the travel guide that was used. Since meaning-making is an interpretative and interactive process, there is no such thing as the 'true' image of Finland to be advanced as factual representation of our culture. Hence, every representation is significant and contributes to the discourse constructing cultural knowledge that reaches outside the travel sphere. Have you heard the story? Once upon a time, there was a cold and dark northern country filled with schizophrenic and hostile, drunken people...

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Alho, Olli (ed.) 1997. *Finland: a cultural encyclopedia*. Finnish Literary Society Editions 684. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Taylor-Wilkie, Doreen (ed.) 1996. *Finland*. Insight Guides 123. 2nd edition. Singapore: APA Publications.

Secondary Sources

Alho, Olli (ed.) 1998. *Finnland: Kulturlexicon*. Finnish Literary Society Editions 684. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Alho, Olli (ed.) 1999. *Finlande: une approche culturelle*. Finnish Literary Society Editions 684. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Belloni, Stefania 2000. *Finland: The land of a thousand lakes*. Narni: Plurigraf.

Brewer, Jennifer and Markus Lehtipuu 1999. *Finland: Lonely Planet travel survival kit*. 3rd edition. Australia: Lonely Planet Publications.

Dahlgren, Maija and Marja Nurmelin 2000. *Sauna, Sisu & Sibelius: a survival guide to Finnish for businesspeople*. 3rd edition. Helsinki: Yrityskirjat.

Dann, Graham 1996. *The Language of Tourism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Oxon: Wallingford.

Edelsward, Lisa-Marlene 1991. *Sauna as symbol: society and culture in Finland*. New York: Peter Lang.

Elovainio, Päivi 1999. *Facts about Finland*. 2nd edition. Helsinki: Otava.

Finnish Literature Society 2000. *The publications department of the Finnish Literature Society*. Available from <http://www.finlit.fi/english/eng-publ.htm> ; Internet; accessed 14 March 2000.

Finnish Tourist Board 2000. *Rise in tourism continues*. Available from <http://www.mek.fi/mis2/tourism> ; Internet; accessed 6 December 2000.

Finnish Tourist Board 2000. *Travel Themes*. Available from [http://www.finland-tourism.com/web/index.nsf/\(Pages\)/TravelThemes?](http://www.finland-tourism.com/web/index.nsf/(Pages)/TravelThemes?) ; Internet; accessed 14 January 2001.

- Hurme Raija, Riitta-Leena Malin and Olli Syväoja 1984. *Finnish-English general dictionary*. 5th edition. Juva: WSOY. (CD-ROM 1998)
- Hall, Stuart (ed.) 1997. *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Hall, Stuart 1997. The work of representation, in Hall (ed.) 1997, 13-74. London: SAGE Publications.
- Hall, Stuart 1997. The spectacle of the 'other', in Hall (ed.) 1997, 223-290. London: SAGE Publications.
- Hofstede, Geert 1991. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Humphreys, Patrick 2000. *Finland in a small book: 200 frequently asked questions*. Helsinki: Yrityskirjat Oy
- Hyvärinen, Hese and Marja Nurmelin 2000. *A survival guide to Finnish Cuisine for businesspeople*. Helsinki: Yrityskirjat Oy
- Insight Guides 2000. *Insight Guides*. Available from <http://www.insightguides.com/insight.htm> ; Internet; accessed 1 March 2000.
- Juntunen, Markku 1995. *Finland*. Helsinki: Art-x-Foto.
- Lemola, Tarmo 1999. The country of a million mobile phones, in Tapaninen (ed.) 1999, 166-173.
- Lidchi, Henrietta 1997. The poetics and politics of exhibiting other cultures, in Hall (ed.) 1997, 151-222.
- Kolbe, Laura 2000. Saakoon metsä kertoa Suomen tarinan uudelleen, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 September 2000, p. A5.
- Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996. *Tourism in Finland*. Helsinki. Available from <http://www.mek.fi/mis2/tourism.nsf> ; Internet; accessed 14 March 2000.
- Morgan, Nigel and Annette Pritchard 1998. *Tourism promotion and power: creating images, creating identities*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Palsila, Kari 1997. *Panorama Finland*. 2nd edition. Helsinki: Otava Publishers.
- Ross, Zoë (ed.) 2000. *Finland*. Insight Guides 123. 3rd edition. Singapore: APA Publications.
- Salokorpi, Sinikka 2000. *Finland*. Oslo: Egmont Boker Fredhoi.
- Shi-xu 1997. *Cultural Representations: analyzing the discourse about the Other*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Snyder, Russel 1999. *The lighter side of Finland for businesspeople*. Helsinki: Yrityskirjat Oy

Suikkari, Raimo 1998. *Your Friend Finland*. 4th edition. Espoo: RKS Tietopalvelu Oy.

Suikkari, Raimo 2000. *Finland Today*. Espoo: RKS Tietopalvelu Oy.

Särkkä, Tiia 1999. *Finnish culture in British and Finnish newspapers*. Pro Gradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Tapaninen, Jaakko (ed.) 1999. *Finland: the northern experience, New Europe and the next millenium*. Helsinki: Tammi Publishers.

Taylor-Wilkie, Doreen (ed.) 1992. *Finland*. Insight Guides 123. Singapore: APA Publications

Urry, John 1990. *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London: SAGE Publications.